Journal of Septuagint and Cognate Studies

Volume 45 • 2012

Book Reviews

IOSCS Matters

Editorial

This is now the second issue under the new title of "Journal of Septuagint and Cognate Studies" (JSCS). It again represents the wide range of "Septuagint and Cognate Studies".

It opens with the study by Jannes Smith, *"The Text-Critical Significance of Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 5101 (Ra 2227) for the Old Greek Psalter"* on a manuscript which was published in 2011 and which is most probably the oldest manuscript of the Greek Psalms which we have to date. Not so much a new manscript but rather a manuscript in a manuscript is analysed by Ken M. Penner, *"Codex Sinaiticus Corrector Cb2 as a Witness to the Alexandrian Text of Isaiah"*. This corrector evidently used a manuscript which, though no longer extant, belongs to the most important witnesses of the book of Isaiah and deserves attention, not just for the book of Isaiah. Jan Joosten, *"A syntactic Aramaism in the Septuagint: ἰδού in temporal expressions"* continues his studies on the Aramaic background of the Septuagint translators, and shows that it exerted its influence not only on semantics but also on the syntax.

There follow studies of specific texts: Larry Perkins, *"The Order of Pronominal Clitics and Other Pronouns in Greek Exodus – An Indicator of the Translator's Intentionality"* carefully analyses a specific grammatical feature in the book of Exodus. James Mulroney, *"Rethinking Hab 1:12 in Light of Translation Style and the Literary Character Ambakoum"* discusses the verse mentioned in the title but also several other verses, and draws conclusions about the intentions of the translator. Herbert Migsch, *"Die griechischen Lesarten von Jeremia 42LXX, 11 und ihre Vorlage"* meticulously discusses the variants of Jonadab ben Rechab's answer to Jeremiah and its textual history.

The articles are concluded by Alex Douglas *"Limitations to Writing a Theology of the Septuagint"* who takes up the discussion of a theology of the Septuagint and notes the pitfalls that need to be considered.

In the dissertation abstract John D. Meade provides information about his work on *"The hexaplaric fragments on Job 22-24"*.

The book reviews cover a wide range of works, both monographs and collected essays or Festschriften, yet only a sample of the apparently ever-growing number of contributions to Septuagint studies.

At this point I want to say thank you to the authors and the book reviewers for their contributions to the Journal. I also would like to thank the coeditors

for their support, both in scholarly and in organisational matters, especially to Cécile Dogniez who helped in organising the book review. And, I would like to mention my former assistant Dr. Jonathan Robker and my Wuppertaler Studentische Hilfskräfte, esp. Birte Bernhardt, Christina Kreiskott, and Nick Pioch who at different stages and in different ways helped to get things done.

Last but not least I would like to draw readers'attention to two organisational features: 1) IOSCS has made an effort to make available the older issues of the Bulletin on the IOSCS homepage as pdf-files. There are now available all the issues of the Bulletin, starting from issue 1 (1968) (which was reprinted in issue 2) up to 33 (2000). (Some of the more recent issues may still be obtained from Eisenbrauns).
2) Eisenbrauns has made some modifications to the homepage, which make it easier to become a member and to pay the membership subscription. This may be a good opportunity to invite all the readers of the Journal who are not yet members to become members of the "International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies".

Siegfried Kreuzer

The Text-Critical Significance of Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 5101 (Ra 2227) for the Old Greek Psalter

JANNES SMITH

Septuagint scholars interested in the Greek Psalter will doubtless welcome the recent publication of Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 5101, designated as Ra 2227 by the Septuaginta Unternehmen in Göttingen.[1] Though relatively short and fragmentary, its editors' observation that "This is probably the earliest extant copy of the Septuagint Psalms" will be enough to make one sit up and take notice.[2] Equally intriguing is the scroll's use of the Tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew characters in place of the usual κύριος. This paper offers a description of the MS and a preliminary assessment of its significance for the text of LXX Psalms.[3]

P.Oxy. 5101 (hereafter 2227) has four sections of text, labeled A through D, written in six columns, preserving parts of 56 verses of the Greek Psalter.

A. Ps. 26 (MT 27): 9–14
B. Ps. 44 (45): 4–8
C. col. 1: Ps. 47 (48):13–15; col. 2: Ps. 48 (49):6–21;

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     col. 3: Ps. 49 (50):2–16
   D. Ps. 63 (64):6–64 (65):5

Colomo and Henry's edition offers a detailed introduction, followed by the text of each column, accompanied by paleographical and text-critical notes. The introduction discusses the physical features of the papyrus, its script, its date, and its text in the context of other papyri of similar date and content, with reference to pertinent scholarly literature. Surviving text is printed with partial or uncertain letters marked with sublinear dots. The text of Rahlfs' critical edition is supplied in brackets to fill the considerable gaps in the text of the MS (except where the text can be shown to have read otherwise).[4] The notes that accompany each column provide justification for the editors' reconstructions in places where the text is uncertain or absent, and alternative readings where the text is ambiguous. They also supply variants from Rahlfs' apparatus and from papyri published post-Rahlfs, as well as hexaplaric readings gleaned from Field, to put 2227 in text-critical context.[5]

The MS has been dated to the first/second century C.E., making it older than both Ra 2160 and Ra 2077, of the second and second/third century respectively. According to the editors, its awkward script "recalls that of other literary and documentary hands of the earlier Roman period, but it is of uncertain value as a dating criterion, since it may merely indicate the scribe's lack of proficiency."[6] More importantly, the absence of Christian *nomina sacra* (that is, standardized abbreviations for frequently occurring sacred nouns), the choice of a scroll rather than a codex, and the use of paleo-Hebrew letters for the Tetragrammaton all suggest that 2227 is of Jewish rather than Christian origin.[7]

As Colomo and Henry note, "The papyrus is of considerable textual interest. It has several readings that correspond more closely to the Masoretic Text (MT) than does Rahlfs' edition, some of which are unique. … But it also has unique and interesting readings that do not correspond to MT."[8] To be sure, some of its unique readings are due to mechanical error, and as such are of negligible value. The following examples may be mentioned:

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[4] A. Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis* (vol. 10 of *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum*; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1931, 3. Auflage 1979). Cited hereafter as Rahlfs.

[5] F. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1875; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964).

[6] Colomo and Henry, 1.

[7] See Colomo and Henry, 1, and the literature cited there.

[8] Colomo and Henry, 2.

In 26:10, it seems likely that parablepsis from the first to the second occurrence of με caused the omission of the intervening words.[9]

The apparent absence of the Tetragrammaton (for κυρίου) in 26:13 is probably due to a failure to notice that a space had been left for it, because the text makes sense without it and because the space comes at the end of a line. As such the omission is not a noteworthy variant for text-critical purposes (though it is certainly of interest in terms of scribal practice, as will be seen below).

In 26:14 the scribe evidently wrote υπομενοντων for ὑπόμεινον[1], either by dittography of following τον or under the influence of preceding ζώντων. In 49:8, ολοκαυτωμα is clearly "a slip for ολοκαυτωματα,"[10] since its art. is legible as τα.

In 49:14, 2227's θεω for the expected ὑψίστῳ is probably "due to the occurrence of the same phrase in the previous stich,"[11] since the Heb. has עליון and little else can account for the variant.

In 63:6, 2227 has sg. ει]πε[ν rather than pl. εἶπαν/-ον, "perhaps influenced by the singular τίς introducing the question that follows."[12]

The editors rightly suggest that the addition of καί at the head of 63:9[2] and 11[1] is "due to the influence of the preceding and following line beginnings,"[13] since these two stichs form part of a series of six that begin with the conj. in 2227.

The editors note the following orthographic peculiarities: ενκατ[ελιπον for ἐγκατέλιπον in 26:10, ευθια for εὐθείᾳ in 26:11, ι]δϊν for ἰδεῖν in 26:13, πληθι for πλήθει in 48:7, π]ρϊι for πρωί in 48:15, βο]ηθια for βοήθεια in 48:15, αϊδου for ᾅδου in 48:16 (cf. αδη in 48:15), γενας for γενεᾶς in 48:20, διαθιθενεμους for διατιθεμένους in 49:5, and Δαυειδ for Δαυίδ in 64:1. These are likewise of little text-critical import.

Other unique readings, however, warrant closer attention. In a number of instances, 2227 alone preserves a reading that corresponds with MT, prompting the question whether 2227 represents the original Greek or a Hebraizing correction. In the samples that follow, Rahlfs' text is cited to the left of the bracket and the variant in 2227 to the right.

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[9] Similarly, at 49:16 the editors suggest that another hand supplied και αναλαμβανεις την διαθηκην μου, which had been omitted due to parablepsis from μου[1] to μου[2].

[10] Colomo and Henry, 9.

[11] Colomo and Henry, 10.

[12] Colomo and Henry, 10.

[13] Colomo and Henry, 10.

48:15 αυτων²] αυτου 2227^{vid} = לֹו

In Rahlfs' *Psalmi cum Odis* the clause reads, καὶ ἡ βοήθεια αὐτῶν παλαιωθήσεται ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ ἐκ τῆς δόξης αὐτῶν, but 2227 lacks ἐκ and has [αυτο]υ for the second αὐτῶν. Not much need be said about the first variant: given the presence of מִן in the Heb., one would expect neither a translator nor a reviser to omit ἐκ, and the simplest explanation for the omission is mechanical error. The second is of greater interest, however, because αυτου matches the sg. of MT, which has מִזְּבֻל לֹו for the Greek phrase in question. To be sure, one could speculate that the *Vorlage* had לָמֹו to match αὐτῶν, but in the absence of evidence for such a reading, a simpler solution is that αὐτῶν arose on the Greek side *contra* the Heb., either on the part of the translator or in transmission history.

When one considers that αὐτῶν otherwise enjoys the unanimous consent of the surviving evidence, and that only the final letter of αυτου is extant in 2227, one wonders whether 2227 can responsibly be claimed to be the sole witness to the original Greek. Further, given the omission of ἐκ in the same phrase, one cannot exclude the possibility that αυτου is likewise the product of mechanical error and only accidentally corresponds to MT. There is no discernible trigger for such an error, however, nor is there an obvious link between the two variants, leaving the Heb. text as the most plausible cause for the sg. reading. One could then postulate that 2227 provides an isolated instance of revision toward MT independent of the Hexapla.

That such isolated revision could and did occur is beyond dispute. On the other hand, the alternative solution, that αὐτοῦ is original and αὐτῶν secondary, merits serious consideration for two reasons. The first is the translator's well-known tendency toward formal equivalence, even at the expense of grammatical coherence. The second is the presence of multiple pl. references in the verse (notably ἡ βοήθεια αὐτῶν), which can easily account for corruption ("correction") to αὐτῶν on the Greek side by scribes without recourse to the parent text. The near-unanimous attestation for the pl. would suggest an early date for the corruption, which in turn would imply the antiquity of 2227's text. In short, there is reason to believe that the translator wrote ἐκ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ for מזבל לוֹ.[14]

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[14] Or perhaps מזבלו by haplography of ל.

48:20 ὄψεται ε'] οψονται 2227 = MT α' σ' ο' θ' ς'

The verse reads as follows in Rahlfs' text: εἰσελεύσεται ἕως γενεᾶς πατέρων αὐτοῦ, ἕως αἰῶνος οὐκ ὄψεται φῶς. MT has a pl. form for the second verb (יִרְאוּ). Evidence for the sg. on the Heb. side is scant: *BHS* cites only two MSS in the Masoretic tradition, and one could reasonably argue that harmonization with sg. יָבוֹא in the first stich produced the variant. Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, and Sexta also attest to the pl., as does Origen's fifth column according to Field,[15] though Rahlfs cites no MS evidence for it. Rahlfs' lemma is uncontested, and Quinta (ε') too is said to have read ὄψεται. 2227 is now a solitary LXX witness to the pl. One should not of course infer that 2227 is therefore hexaplaric, since Origen did not correct his evidence toward the Heb. but simply marked the differences. It is possible, however, that Origen used 2227 (or an affiliated MS) as one of his sources. He would in the nature of the case have been attracted to a witness closer to the Heb. than the majority LXX tradition.[16] At any rate, 2227 now provides hard evidence for a Septuagint reading which Origen recorded but which had since been lost.

Enough of the text is legible to ascertain that 2227 has the pl. form of the verb (οψοντ[αι). Again, one could categorize it as an example of revision toward MT. On the other hand, given the translator's predisposition for formal correspondence, it could equally well be original. Harmonization with preceding εἰσελεύσεται adequately accounts for the spread of the sg. form in transmission history, the more so because sg. verbs are ubiquitous in context, including ὄψεται (MT יִרְאֶה) in the rather similar v. 10, while the only pl. nearby is πατέρων. On the Heb. side the pl. verb can be accounted for by reading the clause as relative: "he will join the generation of his fathers, *who will never see* the light [of life]" (NIV, emphasis mine). The translator, however, did not read it so, and thus a pl. verb, to be expected in the production of the Psalter, seems out of place in its reception and becomes a candidate for scribal "correction." Hence the pl. is more readily explained as original and the sg. as secondary.

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[15] Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum*, vol. 2, 172.

[16] Cf. A. Pietersma's preliminary assessment of 2227, quoted in Colomo and Henry, 3: "The pre-Origenian date of 5101 makes it possible that Origen used this text as one of his sources for readings closer to the Hebrew than the majority Septuagint tradition, to be adopted in his fifth column."

49:5 θυσίαις] θυσια 2227 = MT

Rahlfs' lemma reads as follows: συναγάγετε αὐτῷ τοὺς ὁσίους αὐτοῦ τοὺς διατιθεμένους τὴν διαθήκην αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ θυσίαις. 2227 has επι θυσια to match MT's עֲלֵי־זָבַח. There is no evidence for the pl. on the Heb. side. If one might expect the translator to write sg. for sg., then what might account for the widespread attestation for the pl.? For one thing, one might expect a gathering of devout ones to bring multiple offerings. For another, in the immediate context v. 8 has ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις (uncontested, for על זבחיך); there 2227 likewise has the pl. (εν ταις [θυ]σιαις). Again 2227 provides a variant that merits serious consideration as OG.

49:9 μοσχους] μοσχον 2227; פַר MT

The verse reads as follows in Rahlfs' edition: οὐ δέξομαι ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου σου μόσχους οὐδὲ ἐκ τῶν ποιμνίων σου χιμάρους. The LXX evidence uniformly has a pl. for both calves and he-goats, but MT has sg. פַר and pl. עַתּוּדִים. 2227 has μοσχον for the former and, intriguingly, προβατα for the latter, both fully legible. Again, 2227's sg. μοσχον matches the translator's penchant for formal equivalence. There is, to be sure, a complicating factor, namely that פַר is followed in MT by a double מ (ממכלאתיך), making it possible, in theory at least, that the *Vorlage* had פרים (or פרם without *mater lectionis*) with final *mem* lost in MT by haplography. In that case one could postulate that μόσχους is original and that 2227 gives evidence for revision toward MT. No evidence survives for פרים, however. Further, 2227's προβατα for χιμάρους does not provide corroborating evidence for revision toward MT since πρόβατα can hardly be regarded as closer in meaning to the Heb. noun; the frequent (and natural) association of πρόβατα with ποιμνίον in LXX texts suggests that corruption rather than recension is the culprit here.[17] On the Greek side, while one might expect pl. he-goats from pl. folds, the translator will not have felt constrained by sense or style to have pl. calves come from a sg. house. A copyist without recourse to the parent text, on the other hand, might well have been tempted to harmonize the pl. of calves with that of he-goats. Hence the sg. reading may well be original despite the amount of MS evidence to the contrary.

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[17] Besides Ps 77:52, 70, one may cite Gen 29:2, 3, 30:40, Deut 7:13, 28:4, 8, 51, 1Rgns 17:34, Mich 2:12, 5:7, Ioel 1:18, Zeph 2:6, Ier 13:20, Iezek 34:12, 31.

49:11 τοῦ οὐρανου] τῶν ορεων 2227; הרים MT

Rahlfs has τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, but MT עוֹף הָרִים. The Heb. phrase occurs only here in biblical texts, and *BHS* suggests to read שָׁמַיִם or מָרוֹם. Indeed, one would not expect the translator to write οὐρανός for הרים, except perhaps as a circumlocution, if he understood הרים as from רום, but on another occasion when he might much more plausibly have done so on the basis of context and sense, that is, in 74:7, he rendered מִמְדְּבַר הָרִים as ἀπὸ ἐρήμων ὀρέων.[18] The phrase τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ translates all occurrences of עוֹף־הַשָּׁמַיִם in biblical Heb. with the sole exception of Gen 9:2 (τὰ ὄρνεα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ).[19] The Greek phrase also occurs in Ps 8:9 for צִפּוֹר שָׁמַיִם. Hence it is possible that the *Vorlage* read עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם, though no Heb. evidence for such a reading survives. In that case, 2227's τῶν ορεων might be seen as a Hebraizing correction.

Three additional factors should be noted, however. The first is that ὄρος translates 49 out of 53 occurrences of הר in the Greek Psalter (including the preceding verse, Ps 49:10), making translation technique a relevant consideration. The second is the graphic similarity between ὄρος and οὐρανός. The third is the common occurrence of τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ not only as a translation for עוֹף־הַשָּׁמַיִם but also in non-translation Jewish and Christian literature.[20] A scribe might thus be forgiven for miscopying τὰ πετεινὰ τῶν ὀρέων as τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, and subsequent copyists might equally be forgiven for failing to notice the mistake.[21]

We may now cast the net a little wider to include instances in which 2227 joins other MSS in support of a variant that corresponds with MT.

44:6 δυνατε] om. 2227[vid.] GaHi = MT

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[18] Cf. 74:5 and 6 where תרימו is translated as ὑψοῦτε and ἐπαίρετε respectively. NIV, e.g., has "exalt" for הָרִים in 75 (74):7.

[19] Gen 1:26, 28, 30, 2:19,20, 6:7, 7:3, 23, 9:2, Deut 28:26, 1 Sam 17:44, 46, 2 Sam 21:10, 1 Kgs 14:11, 16:4, 21:24, Jer 4:25, 7:33, 9:9, 15:3, 16:4, 19:7, 34:20 (41:20), Ezek 29:5, 31:6, 13, 32:4, 38:20, Hos 2:20, 4:3, 7:12, Zeph 1:3, Ps 79 (78):2, 104 (103):12, Job 12:7, 28:21, 35:11, Eccl 10:20. For τὰ ὄρνεα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, see also Bar 3:17.

[20] E.g. Dan 3:80, ParJer 7:3, Matt 6:26, 8:20, Mk 4:32, Lk 8:5, Ac 10:12, EpBarn 6:12, 18 (quoting Gen 1:26), Hermas, *Parables* 9.24.1.

[21] Of further interest is Isa 18:6, where one finds τοῖς πετεινοῖς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ for לעיט הרים. The Greek is uncontested, though Ziegler cites a conjecture for τῶν ορεων (J. Ziegler [ed.], *Isaias* [3rd edition; Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum, vol. XIV; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983], *ad loc.*).

Rahlfs' lemma reads as follows: τὰ βέλη σου ἠκονημένα, δυνατέ, –λαοὶ ὑποκάτω σου πεσοῦνται– ἐν καρδίᾳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοῦ βασιλέως. MT lacks a counterpart for δυνατέ (which translates גבור two verses prior). 2227 apparently lacks it as well. (The space before υποκατω is not big enough for all of τα βελη σου ηκονημενα δυνατε λαοι, and the editors regard δυνατε as the most likely candidate for omission.)[22] Jerome likewise omits it in his Gallican Psalter (confirmed by its citation in his *Epistula ad Sunniam et Fretelam*).[23] That need not make the omission hexaplaric, however, since Origen did not omit words absent in his Heb. sources but simply obelized them.

The omission may of course be evidence of pre-hexaplaric recensional activity. On the other hand, there is no Heb. evidence for גבור, and one would not expect the translator to insert δυνατέ without Heb. warrant, so one could also argue that it intruded from v. 4 at a later stage, perhaps to clarify that even though βασιλεύς has become third per. at the end of v. 6, the referent of σου is still the δυνατέ of v. 4, not ὁ θεός of v. 6. If δυνατέ is indeed an exegetically motivated insertion, one might more readily attribute such motive to a scribe or commentator than to the translator of the Greek Psalter.

48:12 αυτων[ϟ]] om. 2227 1098 2110 (non Ga) LTht[p] S[c] = MT

The verse reads as follows in Rahlfs' edition: καὶ οἱ τάφοι αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, σκηνώματα αὐτῶν εἰς γενεὰν καὶ γενεάν. ἐπεκαλέσαντο τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῶν γαιῶν αὐτῶν. MT has עֲלֵי אֲדָמוֹת, lacking a pronominal suf. to correspond with the final αὐτῶν. Rahlfs noted that 1098 (a fragmentary tenth-century palimpsest of the Hexapla Psalter) and the *L* group (including some copies of Theodoret) lacked the pron. in agreement with MT and concluded that the omission was hexaplaric. As Albert Pietersma has argued, however,

> Since Origen obelized items in his Greek text which had no counterpart in the Heb., the evidence of 1098 should mean that αὐτῶν was not in his text. The addition of σκηνώματα αὐτῶν in stich 2 was made virtually inevitable by (οἱ τάφοι αὐτῶν (οἰκίαι) αὐτῶν of stich 1. Consequently, it is most unlikely that OG read αὐτῶν.[24]

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[22] Colomo and Henry, 5.

[23] See Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, 58.

[24] A. Pietersma, "Ra 2110 (P. Bodmer XXIV) and the Text of the Greek Psalter," in: D. Fraenkel, U. Quast and J.W. Wevers (eds.), *Studien zur Septuaginta: Robert Hanhart zu Ehren* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen; MSU 20; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 283.

The additional testimony of 2110, and now of 2227, strengthens the evidence to suggest that the omission is original.

48:15 ευθεις] + εις 2227 2110 2015 156 1098 (item ε') = ל?; MT לבקר

The Greek clause in question reads as follows in Rahlfs' text: καὶ κατακυριεύσουσιν αὐτῶν οἱ εὐθεῖς τὸ πρωί. MT has לבקר, and 2227 joins a number of MSS that have εἰς before τὸ πρωί, namely 2110 2015 156 1098 (and Quinta as attested by 1098).[25] The question, however, is the reason for the prep. in 2227. Alignment with 1098 might suggest that it is a recensional item. Rahlfs' edition has nine occurrences of τὸ πρωί *sans* prep., twice for בקר, six times for בבקר, and twice for לבקר , so it is conceivable that a reviser added εἰς to represent ל. Colomo and Henry mention another option, however, that it was produced by dittography of preceding –εις.[26] In that case alignment with 1098 is irrelevant. One cannot rule out a third option, namely that the translator wrote εἰς τὸ πρωί and that the prep. was lost by haplography. Translation technique does not help to decide the issue since Rahlfs' edition has εἰς τὸ πρωί (uncontested) at 29:6, but τὸ πρωί (uncontested) at 58:17, both for לבקר. From a semantic perspective, εἰς would more easily be dropped in transmission history than added. On balance, therefore, its inclusion may well be OG.

49:3 εναντιον] ενωπιον 2227 L'; MT לפני.

Variation between ἐναντίον and ἐνώπιον is common in the MSS of the Greek Psalter, not surprisingly given the overlap of both meaning and spelling.[27] Rahlfs has εναντιον here, but Colomo and Henry reconstruct εν[ωπ]ιον rather than εν[αντ]ιον. If one may presume that they did so because the latter best fits the physical aspects of the MS, the item becomes significant. Albert Pietersma has argued that ενωπιον more likely reflects

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[25] Colomo and Henry (p. 7) correctly include Holmes & Parsons' 156 (= Lagarde's D), which has δικεοι εἰς for οἱ εὐθεῖς εἰς, with a word divider clearly legible before εἰς (http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/ubb/A-VII-0003/40r/medium, consulted on October 5, 2012. P. de Lagarde, *Psalterii graeci quinquagena prima* [Göttingen, 1892], 60). For 1098, Rahlfs' citation reads "1098 (item θ' teste 1098)," but θ' should be corrected to ε'.

[26] Colomo and Henry, 7.

[27] Rahlfs cites a number of instances at 21:26 and refers the reader to Martin Johannessohn, *Der Gebrauch der Präpositionen in der Septuaginta* (MSU 3; Göttingen, 1925), 192, 196.

לִפְנֵי and that it is original here, *contra* Rahlfs.[28] In that case 2227 preserves an original reading. Its alignment with *L* calls to mind an early criticism of Hedley's, that Rahlfs had underrated the *L* group.[29]

64:1 Ιερεμιου – εκπορευεσθαι] om. 2227 B S R O (teste Tht) LᵇT'He 1219' = MT

The first seven words of the superscription match MT, but a lengthy addition is found in many Greek MSS, namely, Ιερεμιου καὶ Ιεζεκιηλ ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τῆς παροικίας, ὅτε ἔμελλον ἐκπορεύεσθαι, or words to that effect. Rahlfs seems to have concluded that the omission was a Hebraizing correction, evidently disagreeing with Theodoret's comment that it was an addition which neither the Heb. nor the other translators nor the Seventy in the Hexapla attested.[30] Albert Pietersma has shown that the addition is in all likelihood not original but an item of inner Greek exegetical tradition associated with the Psalm and that while the omission is perhaps the result of revision toward the Heb., such revision produces at the same time a return to the original Greek text.[31] Its omission in 2227 suggests either that the Hebraizing correction took place at an early date or that its text either predates or remained unaffected by the above exegetical tradition.

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[28] Rahlfs has ἐναντίον 27x in Pss, 14x for נֶגֶד(לְ), 10x for לִפְנֵי, and 3x for לְ/בְּעֵין, and ἐνώπιον 47x in Pss, 14x for נֶגֶד, 25x for לִפְנֵי, 5x for לְ/בְּעֵין, 1x for עַל־פְּנֵי, and 2x for other Hebrew. A number of these are contested, however. For a full treatment, see A. Pietersma, *Two Manuscripts of the Greek Psalter in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin* (Analecta Biblica 77; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978), 40–43, esp. 43.

[29] P.L. Hedley, "The Göttingen Investigation and Edition of the Septuagint," *HTR* 26 (1933) 57–72. Note especially the following two quotations, from pages 69 and 71 respectively. "The main feature in Rahlfs' principle of recension is the low value assigned to the Lucianic recension. Now, while it is undoubtedly true that the ecclesiastical text is a later production than either the Egyptian or the Western text, and that Lucian appears to have assimilated his recension to the M.T., using the Hexapla in the process, it is certain that in his text we have an ancient element which is not preserved elsewhere." Then follow some specific critiques, concluding with the following assessment: "No more important piece of work remains to be done on the Greek text of the Psalms than the disentanglement of the ancient element in the Lucianic text and the estimation of its value."

[30] Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, 64–65.

[31] A. Pietersma, "Exegesis and Liturgy in the Superscriptions of the Greek Psalter," in: B. Taylor (ed.), *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Oslo 1998* (SBLSCS 51; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature), 118–120. NETS also leaves it out.

64:2 εν ιερουσαλημ Bo Sa 1093 R La^R La^G L Tht Sy 1219 55] marked with obelus in Ga; om. B S 2110 2227? = MT

Rahlfs lemma reads as follows: Σοὶ πρέπει ὕμνος, ὁ θεός, εν Σιων, και σοὶ ἀποδοθήσεται εὐχὴ ἐν Ιερουσαλημ. MT lacks a counterpart for ἐν Ιερουσαλημ, and B, S, and 2110 lack it as well. 2227 has a lacuna after ευχη, but the editors suspect on the basis of the shape of its η that ευχη was the final word of the line.[32]

On the Heb. side MT has יֻשֻׁלַּם for ἀποδοθήσεται, so one wonders whether the *Vorlage* might have had בִירוּשָׁלַם = ἐν Ιερουσαλημ, omitted in MT by parablepsis from the first to the second occurrence of שֻׁלַם. In that case ἐν Ιερουσαλημ would be original and its omission a revision toward MT. Evidence for the phrase is lacking on the Heb. side, however, and the Gallican Psalter's obelus confirms that Origen's Heb. lacked it. Moreover, the fact that intervening נֶדֶר was not lost speaks against parablepsis in MT. On the Greek side, one cannot use Ga's obelus to argue that its omission in 2227 is hexaplaric since Origen (and in this case Jerome) did not omit items missing in his Heb. exemplars but simply identified them as such. On the other hand, it is easy to see why ἐν Ιερουσαλημ might be added in transmission history as a parallel to ἐν Σιων. As Colomo and Henry caution, however, it is "not quite certain" whether 2227 attests to the omission.[33]

64:3 mou] hmwn Sa, om. S R Ga (not Vulg) 55 2110 2227 = MT*

MT points the verse as follows, שֹׁמֵעַ תְּפִלָּה עָדֶיךָ כָּל־בָּשָׂר יָבֹאוּ, with the ptc. evidently to be read as voc.: "O you who hear prayer" (NIV). The Greek translator read it as impv., however. The former reading refers to prayer in general but the latter to the specific prayer of the psalmist. The addition of μου (or ημων for that matter) is therefore to be expected on the Greek side, and indeed, Rahlfs has εἰσάκουσον προσευχῆς μου. In that case its omission in a number of witnesses might be regarded as a correction toward MT. On the other hand, one might more likely expect such an addition from a reader of the Greek text than from its translator, particularly if the latter's choice for the impv. was not particularly deliberative but mechanical. It should again be noted that the omission of the pron. in the Gallican Psalter does not mean that Origen had deleted it but that it was already absent from his LXX text in

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[32] Colomo and Henry, 11.
[33] Colomo and Henry, 11.

agreement with the Heb. Hence it seems likely that μου, like ημων, was a later addition and that 2227 preserves the original text.

In sum, in a number of instances 2227 preserves a variant that corresponds more closely with MT, either alone or in conj. with other witnesses. While this may suggest that it has a recensional character, often a case can be made that it preserves the original text. At the very least, such variants merit due consideration for a fully critical edition of the Psalter.

Before turning to instances in which 2227 clearly disagrees with MT, one may also list a number of instances in which it is less than clear whether or not 2227 has a text closer to MT.

> 48:13 παρασυνεβληθη] συνεβληθη 2227[vid] 2110; MT נמשל[34]
> 48:17 οταν[1]] εαν 2227; MT כי[35]
> 49:5 συναγαγετε] συναγετε 2227 2110 (συναγεται); MT אספו
> 49:6 ο θεος] θεος 2227 2110 B A; MT אלהים[36]
> 49:7 διαμαρτυρομαι] –ρουμαι 2227 2013 2110 S[c] L[pau] T Tht[p] He* 1219' La Ga; MT ואעידה
> 49:8 εστιν] εισιν 2227; MT Ø[37]
> 49:11 εγνωκα] εγνων 2227; MT ידעתי
> 49:13 τραγων] αρνων 2227; MT עתודים (see below)

In the interest of space, these items will not receive further attention here but are nonetheless worth noting for a future edition of LXX Psalms.

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[34] Rahlfs has παρασυνεβλήθη here and in the similar verse 21, both for נמשל. For Rahlfs' justification for his choice, see his *Septuaginta-Studien II: Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1907, 1965), 143. 2110 has συνεβληθη here but παρεβληθη in v.21. Colomo and Henry reconstruct συνεβληθη here on the basis of line length and the strength of 2110 and Quinta but admit that παρεβληθη could fit the space equally well and is attested by Aquila (p. 7). Verse 21 is missing in 2227. The Hebrew verb occurs twice elsewhere in the Psalter, for both of which the Greek has ὁμοιωθήσομαι (27:1, 142:7).

[35] The particle ἐάν does translate כי in 12:5, 61:11, but otherwise almost always אם, while 16 of 20 occurrences of ὅταν, including ὅταν[2] in the present verse, translate כי. Yet one could perhaps argue that ὅταν[1] intruded from the second stich.

[36] On the one hand, the translator deployed the article to represent Hebrew morphemes. On the other hand, he sometimes included it to distinguish subject from predicate in nominal clauses. See A. Pietersma, "Articulation in the Greek Psalms: The Evidence of Papyrus Bodmer XXIV," in: G.J. Norton and S. Pisano (eds.), *Tradition of the Text: Studies offered to Dominique Barthélemy in Celebration of his 70th Birthday* (OBO 109; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991) 184–202; J. Smith, *Translated Hallelujahs: A Linguistic and Exegetical Commentary on Select Septuagint Psalms* (CBET 56; Louvain: Peeters, 2011), 229–230, 272.

[37] For this item, see A. Pietersma, "The Greek Psalter: A Question of Methodology and Syntax," *VT* 26 (1976) 60–69, esp. 65.

As Colomo and Henry observe, 2227 "also has unique and interesting readings that do not correspond to MT."[38] Some of these, such as the insertion of καί before ἐταράχθησαν in 63:9 and before εὐφρανθήσεται in 63:11, may be ascribed to mechanical error. Others, such as πρόβατα for χιμάρους in 49:9 and ἀρνῶν for τράγων in 49:13, may well be due to corruption.[39] The following items warrant a closer look, however.

26:11 τη οδω] pr. εν 2227 2110 2030 U L' ≠ MT

Rahlfs' lemma has νομοθέτησόν με, κύριε, τῇ ὁδῷ σου καὶ ὁδήγησόν με ἐν τρίβῳ εὐθείᾳ ἕνεκα τῶν ἐχθρῶν μου. 2227 joins a number of MSS that have ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ *contra* MT, which has דַרְכֶּךָ without בְּ. Admittedly only the ν survives, but it must have been part of εν since κυριο]ν is neither voc. nor to be expected given its use of the Tetragram, and νομοθετησο]ν is too distant to be considered. Theoretically the *Vorlage* could have had בדרכך (compare, for example, 1 Sam 12:23 with 1 Kings 8:36), though no evidence survives for such a reading. The translator elsewhere appears to have followed the Heb. use and non-use of the prep., however.[40] One suspects, then, that ἐν intruded from the second stich and that Rahlfs is correct to consider it secondary. Since MS affiliation is best judged from secondary readings,[41] it is noteworthy that 2227 here aligns with both 2110 and *L*. As Pietersma has observed,

It is certainly of interest that Papyrus Bodmer XXIV (Ra 2110) shares some 230 secondary readings (based on Rahlfs' critical text) with all or part of the so-called *L* group, or the Vulgar text, some 50 with elements of *L* alone. While these are admittedly raw figures, they do suggest that much secondary material in *L* may well be very old.[42]

48:12 τα ονοματα] ονομα 2227ᵛⁱᵈ 2110; το ονομα 2013 ≠ MT

The Greek translator typically rendered קְרָא בְשֵׁם as ἐπικαλέομαι τὸ

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[38] Colomo and Henry, 2.

[39] For the latter, cf. Isa 1:11, 34:6 for αἷμα ἀρνῶν, but also Heb 9:12, 13, 19, 10:4 for αἷμα τράγων.

[40] For ἐν ὁδῷ see 24:8 (MT יוֹרֶה חַטָּאִים בַּדָּרֶךְ = νομοθετήσει ἁμαρτάνοντες ἐν ὁδῷ [uncontested]) and 24:12 (MT יוֹרֶנּוּ בְּדֶרֶךְ יִבְחָר = νομοθετήσει αὐτῷ ἐν ὁδῷ ᾗ ᾑρετίσατο [uncontested]); for double accusative as in 26:11 see 118:33 (MT הוֹרֵנִי יהוה דֶּרֶךְ חֻקֶּיךָ = Νομοθέτησόν με, κύριε, τὴν ὁδὸν τῶν δικαιωμάτων σου).

[41] Pietersma, "The Present State," 6–10.

[42] Pietersma, "Present State," 6.

ὄνομα (78:6, 79:19, 104:1, 114:4, 115:4).[43] Here MT has קָרְאוּ בִשְׁמוֹתָם.
One would expect that the translator would follow the number of שֵׁמוֹתָם and
write ὀνόματα αὐτῶν. Indeed Rahlfs has ἐπεκαλέσαντο τὰ ὀνόματα
αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῶν γαιῶν αὐτῶν, with the support of most MSS, but 2013
and 2110 have sg. ὄνομα. In 2227 only the final α is (partially) legible, but
Colomo and Henry have reconstructed anarthrous ονομα on the basis of
space. Perhaps a bleary-eyed copyist, fooled by τὸ of preceding
ἐπεκαλέσαντο, adjusted the noun to the sg. In any case, the sg. is secondary
and the alignment of 2227 with 2110 is again noteworthy.

64:4 Grabe anomiwn = MT a' s'] anomwn 2227 mss

Casting the net still wider, we turn to an example in which 2227 sides with all
of the MS evidence against MT. Rahlfs quite rightly adopted Grabe's cj. that
the translator wrote λόγοι ἀνομιῶν for דברי עונת and that the unanimous
MS support for λόγοι ἀνόμων is due to an early scribal error. 2227 follows
the crowd and was not corrected to the Heb., the testimony of Aquila and
Symmachus notwithstanding. This forms a plausible basis for Colomo and
Henry to print εκοπι]ασεν at 48:10 in agreement with all MSS rather than
Grabe's cj., ἐκόπασεν, adopted by Rahlfs.[44]

   With all of the foregoing in mind, we turn, finally, to perhaps the most
interesting feature of 2227, namely its use of the Tetragrammaton in paleo-
Hebrew characters. Much ink has flowed on the question whether the LXX
translators used κύριος or the Tetragram to represent the divine name.[45] For
the sake of orientation, the arguments may briefly be summarized as follows.
In favour of the position that κύριος is original the following points may be

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[43] On the use of the phrase in LXX Psalms, see my *Translated Hallelujahs*, 57.

[44] The latter conjecture is equally justified, but the point, of course, is that 2227 is likely
to have sided with the manuscript evidence. Incidentally, on its own principle of parent text
as arbiter of meaning in cases where the meaning of the Greek is ambiguous, NETS ought
to have "he desisted" rather than "he toiled," since the former is the component of meaning
which κοπάζω shares with חדל (A. Pietersma and B.G. Wright, "To the Reader of
NETS," in: *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations
Traditionally Included Under that Title* (Oxford: OUP, 2007), xvi–xvii, 571.

[45] Recent literature includes the following: J. R. Royse, "Philo, Kyrios, and the Tetra-
grammaton", *Studia Philonica Annual* 3 (1991), 167–183; M. Rösel, *Adonaj – warum Gott
'Herr' genannt wird* (FAT 29; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000); K. De Troyer, "The Names
of God. Their Pronunciation and Their Translation. A Digital Tour of Some of the Main
Witnesses," *lectio difficilior* 2/2005 (http://www.lectio.unibe.ch/05_2/troyer_names_
of_god.htm, consulted on November 10, 2012).

mentioned: 1. the widespread internal evidence for κύριος in the LXX and its semantic adequacy as equivalent for the *Qere perpetuum* אֲדֹנָי; 2. the patterned use/non-use of the art. with κύριος, suggesting that it is a translational item;[46] and 3. Philo's exposition of divine names, indicating that his Greek copies had κύριος.[47] In that case the use of the paleo-Hebrew Tetragram in some MSS is evidence of an archaizing trend, perhaps on the part of Palestinian Jews critical of the Egyptian Septuagint.

On the other side, arguments that the translators wrote the Tetragram include: 1. the testimony of Origen, who wrote that, "In the more accurate exemplars [of the LXX] the (divine) name is written in Hebrew characters; not, however, in the current script, but in the most ancient;"[48] 2. the use of πιπι in both the Mercati palimpsest of Psalms (Ra 1098) and the Cairo fragment of Ps 22 from the Hexapla, suggesting that Origen wrote the Tetragram in his Hexapla; 3. the discovery of pre-Christian Greek MSS that use the Tetragram, including the Greek Minor Prophets scroll from Naḥal Ḥever (8ḤevXIIgr), P. Fouad 266 (Ra 848), and 4QLXXLev[b] (Ra 802); and 4. "all the irregularities pertaining to the anarthrous use of κύριος can also be explained as having been created by a mechanical replacement of Ιαω with κύριος by Christian scribes."[49] Of course, these four arguments point up the complexity of the issue, namely that the Tetragram is attested in three forms: the square script form, the paleo-Hebrew form, and the trigram in Greek script. If the Tetragram is OG, in which of these three forms did it occur, and what might that imply about the other forms? It is beyond the scope of this paper to wade into the debate, other than to outline what 2227 might contribute to it, specifically for the Greek Psalter.

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[46] For the data from the Pentateuch, see A. Pietersma, "Kyrios or Tetragram: A Renewed Quest for the Original LXX," in: A. Pietersma and C. Cox (eds.), *De Septuaginta: Studies in Honour of John William Wevers on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Mississauga: Benben Publications, 1984), esp. 93–99; for the data from the Psalter, see J.W. Wevers, "The Rendering of the Tetragram in the Psalter and Pentateuch: A Comparative Study," in: R.J.V. Hiebert *et al.* (eds.), *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma* (JSOTSS332; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 21–35.

[47] Pietersma, "Kyrios or Tetragram," 93, citing especially *De Abrahamo* 121 and *De Plantatione* 85–90.

[48] Migne, *PG* 12 1104(B), cited from Pietersma, "Kyrios or Tetragram," 87.

[49] So E. Tov, "The Greek Biblical Texts from the Judean Desert," in: *Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible, and Qumran: Collected Essays* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 357; see also his *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts from the Judean Desert* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 220–221.

Colomo and Henry list the following Greek MSS that contain the paleo-Hebrew form of the Tetragrammaton:[50]

P.Vindob. G 39777 (Ra[hlfs-Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis der Griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*], p. 428; van Haelst 167; Ps lxix-lxxxi in Symmachus' translation (= LXX Ps lxviii-lxxx); parchment roll, third/fourth cent., from the Fayum or Heracleopolite);

8ḤevXIIgr. (Ra 943, [*Verzeichnis*] pp. 156–60; Prophets; leather roll, late first cent. B.C.E./early first cent., Dead Sea);[51]

T–S 12.184, 20.50 Ra[hlfs-Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*] pp. 50–51; van Haelst 74; parts of Kings I and II in Aquila's translation (= LXX Reg. III and IV); parchment codex, fifth/sixth cent., Cairo, Geniza);

L 3522 (Ra 857, p. 304; Job; papyrus roll, first cent.).

The addition of 2227 to this list is significant because it provides additional hard evidence to confirm what we already knew from Origen, namely that the divine name was written in paleo-Hebrew characters in some copies of the LXX; it is the only LXX MS to provide such evidence for the Psalter, and it so happens to be the oldest Greek Psalter MS we have.

The data for 2227 are the following. It does not have any instance of κύριος. It has the paleo-Tetragram in 64:2 with all four letters legible. The editors comment that the scribe "assimilated the initial *yod* to the *he* by giving it a third bar, suggesting that he was not familiar with palaeo-Hebrew letters."[52] In 26:14 only the final *he* and part of the *waw* are preserved for the first occurrence of the Tetragram, and only small traces survive of the second. In lacunae at 26:11 and 63:11 the editors supply the Tetragram in paleo-Hebrew characters for Rahlfs' κύριος on the reasonable assumption that the scribe used it consistently. One occurrence is missing in 26:10 due to parablepsis from με[1] to με[2] either in 2227 or an earlier copy. Another occurrence is missing at the end of a line in 26:13 where it appears that a scribe failed to notice that a space had been left for it. (The clause is grammatical

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[50] Colomo and Henry, 5; see also Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 220, whose citations differ slightly. For a detailed discussion of the use of the paleo-Hebrew tetragram in the texts from Qumran, see Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 238–246. Understandably, Colomo and Henry only list witnesses that have the paleo-Hebrew form of the tetragram. For a broader survey, see E. Tov, "Scribal Features of Early Witnesses of Greek Scripture," in: Hiebert, *The Old Greek Psalter*, 125–148.

[51] E. Tov (ed.), *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Naḥal Ḥever (8ḤevXIIgr)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

[52] Colomo and Henry, 5.

without it.) If so, this MS supports other evidence that scribes left spaces for Tetragrammata to be filled in later, either by the same scribe or by another.[53] It is of interest that κυρίου is anarthrous in Rahlfs' edition; had 2227 or its exemplar had τοῦ one surmises that the scribe would have caught the error and filled the space. Three occurrences of the Tetragrammaton are articulated, namely τον in 26:14 (*bis*) and τω in 63:11, and in all three 2227 agrees with Rahlfs. At 64:2, however, 2227 lacks the art. *contra* Rahlfs. As it turns out, this item holds a significant clue for the use of the Tetragram in 2227.

64:2 *ὕμνος ὁ θεός* = MT] Tetragram *ὕμνος* 2227

Rahlfs has Σοὶ πρέπει ὕμνος, ὁ θεός,[54] matching MT's לְךָ דֻמִיָּה תְהִלָּה אֱלֹהִים, though evidently reading the verb as דֹמִיָּה, the *qal* fem. sing. ptc. of דמה I "be like, resemble."[55] Origen's fifth col. is identical to Rahlfs, while Aquila wrote σοὶ σιωπῶσα αἴνεσις, θεὲ, again equivalent to MT.[56] 2227, however, lacks ὁ θεός and has the Tetragram in paleo-Hebrew script before ὕμνος. In order for the Tetragram to be original here, one would have to argue that all of the available LXX evidence is recensional and that 2227 alone preserves an original Greek reading corresponding to a Heb. text that no longer survives. Such a scenario is highly unlikely and should not receive methodological priority. What we have, then, is an occurrence of the Tetragram that arose in transmission history.

How might one account for the disappearance of ὁ θεός and its replacement with a displaced Tetragrammaton? One possibility is that the Tetragram was triggered by the י of דמיה or a dittography thereof and that ὁ θεός was subsequently lost, either intentionally (because it was deemed superfluous with the addition of the Tetragrammaton), or inadvertently (via parablepsis from the –ος of ὕμνος to the –ος of θεός). Given that 2227 otherwise has a fully Septuagintal character, such a scenario might suggest that its scribe (or the scribe of an earlier copy) used a Heb. MS as a reference tool to tell him where to deploy the Tetragram, since here he did so mistakenly, either because his Heb. exemplar was defective or because he misread it. Another possibility, simpler perhaps, is that said scribe replaced

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[53] See, e.g., Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 218–221.

[54] His lemma is contested by only a minor variant, σε πρ. R = *te decet* La Ga.

[55] So *BHS ad loc.* See the extensive treatment of this item in: D. Barthélemy, *Critique Textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*, vol. 4 (Psaumes; OBO 50/4; Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht), 413–417.

[56] Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum*, vol. 2, 195.

ὁ θεός with a space for the Tetragram, though erroneously and in the wrong place. In either case the paleo-Hebrew Tetragram is a recensional item in 2227, and evidently its sole recensional feature.

Turning now to the debated question whether the LXX translators wrote κύριος or a form of the Tetragrammaton for the divine name, it seems that 2227 indeed has something to contribute, at least for the Psalter. We have already observed that Origen would in the nature of the case be attracted to a MS with readings close to that of MT. Origen's high regard for exemplars that used the paleo-Hebrew Tetragram—which to him signaled the highest degree of accuracy—and his evident use of the same for his Hexapla project, confirm this observation.

Can one say more than that? 2227 is the oldest Greek Psalter MS we have, and Colomo and Henry, together with the Egypt Exploration Society, are to be thanked for publishing it. Their careful edition gives evidence for the text of LXX Psalms as far back as the first century and offers hope for more to come. Based on what we now have, however, I'd like to offer the following concluding thought. While one *could* hold the position that the consistent use of κύριος in the Greek Psalter is due to translation of the divine name by later Christian scribes, this consistency could *equally* be explained as due to a translator who followed the precedent of his pentateuchal predecessors. Given that the Psalms translator is in other respects well known to have borrowed from pentateuchal usage,[57] it would seem a more likely hypothesis that his use of κύριος was cued by the Pentateuch than that he departed from it. In short, 2227 supports an argument in favour of an original κύριος, with the paleo-Hebrew form of the Tetragram as a secondary, archaizing stage.

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[57] See, e.g., M. Flashar, "Exegetische Studien zum Septuagintapsalter," *ZAW* 32 (1912), esp. 183–89; E. Tov, "The Impact of the Greek Translation of the Torah on the Translations of the Other Books," in: *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (VTS 72; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 183–194; Jan Joosten, "The Impact of the Septuagint Pentateuch on the Greek Psalms," in: M.K.H. Peters (ed.), *XIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Ljubljana 2007* (SBLSCS 55; Atlanta: SBL, 2008), 197–205; Smith, *Translated Hallelujahs*, 284.

Sinaiticus Corrector Cb2 as a Witness
to the Alexandrian Text of Isaiah

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This article argues that one of the correctors of the *codex Sinaiticus* provides another early possibly independent, witness to the Alexandrian Greek text of Isaiah. The Alexandrian text is generally considered to be the oldest texttype, but it is represented in only a few early witnesses. According to Ziegler,[1] in Isaiah the earliest manuscripts that provide the Alexandrian text are the (very fragmentary) papyrus 965 from the 3rd century, the uncials A and Q, from the 5th and 6th centuries, and partially S, from the 4th century. After these, it is not until the miniscules from the 9th century onward that the Alexandrian text is attested. However, it is now possible to isolate another possibly independent witness to the Alexandrian text. The Codex Sinaiticus Project at codexsinaiticus.com[2] now provides a complete identification of the manuscript corrections. While I was collating textual variants in the book of Isaiah for the Brill Septuagint Commentary, I noticed that the readings attested by the corrector that Milne and Skeat[3] call C^{b2} very often agree with Ziegler's critical edition, much more often than the changes made by other correctors, and more often than Codex Vaticanus. This corrector, which I will call S^{cb2} for consistency with Ziegler's apparatus, has been dated sometime from the 5th to the 7th century. Therefore the agreement with Ziegler's critical edition shows S^{cb2} to be a new witness to a form of the Greek text of Isaiah that is relatively free from recensional changes. In fact, because it shares some distinctive readings with Codex Alexandrinus, it can be placed in the same family as A.

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[1] Joseph Ziegler, *Isaias* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1939), 21.

[2] "The Codex Sinaiticus Website," *The Codex Sinaiticus Website*, 2008, n.p. Online: http://www.codexsinaiticus.com/en/.

[3] Herbert Milne and Theodore Skeat, *Scribes and correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus : Including contributions by Douglas Cockerell. With plates and figures* (London: British Museum, 1938).

1. The Status Questionis

The most detailed textual work on the Greek text of Isaiah was been done by
Joseph Ziegler about 80 years ago. Although others worked before him, in-
cluding such scholars as Scholz,[4] Ottley,[5] and Fischer,[6] Ziegler's work made
them all superfluous[7] when he published the *editio maior* of Greek Isaiah in
1939.[8] Since that time, although others have made major advances in the
study of Greek Isaiah, these advances have not been in the area of textual
criticism of individual manuscripts. For example, Isac Seeligmann's work[9]
changed the direction of studies of Greek Isaiah, but his views had more to do
with the production of the Greek translation than with textual criticism; and
although Arie van der Kooij[10] has done text critical work on Greek Isaiah, he
did not examine the value of individual manuscripts such as Sinaiticus. Be-
cause Ziegler was so thorough, everyone who has worked on Greek Isaiah
simply accepts his 1939 textual work.

The little work that has been done on the textual character of the Sinaiticus
text of Isaiah is summarized by Rahlfs and Fraenkel, saying only that in Isai-
ah, Sinaiticus mainly attests the Alexandrian text, albeit influenced by the
hexapla, and that the agreements among Sinaiticus, the Coptic, and some
minuscules indicate some recensional activity in Egypt.[11]

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[4] Anton Scholz, *Die Alexandrinische Übersetzung des Buches Jesaias : eine Rectorsre-
de* (Würzburg: Leo Woerl, 1880).

[5] R Ottley, *The Book of Isaiah according to the Septuagint (Codex Alexandrinus)* (2nd.
ed. of part I.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906).

[6] Johann Fischer, *In welcher Schrift lag das Buch Isaias den LXX vor? Eine textkriti-
sche Studien, Giessen* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft; S.l.:
Töpelmann, 1930).

[7] Mirjam van der Vorm-Croughs, "The Old Greek of Isaiah: An analysis of its pluses
and minuses" (Ph.D. diss., Netherlands: Leiden, 2010), 3.

[8] Ziegler, *Isaias*.

[9] Isac Leo Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of Its Problems*
(Mededelingen en verhandelingen van het Voorziatisch-Egyptisch genootschap "Ex
Oriente Lux"; Leiden: Brill, 1948).

[10] Arie van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches: Ein Beitrag zur Textge-
schichte des Alten Testaments* (Freiburg Schweiz: Universitätsve[r]lag, 1981).

[11] "*Is.*: „S" bezeugt zumeist den alexandr. Text, doch auch hexaplar. beeinflusst; häufig
gemeinsame Bezeugung von S, dem kopt. Text und einigen Minuskeln = Indizien für
rezensionelle Überarbeitung ägypt. Provenienz." Alfred Rahlfs / Detlef Fraenkel, *Ver-
zeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments, I, 1: Die Überlieferung bis
zum 8. Jahrhundert*, (Vetus Testamentum Graecum. Supplementum Auctoritate Academiae
Scientiarum Gottingensis editumGöttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 206.

The correctors of the *Codex Sinaiticus* have been underappreciated, and understandably so because so little foundational work has been done on them since they were first identified until very recently. The work most relevant for evaluating the work of the correctors of Sinaiticus is of course that of Milne and Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors of Codex Sinaiticus*.[12] Although no Septuagint text critics have made much of the correctors' work, a few New Testament text critics have done so. For example, Amy Myshrall examined the corrections to Sinaiticus in the Gospels in her 2005 dissertation,[13] as did Dirk Jongkind in his 2007 monograph, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*.[14] The correctors were first identified by the discoverer of the manuscript himself in 1863.[15] Tischendorf identified eight correctors A,[16] B,[17] Ba, Ca, Cb, Cc*,[18] D, and E.[19] Then in 1922, Kirsopp Lake divided A into seven separate correctors.[20] Finally, in 1938, the year before Ziegler's critical edition, Milne and Skeat[21] consolidated some of Tischendorf's correctors and subdivided others. They took A, B, and Ba to be the two original scribes A and D, not later correctors at all.[22] This left only the C group as the correctors of importance. Milne and Skeat retained Tischendorf's distinctions between the C correctors, and further subdivided Cb into three separate correctors: C^{b1}, C^{b2}, and C^{b3}.

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[12] Milne and Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors*.

[13] Amy Myshrall, "Codex Sinaiticus, its correctors, and the Caesarean text of the Gospels" (Ph.D. diss., Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 2005).

[14] Dirk Jongkind, *Scribal habits of Codex Sinaiticus* (1st ed.; Piscataway NJ: Gorgias Press, 2007).

[15] Konstantin Tischendorf, *Codex sinaiticus: The ancient biblical manuscript now in the British Museum* (3d impression of the 8th ed.; London: Lutterworth Press, 1934); Constantin von Tischendorf, *Bible: He Palaia Diatheke kata tous hebdomekonta Vetus Testamentum Graece iuxta LXX interpretes* (vol. Editio quarta; ATLA monograph preservation program; Lipsiae: F.A. Brockhaus, 1869); Aenotheus Fridericus Constantinus Tischendorf, *Novum testamentum sinaiticum : sive, Novum testamentum cum Epistula Barnabae et fragmentis Pastoris, ex Codice sinaitico* (Lipsiae: F. A. Brockhaus, 1863).

[16] Tischendorf's A is also known as Aa, and Milne and Skeat identified him as the same as scribe D, from the mid 4th-century.

[17] Tischendorf dated B from the end of 6th century.

[18] According to Milne and Skeat, all C correctors are around the 7th century; but Myshrall places C^a and C^{b2} in the "5th-6th century, early 7th at the latest" (19).

[19] Scrivener simply accepted these, in: Frederick Scrivener, *A full collation of the Codex Sinaiticus with the received text of the New Testament : to which is prefixed a critical introduction* (Cambridge: Deighton Bell and Co., 1864).

[20] A1-5, Aherm, and Aobliq. Kirsopp Lake and Helen Lake, *Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus et Friderico-Augustanus Lipsiensis* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1922).

[21] Milne and Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors*.

[22] They identified A oblique as scribe D.

Although Milne and Skeat distinguished among these various correctors, they did not identify which corrections were attributable to each corrector. It is therefore understandable that Rahlfs and Fraenkel did not appreciate the significance of some of these correctors. After mentioning C[a] and C[pamph], they claimed the other correctors are irrelevant, claiming "Darüber hinaus zeigen sich Spuren weiterer (mittelalterlicher) Korrekturen, die aber nicht relevant sind."[23] It was not until the last few years, when the paleographers working on the Codex Sinaiticus project identified the corrector responsible for each correction, that the patterns of each corrector became evident.

To illustrate Milne and Skeat's work in distinguishing the correctors, we may repeat an example they used, from Isaiah 63:3, along with their explanation:
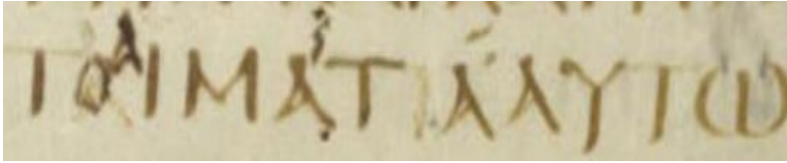
"Finally, we may quote an elaborate instance of the multiplied activities of successive correctors, O.T. 88[b], col. 1 (see Fig. 18). Here the original scribe wrote TAÏMATIA; C[a] corrected to τά αἵματα by adding an alpha and obelizing the second iota, TA[A]IMAT̷IA; C[b2] altered to τὸ αἷμα thus: T A[A]ÏMA T̷IA⸍ seemingly ignoring the small alpha of C[a] (or cancelling it in some way no longer visible); lastly C[b3], confirming C[b2] in reading τὸ αἷμα, sought to increase the legibility of the text by (1) deleting the marginal ° of C[b2]; (2) erasing the first alpha of the text and filling its place with omicron; (3) touching up the alpha added by C[a]; (4) emphasizing the caret and dash enclosing T̷IA and completely erasing the already obelized iota."[24]

2. Ziegler's treatment of the S correctors

Ziegler made no mention or use of Milne and Skeat's work. Instead, he was probably working on the basis of Lake's or perhaps even Tischendorf's classification. Ziegler had noticed that one of the correctors witnessed a differrent textual tradition, namely that S[ca] attests a Lucianic recension. The *Supplementum* of Rahlfs and Fraenkel also notes that S[ca] collated Sinaiticus with a

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[23] Alfred Rahlfs, *Supplementum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 202.
[24] Milne and Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors*, 49.

different text-type with alternative readings.[25] But Ziegler did not distinguish or cite any other individual correctors. Because Ziegler published his edition in 1939, he was likely not aware that only the year before, Milne and Skeat called C^{b2} (i.e., S^{cb2})"easily the most important of the C group after C^a , and a genuine redactor."[26] Therefore, Ziegler understandably did not make use of Milne and Skeat's division of scribes into C^{b1}, C^{b2}, and C^{b3}. In fact, he did not distinguish among any of the correctors at all, other than to isolate the Lucianic corrector S^{ca} (Tischendorf's Ca) from all the other correctors, which Ziegler lumped together under the siglum S^c, with the words "Von den verschiedenen Korrektoren sind in die vorliegende Ausgabe aufgenommen: S^1 = Verbesserungen der ersten Hand; S^c = Verbesserungen von späterer Hand; S^{ca} = Verbesserungen nach dem Lukiantext. Wenn dieselbe Verbesserung von erster Hand und von einer späteren ausgeführt ist, dann wird nur der Korrektor angegeben, der sie zuerst gemacht hat."[27]

Even so, Ziegler did not make much of the correctors' work; in his apparatus to Isaiah he mentioned S^c only 164 times, and S^{ca} 71 times.

2.1 Ziegler and the Alexandrian text

Although the omission is understandable, by neglecting to distinguish among the various correctors of Sinaiticus, Ziegler missed out on a significant witness to the Alexandrian text, one that is far superior to the first hand of Sinaiticus or to any of its other correctors. The kinds of changes corrector S^{cb2} made to Codex Sinaiticus show that he was interested not simply in correcting misspellings or miscopyings, but in changing the text of the manuscript towards conformity with a different exemplar. It is that exemplar used by corrector S^{cb2} that I am arguing is of higher quality than any other manuscript used in the production of Sinaiticus, and is of a quality comparable to that of Alexandrinus.

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[25] Their words are "auf C^a entfallen vor allem die Beseitigung der zahlreichen Schreiberversehen und die Kollation mit einem Text anderen Typs, von dem aus er alternative Lesarten einträgt," Ibid.

[26] This judgement is in comparison to C^{b3}, who was concerned almost exclusively with orthography and with reversing the corrections made by C^{b2}. Jongkind, *Scribal habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, 17 says, "Cb3 is found in the Prophets only and seems to make no positive contribution to the text; he simply removes additions and substitutions by previous correctors and touches the spelling of the original text."

[27] Ziegler, *Isaias*, 7.

3. Evaluating the manuscripts

In evaluating the quality of the text, I am not challenging the criteria Ziegler used. In other words, like Ziegler, I define a better text as one that contains fewer secondary later corruptions. I accept that Ziegler has established a text that is freer of such corruptions than any other critical edition or manuscript. We therefore have a rough preliminary tool for evaluating the quality of a manuscript: the closer the manuscript's readings are to Ziegler's eclectic text the better. We can get a sense of the quality of S^{cb2}'s readings by comparing them to Ziegler's readings.

There are 418 places in Sinaiticus Isaiah where S^{cb2} has recorded a correction. Of these 418 variants upon which S^{cb2} expresses an opinion, 30 are simply spelling corrections and will be ignored. The data for this study will be the remaining 388 textual variants.

3.1 The S Correctors

To provide some context for comparison, it is helpful to know which correctors were most active on Isaiah in Sinaiticus. Figure 1 shows the number of times each corrector's hand can be identified.

Figure 1: Number of corrections by each corrector of Sinaiticus Isaiah
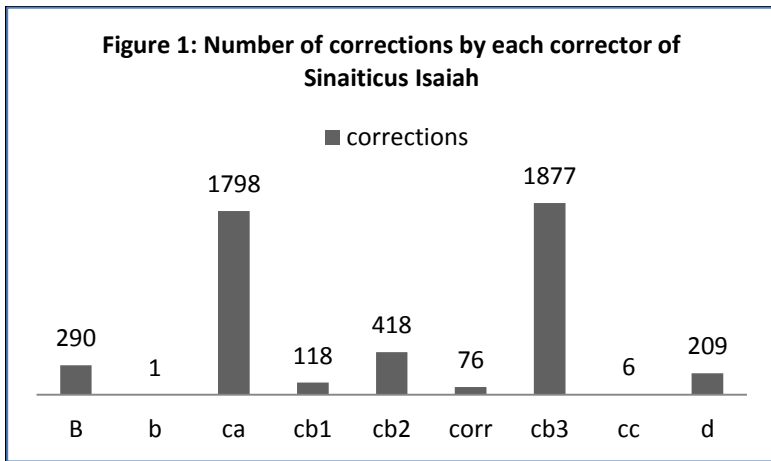
Eight of the people who worked on the Codex did so only elsewhere, and made no changes to Isaiah; these will of course be left out of consideration.[28] The data in Chart 1 shows that correctors S^{ca} and S^{cb3} were the busiest, with almost two thousand corrections each, although many of these are simply orthographic corrections. Corrector S^{cb2} is the next most active in Isaiah, with 418 corrections. After him the next most active is S^d, with half that many, at 209.

3.2 Corrections by S^{cb2}

But although the corrections by S^{cb2} are not as frequent as those by S^{ca} and S^{cb3}, they are more significant because they agree with Ziegler's more often. Of the 388 times that corrector S^{cb2} changed the text, 310 are in agreement with Ziegler, and 78 are not. To put that number in perspective, consider Chart 2, which compares how often the text as each scribe or corrector left it agrees with Ziegler's text.

Figure 2: Corrector agreements with Ziegler

■ Agreements with Ziegler   ■ Disagreements with Ziegler

	S*	Sca	Scb1	Scb2	Scb3	Sd	Alexandrinus	Vaticanus
Disagreements	323	290	285	78	80	130	42	115
Agreements	65	98	103	310	308	258	346	273
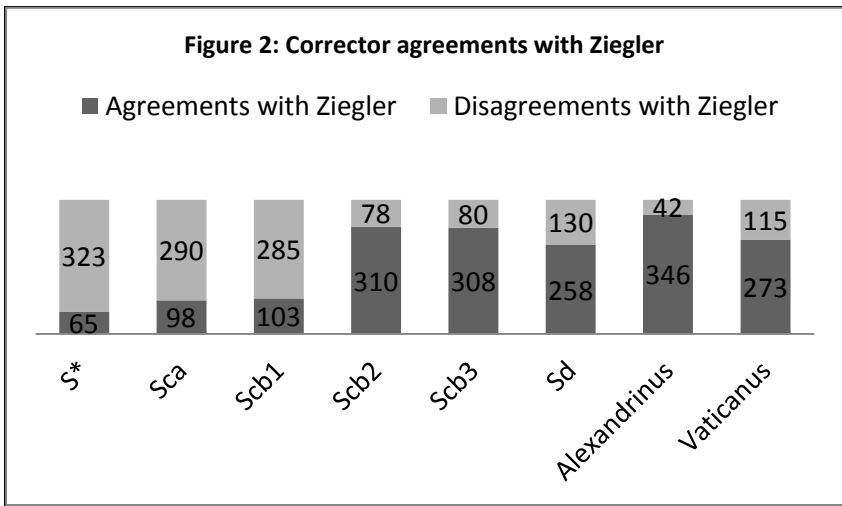
Figure 2 shows that S^{cb2} was genuinely a "corrector", removing corruptions from the text more than anyone working on the manuscript before him, and

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[28] These are Scribes A, D, and correctors a, S1, pamph, ccb, cc*, and e make no changes to Isaiah.

that the text began to deteriorate as more so-called "correctors" made their changes after him.

   Because for any variant, the corrector can either change the text, confirm the text, or leave it untouched, it is instructive to see to what extent agreement between the correctors' work and Ziegler is coincidental. The data in figure 3 provide some indication.

Figure 3: Types of cb2 agreements with Ziegler
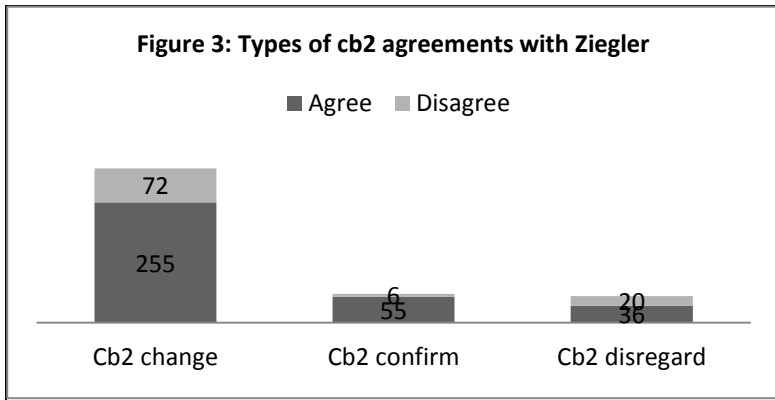
For 255 of these 327 times S^{cb2} changes the text, he brings the text into agreement with Ziegler. For 72 of the 78 times where S^{cb2} is not the same as Ziegler, S^{cb2} brings the text away from Ziegler. In 55 cases, S^{cb2} confirms a reading that already matches Ziegler, and in 6 cases, S^{cb2} confirms a disagreement with Ziegler.

4. Examine all correctors in a sample

Note that the statistics shown so far covers the whole of Isaiah, but they are restricted to only cases where S^{cb2} has recorded an opinion. It may therefore be objected that the comparisons with other correctors is thereby skewed. So to apply some controls to our data, we may compare S^{cb2} to the other three most active correctors of Isaiah: S^{ca}, S^{cb3}, and S^{d} in the first five hundred textual variants in Sinaiticus as a representative sample. Of these 500 corrections, 412 are insignificant for establishing the text; they are purely orthographic.[29] Figure 4 shows that the text as it left corrector S^{ca} agrees with Ziegler 39 times; corrector S^{cb2} and S^{cb3}, 63 times, and corrector S^{d} 60 times.

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   [29] This large number of orthographic corrections is due to scribe B's very poor spelling. Why he was chosen for the job is a mystery.

Figure 4: Resulting text agreements with Ziegler in Isaiah 1:1-9:10

■ Agree ■ Disagree

48	24	24	27
39	63	63	60
ca	cb2	cb3	d
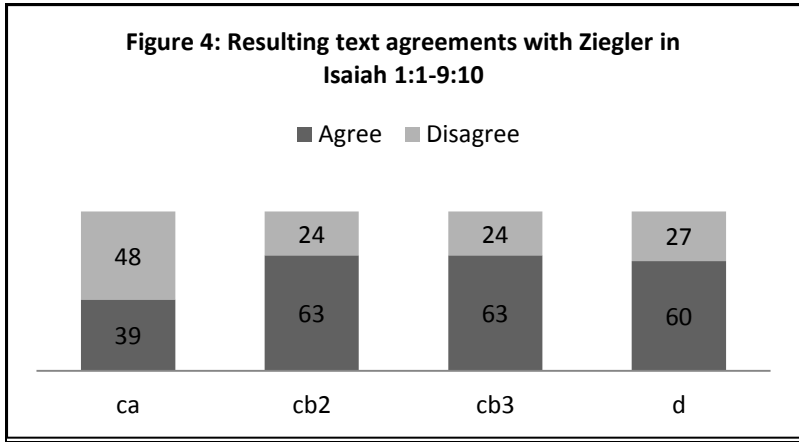
But those numbers include the variants that the correctors ignored. More telling is where the corrector actually made a change. Figure 5 illustrates the changes made by S^{ca} agree with Ziegler 30 times, and disagree 14; those by S^{cb2} agree 23, disagree 4; those by S^{cb3} are evenly split, at 8 each, and so are those by S^d, at 4 each.

Figure 5: Changes agreeing with Ziegler in Isa 1:1-9:10

■ Agree ■ Disagree

14	4	8	4
30	23	8	
ca	cb2	cb3	d
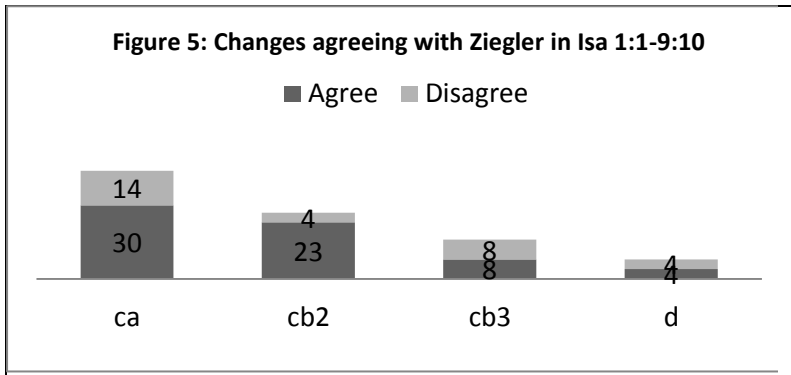
Figure 6 shows that corrector S^{ca}'s changes are slightly more towards than away from Ziegler. S^{cb2}'s changes are 3.5 times more towards than away from Ziegler. S^{cb3}'s changes are almost twice as often toward Ziegler as away. Corrector S^d's changes are roughly balanced.

Figure 6: Changes agreeing with Ziegler in variants involving cb2
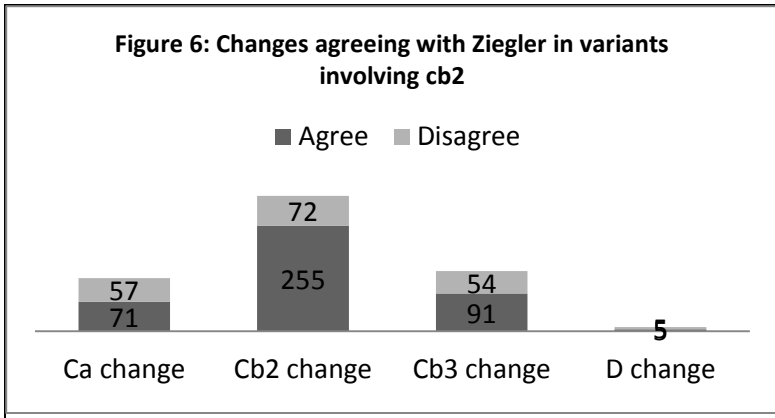
Figure 7 illustrates the number of times a corrector reinforces words that are already there. All of the correctors confirm readings that agree with Ziegler more often than those that disagree. However, the ratios of agreements to disagreements vary widely.

Figure 7: Confirm = Ziegler (all Isaiah) in variants involving cb2
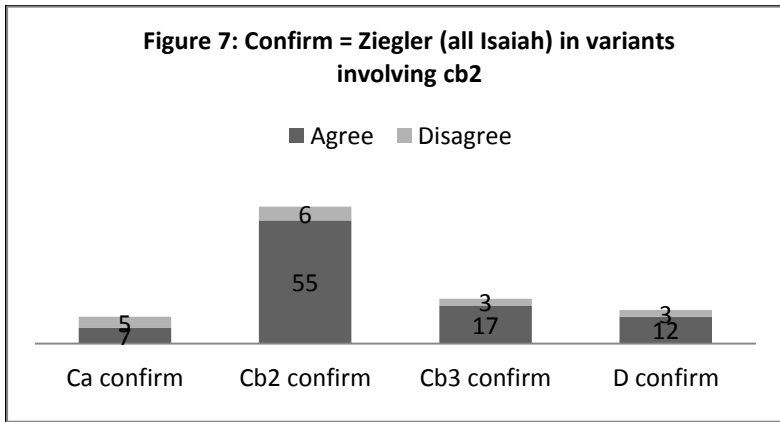
Whereas S^{ca}'s confirmations agree only slightly more than they disagree, for S^{cb3} and S^d the ratios are about 6 and 4, respectively. Compare that with S^{cb2}, whose confirmations agree 9 times as often as disagree. The numbers are collected here.

Figure 8: Agreements and Disagreements with Ziegler

Correc-tor	Agreements with Ziegler			Disagreements with Ziegler		
	Changed	Rein-forced	Ignored	Changed	Reinforced	Igno-red
Ca	71	7	53	57	5	**251**
Cb2	**255**	55	36	72	6	20
Cb3	91	17	**238**	54	3	41
D	5	12	**281**	5	3	138

5. Implications for the value of S^{cb2}

Two conclusions are evident from the above data. First, because corrector S^{cb2}'s changes in Isaiah are mainly not changes in spelling but are changes in wording, we may conclude that he had a different exemplar than the one used by the original scribe of Sinaiticus. Second, the very extensive agreement of the readings attested by S^{cb2} with Ziegler's text indicate that S^{cb2}'s exemplar was of the same text family as that preferred by Ziegler, namely the Alexandrian text family.

The importance of this exemplar becomes evident when the date of S^{cb2} is considered. In Myshrall's opinion, corrector S^{cb2} can be dated as early as the 5th century, and certainly no later than the early 7th century.[30] Therefore corrector S^{cb2} provides a witness to a manuscript of the Alexandrian text from the same time as Alexandrinus (5th century) and Marchialanus (6th century). Furthermore, despite the slightly later date, this manuscript's readings in Isaiah are far less corrupted than those of either of the fourth-century manuscripts, namely Vaticanus and the original text of Sinaiticus.

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[30] Myshrall, "Codex Sinaiticus, its correctors, and the Caesarean text of the Gospels," 91. She noted further, "I would also suggest that C^b2 corrected not long after C^a and that he was probably a contemporary within the same setting. I would also date him to the 5th to 6th centuries, early 7th at the latest. He did, hoever, use a different exemplar to C^a" (768). Myshrall conjectured, based on speculation by Skeat, that C^b2 worked within the Sinai monastery (768). "The hand of this corrector is not as precise as that of C^a and I have hinted previously that this hand may in fact be that of a scholar rather than a scribe. The types of corrections mentioned above though, may suggest rather that C^b2 was the first reader to work with this manuscript" (777).

6. Implications for a critical edition of Greek Isaiah

The above conclusions are made on the assumption that Ziegler's text is the standard. That was a temporary expedient, useful for evaluating the quality of the correctors' exemplars. But now that we have discovered a new reliable witness to the Alexandrian text, thanks to the Codex Sinaiticus Project, we must consider whether it is now necessary to update Ziegler's critical edition of Greek Isaiah, not only in its apparatus but also it main text. The apparatus could clearly benefit from some updating. Now that the significance of the correctors is appreciated, it would certainly be helpful for the apparatus to distinguish the various correctors of Sinaiticus, and to consistently mention those that are not simply correcting spelling but attest a different text form. At the very least the readings of corrector S[cb2], the best of any in Codex Sinaiticus, should be noted.

To evaluate whether the main text requires revision, we must shift our attention away from the hundreds of corrections that *agree* with Ziegler, in order to reconsider Ziegler's judgements in the 72 cases where his text does *not* agree with S[cb2], with a view to determining whether the readings of corrector S[cb2] can be used to improve Ziegler's critical text. The evidence I present here covers only cases where S[cb2]'s variant readings are also present in other manuscripts, first those in two other early manuscripts, then those readings attested by only one early manuscript.

In no case does S[cb2] agree with all three of the earliest manuscripts of Isaiah (A, B, and the first hand of S) against Ziegler, but there three cases in which S[cb2] agrees with two of them against Ziegler. These are in Isaiah 7:8, 43:9, and 47:10.

6.1 S[cb2] agrees with A B against Ziegler (1 time)

In 7:8, the phrase "and the head of Damascus is Rezin" is absent only in the original scribe of Sinaiticus, two 13th century minuscules, and the Sahidic version. But it is under Asterisk in Q, so Ziegler omitted it.

For Isaiah 7:8, Ziegler's text reads ἀλλ' ἡ κεφαλὴ Αραμ Δαμασκός, ἀλλ' ἔτι ἑξήκοντα καὶ πέντε ἐτῶν ἐκλείψει ἡ βασιλεία Εφραιμ ἀπὸ λαοῦ, and the apparatus reads

> Δαμασκός S* 393 410 S[a] Θ] + (※ Q 48) και η κεφαλη δαμασκου ρασ(ε)ιν (ρασει S[c]; ραα(σ)σ(ε)ιν *oII* 22[c]-*lIΓ*-233 C[91] 301 403′; ραασ-σην 239′; ρασσ(ε)ιν Q[c] 538 544; ρασ(ε)ιμ *O* 51*? 407; ρασημ 534; ραασ(ε)ιμ 88 46 *cI'*) rel.: cf. praef. p. 25

On page 25 of the preface we find "So findet sich 7:8 ※ καὶ η κεφ. δαμ. ρ. in allen Zeugen außer S* 393 410 Sa." Ziegler omitted the phrase "and the head of Damascus is Rezin," despite its presence in all but the original scribe of Sinaiticus, two 13th century minuscules, and the Sahidic version because it is under asterisk in Marchalianus. In this case, Ziegler is justified in ignoring S^{cb2}; No change to the main text is warranted.

6.2 S^{cb2} agrees with S* B against Ziegler (2 times)

In 43:9, Ziegler's text reads πάντα τὰ ἔθνη συνήχθησαν ἅμα, καὶ συναχθή-σονται ἄρχοντες ἐξ αὐτῶν· τίς ἀναγγελεῖ ταῦτα; ἢ τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τίς ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν; ἀγαγέτωσαν τοὺς μάρτυρας αὐτῶν καὶ δικαιωθήτωσαν καὶ εἰπάτωσαν ἀληθῆ. The apparatus reads

> καὶ εἰπάτ. ἀληθῆ (-θεις 147)] pr.(※ *oI*) και ακουσατωσαν *O'' L'''*-86ᶜ
> *C''*-87 239′ 393 403′ 410 Syp Syl Tht. Hi. = M; + και ακουσατωσαν Sᶜ
> A′-26 46 198 233 407 534 Cyr.; om. καὶ εἰπάτ. 239′ 410

The phrase "let them hear" is omitted only by the original scribe of Sinaiticus, but Ziegler omitted it because it is under asterisk in the Syrohexapla. Yet the word order in A and S^{cb} is not the same as in Hebrew.

In 47:10, Ziegler's text reads τῇ ἐλπίδι τῆς πονηρίας σου. σὺ γὰρ εἶπας Ἐγώ εἰμι, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἑτέρα. γνῶθι ὅτι ἡ σύνεσις τούτων καὶ ἡ πορνεία σου ἔσται σοὶ αἰσχύνη. καὶ εἶπας τῇ καρδίᾳ σου Ἐγώ εἰμι, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἑτέρα. The apparatus reads

> om. ὅτι S* *O'* 239′ 410 534 Bo Syh Eus. = MT

Ziegler included ὅτι because A, Q, and S^{ca} include it, even though it is absent in the Hebrew. In these two cases again Ziegler is justified in ignoring S^{cb2}, and no change to the main text is warranted.

In addition to these three instances where S^{cb2} agrees with two other early witnesses, there are twenty-seven cases in which S^{cb2} agrees with only one other of the earliest manuscripts against Ziegler.

6.3 S^{cb2} agrees with S* against Ziegler (2 times)

Twice S^{cb2} agrees with the original scribe of *Codex Sinaiticus*. For Isa 2:5, Ziegler reads Καὶ νῦν, ὁ οἶκος τοῦ Ιακωβ, δεῦτε πορευθῶμεν τῷ φωτὶ κυρίου, with "om. ὁ S 36 301 538 Just. Bas. Tht." in the apparatus.

In Isa 2:9, Ziegler has καὶ ἔκυψεν ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ἐταπεινώθη ἀνήρ, καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀνήσω αὐτούς, with apparatus "αὐτούς ↓]-τοις S* Q-26-710 L'''-96 239′

544"; the second apparatus reads "καί3°—fin.] α′ και μη αρης αυτοις (α′ αρ. αυτοις 710) σ′ και μη αφης (σ′θ′ αφης 710) αυτοις (α′σ′θ′ αυτους Q; α′σ′θ′ αυτοις Syh) Eus." Ziegler considered the reading of S^{cb2}, S*, and Q a corruption, with good reason, whether because of the Hebrew or because Old Greek Isaiah never uses the dative with ἀνίημι. In both these cases, no change to Ziegler's main text is warranted.

6.4 S^{cb2} agrees with B against Ziegler (11 times)

In eleven cases, S^{cb2} agrees with B against Ziegler. The two most significant are Isa 14:3 and 62:11. In Isa 14:3, Ziegler's text reads Καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνη ἀναπαύσει σε ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῆς ὀδύνης καὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ σου τῆς δουλείας τῆς σκληρᾶς, ἧς ἐδούλευσας αὐτοῖς, with apparatus "ἐν 965(vid.) Tht.] > S^c 710 *O'* *L'*`$^{,-36}$-46 *C* 130 239′ 393 410 449′ 538". Even though the internal evidence would suggest ἐν was added to match the Hebrew, the external evidence is strong that the Alexandrian text did include it.

For 62:11, Ziegler reads ἰδοὺ γὰρ κύριος ἐποίησεν ἀκουστὸν ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς Εἴπατε τῇ θυγατρὶ Σιων Ἰδού σοι ὁ σωτὴρ παραγίνεται ἔχων τὸν ἑαυτοῦ μισθὸν καὶ τὸ ἔργον πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ with apparatus "παραγεγονεν S^{ca} Q-106 *O''* *L*`$^{-}$62-46 564* 239′ 403′ 407 410 449′ 538 544 Just. Eus.comm. et ecl. Tht. Cyr." Note that the siglum "S^{ca}" is incorrect in the apparatus; the correction is from S^{cb2}. Again, no change to Ziegler's text is warranted.

The other seven agreements between S^{cb2} and B against Ziegler are Isa 5:6 ἀναβήσονται for ἀναβήσεται; 11:11 ὑπό for ἀπό; 23:18 omit τῷ ; 49:7 omit ὁ; 57:15 omit ὁ; 59:7 ἀπὸ φονῶν for ἀφρόνων; 63:9 omit κυρίος, 10 omit καί; 65:1 ἐγένηθην for ἐγένομην.

6.5 S^{cb2} agrees with A against Ziegler (16 times)

The highest incidence of agreement between S^{cb2} and an early manuscript is with *Codex Alexandrinus*. In sixteen cases, S^{cb2} agrees with A against Ziegler. These are in 1:29 ἁ for αὐτῶν ἅ; 10:4 added καὶ ὑποκάτω ἀνηρημένων πέσουνται; 22:22 added τὴν δόξαν Δαυὶδ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄρξει καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ἀντιλέγων καὶ δώσω αὐτῷ τὴν κλεῖδα οἴκου Δαυὶδ ἐπὶ τῷ ὤμῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνοίξει· καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ἀποκλίνων· καὶ κλείσει καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ἀνοίγων; 29:8 added ὁ, 17 added τό; 30:28 added μάταια; 32:12 περὶ for ἀπό, 17 added ἔσονται; 33:4 ἐμπαίξονται for ἐμπαίξουσιν; 34:10 omit καὶ εἰς χρόνον πολὺν ἐρημωθήσεται; 36:19 omit ποῦ; 37:4 omit καὶ δεηθήσῃ πρὸς κύριον τὸν θεόν σου; 38:22 add κυρίου; 41:20 add πάντα; 47:9 omit ἐπί σε; 58:11 add τὰ ὀστᾶ

σου ὡς βοτάνη ἀνατέλει καὶ πιανθήσεται καὶ κληρονομήσουσι γενεὰς γενεῶν.

The two best examples are in Isa 37:4 and 47:9. A and S^{cb2} both have the same omission due to haplography in 37:4, εἰσακούσαι κύριος ὁ θεός σου τοὺς λόγους Ῥαψάκου, οὓς ἀπέστειλε βασιλεὺς Ἀσσυρίων ὀνειδίζειν θεὸν ζῶντα καὶ ὀνειδίζειν λόγους, οὓς ἤκουσε κύριος ὁ θεός σου· καὶ δεηθήσῃ πρὸς κύριον τὸν θεόν σου περὶ τῶν καταλελειμμένων τούτων, with apparatus "σου2°⌒3° S^c A′ 410."

Again in 47:9, νῦν δὲ ἥξει ἐξαίφνης ἐπὶ σὲ τὰ δύο ταῦτα ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ· χηρεία καὶ ἀτεκνία ἥξει ἐξαίφνης ἐπὶ σὲ ἐν τῇ φαρμακείᾳ σου ἐν τῇ ἰσχύι τῶν ἐπαοιδῶν σου σφόδρα with apparatus "om. ἐπὶ σέ1° S^c A-Q^{txt}-86*; 1°⌒2° B* 106 Θ" In these readings, Ziegler has consistently made the right decision, despite not distinguishing S^{cb2} as a corrector of significance.

The agreement between Alexandrinus and corrector S^{cb2} in these two comparisons is remarkable, given that S^{cb2} is one of only four attestations to its reading. This specific agreement indicates a possible genetic connection. Therefore it would be helpful to examine the agreement between S^{cb2} and other manuscripts.

Figure 9: agreements between S^{Cb2} and other manuscripts
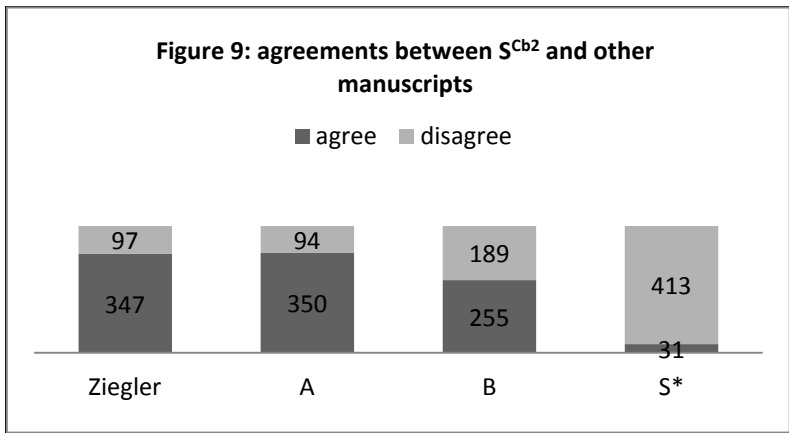
S^{cb2} agrees with Alexandrinus even more than with Ziegler's text.

7. Conclusion

We may conclude then, with three observations. The first is that the exemplar of corrector S^{cb2} preserved a greater number of preferable readings than any other witness except A and Q. The second is that this discovery of another

witness to the Alexandrian text confirms rather than casts doubt on Ziegler's judgments on individual readings. Therefore, although any future critical editions of Greek Isaiah should distinguish among the correctors of S, giving more attention to corrector S^{cb2} as a witness to the Alexandrian text type, this change will affect the apparatus more than the main text. The final observation is that the relationship between S^{cb2}'s exemplar and Codex Alexandrinus merits further investigation.

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A syntactic Aramaism in the Septuagint: ἰδού in temporal expressions

JAN JOOSTEN

1. Aramaisms in the Septuagint

Aramaic influence on the Septuagint is considerable. Many renderings of Hebrew words owe something to Aramaic.[1] One gets the impression some translators are more familiar with this language than with Hebrew. Although they know Hebrew well, and have a good general idea of what the biblical text means, the Aramaic "interferes" with their lexical analysis: words are given their Aramaic meaning rather than the Hebrew meaning one would normally expect. Even Hebrew words that are generally translated adequately are sometimes rendered according to Aramaic.[2]

An even more striking phenomenon is the interference of Aramaic in the Greek target language. The Septuagint translators generally show excellent mastery of the type of Hellenistic Greek they write.[3] The literal translation technique veils the nature of the Greek to a certain extent, but it cannot hide some essential qualities: the vocabulary of the Seventy is very rich, their syntax rarely faulty,[4] and their use of idiomatic expressions surprisingly apt.[5] Once and again, however, they produce turns of phrase that are not repre-

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[1] See Jan Joosten, "On Aramaising Renderings in the Septuagint" in: *Hamlet on a Hill. Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. M. F. J. Baasten and W. Th. van Peursen; Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 118; Leuven: Peeters, 2003) 587-600. Earlier literature is discussed in this article. More recently Christian Stadel has contributed to this problem, see e.g. his "The Recovery of the Aramaic Root brʾ 'to cleanse' and Another Possible Aramaising Rendering in the Septuagint," *Aramaic Studies* 7 (2009) 155-162.

[2] For examples, see Joosten, "Aramaising Renderings".

[3] See the still inspiring study of John A. L. Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch*, (SCS 14; Chico CA: Scholars Press, 1983).

[4] Alleged "imperfections", such as the use of the genitive absolute whose subject is identical with the subject of the main clause, find many parallels in the Greek of contemporary papyri. The Greek of the translators is not the literary Greek of Hellenistic author, but reflects a lower stylistic register close to that of the documentary texts of the Ptolemaic period.

[5] For examples, see Lee, *Lexical Study*.

sentative of *koine* Greek, nor of Hebrew, but appear to reflect Aramaic.[6] Such Aramaisms are reminiscent of similar phenomena in the Greek of the Gospels.[7] And, as in the Gospels so in the Septuagint, they are highly intriguing. Explaining their presence is not self-evident. In some cases they may indicate that the translators had access to Aramaic translations of at least part of the biblical text. If they had such a translation, and knew it intimately, it may have influenced Greek renderings here and there.[8] Alternatively, the Aramaisms might be attributed to the native language of the translators: although writing in Greek, they were so to speak thinking in Aramaic, which affected the translation. A third—less likely—possibility is that the Greek dialect spoken by Jews in Egypt was tainted with Aramaic, a mixed language of the sort one finds sometimes among recent immigrants.[9]

Whatever the correct explanation—or explanations—may be, this path of research looks promising. Very little is known about the culture of the translators, and every bit of information is worthwhile. The lead can only be followed, however, if enough examples are available. Here, one runs into problems. Although a few strong cases have been identified, it remains extremely difficult to extend the database.[10] Hellenistic Greek and Aramaic are dead languages with limited attestation. Identifying cases where the one has influenced the other, in a text translated from yet another language, is a challenge. The burden of the present paper is to draw attention to a possible case of Aramaic influence on Septuagint Greek that has not been noticed before.

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[6] See e.g. Takamitsu Muraoka, "Gleanings of a Septuagint Lexicographer," *BIOSCS* 38 (2005) 101-108, in particular 106.

[7] See the classic study by Matthew Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, originally published in 1946, revised and expanded in 1954 and 1967, and reprinted in 1998 by Eisenbrauns.

[8] Influence of a proto-Targum on the wording of the Septuagint was extensively (though idiosyncratically) argued by Lienhard Delekat, "Ein Septuagintatargum," *VT* 8 (1958) 225-252. See more recently Anneli Aejmelaeus, "The Septuagint and Oral Translation," in: *XIV Congress Of The IOSCS, Helsinki, 2010* (ed. in Melvin K. H. Peters; SCS 59; Atlanta; SBL, 2013) 5-13, in particular 11.

[9] Against the idea of a special "Jewish dialect" of Greek, see convincingly Moíses Silva, "Bilingualism and the Character of New Testament Greek," *Bib* 69 (1980) 198-219.

[10] See notably Muraoka, "Gleanings," 106. See also Jan Joosten, "L'Agir humain devant Dieu. Remarques sur une tournure remarquable de la Septante," *RB* 113 (2006) 5-17; idem, "«À Dieu ne plaise» (Matthieu 16,22). La provenance et l'arrière-plan de l'expression *híleôs soi,"* in: *Voces Biblicae. Septuagint Greek and its Significance for the New Testament* (ed. J. Joosten, P. Tomson; Leuven; Peeters, 2007) 155-167.

2. A curious use of ἰδού "behold"

The interjection ἰδού "behold" - originally an aorist middle imperative of the verb ὁράω "to see" - occurs well over a thousand times in the Septuagint. Most often it corresponds to the Hebrew particle הנה, but other equivalents are found as well. It is a "presentative particle used to draw the hearer's or reader's attention to what follows".[11] Although it is attested with a similar function in non-biblical texts, its frequency in the version is no doubt due to influence of the Hebrew source text.

Among the mass of attestations of ἰδού, a few occurrences stand out at once semantically and translation-technically:

Deut 2:7 ἰδοὺ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη κύριος ὁ θεός σου μετὰ σοῦ
Look, for forty years, the Lord your God has been with you.[12]

Deut 8:4 τὰ ἱμάτιά σου οὐ κατετρίβη ἀπὸ σοῦ, οἱ πόδες σου οὐκ
ἐτυλώθησαν, ἰδοὺ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη
Your clothes were not worn off you; your feet did not become hard; look, for forty years.

Zech 7:5 Ἐὰν νηστεύσητε ἢ κόψησθε ἐν ταῖς πέμπταις ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἑβδόμαις,
καὶ ἰδοὺ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη μὴ νηστείαν νενηστεύκατέ μοι;
If you fast or lament on the fifth or seventh days—even behold for seventy years—you have not fasted a fast for me, have you?[13]

Although the NETS translators have given ἰδού its usual meaning, the result is not particularly felicitous. The time period to which the passages refer - the forty years of wandering in Deuteronomy, the seventy years since the destruction of the temple in Zecariah - is not an observable entity, state, or process. The presentative meaning seems out of place. The semantic inadequacy is slight, but it is thrown into relief by the fact that, in none of these passages, ἰδού corresponds to its usual Hebrew equivalent. This is not a case where wooden Greek is the result of literal translation. In our examples, ἰδού does not render הנה, but the demonstrative pronoun of near deixis זה "this".[14]

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[11] Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Peeters: Leuven, 2009) 337-338.

[12] English translations of the Septuagint follow NETS.

[13] A similar use of ἰδού is found in Tob 5:3 S καὶ νῦν **ἰδοὺ** ἔτη εἴκοσι ἀφ᾿ οὗ παρεθέμην τὸ ἀργύριον τοῦτο ἐγώ, "And now **behold**, it is twenty years since I placed this silver in trust." Unfortunately, this passage is not attested in the Tobit scrolls recovered in Qumran.

[14] The formal equivalence of זה and ἰδού is otherwise extremely rare. In Ps 56(55):10 it may actually reflect the same temporal interpretation: "I already knew that you were my God". But the construction is admittedly rather different. In Zec 5:7 the rendering with ἰδού harmonizes the clause with the parallel.

In Hebrew, this use of זה is idiomatic.[15] With temporal expressions, זה insists on the completion of a period or a series of recurrent events. Although it is difficult to translate into English, its meaning can often be approximated with the adverb "already": שנה ארבעים זה means as much as "*already* forty years"; פעמים זה corresponds to "*already* twice". In other instances of this use, the Greek translators render it in different ways. Once or twice, they leave the demonstrative pronoun without equivalent.[16] In the great majority of cases, they translate it literally with a form of οὗτος.[17] More often than not, such literal translation of the pronoun leads to some rewriting of the passage so as to keep a meaningful text: שנתים זה "already two years" is rendered τοῦτο γὰρ δεύτερον ἔτος "this second year" (Gen 45:6), replacing the cardinal number with an ordinal; and רגלים שלש זה "three times already" becomes τοῦτο τρίτον "this *third time*" (Num 22:28). Such rewriting shows that the translators are attentive to the idiomatic meaning of the temporal phrase as a whole. It is interesting in this connection to note a small number of idiomatic renderings, with the adverb ἤδη "already". Thus in Zec 7:3, the phrase שנים כמה זה "already how many years" is rendered ἤδη ἱκανὰ ἔτη "already many years".[18]

In light of these other renderings, one wonders how the translation with ἰδού in the three passages quoted above is to be explained. If Greek ἰδού were capable of expressing the meaning "already" in temporal expressions, this would of course account for the translation of those verses. But such a meaning seems to be unattested in Hellenistic Greek.[19] If it is not Greek, nor a literal rendering of the Hebrew, what led the translators of Deuteronomy and Zechariah (as well as Tobit) to produce this curious use?

2. The use of Aramaic הא "behold" in temporal phrases

Commenting on a special type of Aramaisms in the Gospel of Luke, Richard Connolly pointed out, many years ago, that the idiomatic equivalent of Hebrew זה in temporal expressions is Syriac ܗܐ "behold".[20] This presentative

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[15] See BDB זה 4.i.

[16] See 2 Sam 14:2 in the Antiochene text; Jer 25:3 (in Deut 8:2 the whole temporal phrase is omitted).

[17] See Gen 31:38; 45:6; Num 14:22; 22:28, 32, 33; 24:10; Jos 22:3; Jud 16:15; 1 Sam 29:3; 2 Sam 14:2; Zec 1:12; Est 4:11.

[18] See also Gen 27:36; 43:10, where the translation is freer, making it uncertain that ἤδη reflects זה.

[19] For Luke 13:7, 16; 15:29, see the article of Connolly quoted in the next note. Moulton and Milligan quote two examples from Christian papyri of the fourth to seventh century, but these would hardly justify the instances I the Septuagint. See J. H. MOULTON, G. MILLIGAN, *Vocabulary of the Greek* Testament (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1930) 299.

[20] Richard Hugh Connolly, "Syriacisms in St Luke," *Journal of Theological Studies* OS 37 [148] (1936) 374-385.

particle, otherwise the constant equivalent of הנה, renders all cases of temporal זה in the Old Testament Peshitta.[21] It is frequent in the same function in the Syriac New Testament as well as in other Syriac texts.[22] Connolly thought this use of the presentative was unique to Syriac. However, a similar usage has been documented also in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic.[23] Moreover, sporadic instances of it can be found in earlier texts. The earliest example is in Imperial Aramaic:

כשר לא [....] זךֿ בגאׄ זי שגׄיא שנן האׄאף TAD A6 14:4
That estate has not produced its proper [rent] for many years already.[24]

There is also an example in the Genesis Apocryphon:
חרן מן נפקתה די יום מן שלמא שנין עשר הא 1QGenAp XXII 27-28
Already ten years have passed since you departed from Haran.

Moreover, among the late Aramaic dialects, the usage is not limited to
Eastern Aramaic but is found also in the west:

בינינן שׁרי הדין חסידא גברא שׁנין שׁבע הא Targum Neofiti Gen 29:22
Seven years already this pious man is dwelling among us.[25]

Although it is abundantly attested only in the later eastern dialects, these sporadic attestations show that the idiomatic use of the presentative is not an eastern innovation, but a genuine pan-Aramaic feature. It would almost certainly have been known in the Aramaic of Egypt in the early Ptolemaic era.[26]

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[21] See the passages quoted above in notes 16 and 17.

[22] Michael Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon* (Eisenbrauns: Winona Lake IN / Gorgias: Piscataway NJ, 2009) 327.

[23] Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods* (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan, 2002) 358. In the etymological section of the article, Sokoloff brings a few examples from Mandaic as well.

[24] The document (Driver XI) was written in Babylon in the late fifth century BCE. For the translation, see James M. Lindenberger, *Ancient Aramaic and Hebrew Letters* (second edition; Atlanta: SBL, 2003) 96 and 105.

[25] See also the very late attestation in Targum Sheni to Est 4:11.

[26] The Aramaic usage finds an interesting parallel in literary French, where "voici" is used in a similar function: "*Voici tantôt mille ans* que l'on ne vous a vue" (La Fontaine); "R.I.P John F. Kennedy, assassiné voici cinquante ans."

3. Aramaic influence on the phraseology of the Septuagint

The use of ἰδού in Deut 2:7; 8:4 and Zec 7:5 cannot be explained from literal translation of the Hebrew source text.[27] Nor, to the best of our present knowledge, can it be accounted for from Hellenistic Greek. Under these circumstances, the possibility that the use is an Aramaism should be taken seriously. The use of a presentative particle in an idiom very close to what is found in the three verses is well attested for Aramaic. Also, Aramaic influence on the Septuagint is otherwise strong and variegated.

The Hebrew phrases in question are neither rare nor obscure. No exegetical or theological issues appear to be at stake. Thus the probability that the Aramaic syntax was suggested to the translators by a sort of proto-Targum would seem to be low. Invoking a Jewish "dialect" influenced by Aramaic also seems wrong-headed; if there were such a dialect, one would expect it to have left more systematic traces in Septuagintal Greek. This leaves the possibility of linguistic interference in the expression of a bilingual speaker.[28] A Frenchman speaking English may say: "I went *at* school", under the influence of French "aller à l'école", and an Israeli may write "the water are hot" under the influence of his native language in which *mayim* is a plural noun.[29] Similarly, it seems, bi- (or tri-) lingual speakers in Hellenistic Egypt were liable to use ἰδού in temporal expressions in a way that was not habitual in Greek, due to the influence of a similar construction in Aramaic. To a monolingual Greek reader, the result may have sounded slightly odd. But to the community of Aramaic-Greek bilingual speakers to which the Septuagint was originally addressed the usage will have been perfectly understandable: ἰδοὺ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη, just like Aramaic שנין ארבעין הא, means "*already* forty years".

Conclusion

The argument for Aramaisms in the Septuagint is at least partly cumulative. If there were only one possible example, or only a couple, one might prefer to classify them as local and unexplained anomalies. Some uncertainty is better than excessive speculation. As more examples come to light, however, this

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[27] If the source text of Tob 5:3 was in Aramaic, it may have used the presentative and the Greek may simply reflect this. Unfortunately, the original text of this part of the book has not been preserved.

[28] See e.g. Jeanine Treffers-Daller, Raymond Mougeon, "The role of transfer in language variation and change: Evidence from contact varieties of French: Introduction", *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 8 (2005), 93-98 and the following studies in the issue.

[29] Linguistic interference is distinct from linguistic borrowing in that the influence of language A on language B remains accidental. Borrowing implies a more permanent adoption of a trait from language A in language B.

anti-speculative approach is ever less warranted. Aramaic influence, always admitted as an ingredient in the translators' analysis of Hebrew, turns out to have run deep, and to have affected the Greek target text as well.

Research of this type is important for a correct understanding of the Greek of the Septuagint. The intention of the translators can in some cases be retraced beyond what the text appears to be saying. This may be particularly true in the case of lexical Aramaisms such as the use of ὁμοιόω "to resemble" in the meaning "to consent".[30] But syntactic and phraseological Aramaisms too will in principle be better understood if they are correctly analysed.

Over and beyond this textual dimension, however, the investigation of Aramaic features in Septuagint Greek may also lead to a better understanding of the translators. Who were they? What was their cultural background? And how did they approach the task they had set themselves? This aspect requires a more comprehensive analysis of Aramaic features in the Septuagint, which cannot be attempted in the present study. Preliminary studies show that the results of such analysis are far from negligible.[31]

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[30] See Muraoka, "Gleanings".

[31] See Jan Joosten, "The Aramaic Background of the Seventy: Language, Culture and History," *BIOSCS* 43 (2010) 53-72

The Order of Pronominal Clitics and Other Pronouns in Greek Exodus – An Indicator of the Translator's Intentionality

LARRY PERKINS

1. Introduction

With some degree of frequency the translator of Greek Exodus[1] breaks his general practice of serial fidelity with his source text in the placement of personal pronouns. As I noted in the introduction to Exodus in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* ,[2] "about 30 (out of approximately 350) cases are "pre-posed", a proportion that is unusually high among the various Septuagint translators." The translator in some cases preposed both object suffixes attached in the source text to verbs and suffixes attached to nouns. Regularly, for example, the translator renders ויעבדני (and related forms) as ἵνα μοι λατρεύσωσιν (cf. 9:1), rather than the expected ἵνα λατρεύσωσίν μοι, a verb – pronominal object word order which occurs commonly and conforms to Hebrew word order. As well in a number of contexts the order of subject and object following a verb is transposed. A third category of divergent pronominal word order occurs occasionally with equative verbs, particularly in cases where the translator seems to insert an equative Greek verb where none occurs in the corresponding MT. A. Wifstrand[3] noted some of these translation anomalies in pronominal word order, but apart from commenting that these exceptions follow normal placement in Attic Greek, did not offer further explanation for this phenomenon. The principle enunciated by J.

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[1] J. W. Wevers, *Exodus. Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis, Vol. II, 1* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991).

[2] *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, ed. by A. Pietersma and B. Wright (New York: Oxford University Press 2007), 44. At that point I was using Wifstrand's statistics.

[3] A. Wifstrand, "Die Stellung der enklitischen Personalpronomina bei den Septuaginta," in: *K. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundets i Lund Årsberättelse 1949-50, II* (Lund: Gleerup, 50), 44-70.

Wackernagel[4] was generally presupposed as an explanation, i.e. a tendency for certain enclitics and postpositives to assume second position in a clause.

This paper discusses these various translation word order anomalies in Greek Exodus and seeks to understand why the translator deviates in these cases from his usual serial fidelity to the source text. Attention to recent theory which attempts to explain the placement of clitics and constituent order within Koine Greek suggests that the translator is assimiliating towards the target language. The hypothesis is that such word order within Greek Exodus may indicate the translator's unconscious conformity to Greek idiom, but may also serve to give prominence to certain features within the discourse. Regardless, interference from the source text is reduced. I am not claiming that every instance of this phenomenon in Greek Exodus serves this purpose, because the lack of consistency also needs to be observed. Selected passages will be used to illustrate and demonstrate this hypothesis. We should also note that the substantial usage of pronouns within Greek Exodus reflects the 'analytical' style of Koine Greek reflected in contemporary papyri and so in itself is not necessarily a reflection of the realities of the Hebrew text.[5] However, this Koine Greek practice certainly served the purpose of the translator in rendering his Hebrew text.

Methodologically[6] we should also consider the following: First, at times the pre-positioning of pronouns in the text as produced does match Hebrew word order. In such cases we cannot tell whether the location of the pronoun in the Greek translation is due to serial fidelity or a deliberate decision on the part of the translator to reflect Greek word order conventions. In such in-

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[4] J. Wackernagel, "Über einige enclitische Nebenformen de Personalpronomina," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 24 (1879), 592-609.

[5] G. Horrocks, *Greek A History of the Language and its Speakers* (1997; Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, repr. 2010), 107. "Compared with classical Greek, there is once again a marked increase in the use of pronouns in positions where the literary language would permit, indeed almost require, an ellipsis, the sense being the obvious one in context." Cf. G. Walser, "Die Wortfolge der Septuaginta," *Die Septuaginta - Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch*, *Wuppertal 20.-23. Juli 2006* (WUNT I 219; ed. M. Karrer and W. Kraus, unter Mitarbeit von M. Meiser; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 258-66.

[6] In almost every case where the Greek translator of Exodus seems to have altered the Hebrew word order with respect to pronouns, the Greek textual tradition reveals variants. In many cases these variants plainly are hexaplaric. In other cases they reflect a default to different Greek stylistic preferences. I use Wevers' edition of Greek Exodus as the base text, assuming that for the most part his textual decisions were justified and do represent what the translator wrote. I recognize that in some contexts justifiable debate continues regarding his textual decisions.

stances I presume that serial fidelity is the operative principle. Secondly, when dislocation or transposition of pronouns occurs multiple times in specific contexts, I presume that this phenomenon will tend to indicate the translator's hand, rather than being an unstudied use of Greek word order conventions.

2. Deviating Word Order in Greek Exodus

The initial work on the placement of personal pronouns in the Septuagint was done by Albert Wifstrand,[7] published in 1949-50. Within the Pentateuch he discerned that "die vorangestellten enklitischen Pronomina [sind] nicht so zahlreich wie in Genesis; die meisten Fälle hat Exodus, die wenigsten das Deuteronomion."[8] He proceeds book by book through the Septuagint, noting exceptions to translators' normal practice of serial fidelity.

   Wifstrand's statistics for Greek Exodus related to pronominal enclitics (first and second person singular) exceptionally placed before the verb or head noun are as follows:

Table 1 – Wifstrand's Data

Enclitic Pronoun	Total number of uses in Greek Exodus	Exceptional Word Order in Greek Exodus
μου	85 cases	9 exceptions (3:15[9]; 10:17,28; 11:9; 13:19; 15:2; 17:15; 33:20,22)
μοι	50 cases	7 exceptions (4:23; 5:1; 7:16, 26(8:1); 8:16(20), 9:1; 33:12).
σου	more than 200 cases	4 exceptions (3:18; 4:19; 7:1; 10:6)[10]
σοι	60 cases	6 exceptions (4:16; 7:2; 20:12; 25:8(9); 31:6; with intervening δέ 4:23; two contexts where there is no corresponding Hebrew element 33:17; 34:12[11]).

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[7] Wifstrand.

[8] Ibid., 52.

[9] In this case the possessive pronoun not only precedes its head noun, but also the equative verb (τοῦτό μού ἐστιν ὄνομα αἰώνιον זה שמי לעלם.

[10] In the Greek text 4:16 would seem to fit in this category καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται σου στόμα, although the Hebrew text has a prepositional phrase והיה הוא יהיה לך לפה which precedes the Hebrew noun. In fact then the Greek word order follows the Hebrew word order in this instance.

[11] The reading in Wevers is μὴ γένηται but in B 15′ = Ra μη σοι γενηται. J. W. Wevers in *Text History of the Greek Exodus* (MSU XXI; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht,

Με	9 cases	1 exception (33:15).[12]
Σε	30 cases	2 exceptions (3:12; 23:33).[13]
overview	*350 cases in all of Exodus*	*About 30 exceptions.[14]*

Using Wevers' edited text,[15] the number of examples of preposed enclitic pronominals in Greek Exodus that fit Wifstrand's categories according to my count is thirty-two (2:14; 3:12,15,18; 4:16(2x),19,23; 5:1; 7:1,2,16; 8:1(7:26), 20(16); 9:1,19; 10:6,17,28; 11:9; 13:19; 15:2; 20:12; 25:8(9); 31:6; 33:3, 12(2x),15,20,22).[16] This includes several contexts where the Greek text has an equative verb following the enclitic pronoun (9:19; 20:12; 33:3), but the corresponding MT has no equative verb. As well at 33:12b and 33:17 the pronouns μοι and σοι have no equivalent in the MT.

Wifstrand is only interested in the placement of enclitic pronominals (first and second person singular forms) preceding a verbal or nominal element. However, twenty-two cases of the third person pronoun similarly are pre-posed (1:12,14; 2:3,10; 4:16,24,31;9:34; 10:1; 18:24; 21:6,34,36; 28:37; 29:35; 30:28; 35:21; 36:4,7,12; 39:18; 40:8).[17] As well this happens once in the case of the first person plural (5:16). We might also note the 8 contexts in which the third person singular genitive Greek reflexive pronoun (ἑαυτοῦ) precedes the head noun directly in contrast to Hebrew word order (2:11; 18:1,23,27; 21:7; 32:27; 33:11; 36:21 (Cf. Category # 8 in Table 8). This is a consistent re-ordering in Greek Exodus. There is one case of a preposed sec-

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1992), 249 comments that "Ra's adoption of the reading σοι is puzzling, since it cannot possible be correct."

[12] Ibid. Wifstrand notes the unusual number of cases in Exodus 33.

[13] I would add 2:14. He includes 23:33 ἵνα μὴ ἁμαρτεῖν σε ποιήσωσιν πρός με פן־יחטיאו אתך לי. The Greek text follows the Hebrew order, but changes the syntax in order to com-municate the causative sense of the Hebrew. It adds the verb ποιήσωσιν, but otherwise the Greek text is isomorphic and so in this case the Greek word order seems to be dependent upon the Hebrew word order.

[14] These statistics are taken directly from Wifstrand's article.

[15] Wevers, *Exodus.*

[16] 2:14; 9:19; 33:3 are not included in Wifstrand's list; however, he lists 23:33, but I would not include this.

[17] Two cases look similar to this formation in the Greek text, but in fact follow the He-brew word order: 12:48 περιτεμεῖς αὐτοῦ πᾶν ἀρσενίκον המול לו כל־זכר; 29:45 καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτῶν θεός והייתי להם לאלהים (cf. 6:7). 3:2 reads ὤφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος κυρίου וירא מלאך יהוה אליו. Formally according to the Greek text 3:2 fits within this category.

ond person singular dative reflexive pronoun (33:18).[18] When added to the previous occurrences, these examples generate approximately sixty-four cases in Greek Exodus where the translator diverges from the Hebrew word order in the placement of a pronominal. When we add in the transpositions of pronominal objects and subjects following verbs, there are about ninety-one instances of pronominal transpositions in Greek Exodus (cf. the instances noted in Table 9).[19]

With respect to the use of possessive pronouns with two coordinated items, Greek Exodus follows the Hebrew pattern in twenty of the fifty cases. However, in three of these instances, the "first of the possessive pronouns is placed before the first noun (9:34 and 10:1,6)…. This placing is infrequent in the LXX, but well in keeping with Greek practice."[20] She also notes the positioning of the possessive pronoun before the first noun in the case of 3:15 and 11:9,[21] but both of these are unusual contexts. When three or more items are coordinated, the translator repeated the possessive pronoun eight times, but in nine contexts chose not to do that. However, pre-posing of the possessive pronoun does not occur in these instances. Sollamo observed that the use of a single possessive pronoun preceding or following the first noun may signal that the translator viewed the coordinated pair of nouns as hendiadys.[22] Sollamo concluded that "the position before the noun is quite commonly found

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[18] It is possible that 11:1 should be placed in this category (σὺν παντὶ ἐκβαλεῖ ὑμᾶς ἐκβολῇ כלה גרש יגרש אתכם מזה). The Hebrew text has an infinitive absolute preceding an imperfect form of the cognate root with the pronominal object following. The Greek translator has significantly restructured the syntax by translating כלה גרש with σὺν παντὶ… ἐκβολῇ, placing the finite verb + pronominal object after παντὶ, and placing the cognate dative nominal form at the end of the clause. In this case the dative nominal does not function as an object, but probably as a dative of reference. Further, the order is accusative pronoun > dative nominal which is the reverse of other examples in this category.

[19] R. Sollamo has also studied the placement of enclitic personal pronouns in the Greek Psalter. R. Sollamo, "The Place of the Enclitic Personal Pronouns in the Old Greek Psalter," in: *XII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies. Leiden, 2004* (SBLSCS 54; ed. by M.K.H. Peters; Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 153-60. Her findings generally support those discerned by Wifstrand. See also R. Sollamo, *Repetition of the Possessive Pronouns in the Septuagint* (SBLSCS 40; ed. M.K.H. Peters; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1995). As well see I. Soisalon-Soininen, "Die Auslassung des Possessivpronomens im Griechschen Pentateuch," *Studia Orientalia* 55:13(1984), 279-94.

[20] Sollamo, *Repetition*, 30-44, 82.

[21] I have included these examples in my list.

[22] Sollamo, *Repetition,* 33-35. In several cases the translator may have created the hendiadys (cf. 7:3; 33:5,6) or perhaps interpreted the Hebrew coordinated structure in this way (cf. 20:12).

in original Koiné literature outside Biblical Greek. In this respect the translator of Exodus demonstrates his excellent skills and distinguishes himself in comparison with the other translators."[23]

The generally close adherence by the Greek Exodus translator to the source text's word order[24] has to be acknowledged. Generally serial fidelity is his modality, but there are divergences and it is these divergences, their quantity and nature, which characterize to some degree the resultant translation's location within the typology of translation (i.e. a continuum that ranges from the dominance of the *Vorlage* to the dominance of the target language).[25] It is my expectation that understanding the factors influencing the Greek translator of Exodus to make these pronominal transpositions will enable us to define his translation process more clearly and discern in some contexts his translational strategy.

Research into various aspects of Greek word order and discourse structure may provide us with some clues as to what motivates the translator of Exodus to make such transpositions. This research builds upon Wackernagel's observation about the placement of enclitics and postpositives. For example, understanding the way "prosodic phonology" changes with the use of enclitic pronominals may help us discern why the translator of Exodus transposed these pronouns in specific contexts.[26] Aubrey's research along with that of others[27] suggests that certain aspects of "prosodic phonology" especially with respect to enclitics may have a role in "focus marking" within Koine Greek.

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[23] Ibid., 82.

[24] In this article I have only considered personal pronouns. However, the indefinite pronoun also is enclitic. We find significant variation in placement between the Hebrew text and the Greek text of Exodus with respect to τις.

[25] J. Wevers in his various publications on Greek Exodus, but particularly in the *Text History of the Greek Exodus*, makes several observations regarding both the characteristic and unusual use and placement of pronominals. See J. Barr, *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translation* (MSU XV; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 279-328.

[26] I am indebted to M. Aubrey for drawing my attention to these recent investigations and so this foray into the territory of linguistics in application to Hellenistic Greek builds upon his work. M. Aubrey, "Prosodic Phonology in Greek Exodus: The Position of Pronominal Clitics and Natural Greek in Translation," (paper presented in BIE 640 Septuagint Topics, Trinity Western University, December 2010) 1-18.

[27] A. Taylor, "A Prosodic Account of Clitic Position in Ancient Greek," in: *Approaching Second: Second Position Clitics and Related Phenomena* (ed. A.L. Halpern and A.M. Zwicky (Stanford, Calif.: CSLI Publications, 1996), 477-506. She seeks to show "that these clitics are sensitive to phonological phrase boundaries." H. Dik, *Word Order in Ancient Greek. A Pragmatic Account of Word Order Variation in Herodotus* (Amsterdam Studies in Classical Philology 4; Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1995). She is concerned with "pragmat-

Another area of research relates to discourse features present in Koine Greek which enable us to discern what kind of information is being communicated. The concepts of topic and focus within a sentence and/or clause may comprise one set of discourse features that may assist in discerning the "why" of some transpositions.[28] Devine and Stephens, for example, argue that "focus marking" may be a "pragmatic function" of hyperbaton in specific instances.[29]

Various strategies were available to speakers to give prominence particularly to a focal element. Position in the clause or phrase structure is one such strategy, but not the only one. Presumably in spoken discourse vocal stress would be a primary means. Prominence can communicate different values, i.e. thematic information, importance of idea, emphasis, contrast, emotion, or surprise.[30] And it is the case that the focal item may have significance that extends beyond its own phrase, clause or sentence.[31] What is the focal element in one clause or sentence often becomes the topic of the following discourse.

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ics as the reflection of textual organization, seeking to explain word order patterns as one means of articulating information structure in a text" (9). D. M. Goldstein, "Wackernagel's Law in Fifth Century Greek," (Ph.D. diss., Graduate Division of the University of California, Berkeley, 2010). In the abstract Goldstein says that his dissertation "argues for a prosody-dominant model of clitic distribution, according to which the position of a clitic is conditioned primarily by prosodic domain, and only secondarily by syntactic domain; clitics typically select for a host at the left edge of an intonational phrase." His study focuses on fifth century usage.

[28] S. Runge, *Discourse Grammar of the Greek New Testament. A Practical Introduction for Teaching and Exegesis* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2010). In a discourse "each clause will contain a mix of established and newly asserted information. The goal of the communication is to convey the newly asserted information; it is the focus of the utterance" (189). He uses theory proposed by S. Dik, *The Theory of Functional Grammar: Part I: The Structure of the Clause* (FGS 9; Providence R.I: Foris, 1989) and says that "One or more established (i.e. topical) elements of the clause may be placed in position P1. These P1 elements establish a new *frame of reference*, creating an explicit mental grounding point for that clause that follows. Position P2, on the other hand, is where newly asserted or focal information is placed. The prominence added to the P2 element marks it as 'what is relatively the most important…information in the setting'" (190, including a quote from Dik's, 363).

[29] A. M. Devine and L. D. Stephens, *Discontinuous Syntax. Hyperbaton in Greek* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 9.

[30] Ibid., 52-53.

[31] K. Callow, *Discourse Considerations in Translating the Word of God* (Grand Rapids, Mi.: Zondervan Corporation, 1974), 49-51. P. Cotterell and M. Turner, *Linguistics and Biblical Interpretation* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1989), 268ff.

How is this linguistic understanding to be applied to our evaluation of Greek Exodus? Richard Young in regards to Koine Greek used in New Testament documents states that "most changes for emphasis involve moving the highlighted constituent before the verb" and he calls this "focus or front-ing."[32] Porter seems to support this perspective particularly in terms of expressed subjects preceding the predicate and receiving some "markedness."[33] Dik proposes that in ancient Greek the clause pattern is "P1 PØ V   X" in which "P1 is the position for elements with Topic function; PØ is the Focus position immediately preceding the verb; V is the default position for the verb …; X is the position for remaining elements."[34]   Communicating "a salient piece of information (Focus)" becomes the communication task.[35]

When the Greek translator transposed pronominal objects to a pre-verbal position, in contradistinction to the Hebrew word order, he adopts Greek word order conventions which may express "markedness" with respect to the topic or the focus in a specific clause. In a case such as 4:16 where numerous dislocations of pronouns occur, creating transpositions of word order different from the Hebrew text, several of these new placements seem to be positions where focal information is communicated.

καὶ <u>αὐτός</u> **σοι** προσλαλήσει πρὸς τὸν λαόν,

καὶ αὐτὸς <u>ἔσται</u> **σου** στόμα, <u>σὺ δὲ **αὐτῷ**</u> ἔσῃ τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν.

ודבר־<u>הוא לך</u> אל־העם [36]<u>והיה</u> הוא יהיה־<u>לך</u> לפה ואתה תהיה־<u>לו</u> לאלהים

In 4:14 Yahweh declared to Moses regarding Aaron that λαλῶν λαλήσει <u>αὐτός σοι</u>, another transposition. By replicating this transposition in v.16 and moving the σοι before προσλαλήσει the translator may be drawing our attention back to this previously mentioned topic. He proceeds to play with these pronominal referents in the two following clauses, using contrast and paral-

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[32] R. Young, *Intermediate New Testament Grammar. A Linguistic and Exegetical Approach* (Nashville, Tenn.: Broadman and Holman Publ., 1994), 212.

[33] S. Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999 repr), 295-96. Variations can occur as Maloney notes in Mark's Gospel where independent clauses occurring in narrative segments and introduced by καί usually have the order verb-subject (*Semitic Interference in Marcan Syntax* (SBLDS 51; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1989), 52).

[34] Dik, *Word Order*, 12.

[35] Ibid., citing T. Givón, "Topic Continuity in discourse: an introduction," in *Topic Continuity in Discourse: A Quantitative Cross-language Study* (ed. T. Givón; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1983), 20.

[36] The initial היה is not represented explicitly in the Greek text, presumably to avoid an awkward expression and tautology.

lelism to highlight the focal elements. Note how the first and third clauses have similar word order patterns – subject pronoun, dative pronoun, verb, prepositional phrase with πρός (substantivized in the third clause).

In *circa* 91cases in Greek Exodus the pronominal order does not follow the pattern of general serial fidelity. Recent studies, particularly regarding the placement of enclitics and theories regarding information flow, suggest that the translator is acting to assimilate his rendering to the demands of the target language.[37] If the application of some of these theories to the various pronominal placements in Greek Exodus is cogent, then it indicates that the translator was attentive not just to <u>what</u> he was communicating in the translation, but <u>how</u> he could accomplish this task using known Greek word order conventions.

2.1 Preposed Possessive Pronouns

First, we attend to preposed possessive pronouns related to nouns.

Table 2: Expansion of Wifstrand's Data for Greek Exodus

Hebrew Text	Greek Text
Noun + pronominal suffix חטאתי	(4) Pronominal enclitic > article > noun[38] **μοῦ** τῆν ἁμαρτίαν (10:17). 1:14; 3:18; 4:19,31; 9:34; 10:1,6,17,28; 11:9; 13:19; 16:9; 21:6; 28:37; 29:35;30:28; 33:20,22; 35:21; 39:18; 40:8
	*In cases where the noun is part of a prepositional phrase, the order is always preposition > article > possessive pronoun > noun (κατὰ τὸ αὐτοῦ ἔργον) 36:4,12
	*Third person reflexives in genitive case always precede the head noun directly regardless of the presence or absence of a preposition ליש׳ראל עמו Ἰσραὴλ τῷ **ἑαυτοῦ** λαῷ (18:1); אי׳ש על־שמו ἕκαστος ἐκ τοῦ **ἑαυτοῦ** ὀνόματος (36:21). 2:11; 18:1,23,27; 21:7; 32:27**; 33:11; 36:21.**
	In cases where the noun functions as an unarticulated predicate noun, the possessive pronoun may stand immediately before the modified noun* ואנוהו אלי זה *τοῦτό μου θεός, καὶ δοξάσω αὐτόν (15:2). 7:1; 15:2; 17:15.

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[37] Horrocks, *Greek*, 109. He notes "the dramatic increase in the frequency of verb-subject order compared with classical Greek, a feature which is again typical of the ordinary Koine in general."

[38] Consider 29:45 in which the possessive pronoun in the Greek text is preposed, but this follows the Hebrew word order, even as it alters the syntactical relationship between the pronoun and the noun: καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτῶν θεός לאלהים להם והייתי. From the standpoint of the Greek text it belongs in this category, but it does not represent a change in the Hebrew word order.

Table 3: Statistics related to Specific Possessive Enclitic Pronouns[39]

Μου	Possessive pronoun > article > noun: 10:17,28; 11:9 (compound noun structure); 13:19; 15:2; 33:20,22
Μου	Possessive pronoun > equative verb > predicate noun: 3:15
σου	Possessive pronoun > noun: 4:16; 7:1 (both follow an equative verb)
Σου	Possessive pronoun > article > noun: 3:18; 4:19; 10:6

Table 4: Statistics related to Third Person and Plural Possessive Pronouns, And Possessive Reflexive Pronouns

αὐτοῦ	Possessive pronoun > article > noun: 9:34; 10:1; 21:6; 30:28
αὐτοῦ	Preposition >article > possessive pronoun > noun: 36:4,12
αὐτοῦ	Possessive pronoun > πᾶς > noun: 12:48[40] Πᾶς > possessive pronoun >article > noun: 30:28; 39:18; 40:8[41]

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[39] In every instance in Greek Exodus the accent pattern marks these occurrences as enclitic forms. Non-enclitic forms occur occasionally as well: ἐγώ (6:7; 8:8,23; 12:29; 19:5(2x); 22:29; 29:9; 34:19); σύ (5:18,23; 8:23; 32:13). In the case of ἐγώ oblique case forms primarily following prepositions are non-enclitic (ἀπ' ἐμοῦ (8:8; 10:17,28); ἐν ἐμοῖ (31:170; μετ' ἐμοῦ (33:12); παρ' ἐμοῦ (33:12,21); περὶ ἐμοῦ (8:8,28; 9:28; 31:13); πλὴν ἐμοῦ (20:3)). The exception seems to be forms following πρός which are enclitic. P. Walters (Katz), *The Text of the Septuagint* (Cambridge at the University Press, 1973), 101 questioned this arguing that "it is inconsistent to write πρός με, but πρὸς σέ." T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Louvain: Peeters, 2009), 189 states that "with prepositions (excepting πρός as in πρός με Ge 4.10), the ἐ-forms are the norm:…" However, in Greek Exodus Wevers' text has ἐνώπιόν μου (23:15; 32:33; 33:17; 34:9,20) and ὀπίσω μου (33:23). Wevers, *Notes*, 550, says that "Exod only uses the enclitic forms after ἐνώπιον (as well as after ἐναντίον;…) …." (cf. 25:29; 33:13(2x),19). In the case of σύ we find the following formations in Greek Exodus following prepositions: ἀπὸ σοῦ (8:9,11, 29(2x); 18:22; 23:28,30,31); ἐν σοῖ (9:16; 20:10); ἐπὶ σέ (8:4,21; 15:26; 18:22; 23:29; 33:22); μετὰ σοῦ (3:12; 18:18,19; 19:24; 33:3; 34:3); παρὰ σοί (22:25; 33:16); περὶ σοῦ (8:9); πρὸς σέ (6:29; 7:16; 14:12; 18:6; 19:9(2x); 20:24); ἐναντίον σου (33:13(2x),19); ἐνώπιόν σου (34:9). Apart from prepositional phrases the choice to use the enclitic or non-enclitic form is singularly the translator's because the Hebrew text makes no demand to distinguish the usage of these forms. No forms of ἡμέτερος or ὑμέτερος occur in Greek Exodus.

[40] In this case the Greek text follows the Hebrew word order but renders the preposition + pronominal suffix לוֹ as a genitive form, not a dative form: περιτεμεῖς αὐτοῦ πᾶν ἀρσενικόν המול לו כל־זכר. The order of πᾶν ἀρσενικόν reflects the order in the Hebrew text, as well as the absence of an article and so has the sense "every male (X)." αὐτοῦ has the sense "every male 'thing' that belongs to him, i.e. the stranger."

αὐτῶν	Possessive pronoun > article > noun: 1:14; 4:31; 28:37; 29:35,45; 35:21
ὑμῶν	Possessive pronoun > article > noun: 16:9
	Possessive pronoun > noun: 6:7 (follows equative verb)
ἡμῶν	No examples.
ἑαυτοῦ	Article> reflexive pronoun> noun: 2:11; 18:1,23,27; 21:7; 32:27; 33:11; 36:21

Enclitic pronouns attach themselves phonologically to a preceding element and are pronounced as one unit with that preceding element, altering the stress patterns.[42] Usually this element will be "their syntactic head," i.e. a verb at the clause level and a noun or preposition at the phrase level. However, this element can be another pronoun, particle or subordinate conjunction.[43] The use of pronominal suffixes in Hebrew finds a natural, word order equivalent in Greek when pronominal enclitics follow verbs or nouns, but the use of enclitics to identify stressed elements in a clause is an additional feature in Greek discourse.

3:10 ...ἀποστείλω **σε** πρὸς Φαραὼ..., καὶ ἐξάξεις τὸν λαόν **μου**....
(ואשלחך אל־פרעה והוצא את־עמי)
3:12 …καὶ τοῦτό σοι τὸ σημεῖον ὅτι ἐγώ **σε** ἀποστέλλω
(וזה־לך האות כי אנכי שלחתיך)

Yahweh has selected Moses for the task defined in 3:10 – "sending" and "leading out my people" are the key ideas, as the enclitic placement may indicate, even as it replicates the Hebrew word order. In contrast the collocation of the enclitic σε with ἐγώ in v. 12 may emphasize that it is Yahweh who has specifically chosen Moses and is sending him.

Dislocation from default positions usually signals that the element is being marked or that something is receiving unusual prominence by the speaker for some reason. Default positions in themselves do not mean that the elements

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[41] 30:28 καὶ πάντα αὐτοῦ τὰ σκεύη ואת־כל־כליו; 39:18 καὶ πάντα αὐτῆς τὰ σκεύη את־כל־כליו; 40:8 καὶ πάντα αὐτοῦ τὰ σκεύη ואת־כל־כליו. What should be noted is that in the vicinity of each of these readings, we find in the Greek text translations that reflect the Hebrew order (30:27, 28b; 39:14,16, 21; 40:7). In each of these cases the noun is plural.

[42] G. Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers* (London: Longman, 1997), 115. He observes that "clitic pronouns normally appear immediately after the verbs that govern them, except where there is another sentence-initial element (e.g. conjunction, interrogative, negative, focus)." He makes this comment with respect to Koine Greek.

[43] M. Aubrey, "Prosodic Phonology…," 4-5.

in those positions are unimportant.[44] Rather dislocation adds markedness to that element. Identifying marked elements and discerning the reason for the markedness represent two stages in understanding what the writer was seeking to express.

In the majority of cases in Greek Exodus where a possessive pronoun, whether enclitic or non-enclitic, precedes its noun phrase, the noun phrase follows the verb immediately or a postpositive[45] particle intervenes (10:17 (προσδέξασθε οὖν μου τὴν ἁμαρτίαν); 16:9). The result is that the enclitic forms are attached phonologically to the verb. The head nouns serve as subjects, objects or complements of the verbs in question.

3:18	καὶ εἰσακούσονταί **σου** τῆς φωνῆς	וּשָׁמְעוּ לְקֹלֶךָ
29:35	τελεώσεις **αὐτῶν** τὰς χεῖρας	תְּמַלֵּא יָדָם

In other cases the translator simply followed the Hebrew word order.

4:1	μηδὲ εἰσακούσωσιν τῆς φωνῆς **μου**	וְלֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ בְּקֹלִי
29:33	τελειῶσαι τὰς χεῖρας **αὐτῶν**	לְמַלֵּא אֶת־יָדָם

The placement of σου in 3:18 is the only instance in Greek Exodus where the genitive personal pronoun precedes a noun in the genitive following εἰσακούειν. Aubrey formulated the principle that "a pronominal clitic will attach to the strongest accented phonological word available in or directly beside its syntactic domain."[46] If we apply this principle to these dislocated pronominals, then perhaps the translator by this means is marking these elements in their respective clauses. However, precisely why he chooses this word order for these phrases (3:18; 29:35) but follows Hebrew word order in 4:1 and 29:33 remains a mystery. Was he just inconsistent?

Each context needs careful examination to discern why the translator was marking a verbal element in these clauses as "the one that receives the sen-

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[44] S. Runge, *Discourse Grammar* , 188-89. "…breaking default expectations has the effect of making something stand out in ways that the default form would not have accomplished. The resulting prominence accomplishes various pragmatic effects….These effects are not an inherent meaning of the syntactic form; rather, they are an effect of using a form or structure in some marked way that breaks with the expected norm for that context."

[45] The attachment of the enclitic to the postpositive particle rather than the initial verb in these cases is simply the operation of the normal word position for such particles, i.e. second place in their clause.

[46] Aubrey, "Prosodic Phonology…," 5.

tence stress mark."[47] In 3:18 Yahweh is affirming to Moses that the people of Israel will indeed heed him as he carries out his commission. This becomes precisely the point Moses contests in 4:1. The context in Ex. 29 describes the consecration of Aaron and his sons. 29:35 concludes these instructions to Moses and perhaps the preposed pronoun underscores to Moses that "validating their hands" is the most significant part of the ritual.

At 3:15 Yahweh makes a declaration:

Τοῦτό μού ἐστιν ὄνομα αἰώνιον   זה שמי לעלם

The Greek text adds the equative verb ἐστιν, implicit in the Hebrew clause, and then places the enclitic pronoun, which modifies the predicate noun ὄνομα, before the verb. This ordering marks τοῦτό as carrying the sentence stress. From the translator's perspective Yahweh is affirming to Israel in no uncertain terms that "this" is his eternal name. A similar structure occurs in 15:2 where Moses extols Yahweh for his victory over Pharaoh.

οὗτός μου θεός, καὶ δοξάσω αὐτόν   זה אלי ואנוהו

The Hebrew structure is the same as 3:15, but the translator chooses to render it as a nominal clause and attaches the enclitic pronoun phonologically to the initial demonstrative pronoun. In Greek terms this positioning indicates that the translator regards οὗτός as receiving the sentence stress mark. We might translate as "this one is my God and I will glorify him."

Consider also the position of the enclitic in the translation of the aetiology at 17:15:

Κύριός μου καταφυγή   יהוה נסי.

The translator, as Wevers' indicates,[48] probably read נוסי which means "my refuge." The placement of the enclitic would give prominence to κύριός in this nominal clause.

In contrast note the rendering at 4:16:

καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται σου στόμα[49]   והיה הוא יהיה לך לפה

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[47] Ibid..

[48] J. W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus* (SBLSCS 30; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1990), 272.

[49] Technically the Greek translation follows the Hebrew order, but the use of the genitive possessive pronoun rather than dative creates a different syntax. Note that there are two other diversely ordered pronominal elements in this same verse.

In this case the translator follows the Hebrew word order, but alters the syntax. He could have placed σου before ἔσται but the Hebrew text seems to have exerted stronger influence for some reason. Yet, by rendering לך as σου and placing it directly after ἔσται, he marks the verb as receiving equal stress with αὐτὸς, thereby affirming that "*he shall be* your mouth." The focus is both on Aaron, and his function as the communicator of Moses' message to Pharaoh and the solution to Moses' continued resistance to Yahweh's commission.[50]

2.2 Pronominal Enclitics in Pre-verbal Position

Aubrey analyzed dative and accusative enclitic pronouns occurring within Greek Exodus in pre-verbal positions within various kinds of clauses.[51] He concludes that "the position of clitic pronouns, then, provides a guidepost as to what the writer considered important. In the case of translated texts, as here, they provide a window into the interpretive and exegetical approach of the translator when the clitic pronoun's position diverges from that of the source text."[52]

Table 5: Dative or Accusative Pronominal Enclitics in Pre-Verbal Position

Clause Type	Sample Greek Text/ Hebrew Text	Contexts in Greek Exodus
Declarative clause	ἰδοὺ σύ **μοι** λέγεις / ראה אתה אמר אלי	4:16; 33:12 (2x),15,17
ἵνα clause	ἵνα **μοι** λατρεύσῃ / ויעבדני	4:23; 5:1; 7:16; 8:1 (7:26), 20(16); 9:1; 20:12[53]; (cf.19:9 [54])

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[50] Note comments in the summary of the paper related to this text.

[51] Aubrey, "Prosodic Phonology…," 8-14. These include declarative clauses and various subordinate clauses (ἵνα clauses, interrogative clauses, relative clauses).

[52] Ibid., 16.

[53] I include this instance even though the enclitic is linked with the adverb εὖ: ἵνα εὖ σοι γένηται , καὶ ἵνα…. The Hebrew text has no equivalent to this initial ἵνα clause.

[54] In 19:9 the translator used the accented form σοὶ and placed it before the verb, matching the Hebrew word order in this instance. This clause is the second part of a compound ἵνα construction. The translator places the pronoun at the focus of the clause, which also replicates the focus in the Hebrew text: ἵνα ἀκούσῃ ὁ λαὸς...καὶ σοὶ πιστεύσωσιν.... בעבור ישמע העם... וגם בך יאמינו. According to H.W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920), 43 §187a, an enclitic retains its accent "when it is emphatic as in contrasts." This seems to be the case in this context. Cf. 4:5 ἵνα πιστεύσωσίν σοι למען יאמינו. The translator has added the enclitic in 4:5.

Interrogatives	ὁ δὲ εἶπεν Τίς **σε** κατέστησεν ἄρχοντα / ויאמר מי שׂמך לאישׁ שׂר	2:14
ὅτι –content clause	ὅτι ἐγώ **σε** ἀποστέλλω / כי אנכי שׁלחתיך	3:12
Relative clause	πάντα, ὅσα **σοι** ἐντέλλομαι / את כל־אשׁר אצוך	7:2; 9:19[55]; 25:8(9); 31:6[56]
Infinitive	διὰ τὸ λαὸν σκληροτράχηλόν **σε** εἶναι / כי עם־קשׁה־ארף אתה	33:3

The occurrence of pre-verbal enclitics in declarative clauses is not frequent and tends to be clustered in Ex 33.[57] The one example outside of this chapter is found at 4:16:

καὶ **αὐτός σοι** προσλαλήσει πρὸς τὸν λαόν

ודבר־הוא לך אל־העם

and **he** shall speak **for you** to the people.

I commented on this text earlier and suggested that the translator replicates the αὐτός σοι collocation found in 4:14 and when he employs it again in v. 16 at the conclusion to this section, he may be giving prominence to the solution Aaron brings to Moses' reluctance.

In Ex 33 Yahweh and Moses interact regarding Yahweh's threat to replace Israel with a new people because of their infidelity with the golden calf. Moses desires strong assurance that Yahweh will accompany Israel to its destination. In v.12 the translator used dislocation twice in parallel clauses:

ἰδοὺ **σύ μοι** λέγεις… ראה אתה אמר אלי

σὺ δέ μοι εἶπας ואתה אמרת

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[55] ὅσα σοί ἐστιν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ואת כל־אשׁר לך בשׂדה. In this context the Greek text follows the Hebrew word order in which לך is in the focal position within its clause. The Greek pronoun has the acute accent because it is followed by another enclitic form ἐστιν. However, because the Greek text follows the MT's word order, we cannot determine whether the translator intended to place particular stress on ὅσα in this context. Cf. 13:9.

[56] The same Hebrew clause occurs in 31:11 and is rendered as ὅσα ἐγὼ ἐνετειλάμην σοι.

[57] A. Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint: A Study of the Renderings of the Hebrew CoordinateClauses in the Greek Pentateuch* (AASF, Diss. Hum. Lit. 31; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia), 172f.

In both cases Moses is addressing Yahweh and challenging his statements. The pre-verbal placement of the enclitic and its linkage with the expressed subject (present in the Hebrew text in both instances) gives greater prominence to σύ. In the second instance the translator has added μοι. In v. 15 Moses again addresses Yahweh and tells him not to lead him up to the land if Yahweh is not prepared to go with him:

μή **με** ἀναγάγῃς ἐντεῦθεν   אל־תעלנו מזה

The enclitic pronominal (singular in contrast to the plural pronominal suffix in MT) is linked with the initial negative, giving greater prominence to the force of the negative in this prohibition. Yahweh's response comes in v.17:

καὶ τοῦτόν σοι τὸν λόγον, ὅν εἴρηκας, ποιήσω
גם את־הדבר הזה אשׁר דברת אעשׂה

The translator has not only added the pronoun σοι (sub obeli Syh) but placed it at the front of the clause, quite distant from the verb. By linking it with the initial demonstrative τοῦτόν the translator gives greater prominence to the demonstrative pronoun, adding to the emphasis already provided by the initial καὶ, which is not conjunctive in this context.

It is hard not to conclude that in this highly charged interchange in 33:12-17 the translator acts strategically to give prominence to specific elements. Whether he discerned these nuances in the Hebrew text and is seeking to represent them appropriately in his translation, or whether he is choosing to highlight the emotional tones in his translation, he is departing from his normal practice of general serial fidelity.

As Aubrey notes, ἵνα is one of the few subordinate conjunctions that links with enclitics. In Greek Exodus the translator has linked enclitic pronouns directly with ἵνα in six contexts and indirectly once (19:9). In each case the word order in Greek differs from the Hebrew text. However, we also find a number of cases where the enclitic pronoun in these clauses follows the verb in accordance with Hebrew word order (9:13; 10:3; 28:37; cf. 4:5; 23:20; 33:3).

7:16   ἵνα μοι λατρεύσωσιν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ
ויעבדני במדבר
so that they may serve me in the wilderness.

However note an exception:

> 10:3   ἵνα λατρεύσωσίν μοι   ויעבדני
>   so that they might serve me

Aubrey argues that the difference between these Greek orderings has to do with whether the translator is giving prominence to "the purpose ἵνα or the act of worship/service."[58] The shift in location of the enclitic suggests a shift in word/phrase receiving the sentence stress. Yet it is difficult to discern why the change in word order does not occur in chapters 9-10. Both of these word orders work well in Hellenistic Greek. However, the translator may be acting strategically in certain contexts to give prominence to specific elements.

The structure of the ἵνα clause at 20:12 compares to that found in the ὅτι clause at 3:12 (the only content clause with an enclitic linked with the word located in the focus of its clause).

> 20:12   (ἵνα εὖ σοι γένηται , καὶ)[59] ἵνα..   למען
>   So that well with you it might be and so that…
>   3:12   καὶ τοῦτό σοι τὸ σημεῖον ὅτι ἐγώ σε ἀποστέλλω
>   וזה־לך האות כי אנכי שׁלחתיך
>   And this for you shall be the sign that I am sending you.

The translator in 3:12 has followed the Hebrew word order and represented well in the Greek word order the prominence given in the Hebrew text to the initial זה־לך. However in the ὅτι clause he changed the word order, perhaps to parallel in some sense the word order used in the prior main clause. In both 20:12 and 3:12 the translator seems to give prominence to εὖ (20:12)[60] and to ἐγώ (3:12) respectively.

As Aubrey notes with respect to content questions, Greek Exodus only in one context pulls the enclitic forward and links it with the interrogative (2:14). In all other situations in which enclitics are found in content questi-

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[58] Aubrey, "Prosodic Phonology…," 11.

[59] The material within the parentheses is not in the MT.

[60] A. Aejmalaeus, in "What Can We Know About the *Vorlage*," in: *On The Trail of the Septuagint Translators. Collected Essays* (Kampen, Netherlands: Kok Pharos, 1993), 111, argues that "the additional words in the Septuagint of Ex 20, 12 were included in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the translator." Given the translator's observed practice regarding pronouns, the presence of a preposed pronoun does not assist us in answering the question of whether this material was present in the translator's source text. If the Hebrew text of Exodus used by the translator was similar to that found in the Nash Papyrus (ייטב לך ולמען), then the translator has transposed the enclitic pronoun in his translation to a pre-verbal position.

ons the translator followed the Hebrew word order (5:22; 6:12,30; 15:11(2x); 17:2; 32:21).

> 2:14   ὁ δὲ εἶπεν Τίς σε κατέστησεν ἄρχοντα...
>
> ויאמר מי שָׂמְךָ לְאִישׁ שַׂר
>
>   And he said, "Who appointed you ruler…
>
> 17:2   Τί λοιδορεῖσθέ μοι καὶ τί πειράζετε κύριον;
>
> מה־תריבון עמדי מה־תנסון את־יהוה
>
>   Why are you railing at me and why are you testing the Lord?

If we apply the principle of prosodic phonology in these situations, then in 2:14 the prominence in the content question falls upon Τίς; however, in 17:2 the verbal phrase receives the sentence stress. Perhaps the parallelism with the second clause exercises some influence in the translator's decision not to pull the enclitic forward in 17:2.[61]

Several times enclitics are preposed in relative clauses (7:2; 9:19; 25:8; 31:6). These all occur following forms of ὅσος and never after the simple relative pronoun. At 7:2 Yahweh commands Moses to tell Pharaoh πάντα, ὅσα **σοι** ἐντέλλομαι (את כל־אשר אצוך). Only here in Greek Exodus is a dative pronoun in a pre-verbal position with ἐντέλλομαι (cf. 4:28; 7:6,10,20; 23:15; 25:21; 29:35;31:11; 32:8;34:11,18, 22,34; 40:14), not reflecting the Hebrew word order. The attachment of the enclitic σοι to the relative pronoun ὅσα marks the relative pronoun, i.e. "**all these things which** I am commanding **to you**." Moses is not to omit anything even though he is addressing Pharaoh. In the same context (7:1) a pronoun precedes its head noun.

Yahweh concludes the introduction to his instructions to Moses regarding the Tabernacle at 25:8. In the Greek text Yahweh tells Moses that "you shall make for me according to all ὅσα ἐγώ **σοι** δεικνύω (אשר אני מראה אותך)." The Greek text links the enclitic with ἐγώ. The Greek translator gives prominence to the one who is showing, i.e. "according to all that **I** show **you**…." A similar sequence occurs in 31:6 where Yahweh tells Moses that he has appointed

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[61] In 6:12,30 Moses resists Yahweh's instruction to deliver a message to Pharaoh, asking: Καὶ πῶς εἰσακούσεταί **μου** Φαραώ; ואיך ישמעני פרעה

   And how **will** Pharaoh **listen to me**?

6:30 has a slightly different Hebrew text: ואיך ישמע אלי פרעה, but the sense seems to be the same. Another significant context is 32:21 where Moses interrogates Aaron regarding the golden calf and asks:

   Τί ἐποίησέν **σοι** ὁ λαὸς οὗτος,.   מה־עשה לך העם הזה..

   What **did** this people **do to you**,…

The translator, however, is following the Hebrew word order precisely in these cases.

and empowered Bezeleel and Eliab to make "all the things ὅσα **σοι** συνέταξα (אשר צויתך)." This context (25:8) is the only place in Greek Exodus in which this verb is used with a pre-verbal dative enclitic pronoun. Given the place in the narrative where this occurs, perhaps the translator places similar prominence on ὅσα, i.e. **all the things** that **I** commanded **you**."

The other context is 9:19 where the pre-verbal placement of the enclitic follows the Hebrew word order:

καὶ ὅσα σοί ἐστιν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ   .ואת כל־אשר לך בשדה

The translator has added ἐστιν and his placement of this in the clause creates the enclitic relationship between ὅσα σοί. In this sense the translator is responsible for the ordering, but technically speaking he does follow the Hebrew word order.[62] So perhaps there is no specific motivation on the part of the translator to stress the relative pronoun, other than this may occur because he has followed the Hebrew word order.

In one context the translator used a pre-verbal enclitic with an articulated infinitive:

33:3   διὰ τὸ λαὸν σκληροτράχηλόν σε εἶναι   כי עם־קשה־ארף אתה

Once again the verbal form εἶναι is an addition in the Greek text, making explicit the sense of the Hebrew construction. The predicate nominative is already in the pre-verbal position receiving prominence, which may be heightened by the linkage with the enclitic pronoun. However, apart from the infinitive, the Greek text follows the Hebrew word order.

Displacement of pronominal elements is not limited to enclitic forms. Third person pronominal forms and in one context a first person plural pronoun also are located in pre-verbal settings, in contrast to the Hebrew word order.

Table 6: Accusative and Dative Third Person and First Person Plural Pronouns in Pre-verbal Position in Greek Exodus[63]

Clause Type	Greek and Hebrew Text	
Declarative clause	λέγουσα Ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος **αὐτὸν** ἀνειλόμην / ותאמר מן־המים משׁיתהו	2:10; 5:16 (ἡμῖν) With an equative verb: 4:16; 21:34,36

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[62] The translator adds a form of εἰμι and positions it after enclitic pronominals at 3:15; 9:19; 33:3. When the translator used γίνομαι he adhered to the Hebrew word order when this verb is accompanied by an enclitic apart from 20:12.

[63] In these cases the Greek word order is different from that of the Hebrew text.

Comparative clause	καθότι δὲ **αὐτοὺς** ἐταπείνουν / וכאשר יענו אתו	1:12
Relative clause	καὶ ἐποίησεν ὅσα **αὐτῷ** εἶπεν / אשר־עשה יהוה לישראל	18:24[64]
Infinitive	ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἠδύναντο **αὐτὸ** ἔτι κρύπτειν / ולא־יכלה עוד הצפינו	2:3; 4:24

Within declarative clauses this occurs twice (2:10; 5:16) with transitive verbs and three times with equative verb forms (4:16; 21:34,36). At 2:10 the Hebrew text offers an explanation for Moses' name:

<div dir="rtl">

λέγουσα Ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος αὐτὸν ἀνειλόμην…..ותאמר מן־המים משׁיתהו

</div>

If as Dover and Horrocks[65] contend αὐτὸν as a third person pronoun should be regarded as enclitic, then its re-ordering in this context points more explicitly to the focal element in the clause, i.e. Ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος. It is the deliberate re-ordering vis-à-vis the Hebrew text and the placement of the pronoun at the focus of its clause which deserves note.

There is only one example of a first person plural pronoun displacement at 5:16. The Israelites complain about the harsh measures imposed for brick-making:

<div dir="rtl">

καὶ τὸν πλίνθον ἡμῖν λέγουσιν ποιεῖν   ולבנים אמרים לנו עשׂו

</div>

The translator follows the pre-verbal placement of the object τὸν πλίνθον in the Hebrew text for this and the preceding clause, by which these elements are given prominence. However, the translator places ἡμῖν in front of the verb, contrary to the Hebrew word order. The pronoun links with the focal element in its clause.

We have already commented on one aspect of 4:16, but in the final clause of that verse we find another dislocation:

<div dir="rtl">

σὺ δὲ αὐτῷ ἔσῃ τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν…..ואתה תהיה־לו לאלהים

</div>

but you for him shall be the things pertaining to God

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[64] At 21:8 we read ἦν αὐτῷ καθωμολογήσατο אשׁר־לא יעדה. The translator read the qere לו and not the kethib לא, but the result in the Greek text is a dative pronoun in the pre-verbal position. Note the variants in the Greek tradition. However, because the Greek translation does not represent a reordering of the Hebrew text it is not included in this discussion.

[65] G. Horrocks, *Greek* (2010), 109. K.J. Dover, *Greek Word Order*, 12-13.

Whether the placement of αὐτῷ in this context is intended to give greater prominence to σὺ as seems to be the case with the enclitic linkage in 33:12, or whether it places αὐτῷ in the focal point of the clause may be questioned. Perhaps the translator accomplishes both purposes concurrently. This is the third clause in this verse that exhibits a form of dislocation. Note also the change in word order in the comparative clause in 1:12:

καθότι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐταπείνουν, τοσούτῳ πλείους ἐγίνοντο

וכאשׁר יענו אתו כן ירבה

It may be in this instance that the translator through a different word order intends to create greater parallelism between the dependent and independent clauses – [X] + object/complement + verb [imperfect]. The comparison in this complex sentence creates an expanding focus, to which the placement of the pronoun αὐτοὺς may give prominence.

The two instances at 21:34,36 occur in the legal material.

τὸ δὲ τετελευτηκὸς αὐτῷ ἔσται   והמת יהיה־לו
but that which is dead [animal fallen into a pit] shall be his
    [one paying the fine]
ὁ δὲ τετελευτηκὼς αὐτῷ ἔσται   והמת יהיה־לו
but the one [bull] that died shall be his [one paying the fine]

In both contexts the dative pronoun may give prominence to the reality that what this person gets from this judgment is dead. In v. 35 there is also dislocation in the noun phrase τινὸς ταῦρος שׁור־אישׁ.

In the relative clause at 18:24 the writer reports how Moses complied with the leadership proposal suggested by his father-in-law:

καὶ ἐποίησεν ὅσα αὐτῷ εἶπεν   ויעשׂ כל אשׁר אמר

The translator not only adds αὐτῷ, but puts it in a pre-verbal position within the relative clause. It is in the focal position within its clause. This verse summarizes and concludes this interchange between Moses and Jethro. At the beginning of Jethro's proposal (v.18)[66] the translator has also reordered the Hebrew text substantially:

Οὐκ ὀρθῶς σὺ ποιεῖς τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο   לא־טוב הדבר אשׁר אתה עשׂה

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[66] Note also Jethro's question in v.14 Τί τοῦτο, ὃ σὺ ποιεῖς τῷ λαῷ;

Perhaps it may not be too much to suggest that the reordering in v.24 reflects this transposition in v.18 (the same expression in v.14) which begins Jethro's speech in the Greek text.

Finally, we have two dislocations related to infinitives:

2:3 ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἠδύναντο αὐτὸ ἔτι κρύπτειν   ולא־יכלה עוד הצפינו

4:24 καὶ ἐζήτει αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι   ויבקש המיתו

Both contexts describe complications in the narrative that have to be resolved. In both cases Moses is the object and the narrative development creates a threat to his life. The translator placed the object pronoun prior to the infinitive and immediately following the main verb. Perhaps this serves to give prominence to the main verbs in each case.

These instances of dislocation seem to enable the object pronouns to give prominence to focal elements within their clause or enhance parallelism with nearby clauses. They also tend to occur in narrative contexts in which emotion, threats to the main character, surprise, or resolution to a situation is being expressed.

2.3 Transpositions of Pronominals Following Verb Forms

In Greek Exodus there are two categories in which pronoun positions following verbs differ in comparison to the Hebrew text (at least the MT). In most of these cases the Greek pronominal elements function primarily as indirect objects (or dative of reference occasionally) following the verbs, but are transposed with reference to expressed subject or object elements.

Table 7: Additional Categories of Variation in Pronominal Positions in Greek Exodus

Verb + pronominal suffix (object) or object marker + pronominal suffix > preposition + pronominal suffix והינקהו לי	(5) Verb > pronominal enclitic (dative)> pronoun (accusative) καὶ θήλασόν **μοι** αὐτό 2:9; 6:8; 13:11; 16:32.

Verb > subject > preposition + pronominal suffix or object marker + pronominal suffix כאשׁר צוה יהוה אתם	(7) Verb [> X] > pronoun (dative) > subject (usually κύριος) καθάπερ ἐνετείλατο **αὐτοῖς** κύριος (7:6)[67] 3:2; 4:6; 6:26; 7:6,10,13,20; 16:24; 18:9(לישׂראל – αὐτοῖς); 19:7, 19, 24; 20:20 (אל־העם – αὐτοῖς); 34:31; 40:14
	(7) Verb > pronoun (accusative) > subject ἐξήγαγεν **ὑμᾶς** κύριος ἐντεῦθεν 13:3. 13:19b; 16:32[68]
Verb > noun + pronominal suffix אם־תשׂא חטאתם	(5?) Verb > pronoun (dative) > object εἰ μὲν ἀφεῖς **αὐτοῖς** τὴν ἁμαρτίαν 32:32.

Funk indicates that "unemphatic pronouns tend to follow immediately on the verb, as do other parts of the sentence governed by the verb, especially when the subject is expanded."[69] However, the subjects in many of these clauses (κύριος, θεός, or Μωυσῆς) do not fit the classification of "expanded subjects." Horrocks' observed "an increasingly standard V(erb)—clitic—S(ubject) - O(bject) order, with VSO then becoming routine even in the absence of a motivating clitic,…"[70] Wevers observed that "when a verb is followed both by a noun as subject as well as a dative pronoun the usual order in Exod is verb-dative pronoun-subject noun."[71] He notes "48 instances" and only in four of them did the translator invert the order to verb-subject noun-pronoun (12:13, 25; 13:8; 26:33).[72] These exceptions, even though they follow the

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[67] Greek follows Hebrew word order for this specific clause at 9:29; 12:35; 17:2,10; 18:8,20.

[68] At 16:32 the Greek translation reads ὡς ἐξήγαγεν ὑμᾶς κύριος ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου (בהוציאי אתכם). The Greek text places the pronominal direct object before the expressed subject κύριος, which would have been first person singular (ἐγώ) in direct discourse. It is an example of category 7 (Table 9) for these reasons.

[69] R. Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago, Ill: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), 248 (§472(1d)).

[70] Horrocks, *Greek* (2010), 109.

[71] Wevers, *Text History*, 174.

[72] Ibid. Perhaps 4:14 ὅτι λαλῶν λαλήσει αὐτός σοι הוא כי דבר ידבר should be added to the list of exceptions, at least from the standpoint of the Greek text. To be sure the translator seems to have added σοι as a clarification. This dative is not an indirect object in this context, but rather a dative of reference ("when he speaks, he will speak for you"), but then the dative pronouns in 12:13 and 13:8 also are not functioning as indirect objects.

source text's word order, from the standpoint of the translator's normal prac-
tice in such cases they are unusual. [73]

Eighteen times Greek Exodus the ordering of subject and dative pronoun
following a verb is transposed in the Greek text, with the dative pronoun
placed before the subject (3:2; 4:6; 6:26; 7:6,10,13,20; 12:35; 16:24; 18:9;
19:7,24; 20:20; 32:28,29; 34:4,31; 40:14). All of these occur with the third
person pronoun. The most frequent example of this occurs with the repeated
clause καθάπερ ἐνετείλατο αὐτοῖς κύριος כאשר צוה יהוה אתם (7:6).[74] In some
contexts the Hebrew text has both elements which the translator has reor-
dered (3:2; 4:6; 6:26; 7:6; 19:7,24; 20:20; 34:4,31; 40:14) and in other con-
texts the Greek text has a dative pronoun when the Hebrew text has no pro-
nominal element (7:10,13,20; 12:35; 16:24; 18:9; 32:28,29) or has a subject
noun when the Hebrew text has no explicit subject (34:34). Such plusses
(presuming the translator did not have such elements in his Hebrew text) fit
the translator's penchant to remove ambiguity of referents. This ordering
seems more suitable to Koine Greek.

Occasionally the Hebrew verb-subject noun-accusative (second person
plural) pronoun sequence is also reordered in the Greek text to verb-accu-
sative object-subject noun sequence (13:3,19; cf. 16:9). As Wevers indicates,
the translator probably in these two contexts is following his normal order of
accusative pronoun-subject noun even though it does not represent the He-
brew text.

As well in some contexts the ordering of accusative pronoun and dative
pronoun following the verb is transposed in Greek Exodus (2:9(μοι);
6:7(ἐμαυτῷ),8(ὑμῖν); 13:11(σοι); 22:30(μοι); 29:1(μοι)) relative to the He-
brew word order.[75] What leads the translator in these specific contexts to alter

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[73] Second person plural dative pronouns tend to follow the Hebrew sequence of verb-
subject noun-dative pronoun (12:25; 16:15; 26:33). At 10:5 the Hebrew participial phrase
את־יתר הפלטה הנשארת לכם מן־הברד was rendered as πᾶν τὸ περισσὸν τὸ καταλειφθέν, ὃ
κατέλιπεν ὑμῖν ἡ χάλαζα, which is a significant, but sensible restructuring of the Hebrew
syntax. In the relative clause the Greek text follows the Hebrew sequence of participle-
preposition/pronoun with κατέλιπεν ὑμῖν but represents the prepositional phrase מן־הברד as
the subject ἡ χάλαζα. The Greek sequence follows the Hebrew sequence even though the
syntax is altered.

[74] Wevers, *Text History*, 174, observed that "whenever the verb ἐντέλλομαι is modified
by a dative pronoun in Exod, it follows the verb immediately." One exception is 7:2 ὅσα
σοι ἐντέλλομαι אשר אצוך which I discuss earlier in the paper. The translator follows the
same practice in the case of συντάσσω.

[75] At 32:32 the Greek reads εἰ μὲν ἀφεῖς αὐτοῖς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν אם־תשא חטאתם. The trans-
lator used the dative third person plural pronoun rather than the genitive form which would

the word order remains unclear. In the case of 2:9 it may be the influence of the two surrounding clauses in which the dative pronoun immediately follows the verb, thereby creating parallelism in the three clauses. In 6:7 Yahweh is making a declaration to Israel:

καὶ λήμψομαι ἐμαυτῷ ὑμᾶς λαὸν ἐμοί[76]   ולקחתי אתכם לי לעם

The translator has adjusted the Hebrew syntax so that λαὸν becomes a second object,[77] complementing ὑμᾶς; as well λαὸν is modified by the dative of possession ἐμοί, using a non-enclitic form of the pronoun. Perhaps the translator has interpreted לי as modifying the elements that both precede and follow it in the Hebrew text. In Wevers' opinion this addition of first personal reference "intentionally emphasizes the first person, thereby effectively placing all the impetus for covenantal action in God's hands."[78] In the following verse (6:8), Yahweh promises:

καὶ δώσω ὑμῖν αὐτὴν ἐν κλήρῳ[79]   ונתתי אתה לכם מורשה

Wevers comments: "Whenever an accusative third person pronoun and a first or second person dative pronoun occur after a verbal form, Exod has the order dative-accusative regardless of the Hebrew."[80] He notes 2:9; 6:8; 13:11; 22:30; 29:1. Presumably then something within Koine Greek usage is motivating this alteration, but what it may signify in terms of information transfer is unclear.

    At 13:11 the translator has rendered the Hebrew text as καὶ δῷ σοι αὐτὴν ונתנה לך. Whenever this verb is modified by dative and accusative pronouns in Greek Exodus, the dative pronoun immediately follows the verb (following

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have created a possessive pronoun. However, the translator still placed the dative pronoun prior to the direct object. According to Sollamo, "The Place of the Enclitic Personal Pronouns in the Old Greek Psalter," 157, "…the translator created a very elegant and idiomatic Greek expression."

    [76] ἐμαυτῷ/ὑμᾶς] tr A F M *O* '' -29 (72) 82 *C* '' *b* -314* *n s x y* 128′ 18 55 59 76′ 646′ Phil I 238[te Lat]cod 100 Ambr *Cain* II 10 Aeth Arab Arm Co Syh = M

    [77] This is the only case in Greek Exodus where λαμβάνειν takes a double accusative. Cf. R. Helbing, *Die Kasussyntax der Verba bei den LXX* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rup-recht, 1928), 53. The dative reflexive pronoun is also used with this verb at 12:21; 30:34

    [78] Wevers, *Notes*, 76.

    [79] ὑμῖν/αὐτὴν] om αὐτήν 76′ 799 Aeth[MPR]; tr A M *O*'' -58 135 *cII* -52* 54 422 *b d* -125 *f* 628 85 *t* -84 *x y* -318 18 55 59 509 [Lat]cod 100 Arab Arm Co Syh = M.

    [80] Wevers, *Text History*, 173. He also notes that "Whenever both pronouns are third person the order is the reverse, i.e. accusative-dative." At 22:17 the Greek text has ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῆς δοῦναι αὐτὴν αὐτῷ.

the same pattern as ἐντέλλομαι). However, when the expressed subject follows this verb which is modified by a dative pronoun, the noun subject precedes the dative pronoun (cf. 12:25; 16:8,25), reflecting Hebrew word order. So in the case of 13:11 the translator seems to be following his normal word order preference.[81]

The last instance (29:1) is unusual in that it occurs within a result clause and the third person accusative pronoun functions as subject of the infinitive.

ὥστε ἱερατεύειν μοι αὐτούς   לכהן לי

The translator makes the subject explicit presumably to remove any hint that Moses, the subject of the preceding relative clause, might be construed as the subject of this infinitive. The third person plural pronoun occurs twice in the preceding clause and adding it in the result clause extends this parallelism.

In one instance the translator has rendered a noun + pronominal suffix as an enclitic dative pronoun placed before the noun (2:9).

ἐγὼ δὲ δώσω σοι τὸν μισθόν   ואני אתן את־שׂכרך

The Greek reorders the Hebrew and by attaching phonologically the enclitic to the verb strengthens this element as receiving the sentence stress. This word order also enhances parallelism with the two preceding clauses.

In these cases of pronominal word order transposition, the translator may in some instances have chosen to make this change in order to emphasize some specific idea, particularly in instances where the transposition involves the addition of a pronoun within the Greek text. In other cases the translator seems to have opted for a preferred word order with specific verbs and resultant verbal phrases, sticking to this order even when it meant changing the word order he found in the Hebrew text (e.g. the patterns with ἐντέλλομαι, δίδωμι/ἀποδίδωμι and συντάσσω). These cases of re-ordering may reflect a tendency in Koine Greek for enclitic pronominals to associate themselves with the primary term in a verb phrase. This tendency also then influenced the position of third person pronominals and plural forms of the enclitic pronominals.

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[81] The compound ἀποδίδωμι follows the same pattern as δίδωμι, with dative pronominals placed immediately after this verb (22:26; 23:4). The usage in 22:30(29) ἀποδώσεις μοι αὐτό תתנו־לי corresponds as well to the observation made concerning the order of accusative third person pronouns and first person dative pronouns (μοι post αὐτό tr Arm Sa Syh = M). Even though this word order contravenes what we have in the Hebrew text, it nevertheless corresponds to the translator's preferred ordering of such pronominal clusters.

3. Summary

These various categories of preposed and transposed pronominals occur across the entirety of Greek Exodus. The following table demonstrates their distribution according to category.

Table 8: Categories: (Differing from MT word order)

1 – preposed before finite verb	5 – indirect object before direct object
2 – preposed before infinitive	6 – possessive pronoun of pred. nom.
3 – preposed before equative verb	preposed before equative verb
4 – preposed possessive pronoun	7 – object before subject
	8 – preposed dative of reference reflexive pronoun

Table 9: Contexts in Greek Exodus (91 contexts)

Reference	Category	Reference	Category	Reference	Category
1:12	1	7:20	7	21:7	4
1:14	4	8:1(7:26)	1	21:34	3
2:3	2	8:20(16)	1	21:36	3
2:9	5	9:1	1	22:30	5
2:10	1	9:19	3	25:8(9)	1
2:11	4	9:34	4	28:37	4
2:14	1	10:1	4	29:35	4
3:2	7	10:6	4	29:45	4
3:12	1	10:17	4	30:28	4
3:15	6	10:28	4	31:6	1
3:18	4	11:1	?	32:27	4
4:6	7	11:9	4	32:32	5?
4:16	1	13:3	7	33:3	3
4:16	4	13:11	5	33:11	4
4:16	3	13:19	4	33:12	1
4:19	4	13:19	7	33:12	1
4:23	1	15:2	4	33:15	1
4:24	2	16:9	4	33:17	?
4:31	4	16:24	7	33:18	8
5:1	1	16:32	7	33:20	4
5:16	1	17:15	4	33:22	4
6:7	5	18:1	4	34:31	7
6:8	5	18:9	7	35:21	4
6:26	7	18:23	4	36:4	4
7:1	4	18:24	1	36:7	?

7:2	1	18:27	4	36:12	4
7:6	7	19:7	7	36:21	4
7:10	7	19:24	7	39:18	4
7:13	7	20:12	?	40:8	4
7:16	1	20:20	7	40:14	7
		21:6	4		

It can be observed that the occurrences, while spread throughout Greek Exodus, also cluster significantly in certain contexts. I commented earlier on 4:16 which has four different types of pronominal alterations:

וְדִבֶּר־הוּא לְךָ אֶל־הָעָם [82] וְהָיָה הוּא יִהְיֶה־לְּךָ לְפֶה וְאַתָּה תִּהְיֶה־לּוֹ לֵאלֹהִים

Καὶ αὐτός σοι προσλαλήσει πρὸς τὸν λαόν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται σου στόμα, σὺ δὲ αὐτῷ ἔσῃ τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν.

In each clause the subject is made explicit in the Greek text, regardless of source text content. In the first clause the pronominal subject precedes the verb and a dative of reference, enclitic pronominal σοι is preposed before the verb; in the second clause the translator altered the Hebrew structure by omitting היה and using a preposed enclitic possessive pronominal σου before its noun, streamling the source text;[83] and in the third clause the translator used the possessive dative, third person pronoun αὐτῷ placed before the verb. Presumably the last variation rendering לאלהים as τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν removes any sense that Moses acts as Aaron's god (note as well how this phrase parallels the previous πρὸς τὸν λαόν).

   Wevers' suggests that in the first clause the translator introduces the transposition of σοι prior to its verb in order "to emphasize the relation of Moses to Aaron; the speaking is of Aaron, but it is performed for Moses."[84] This may explain the exegetical reason for the translator's action, but it does not explain why this transposition expresses such emphasis, i.e. why linking the enclitic accentually with the initial term in the clause conveys emphasis. Wevers does not comment on the other pronominal alterations. Are these additional transpositions also a means of giving prominence to various ele-

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[82] The translator streamlines the syntax by not representing the initial היה.

[83] Sollamo, "The Place of the Enclitic Personal Pronouns in the Old Greek Psalter", 155, notes a similar translation strategy was used by the Greek Psalter to render אתה סתר לי מצר as σύ μου εἶ καταφυγὴ ἀπὸ θλίψεως (31(32):7). However, in this case the translator has not just transposed the possessive enclitic to a pre-nominal position, but to a pre-verbal position.

[84] Wevers, *Notes*, 49.

ments and identifying them as the "focus" point of the clause, or are they merely normative Greek orderings which the translator for some reason has chosen to use in this context? Within the pericope 4:16 expresses Yahweh's concluding statement to Moses, ending this extensive and somewhat combative interchange.[85]

In some contexts such as 2:9-10, I hypothesize that the translator has transposed pronominal elements because he has been influenced by other patterns in the surrounding sentence structures.

εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἡ θυγάτηρ Φαραώ   ותאמר לה בת־פרעה
(1)<u>Διατήρησόν μοι τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο</u>,   היליכי את־הילד הזה
(2)καὶ <u>θήλασόν μοι αὐτό</u>,   והינקהו לי
(3)ἐγὼ δὲ <u>δώσω σοι τὸν μισθόν</u>   ואני אתן את־שׂכרך

In clause (1) the Greek text follows the word order of MT (verb + pronominal object suffix (1st pr.sg.)) > direct object >demonstrative pronoun) isomorphically. In this case the dative is probably a dative of reference. However, clause (2) in the Greek text diverges from the Hebrew order (waw + imperative + pronominal object suffix > preposition + pronominal suffix (1st pr. sg.)) by placing μοι = לך before the direct object αὐτό (= pronominal object suffixed to the verb). The dative μοι in this instance is not the indirect object, but rather dative of reference. Lastly the third clause in Hebrew has a single object modified by a second person pronominal suffix ("your wage"). The translator, choosing his normal equivalent δίδωμι = נתן, is led to incorporate an indirect object in his rendering, representing את־שׂכרך as σοι τὸν μισθόν. This imitates the same form as the previous two clauses, but for different syntactical reasons. The Greek text as a result incorporates three parallel clauses with the order verb, dative pronoun, accusative object, even though the translator alters the source text structure in the last two clauses to create this parallelism. By linking the enclitic pronouns with the verb the translator gives prominence to the verbs in each clause.[86]

Greek Ex 33 also incorporates a significant number of transpositions. One of the more interesting ones occurs in 33:12. Moses remonstrates with Yahweh over his command that Moses lead Israel to Palestine (cf. 33:1).

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[85] The preceding verse (4:15) uses the phrases τὸ στόμα σου καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ, replicating the Hebrew word order.

[86] The Hebrew text may also give prominence to the verbs in the first two clauses, but the initial אני in the third clause probably is given prominence.

a) ἰδοὺ <u>σύ μοι</u> λέγεις Ἀνάγαγε τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον· σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἐδήλωσάς
μοι ὃν συναποστελεῖς μετ'ἐμού

ראה אתה אמר אלי העל את־העם הזה
אתה לא הודעתני את אשר־תשלח עמי

<u>b) σὺ δέ μοι</u> εἶπας Οἶδά σε παρὰ πάντας, καὶ χάριν ἔχεις παρ' ἐμοί
ואתה אמרת ידעתיך בשם וגם־מצאת חן בעיני

Here again we see the translator creating parallelism. The structure of clauses
a and b is the same (taking into account the postpositive character of δέ), but
this similarity is created by the addition of μοι by the translator in the second
clause. A corresponding pronoun is not expressed in the Hebrew text, alt-
hough its sense is implicit. Yahweh is issuing a new command in the present,
but according to Moses Yahweh has not confirmed his previous affirmation
that "you have favour with me." The parallelism created by the translator
serves to underscore the anomaly.

    However, there is the prior question about the translator's decision to posi-
tion the dative enclitic pronoun μοι before the verb λέγεις in contrast to the
Hebrew word order (אמר אלי). Does this represent an unconscious return to
default principles (whatever they might be) that governed his understandding
of literary Greek word order   or a conscious adoption of a Greek word
order option because he is marking prominence by positioning it at the focal
point of the clause and/or enhancing parallelism with the following clause?
Perhaps something of the emotional nuance of this interchange is being
marked by the translator.

    Finally, a brief look at 33:20:

    Οὐ δυνήσῃ ἰδεῖν μου τὸ πρόσωπον· οὐ γὰρ μὴ ἴδῃ ἄνθρωπος
    τὸ πρόσωπόν μου καὶ ζήσεται.

    לא תוכל לראת את־פני כי לא־יראני האדם וחי

The translator preposed μου 1˚and added τὸ πρόσωπόν μου in the second
clause where the Hebrew text only has the first person object suffix attached
to the verb ("me"). By linking the enclitic with the verb the translator may be
giving prominence to the impossibility of *seeing* Yahweh's face. This is then
emphasized in the double negation of the following, explanatory clause,
where ἄνθρωπος occupies the position held by μου in the first clause. The
contrast between Yahweh and האדם is emphasized. The parallelism created by
the addition of τὸ πρόσωπόν μου again is evident.

These instances of pronominal dislocations are not always unconscious assimilations to Greek word order or momentary lapses of attention to isomorphic standards, but rather deliberate alterations in word order to communicate specific nuances of meaning in the resultant translation. They indicate an attention to the larger literary context in the translation process. These re-orderings serve as another indicator that the Greek translator of Exodus is not only interested in providing a workable translation, but one which reads well in the target language.

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Rethinking Habakuk 1:12 in Light of Translation Style and the Literary Character of Ambakoum

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Introduction

The translation of MT Hab 1:12d (וצור להוכיח יסדתו) into the Old Greek of the LXX (LXX/OG) is generally explained as the result of error by the translator. Instead of showing evidence of the freer aspect of the translator's style, both the first (צור) and final (יסד) words are categorised as a form of misreading. It is a commonly agreed phenomenon, with ample evidence at hand, that, in the process of interpreting their Hebrew *Vorlage*, translators made errors. The nature of such mistakes differs in degree and complexity from book to book. The confusion of similar looking letters and forms, which resulted in misreadings, or alternate vocalisation of words, or simple guess-work, to name a few, occurs in a number of places. Yet, at the same time, so does the degree by which translators freely interpreted their texts, which affected their semantic and grammatical choices.

Before endeavouring to explain the nature of the style used in this specific case, a sketch of some basic methodological assumptions and a few remarks on translation style in the LXX are necessary. Firstly, in following Dines, the term *technique*, e.g. translator's technique, could be misleading. There does not appear to be any evidence that the translators held to a formal technique in a modern sense, i.e. dynamic or formal equivalence, and applied it systematically to their works.[1] Rather, the fluidity of choice between words, syntax, and grammar, from context to context, elucidates a specific individual's *style*. This may have been a hodgepodge of varying good and bad choices, but this nonetheless reflects a personal style.

Secondly, where the translator had difficulty understanding his text, i.e. guessed at word meanings, doubled difficult to understand words, etc., in each respect, the translator is acting improvisedly. This term, *improvisation*, is the process and result of a LXX/OG translator who, while attempting a

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[1] Cf. Jennifer M. Dines, *The Septuagint* (London: T & T Clark, 2004), 118-20.

rather literal translation, encounters a linguistic difficulty and does his best to translate it by recourse through any number of different approaches, which are evident in the textual divergences.[2] These particular changes are not meant to be considered part of a free style.

Lastly, the idea that a translator would manipulate his translation intentionally may be a difficult pill to swallow, even in the case of improvisation, as it "may appear to do violence to the text."[3] But the warrant for such changes was partly due to the trouble with the reading and/or comprehension of a word or phrase. Naturally this was not haphazard, but often suited the context. This happens to some degree in LXX/OG Hab. What is noteworthy is that it occurs in conjunction with a free interpretation, which shows how free and improvised translation appear at times to be blended.

The Hab 1:12 Translation Problem

	LXX/OG Hab 1:12c-d	MT Hab 1:12c-d
c	κύριε εἰς κρίμα τέταχας αὐτόν /	יהוה למשפט שמתו \
d	καὶ ἔπλασέν με τοῦ ἐλέγχειν παιδείαν αὐτοῦ	וצור להוכיח יסדתו
c	O Lord, you have appointed him for judgement,	O YHWH, you have appointed him for judgement,
d	and you have made me to correct his education.	and, O Rock, you have established him for reproof.

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[2] The supra-category *improvisation* is composed of the categories put forth by Tov, and further explained and applied by Palmer and Glenny, and includes other features such as double translation. This new term brings together these features and implies the nature of the translator's effort within a literal LXX/OG translation. It does not refer to the process and result of making a natural or free reading. Improvisation occurs when there is a difficulty that is only resolved through one or a combination of: contextual guesses, contextual changes/manipulations, double translation, untranslated words, reliance on parallelism, employment of general words, and etymological renderings. Cf. Emanuel Tov, "Did The Septuagint Translators Always Understand their Hebrew Text?" (1984) now in: E. Tov, *The Greek and Hebrew Bible. Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (SVT 72; eds. H. M. Barstad et al.; Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1999), 203-18; Edward W. Glenny, *Finding Meaning in the Text: Translation Technique and Theology in the Septuagint of Amos* (SVT 126; Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009), 26-27, 72; James Karol Palmer, "'Not Made with Tracing Paper.' Studies in the Septuagint of Zechariah," (PhD diss., Cambridge University, 2004), 40-67.

[3] Cf. Palmer, 47. Furthermore, we note that Tov changed the title of this category from contextual *change* ('84) to contextual *manipulation* in his revised essay ('99). The change is a little jarring and the former perhaps more diplomatic. Cf. Tov, *The Greek and Hebrew Bible*, 204; Tov, "Did The Septuagint Translators Always Understand their Hebrew Text?" 55.

The case study of LXX/OG Hab 1:12d evinces the translator's style where he combines both improvised and free choices. This may be better understood within its overall and immediate literary context. For the purpose of this essay it is also presupposed that the translator-scribe had at least a sentence-level knowledge of his source text. This would include knowledge of the book's thematic content, theological highlights, and literary flow and purport.[4]

The difference between the translation and source of Hab 1:12d can be seen by the inversion of the syntax, where the first noun is taken verbally, and the controlling finite verb is substantive, though still retaining a pronoun. Harl et al. explain this change as highly interpretative. It directs the reader away from the thought that God is personally involved in the judgement of his people:

> peut-être choqué par l'idée que l'envahisseur puisse être chargé par Dieu de châ-tier Israël, le traducteur reporte cette fonction sur le prophète qui reçoit un rôle pédagogique.[5]

This is explained in two ways. Firstly, instead of following the Hebrew across the two lines (יהוה למשפט שמתו \ וצור להוכיח יסדתו), which makes one fundamental point of the Chaldean chastening of Israel, the translation instead makes two. The first line agrees that the Chaldeans are to invade (*Seigneur, pour le jugement tu l'as placé* [κύριε εἰς κρίμα τέταχας αὐτόν]), which is a close literal translation of the Hebrew; then the second line announces a new role for the LXX prophet *Ambakoum* (*et il m'a façonné pour que j'atteste son enseignement* [καὶ ἔπλασέν με τοῦ ἐλέγκειν παιδείαν αὐτοῦ])[6] – implying he must explain why God's people thus suffer.[7] This second line marks a clear departure in meaning from the source.

Most critiques of the translator's approach explain that his word-choices were sought atomistically; hence each word-choice is understood by how

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[4] Cf. Arie van der Kooij, "Textual Witnesses to the Hebrew Bible and the History of Reception. The Case of Habakkuk 1:11-12," in: *Die Textfunde vom Toten Meer und der Text der Hebräischen Bibel* (eds. Ulrich Dahmen, Armin Lange, and Hermann Lichtenberger; Neukirchen-Vluyn, Germany: Neukirchener Verlagsgesellschaft, 2000), 91-92.

[5] Cf. Marguerite Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes* (BdA 23.4-9; Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1999), 268.

[6] Cf. Ibid.

[7] A similar role change also occurred in 1QpHab where God hands over judgement into the hand of בחירו to judge all the nations. This shift in sense, explained later in the pesher, moves judgement from the hand of the nations, i.e. the Kittim, to the agency of God's elect. Therefore, God is still judge of the nations, but not the one directly executing it.

each translated word corresponds, in sequence, with its source word.[8] This means that the way to understand ἔπλασέν [με] is through a misreading of וצור, and in turn παιδείαν αὐτοῦ through misreading יסדתו. Because of the word-order literalism within the book this approach is partly valid, but might inadvertently rule out other factors that were germane to the translator's choices. As shall be explained, the evidence shows that the translation choices were due to linguistic factors that were part of a clause-wide decision.[9]

Scholars have pointed out that the difference in translation of the first word could be the result of either a vocalisation change,[10] or a misreading, so

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[8] Cf. van der Kooij, "Textual Witnesses to the Hebrew Bible," 91.

[9] A comparison between MurXII and 1QpHab to the MT demonstrates negligible differences in the biblical text for Hab 1:12. It is a little unfortunate that MurXII has not been preserved to reveal the words of major interest in our study, viz. וצור, and יסדתו. 1QpHab differs in the prepositional phrase of line four by taking the *hipʿil* inf. as a *hipʿil* ptc., thus למוכיחו, plus suf. This is unlikely the result of a misreading, and, as Kim explains, altered for interpretative reasons. The suf. was likely added cataphorically so that it anticipates the interpretation. Because its absence leaves open the interpretation, it was, therefore, added intentionally to concretise the referent. As Kim concludes, "In 1QpHab wurden beide Wörter, deren Adressaten in MT nicht konkret sind, durch die bloße Hinzufügung eines Pronominalsuffixes am Ende des *lemmas* konkretisiert." Moreover, as Brownlee notes, "this widely divergent text is essential to the interpretation given in the document [1QpHab]." Lastly, Andersen also comments that the first word of this clause, צור, can here be only understood as a noun, and in this context, as a vocative in poetic apposition to יהוה, as in the MT. In sum, there is so little difference between the Heb. manuscripts that an alternate *Vorlage* for either the copyist of MurXII or 1QpHab does not seem likely, at least in this section. Cf. Jong-Hoon Kim, "Intentionale Varianten der Habakukzitate im Pesher Habakuk: Rezeptionsästhetisch untersucht," *Bib* 88, no. 1 (2007): 31-32; W. H. Brownlee, *The Text of Habakkuk in the Ancient Commentary from Qumran* (JBL 11; Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, 1959), 26-27; Francis I. Andersen, *Habakkuk: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (25; New York; London: Anchor Bible/Doubleday, 2001), 180.

[10] Brownlee's case for a misreading of the Hebrew is derived from an understanding through either צור or יצר. As he explains, "…one has a choice between צור II, [צור] III, and צרר I & III, with common meanings such as 'bind, besiege, show hostility, distress.' It would appear best to derive the term from צור in both G [LXX] and DSH [Dead Sea Habakkuk, i.e. 1QpHab]; for this would yield a common term from which the divergent senses of fashion and distress were drawn. If one reads the inf., he may retain MT וצור but interpret it as a verb form." The first choice is more likely due to the non-quiescent first radical *yôd*. In this case the form would be very similar. The first option would yield a reading such as וצורני. In this case we have a difference of three consonants: the middle component, and the pronominal suf. In the second option there is also a consonantal difference of three, ויצרני. There is a *yôd* for the first radical and also the obj. suf. He concludes, however, that the MT form may be retained by instead reading it as an inf. and thus "interpret it as a verb form." This might fall under the category of vocalic variant if further developed. Cf. Brownlee, *The Text of Habakkuk*, 27.

that צור is taken verbally.[11] However, none of the suggestions satisfactorily explains the presence of all the syntactic parts, particularly that of the object pronoun.[12] The logical implication is that this text was based either on a different reading, which must consider the suffix and to a lesser extent the conjunctive, or be attributed to the translator's style.

Similar to the first word, scholars argue that similarity of consonants caused the final word to be mistranslated as παιδείαν αὐτοῦ, misreading it through a form of יסר, though rightly identifying the third-person pronoun.[13] Gelston's observation that the change is a result of what occurred in the first noun is partly correct.[14] The two elements are connected but the linguistic

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[11] Gelston suggests that the trans. saw a verb instead of a noun and merely added the obj., noting also the same interpretation by the Syriac trans. But we note that the latter might have been caused by the former. However, none of this adequately explains the presence of the pron. Cleaver-Bartholomew provides a complicated solution to try and address the presence of the pron. He suggests that, while the *Vorlage* was likely the same as the MT, in light of the accurate reading from 2:18, the translation difference may be understood as: 1) a confusion of *yôds* for *wāws*, and 2) a transposition of the final *rêš* for the pron. The result would be a pseudo-variant of יצרי; the process is: וצור > יציר > יצרי. But, firstly, did the trans. really mix up the difference between an obj. suf. on a pf. verb for a poss. one? Secondly, orthographically speaking, the misreading between a *yôd* and *wāw* could just have easily gone in the other direction. Hence the idea of transposition between the *rêš* and *yôd* is moot. Incidentally, this leaves the addition of the Greek conj. Unexplained. And thirdly, although the form יצרי could be explained as a misreading for a part. with suf., i.e. Isa 49.5, the translation choice would not be consistent with the trans. of verbal participles throughout the book. Thus the problem is regularly compounded by the presence of all syntactic parts. A literal retroversion, in this case, must consider a form and vocalisation such as וַיִּצְרֵנִי. Cf. Anthony Gelston, ed. *The Twelve Minor Prophets* (BHQ 13; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2010), 117; David Cleaver-Bartholomew, "An Analysis of the Old Greek Version of Habakkuk," (PhD diss., The Claremont Graduate University, 1998), 142-43.

[12] Fabry, although discussing the Hebrew reception of Hab. in Qumran, has pointed out the allusive reference of Hab 1:12 in 1QH[a], where the text reads, למשפט יסדתני. There is a vague reference here to MT Hab 1:12, but more so with LXX/OG Hab 1:12 via the presence of the first per. suf. The similarity is observed across the two final Heb. lines of the verse. However, the problem here is that πλάσσω usually translates יצר (also cf. n. 37), and θεμελιόω usually יסד. Hence, while there is not a clear quotation, there exists a similar idea of one being established for judgement. Cf. Hartmut Stegemann and Eileen Schuller, eds., *1QHodayot[a]* (ed. Emanuel Tov; DJD 40; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2009), 167; Heinz-Josef Fabry, "The Reception of Nahum and Habakkuk in the Septuagint and Qumran," in *Emanuel* (eds. Shalom M. Paul et al.; SVT; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 255.

[13] Muraoka notes (†) that the Greek word παιδεία is found twice in reference to an understanding through the Hebrew word מוסר through the root יסר. This is noted for both Amos 3:7 and Hab 1:12. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint (Twelve Prophets)* (Louvain: Peeters, 1993), 181.

[14] Cf. Gelston, ed. *BHQ*, 94, 117.

difficulty was more likely with the final word, which caused the entire clause to be further considered by the translator. The flow of analysis is not linear because the translator is quite likely aware of other elements in his clause. He is making sense of the entire passage, not working word-by-word.

All of these theories have some merit through the similarity found between the forms of each possible solution. The verb root צור is identical in form to the noun צוּר, and יסד is very similar to יסר. Moreover, as Rudolph suggests the translator may have understood this reading through the variant root יָסוּר, thus יִסּוֹרוֹ, which is also found in 4QBeat (ביסוריה).[15] So should this not be simply put to rest as a series of straightforward misreadings? It would be easy to suggest the presence of the pronoun was just the translator's way of making sense of his text – end of story. But this begs further questions. Did he really misread a word (צוּר) so common throughout scripture that it is *always* correctly understood (eighty-two times) by all translators, across all books, including its uses as a metaphor for, or pertaining to, YHWH?[16] Quite notably it is never taken verbally except in this case. Moreover, why would he choose a first person pronoun and not perhaps a third? On what basis did he think himself warranted to recast the prophet as a pedagogue of sorts? This does not mean the translator did not have difficulty with his text. The question is where. How can we explain his approach so that we can rightly understand the reason(s) behind the evidence? To do this we must take a look at some of the other translation features of LXX/OG Hab.

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[15] Cf. Wilhelm Rudolph, *Micha, Nahum, Habakuk, Zephanja* (13.3; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Mohn, 1975), 209; Martin G. Abegg et al., eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance. The Non-Biblical Texts from Qumran [Part One]* (2 vols.; vol. 1; Leiden, The Netherlands; Boston, Mass.: Brill, 2003), 314.

[16] There are sixteen nominal references in the Pentateuch. Of these it is used in three ways: a proper noun (Num 23:9; 25:15; 31:8); a common noun, such as an inanimate obj. like a rock or crag (Ex 17:6(2); 33:21, 22; Deut 8:15; 32:13); and in allusion or direct reference to divinity (Deut 32:4, 15, 18, 30, 31(2), 37). Notably, in every instance in Deut the LXX/OG does not use the metaphor πέτρα but θεός. (This is true in every case, though restricted to Deut. Cf. also Ex 17:6) Outside of the Pentateuch there are sixty-six nominal references that have a number of similar usages. While in every instance where it is used as a metaphor it is made explicit through translation by θεός, or something interpretative of the character of God or his deeds, i.e. helper, strong tower, etc., in only *one instance* is the metaphor taken in a verbal and distinctly different sense: the text of LXX/OG Hab 1:12. Moreover, it seems that changing the word from reference to an inanimate object was part of a translation tradition that subtly addressed an anti-anthropomorphic *Denkart*. Olofsson's work is still the standard on this specific subject; cf. Staffan Olofsson, *God Is My Rock: A Study of Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis in the Septuagint* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1990), 44-45, 140-2, 149-51; Dines, *The Septuagint*, 132.

Throughout LXX/OG Hab there is a consistent change in the prophet's role and experiences as one of Yhwh's prophets, which is unique in the corpus of the Twelve, and something that is not present in the MT.[17] In eight instances the subject or object of a given clause is altered with the result that in most instances the prophet becomes a teacher or undergoes suffering.[18] This occurs by either interpreting a *wāw* for a *yôd*, changing the grammar and semantics, or by adding words. Each instance shows a form of translator improvisation and/or contextual exegesis that alters the reader's perception of the prophet. While the nature of the changes is different from case-to-case,

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[17] There are a number of instances where a first per. perspective is newly introduced into the LXX/OG text of the Twelve (for pronominal: Hos 2:4; 4:4, 11; 6:5; 11:2, 11:3, 4; 12:5; 13:4; Amos 4:10; Mic 6:6, 7, 15; Joel 1:8; 2:27; 4:1; Jon 2:3; Hab 1:11, 12; 2:4, 4; 3:2, 16, 16; Zeph 2:8; Zech 1:6, 10, 17, 17; 2:4; 7:12; 8:12; 14:2; Mal 3:5, 10; for verbal: Hos 10:11, 15; 11:2, 10; Amos 3:15; 4:7; 9:11; Mic 7:3; Joel 2:20; Obd 1:1; Hab 1:2; 3:2; Zech 4:7; 8:8, 12; 13:6; Mal 1:9, 13; 2:2, 3, 13; 3:11). In every instance, except for the majority of references in LXX/OG Hab, the change in speaker or subject refers to God (note the three anomalies below). Of all these instances eighteen times a clause is altered through the addition of a personal pron. or phrase, or change in verbal per. Often this is for emphasis or clarification, e.g. ויאמר / εἶπεν πρός με (Zech 1:10), or ונשא / καὶ λήμψομαι (Mal 2:3). Other times a suf. is changed to the first per., whether it was pl., second per., or fem. in the MT. There are very few instances where the *wāw* (3ms) is taken for a *yôd* (1cs) (Hos 11:3; 12:5; Hab 1:11, 12; 2:4, 4). In fact, the most regular change is in Hab (the change in Hos 11:3 is read as part of the literary flow of the previous verses, and Hos 12:5 is an exegetical change to show anew that this applies, per Joosten, "aux contemporains d'Osée." Neither change alters the experiences or role of the prophet). As for the three anomalies, firstly in Hos 11:10 the change is said to be attributed to the final clause of the preceding verse so that the speaker is perhaps Judah, thus not the prophet himself. Secondly, in Zech 4:7, it is the Lord who brings out the stone of inheritance instead of Zorobabel. This perhaps diminishes the prophet's role. Incidentally, this first per. reading is rejected by Ziegler. And lastly, the addition in Joel 1:8 is a misreading of the impv., which leaves the subject ambiguous. The Targum added כנשיא דישראל עבידי (*O assembly of Israel*) beforehand in order to disambiguate it. Again interpretation is shifted away from the prophet unlike in LXX/OG Hab. Therefore, the result is that LXX/OG Hab stands alone in the Twelve as emended in markedly similar ways across all three chapters of the book. Cf. Eberhard Bons, Jan Joosten, and Stephan Kessler, eds., *Osée* (ed. Marguerite Harl; BdA 23.1; Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2002), 146, 150; Michel Casevitz, Cécile Dogniez, and Marguerite Harl, eds., *Les Douze Prophètes: Aggée - Zacharie* (BdA 23.10-11; Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2007), 253; Joseph Ziegler, ed. *Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum / auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum. Duodecim prophetae* (13; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 298; Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 50.

[18] As the focus of this essay is the change in the experiences and role of the prophet, the two changes in Hab 2:4 will not be examined as they refer directly to God's soul and faith. This particular kind of change is, however, part of a broader pattern of emendation across the Twelve, cf. n. 17.

showing no evidence of systematic theological tinkering, they are linked through this recurring literary thrust, occurring across all three chapters.

Literary Development of the Character of Ambakoum

	LXX/OG Hab 1:2c-d	MT Hab 1:2c-d
c	βοήσομαι πρὸς σὲ ἀδικούμενος /	אזעק אליך חמס \
d	καὶ οὐ σώσεις	ולא תושיע
c	Being wronged shall I cry out	Shall I cry out
	to you,	to you, "Violence!"
d	and you will not save?	and you will not save?

The first contextual emendation is the grammatical and semantic difference for the vocative חמס in MT Hab 1:2. While a simply repointing of the noun as a passive participle might be a simple explanation, e.g. חָמָס, there does not appear to be any evidence to support an alternate reading tradition. But, as a result, the present violence that the prophet is crying out about in vv. 2-4 is now part of his personal experience. This emendation is likely related to a translation tradition over how the word חמס is understood in this context as it relates to the suffering of the prophet.[19] His choice is consonant with that tradition.

The subject of the suffering prophet recurs in LXX/Hab 3:2 and 3:16. In each instance there is a textual difficulty that caused the translator to adapt. LXX/Hab 3:2 is a well-known complicated series of doublets. The example of this translation unit reflects the translator's penchant to sometimes double words and clauses when he has difficulty with his text (1:5, 6; 2:16; 3:2, 3). In LXX/Hab 3:2 we have the most conflated reading within this book, and it leaves open the question whether this was meant to remain in the final form. There is here a combination of literal and free renderings of the source text that exist in addition to the doublets.

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[19] The word חמס always means violence or wrong-doing. It is very common throughout the HB, hence a misreading in the numerous instances throughout MT Hab is unlikely (Hab 1:2, 3, 4, 9, 13; 2:8, 17, 17). In LXX/OG Hab it is always translated nominally or adjectively by ἀσέβεια or ἀσεβής respectively and once verbally with ἀδικέω. In the Twelve there is only a slight deviation from these translation choices, where, in a small number of instances, it is also translated by ἀδικία and ψευδής (Ἀδικία: Joel 4:19; Amos 3:10; Jon 3:8; ψευδής: Amos 6:3; ἀσέβεια: Obad 1:10; Mic 6:12; Zeph 1:9; 3:4 [ἀσεβέω]; Mal 2:16.). The Greek words for violence are usually βία (βιάζω) and πονηρός (πονηρεύομαι), or perhaps also κακοποίησις (κακοποιέω). But none of these words translate the violence and injustice in LXX/Hab unless the Hebrew word רע is used, i.e. Hab 1:13 (note the only exception in the MT where ἀσέβεια translates רעה in Jer 6:7.)

	LXX/OG Hab 3:2	MT Hab 3:2	
A	κύριε εἰσακήκοα	יְהוָה שָׁמַעְתִּי	
B	τὴν ἀκοήν σου	שִׁמְעֲךָ	
C	καὶ ἐφοβήθην	יָרֵאתִי	
D	κατενόησα		
E		יְהוָה	
F	τὰ ἔργα σου	פָּעָלְךָ	
G	καὶ ἐξέστην		
H	ἐν μέσῳ δύο ζῴων γνωσθήσῃ	בְּקֶרֶב שָׁנִים חַיֵּיהוּ	[תּוֹדַע?]...שָׁנִים...
I	ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν τὰ ἔτη ἐπιγνωσθήσῃ	בְּקֶרֶב שָׁנִים תּוֹדִיעַ	...בְּקֶרֶב
J	ἐν τῷ παρεῖναι τὸν καιρὸν ἀναδειχθήσῃ		
K	ἐν τῷ ταραχθῆναι τὴν ψυχήν μου		[בְּרֹגֶז רוּחִי]
L	ἐν ὀργῇ ἐλέους μνησθήσῃ	בְּרֹגֶז רַחֵם תִּזְכּוֹר	

LXX	κύριε εἰσακήκοα τὴν ἀκοήν σου καὶ ἐφοβήθην
Barb.	κύριε εἰσακήκοα τὴν ἀκοήν σου καὶ εὐλαβήθην
MT	יהוה שמעתי שמעך יראתי
LXX	------ κατενόησα τὰ ἔργα σου καὶ ἐξέστην
Barb.	κύριε κατενόησα τὰ ἔργα σου καὶ ἐξέστην
MT	יהוה פעלך

The first set of doublets is observed in the juxtaposition of εἰσακούω (שמע) and φοβέομαι (ירא) which is paralleled in the second line by the pairing of κατανοέω and ἐξίστημι. The second vocative for Yhwh is dropped entirely. It is quite unlikely that there was a problem understanding the common Hebrew words, thus the problem for the translator is *how* to interpret the text. Eaton is right that שמע should go with ירא, and therefore the second line is an inter-pretative re-working of the previous. This makes the conjectural reading of ראיתי for κατενόησα unnecessary.[20] Thus the exegetical object of פעלך, ἐξέστην, is a free contextual addition.

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[20] Cf. J. H. Eaton, "The Origin and Meaning of Habakkuk 3," *ZAW* 35, (1964): 147.

The double translation of the following clause, lines *h-j*, is not straight-forward. It is evident that the translator correctly read (vocalised) the first two words of the MT, but mixed them between the lines, thus paralleling ἐν μέσῳ (בְּקֶרֶב) with ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν (בִּקְרֹב) and δύο (שְׁנַיִם) with τὰ ἔτη (שָׁנִים). In the first line there are at least three possible options to explain the differences with the MT. Firstly, if the whole form חייהו is to match ζωών, then the translator likely sought a translation equivalent through the adjective חי (חיים), and then added γινώσκω,[21] which according to the MT is from the following line. Or, secondly, if he understood the form חייהו with √חוה,[22] which is then translated as γνωσθήσῃ, then he added the adjective anaphorically. However, thirdly, he may have contextually changed his translation by reading the form as two words, e.g. חַי יְחַוֶּה, and made the substantive plural. In each case the pronoun is absent and the translator has omitted or added something in relation to the context, further exemplifying his knowledge of the surrounding text. The concept derived from the pronoun was likely a reference YHWH's appearance in the temple in Jerusalem, which might also have spurred these interpretations.[23] The third Greek clause, line *j*, is the most free in every respect. It is an interpretative and exegetical rendering that was likely another attempt to explain the meaning of the passage. The multiplication of translation attempts shows both the interpretative free hand and use of contextual changes.

One notable difference between the next and final doublet (ἐν τῷ ταρα-χθῆναι…) is that it precedes its MT referent. It is doubtful that the translator intentionally sought to overtly embed a theological point with the reference to the prophet. If the translator began with an alternate vocalisation (בְּרֹגֶז) and misread the subsequent word as רוּחִי, he may have then realised his mistake and began again, hence the terseness of the text. With the repetition of the previous clause-initial infinitive phrases it could have been a simple mistake. But as this occurs on the heels of the previous free interpretations, it may alternately indicate a freer adaptation here too. In either case, the translator has, once again, presented Ambakoum as a travailing prophet. This harkens

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[21] Cf. Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes, 286.*
[22] Cf. Gelston, ed. *BHQ*, 122.
[23] Cf. F. F. Bruce, "Habakkuk," in: *The Minor Prophets* (ed. Thomas McCormiskey; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2009), 880; J. J. M. Roberts, *Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah: A Commentary* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1991), 131; Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 286.

back to LXX/OG Hab 1:2-4 where the prophet cries out about the injustice around him that he himself experiences.

The next thematic link of a suffering prophet occurs in LXX/OG Hab 3:16. A misreading of the well-known relative particle is offered, so that he read the rarer אֲשֶׁר, and added the possessive pronoun, thus אַשְׁרִי.[24] Although on the surface this appears unlikely because of the commonality of the particle in prose, the word is translated with an equally rare Greek substantive, ἕξις. But neither of these words mean the same thing. So why would he change the meaning if it was clear?

	LXX/OG Hab 3:16d-g	MT Hab 3:16d-g
d	καὶ εἰσῆλθεν τρόμος εἰς τὰ ὀστᾶ μου /	יבוא רקב בעצמי \
e	καὶ ὑποκάτωθέν μου ἐταράχθη ἡ ἕξις μου	ותחתי ארגז
f	ἀναπαύσομαι ἐν ἡμέρᾳ θλίψεως /	אשר אנוח ליום צרה \
g	τοῦ ἀναβῆναι εἰς λαὸν παροικίας μου	לעלות לעם יגודנו
	And trembling entered into my bones, and my gait was troubled beneath me; I will rest in a day of affliction, to go up to a people of my sojourning.	Decay enters into my bones, and I tremble in my place; yet I will wait for a day of distress, to come up against a people who attack us.

It does not seem likely that he misread is *Vorlage*. The initial problem here is the balance between the parallel lines (something the Masoretes fixed: אֶרְגָּז אֲשֶׁר;[25] and through typesetting is further clarified in *BHQ* 13). The presence of the particle here as clause-initial is at an odd juncture, either making line *e* shorter or line *f* longer than its parallel line. The translator interpreted the particle as being part of line *e*. The difficulty in the reading was not the semantics of the words but the logical relationship between them. He adapted the word to the context as it did not make sense as it stood. This contextual change is exegetical. The added personal pronoun also makes immediate contextual sense, due to the presence of the other aspects of the prophet's present distress (and in the case of LXX/OG his identification with those of the exile). It also acts as another broad literary link across the rest of the previous chapters

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[24] Cf. Eaton, "The Origin and Meaning of Habakkuk 3," 157; Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus, eds., *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare zum griechischen Alten Testament. Band 2: Psalmen bis Danielschriften* (2 vols.; vol. 2; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011), 2427.

[25] Cf. Eaton, "The Origin and Meaning of Habakkuk 3," 157; Gelston, ed. *BHQ*, 102.

of the book to the prophet's suffering, further developing the literary charac-
ter of Ambakoum.

The next series of changes are a mixture of interpretations that are related
to the reading from a *wāw* to *yôd* (LXX/OG Hab 1:11, 12; 2:4, 4; 3:16). As
Cleaver-Bartholomew notes, in the majority of instances within LXX/OG
Hab (40/52x) the translator always translated the suffixes with the same per-
son, but in a small number of instances did not.[26]

In LXX/OG Hab 1:11 the translator interpreted the suffix on the final
word as a first instead of third person possessive pronoun. It is probably not
due to the orthographic similarity between the *wāw* and *yôd* in the ancient
script, but the uniqueness of the MT form.[27] The alternate spelling for אלהים,
אלוה, never has a suffix except in MT Hab. The slight oddity of the form
might have caused the translator to interpret this as a first person suffix (he
also shows no trouble translating אלהים in construct state in 3:18). Although
translators show a tendency to change the pronoun on this proper noun,[28] this
change in LXX/OG Hab is, however, unique. Thus the oddity of the form
contributed to part of the translator's interpretation of the passage.

LXX/OG Hab 1:11a-b	MT Hab 1:11a-b
...καὶ ἐξιλάσεται αὕτη ἡ ἰσχὺς τῷ θεῷ μου	...ואשם זו כחו לאלהו
...and he will propitiate. This strength belongs to my God.	...and he will become guilty – he whose strength is his god.

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[26] Cf. David Cleaver-Bartholomew, "One Text, Two Interpretations," *BIOSCS* 42
(2009): 58.

[27] Contra. Gelston, ed. *BHQ*, 117. There would have been a reasonable degree of ortho-
graphic comprehension so that scribes understood the difference between a *wāw* and a *yôd*.
This does not do away with all mistakes but such appeals ought to be limited. Rather, a
trans. might have sought an alternate reading through the switch between these two similar
looking letters due to other linguistic difficulties.

[28] In the 119 instances where אלהי is found in the MT, the majority of translations keep
the pron. However, there are a number of instances where it is omitted (Num 22:18; 1 Kin
8:28; 1 Chron 11:19; 21:17; 22:7; 2 Chron 6:19; 18:13; Ezra 7:8; 9:5; Neh 2:8; 2:12, 18;
5:19; 6:14; 7:5; 13:14, 14, 22, 29; Ps 59:2; 71:22; 84:11; Pro 30:9; Isa 57:21; Dan 9:4; Hos
8:2; 9:8, 17; Joel 1:13; Jon 2:7). In seven instances the entire phrase/form is omitted (Deut
4:5; 1 Kin 17:20; 1 Chron 17:25; 29:17; Ezra 9:6; Dan 9:19; Zech 11:14), and in four
instances it is changed to ἡμῶν (Deut 18:16; Josh 14:9; Neh 13:31; Dan 9:20), in one in-
stance the noun is interpretatively changed to τὸ γλυπτόν μου (Jdg 18:24), and in five
instances it is replaced by κύριε though still omitting the pron. (2 Chron 6:40; Ezra 9:6; Isa
7:13; 61:10; Dan 9:18).

There is no confusion in comprehension of the pronoun זו, which is translated αὕτη. The change to the more regular spelling of זה in 1QpHab is merely a spelling variation. The object of the demonstrative is ἡ ἰσχύς, like the MT, but the translator has omitted the suffix on the noun כח. The pronoun is evident in both 1QpHab and MurXII, the former having a plene spelling. The translator of LXX/OG Hab seldom omits suffix pronouns. In each case this occurs it appears to be due to difficulty with the passage, as is the case here.[29] The final word likely caused the translator to omit the first possessive pronoun here to ensure clarity in the reading, which is a free contextual omission.

The MT prepositional phrase is interpreted as a dative possessive. Translation of אלוה/אלהים + ל is translated many different ways throughout the LXX, changing case, omitting the preposition, etc. It appears that context decides. In this case the same is true, and the new phrase has clarified an underlying theological point. The source of the Chaldean strength to propitiate for their misdeeds against Israel comes from the God of Ambakoum.[30] They do not derive their strength from their idols because YHWH raised them up for his purposes. While this theological interpretation was not the primary reason for altering the text, it was how the translator made sense of it. It occurred through a combination of improvisation and free style.

The last instance of this kind of textual change, before we return to Hab 1:12, is the interpretation of the final word in 3:16. The similarity between this form and the final word in MT Hab 1:12 is that the translator, in each case, sought to retain the pronominal suffix of a verbal form. In this case, if the translator was unsure of the reading, rather than misread it, he may have sought to resolve it through √גור. Eaton notes that he may have read it as יְגוּרֵנִי (*that makes me sojourn*), and then translated it exegetically to suit the context.[31] A change through similarity between the third radical and *dālet*, and the change in person of the suffix, is consistent with the translator's style. But a contextual change, or even a guess, which involved a grammatical alteration, is more likely than a misreading, the latter being more difficult to support. The translator has, therefore, resolved a difficulty by yet again adapting the prophet to the

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[29] Cf. MT Hab 1:8; 2:6, 15; 3:14, 14, 19. Omission of the prepositional phrase in 2:18 smoothed out the Greek reading and therefore was omitted.

[30] The Targum reading of לטעותיה, as an exegetical translation choice, also hints at an understanding that the strength of the invaders was limited because their strength was rooted in the error of idolatry and not the living God of Ambakoum. Cf. *DJPA*, "טעו"; *Jastrow*, "טעו"; Alexander Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts.* (4 B; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973), 460.

[31] Cf. Eaton, "The Origin and Meaning of Habakkuk 3," 157.

context. The prophet is personally identified with the people of the exile – a *leitmotif* of the book. This change is again distinct from the MT.

In eight instances of the text of LXX/OG Hab the subject and/or object is altered in a given clause, and in six of those instances, including Hab 1:12, the nature of the prophet's experiences and role are recast. In LXX/OG Hab 1:12 the translator's decision to alter the meaning of the clause was determined by three factors. Firstly, he clearly understood the divine appellation and that it was part of a broader translation tradition to change it accordingly (cf. n. 16). In the occasion of the translation there was an aversion to presenting God as an inanimate object.[32]

However, secondly, he was likely unsure of the meaning of the final word. His form of recourse was to assess what was the most logical semantic path, which was probably not related to Amos 3.7 through an association with the noun סוד, in spite of the similarities between each.[33] The fact that the translator chose παιδειά due to similarity between יסד and יסר is, thirdly, due more to the implication derived from the meaning of the infinitive. The choice was thus a logical improvisation by contextual change rather than a misreading or some guess-work.

The word ἐλέγχω is used to translate יכח in the *hip'il* when the context is concerned with instruction or teaching. Although the Hebrew meaning is often concerned with discipline or chastening, the other sense, as Harl points out, of "réfuter, donner la preuve, prouver, attester" is the better sense for the

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[32] In fact, so consistent is the inner-LXX evidence for how this is translated that Olofsson points out, "The translator of the Book of Psalms always treated צור as a divine title differently from its literal and its ordinary metaphorical meaning and the same is true of the translators of the other LXX books. A literal rendering of צור was consistently avoided when it referred to God." Cf. Olofsson, *God Is My Rock*, 45, and 140.

[33] Whether the trans. knew the meaning of יסד is difficult to determine. It is found only once in the Pentateuch (Ex 9.18) where it is *nip'al*. Outside of this, it is found forty-four times with several references each in the Pss and Isa (cf. Exod 9:18; Josh 6:26; 1 Kgs 5:31; 6:37; 7:10; 16:34; 1 Chr 9:22; 2 Chr 3:3; 24:27; 31:7; Ezra 3:6, 10ff; Esth 1:8; Job 38:4; Pss 2:2; 8:3; 24:2; 31:14; 78:69; 89:12; 102:26; 104:5, 8; 119:152; Prov 3:19; Cant 5:15; Isa 14:32; 23:13; 28:16; 44:28; 48:13; 51:13, 16; 54:11; Ezek 41:8; Amos 9:6; Hab 1:12; Hag 2:18; Zech 4:9; 8:9; 12:1.). In a similar form as found in Hab 1:12, i.e. 2ms pf., it is found six times, with the five other references only in the Pss. Except in the one instance where it is *pi'el* (that trans. used καταρτίζειν) each time it is translated with the similar sense in Greek, θεμελιόω. It is understood verbally by Aquila (θεμελιόω) and Symmachus (ἵστημι), also taking the word *rock* substantively and interpretatively, στερέος and κραταιός respectively. Incidentally, these other translations tacitly point to an interpretative stance towards this portion of Hab.

passage.[34] This likely explains the difference between the English LXX translations and both BdA and LXX.D.[35] In this sense, the *discipline* is bound up in the concept of God's desire to reprove his people, so that, "l'expression signifie que le prophète serait chargé de justifier le bien fondé du châtiment à venir."[36]

Therefore, in summary, the clause-wide choice was likely due to obscurity in the final word. Because this was the controlling finite verb the translator sought a decision that made sense in the context of the passage and in view of the word forms. The choice for the verbal form of צור is likely derived from its use in the Pentateuch.[37] In this case, God remains the subject, and the addition of the pronoun in reference to the prophet is literarily consistent.[38]

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[34] Cleaver-Bartholomew has explained that in the process of time the Greek word underwent a change in meaning from "to scorn," to include meaning such as "to expose, resist, interpret and expound," and also "to investigate." This "includes all aspects of education from the conviction of the sinner to chastisement and punishment, for the instruction of the righteous by severe tests to his/her direction by teaching and admonition." Notably, he points out, it is also commonly found "in conjunction with יסר/מוּסָר." This, he concludes, gives it a pedagogic sense. Cf. Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 269; Cleaver-Bartholomew, "An Analysis of the Old Greek Version of Habakkuk", 152; T. Muraoka, *A Greek ≈ Hebrew/Aramaic Two-way Index to the Septuagint* (Louvain; Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2010), 220.

[35] Both the BdA and LXX.D/E projects have taken the interpretation along the line of the second sense (*enseignement* instead of perhaps *châtiment*, and *Erziehung* instead of perhaps *Züchtiger*) rather than the other sense of discipline taken by some English translations (NETS: chastening; Brenton: correction). Cf. Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 268; Eberhard Bons et al., eds., *Septuaginta Deutsch. Das griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung* (eds. Wolfgang Kraus and Martin Karrer; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2009), 1204; Pietersma and Wright, eds., *NETS*, 808; Sir Lancelot C. L. Brenton, *The English Translation of The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament* (London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1851), 1106.

[36] Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 269.

[37] In the vast majority of instances πλάσσω translates יצר. It also sometimes translates the verb צור (Ex 32:4; LXX Ps 138(139):5). In a number of other instances it translates words with very different meanings, e.g. בדא, or יצב, or חול, to name a few (1 Kin 12:33; 2 Kin 19:25; Ps 89:2; Ps 118:73; Prov 24:12; Job 10:8, 9; Isa 29:16, 16; 38:14). It is also used exegetically without a source word *per se* (Gen 2:15; Job 34:15; Isa 53:11), and is also used in a handful of apocryphal writings. The translation of a substantive in Hab 1:12 is, however, unique. This information points in a number of directions. Firstly, in a handful of instances πλάσσω was used somewhat interpretatively for different reasons, which seem to be restricted to each individual context. Secondly, the majority of evidence supports the fact that πλάσσω is used for יצר I and צור III. Due to the aforementioned textual difficulties of MT Hab 1:12, the translation process was different in Hab 1:12 from the instances where this Greek word was used. It does appear, however, that consonantal similarity was likely a factor that helped the trans. resolve the textual issue he faced. But, and it is emphasised, the essential problem here in Hab was difficulty in another part of the clause. The

Conclusion

What this essay has highlighted is the literary character development of the prophet Ambakoum through a combination of free translation and contextually motivated choices. The frequency and uniqueness of these changes, in conjunction with the overlapping themes, should give one pause for consideration. Therefore, by suggesting that there are no unmotivated choices in verbal communication these translation choices were not arbitrary.[39]

The reasons for each individual change across the examined texts are different. This should be expected because the words and sentences are different; so the translator encountered different problems. The differences do not, however, imply un-connected translation mishaps. These differences are unified by the translator who sought to make sense of and explain his text. These broad literary connections demonstrate that Ambakoum, as a literary character, not only suffers at the hands of those who pervert Torah, but is also made to be YHWH's pedagogue. But there is no reason to suggest that this is due to a wide-scale or systematic attempt to tinker with the theology of the source, nor that he made such changes out of a self-conscious decision to embed new theology.

In the flow of a literal translation the translator will in different degrees apply a freer approach in his choice of grammar, syntax, and, more often, semantics. Yet he also improvises when his *Vorlage* poses a linguistic difficulty. Sometimes the translator applied a free hand even though he may have

consonantal similarity between this noun and the verbs יצר and צור was like a stepping stone to help the trans. with his decision, which was how to reconcile the well-known divine appellation in light of the entire linguistic problem. Furthermore, there may have existed a thematic link. The poignant content of Ex 32:1-6 is thematically linked to Hab 2:18-19 where πλάσσω also translates יצר. Moreover, the Greek word πλάσσω is more semantically suitable to the context of Hab 1:12 than, for example, ποιέω.

[38] Harl et al. go on to explain that this is a thoroughly biblical, non-Hellenistic, chastening, which creates an inner-biblical theological point (e.g. Lev 26:18; Deut 8:5, etc.). This linguistic development from the Greek/Heb. *to reprove* is thus completed, in translation, by pairing it to *his discipline/education*. This, therefore, leaves the prophet in a peculiar situation whereby he must justify the validity of the chastisement. Harl comments on LXX-Deut that, "Si un caractère est commun à ces divergences et aux mots «supplémentaires» que nous avons relevés pour cette partie, il s'explique par le souci de précision, d'actualisation, de mise en accord avec les traditions et les pratiques juives de l'époque. *Les divergences ne semblent pas résulter d'un projet global d'interprétation théologique*" (emphasis added). Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 268; Marguerite Harl and Cécile Dogniez, eds., *Le Deutéronome* (BdA 5; Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1992), 39.

[39] Cf. Robert E. Longacre, *The Grammar of Discourse* (New York: Plenum Press, 1996), 30-31.

been unsure what a part of the text meant. In the instances presented in this study there are translation choices that show a literary posture towards the character of Habakkuk that lead the translator to make decisions that were different from the source text. While such differences on their own might not usually indicate any kind of relationship, because, as argued here, they all re-cast the prophet in similar ways they are related through the interpretative lens of the translator. What the text meant for the translator was part-and-parcel of his translation process. His choices made sense to him and for some time to the receptor audience.

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Die griechischen Lesarten von Jeremia 42,11 LXX und ihre Vorlage

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In Jer 35(42LXX) wird vom beispielhaften Verhalten der Rechabiter erzählt: Der Prophet Jeremia setzt in einem der Räume bzw. Höfe am Tempel zu Jerusalem den Rechabitern im Auftrag Gottes Wein vor und fordert sie auf, davon zu trinken. Sie aber lehnen ab, da ihr Ahnherr Jonadab ben Rechab sie verpflichtet hat, sich des Weins zu enthalten. Ferner hätte ihr Ahnherr ihnen unter anderem auch geboten, in der Weite des judäischen Landes in Zelten zu wohnen. Wegen des heranrückenden babylonischen Heeres hätten sie jedoch in Jerusalem Schutz gesucht, und deshalb hielten sie sich in der judäischen Residenzstadt auf (V. 11).

V. 11 ist der letzte Abschnitt der Antwort der Rechabiter auf das Ansinnen Jeremias, dass sie Wein trinken sollen. Diese Antwort umfasst nach dem masoretischen und dem Septuagintatext die V. 6-11. In V. 11 ist eine Rede der Rechabiter eingebettet, die durch das *verbum dicendi* 11b angekündigt wird. In dieser Rede teilen die Rechabiter dem Propheten mit, weshalb sie sich entgegen den Anweisungen ihres Ahnherrn in Jerusalem aufhalten. Die Rede setzt sich im masoretischen Text und in den meisten griechischen Manuskripten (z. B. S *C′ O*)[1] aus den zwei Sätzen 11c und 11d zusammen; auf sie folgt mit 11e ein Bericht. In B besteht die Rede jedoch bloß aus dem Satz 11c, während der Bericht die Sätze 11d und 11e umfasst. Wieder anders verhält es sich in den acht Handschriften A Q[txt] 106 130′ 62-449 233: Die Rede besteht aus den drei Sätzen 11c, 11d und 11e. In dem vorliegenden Aufsatz wird versucht, die Entstehung der unterschiedlichen Septuaginta-Wiedergaben zu erklären.

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[1] (1) Sigeln der Manuskripte nach J. Ziegler, *Jeremias Baruch Threni Epistula Jeremiae* (Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum 15; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, [3]2006) 7-11.

(2) Die Sätze werden durch Kleinbuchstaben bezeichnet: 11a, 11b, 11c usw.

1. Codex Vaticanus – Codex Sinaiticus – kritischer Text (Alfred Rahlfs)

M. E. überliefert B die ursprüngliche Übersetzung. Dieses Urteil basiert nicht darauf, dass B die ältesterhaltene griechische Handschrift zum Jeremiabuch ist (sie wurde im 4. Jahrhunderts angefertigt),[2] sondern darauf, dass die Lesart anders als die in S (diese Handschrift wurde noch vor Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts angefertigt)[3] einen "urtümlichen" Charakter aufweist: Die hebräischen Verbformen 11c, 11d und 11e sind in B abweichend von der Vokalisation des masoretischen Textes interpretiert, während sich in den griechischen Verbformen in S die masoretische Vokalisation spiegelt.

1.1. Codex Vaticanus

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[11a] וַיְהִי בַּעֲלוֹת נְבוּכַדְרֶאצַר +מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל+ אֶל־הָאָרֶץ [11b] וַנֹּאמֶר [11c] בֹּאוּ [11d] וְנָבוֹא
יְרוּשָׁלַם מִפְּנֵי חֵיל הַכַּשְׂדִים וּמִפְּנֵי חֵיל אֲרָם [11e] וַנֵּשֶׁב בִּירוּשָׁלָ͏ִם

[11a] Als Nebukadnezzar, +der König von Babel+,[4] gegen das Land heraufzog, [11b] sagten wir: [11c] Kommt, [11d] und lasst uns wegen des Heeres der Chaldäer und wegen des Heeres der Aramäer nach Jerusalem gehen, [11e] und so haben wir uns in Jerusalem niedergelassen (oder: und so wohnen wir in Jerusalem).

Codex Vaticanus: [11a] καὶ ἐγενήθη ὅτε ἀνέβη Ναβουχοδονοσορ ---- ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν [11b] καὶ εἴπαμεν [11c] εἰσελθεῖν [11d] καὶ εἰσήλθομεν εἰς Ιερουσαλημ ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν Χαλδαίων καὶ ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν Ἀσσυρίων [11e] καὶ ᾠκοῦμεν

"[11a] And it came to be when Nabouchodonosor came up against the land, [11b] and we said [11c] that we would go in, [11d] and we went into Ierousalem from the face of the force of the Chaldeans and from the face of the force of the Assyrians, [11e] and we were living there."[5]

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[2] A. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*, Bd. 1/1: *Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII. Jahrhundert*, bearb. von D. Fraenkel (Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum. Supplementum 1,1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 340.

[3] Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis*, 202.

[4] Zu diesem Plus vgl. J. G. Janzen, *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah* (HSM 6; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 72.139-141.

[5] G. A. Walser, *Jeremiah: A Commentary based on Ieremias in Codex Vaticanus* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 159.

Der Übersetzer gab den Imperativ באו 11c (*Qal plur.*) in indirekter Rede (Aorist-Infinitiv) wieder,[6] und er verstand die Verbform ונבוא 11d nicht als Kohortativ (= masoretischer Text), sondern als erzählendes Prädikat, nämlich als Ausführungsbericht zu 11c, und so formulierte er das Prädikat im historischen Aorist. Seine Auslegung ist vertretbar, da ונבוא als *wayyiqtol* (*wa* = Präfixkonjugation-Kurzform) *Qal* 1. *pers. plur.* (וַנָּבֹא) oder als *w=yiqtol*-Langform *Qal* 1. *pers. plur.* (וְנָבֹא) gedeutet werden kann. Im ersten Fall handelt es sich um ein erzählendes Prädikat. Im zweiten Fall bezeichnet die Verbform entweder Futur, durch das eine feste Absicht ausgedrückt wird, oder sie steht für einen Kohortativ ohne ה.

Im Masoretentext sind 11c und 11d eine zitierte direkte Rede der Rechabiter. Zwar ist auch 11e ein Redesatz der Rechabiter. Doch führt dieser Redesatz nicht die zitierte Rede 11c+11d fort. Er setzt sich vielmehr von dieser Rede dadurch ab, dass die Rechabiter das Ergebnis ihrer Selbstaufforderung festhalten, nämlich dass sie jetzt in Jerusalem wohnen:

וַנֵּשֶׁב בִּירוּשָׁלָ͏ִם, "und wir haben uns in Jerusalem niedergelassen" oder "und wir wohnen in Jerusalem". Beide Deutungen sind möglich, da ישׁב, "sich setzen; sitzen", ein perfektisches Verb ist. Dagegen erwähnen die Rechabiter im Septuagintatext, dass sie "dort" gewohnt haben (11e). Die Dauer ihres Aufenthalts beschreiben sie im Imperfekt.

Der Wechsel vom Aorist (11d) zum Imperfekt (11e) und der damit verbundene Wechsel von der punktuellen zur linearen Aktionsart muss beachtet werden: Als die Rechabiter die zwei Sätze 11d und 11e sprechen, befinden sie sich am Tempel in Jerusalem. Sie blicken daher auf ihre Wanderung nach Jerusalem als einer bereits abgeschlossenen Handlung zurück, und sie erzählen deshalb darüber im historischen Aorist. Dagegen ist ihr Aufenthalt in Jerusalem noch nicht abgeschlossen; denn sie leben in der judäischen Residenzstadt, seitdem sie diese betreten haben.

Das Imperfekt eines durativen Verbs beschreibt einen Vorgang, der in der Vergangenheit bestand; dieser Vorgang konnte abgeschlossen sein oder noch weiter andauern; dies ist aus der Verbform nicht ableitbar. Doch liefert das Lokaladverb ἐκεῖ, "dort", die Information, dass der Vorgang bereits abgeschlossen ist. Die Rechabiter blicken nämlich auf ihren Aufenthalt an dem Ort, den sie mit dem Lokaladverb "dort" (= Jerusalem) bezeichnen, zurück.

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[6] Zur Konstruktion vgl. F. Blass / A. Debrunner, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch bearbeitet von Friedrich Rehkopf* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, [18]2001) § 392.

Diesem Rückblick widerspricht freilich die Tatsache, dass sie sich in Jerusalem aufhalten, als sie den Satz sprechen. Dazu kommt: Zwar vertritt das Adverb ἐκεῖ den Ortsnamen Jerusalems, doch besteht trotzdem eine unvereinbare Spannung zwischen dem bezeichneten und dem tatsächlichen Aufenthaltsort der Rechabiter. Das Adverb ἐκεῖ benennt nämlich einen vom Ort des Sprechers entfernten Ort, während das Adverb ἐνθαῦτα, "hier", den Ort angibt, an dem sich der Sprecher aufhält. Da ἐκεῖ einen Ort bezeichnet, an dem sich der Sprecher des Satzes nicht aufhält, erweckt es den Eindruck, als ob die Rechabiter von einem Ort außerhalb Jerusalems auf Jerusalem hingewiesen hätten. Sie befanden sich jedoch am Tempel und hätten daher nur durch das Lokaladverb ἐνθαῦτα Jerusalem als ihren Aufenthaltsort bezeichnen können; also nicht: "und wir wohnten (*damals*) *dort*", sondern "wir wohnten (*damals*) *hier* (nämlich in Jerusalem)". Freilich würde man eine Schilderung im Präsens erwarten: "und so gingen wir … nach Jerusalem, und wir wohnen (*nun*) *hier*."

Die unvereinbare Spannung entsteht dadurch, dass der Übersetzer die Verbform ונשב 11e so wie die voraufgehende Verbform ונבוא 11d als erzählendes *wayyiqtol* (mit masoretischer Punktation: וַנֵּשֶׁב) auffasste. Er wählte deswegen, weil seiner Meinung zufolge ein durativer vergangener Vorgang geschildert wird, nicht den Aorist, sondern das Imperfekt.[7] Auf die Frage, wie der Satz 11e in der Septuaginta-Vorlage lautete, wird in Abschnitt 3 eine Antwort gesucht.

1.2. Codex Sinaiticus

> … [11c] εἰσέλθατε[8] [11d] καὶ εἰσέλθωμεν εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ … [11e] καὶ οἰκοῦμεν ἐκεῖ. *NETS*: "… [11c] 'Come, [11d] and let us enter into Ierousalem …', [11e] and we are living there."[9]

S überliefert m.E. eine Revision des griechischen V. 11. Dem Bearbeiter war die Aussprache der hebräischen Prädikate 11c, 11d und 11e, wie sie im heutigen Masoretentext durch die Vokalisation festgelegt ist, bekannt, und so

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[7] Vgl. Jos 19,50b: [וַיִּבְנֶה אֶת־הָעִיר וַיֵּשֶׁב בָּהּ] καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν τὴν πόλιν καὶ κατῴκει ἐν αὐτῇ, "und er baute die Stadt auf, und er wohnte in ihr".

[8] Angleichung an den schwachen Aorist (Blass / Debrunner, *Grammatik*, § 81.3). Klassisch: εἰσέλθετε.

[9] A. Pietersma / B. G. Wright, *A new English translation of the Septuagint and the other Greek translations traditionally included under that title* (New York, NY; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007 = ²2009 918a.

übertrug er diese Prädikate neu: Er ersetzte den Aorist-Infinitiv 11c durch den Aorist-Imperativ und den Aorist-Indikativ 11d durch den kohortativen Aorist-Konjunktiv. Was 11e angeht, so tauschte er zwar das Imperfekt gegen das Präsens aus, er tastete jedoch das Lokaladverb ἐκεῖ nicht an, so dass die von dem Adverb verursachte unvereinbare Spannung erhalten blieb.

1.3. Stuttgarter Handausgabe / Göttinger Septuaginta

> … [11c] Εἰσέλθατε [= S] [11d] καὶ εἰσέλθωμεν [= S] εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ … [11e] καὶ ᾠκοῦμεν [= B] ἐκεῖ.[10]
> *LXX.D*: "… »[11c] Kommt [11d] und lasst uns nach Jerusalem gehen …!«, [11e] und wir wohnten *dort*."[11]

Alfred Rahlfs erstellt aus den Lesarten von S und B einen eklektischen Text, indem er aus S die Prädikate 11c und 11d und aus B das Prädikat 11e übernimmt.[12] Der kritische Text begegnet ferner in der Jeremia-Septuaginta von Josef Ziegler und in der von Robert Hanhart überarbeiteten Stuttgarter Handausgabe von Hanhart.[13] Was das Prädikat 11e angeht, so nimmt Rahlfs an, ᾠκοῦμεν (B) sei in οἰκοῦμεν (S) (= augmentloses Imperfekt) verschrieben worden, wofür er auf V. 10 im Codex Alexandrinus (A) verweist, wo statt ᾠκήσαμεν augmentloses οἴκησαμεν zu lesen ist.[14] Es ist jedoch fraglich, ob ᾠκοῦμεν in οἰκοῦμεν verschrieben wurde. Der Hinweis auf V. 10 in A ist jedenfalls nicht beweiskräftig, da man οἴκησαμεν nur als augmentlosen Aorist, οἰκοῦμεν aber als augmentloses Imperfekt oder als Präsens deuten kann. Was οἰκοῦμεν (S) angeht, sollte man m.E. im Zweifelsfall zugunsten der Interpretation als Präsens entscheiden. Tatsächlich findet der eklektische Text keine ungeteilte Zustimmung, wie die unterschiedlichen Wiedergaben in *NETS* und *LXX.D* erkennen lassen: Der deutschen Übersetzung liegt der

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[10] A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes* II: *Libri poetici et prophetici* (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1935) 730; A. Rahlfs / R. Hanhart, *Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes edidit Alfred Rahlfs. Editio altera quam recognovit et emendavit R. Hanhart. Duo volumina in uno* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006) 730; Ziegler, *Jeremias*, 389.

[11] W. Kraus / M. Karrer, *Septuaginta Deutsch: das griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft: 2009) 1333a. Italics im Original.

[12] Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*, 730.

[13] Ziegler, *Jeremias*, 388–389; Rahlfs / Hanhart, *Septuaginta*, 730.

[14] Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*, 730; so auch Rahlfs / Hanhart, *Septuaginta*, 730; vgl. Ziegler, *Jeremias*, 124.

kritische Text aus der Göttinger Septuaginta, der englischen Übersetzung liegt die S-Lesart zugrunde. Die Übersetzung nach *NETS* ist oben unter 1.2, die Übersetzung nach *LXX.D* ist am Beginn dieses Abschnitts zitiert. Zu *NETS*: Albert Pietersma und Marc Saunders, die die Übersetzung des Jeremiabuchs anfertigten, folgen, wie sie am Beginn des Vorwortes zur Jeremia-Übersetzung betonen, nicht immer dem eklektischen Göttinger Text.[15] So übersetzen sie das Prädikat in 11e nach S.

Der von Rahlfs erstellte kritische Text weist die unvereinbare Spannung auf, die durch den Gebrauch der Lokaladverbs ἐκεῖ verursacht wird, vgl. unter 1.1.

2. Die anderen Handschriften

In den drei Unizialen A (5. Jahrhundert), Q (6./7. Jahrhundert) und V (8. Jh.)[16] sowie in allen Minuskeln (9.-14. Jahrhundert) begegnet eine Neuübersetzung der Prädikate 11c, 11d und 11e. Anhand des Prädikats 11d können zwei Varianten unterschieden werden.

> Variante 1: [11c] ἀναβάντες [11d] εἰσελευσόμεθα (*Futur*): alle Handschriften, von *O L′* 233 abgesehen.
> Variante 2: [11c] ἀναβάντες [11d] εἰσέλθωμεν (*Aorist-Konjunktiv*): *O L′* 233.

Georg Walser zufolge spiegelt sich in ἀναβάντες εἰσελευσόμεθα (Futur) – diese Variante begegnet in den meisten Manuskripten – eine Verbesserung der alten Übersetzung.[17] Doch beschäftigt er sich nicht mit der Frage, ob die B- oder S-Lesart verbessert wurde. Ich schließe mich seiner Beurteilung an, wobei ich die Frage, ob B oder S korrigiert wurde, ebenfalls außer Acht lasse.

Der Bearbeiter deutete die Verbform ונבוא 11d als Futur 1. *pers. plur.*, durch das eine feste Absicht ausgedrückt wird. Was 11c angeht, so wählte er das Verb ἀναβαίνω, "hinaufgehen, hinaufsteigen", und bildete davon das aktivische Aorist-Partizip Nominativ *plur.* ἀναβάντες, das als prädikative Apposition zu dem verbalen Prädikat hinzutritt: [11c] ἀναβάντες [11d] εἰσελευσόμεθα, "[11c] Wir werden hinaufziehen [11d] und … gehen."[18] Er konnte das Aorist-Partizip nicht von dem Verb εἰσέρχομαι bilden, er musste ein anderes Fortbewegungs-

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[15] Pietersma / Wright, *Translation*, 876.

[16] Zu A s. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis*, 221, zu Q s. *ibid.*, 346, zu V s. *ibid.*, 344.

[17] Walser, *Jeremiah*, 434.

[18] Zu der Fügung "Aorist-Partizip + Verb im Indikativ" vgl. G. Walser, *The Greek of the Ancient Synagogue: An Investigation on the Greek of the Septuagint, Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament* (Studia Graeca et Latina Lundensia 8; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2001) 18-39.

verb gebrauchen, da εἰσελθόντες εἰσελευσόμεθα eine *figura etymologica* dar-
stellte, und in diesem Fall würde die Aussage des Prädikats durch das prädi-
kative Partizip verstärkt, also: "wir werden tatsächlich gehen."[19]

2.1. Variante 1: 11c ἀναβάντες 11d εἰσελευσόμεθα (Futur)

Was die einzelnen Handschriften angeht, so muss man entsprechend der
Formulierung des Prädikats 11e eine weitere Unterscheidung treffen: In den
meisten Manuskripten (z.B. V *C′* Q[mg]) steht das Prädikat 11e im Indikativ des
inchoativen Aorists; nur in A steht es im Futur, nur in Q[txt] im Konjunktiv des
inchoativen Aorists und bloß in 106′ 130 im Konjunktiv des Präsens.

Z.B. <u>V *C′* Q[mg]</u>: … [11e] καὶ ᾠκήσαμεν (*Aorist-Indikativ*) ἐκεῖ. [11c] Wir werden hinaufziehen [11d] und … nach Jerusalem gehen [11e] und so ließen wir uns dort nieder.
<u>A</u>: … [11e] ᾠκήσομεν [korrekt: οἰκήσομεν][20] (*Futur*) ἐκεῖ. [11c] Wir werden hinaufziehen [11d] und … nach Jerusalem gehen [11e] und dort wohnen.
<u>Q[txt]</u>: … [11e] καὶ οἰκήσωμεν[txt] (*Aorist-Konjunktiv*) ἐκεῖ. [11c] Wir werden hinaufziehen [11d] und … nach Jerusalem gehen, [11e] und lasst uns dort Wohnung nehmen!
<u>106′ 130</u>: … [11e] καὶ οἰκῶμεν (*Präsens-Konjunktiv*) ἐκεῖ, [11c] Wir werden hinaufziehen [11d] und … nach Jerusalem gehen, [11e] und lasst uns dort wohnen!

In V *C′* Q[mg] ist der Sachverhalt in 11e als vergangen dargestellt. Daher
verursacht das Adverb ἐκεῖ, "dort", (wie in B und S) in Bezug auf die vor-
ausgesetzte Gesprächssituation (am Tempel in Jerusalem!) eine unvereinbare
Spannung. Die Lesarten in A, Q[txt], 106′ und 130 weisen diese Spannung nicht
auf, da der Sachverhalt in 11e nicht als vergangen, sondern als zukünftig
dargestellt wird.

2.2 Variante 2: [11c] ἀναβάντες [11d] εἰσέλθωμεν (Aorist-Konjunktiv)

Die Variante 2 begegnet nur im origenistischen oder hexaplarischen Text,
also in 88 und Syh, sowie in den Minuskeln, in denen der antiochenische oder

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[19] Zur *figura etymologica* s. Walser, *Greek*, 36-39.
[20] οἰκήσομεν (Futur) wurde in ᾠκήσομεν verschrieben. Man vgl. V. 10 in A: Der Aorist
ᾠκήσαμεν ist in οἰκήσαμεν verschrieben. Zu der Verschreibung von οἰ in ᾠ und von ᾠ in οἰ
vgl. Ziegler, *Jeremias*, 113.

lukianische Text²¹ überliefert wird. Wie bei der Variante 1 muss man beachten, wie das Prädikat 11e formuliert ist: Es steht in *O L*$^{r\,62\text{-}449}$ im Indikativ und in 62-449 233 im Konjunktiv des inchoativen Aorists. 233 gehört zu den Zeugen der hexaplarischen Rezension, ist aber manchmal vom antiochenischen Text beeinflusst.²²

O L$^{r\,62\text{-}449}$: … ¹¹ᵉ καὶ ᾠκήσαμεν (*Aorist-Indikativ*) ἐκεῖ (*L'*: ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ), ¹¹ᶜ Lasst uns hinaufziehen ¹¹ᵈ und … nach Jerusalem gehen!, ¹¹ᵉ und so ließen wir uns dort (*L'*: in Jerusalem) nieder.
62-449 233: … ¹¹ᵉ καὶ οἰκήσωμεν (*Aorist-Konjunktiv*) ἐκεῖ (62-449: ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ), ¹¹ᶜ Lasst uns hinaufziehen ¹¹ᵈ und … nach Jerusalem gehen ¹¹ᵉ und dort (62-449: in Jerusalem) Wohnung nehmen!

In *O L*$^{r\,62\text{-}449}$ ist der Sachverhalt in 11e als vergangen dargestellt. Was *O* angeht, so verursacht das Adverb ἐκεῖ, "dort", (wie in B und S und z.B. in *C'* Q^{mg}) in Bezug auf die vorausgesetzte Gesprächssituation (am Tempel in Jerusalem!) eine unvereinbare Spannung. Dagegen weist die Lesart in *L*$^{r\,62\text{-}449}$ die Spannung nicht auf, da in 11e nicht das Lokaladverb ἐκεῖ, sondern die Lokalangabe ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ (= *α'*) steht. Es handelt sich um eine Änderung nach dem masoretischen Text.²³

3. 11e: Rekonstruktion der Septuaginta-Vorlage

Leider werden die hexaplarische Rezension und der lukianische Text nur in sehr späten Handschriften (9.-14. Jahrhundert) überliefert, und es sind, von den Unizialen B, S, A, Q und V abgesehen, keine früheren Manuskripte vorhanden, die den Zeitraum zwischen der Zeitenwende und dem 9. Jh. ausfüllten. Die Frage, wann der Aorist-Indikativ 1. *pers. plur.* 11e durch das Futur (so A) und durch den Aorist-Konjunktiv 1. *pers. plur.* (so Q^{txt}) ersetzt wurde, kann daher nicht beantwortet werden. Handelt es sich um eine vorhexaplarische oder um eine hexaplarische Korrektur? Josef Ziegler vermutet

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²¹ Der lukianische Text wird auch antiochenischer Text genannt, "da die Zuordnung zu der Person Lukian nicht gesichert werden kann". (M. Rösel, "Die Septuaginta", in: H. J. Wendel u.a. [Hrsg.], *Brücke zwischen den Kulturen: "Übersetzung" als Mittel und Ausdruck kulturellen Austauschs* [Rostocker Studien zur Kulturwissenschaft 7; Rostock: Univ., Philos. Fakultät, 2002] 238.)

²² Ziegler, *Jeremias*, 70.

²³ Ziegler, *Jeremias*, 85.

aufgrund einer Notiz, die in Q vor dem Ezechieltext steht[24], dass Q[txt] der Hexapla und Q[mg] der Tetrapla entnommen sein könnte. Wenn dies auch auf den Jeremiatext in Q zutreffen sollte, dann stammte Q[txt] (οἰκήσωμεν [Aorist-Konjunktiv, 1. *pers. plur.* = Kohortativ) aus der Hexapla und Q[mg] (ᾠκήσαμεν [Aorist-Indikativ, 1. *pers. plur.*]) aus der Tetrapla.[25] Doch stellt sich nun die Frage: Ist die Lesart von 11e (ᾠκήσαμεν) in *O* nicht hexaplarisch, sondern tetraplarisch? Wie auch immer – die Tatsache, dass das Verhältnis der Sachverhalte in 11d und 11e zueinander in den acht Handschriften A Q[txt] 106′ 130 233 62-449 keine Spannung aufweist, führt auf die Frage, warum dieses Verhältnis bereits in B, also in der ältesterhaltenen Unziale, in der sich wahrscheinlich die ursprüngliche Wiedergabe spiegelt, von der unvereinbaren Spannung geprägt wird.

καὶ ᾠκοῦμεν ἐκεῖ 11e (= B) kann nur als ונשב שם rückübersetzt werden.[26] Der retrovertierte Text unterscheidet sich von seinem masoretischen Pendant dadurch, dass sich dem Prädikat nicht die Ortsangabe בִּירוּשָׁלָם, sondern das Lokaladverb שם fügt, und dieser Unterschied wirkt sich auf die Interpretation der Vokalisation des Prädikats aus. Ist das Prädikat im masoretischen Text als *wayyiqtol* 1. *pers. plur.* punktiert, so kann es im retrovertierten Septuaginta-Vorlagetext nur als *w=yiqtol*-Langform *Qal* 1. *pers. plur.* gedeutet werden (mit masoretischer Vokalisation: וְנֵשֵׁב); also nicht "wir wohnten dort", sondern "lasst uns dort wohnen". Dafür spricht: Das Lokaladverb שם, "dort", weist auf einen vom Sprecher des Satzes entfernten Ort hin. Da die Rechabiter mit שם nur auf Jerusalem hinweisen können, müssen sie den Satz 11e bereits gesprochen haben, als sie sich noch nicht in der judäischen Residenzstadt aufhielten. Dies bedeutet, dass 11d in der Septuaginta-Vorlage auf der gleichen syntaktisch-semantischen Ebene durch 11e fortgeführt wurde. Anders gesagt: Die Rechabiter zitieren nach der Septuaginta-Vorlage mit der Satzreihe 11d+11e ihre Selbstaufforderung, nach Jerusalem hineinzugehen und dort zu bleiben, in direkter Rede. Als sie einander auffordern, nach Jerusalem zu fliehen und sich dort niederzulassen, halten sie sich noch in den Weiten des judäischen Landes auf, und so verweist das Lokaladverb שם – innertextlich – auf den Ortsnamen Jerusalems in 11d zurück:

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[24] Zu dieser Notiz s. J. Ziegler, *Ezechiel* (Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum 16/1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1952) 32.

[25] Ziegler, *Ezechiel*, 32.

[26] So mit Janzen, *Studies*, 74.

^{11c} Kommt, ^{11d} und lasst uns wegen des Heeres der Chaldäer und wegen des Heeres der Assyrer nach Jerusalem hineingehen ^{11e} und dort wohnen.

Das Lokaladverb שם gehört der älteren Überlieferungsstufe an. Es wurde nach dem Auseinanderlaufen des masoretischen und des Septuaginta-Text-strangs durch בירושלם ersetzt.[27] Für den Ortsnamen Jerusalems weist die Jere-mia-Septuaginta öfters ein Minus auf.[28] Nach Hermann-Josef Stipp stützen die zugefügten Ortsnamen "die ohnehin nahezu selbstverständliche Annah-me, daß die masoretischen Sonderlesarten in Jerusalem entstanden sind".[29]

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[27] Janzen, *Studies*, 74; H.-J. Stipp, *Das masoretische und alexandrinische Sondergut des Jeremiabuches: Textgeschichtlicher Rang, Eigenarten, Triebkräfte* (OBO 136; Frei-burg/Schweiz: Universitätsverlag, und Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 103.

[28] Zur Stellenangabe s. Stipp, *Sondergut*, 103 Anm 24; vgl. *ibid.*, Anm. 25.

[29] Stipp, *Sondergut*, 103.

Limitations to Writing a Theology of the Septuagint

ALEX DOUGLAS

In recent years, a number of prominent scholars have examined the Septuagint (LXX) and laid out the groundwork for writing a comprehensive theology of this book.[1] Their work has carefully outlined the scope of the task, and some have even begun to trace various theological threads through the LXX, such as messianism, anti-anthropomorphism, and eschatology.[2] A consensus seems to have arisen that such a theology could be written and would be beneficial to the greater scholarly community.[3]

Although writing a 'theology of the LXX' may be possible, this paper aims to lay out two limitations in putting such a work together. The first deals with the boundaries and unity of the canon. The early history of the Greek Bible presents a challenge in determining which books should be classified together as 'LXX,' and these classifications can have a profound impact on our perception of what the LXX's original authors believed. The second limitation deals with determining the translators' intent. Because of the LXX's nature as translation, considerable uncertainty surrounds issues of *Vorlage* and interpretation, and this same uncertainty necessarily constrains

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[1] See for example M. Rösel, "Towards a 'Theology of the Septuagint'", in: *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures* (ed. W. Kraus / R. G. Wooden; SBL.SCS 53; Atlanta: SBL, 2006), 239-52; J. Joosten, "Une théologie de la Septante? Réflexions méthodologiques sur l'interprétation de la version grecque", in : *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie* 132 (2000), 31-46; J. Cook, "Towards the Formulation of a Theology of the Septuagint", in: *Congress Volume Ljubljana 2007* (ed. A. Lemaire; *VTS* 133; Boston: Brill, 2010), 621-40; A. Aejmelaeus, "Von Sprache zur Theologie, Methodologische Überlegung zur Theologie der Septuaginta", in: *The Septuagint and Messianism* (ed. M. Knibb; *BETL* 195; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2006), 21–48; and T. McLay, "Why not a Theology of the Septuagint?, in: *Die Septuaginta – Texte, Theologien, Einflusse*, (ed. W. Kraus / M. Karrer; WUNT 252, Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 2010, 607-620.

[2] See the collection of essays in *The Septuagint and Messianism,* ed. M. A. Knibb; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2006, or J. Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter*, *WUNT* 2 / 76 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr 1995), to name but a few examples.

[3] After reviewing various authors, Cook concludes that "scholars largely agree that it is possible and also appropriate to speak of a theology, or then theological exegesis of the LXX" ("Towards the Formulation", 623). Cook does, however, express doubt as to whether such a theology is attainable in the near future, given the early state of research into individual books of the LXX (636).

the conclusions we can draw regarding its theology. As we will see, these two limitations serve as a considerable barrier to the formulation of a 'theology of the LXX.' When they are taken into account, our reconstruction of the LXX's theology may be more modest, but it will hopefully stand on firmer methodological ground.

1. Definitions

Defining 'theology of the LXX' can be tricky, for any chosen definition is only one of many possibilities. Scholars do tend to focus their remarks around certain areas, however. Seeligmann states that "[t]he representation of the theology of the translators has to be classified – as should any Jewish theology – around the concepts: God, Israel, comprising the Messianic idea as a national redemptive force, and the Thorah."[4] Joosten explicitly follows Seeligmann's definition,[5] and Rösel likewise adheres to this basic form; thus this paper defines written theology as a systematic treatment of the authors' beliefs regarding the nature of God and how he relates to and saves his chosen people.[6]

In Seeligmann's formulation, as well as in the work of other scholars,[7] a study of theology within the LXX focuses on the beliefs of the original translators of the text, not its later interpreters. Though it is tempting to appeal to later readers to justify our interpretation of a passage, a clear distinction has to be kept between these two groups. When we depart from Seeligmann's definition and include later interpretation, we run the risk of describing the theology of a later group of believers, or in other words, a theology that *accords* with the LXX, not a theology that arises from the LXX itself.[8] While a

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[4] I. Seeligmann, "Problems and Perspectives in Modern Septuagint Research", in: *Isac Leo Seeligmann: The Septuagint Version of Isaiah and Cognate Studies* (FAT 40; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 73.

[5] Joosten also considers Tov's definition of theology, which includes "the description of God and His acts, the Messiah, Zion, the exile, as well as various ideas" (E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 3d ed. [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012], 120; see also Joosten, "Théologie", 32). He ultimately rejects this definition in favor of Seeligmann's narrower one.

[6] Holding to this definition of theology means that other aspects of the text, while certainly worth investigating, do not constitute theology *per se*. Thus the fact that the LXX translators felt bound to render the Hebrew text faithfully is interesting, but it falls outside the scope of theology (*contra* Joosten and his proposed "théologie de la parole").

[7] E.g. Cook, "Towards the Formulation", 636; Joosten, "Théologie", 34; and Aejmeleaus, "Von Sprache", 23.

[8] G. Ebeling, *Word and Faith* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1960), 79.

"theology of the LXX's interpreters" could be enlightening, this cannot be our goal in outlining a theology of the LXX; if it were, one could write limitless theologies, for as Dempster points out, "the number of thematic centers identified for the OT is virtually equivalent to the number of interpreters."[9]

As one final note about the terms of our investigation, a 'theology of the LXX' must be based on the differences between the Hebrew version of the scriptures and the Greek translation. Even a cursory comparison of the Hebrew and Greek shows that the translators of the LXX generally kept close to the Hebrew text in vocabulary and syntax, with a few notable exceptions.[10] Wherever the translators simply rendered a word-for-word Greek equivalent to the Hebrew text, they only reproduced the theology of the Hebrew Bible. If we are to describe the translators' distinctive *theologoumena*, we must look in the places where these *theologoumena* might be expressed, i.e. where the translator departs from his Hebrew *Vorlage*. Not only does such an approach make sense *a priori*, but this is also the approach taken by those who propose to write a 'theology of the LXX.' Cook, for example, states, "What is clear to me is that 'theology,' or 'ideology' for that matter, is to be located in the way any given translator in fact renders his parent text. It is exactly in the differences between the source text and the target text that interpretation takes place."[11]

The final term that remains to be defined is 'the LXX.' Since this definition is intimately tied up with the unity of the text, I define the LXX below.

2. Boundaries and Unity of the LXX

In creating a 'theology of the LXX' as outlined above, the one of the main problems encountered is determining which books belong to this corpus, and this determination can have a large impact on the theology we detect within the LXX. For example, deciding to include *1 Maccabees* with its reference to

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[9] S. Dempster, "Geography and Genealogy, Dominion and Dynasty: A Theology of the Hebrew Bible", in: *Biblical Theology: Retrospect and Prospect* (ed. S. Hafemann, Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 2002), 66.

[10] Large departures from the Hebrew can be seen in places such as Job, Proverbs, Esther, and the Greek additions to Daniel. By and large, however, the translators' close adherence to the Hebrew text often leaves the reader with the impression that the text is "hardly Greek at all, but rather Hebrew in disguise" (F. Conybeare and St. G. Stock, *Grammar of Septuagint Greek*, [Boston: Ginn and Company, 1905]), 16.

[11] Cook, "Towards the Formulation", 622. See also Joosten, "Théologie", 33; Rösel, "Theology", 243; and Aejmelaeus, "Von Sprache", 21.

the prophet that would arise (1 Macc 14:41) influences our perception of messianism. Likewise, the theology of an afterlife can look quite different if one includes Psalms or Daniel in the LXX.[12] Before we can talk about a theology of the LXX, we must answer the question posed by Gert Steyn: "Which 'LXX' are we talking about?"[13]

The term 'LXX' was originally used in reference to the legend found in the *Letter of Aristeas*, where Ptolemy (Philadelphus) gathered together seventy(-two) translators who brought the Pentateuch into Greek in the third century BCE. Thus to be ultra conservative in terminology, the term 'LXX' should only apply to the original translation of the Pentateuch, not to the Greek version of other books of the Hebrew Bible.[14] Should then a 'theology of the LXX' deal only with these five books?

Here the line between original translators and reception history blurs. Presumably the original translators formed part of the community that accepted these translations, but our information on what other books they held as scripture is limited. It is possible that they only accepted the Pentateuch; after all, *Aristeas* mentions only the Pentateuch in his defense of the LXX's translation, even though presumably other books would have already been translated into Greek by the time of *Aristeas*'s composition. The Pentateuch held a unique position of authority within early Judaism, and the community that would ultimately accept the Samaritan Pentateuch only recognized these five books as authoritative. Alternatively, the LXX's original translators may have accepted other books from the Prophets and Writings, as the Prologue to Ben Sira would lead us to believe, but beyond general categories, we do not know which books specifically would have been accepted. Should Daniel's visions be included, even though they probably were not written until the next century?

The picture is further obscured by the continuing translation process. After the Pentateuch, various people translated the remaining books of the Bible over the course of the next few centuries, but this was hardly a unified process. As pointed out above, some of these translations were more literal, largely imitating the style of the pentateuchal books, while others were freer and more paraphrastic.[15] These translations were spread over a large period of time and geographic range, and some books were even translated twice, such as the θ' and o' texts of Daniel. Other double texts, such as Esther, Tobit, and

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[12] For example, Ps 48:15 renders הוא ינהגנו על־מות as αὐτὸς ποιμανεῖ ἡμᾶς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, which Schaper (*Eschatology,* 54) understands as pointing to a belief in God shepherding the righteous after this life. A more straightforward example can be seen in Ps 16:10, where the translator renders שחת with διαφθοράν.

[13] G. Steyn, "Which 'LXX' are we Talking About in NT Scholarship? Two Examples from Hebrews", p. 697-707 in: *Die Septuaginta – Texte, Contexte, Lebenswelten: Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D)* (ed. M. Karrer and W. Kraus; WUNT 219; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008).

[14] C. Rabin, for example, uses LXX only in this sense in "The Translation Process and the Character of the Septuagint", *Textus: Annual of the Hebrew University Bible Project*, vol. 6 (1968), 22.

[15] See for example the book of Proverbs, which adds entirely new Hellenistic proverbs to the original book.

Judges, bear witness not only to the large amount of translational activity occurring in this period, but also to the pluriformity of traditions for the various biblical books.

By the first century CE, competing translations of a number of Greek books circulated, but even for those books that only had one translation, the text form had not solidified. From the time it was written, the LXX was subject to changes and revision. The *Letter of Aristeas,* in its curse on any who should alter the text (310-11), alludes to such changes taking place, and its cryptic reference to manuscripts that "have been transcribed/translated carelessly" (ἀμελέστερον […] σεσήμανται, 30) might hint at other Greek versions then in circulation.[16] Some of the oldest surviving fragments of the LXX, such as those found at Naḥal Ḥever from the first century BCE, already show revisions bringing the Greek text closer to the Hebrew.[17] The so-called καίγε revision or series of revisions served a similar function in that same time period, and the proto-Lucianic revisions also corrected toward a Palestinian text, reaching as far back as the second century BCE.[18]

The chaotic state of the text form can be seen in nearly every ancient author writing before the compilation of the Christian LXX codices, and even in many after. Eupolemus, writing in Greek in the second century BCE, gives a description of the temple, but its dimensions line up with neither the MT nor the LXX. This suggests either that he was "rewrit[ing] the past in the light of present history," as Fernández Marcos suggests, or more plausibly that he is using a different Greek text than the LXX.[19] Philo's quotations of the Hebrew Bible often do not match any known recension of the Greek text, and almost

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[16] Thus Kahle argues to support his theory of targumic origins of the LXX in *Cairo Geniza* (Oxford: Frederick A. Praeger, 1959), 213. Alternatively, *Aristeas* could here refer to Hebrew manuscripts; for a study on *Aristeas*'s use of transcription and translation terms, see Benjamin Wright, "Transcribing, Translating, and Interpreting in the *Letter of Aristeas*: On the Nature of the Septuagint," in: *Scripture in Translation: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo* (ed. A. Voitila / J. Jokiranta; *Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism* 126; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 147-61.

[17] N. Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible* (Atlanta: SBL, 2000), 72. The dating of Naḥal Ḥever fragments follows P. J. Parsons (in DJD 8, 25f.).

[18] Fernández Marcos, *Septuagint in Context*, 248.

[19] See Fernández Marcos, *Septuagint in Context*, 260, and B. Zion Wacholder, *Eupolemus: A Study of Judeo-Greek Literature* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1974).

half of the NT quotations of the Old diverge from the LXX.[20] These divergences are variously explained as due to misquoting from memory, textual corruption through *testimonia*, or the author modifying the text to suit his own purposes, but the clearest picture that emerges from these quotations is that the picture is unclear; "[o]ur concept of 'Septuagint' in that time, therefore, must be one of a loose, emerging sampling of texts."[21]

An author in the first century CE would potentially have had many Greek texts to choose from when quoting from the Hebrew Bible. He could have quoted from the original translation, the καίγε recensions, proto-Symmachus,[22] proto-Theodotian, proto-Aquila,[23] the quinta, the sexta, the (elusive) septima,[24] the *Samariticon*, the doubles that exist for various books, or smaller variations that cannot be classified into any of these manuscript traditions.[25] Since Greek translation of the books of the Hebrew Bible extended into the first or second century CE,[26] that means that there were a large number of alternative translations and recensions already in circulation before the Greek Bible was even finished.

Eventually the LXX family fell out of use among Jews, and it was the Christians that preserved these texts. Codices of Greek translations were compiled by Christian communities, and at some point in this process, the Christians connected their OT to the legend of *Aristeas* and began to call their Greek scriptures 'the LXX.'[27] As is clear through both reviewing the Greek's

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[20] Fernández Marcos, *Septuagint in Context,* 264, 324.

[21] M. Karrer, "The Epistle to the Hebrews and the Septuagint", in: *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures* (ed. W. Kraus and R. G. Wooden; JBL.SCS 53; Atlanta: SBL, 2006), 344.

[22] "Symmachian readings have been identified which are earlier than the historical Symmachus", Fernández Marcos, *Septuagint in Context*, 133.

[23] It is still unclear whether and to what extent Aquila and Theodotian relied on the καίγε recensions for their translation, and to what extent the καίγε group should be separated from the forerunners to Aquila and Theodotian respectively. Barthélemy views Aquila as the culmination of καίγε, whereas Jellicoe has suggested that καίγε should in fact be viewed as equivalent to proto-Theodotian (see D Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers d'Aquila*, VTS 10; Leiden: Brill, 1963, and Sidney Jellicoe, "Some Reflections on the καίγε Recension", *VT* 23 (1973), 15-25).

[24] Mentioned by Jerome, *In ep. ad Titum*.

[25] Take for example Antioch manuscripts 19-108-82-93-127, which all agree with 4QSam[a] and which have been taken by some to indicate a proto-Lucianic text form. Fernández Marcos, *Septuagint in Context,* 234.

[26] *Ibid.* 50.

[27] "[S]o far as can be demonstrated historically—a *Christian* author first applied the designation 'Septuagint,'" M. Hengel, *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture: Its Prehistory and the Problem of its Canon* (New York: T&T Clark International, 2004), 25.

transmission history and examining the text form of the ancient codices, the Christian version of the Greek OT was *not* the same text as that translated in the third century BCE. By the time the Christian codices were compiled, the text form of the Greek Bible had undergone numerous revisions and recensions, and the Christians had to choose which texts they would follow for each of the biblical books. Even those fourth- and fifth-century codices still available today have large differences among them, particularly in Judges, Tobias, and 1 Kings.[28]

To call these codices 'LXX' is unfortunate not only from a text-form point of view, but also with regard to the shape of the canon. The Christian LXX contained many books that were ultimately deemed non-canonical by Jews, such as Maccabees, Wisdom of Solomon, and the Epistle of Jeremiah. Thus when scholars today speak of the LXX, they can refer to documents on two separate ends of the historical spectrum: the first is the Greek translation of the Pentateuch from the third century BCE, and the second is the Christian codices that include the entire OT and even the apocrypha. When used particularly loosely, the term LXX can also apply to any intermediate stage between these two extremes, such as when Wilk states that Paul took his OT quotations "from the Septuagint."[29]

At the beginning of this paper, it was determined that a 'theology of the LXX' must be based on the theology of the original translators. Yet although we can determine the *Urtext* for many books, scholars have yet to effectively address the problem of canonical boundary when dealing with these original translations. At the beginning of the historical spectrum, what proof do we have that the Alexandrian translators considered Esther, Jeremiah, or Chronicles scripture? And what justification do we have for including Daniel if it had not yet been written? On the other end of the spectrum, should a 'theology of the LXX' deal with all those books that would eventually be included in the Christian codices, including deutero-canonical works?

These questions pose a sizable challenge for modern attempts to reconstruct a 'theology of the LXX.' When we choose which books to include in our investigation, we impose on the text an etic conception of canonical boundary. As Lust points out, "This rather straightforward picture of the Septuagint and its differences with MT [...] is implicitly based on the as-

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[28] Fernández Marcos, *Septuagint in Context*, 197.

[29] F. Wilk, "The Letters of Paul as Witnesses to and for the Septuagint Text", in: *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures* (ed. W. Kraus and R. G. Wooden; SBL.SCS 53; Atlanta: SBL, 2006), 256.

sumption of the questionable existence of a pre-Christian Alexandrian form of the Greek Bible in which the number and order of the books was identical with that of our critical editions of the Septuagint."[30] The only evidence that such a canon existed has to be inferred from later authors such as Philo and the distribution of his biblical quotations. Even the Prologue to Ben Sira, frequently cited as the oldest evidence of a tripartite canon, says nothing of which books are included within each category.

In the field of biblical theology, scholars often sidestep the issue of canonical form by admitting that the theology they delineate is conditioned by the canonical decisions of the faith community that holds these texts to be scripture — i.e. they take what Childs calls "a canonical approach to biblical theology."[31] Were we to take this approach, however, we would no longer be working toward our original goal; once we decide the scope of the canon, we make a decision about whose theology we are describing, and our endeavor becomes one of reception history, not original intention. That the Christians included Judith but not *Enoch*, or that the Jews included Chronicles, tells us more about Christian or Jewish theology than it does about a theology that arises from the LXX itself.

A theology based on the LXX's reception history, using Child's canonical approach, is not inherently inferior to a theology based on the original translators; as mentioned above, this paper focuses on original translators solely because that is the approach taken by advocates of a 'theology of the LXX.' Given the limitations on determining canonical boundary, however, perhaps the time has come to rethink our approach. If we cannot provide compelling evidence for the boundaries of an Alexandrian canon, then we must choose a later community whose theology we purport to describe.[32]

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[30] J. Lust, "Septuagint and Canon," in: *The Biblical Canons* (ed. J.-M. Auwers / H. J. de Jonge, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003), 40.

[31] "The modern theological function of canon lies in its affirmation that the authoritative norm lies in the literature itself as it has been treasured, transmitted, and transformed […] and not in 'objectively' reconstructed stages of the process." B.S. Childs, *Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments: Theological Reflection on the Christian Bible* (London: SCM, 1996), 71.

[32] Joosten ("Théologie") takes an interesting middle road through this problem. He concedes that "L'option des chercheurs a été, généralement, de diriger l'attention vers le traducteur" (34) and that "une compréhension préalable du travail théologique du traducteur est nécessaire" (35). At the outset, however, he defines the LXX as "l'ensemble des livres vétérotestamentaires reconnus par l'église hellénophone" (31). Whether it is feasible to combine a canonical approach to biblical theology with an emphasis on original translators remains to be seen.

3. Determining the Translators' Intent

The second major obstacle for determining a 'theology of the LXX' deals with the LXX's nature as translation. Those who have proposed writing such a theology have traditionally claimed that we can arrive at the translator's theology by focusing on those areas where the Greek departs from the Hebrew original. Thus as a first step, we must be able to differentiate between those departures in the Greek that arise from the translator and those that were in the translator's *Vorlage.*

It would be hard to overstate the difficulty of determining what was in the Hebrew *Vorlage*. Even in instances where it seems the translator has made a clear theological change, that change might have been in the Hebrew that the translator was working with. For example, in Exod 15:3, the translator might have felt uncomfortable with the blatant anthropomorphism in calling God a 'man of war,' אישׁ מלחמה. To solve this problem, the translator wrote κύριος συντρίβων πολέμους, 'the Lord shatters wars.' This example fits with the pattern of anti-anthropomorphism in the LXX observed by scholars such as Tov and Seeligmann,[33] and it initially seems to be a clear case of the translator altering the translation to suit his own theology.

In this example, however, positing that the translator modified the text is not the only solution, nor is it necessarily the best. If we assume that the translator rendered the Hebrew faithfully, that would mean that the *Vorlage* would have read *yhwh šōbēr/məšabbēr/mašbîr milḥāmôt* (συντρίβω most often renders שׁבר in the LXX), and this idea does in fact appear elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible.[34] In Hos 2:20, for example, God says that in the last day מלחמה אשׁבור מן הארץ, and in Ps 76:4 God חרב ומלחמה... שׁבר. Most telling of all is Ps 46:10, which reads: משׁבית מלחמות עד קצי הארץ קשׁת ישׁבר. In all of these examples, God shatters war, and in Ps 46:10 we even see a form that graphically looks similar to the reconstructed *Vorlage* of Exod 15:3, משׁבית מלחמות vs. משׁביר מלחמות. If our LXX translator had the masoretic form in front of him, he not only changed it to make it less anthropomorphic, but he did so in a highly learned way, conjuring up imagery from the Psalms and Hosea in the process. The more likely solution, especially given the graphic resemblance

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[33] E. Tov, "Theologically Motivated Exegesis Embedded in the Septuagint", in: *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (VTS 72; Boston: Brill, 1999), 267-68. Seeligmann, "Problems and Perspectives", 73.

[34] See e.g. L. Perkins, "'The Lord is a Warrior'—'The Lord Who Shatters Wars': Exod 15:3 and Jdt 9:7; 16:2", *BIOSCS* 40 (2007), 121–38.

between the reconstructed *Vorlage* and Ps 46:10 משבית מלחמות, is that the interplay between these two verses took place on a Hebrew rather than a Greek level. But regardless of what we decide in this particular instance, the example of Exod 15:3 shows that when it comes to possible *Vorlagen* behind the LXX, our knowledge is limited. What initially seemed like theological exegesis might in fact have been nothing more than the translator's word-for-word rendering of משביר מלחמות as he read it in his text of Exod 15:3.

As more ancient witnesses of the Hebrew Bible are discovered, our picture of the Hebrew text around the turn of the era comes to appear more fluid. Most importantly, these discoveries often corroborate the hypothesis that differences between the LXX and MT are due to different Hebrew texts, as shown by scrolls such as 4QGen-Exod[a] and 4QDeut[d].[35] The Samaritan Pentateuch alone gives attested Hebrew readings for as many as 1,900 such differences.[36] Of course not every change is due to a different *Vorlage*, but our limited knowledge of text forms around this time makes it difficult to rule this alternative out. There are almost as many criteria for making a determination about *Vorlage* as there are scholars to suggest them, but no matter how rigorous one's investigation is, we cannot rule out the possibility that any given change took place in the Hebrew text rather than in translation. Furthermore, history dictates caution; before the Samaritan Pentateuch was 're-discovered' and entered European scholarly discussion, it was easy to attribute every difference in the LXX to the translator. Then the discovery of the Qumran scrolls further bore witness not only to the large amount of textual variety in the ancient world, but also to how much of this variety made its way into the LXX. Zipor concludes from this, "The methodological claim, therefore, of 'we have no evidence of such a Hebrew variant,' is not sufficient to discount the possibility that ancient Hebrew variants did exist that formed the text which was used for the translation."[37]

A look at the Greek texts themselves also evinces caution in dismissing variant *Vorlagen*. There are a number of Greek texts that show readings that agree among themselves yet disagree with both the LXX and the MT. Hebrews 4:4, for example, quotes Gen 2:2 in a form that disagrees with the MT

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[35] These corroborate the LXX version of the composite final verses of the Song of Moses and of Jacob's seventy-five descendents. Fernandez Marcos, *Septuagint in Context*, 73.

[36] See Tov, *Textual Criticism,* 79, 136, 157.

[37] M. Zipor, "The Use of the Septuagint as a Textual Witness: Further Considerations", in: *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, *Oslo, 1998* (ed. B. A. Taylor, Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 577.

in the addition of ὁ θεὸς and the plural ἔργων, yet this quotation also is no-
where to be found in any known or reconstructed version of the LXX.[38] We
might be tempted to claim that the author of Hebrews changed the LXX quo-
tation to suit his needs, but the quotation in this same form, including both
additions, is also found in Philo *Post.* 64. This does not necessarily mean that
the differences are due to a different Hebrew *Vorlage*, but such a hypothesis
is certainly possible. At the very least, examples such as this, where neither
the retroverted Hebrew nor the Greek agree with known traditions, should
remind us that not all deviations from the MT are due to the LXX translator
expressing his own theological agenda.

This same problem of not being able to distinguish where a change comes
from can be seen in places where the LXX harmonizes details of the biblical
narrative. For example, in Gen 1:9 the MT tells of God's command for the
waters to be gathered together, but in the LXX the fulfillment of the com-
mand is narrated as well. Within this text we can see traces of a variant He-
brew *Vorlage,* such as in the account of the waters being gathered εἰς τὰς
συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν, 'to their places.' The plural αὐτῶν is odd here; in the rest
of the LXX text, the Hebrew מים is always translated as the singular ὕδωρ,
but here the antecedent is suddenly plural. Such an odd switch to the Greek
plural would not make sense unless the translator had a Hebrew text in front
of him that read אל מקויהם, 'to their places,' agreeing with the Hebrew plural
מים.[39]

If the translator left clues behind, we can tell what his source text most
likely said. If he did not, however, it is quite difficult to tell where differences
between the MT and the LXX come from. Had the author changed αὐτῶν to
αὐτοῦ, we would have had no idea that the harmonization had taken place in
a Hebrew text rather than at the level of translation. Unless there is some
unusual piece of evidence, such as wordplay in Greek or a secondary witness,
there is practically no way to rule out any change as having arisen from a
variant Hebrew *Vorlage*.[40] Needless to say, if a 'theology of the LXX' is to

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[38] Steyn, "Which 'LXX,'" 704-05.

[39] See critical note to Gen 1:9 in BHS. We even have examples of other Hebrew texts
that show harmonization with regard to command fulfillment, most notably the Samaritan
Pentateuch. See Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 81.

[40] Barr points out that there are many tools a researcher can use to determine how the
translator understood his text, but that "it is unlikely that any degree of such sophistication
can eliminate the possibility that there is really a differing Hebrew text behind the LXX
translation." J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament* (Oxford:
Oxford University Press, 1968), 245-46.

be based on those areas where the translator made a conscious decision to depart from the Hebrew, this uncertainty about the sources serves as a considerable limitation.

Even if we could tell with 100% certainty when the translator departs from the *Vorlage*, still his intent can be elusive. In Schaper's book, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter,* he argues for a "network of messianic texts" in the LXX Psalter, basing his claim on the use of common terms such as ἄνθρωπος to denote messianic ideology.[41] In response, Pietersma points out that while the psalms can certainly be understood messianically, we have no way of knowing whether the author intended them to be read this way. As he says, "The task of the Septuagint exegete is not to suggest what the text may possibly have meant to whomever, but what it is likely to have meant to the translator."[42]

Pietersma's criticism highlights again just how slippery the line between translation and reception history can be. As we read the LXX of Gen 2:4-5, it is easy to conclude that the translator envisioned God creating all life in heaven before transplanting it onto the earth, and Philo's philosophy even supports such an interpretation.[43] But is this reading simply a result of the translator's attempt to make sense of the transition between creation stories? And if the translator thought the Hebrew text expressed spiritual creation, are we justified in assuming that the translator held the same belief, or is it possible that he rendered the verse literally while understanding it in a completely different way?[44] These issues of separating what the text says from the translator's intent do not of themselves mean that writing a 'theology of the LXX' is impossible; they do, however, make the task much more difficult.

The problems associated with determining the translators' intent are not new, nor are they unknown to those who study the LXX. Each scholar has his own way of dealing with the ambiguity surrounding the translation process.

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[41] Schaper, *Eschatology,* 89-107.

[42] A. Pietersma, review of J. Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter* (WUNT 76, Tübingen: Mohr, 1995), in: BibOr 54;190.

[43] Joosten, "Théologie," 34.

[44] H. Orlinsky poses the question thus: "on what authority have we based our belief that the Septuagint translator comprehended the Hebrew text exactly as he reproduced it? To *translate* the Hebrew text word for word is one thing; but it is a gratuitous assumption that the translator *understood* the text literally" ("The Septuagint as Holy Writ and the Philosophy of the Translators", in: Hebrew Union College Annual 46, 1975, 106). Aejmelaeus brings up a similar objection with the LXX's treatment of seeing God: "Das „Erscheinen Gottes" konnte vielleicht als Vision verstanden werden" ("Von Sprache," 39).

What often seems to be forgotten, however, is that our conclusions can never be more certain than the evidence they are based on. Any description we make of the theology of the LXX's translators must necessarily be as tenuous as our ability to reconstruct the author's *Vorlage* and isolate his intention.

Despite the great strides that have been made in understanding the LXX's origin, so much of its early history remains clouded in mystery. The discovery of Hebrew texts that align with the LXX suggests that many of the changes we currently attribute to the LXX translator—including differences that may be theological in character—may in fact be no more than differences in *Vorlage*. Since only a limited number of Hebrew texts from that time period have survived into the present, any one of the LXX's changes could have existed in the Hebrew, and short of outside evidence, the most we can say about any variant LXX reading is that it *might* have arisen from the translator. Even when we have these tenuous attributions, however, we must be extremely cautious in using them to derive a 'theology of the LXX' because of the inherent ambiguity between the translator's words and the translator's belief. Such ambiguity is inevitable due to the LXX's nature as a largely faithful translation.

4. Conclusion

Those scholars who advocate for the writing of a 'theology of the LXX' derive this theology from those places where the Greek departs from the Hebrew *Vorlage*, for it is in these places that the translators' ideology finds its expression. Yet if we accept this definition for 'theology of the LXX,' the very nature of the septuagintal text forces us to admit that there are real limitations on our ability to write such a theology.

The main problem with writing this theology lies in the definition of the LXX. The term 'LXX' could apply to many different collections of biblical translations in the ancient world. If for the purposes of writing such a theology we accept the later Christian definition — i.e. the Greek translation of the texts found in the 3rd and 4th century codices — then our theology will be a reflection of the Christian canonical form, and it would be a theology of reception history, not of the LXX itself. Alternatively, if we propose to use an Alexandrian canon, we must offer proof of what such a canon would have contained. Determining the scope of the canon can greatly affect the resulting theology derived from it, especially since books such as *Maccabees* can vastly change our perception of messianism or eschatology in the LXX. When we choose which canonical form

to use for a 'theology of the LXX,' we are essentially choosing to describe the theology of the group that used that canon.

Even if we can sidestep the problems of canon and text form, the nature of the LXX as translation further hinders any attempt to draw theological conclusions. Due to our limited knowledge of early Hebrew text forms, we must admit that any difference detected between the Greek and Hebrew might be due to differences in *Vorlage.* Given the number of Hebrew texts that share the LXX's readings and exegetical techniques, such a hypothesis must be considered a real possibility for any given divergence. Finally, even in those instances where we can prove that the LXX's *Vorlage* is identical to the MT, we cannot draw definite conclusions about the intention of the translator. Those who brought the Hebrew text into Greek did so by bridging two vastly different media, and within this bridge it is difficult to separate what the translator intended to convey from what the text actually says.

The difficulties put forward here do not mean that there is no theologically motivated exegesis in the LXX, nor do they invalidate all attempts at delineating a theology of this group of scriptures. The LXX's translators undoubtedly left their mark on the theology expressed by the text, but due to its nature as a translation of *Vorlagen* no longer available, we must recognize how tenuous our efforts at reconstruction are. Further, due to our ignorance of what the original translators considered scripture, any comprehensive theology must explicitly take as its starting point the canonical decisions of a particular community. Once we have defined which LXX we are describing, only then can we begin to lay out the theological ideas behind this group of sacred texts.

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Dissertation Abstract

A Critical Edition of the Hexaplaric Fragments of Job 22-42

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Primarily, this dissertation provides a critical text of the hexaplaric fragments of Job 22-42, which updates the edition of Frederick Field (1875) and the fragments listed in Joseph Ziegler's *Iob* (1982). This dissertation may serve as the fascicle for the second half of Job for The Hexapla Project. The critical text includes (1) extant readings of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, (2) Aristarchian signs, and (3) other materials usually preserved with the Hexapla. The project includes all relevant and available evidence from Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Armenian sources.

Chapter 1 provides a summary of the history of the Hexapla and hexaplaric research. This chapter also presents the methodology for the project and an introduction to interpreting the apparatuses.

Chapter 2 gives a full listing and description of the textual witnesses used for the project. These witnesses include the text groups of Ziegler's *Edition*, but with regard to the catena tradition of Job a significant update to the *status quaestionis* is given, for this dissertation depends on the work of Dieter and Ursula Hagedorn and their critical edition of the Job catena. Therefore, the catena witnesses receive special attention.

Chapter 3 provides the critical text. The Hebrew and Greek lemmas are listed first, followed by the hexaplaric attribution and lemma. All variants to the attribution and lemma are listed in the appartuses underneath and significant issues receive comment in the editorial notes.

Chapter 4 contains the readings that are of dubious significance for the Hexapla of Job. These readings are anonymous in the margins of the manuscripts, which preserve hexaplaric readings, and therefore, they are included in this separate chapter.

Chapter 5 presents the preliminary results of the project. This chapter focuses on those instances where Ziegler's *Edition* has been updated with regard to (1) new fragments and attributions, (2) revision of attribution and lemma, (3) revised attributions, (4) revised lemma, and (5) removed readings.

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Book Reviews

Benjamin Givens Wright III, *Praise Israel for Wisdom and Instruction: Essays on Ben Sira and Wisdom, the Letter of Aristeas and the Septuagint*, Supplement to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 131, Leiden/Boston: Brill 2008. ISBN: 978-9004-16908-1.

Ben G. Wright ist Professor für "Bible, Early Judaism and Christianity" an der Lehigh University in Bethlehem/Pennsylvania und war von 2006 bis 2011 Präsident der "International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies". In dem hier anzuzeigenden Sammelband präsentiert er eine Auswahl wichtiger Beiträge zu seinen Forschungsgebieten, d.h. zu Jesus Sirach und zur frühjüdischen Weisheit, zum Aristeasbrief und zur Septuaginta. Die Aufsätze hatten ihre Erstpublikation in der Zeit von 1997 bis 2007. Beitrag Nr. 8 "Ben Sira on the Sage as Exemplar" erscheint erstmals. Die meisten der Beiträge bilden Begleitstudien und Vorarbeiten zur "New English Translation of the Septuagint" sowie zu Kommentaren zu Jesus Sirach und zum Aristeasbrief. Neben Acknowledgements (vii-viii) und Introduction (ix-xv) hat der Band folgenden Inhalt:

Part One: 1) Ben Sira and Early Jewish Wisdom: Wisdom and Women at Qumran (3-24); 2) From Generation to Generation: The Sage as Father in Early Jewish Literature (25-47); 3) The Categories of Rich and Poor in the Qumran Sapiential Literature (49-70); 4) "Who has been Tested by Gold and Found Perfect?" Ben Sira's Discourse of Riches and Poverty (with Claudia V. Camp) (71-96); 5) "Fear the Lord and Honor the Priest" Ben Sira as Defender of the Jerusalem Priesthood (97-126); 6) "Put the Nations in Fear of You" Ben Sira and the Problem of Foreign Rule (127-146); 7) Wisdom, Instruction and Social Location in Ben Sira and *1 Enoch* (147-163); 8) Ben Sira on the Sage as Exemplar (165-182. Anders als in der pseudepigraphischen Literatur verweist Ben Sira nicht auf Gestalten der Vergangenheit, sondern er stellt sich selbst als Vorbild und nachzuahmendes Beispiel dar, allerdings eingebettet in der israelitischen Weisheitstradition); 9) B. Sanhedrin 100b and Rabbinic Knowledge of Ben Sira (183-193).

Part Two: 10) The *Letter of Aristeas* and the Septuagint: The Jewish Scriptures in Greek: The Septuagint in the Context of Ancient Translation Activity (197-212. 212: "Those who translated the Septuagint were clearly men of great ingenuity, and whatever their model, the transformed the

Hebrew Pentateuch into a unique creation that served the needs of Greek-speaking Jews so well that its status eclipsed that of its Hebrew progenitor."); 11) עבד / ΔΟΥΛΟΣ - Terms and Social Status in the Meeting of Hebrew-Biblical and Hellenistic-Roman Culture (213-245); 12) Access to the Source: Cicero, Ben Sira, The Septuagint and Their Audiences (247-273); 13) The *Letter of Aristeas* and the Reception History of the Septuagint (275-295. Der Aristeasbrief verteidigt die Septuaginta als selbständiges griechisches Werk ["stand alone text", "Greek literary work"], die ursprüngliche Übersetzung war dagegen gedacht als ein Weg, um zum hebräischen Original zu kommen; insofern ist der Aristeasbrief ein Zeugnis für die Rezeption, nicht für die Entstehung der Septuaginta); 14) Translation as Scripture: The Septuagint in *Aristeas* and Philo (297-314); 15) Three Jewish Ritual Practices in *Aristeas* §§158-160 (315-334. Die drei "Ritual Practices" sind die Quasten an der Kleidung, die Mezuzot und die Phylakterien, für deren Verwendung der Aristeasbrief neben der materiellen Evidenz aus Qumran und der judäischen Wüste der älteste textliche Beleg ist).

Die wichtigen Ausführungen werden durch ein ausführliches Stellen- und Sachregister gut erschlossen (Index 335-361)

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Robert J. V. Hiebert, ed., *"Translation is Required": The Septuagint in Retrospect and Prospect*, Septuagint and Cognate Studies 56, Atlanta, GA: SBL 2010, Pp. xxii, 248. ISBN: 978-1589-83523-8.

The main part of this volume is a collection of thirteen papers presented at the conference on "Septuagint Translation(s): Retrospect and Prospect" hosted by the Septuagint Institute of Trinity Western University, September 18–20, 2008. The second and shorter part of the book contains the introductory statements of the four main presenters in a panel discussion at the conference. One of the distinctive features of this conference on translations was that the participants included scholars who have worked on three modern language translations of the Septuagint: A New English Translation of the Septuagint (NETS), La Bible d'Alexandrie, and Septuaginta Deutsch. Thus,

the book addresses topics related to the Septuagint as a translation and issues involved with translating it into modern languages.

The first paper in the book is "Beyond Literalism: Interlinearity Revisited" by Albert Pietersma, one of the editors of NETS. In his essay Pietersma addresses one specific facet of NETS, the interlinearity paradigm, which informs not only NETS but also the SBL Commentary Series (SBLCS), which follows it. Pietersma is concerned that the reception history of this paradigm, which was first introduced in the 1990s, has taken it in a different direction than its authors intended. He emphasizes that when the editors of NETS speak of interlinearity they are not doing so from a historical-perspective, with a Hebrew-Greek diglot of sorts in view. Instead interlinearity is intended as a metaphor and a heuristic tool to describe the source-target linguistic relationship between the Hebrew and Greek in terms of extra-linguistic realities. It is a way of "conceptualizing the translational phenomena" (9) involved in the rendering of the Hebrew into Greek. He argues further that linguistic evidence supports understanding interlinearity, rather than literalism, to be the baseline definition of Septuagint Greek, and thus the metaphor of interlinearity can be made into the paradigm for studying the Greek of the Septuagint.

Benjamin G. Wright III, coeditor of NETS together with Pietersma, is the author of the second essay, "Moving beyond Translating a Translation: Reflections on A New English Translation of the Septuagint (NETS)." Important for Wright's article and for the theoretical foundation of NETS is Gideon Toury's book Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond, wherein Toury argues that the three interrelated facts of translation are the intended position (systemic function) of the translation, its textual linguistic makeup, and the particular strategies of the translator. (These three facts are summarized as position, product, and process.) Wright applies Toury's theory of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) to the NETS project to illustrate how the theory works; he also applies it to the Septuagint in order to analyze the systemic function of the Septuagint, as described in Aristeas. He applies Toury's second and third facts to the Septuagint, the textual-linguistic makeup of the Septuagint and the strategies of the Septuagint translator(s), in order to discover the other fact concerning the Septuagint, its intended position (or function). Wright concludes that the description of the function of the Septuagint in Aristeas, as meant to be independent from its source text and to serve as the sacred Scriptures of Alexandrian Judaism, is not consistent with its textual-linguistic makeup and the strategies of the Septuagint translator(s).

Instead the textual linguistic makeup of the Septuagint suggests a paradigm of dependence on the Hebrew it rendered.

The next two articles deal with matters that have relevance to any part of the OG version with a Semitic Vorlage. In "The Semantics of Biblical Language Redux" Cameron Boyd-Taylor addresses semantic issues involved in working out a theory of translation for translation literature. Building upon the work of James Barr, he discusses the semantics of hope (studying the verb elpizo) in the Greek Psalter, and he identifies a rhetoric of hope in the texts containing this verb, which issues in a theology of hope in the Greek Psalter where hope in a God who saves is the leading motif (56). Jan Joosten ("Translating the Untranslatable: Septuagint Renderings of Hebrew Idioms") points out some of the different strategies employed in rendering idiomatic expressions in the Septuagint in order to demonstrate "the impossibility of translating with particular clarity" (60).

The next five papers focus on issues related to individual books in the Septuagint. Robert J. V. Hiebert ("Ruminations on Translating the Septuagint of Genesis in Light of the NETS Project") gives a helpful comparison of the translation philosophy of NETS with that of La Bible d'Alexandrie and Septuaginta Deutsch (72–4). Then he emphasizes the importance of having a principled, consistent methodology for translation by making five comparisons between his work in Genesis in NETS and the work of Susan Brayford in Genesis in the Septuagint Commentary Series published by Brill. Hiebert (and NETS translators) was seeking to represent the meaning of the Septuagint in its "original constitutive stage" and he used the Göttingen text of Genesis as the basis for his translation, while Brayford used Codex Alexandrinus and tried to represent that text as it was received in "a particular reading community," probably in the fifth century C.E. (77–8). Hiebert argues that the semantic and grammatical stiltedness of the Septuagint would have been accommodated by the time of Codex Alexandrinus, and he feels some of Brayford's translations do not adequately reflect that accommodation; thus, they do not consistently reflect the distinction between the text as produced and the text as received.

In "'Glory' in Greek Exodus: Lexical Choice in Translation and Its Reflection in Secondary Translations" Larry Perkins demonstrates that the original translator of Greek Exodus emphasized the concept of Yahweh's glory in his translation. Perkins tries to communicate this emphasis in his English translation of Exodus in NETS by means of a consistent use of various forms of the English word "glory" for the occurrences of various forms of the word in Greek. He compares his English translation with the

modern French and German renderings, which do not communicate to the reader as consistently the occurrences of "glory" terminology in Septuagint Exodus.

Dirk Büchner ("Some Reflections of Writing a Commentary on the Septuagint of Leviticus") relates that when he began to write the commentary on Leviticus for SBLCS he asked himself how he could build on the work of John William Wevers on Leviticus? He found it most useful to springboard from Wevers' work in four areas: (1) the way the Greek translator provides grammatical and syntactical equivalence for the grammar and syntax of the Hebrew; (2) the lexicography of pentateuchal technical vocabulary; (3) the Septuagint Pentateuch and Greek Religion; and (4) the culture of Ptolemaic Alexandria. In his work thus far Büchner senses that the Greek translator "has an inclination to provide Greek cultural ways an avenue in which to make sense of the Hebrew text" (117).

Melvin K. H. Peters' article contains some final personal reflections based on his work translating Deuteronomy for NETS ("Translating a Translation: Some Final reflections on the Production of the New English Translation of Greek Deuteronomy"). First, he makes a few observations about the Greek translation of Deuteronomy: the source was close to the MT; it contains several neologisms; it engages in semantic leveling and semantic differentiation; and occasionally the translator interprets his Vorlage. Second, he presents a few instances where the Greek text of Deuteronomy clearly varies from the MT. Third, he argues strongly that the hegemony of the MT, which is supported by theistic Septuagintalists, must be overthrown, and the idea of multiple forms of Hebrew Scriptures and multiple textual traditions must be championed. Only then will there be a place for secular Septuagintalists in the field and will Septuagint studies as a field have sustained viability or relevance.

In "The Elihu Speeches in the Greek Translation of Job" August H. Konkel argues that the Elihu speeches in the OG, which are less than two-thirds the length of their counterparts in Hebrew, are based upon a Hebrew Vorlage that was substantially the same as the MT. However, the Greek translator created a new version of Job, and more specifically of these speeches, through his translation methods. Thus, "the OG version is an alternate literary creation, not to be regarded as equivalent to the Hebrew version."

The final four essays in this collection are related in their focus on the reception history of the Septuagint. Leonard Greenspoon ("At the Beginning: The Septuagint as a Jewish Bible Translation") recounts the differences between Max Margolis' perspectives on the relationship of the Septuagint

and MT and those of his student Harry Orlinsky. Whereas, Margolis felt the Vorlage of the Septuagint was substantially the same as the MT and differences between them were in general the result of scribal activity, Orlinsky felt the occasions where the Septuagint differed from the Hebrew were more likely a result of a different Septuagint Vorlage. Greenspoon uses this difference in perspective to lead into the different approaches concerning Septuagint origins; he lists four different views and suggests the correct explanation could be a combination of two or more of the different approaches.

Wolfgang Kraus, coeditor of Septuaginta Deutsch, discusses the reception history of Amos 9:11–12 in "The Role of the Septuagint in the New Testament: Amos 9:11–12 as a Test Case." He traces the text through the MT, to the postexilic interpretation of the MT, to the Septuagint, and then to Acts 15, and he concludes his article by emphasizing the difficulty and complications of speaking of the "original focus" of a biblical text.

In "A Well-Watered Garden (Isaiah 58:11): Investigating the Influence of the Septuagint" Alison Salvesen gives an overview of the daughter versions of the Septuagint and argues that they should not be dismissed as Jerome did, but instead should be seen "as the children of Pharos and the grandchildren of Sinai" (208).

And finally Brian Anastasi Butcher ("A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Orthodox Study Bible: A Case Study in Prospective Reception") asks to what extent the English-speaking Christians of the Eastern Orthodox and Byzantine Rite Catholic Churches will receive and use NETS? Based on the Orthodox criteria of sacrality (beauty and foreignness), authority (consistent with the interpretation of the Fathers), and communality (perceived as the special property of the community) it would be difficult for any new English translation to be acceptable to the Orthodox Church. Furthermore, because of the challenges of Confessionalism and the requirements for liturgical use of Scripture in the Orthodox Church it is unlikely that NETS will receive a widespread reception in that tradition.

Four brief introductory statements to the panel discussion at the conference by Pietersma ("NETS and the 'Upstream-Downstream Metaphor"), Wright ("The Textual-Linguistic Character and Sociological Context of the Septuagint"), Joosten ("La Bible d'Alexandrie and How to Translate the Septuagint"), and Kraus ("Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D): The Value of a German Translation of the Septuagint") make up Part Two of the book. These statements are worth reading.

The book begins with a helpful introduction, written by the editor. It does not have any indexes, nor does it have any biographical information about the various authors; both would be useful.

This is a book about issues related to translation. But more specifically, the focus of this collection of articles is the ongoing discussion in Septuagint studies about the distinction between the Septuagint as it was produced and as it came to be received and the implications of that distinction for its interpretation, translation, and use. This book is a must read for anyone interested in keeping up with what is happening in Septuagint studies, and it will also benefit those interested in more wide-ranging issues of translation.

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Daniel O'Hare, *"Have You Seen, Son of Man?" A Study in the Translation and Vorlage of LXX Ezekiel 40-48.* Septuagint and Cognate Studies, 57. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010. Pp. XIV + 251. ISBN 978-1-58983-526-9.

The present work should be welcomed for two reasons: it is the first thorough study of the last chapters (40–48) of Ezekiel in the Greek version, and it introduces Skopostheorie into the study of the Septuagint.

After the Table of Contents (p. vii-x), Acknowledgements (p. xi), List of Tables (p. xii) and List of Abbreviations (p. xiii-xiv), the core of the book follows over the course of five Chapters (p. 1–188) and the Conclusions (p. 189–192) (which is referred to as Chapter 6 in the main text p. 189); at the end are Appendices covering the Temple, Οἶκος, and Eastern Gate, Examples of Divergences in Word Order in LXX Ezekiel 40–48, and Technical Terms (p. 193–214), Bibliography (p. 215–228), and Indices (p. 229–251). Each chapter consists of various headings, each of which is followed by a conclusion. The result is a well-structured and finely crafted work.

The book is designed according to a coherent plan in which five chapters elaborate separately one issue of the focus of the book. This focus is twofold: first, how does the translator implement his goals in the translation of Ezekiel 40–48, and second, can we identify where differences between MT and LXX

in Ezekiel 40–48 are due to a variant Vorlage and where they are attributable to the translator.

Chapter 1, Prolegomena, makes a sketch of the plan of this study, reflected in the conveniently arranged Table of Contents. Skopostheorie forms the theoretical grounding for this book. It is a functional theory of translation that takes its departure from the idea that the purpose of the translation determines the manner in which the translation will be carried out. Thereby the translator attempts to mediate the information of the text (source text) to his intended readers (target text) by means that coincide with his actual purpose. Skopostheorie recognizes four major types of translation. (1) An interlinear translation is a word-for-word translation, made on the basis of individual words. (2) A literal translation wants to reproduce appropriate words and grammatical formations of the source text in the target text; its focus is on the level of sentences. (3) In a philological translation the linguistic and thought structures of the original author are recognized in the words, grammatical structures and stylistic level of the target text by choosing a diction appropriate for the purpose of the translation. This kind of translation moves the reader toward the source text. This is what LXX Ezekiel 40–48 meant to be, and what will be demonstrated in the rest of this book. (4) A communicative translation is immediately comprehensible in the target language, thus 'natural,' though not exactly the same as the source text.

Besides this translation theory a classification of three text-types according to the intention of the text lies at the basis of this examination: informative texts show equivalence of source texts and receptor texts as for the communication of information; expressive texts exhibit equivalence to the source text on the level of artistic form and meter; operative texts persuade the audience, highlighting the persuasive aspects.

It is the merit of O'Hare that he can demonstrate that Skopostheorie is an aid to the understanding of LXX Ezekiel 40–48 in three interrelated ways. First, it focusses on the translator's purpose: how did the translator understand and render his source text, and how has it been communicated to and understood by his readers. Secondly, the type of translation is determinative for its goals and the intended readership. LXX Ezekiel 40–48, being a philological translation – which O'Hare has convincingly argued in Chapter 2 of his work –, shows abundant evidence (transliterations, translational idiom) that recall the text of the original, resulting in a deliberately faithful rendering. Thirdly, LXX Ezekiel 40–48 is a prophetic text, and thus an operative text that attempts to persuade the audience of the relevance of hearing and obeying a specific divine word or collection of divine words, highlighting the persua-

sive elements (forms and methods of persuasion). As they are deeply cultural, they may differ with respect to the culture of the intended recipients of the translation. One of the goals of this translation is to transform these persuasive elements in accord with Hellenistic taste, something that will become evident in Chapter 5. O'Hare summarizes and represents these three goals in descending order of importance, all contributing toward the persuasive effect of the translation:

> 1. rendering Ezekiel 40–48 accurately and comprehensibly in Greek, need for momentary clarity
> 2. style and diction of Hebrew is transparent in Greek in order to highlight its authority = philological translation
> 3. accommodating the cultural aspects to a Hellenistic readership.

This hierarchical set of goals is very important. The need for momentary clarity supersedes any claim to divine authority: for example the use of the historical present πίπτω instead of ἔπεσον (43:3; 44:4). A prophetic book must primarily be comprehensible for the acculturated reader. O'Hare explicitly warns against assuming a deliberate logical or deductive methodology in the translator's goals, merely pointing to an intuitive application of them.

In his theoretical presentation O'Hare does not set various approaches to translation against each another but he assigns them a place in the larger frame of Skopostheorie according to their respective basic principles. Common translation terms as equivalence, literal, free, are redefined through Skopostheorie. Literal and free are not opposed to each other, but both characterize the translation in light of the goals: literal renderings mark the philological translation, freer renderings are a sign of the translator's competence for the sake of comprehensibility or accuracy.

After the introductory Chapter 1, O'Hare investigates in a detailed way the different aspects of the book's focus. In Chapter 2, Toward the Übersetzungsweise of the Translator, he examines the translation choices the translator made. O'Hare deliberately avoids the term translation technique because it does not do full justice to all levels operative in translation, and because it tends to equate translation to application of a specific methodology; therefore he consistently prefers the more neutral term Übersetzungsweise. This second chapter aims at a reassessment of Tov's general qualification that the Greek Ezekiel is a relatively literal translation. The translator's Übersetzungsweise is determined by the features of a philological translation in order to preserve the source text precisely. However, the translator was also capable of freer renderings. One of these is the use of the historical present in the expression

πίπτω ἐπὶ πρόσωπόν μου (43:3; 44:4); O'Hare ascribes this historical present – rightly – to the tradent's concern with the Hebrew meaning. The same conclusion had already been drawn by the present reviewer in 1998, but the article escaped the notice of O'Hare. O'Hare also advances this free rendering in his attempt to show that the same translator is at work in Ezekiel α' and Ezekiel γ'. Indeed, this expression occurs in Ezekiel α ' (1:28: 3:23; 9:8; 11:13) and Ezekiel γ' (43:3; 44:4). O'Hare calls it a small clue; I wonder whether there is even a clue at all, as the expression simply does not show up in Ezekiel β'. It is a common feature of Ezekiel α' and Ezekiel γ', but not in opposition to Ezekiel β'. As a matter of contrast and to provide further evidence for the deliberate choice of the historical present, O'Hare refers to P967 that has ἔπεσον (p. 12 n. 35 and p 58 n. 73 where he has erroneously written ἔπεσεν instead of ἔπεσον). This is not true of Ezekiel α', as Ezekiel 1–11 is missing in P967. P967, according to the Nachtrag of Fraenkel (Ziegler 1977), only has ἔπεσον in 43:3; the main point regarding the historical present form made by O'Hare is good, but the evidence is meagre.

Given the faithful rendering of the source text, secondary readings in LXX Ezekiel 40–48 should be ascribed to the Vorlage, not to the translator; these secondary readings were added to the Hebrew text by some scribes in the process of transmission of the Hebrew text, whom O'Hare terms supplementers or redactors. Chapter 3, The Vorlage of LXX Ezekiel 40–48, takes as its departure the pluses in the Vorlage of LXX Ezekiel 40–48. Although O'Hare calls them secondary readings of the LXX Vorlage, "no extant version can claim to be the definitive witness to the book that bears Ezekiel's name" (p. 75). 'Secondary' only "provides evidence that this Hebrew text was in the process of being interpreted as it was being transmitted" (p. 74). O'Hare distinguishes between three types of pluses. Besides simple transfer of wording (words taken from the wider context of the book Ezekiel and from the Pentateuch, and adopted secondarily in the text to clarify obscure texts or to exclude certain interpretations, especially in light of changed circumstances and an increased concern for the exclusive rights of the Zadokites) and new readings (new material often in line with descriptions of the second temple, added for the same reason), there is a third type. This type is called a pastiche, a group of pluses that cluster together for similar exegetical reasons, pluses which are not necessarily scriptural locutions. In his example of a pastiche (LXX Ezek 43:2–3 and MT Ezek 1:24) O'Hare skilfully elaborates the influence of esoteric traditions, which are themselves heavily influenced by the book of Ezekiel. His argument may contain information to indications of a date of the third to second century B.C.E. for the time that the Vorlage of

LXX Ezekiel 40–48 reached the form from which it was translated. LXX Ezek 43:2–3 and MT Ezek 1:24 show common additions; they do not quite suggest that LXX Ezek 43:2–3 is dependent on MT Ezek 1:24, but that they preserve some traditions contained in Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (a sectarian text found in Qumran) and other esoteric texts from Qumran. O'Hare puts forward as a main conclusion that the first concern of the supplementers was to explain the – difficult – Ezekiel text on its own terms; the pluses did not make part of a canonical orientation, as was advanced by Stromberg. With this chapter O'Hare touches upon the theme of variant literary editions. Ezekiel existed in variant literary editions in antiquity. His search for the Vorlage of LXX Ezekiel 40–48 – one form of this variety of editions – aims at insight into the basis for these differences – which proves to be a theological basis for much of this redactional activity – fully recognizing the diversity of the texts of the book of Ezekiel.

Chapter 4, Near and Far Contexts in the Rendering of LXX Ezekiel 40–48, turns again to the goal of the translator, this in contrast to that of the supplementers. As the translator's primary concern was to offer an accurate and comprehensible representation of his source text, he was more than once faced with problematic issues in Ezekiel 40–48. He could still make sense of his source text and rely on context. He could solve this difficulty by reference to previous examples of translation of sacred Hebrew texts, mainly the Greek Pentateuch. O'Hare discerns in this chapter the themes of cultic purity and of sacrificial terminology. To maintain cultic purity the translator selected terms expressing separation and distance (ἀπόλοιπον, τὸ διορίζον, διάστημα). Once he had introduced these terms for difficult and poorly understood Hebrew terms, he even chose them for Hebrew words that were probably comprehendsible, if the maintenance of cultic purity was at stake. These three words emphasized the importance of this theme: preserving the interval, as part of the holy structures, or shielding the adytum from view, or protecting the area around the temple. The second theme of sacrificial terminology (terms for offerings) made use of sacrificial vocabulary of the Pentateuch, not in a slavish way, but with a penchant for lexical variation rather than for lexical consistency, in order to express its contextual significance as clearly as possible.

In Chapter 5, The Translator and His Target Readership, O'Hare continues that the translator did not make sense anymore of his source text and transformed problematic cultural aspects of this source text in light of his Hellenistic audience (third goal). This recontextualization concerned architecture and the relationship between Jews and non-Jews. O'Hare stresses that the merit of this Hellenistic updating lies in the operative character of the text.

Incorporation of terms of the contemporary Hellenistic temple – like e.g. στοά, περίστυλον, περίπατος – did help to eliminate some of the foreignness of Ezekiel's temple layout, and on a deeper level to recall connotations and associations creating additional meaning (for example the association of ἐξέδρα and περίπατος with philosophy and learning links Jewish worship with Greek philosophy), in order to make the temple description more accessible and still relevant in the present. On behalf of the relationship between Jews and non-Jews the Septuagint version exhibits two differences from the MT. O'Hare argues that the translator shows a favorable attitude towards guests. First, Gentiles will have their own tribe incorporated within the tribal structure of Israel (47:23 and 47:13) in some undefined sense, for there is no indication how the integration of the foreigners will proceed. This inclusive strand of Jewish opinion, O'Hare continues, is not unique to Ezekiel, with reference to additional examples from the book of Isaiah, Micah and Ruth. This inclusion shows the reality of non-Jews' attraction to Judaism in the time of the translator. Second, by the unexpected renderings Γαλιλαία and Αραβία (Ezek 47:8) for two Hebrew words rendered elsewhere in the Bible completely differently and definitely not as homophones, the translator exhibits a Judaism mediating its benefits outside its boundaries. The prosperity-giving river arising in the Temple extends its salutary effects of divine fertility promised to Israel outside its normal boundaries, into Galilee and Arabia. The MT offers a more circumscribed vision. Both differences take heed of the recontextualization of the source text in the Hellenistic milieu and of the conventions of that period.

O'Hare goes through his work in the last Chapter 6, Conclusion, summarizing each step of his analysis, with constant consideration of the three goals of the translator. This facilitates a grasp of the main lines of his work. Finally, as a result of his analysis, directions for further research are proposed: what theological movements lie at the basis of this scribal activity in the Vorlage of LXX Ezekiel 40–48? what can be the contribution of the Vorlage of LXX Ezekiel 1–39 in this matter? and what is the relationship between the canonical book of Ezekiel and Second Ezekiel texts as found in Qumran?

In this work, O'Hare succeeds in facilitating the reading and understanding of LXX Ezekiel 40–48. Through Skopostheorie these chapters that are often regarded as peculiarly difficult in nature, he makes more accessible; he reveals behind the obscure and difficult wording the theological significance of these chapters, within the larger book of Ezekiel and within Judaism. O'Hare discerns as a main point in this theological concern the central position of the Zadokites.

Throughout his work O'Hare more than once refers to and builds on the foundational work of Barr, Tov and Aejmelaeus, each of whom dealt with Septuagint translation in their respective research. The confirmation of their conclusions and even refinements of these conclusions embed the analysis of O'Hare in a solid tradition of study of the translation technique / Übersetzungsweise of the Septuagint.

Some minor shortcomings cannot detract from the overall very good impression of the present work. In the List of Abbreviations (p. xiii) Johan Lust, Erik Eynikel, and Katrin Hauspie, eds. Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint. Revised Edition. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003 is generally abbreviated as LEH, while GELS is being used for Muraoka's A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint (see same criticism uttered by Frank Shaw in BIOSCS 43 (2010) p. 138). Par, for Paraleipomena, should be known by a Septuagint scholar; on the contrary G (p. 43, 49), N stem (p. 49) and D (p 94), respectively Grundstamm, N-stem with N-prefix for reflexive and passive, and Doppeltstamm, terms borrowed from Aramaic grammar, should have been provided with an explanation here for the Septuagint scholar. Henry St. John Thackeray is the name of the famous LXX scholar, not Henry St. James Thackeray (p. 33).

The phraseology is sometimes a bit misleading. The transliteration θεε itself can only be a singular or plural, not plural in construct, which is a Hebrew grammatical phenomenon, non-existent in Greek, and can have no suffixes; " [..] of the Greek transliteration is its possibility to be either [..] plural in construct (40:10) or plural with pronominal suffixes [..]" (p. 68) can only refer to the Hebrew noun which can be a construct form or have suffixes. Likely, but of a different kind, is the following notice. On p. 64 O'Hare writes: "Ezekiel 40–48 also knows of the equivalence of αιλαμ with אלם / אילם)," followed by a footnote. The verses cited in the footnote (n. 93) refer to the occurences of אילם / אלם in the MT, not only to the equivalences of αιλαμ with אילם / אלם. E.g. 40:39 has no αιλαμ in the LXX, but אלם in the MT. In the following footnote (n. 94) O'Hare talks of the unique rendering of αιλαμ with regard to איל again the verses cited refer to the occurences of the latter, which count more hits than the number of equivalences of both terms (e.g. 41:3). He does the same for the examples of αιλαμμω cited in footnote 98 (p. 65). As already said, these are minor criticisms, and this book will no doubt be a very well-used and recommended study in the field of the Septuagint.

After reading the book, the reader remains with one question: where does the title come from, and why has it been chosen? It may refer to Ezek 40:4, 43:7, 47:6. The phrase appears at regular intervals in the transitional units of

Ezekiel 40–48, linking the three major sections contained in these final chapters: a vision of the temple, of the glory (as transition to the Temple Law), and of the life-giving river (as transition to the boundaries and division of the land). As the phrase is an interrogative sentence, it can only recall Ezek 40:4 and 47:6. In the beginning of the vision (40:4) it is uttered by the guiding figure who leads the prophet, as an invitation to observe what is following. "Have you seen, Son of Man?" occurs then at the end of these final chapters (47:6) – but still before the third major section – as a conclusion to all the visionary descriptions of the temple itself, the temple laws and the land, and indicates a desire to draw the guide's attention. Hence it perfectly fits in an operative text. In fact "Have you seen, Son of Man?" – picked out from its immediate context – can relate further to every reader of this book and of Ezekiel LXX 40–48. This may be the reason for its appearance in the title. In any case, this original title guarantees an excellent study for every Ezekiel scholar and for every LXX scholar, by making a serious study of the Übersetzungsweise of the LXX translators.

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Gary Alan Chamberlain, *The Greek of the Septuagint: A Supplemental Lexicon. An Essential Addition to any Greek New Testament Lexicon*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2011. 304 pp. ISBN 978-1-56563-741-2.

The challenging shift to the more expansive Septuagint vocabulary is one reason why even students of New Testament Greek struggle to read the Septuagint.

The Greek of the Septuagint: A Supplemental Lexicon, by Gary Alan Chamberlain, seeks to bridge the gap between NT Greek and LXX Greek. In fact, Chamberlain notes there may be less of a gap than initially supposed: "This, then, is the single dominant characteristic of the LXX vocabulary: it is normal, idiomatic Greek. I base my construal of it on this hypothesis whenever I can." (XIV)

Chamberlain intends his lexicon to be a supplemental one, an addition to a Greek New Testament lexicon. (He has BDAG specifically in view.) The

lexicon contains entries for 5,000 LXX words not in the NT, as well as 1,000 words with LXX-specific uses that a NT lexicon would not carry. For the latter, Chamberlain simply adds to the BDAG numbering system, so that his entry for καθίστημί, for example, begins, "**3.**b. *seek to establish, declare*." Words that Chamberlain's lexicon fully treats have morphological information and references for word usage in the LXX and beyond. There is "no treatment of the most common words" in the LXX, so not just a cursory knowledge but a solid grasp of Greek vocabulary is needed to use this lexicon on its own. This work won't serve the Greek initiate, in other words.

The 19-page introduction explains several classifications of LXX words that appear in the lexicon proper, and is complemented by a set of word lists in the appendices. Chamberlain includes word lists and discussion of:

> 1. Precise parallels between the LXX and extrabiblical texts. This is where he asserts that LXX vocabulary is "normal, idiomatic Greek." He accounts for what others have claimed are examples to the contrary (e.g., "Semitisms") with his various categories for words, as below.
> 2. Transliterations of the Hebrew into Greek.
> 3. Hapax Legomena–Greek words that occur once in the LXX and nowhere else in ancient Greek literature, as well as words that occur multiple times in the LXX but nowhere else.
> 4. Greek words that occur first in the LXX.
> 5. Words with no parallel in other ancient Greek sources.
> 6. Stereotypical translations ("calques," where "translators faced severe challenges in rendering a few common Hebrew terms for which no equivalent was possible within the framework of Greek language").
> 7. Mistranslations (where "LXX translators misconstrued the meaning of their sources' words, through a confusion of roots or a misunderstanding of meaning of the source").
> 8. Textual variants (more than 200 instances, including his suggested emendations, helpfully organized in canonical order).
> 9. More complicated words "involving multiple factors" ("We are simply trying to explain how a Greek word was placed in a context that does not make good sense if we read it as a Greek sentence").

Appendix II is the place to start when looking up a word. Through the use of bold, italics, and regular font, it shows if a word is in Chamberlain's lexicon but not BDAG (i.e. belongs to NT vocabulary); if it is in BDAG and supplemented here; or if the word is sufficiently covered in BDAG and therefore not in Chamberlain's lexicon. Appendix III lists LXX book titles in English

and Greek, as well as a table that shows the differing versification between the two.

As for lexicographical method, Chamberlain's "key principle" is that "contexts determine meaning." Similar to Muraoka's GELS ("Thus we started from the actual text, the whole text"), Chamberlain writes, "I read the text itself, and if it makes sense as a text, then for lexical purposes I know all I need to know." (XIV). In addition to the contexts of sentences of which a word is a part, he considers extrabiblical Greek literature so that a given word's context is not only the LXX. One downside to his approach is that "unparalleled meanings" come just from the Greek text, without extensive consideration of LXX translators' *Vorlagen*. This approach is deliberate, but not all will agree with it.

Though lexical entries almost always contain appropriate verse references, Chamberlain's work, like LEH, does not also excerpt the relevant LXX passage as GELS does. LEH offers translation equivalents, whereas GELS clearly seeks to offer definitions and *not* translation equivalents. Chamberlain follows GELS in this regard, as he offers a range of meanings and usage for words. The user of this lexicon, however, will have to have BDAG at hand to access the full range of meaning, as Chamberlain's numbering system supplements BDAG and does not repeat its information.

Chamberlain notes that he prepared the lexicon by reading through the Septuagint, with Rahlfs, Göttingen, and Hatch and Redpath in hand. As for lexical resources, he began with BDAG as a primary reference, often used LSJ, and also looked at LEH and GELS. His extrabiblical citations refer to LSJ, but he feels free to disagree with LSJ, as he has "checked nearly every instance" where he cites a given extrabiblical text and has read through the entire LXX for his project.

Because Chamberlain believes that Septuagint vocabulary is "normal, idiomatic Greek," he assumes that a given word is typical for classical or Koine Greek, or he explains a given Greek word using the categories noted above.

One potential lack that results from Chamberlain's approach is that consideration of theologically-motivated translation is lacking. In Deuteronomy 32, among other places, where the Septuagint translates a Hebrew צור with θεός, it is difficult to see how any of Chamberlain's categories have explanatory power. Of course, the regular reluctance of a Greek translator to refer to God as rock does not disprove Chamberlain's hypothesis that Septuagintal Greek is "normal," nor is a lexicon necessarily the place to address such translation practices at length. But the user of Chamberlain's lexicon could easily walk away with the impression that all translators of the Old Greek

sought to create a more or less strict translation of their Hebrew text, though this is not always necessarily the case.

A further potential critique of Chamberlain's work, though a minor one, is that there is not much by way of diachronic analysis of Septuagint vocabulary. Again, a supplemental lexicon may not be the place to do this, and he does offer canonical comprehensiveness in citing words, but a possibly unintended consequence of this is that a fairly monolithic "Septuagint" is presented where, while Chamberlain accounts for word usage before and after the LXX, he does not offer a treatment of lexical development within the Septuagint itself. Perhaps the fuller lexicon he says he aims to produce will accomplish this.

One might ask, Why not just purchase a full Septuagint lexicon, especially when GELS already goes beyond translation equivalents? Here is where Chamberlain makes the "distinctive contribution…to LXX studies" that he aims to make.

To take an example, though both Chamberlain and GELS give more or less the same range of meaning for ἀγαθῶς, the user of Chamberlain also learns via the "(Aristot+)" notation that the adverb appears in classical Greek already. This is the sort of evidence Chamberlain provides throughout the lexicon to support his assertion that LXX vocabulary is "normal, idiomatic Greek."

Readers can debate the usefulness of a supplemental work, though it is not unsafe to assume that many who come to Septuagint Greek will already have access to BDAG. Chamberlain's 19-page introduction and 15-page appendix of word lists, however, make a unique contribution to Septuagint lexicography. The ease with which the user can access not only those words lists, but also the 186-page lexicon proper, make *The Greek of the Septuagint: A Supplemental Lexicon* stand out.

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Natalio Fernández Marcos and M.ª Victoria Spottorno Díaz-Caro (coordina-
    dores). *La Biblia griega: Septuaginta*, *II: Libros históricos.* Biblioteca de
    Estudios Bíblicos 126. Salamanca: Sígueme, 2011. Pp. 974. ISBN: 978 84
    301 1780 2.

This is the second volume of the Spanish translation of the Septuagint (*El
Pentateuco* was reviewed in *BIOSCS* 42 (2009), 130-132). It is the impresss-
ive fruit of hard work and commands my respect.

Each book or set of books is preceded by a concise and informative intro-
duction that sketches date, setting, editions and specific problems of the
Greek text, followed by an up-to-date bibliography. The underlying editions
are the Göttingen LXX, and, in its absence, Rahlfs' text (in Judg, Esth, Tob
and parts of Josh a double text is printed). The greatest novelty is the original
and laudable choice of the Antiochene text as the basis of 1-4 Kgdms and 1-2
Chr, which now appears in a modern translation for the first time. Every
introduction ends with a short discussion of particularities with respect to the
Spanish translation.

The translation is printed as plain text with chapter and verse numbers.
There are no pericopes and sections headings. That might be helpful for an
eventual one-volume edition (without introductions), of which there has been
talk. Differences with respect to MT are not marked. The general idea behind
the translation was to communicate the meaning of the Greek text as a free-
standing one, not of the underlying Hebrew. Nevertheless, this principle is
abandoned to such an extent throughout the volume that the present writer
would never have guessed it as the leading principle. To be sure, in many
instances the strategy has been followed. E.g. ἐφοβήθησαν ἀπὸ προσώπου
τοῦ βασιλέως (3 Kgdms 3:28) is rendered as "they fled terrified from the
king's presence." Some cases of a literal rendering of the inf. abs. are repli-
cated in Spanish, e.g., *pero matarte no te mataremos* "killing you we will not
kill you" (Judg 15:13). A further example is "I am, I will execute my right"
for Ἐγώ εἰμι ἀγχιστεύσω (Ruth 4:4).

But, as the discussions on recent translation projects of the Septuagint
have made clear, it is difficult to be consistent. The editors have tried to re-
tain the flavour of the original Greek text while at the same time presenting a
readable text. Hebraisms that can be comprehended are left intact and some-
times explained in notes. A great number of them has disappeared, however.
Apodotic καί is consistently removed (Josh 2:5, 8; Judg 1:1, 14; Ruth 1:1
etc); literal renderings of the inf. abs. are often normalized; ἐν ἐμοί is ren-
dered as "please" (Judg 13:8) and ἐγώ εἰμι as "I myself" (Judg 5:3). When

David asks Ourías εἰς εἰρήνην τοῦ πολέμου, the translation makes him ask "if the war went well" (2 Kgdms 11:13), obviously with recourse to Hebrew. These examples, a tip of the iceberg, illustrate a phenomenon in which various factors play a role. Firstly, the translators understandably removed those Hebraisms that could hinder comprehension for the sake of their audience. Secondly, translators are generally known to correct the mistakes of their parent text, lest the audience consider mistakes that are faithfully replicated as failures on the part of the translator. Thirdly, the aforementioned factors accord well with the exalted view that the Spanish team has of the translators, viz. as bilingual intellectuals with Greek literature at their fingertips. This view becomes difficult to uphold if mistakes, unintelligible or awkward renderings are replicated just as they are. This interplay of factors has resulted in a beautified Septuagint.

Some authors defy the stated strategy more explicitly than others. Where Spottorno Díaz writes that she translates as literally as possible (177, 323), Delgado Jara says she often consulted the Hebrew text and translated καί in many different ways, according to the context (598). And indeed, her translation of 2 Esd evinces many free renderings not found in other books. Cañas Reíllo explicitly advocates the concept of "Greek words with Hebrew meanings" (434), at odds with the project's set-up. The latter author also translated 1-2 Macc, to which I turned with interest, since these were not translated from Hebrew. I was astounded to find Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου Μακεδόνα rendered as "Alexander, he of Philippus the Macedonian" with a footnote that this construction means "son of" (1 Macc 1:1). Apart from the fact that "Macedonian" is an apposition to the Alexander rather than his father, the fact that Cañas Reíllo elsewhere renders certain phrases according to their Hebrew meaning to produce good Spanish (e.g. "sons of strength" as "valiant men", 440) but then problematizes a perfectly normal Greek expression by this awkward translation is quite beyond me. The paradoxical outcome of all this, however, is that on the macrolevel the inconsistencies found within the LXX are nicely reflected.

The translation is accompanied by very few footnotes. Sometimes these give a literal rendering of the Greek text (e.g. "beautiful of appearance") when the running text provides an idiomatic translation (e.g. "a very attractive woman" in 2 Kgdms 11:2). Sometimes they provide implicit information to clarify the text, e.g. in Jos 2:5, where *puerta* is explained: "of the city." Occasionally I wonder whether it is really the *Greek* text that is being clarified, e.g. in 2 Kgdms 11:9, where it is explained that Ourías did not want to sleep with his wife Bersabee because of the holy war regulations. Some foot-

notes elucidate the meaning of the Greek text with recourse to Hebrew. E.g., with respect to Josh 2:14, it is claimed that ἀλήθεια, literally "truth," acquires the meaning of אמת "fidelity." Several footnotes dwell on particularities of the Antiochene text or call attention to differences with MT.

I suppose that the discrepancies surrounding the translation strategy are unavoidable in a production of this size, given the different participants and books concerned. The interested layman will not be disturbed by them, while the scholar will duly recognize them.

The "cultivated readers" among the 330 million Spanish speakers now have access to a collection of interesting translations of the Septuagint, produced by specialists in the field, edited carefully and published elegantly.

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Law, Timothy Michael, *Origenes Orientalis. The Preservation of Origin's Hexapla in the Syrohexapla of 3 Kingdoms*, De Septuaginta Investigationes 2, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2011, 383 S. ISBN 978-3-525-53405-2.

Die Syro-Hexapla (Syh) enthält die Prophetenbücher und Hagiographen in einer akzentuiert ausgangssprachlich orientierten syrischen Übersetzung der fünften Kolumne der Hexapla des Origenes mitsamt der Mehrzahl der aristarchischen Zeichen sowie der Randlesarten der Übersetzungen Aquilas, Symmachus' und Theodotions. Aufgrund der bruchstückhaften Überlieferung der Hexapla im griechischen Überlieferungsraum ist Syh von großer Relevanz für die Rekonstruktion der von Origenes in der „Quinta" verfertigten „annotierten" Ausgabe des kirchlich überlieferten griechischen Bibeltextes. In der vorliegenden umfangreichen Monographie, die sich als Vorarbeit zu einer kritischen Edition sämtlicher hexaplarischer Fragmente zum 3. Buch der Königtümer (1. Könige) betrachtet, evaluiert L. die Syro-Hexapla als Hauptzeuge dieses hexaplarischen Materials.

Am Anfang des einleitenden ersten Kapitel (15-43) stehen knappe Darstellungen der durchgängigen systematischen Rezension der Septuaginta durch Origenes und ihrer syrischen Übersetzung, als deren wesentlichen Anlass L. weniger die hohe Wertschätzung des griechischen Bibeltextes als die Notwen-

digkeit einer Standardisierung seiner Übertragung in einer mehrheitlich bilingualen Gesellschaft betrachtet (22). Hinsichtlich des Charakters dieser Übersetzung weist er auf ihre Nähe zum Werk Aquilas hin, zählt eine Reihe sprachlicher Eigentümlichkeiten auf, und gelangt zu dem Schluss, dass gerade die bemerkenswerte Treue gegenüber der griechischen Vorlage ihre textgeschichtliche Bedeutung begründet: „Syh is indispensable for the recovery of readings marked in the Hexapla, as well as several lost Greek Jewish versions that also became known to the Christian world through their inclusion in the Hexapla" (24). Einem ausführlichen forschungsgeschichtlichen Abschnitt folgen eine Beschreibung der Textbasis sowie Ausführungen zur Anlage der Untersuchung sowohl des asterisierten und obelisierten Materials als auch der Aquila, Symmachus und Theodotion zugeschriebenen Lesarten.

Die Untersuchung der korrekt markierten asterisierten Wörter und Passagen, die in der griechischen Texttradition gegenüber dem hebräischen Text fehlen bzw. Origenes als unverständlich oder als unpassend erschienen, weshalb er hier den entsprechenden Text aus den alternativen jüdischen Versionen einfügte, ist Gegenstand des zweiten Kapitels (44-117). Untergliedert ist der untersuchte Textbestand in Material, das auch in der griechischen handschriftlichen Tradition begegnet (45-103) und Material, das allein in Syh erhalten ist (103-114). Dabei folgen der abgedruckte Text von Syh der Ausgabe Paul de Lagardes und der hebräische Text der Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia. Der griechische Text hingegen entspricht generell dem Codex Vaticanus, Vat. gr. 1209, welcher seinerseits von der (an die vorherrschende hebräische Textgestalt angepassten) καιγε-Rezension beeinflusst ist. In 3. Kgt 1,1 – 2,12; 22 wird zusätzlich auch der (von der καιγε-Rezension nicht erfasste) antiochenische Text geboten. Zu jeder angeführten Stelle wird ein umfangreicher textkritischer Apparat und eine mehr oder weniger ausführliche textkritische Analyse geboten. L. gelangt am Ende des Kapitels zu dem Ergebnis: „The corroboration in the Greek tradition of the asterisked material from Syh gives the researcher more confidence in assessing the reliability of this Syriac version as a witness to the hexaplaric tradition" (116).

Das dritte Kapitel (118-178) befasst sich mit den korrekt markierten obelisierten Wörtern und Passagen in Syh, für die der hebräische Text keine Entsprechung bietet. Eine Gegenüberstellung von Stellen, die aufgrund ihrer Obelisierung in der Hexapla in der weiteren griechischen handschriftlichen Tradition ausgelassen wurden (118-147), und solchen Lesarten, die unbeschadet ihrer Markierung beibehalten wurden (148-176), führt L. zu der Annahme, die Abschreiber von Syh hätten (unbeschadet der Tatsache, dass sie den ihnen vorliegenden Bibeltext mittels zahlreicher Einfügungen an die

bestimmende hebräische Texttradition anglichen) die markierten Partien aus Respekt vor der Tradition nur zögerlich getilgt: „They preferred not to delete the obelised readings" (178).

Im vierten Kapitel (179-254) geht es um teilweise fehlerhafte, fehlende, unnötige und falsche Markierungen von Textdifferenzen in Syh. L. gliedert das Material wie folgt: Partiell inkorrekt asterisierte (179-198) bzw. mit Obelus versehene Passagen (199-217), Lemmata, deren Asterisierung (217-224), Obelisierung (224-227) oder abschließende Markierung mittels Metobelus fehlt (227-243), funktionslos markierte Stellen (244-252) sowie irrige Kennzeichnungen (252-254). Als ein durchgängiger Befund erscheint hier die außergewöhnliche Sorgfalt, die gerade die Abschreiber von Syh bei der Wiedergabe von Kennzeichen des hexaplarischen Materials an den Tag legten (254).

Eine Zusammenstellung der Aquila, Symmachus und Theodotion zugeschriebenen Passagen in Syh enthält das fünfte Kapitel (255-316). L. merkt hierzu an: „One of the most valuable features of Syh lies in the preservation of the readings from this revisers" (255). Während die Mehrzahl der *in textu* begegnenden Lesarten (256-285) auf Aquila entfällt, sind die Randlesearten (285-314) mehrheitlich Symmachus zuzuordnen, was die Überlegung provoziert, die durchweg von diesem jüdischen Übersetzer beeinflusste antiochenische (bzw. lukianische) Rezension der griechischen Bibel, auf der ihrerseits zahlreiche im syrischen Raum kursierende Katenen beruhen, habe letztendlich auch auf die Abschreiber der Syh eingewirkt: „Symmachus seems to have made his way into the Syriac tradition via the Antiochian" (316).

Das sechste Kapitel (317-361) behandelt das hexaplarische Material außerhalb von Syh. Zunächst werden die bemerkenswert wenigen Stellen untersucht, die zwar in der griechischen handschriftlichen Tradition, aber nicht in Syh korrekt markiert sind (318-320). Sodann gelangen solche Stellen zur Betrachtung, an denen Syh der älteren griechischen Texttradition entstammende, jedoch unasterisierte Angleichungen an den hebräischen Bibeltext bietet (321-360). Nicht untersucht wurden Lesarten, welche von der masoretischen Texttradition nicht geboten, jedoch in Syh (ohne Obelisierung) enthalten sind. L. macht hier darauf aufmerksam, dass die aristarchischen Zeichen von den späteren Kopisten des griechischen Bibeltextes nur noch unvollständig oder überhaupt nicht abgeschrieben wurden: „The evidence proves that where one does find hexaplaric materials, to an astounding degree they are most often preserved in Syh" (361). Im abschließenden siebten Kapitel (362-370) werden die wesentlichen Resultate der Untersuchung zusammengefasst und Perspektiven der zukünftigen Forschung aufgezeigt. Beige-

geben sind Verzeichnisse der herangezogenen Sekundärliteratur (371-378) und der untersuchten Textpassagen (379-383).

Die von philologischem Sachverstand gekennzeichnete und ebenso gründliche wie exakte Untersuchung stellt einen eindrucksvollen Beitrag zur Erhellung der verschlungenen Geschichte des Bibeltextes in seiner jüdischen und christlichen handschriftlichen Überlieferung dar. Ihr wissenschaftlicher Wert geht über den einer Vorarbeit für die kritische Edition der erhaltenen hexaplarischen Zeugen von 3. Kgt weit hinaus.

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Laurence Vianès, *Malachie. Traduction du texte grec de la Septante, Introduction et notes*, La Bible d'Alexandrie 23.12, Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf 2011, 176p., ISBN 978-2-204-09478-9.

Le livre de Malachie, le dernier des douze prophètes, vient de paraître dans un volume séparé. En soi, cela le met dans une position privilégiée par rapport aux autres livres de grandeur plus ou moins égale comme Joël, Ambakoum ou encore Sophonie. L'auteur, Laurence Vianès (LV), saisit l'occasion d'entrer, assez longuement, dans des questions difficiles que pose le texte de Malachie, au-delà même des aspects de traduction ou de comparaison textuelle avec le TM. La longue introduction traite tour à tour des questions textuelles, de la technique de traduction et de l'histoire de la réception spécialement dans le monde chrétien. Comme c'est souvent le cas pour «La Bible d'Alexandrie», les annotations sont très fournies et suffisamment claires pour suivre l'argumentation. Elles couvrent une large palette de domaines qui montre par ailleurs l'érudition de leur auteur.

Introduction

LV commence par situer le livre de Malachie, en montrant d'emblée le panorama du contenu de tout le livre avant d'entrer dans les détails. Elle évoque la date majoritairement retenue pour la rédaction du livre, soit le 5e siècle av. J.-C., sans beaucoup d'autres précisions. Elle rappelle la structure de la contro-

verse (Diskussionswort), les menaces des châtiments dans les deux premiers chapitres et des promesses positives au chapitre 3 (p. 30). Concernant l'histoire du texte, LV se limite à Ml 3,22-24, considéré comme une unité tardive. L'ordre du TM dans ce texte est préféré à celui de la Septante qui aurait voulu aplanir les difficultés. Dans le judaïsme, les différents rites retiennent comme *haphtarot* Ml 1,1-2,12 et Ml 3.

Dans la Septante, les Douze ont été traduits avant Isaïe dans la première moitié du 2ᵉ s. av. J.-C. Le livre de Malachie est toujours le dernier sauf dans un manuscrit de Qumrân où Jonas est rangé après lui. Les manuscrits grecs appellent le livre: Malachie ou prophète ange ou la combinaison des deux. Les divisions de la Septante diffèrent un peu des sections massorétiques, notamment 1,6-2,9 ; 2,10-16 et 3,22-24 divisées en deux chacune.

LV relève que la Septante des Douze affectionne les variations en grec pour traduire des termes hébreux identiques. Le grec de Malachie utilise des verbes transitifs là où le grec classique est intransitif et inversement. Les hébraïsmes de la Septante sont familiers à ses lecteurs, le redoublement du verbe en Ml 3,9 n'étant même pas dans le TM. Malachie, comme les Douze, affectionne l'expression de la négation d'un fait futur par *ou mê* suivi d'un subjonctif. Les formulations grecques du pronom relatif semblent viser un niveau élevé de la langue grecque. Le traducteur rend les pronoms personnels «même là où le sujet en grec était, soit facile à sous-entendre, soit déjà mis en évidence par la forme conjuguée du verbe» (p. 41). Il y a une exception en 2,14 où le pronom *attah* n'est pas traduit. Le traducteur change les personnes grammaticales comme en 1,1 (mon ange → son ange). Le changement en Mal 2,10 induit une modification de la compréhension du texte. Le traducteur des Douze a tendance à réorganiser les personnes grammaticales comme en Osée. Concernant Mal 1,1, il me semble, cependant, que ce cas pose une question beaucoup plus complexe liée à l'identité de l'auteur supposé de ce livre (Cf. I. Himbaza, «MT and LXX as Witnesses to Malachi 1:1 and 3:22-24», à paraître).

LV considère qu'en 2,16 la lecture du TM est «mais s'il la renvoie par haine». C'est cette phrase que la Septante aurait corrigée en la mettant à la deuxième personne. Il va sans dire que je n'ai pas la même assurance que LV dans la lecture du TM. Pour moi, la deuxième personne, attestée par tous les témoins grecs et par 4QXIIᵃ en hébreu, constitue la forme la plus ancienne (I. Himbaza, «Le débat sur le divorce en Malachie 2:16 et l'ambivalence de la LXX», BIOSCS 42, 2009, p. 68-79).

En faisant un rapprochement avec d'autres livres comme Osée ou Aggée, LV montre que la Septante corrige le TM ou actualise sa lecture par un tuilage

sémantique (p. 44-50). La Septante de Mal 2,13 retient même les deux sens d'un mot compris différemment par le TM et le manuscrit qumrânien 4QXIIa.

Concernant les choix interprétatifs de la Septante (p. 50-61), LV annonce la couleur en mettant l'aspect «interprétation» du côté de la Septante. Elle traite des questions souvent difficiles du livre de Malachie comme celle de l'auteur du livre, les envoyés divins, les interlocuteurs (prêtres ou lévites), les dieux et les femmes étrangers, les divorces, Israël et ses voisins, le jour du Seigneur et les derniers versets du livre. Il me semble cependant que, dans certains cas, la prise de position aurait mérité soit plus de prudence, soit plus de démonstration dans la mesure où ils sont discutés par d'autres auteurs.

Au sujet de la réception du livre de Malachie, LV revisite tour à tour le judaïsme de l'époque hellénistique et s'attarde (p. 67-95) sur les auteurs chrétiens anciens. Parmi les auteurs grecs, Hécatée d'Abdère fait allusion à Ma 2,7. A Qumrân, quelques fragments font allusion à Ml 1,14 ; 3,16-18 et 3,24. Les auteurs du NT ont spécialement utilisé la deuxième moitié du livre de Malachie «qui répondait à leurs préoccupations eschatologiques» (p. 64). Signalons que contrairement aux autres volumes du Dodecapropheton qui lui réservent une section spéciale, LV intègre le regard du Targum ou d'autres documents de la tradition juive directement dans les annotations qui accompagnent la traduction.

Les auteurs chrétiens datent Ml entre la période qui précède de peu l'Exil et celle qui suit la reconstruction du temple. Pour LV, c'est l'anonymat originel qui est à la base des divergences sur l'identification de Malachie comme «ange» par certains, alors que d'autres gardent Malachie comme nom propre. Les auteurs chrétiens ont retenu plusieurs thèmes du livre comme l'élection de Jacob avant la naissance; le sacrifice pur des nations (Mal 1,11) est appliqué au culte chrétien; le prêtre idéal de Mal 2,5-7 est identifié à Aaron, Pinḥas et surtout au Christ; le nombre d'envoyés de Dieu (Mal 3,1) varie entre 1 et 3 et le Christ est identifié au soleil de justice.

Quant aux textes, LV rappelle les quelques manuscrits de Qumrân et les grands onciaux grecs dont le plus ancien est le manuscrit de Washington (W) (Cf. Introduction de T. Muraoka, BA 23,1, p. VII). Dans un certain nombre de cas (1,3; 1,6; 1,13; 2,10; 3,10), LV a fait le même choix de lecture que Rahlfs contre Ziegler, alors qu'en 2,16 elle a adopté une lecture intermédiaire entre les deux.

Traduction et annotation

Après les notices et l'introduction qui occupent plus de la moitié du livre, viennent la traduction et l'annotation. Les annotations abondantes traitent de la complexité textuelle et littéraire du texte de Malachie, la Septante étant souvent lue en miroir du texte hébreu massorétique. Ensuite les citations et allusions aux commentaires juifs et chrétiens des premiers siècles de notre ère sont données.

Mal 1,1, «Oracle de la parole du Seigneur contre Israël». LV évoque une nuance d'agressivité dans le *epi Israel*. Il me semble cependant que cette nuance se reflète également dans le terme *lemma*, malgré la note de BA 4-9, p. 302-310. Cf. Jr 23,33. LV reste prudente quant au plus de la Septante dans ce verset. Elle ne précise pas que c'est un ajout de la part du traducteur.

LV croit déceler une *Vorlage*, à laquelle les pères se réfèrent. Elle serait différente de ce que nous connaissons aussi bien dans le TM que dans la Septante. C'est le cas de Mal 1,10 pour Cyrille et Jérôme. Au travers des témoins grecs qui ne vont pas tous dans le même sens, LV montre que la tradition grecque de Malachie est diversifiée. Elle met notamment en évidence les écarts entre le texte retenu et le texte antiochien en Mal 1,13.

LV innove dans la traduction de Ml 2,3, verset difficile à interpréter: «je vous consacre l'épaule» (p. 119-121). En se fondant sur une étude antérieure, elle précise que l'épaule est la part des lévites selon une tradition tardive (*Rouleau du temple* xxii,10-11; xxi,1) vraisemblablement reçue dans la Septante. Vu l'importance ce cette nouveauté, il aurait été utile de soutenir ici la mémoire du lecteur en rappelant le sens, déjà explicité dans l'introduction (p. 54-56) que LV donne à cette phrase: les prêtres fautifs sont rétrogradés au rang de lévites.

Même si, pour LV, la Septante interprète le verset difficile de Mal 2,15, le plus «et vous avez dit» viendrait d'un substrat hébreu. Ce plus se devine dans la lacune de 4QXII[a]. En revanche, dans plusieurs passages la lecture de la Septante est clairement secondaire. En Mal 3,5, la Septante note les sorcières et les femmes adultères là où le TM a des termes masculins. En Mal 3,10 c'est la Septante qui évite une attitude irrévérencieuse envers Dieu (TM: «mettez-moi donc à l'épreuve» est rendu en LXX par: «réfléchissez donc»). La notion d'«étrangers» que contient la Septante en Mal 3,15; 3,19 introduit l'hostilité entre Israël et les nations, alors que le TM («arrogants») reste dans le cadre de la discussion interne à Israël.

En Mal 3,20, LV rapporte directement les interprétations christologiques du soleil de justice portant la guérison dans ses ailes. Un regard sur le monde

juif de l'époque du Second Temple aurait été bienvenu pour des expressions qui ont eu une si grande portée messianique.

LV rapporte que le manuscrit d'Alep utilise une largeur spéciale pour les trois derniers versets du livre de Malachie (p. 164). A moins que cette information ne fasse référence à un autre manuscrit, le beau facsimilé édité par Moshe H. Goshen Gottstein (p. 409-410) ne montre pas une largeur spéciale pour les trois derniers versets de Malachie. C'est vraisemblablement pour «occuper» la place que les quatre derniers mots de Malachie ont été écrits chacun sur une nouvelle ligne.

LV laisse entendre que la lecture propre de la Septante en 3,22: «de Thesbaï» est une précision qui lève l'ambiguïté «comme il existe un grand-prêtre nommé Eli (1R 1,3s), ainsi que plusieurs autres Elias» (p. 165). Il me semble, cependant, que la lecture du TM «le prophète» ne contenait aucune ambiguïté. On doit donc chercher ailleurs la raison de la différence entre le TM et la Septante.

Après un parcours où le lecteur suit presque pas à pas le travail du traducteur et ses nombreux défis, un index des mots grecs et un autre des références bibliques terminent le volume qui vient enrichir cette belle collection de la Bible d'Alexandrie.

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Claudine Cavalier, *Esther. Traduction du texte grec de la Septante, Introduction et notes*, La Bible d'Alexandrie XII, Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf 2012, 288 pp. ISBN 978-2-204-09581-5; ISSN 1243-1982.

La savante collection de *La Bible d'Alexandrie*, qui se propose de traduire en français l'intégralité de la Septante et dont le premier volume est paru en 1986, vient de s'enrichir d'un nouveau volume. L'étude que fait paraître C. Cavalier du livre d'Esther, accompagnée d'une traduction des deux principales versions grecques et, en annexe, de la version Vieille latine, nous paraît excellente en tous points. Le livre d'Esther était mieux connu par la traduction française de sa version hébraïque, même si la Traduction œcuménique de la Bible l'avait déjà complétée par celle de l'Esther grec. Tout lecteur qui s'intéresse à l'his-

toire du texte grec trouvera utile que cette nouvelle traduction s'accompagne de celle de la recension dite «lucianique» (appelée aussi «antiochienne» ou «alpha-texte»). Quant à l'«Introduction» qui les précède (p. 23-128), il s'agit d'une mine d'informations bien structurées, de la plus grande importance pour la compréhension de cette œuvre majeure. Nous ne pouvons pas songer à entrer dans le détail de toute cette tradition textuelle très complexe, il est intéressant pourtant d'en relever quelques éléments.

Afin de caractériser la langue de la version hébraïque d'Esther et après une présentation des principales théories, l'A. reprend les conclusions de R. Polzin (1976) et de R. Bergey (1984) au sujet d'une datation du livre à l'époque romaine et des caractéristiques linguistiques du livre, pour affirmer que la langue d'Esther «mêle des traits archaïques avec des formes proches de l'hébreu mishnique» et que le livre contient un «grand nombre de traits d'hébreu mishnique» (p. 23-24). Il paraît toutefois préférable de faire preuve de prudence terminologique lorsqu'il s'agit de l'hébreu d'époque hellénistique ou romaine. Que l'hébreu se soit maintenu en tant que langue vivante en Palestine, quoique largement supplanté par l'araméen et le grec, ou du moins en recul par rapport à eux (si l'on juge d'après le nombre limité d'inscriptions en langue hébraïque), que l'hébreu mishnique soit ainsi l'aboutissement d'un dialecte qui accède au statut de langue écrite, ou qu'il s'agisse d'une langue fossilisée, le terme de «mishnique» ne demeure pas moins impropre s'il est employé pour désigner l'hébreu des documents du wadi Murrabaʿat et du Naḥal Ḥever. Il l'est plus encore s'il s'agit de l'hébreu d'Esther, qui appartient à ce que l'on désigne communément au moyen de l'expression «Late Biblical Hebrew», même s'il est encore difficile de dire s'il s'agit d'une langue parlée à l'époque de sa rédaction et qui intègre des éléments du registre oral ou d'une langue littéraire.

Le caractère romanesque qu'on s'est plu à attribuer au texte d'Esther est moins prégnant dans la version hébraïque, exempte de la sentimentalité davantage sensible dans les versions grecques, qui développent certains traits propres aux romans grecs (les songes, les prières, l'analyse psychologique et les descriptions de sentiments). Les différences entre le rouleau d'Esther et le roman grec d'amour, dont les débuts semblent remonter au IIe siècle avant notre ère,[1] font plutôt privilégier l'aspect historique du livre, du moins dans le sens

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[1] H. Cazelles, «Note sur la composition du rouleau d'Esther», *Lex tua veritas. Festschrift für Hubert Junker*, H. Gross, F. Mussner (éd.), Paulinus Verlag, Trier, 1961, p. 17-29, notamment p. 21.

où les «enquêtes» de Hérodote rapportent des faits passés à la cour perse, telles les intrigues de cour ou de harem, ou la commémoration du jour du massacre des Mages.[2] Mais la composition du livre hébreu paraît moins complexe que celle transmise par les cinquante-trois manuscrits grecs. Le nombre total des manuscrits («cinquante-trois») rapporté ne correspond toutefois pas à la somme des onciaux (4), minuscules (43) et papyri (3) dont l'A. donne le détail. En laissant de côté les papyri,[3] le décompte ne diffère pas de celui de l'édition de R. Hanhart, où la liste et les descriptions comprennent les quatre onciaux (*codex Alexandrinus*, *codex Vaticanus*, *codex Sinaiticus* et *codex Venetus*), ainsi que les 43 minuscules, à une différence près. L'A. n'inclut pas le ms. 392 (Grottaferrata) parmi les manuscrits témoins de la forme *L* du texte, mais le traite à part (p. 26), probablement en raison de son caractère mixte, puisqu'il combine cette forme avec le texte dit «de la Septante», que transmettent les onciaux, la plupart des minuscules et le Chester Beatty Papyrus 967.

Une place importante est laissée dans le commentaire à la Vielle latine, une version «fille» de la Septante, attestée, selon l'A., par une vingtaine de manuscrits collationnés par le Vetus Latina-Institut de l'archiabbaye de Beuron, dont le plus ancien (ve siècle) est le papyrus Antinoopolis nr. 14.[4] L'A. résume les conclusions de J.-C. Haelewyck qui classe les manuscrits en quatre types de texte, dépendant de formes proches de la Septante, mais dont ils se distinguent par des divergences structurelles (absence de certaines parties, développements d'autres, ordre différent de versets).

Après avoir suggéré que l'hypothèse d'une version slave d'Esther traduite directement de l'hébreu ne puisse pas être totalement écartée, l'A. se range, heureusement, à l'avis de F. J. Thompson (1998), qui fait dériver le texte slave d'Esther d'une traduction grecque inconnue, différente de celle de la Septante, conclusions qui mettent un terme au long débat mené autour de la

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[2] «Ce jour est, de tous les jours, celui que les Perses solennisent le plus en commun: à son retour, ils célèbrent une grande fête appelée par eux le Massacre des Mages (μαγοφόνια), pendant laquelle aucun mage n'a le droit de paraître en public; ce jour-là, les mages se tiennent dans leur maison», Hdt. III.79 (trad. Ph.-E. Legrand, Les Belles Lettres, 1967).

[3] R. Hanhart, lors de son édition (*Esther. Septuaginta, Vetus Testamentum Graecum*, VIII,3, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1983), connaissait le Chester Beatty Papyrus 967 (localisé en deux endroits, une partie se trouvant à l'Institut für Altertumskunde de l'Université de Cologne, une autre au British Museum de Londres), mais pas l'Oxyrhynque LXV 4443, publié en 1998.

[4] *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, I, éd. C. H. Roberts, Londres, Egypt Exploration Society (Graeco-Roman Memoirs XXVIII), 1950. L'édition de Hanhart ne mentionnait que 12 manuscrits, auxquels se sont ajoutés entre temps d'autres témoins.

question depuis le XIXe siècle. D'une part, et l'A. le souligne, les additions de la Septante ou de la forme *L* ne se retrouvent pas dans l'Esther slavon. Il convient d'ajouter à cela que, indépendamment de l'édition de la Bible d'Ostrog,[5] une certaine tradition manuscrite du livre d'Esther laisse penser qu'ils remontent à une copie (imparfaite) réalisée vers 1350.[6] Afin de déter-miner à partir de quelle langue la traduction slavonne a été établie (l'hébreu ou le grec), une importance particulière a été accordée à la translittération des noms propres. La transcription en slavon du nom du roi, *Ahasŭverosŭ*, con-serve la valeur phonétique du nom de la version hébraïque, ^ʾa*ḥašwērôš*, tran-scription sémitique du nom perse de Xerxès (*Xšayâršâ*), et ne reflète pas le grec de la Septante, qui lui substitue le nom d'Artaxerxès, ni la forme trans-mise par la forme *L*, Ἀσσύηρος. Dans le même sens, le nom de la reine *Waštî*, rendu en slavon par *Vasti*, est étranger à la Septante qui le transcrit Ἀστίν. Quant au nom de la ville de Suse, *Šûšan*, en grec Σουσα, il est rendu en sla-von par *Susan*, qui reflète encore la forme hébraïque. Toutefois, si la version slavonne avait été établie directement d'après l'hébreu, les noms auraient pu être rendus plus fidèlement avec un <š> dont dispose l'alphabet cyrillique.[7] Le nom même d'Esther, écrit en hébreu ʾ*Estēr*, mais en grec, Ἐσθήρ, est ren-du en slavon par *Esfir*, où le <f> correspondrait davantage à la transcription du *theta* grec que du *taw* de l'hébreu. Comme le soulignent Altbauer et Taube, les transcriptions des noms propres dans l'*Esther* slavon reflètent précisément celles que nous attendrions dans le grec: Αχασβερος, Σουσαν.[8] La version slavonne ancienne dépend bien d'une traduction grecque perdue.

L'histoire du texte fait l'objet d'une analyse minutieuse (p. 31-37) que l'A. mène avec méthode, en insistant sur la question de l'origine des additi-ons. Les théories déjà avancées pour expliquer la constitution du livre grec d'Esther sont utilement résumées en ordre chronologique, puisque l'A. ouvre la liste avec les travaux de R.B. Motzo (indiqués de façon erronée par l'année

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[5] Parue sous les presses d'Ivan Fyodorov, en 1581, et la protection du prince Ostrozhki.

[6] Une trentaine de manuscrits dont deux datés de la fin du xive siècle et sept autres du xve. M. Altbauer, M. Taube, «The Slavonic Book of Esther: When, Where, and from What Lan-guage was it Translated?», Harvard Ukrainian Studies 8, 1984, p. 304-320, notamment p. 306.

[7] Altbauer et Taube évoquent une traduction de la Bible hébraïque en biélorusse datant du xvie siècle (le codex Vilnius 262), où les translittérations des noms comportent le <š> des mots hébraïques (p. 310, n. 14). Voir aussi H.G. Lunt, M. Taube, «The Slavonic Book of Esther: Translation from Hebrew or Evidence for a Lost Greek Text?», HTR 87, 3, 1994, p. 347-362. L'origine sud-slave est privilégiée par ces savants qui écartent toute possibilité que cette vieille traduction ait été faite dans la Rus' au xie siècle (p. 362).

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 351.

1977, au lieu de 1927). Le lecteur peut ainsi se faire une image synthétique des différents apports à l'étude du texte, même si l'A. n'exprime pas de préférence. Cette étude se présente ainsi moins « directive » qu'une enquête neutre, puisque l'A. ne semble pas prendre parti en faveur d'une théorie plutôt que d'une autre quant à un supposé original sémitique ou grec des additions, qui constituent la singularité de l'Esther grec. Leur agencement suggère à l'A. une disposition symétrique, en chiasme (p. 39) ou en miroir (p. 50), résultant de la duplication de certaines parties qui forment ainsi «une ossature nouvelle […], différente de celle de l'hébreu». L'A. a raison de souligner que ces effets de symétrie sont moins sensibles dans la version *L* du texte grec, d'où certains doublets ont été effacés, tout comme dans la Vieille latine. Les «plus» et les «moins» des trois versions, Septante, *L* et *Vetus latina*, sont utilement et clairement exposés de façon synoptique aux p. 53-61. Toutefois, l'expression «gloses explicatives de type "targumiques"» ne nous semble pas des plus appropriées pour définir les «plus» (p. 61), dans la mesure où tout targum (au sens propre de traduction en araméen) ne présente pas nécessairement des développements paraphrastiques (voir le Targum de Job de Qumrân, le Tragum Onqelos). Si les ajouts semblent se prêter à une classification par types, les passages manquants procèdent, eux, essentiellement d'un certain sens de l'économie, plus appuyé dans le cas de *L* et de la *Vetus latina* que de la Septante. La question d'une éventuelle amplification du texte massorétique n'est jamais envisagée de façon à suggérer une autre configuration du modèle hébreu que celle du texte reçu.

Une section de la partie de l'Introduction portant sur l'Esther grec est réservée à l'étude du lexique technique des festivités, des matières et des couleurs, précédée de celle d'une terminologie spécifique de l'administration et de la législation perse, dont il nous semble utile de mentionner les emprunts au vieux perse: *ᵃḥašdarpənîm* (v. p. [vieux perse] *xšatřapâva*, grec σατράπης), *partəmîm* (v. p. *fratama* «premier»), pour lesquels la Septante emploie les termes classiques qu'utilisent aussi les historiens grecs de l'époque perse («C. Questions de vocabulaire», p. 65-75).

La section réservée aux «Interprétations et transformations» de l'Esther grec s'attache à la question de la transcription du nom du roi: là où l'hébreu porte le nom de Xerxès (*ᵃḥašwērôš*),[9] pour des raisons obscures, la Septante donne à lire le nom d'Artaxerxès (Ἀρταξέσσης, Ἀρταξέρξης, selon les manuscrits). Le

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[9] À l'exception isolée d'Est 10,1, où le *Ketib* ʾḥšrš suppose une lecture fautive (serait-ce à l'origine de la transcription grecque de *L*, Ἀσσύηρος?).

ʾalef prosthétique de la transcription en sémitique du vieux perse *Xšayâršâ*
(Xerxès)[10] est habituel pour des mots non sémitiques commençant par deux
consonnes sans voyelle intermédiaire (voir aussi *ᵃḥaštərān*, v.p. *xšaϑrâ*, «em-
pire, règne, royauté», Est 8,10.14, et *ᵃḥaštārî*, 1 Ch 4,6). La transcription en
hébreu du nom perse *Artaxšatřâ* (qui pourrait se comprendre comme «[celui
dont la] royauté [est conforme] à la loi [divine]») est par ailleurs attestée dans le
livre de Néhémie: ʾ*Artaḥšaśtāʾ*, ʾ*Artaḥšaśtʾ* ou ʾ*Artaḥšastʾ* (ce dernier, avec
ʾ*alef* final quiescent)[11], or rien de tel n'apparaît dans le rouleau d'Esther et il est
inconcevable que *ᵃḥašwērôš* ait pu être déformé en Ἀρταξέρξης. Une difficulté
supplémentaire vient de ce que l'on compte, dans la généalogie des Achémé-
nides, trois Darius, deux Xerxès et quatre Artaxerxès[12]. Pour compliquer un
peu plus les choses, une glose précise (Septante Est 2,7) qu'Artaxerxès serait
un autre nom de Darius (Δαρεῖος ὁ καὶ Ἀρταξέρξης), tandis que Flavius Josèphe
identifie Artaxerxès I, fils de Xerxès le Grand, avec Cyrus, le fils de Darius.[13] Il
s'agit d'une méprise qu'éclaire un passage de Plutarque.[14] Certains des rois
portaient d'autres noms avant l'accession au trône, mais aucune chronologie
perse n'identifie l'un des trois Artaxerxès à un Darius, dont le nom (*Dârya-
vauš*) est bien distinct dans les textes en vieux perse et ne prête à aucune confu-
sion. En revanche, les généalogies précisent qu'Artaxerxès II[15] était le fils de
Darius II et le petit-fils d'Artaxerxès I. L'A. fait utilement remarquer un même
embarras dans les sources rabbiniques au sujet des noms du souverain (p. 79-

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[10] «Hero among kings»: *xšay-* «roi» + *aršan* «mâle» (R.G. Kent, *Old Persian. Gram-
mar, Texts, Lexicon*, American Oriental Society, New Haven, 1950, § 131).

[11] La transcription babylonienne était *artaḥšassu*; en élamite: *artakikšaišša*; en graphie
égyptienne: *ʾrtḥšsš*.

[12] Darius I (522/521-486), Xerxès I (le Grand, 486-465), Artaxerxès I («Longue-Main»,
Μακρόχειρ, 465-423), Xerxès II (423), Darius II (423-405/404), Artaxerxès II (Arsakès, dit
aussi Mnemon, 405/404-359/8), Artaxerxès III Ochus (359-338), Artaxerxès IV (Arsès,
338-336), Darius III Codoman (336-330).

[13] «À la mort de Xerxès, le royaume passa à son fils Cyrus, que les Grecs appellent Ar-
taxerxès». Une tradition manuscrite différente lui attribue le nom d'Assueros: «À la mort
de Xerxès, le royaume passa à son fils Assueros, que les Grecs appellent Artaxerxès» (εἰς
τὸν υἱὸν Ἀσύηρον, ὃν Ἀρταξέρξην Ἕλληνες καλοῦσιν) (*AJ* XI, 184, option d'A. von
Gutschmid, retenue par R. Marcus [Loeb Classical Library], d'après les *codices* E [*Epito-
me*], Lat. [version latine faite à l'initiative de Cassiodore, prenant sans doute en considéra-
tion la recension *L*]).

[14] Plutarque dit que Cyrus (qui n'est pas le Mède), fils de Darius, frère d'Artaxerxès II,
satrape de la Lydie, «portait le nom du premier Artaxerxès» (Plutarque, *Vies* IV,1).

[15] Selon Plutarque, avant son accession au trône, Artaxerxès II Mnémon portait le nom
d'Arsakès (Ἀρσίκας) ou celui de Ὀάρσης (*Ibid*.). Plutarque cite des sources plus anciennes,
dont Dinon, auteur controversé d'une *Histoire des Perses*, perdue.

80). La raison de ces fluctuations et des décalages de générations serait, selon l'A., due à une représentation confuse qu'on se faisait de la généalogie perse, à laquelle s'ajoutaient des considérations d'ordre interne aux sources bibliques, liées à un effort tardif d'agencement chronologique des livres bibliques relatant des faits de l'époque perse, notamment la reconstruction du Temple à Jérusalem, la reprise ou l'arrêt des travaux. Ainsi, l'histoire de Mardochée et d'Esther serait postérieure à la mission de Néhémie et à la reconstruction du Temple, selon Hyppolyte de Rome et Clément d'Alexandrie (qui hésite entre Xerxès, Artaxerxès I et Artaxerxès II). Mis à part ces renseignements utiles, la conclusion de l'A., suggère une antériorité des traditions grecques et rabbiniques qui font du roi d'Esther un Artaxerxès par rapport à l'identité de ce roi dans le texte massorétique: «le texte hébreu aurait été retouché pour décaler l'époque d'Esther dans le temps et l'éloigner de la période "frontière", et faciliter de la sorte son entrée dans le canon juif » (p. 83). Supposer un remaniement tardif du texte reçu, dicté par une volonté de faciliter l'acceptation du livre d'Esther dans le canon juif n'est pas en soi impossible. Cependant, au moment où les débats sur la canonicité des textes bibliques auraient été menés, à Jamnia ou à Usha,[16] le décalage d'une génération de rois perses n'aurait pas accordé au livre d'Esther plus de crédibilité que si les événements qu'il raconte étaient situés sous Artaxerxès II. On peut tout aussi bien penser que le traducteur grec de l'Esther hébreu était davantage familiarisé avec certains auteurs de l'histoire perse, ou avec leurs sources, aujourd'hui disparues (Ctésias, Plutarque, Xénophone, Diodore), et qu'il avait une meilleure connaissance des Artaxerxès et d'insolites détails de leurs règnes que de celui de Xerxès I.

On trouverait difficilement une question relative au livre d'Esther qui n'ait pas été discutée dans l'«Introduction». Au détour des pages se détache tel ou tel aspect, celui de la question de la parenté entre Esther et Mardochée (p. 84-85) ou celui de la carrière de ce dernier à la cour perse (p. 86-88), avec un éclairage sur le vocabulaire spécifique et des choix lexicaux. Le personnage d'Haman est lui aussi minutieusement analysé dans ses différences par rapport au personnage du texte hébreu, dont il se distingue premièrement par le qualificatif (homérique) βουγάϊος, dont on ne sait bien s'il est à prendre en tant que nom propre ou qu'adjectif («vantard»). L'A. a opté pour le traduire, sans toutefois que l'on puisse écarter l'hypothèse d'un nom propre d'origine perse (*Baga* «dieu»),

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[16] Si toutefois on est en droit de penser que, après la destruction de Jérusalem, le concile des rabbins se serait réuni une première fois à Jamnia pour statuer de la canonicité. Le premier à avoir lancé cette supposition fut Hirsch Graetz (en 1871). Sa théorie a été cependant largement contestée, surtout à partir des années 1960.

puisque des formes proches de ce nom sont attestées dans les sources anciennes et citées par l'A., auxquelles s'ajoute la mention, à Éléphantine, d'un gouverneur de la province perse de Juda, *Bagôhî* (papyri nr. 30, 31 et 32), dont le nom est vocalisé par les massorètes, *Bigway* (Néhémie et Ezdras).

Il y a donc lieu d'être reconnaissant envers C. Cavalier, qui s'est attachée avec beaucoup de finesse et de probité à retracer une transmission des plus complexes de la Bible. On peut seulement regretter par endroits certains raccourcis qui rendent la démonstration hermétique, opacité due à la grande complexité du sujet, obligeant tout commentateur à envisager plusieurs hypothèses, et ce malgré la relative brièveté du texte. L'A. montre globalement une bonne appréciation du texte hébreu, mais certaines conclusions paraissent schématiques et minimiser sa place, en lui octroyant un rôle en quelque sorte secondaire, comme s'il n'était là que par hasard. Affirmer que le livre hébreu «ne contient presque aucune allusion à l'histoire juive antérieure aux événements qu'il raconte», à une exception près (le rappel des origines tribales de Mardochée), alors que le livre grec, lui, «établit une forte continuité entre les péripéties de l'histoire d'Esther et le passé du peuple juif» (p. 111-112) reviendrait à faire grief au texte hébreu de ne pas être plus explicite là où il est implicite. Une très belle étude de J.-C. Picard s'était penchée sur les indices d'un véritable travail de remémoration par l'auteur d'Esther hébreu qui met en scène «cette histoire de Juifs, sur le théâtre d'une autre culture et dans les coulisses d'un pouvoir étranger à leur nation».[17] La généalogie de Mardochée n'est pas une simple curiosité, mais évoque l'histoire fort ancienne d'une lignée qui avait jadis maudit David et, par conséquent, la royauté en Israël. La lecture «en clé de Saül» est ensuite confirmée par la généalogie d'Haman l'Agaguite, descendant d'Amaleq, cause de la destitution de Saül. Dès lors, la scène jouée au cœur de la cité perse en la troisième année de Xerxès n'est qu'un retour aux origines de la royauté en Israël. «Saül avait désobéi, écrit J.-C. Picard, à ce commandement [«…tu effaceras de sous le ciel la mémoire d'Amaleq…», Dtn 25-19] en laissant vivre Agag. Un Agaguite resurgirait, un jour, quelque part, qui ranimerait la mémoire d'Amaleq. Mais un autre fils de Qish viendrait aussi, qui ne s'inclinerait pas devant l'héritier de la lignée royale d'Agag».[18]

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[17] Jean-Claude Picard, «Les "clous" d'Esther. L'historiographie juive de l'époque perse et le *Rouleau d'Esther*», dans *Le continent apocryphe. Essai sur les littératures apocryphes juives et chrétienne* (Instrumenta patristica et mediaevalia 36), Brepols, Turnhout, 1999, p. 165-193.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 191.

Notons aussi quelques approximations ou absence de signes diacritiques dans la transcription de certains mots hébreux de l'Introduction: *wayhi* (pour le plus correct *wayyəhî*, p. 45), *rabīm*, *hakāmīm* (pour *rabbîm*, *ḥᵃkāmîm*, p. 65), *shālāh* (à remplacer par *šālaḥ*, p. 70), *huqqāh* (pour *ḥuqqāh*), «prescription» (plutôt qu'«institution», p. 71), *hwr* (au lieu de *ḥwr*, vraisemblablement «dentelle», p. 72). Il est impropre d'écrire « les "serviteurs" désignés par *shaʿar*, "porter" [*sic*!] en hébreu» (p. 66): il s'agit (en Est 3,2-3) des «serviteurs du roi préposés à la porte» (ʿabdēy hammelek ᵃšer-bəšaʿar). Le mot *dāt* (en hébreu ou en araméen) est un emprunt au vieux perse et non à l'araméen, comme il est affirmé à la p. 68 (v. p. *dâta*, «loi»).

Pour sa double traduction, de la Septante et de la recension dite «lucianique», pour celle de la Vieille latine, pour son commentaire très dense, l'ouvrage de C. Cavalier devra compléter les traductions déjà existantes du livre d'Esther et constituer un instrument de travail offert aux biblistes et aux historiens du texte biblique, tout en s'adressant également à un public plus large, désireux de découvrir la diversité de la tradition biblique. Pour ses notes riches en comparaison avec le texte hébreu, qui indiquent les écarts entre la Septante et le texte massorétique, il apporte une contribution utile à l'étude des rapports qu'entretiennent les versions grecques (et celles qui en dépendent) entre elles, et celles-ci avec le texte hébreu et les tradition rabbiniques, puisque des éléments connus des versions grecques sont récurrents dans des sources rabbiniques tardives. Parmi tant d'autres mérites, C. Cavalier a aussi celui de nous rappeler que seule une étude des traditions multiples permet de comprendre ce livre singulier de la Bible.

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Natalio Fernández Marcos, *Filología Biblica y humanismo*. Textos y estudios «Cardenal Cisneros» 78, Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, 2012. Pp. 413. ISBN: 978-84-00-09477-5.

The present volume, dedicated to N. Fernández Marcos on the occasion of his 70th birthday, contains papers in both Spanish (15) and English (5). The volume, which testifies eloquently to the versatility of this eminent scholar, is divided into three sections.

The first section, *Greek Bible and Hellenistic Judaism*, contains papers that will interest our readership. They are mostly of a surveying character and present few novelties. The first, "Las traducciones en la Antigüedad," posits the Septuagint within the cultural horizon of ancient translations, bilingual texts, and written histories of non-Greek religions. It stresses the academic setting of the LXX and briefly sketches its *Wirkungsgeschichte*. "El judaísmo helenístico y la Biblioteca de Alejandría" describes Alexandria's scholarly milieu, in which Jews eagerly participated and unfolds the thesis that a project of the extent of the Septuagint would have been impossible without Ptolemaic patronage and access to the infrastructure of the Library. Typical for this cultural environment, Alexandrian Jewish authors employed any Greek genre and *topos* to present their (boldly adapted) religious heritage to the Greek world. "The Greek Pentateuch and the Scholarly Milieu of Alexandria" sets out to show that the academy provides the *Sitz im Leben* for the Septuagint. The Library setting is one of the many elements of truth in the *Letter of Aristeas*. F. takes issue with the interlinear paradigm and its hypothesis of a school setting, Joosten's proposal of a military milieu, and Van der Kooij's "learned scribes." The translators were bilingual intellectuals, steeped in Greek literature and thought. In these first articles (2007-'10), no mention is made of N.L. Collins, *The Library of Alexandria and the Bible in Greek* (2000). "Rhetorical Expansions of Biblical Traditions in the Hellenistic Period" describes a parallel process in the evolution of texts and literary traditions that can be perceived in the literature of both the Qumran community and Hellenistic Jewry of Palestine and the Diaspora. The fluidity of texts and the variety of traditions testify to the plurality of this period. "The Other Septuagint: From the Letter of Aristeas to the Letter of Jeremiah" briefly sketches the various Greek non-Pentateuchal books and their background and focuses on the *Letter of Jeremiah*. This *diatribe*, with its fictitious Babylonian background, is situated in the Seleucid oppression and represents a Judaism diametrically opposed to the coexistence advocated by Aristeas. "La lectura helenística del Cantar de los Cantares" compares the Greek version of Song of Songs with Hellenistic love poetry of the period. *Topoi* from that literature can help to explain several renderings of this translation, that is otherwise literalistic and can be considered the first non-allegorical interpretation of its the Hebrew text, intended for educated Jews. "The Septuagint Reading of the Book of Job" gives a nuanced presentation of several issues surrounding LXX-Job. Because of its text-critical focus, one could also reckon "Greek Sources of the Complutensian Polyglot" (2009) to the first section.

The second section is named *Jewish Religiosity and Cultural Environment*. The Spanish titles of the papers speak for themselves: "Profetismo y magia en el antiguo Israel" (2001); "Interpretaciones helenísticas del pasado de Israel" (1975); "La religión judía vista por los autores griegos y latinos" (1981); "La Gehena de Jerusalén: Geografía histórica y geografía mítica" (2000); "Cosmovisión y religiosidad en el cambio de era" (1999); "Los orígenes de la mística y cábala judías" (1998).

The third section, *Biblical Hermeneutics in Renaissance Spain*, falls outside the scope of this journal, but contains the papers which, paradoxically, aroused my interest more than anything else. F.'s pride and enthousiasm become palpable and are certainly contagious. The seven papers all deal with the golden age of biblical studies in Spain: its background, its decline, its scholarly achievements, notably the Complutensian and Antwerp Polyglots and the latter's editor, the scholarly giant Arias Montano. These papers give fascinating insights into history, politics, exegesis and Bible translation of the Spanish Renaissance.

The editing shows peculiarities. 1. Between several articles there is a considerable overlap. 2. Never before have I seen an article refer to itself (71). 3. Sometimes, references to papers contained in the volume unhelpfully refer to page numbers of the original journal publications (e.g. 66). 4. The contributions in English display notable Spanish interference in the domains of vocabulary, style, interpunction and spelling (on p. 80, e.g., "conected" and "embarrasing"). The volume is preceded by a list of the author's publications (books, articles, reviews) and is concluded by an extensive bibliography and an index of biblical quotations.

All in all, a valuable book by an author who is beyond recommendation.

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International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies

Program in Chicago, USA

SUNDAY 18 NOVEMBER 2012

13:00-15:30

1) Larry Perkins, Trinity Western University
   The Order of Pronominal Clitics in Greek Exodus – An Indicator of the Translator's Intentionality
2) Russell D. Taylor, Trinity Western University
   Translation Technique and Lexical Choice in Greek Exodus: e dynamis kyriou
3) Dirk Büchner, Trinity Western University
   Translating and Annotating the Septuagint Psalter
4) Andrew McClurg, Southern Seminary
   A Syriac-Greek index to the Syro-Hexapla of Numbers
5) Business Meeting

MONDAY 19 NOVEMBER 2011

9:00-11:30

1) J. Ross Wagner, Princeton Theological Seminary
   Translation, Rhetoric and Theology: The Day of Atonement in OG Isaiah 1:11–15

2) Benjamin Austin, Universiteit Leiden
   LXX-Isa's Thorny Renderings of shamir vashayit

3) Ken M. Penner, Saint Francis Xavier University
   Sinaiticus Corrector cb2 as a Witness to the Alexandrian Text of Isaiah

4) Ben Johnson, University of Durham
   Narrative Sensitivity and the Use of Verbal Aspect in 1 Reigns 17:34-37

5) Christopher Fresch, University of Cambridge
   The Discourse Function of DE in the Septuagint Minor Prophets

TUESDAY 20 NOVEMBER 2011

9:00-11:00

1) Robert Hiebert, Trinity Western University
   Recensional Activity in Greek IV Maccabees

2) Robin Gallaher Branch, Victory University
   A Literary Analysis of Selected Secondary Characters
   in the Book of Judith

3) Peter J. Gentry, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, and John D. Meade, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary
   Were the Aristarchian Signs in the Fifth Column of Origen's Hexapla?

4) Siegfried Kreuzer, Protestant University Wuppertal/Bethel
   Old Greek, kaige*, and the* trifaria varietas *– a new perspective*
   on Jerome's statement

Treasurer's Report Summary
July 1, 2011 – June 30, 2012

Subsequent to the printing of the bank statements NETS royalties amounting to $1708.51 that had been paid into the IOSCS account have now been transferred from the IOSCS account into the NETS account. That does not yet reflect in the figures below.

International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies

Farmer's State Bank, Warsaw, Indiana

Balance 7/1/11		25,103.75
7/1/11-6/30/12	Credits	+ 4,773.07
		29,876.82
		29,876.82
7/1/11-6/30/12	Debits	9,484.66
		20,392.16
Balance 6/30/12		20,392.16

New English Translation of the Septuagint Project

Farmer's State Bank, Warsaw, Indiana

Balance 7/1/11		$ 3,358.46
7/1/11-6/30/12	Credits	+ 3,952.35
		7,310.81
		7,310.81
7/1/11-6/30/12	Debits	15.00
		7,295.81
Balance 6/30/12		$ 7,295.81

Respectfully submitted,

Dirk L. Büchner, IOSCS Treasurer

IOSCS Minutes
General Business Meeting
Chicago — November 18, 2012

Meeting called to order: 11:00am

1. Minutes

1. Motion: That the Minutes of the General Business Meeting, November 21, 2011 in San Francisco, CA be approved.
   Moved: Kristen de Troyer;   Second: Nathan Lamontagne
   Passed: Unanimously

2. Presentation of Reports (approved by the executive committee):

President (Jan Joosten)
Treasurer (Dirk Büchner)
JSCS Editor (Siegfried Kreuzer)
SCS Editor (Wolfgang Kraus)

Project Reports:
SBLCS (Rob Hiebert)
Hexapla (Peter J Gentry)
Septuaginta Deutsch (Wolfgang Kraus)
Historical and Theological Dictionary of the Septuagint (Jan Joosten)

3. Dirk Büchner, Treasurer, noted per motion in Executive Committee, that $1,708.52 in Royalty Monies received from OUP ($762.51 on 01/07/11 and $946.01 on 04/01/12) will be transferred from the General Account into the NETS account.

3. Thanks for Exemplary Service:

The president wished to extend special thanks in public to Glenn Wooden (who requested to be relieved as Editor of BIOSCS) for his careful work in producing three successive issues of the Bulletin (2008-2010)

The president extended sincere thanks to Eberhard Bons and Cameron Boyd-Taylor, who are completing their terms as Members-at-Large.

4. Nominating Committee Report

4. The president passed on the Nominating Committee Report, approved by the Executive as a recommendation to the membership. The nominating committee consisted of Ben Wright, Alison Salvesen and Cécile Dogniez. They nominated the following as members-at-large:

Members-at-Large:
a. Hans Ausloos
b. Reinhart Ceulemans
c. Anneli Aejmelaeus

Motion: That the full slate of nominations be accepted as presented (attached).
   Moved: Kristin de Troyer   Second: Rob Hiebert
   Passed: Unanimously

5. The executive committee appointed Siegfried Kreuzer to succeed Glenn Wooden as the editor of JSCS.

Motion: That the recommendation of the Executive Committee be ratified by the general membership.
   Moved: Ben Wright   Second: Martin Karrer
   Passed: Unanimously

6. Motion to Adjourn
   Moved: Peter Gentry   Second: Claude Cox

Respectfully submitted:

Peter J Gentry, Secretary