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BULLETIN IOSCS
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A NOTE OF APPRECIATION

The International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies is pleased to acknowledge its great debt of gratitude to Professor George E. Howard, Editor of Bulletin 6 through 12 from 1973 to 1979.

Professor Howard was elected Treasurer and Coordinator of Circulation of the Bulletin in September of 1972. Later that academic year, when Dean Sidney Jellicoe, our first Editor, was prevented by failing health from editing Bulletin 6, Professor Howard was appointed Temporary Editor and produced the issue for that year.

Dean Jellicoe had nurtured the Bulletin from its first five-page issue in 1968 to a nineteen-page issue in 1972 and had established it as a significant organ for scholarly communication. In the seven issues which Professor Howard edited, through a gift of hundreds of hours of labor and care he expanded it to a volume of approximately 60 pages, introducing full-length articles on Septuagintal and Septuagint-related topics. The Bulletin now serves an international readership of approximately two hundred scholars plus some seventy research libraries throughout the world.

As higher administrative duties at the University of Georgia press him to relinquish the editorship, the IOSCS gratefully extends to him its esteem, appreciation, and continuing good wishes.

On behalf of the IOSCS,
Eugene Ulrich
d. That the IOSCS express its thanks and appreciation to Professor George Howard in his capacity as Editor of the Bulletin for his excellent contribution to the Organization.

SO MOVED

CARRIED


ACCEPTANCE MOVED

CARRIED

- Copies of Bulletin no. 2 are available from the Treasurer.

5. Editor's Report: Bulletin no. 12 has been published.

ACCEPTANCE MOVED

CARRIED


The meeting was adjourned at 5:15 p.m.

A. Pietersma
Secretary

FINANCIAL REPORT
November 15, 1979

BALANCE ON HAND, Nov. 15, 1978 $1051.23

(Bulletin 12, pp. 3-4)

INCOME

Subscriptions 11/15/78 - 11/15/79 $405.50
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469.21

EXPENDITURES

Bulletin 12
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Expenditures 469.21

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Balance on hand, Nov. 15, 1978 1051.23
Net loss to Nov. 15, 1979 135.79
BALANCE ON HAND, Nov. 15, 1979 915.44

$915.44

Melvin K. H. Peters
Treasurer, IOSCS

Auditors: Derwood C. Smith, Ph.D., and Nina C. Pykare, Ph.D.
Department of Religious Studies,
Cleveland State University
Professor J. H. Charlesworth reports that the new edition of the Pseudepigrapha has been submitted to the press. It will contain introductions to and translations of 52 documents and a supplement of fragments now lost. The Letter of Aristeas will be introduced and translated by R. J. H. Shutt. See BIOSCS 10 (1977) 11-21 and 11 (1978) 14-18.

Although it is probably widely known, the discovery of the Greek manuscripts at St. Catherine's Monastery has not been explicitly noted in these pages. At least nine, and perhaps as many as twelve, leaves of Codex Sinaiticus were discovered in the northern wall of St. Catherine's. In addition, there has been recovered an ancient version of the Greek Bible which dates from the latter part of the fourth century. For discussions of these discoveries, see the three articles in the Biblical Archaeologist under Professor Charlesworth's name in "Record of Work" (below). The whole will be summarized in a monograph to be published by ASOR.

Professor Harry M. Orlinsky, Immediate Past President of the IOSCS, was elected in December 1979 President of the American Academy for Jewish Research.

IOSCS Bulletin 2 (which contains a reprint of Bulletin 1), long believed to have been out of print, is once again available (for US$3) from our Treasurer and Circulator of the Bulletin, Professor M. K. H. Peters.

Projet d'une traduction de la Septante en français

Marguerite Harl, professeur de grec post-classique à l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, annonce un projet de traduction de la Septante en français: projet en cours d'élaboration, avec le concours de collègues hellénistes et sémitistes et une équipe de jeunes chercheurs.

Ce projet est issu de la pratique patristique: les éditeurs des commentaires exégétiques des Pères Grecs sont sans cesse confrontés au problème de la traduction du texte de la Septante, ils s'y exercent et en voient toutes les difficultés. Par son origine, ce projet se distingue donc des travaux habituels menés par les bibliques sur la Septante: ceux-ci étudient le plus souvent les techniques de traduction de la Septante, afin d'utiliser éventuellement le témoignage de cette "traduction" pour améliorer notre connaissance du texte hébreu: ici, la Septante sera prise pour elle-même, non pas comme une traduction mais comme un texte au sens plein du terme: le texte de la Bible du Judaïsme hellénistique et de l'Eglise ancienne, le texte tel qu'il fut lu par des lecteurs qui n'avaient aucunement recours à l'original hébreu pour tenter de le comprendre, un texte qui s'explique à l'intérieur du système linguistique grec de son époque.

Ce projet suppose la mise au point d'une méthode de traduction réfléchie et homogène, cohérente. Cette mise au
point théorique ne peut se faire que par la confrontation des premiers essais, qui feront apparaître avec précision les types de difficultés qui se retrouveront d'un bout à l'autre du travail: difficultés d'ordre syntaxique, sémantique, stylistique, etc.... Un premier travail est d'établir le catalogue de ces difficultés, de les étudier, de proposer des solutions. Il faudra notamment décider quelle tradition textuelle de la Septante on choisira de traduire, faute de pouvoir rendre compte de la pluralité des états textuels.

L'équipe qui prend l'initiative de ce projet est consciente de l'ampleur de la tâche et propose à quiconque veut s'y associer de participer à des rencontres de travail, à Paris: un séminaire sera consacré à ces recherches de Novembre 1980 à Mai 1981 à la Sorbonne, préparé par une "table ronde" qui pourra se réunir à l'automne, en France ou en Belgique. Les documents qui serviront de base à ces premières discussions pourront être envoyés à ceux qui en feront la demande.

Marguerite HARL
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75007 PARIS
France


Nyssse, Richard. "An Analysis of the Greek Witnesses to the Text of the Lament of David" [see Tov (6)].


Orlinsky, Harry M. "Introductory Essay: On Anthropomorphisms and Anthropopathisms in the Septuagint and Targum" in the Zlotowitz volume (see below).


Ulrich, E. C. (1) "4QSam: A Fragmentary Manuscript of 2 Samuel 14-15 from the Scribe of the Serek Hay-yahad (105)." BASOR 235 (1979) 1-25 [reprinted in Tov (6)]. (2) "The Old Latin Translation of the LXX and the Hebrew Scrolls from Qumran" [see Tov (6)].

THE DIVINE NAME AT QUMRAN, IN THE MASADA SCROLL, AND IN THE SEPTUAGINT

Patrick W. Skehan
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Accepted usage for one referring to the Deity in writing or (so far as can be discerned) in speech, among Jews and later also among Christians in the period c. 150 B.C. to c. 250 A.D., first in Palestine and later in Egypt, is a matter that could do with some pulling together of scattered contemporary evidence. Here the evidence from Qumran, Masada, and early Greek manuscripts will be sifted to illumine early and developed stages of that usage. The following is as complete as the present writer could make it, for the materials it attempts to incorporate. If it can soon be outdistanced, he will be the more pleased.

I. Qumran and Masada Manuscripts

The Scribe of 1QS and 4QSam². For the usage regarding divine names at Qumran,* as to the manner of writing them and as to what can be inferred about spoken utterance, a helpful witness is the scribe active sometime between 100 and 80 B.C. from whom there are extant 1QS with its appendices (1Qsa,b) and certain additions to 1QIsaB, plus the "Testimonies" page 4Q178, and 4QSamC. The Serek text which he transmits was certainly prepared to be read and quoted within the community. It contains no occurrence of Yhwh and none of Elohim simply.¹ Any other divine name the scribe has no hesitation about writing out in his own hand and in the normal form of his script; he nowhere resorts to paleohebrew letters. For Yhwh when the name is called for by his text, he ordinarily substitutes four dots. In 1QS the unique instance is VIII.13-14, an allusion to Isa 40:3 followed by formal citation of that text: כבדת שם את דבך הה//********************************************************************. The other cases of the four-dot device by this scribe are in כבדת שלוח ה in the supplement to Isa 40:7 of 1QIsaB, col. XXXIII, above line 7, in 4QSamC fragment 1, line 3, in the text of 1 Sam 25:31, and col. III, line 7, twice in the text of 2 Sam 15:8;³ and in 4Q178, lines 1 and 19, in quotations of Exod 20:21b (in its expanded Palestinian [= later Samaritan] form) and of Deut 33:11.

A passage in 1QS itself, though broken (VI.27; VII.1), suggests the reason for this usage. "Whoever invokes the glorious Name in a statement" (כבדת יד הרמשו כבדת) under certain circumstances for which the text is not preserved—is subject to one (also lost) of a number of penalties for wrongdoing; "but if he has uttered a curse either because he was shaken by some crisis, or whatever may have prompted him to it, then reads from the Book or offers a blessing, they shall exclude him from the community." There is, therefore, at a minimum, a range of circumstances under which the divine name is not to be pronounced; to avoid possible misuse, the scribe we have been observing will not
even write the name Yhwh in passages of Scripture which explicitly call for it.

1QS; 1QSa,b; 4QTestim. Turning from the scribe to the sectarian works he set himself to copy (1QS and its appendices) the choice of divine names is instructive. When God is to be spoken about, He is regularly—over 50 times—called El, occasionally with qualifications: אל על וּשְׁדוּעַ (א) III.15; אל רשא III.24. The address to God אֱלֹהֵי (א) occurs once (XI.15). Scripture quotations may presume the Yhwh name, but it does not appear (see n. 2 above, at end); Elohim does not occur (see n. 1). Elyon is an acceptable variant on, or parallel to, El (IV.22; X.12-13; XI.15). In 1QSa II.4 בָּשׁאַל אֶת יְהוָה (ב) is a transparent copyist's error for בַּשְׁדָּעָה, and the clause is derivative from Deut 23:2-4, so that here El provides a spoken substitute for the scriptural Yhwh. In 1QSb V.25 אֱלֹהֵי occurs in a long paraphrase of Isa 11:1-5, so that again the substitution for Yhwh is unmistakable. In V.27-28 occurs a mix of scriptural allusions from Num 24:17, Isa 14:5, Ezek 19:11-14, in a הָאָּלֶּכֶּם הַצָּכָהּ לֵאמֶר (א) may go back to Num 24:16. In 1QSb V.8 אֱלֹהֵי occurs, without context. When God is invoked as the source of blessing in 1QSb, it is as אֱלֹהֵי. Restored from an 'alep in I.3 [רַבְּכֵם אֲלֹהֵי], this name is fully present in II.22עוֹדוֹת אֱלֹרִי (אל) and in V.23 עוֹדוֹת (אל). The chain of citations which is nearly the total content of 4Q176 presents, with Num 24:16, both Elyon and Shaddai in addition to El.
18 PATRICK W. SKEHAN

and the present writer would not put the dreamer who whipped up this soufflé any more than thirty years before that. In any case, his practice with respect to the divine names is well within the lines suggested by 1QS and 1QH, whether or not he was himself an Essene: no occurrence of Yhwh; El normally written (X.4,7), but nowhere Elohim. El is the accepted name of God throughout, with the same practiced Herodian script employed for it as for the rest of the text. The angelic hosts are called, among other things, אל יrael; for God, אלים is a preferred form. One passage in XII.8-9 from a hymn that partly recurs with some variation in col. XIX, is unique and needs to be quoted:

A reflective reading of Ps 99:9 and of Ps 24, especially vv 5-9, cannot but show that this lone occurrence of מדריך is introduced as a surrogate for Yhwh, to be spoken instead of that name. No other divine names, no exceptional script.

The Masada Sirach. For the matter at hand, the medieval MSS of Sirach can yield no trustworthy evidence. Limited as the 7 extant columns of the Masada Sirach are, they do afford a precious complement to the indications seen thus far from Qumran. Written in the 1st half of the 1st century B.C., this MS maintains its normal Hasmonean script with no paleo-hebrew inserts into its text. The first two fragmentary columns preserve no instances of divine names. In cols. III-VII, Sir 41:2-44:17a, the name most often surviving is Elyon (41:4b, 8b; 42:2a, 18c; 43:2b; 44:2a); El is found in 42:15a, 17a; 43:12b. No Yhwh, no Elohim. There remain 5 passages, none of them in direct address, in which God is (without the expanded Qumran orthography). 42:15cd reads:

Despite the versions and Cairo MS B, the תומך in this is the infinitive, and the line a two part temporal clause: "When the Lord commanded/bespoke his works, and they received [as their charge] the doing of his will..." (cf. Bib 57 [1976] 273). Even to syntax, the first colon is the event of Gen 1:1-2, בַּהֲמוֹת בְּכִיָּהוּ (v.t) 'Elohim...mayyômer; and מדריך here stands for Elohim, which the Masada scribe—it is not likely that Ben Sira himself did this—deliberately avoided. Cairo MS B evinces an awareness of this: with ז in 42:15a, it reads ייונְי יונה in 15c. In the next line, 42:16b reads ובכר אֵלְוֶה אֵל בְּכִיָּהוּ. The LXX fully reflects this Masada form of the colon. In the light of Isa 6:3, the reading of ייונ in Cairo MS B here reflects זיונה as the presumptive original reading. Two lines later, Masada's 42:17cd reads: זיונה אֵלְוֶה סְדָאָר // ייונְי יונה לֶבֶרְבָּר. Again Cairo MS B has זיונה, and in view of Pss 103:21 and 148:2 one might wonder whether Yhwh did not earlier stand in this passage. In 43:5a, the Masada MS reads זיונה סְדָאָר: "for great is the Lord, its (סְדָאָר = the sun's) Maker." Here the Greek and the Syriac (kyrios, marîš) coincide with Masada's זיונה, whereas Cairo MS B again has זיונה. Finally, in 43:10a Masada has זיונה סְדָאָר; the subject is זיונה. Cairo MS B reads זיונה here, which is unlikely because that name ends the preceding line; the Greek and the
Syriac suppose שָׁמַיִם—also unlikely: Cairo B's לֶשֶׁר אֲמָרֶיךָ (50:17) and שָׁמַיִםשְֹא [but בִּשְׁנֵי הָעֵגֶל] (39:35), with no support in these places from either the Greek or the Syriac, are the only occurrences attested in Hebrew in the book.

The book of Ben Sira comes from a period and a milieu in which Yhwh was certainly still pronounced in the Jerusalem temple (Sir 50:20-21). This text seems to make not only the blessing, but also the pronouncing of the Name, a special privilege of the high priest. Hesitancy to write the name Yhwh, or even Elohim, would seem to account for the use of יהוה by the copyist of the Masada MS, and the solution he accepted foreshadows a wide range of developments in the centuries that followed, including Kyrios for Yhwh in LXX and elsewhere.

II. Development in Qumran Manuscripts

Prehistory. Simple avoidance of the name Yhwh, and at times also of Elohim, in composition and thus in utterance, has of course a prehistory before 200 B.C. The Elohistic Psalms, as regards Yhwh, are a case in point. The poetry of Job avoids Yhwh absolutely; יי יי only appears in these verse the poem on wisdom, 28:28. Elohim appears in the poetry only in 5:8 (Eliphaz), 20:29 (Zophar), 28:23 (the wisdom poem) and 34:9 (Elihu). Occurrences in 32:2-3 (prose narrative; in 3, 17 והבר is a scribes' emendation for יהוהי), and 38:7 (in the phrase יהוהי医护ל) are hardly relevant. In the Song of Songs, the יהוהי of 8:6 is a well-known crux. Its Yah comes from the Massoretes and is their solution to a defect by haplography, in which two words are missing:

Salahū bêt x (סלאחונים). Neither Yhwh nor Elohim is present. Qoh avoids Yhwh altogether but uses Elohim quite freely. The editing of Esther into its received form with no divine name anywhere can probably not be shown to antedate the Qumran settlement (in which the book was avoided, almost surely with intent). Proverbs would, by contrast, be unthinkable without Yhwh, so that there were at least two streams of influence continuously in wisdom circles.

(1) Names in Normal Script. A further development in Qumran practice regarding divine names is perhaps best illustrated by the pesher MSS. The oldest of these is 4Q163 (pap4QpIsa6), which Strugnell sees as more or less contemporary with lQSerek, early in the 1st century B.C. Fragmentary as its tatters of papyrus are, it is clear that both in lemmas and in running commentary the two scribes represented write יהוה in their normal hand; no unusual script is employed anywhere. Some later pesher MSS continue this practice: 4Q162 (4QpIsa6b), pre-Herodian, writes יהוה normally (col. II.3, 7, 8). 4Q166-170 range from late Hasmonean/ early Herodian (169 [the Nahum pesher], 170) to later Herodian hands that should be of the 1st cent. A.D. (168-168). Though the evidence is sometimes scant, they share the feature that none of them shows any tendency to a special script: 4QpNah II.10 writes יהוה normally; 4Q170, the same for יהוה. The two Hosea pesharim (166, 167) in a limited area present only El, which they write normally. The Micah pesher (168) has
in normal script (Mic 4:10) in the lemma of Mic 4:8-12, which is all that remains of this scroll. These MSS therefore combine with, for example, 4Q166, a paraphrase of Torah text in the expanded Palestinian form known earlier only from the Samaritans; early Herodian or slightly pre-Herodian in date (so Strugnell), it shows no hesitation in presenting הָיוֹיָהּ in the lemma of Mic 4:8-12, which is all that remains of this scroll. These MSS therefore combine with, for example, 4Q158, a paraphrase of Torah text in the expanded Palestinian form known earlier only from the Samaritans; early Herodian or slightly pre-Herodian in date (so Strugnell), it shows no hesitation in presenting הָיוֹיָהּ in the normal script, and nowhere offers indications of a special script for any purpose. The bulk of the strictly Biblical MSS from Qumran, from the earliest to the latest, have the same characteristic: among them 4QJer (c. 200 B.C.). 13 both 1QIsa (c. 125-100 B.C.) 14 and 1QIsa (1st cent. A.D.), and 4QPs (between 50 and 68 A.D.). 15

(3) Substitution of Paleohebrew. By contrast, 4Q171 (4QPs, Herodian) and 1QpHab (early 1st cent. A.D.) introduce the practice of systematic substitution of paleohebrew characters for all occurrences of certain divine names: at the minimum, for Yhwh; as time goes on, for other divine names as well. In 4QPs Allegro (DJD V. 43) reconstructs Elohim in the normal script in col. I, four lines from the bottom; Strugnell (p. 212, see n. 10) excludes this, no doubt correctly. Yhwh regularly (7 cases extant in whole or in part) appears in a good paleohebrew script. Ps 37:31 יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹوָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה יְהֹo in the 4 extant cases where his text calls for Yhwh he uses a tortured paleohebrew script with an irrelevant flourish at the tops of his, and with וַאֲנַשׁ truncated as to its staff. From cave 1, 1Q14, 16 (1QpMic, 1QpZeph) write the archaic script for Yhwh; 1QpMic frg. 12 adds paleohebrew El in its proper.

(3) Spread of the Substitution Process (11QPa). The spread of the substitution process to scrolls that are wholly, or almost wholly, copies of the biblical text is shown in 11QPa, where again only the tetragrammaton is involved. The paleohebrew script for Yhwh in this copy is a secondary development: 11QPa, a contemporary copy of the same compilation, writes everything including Yhwh (in the samek line of the Plea for Deliverance) in the normal script. There is also the presence of an alphabet acrostic in the apocryphal Ps 155 (11QPa col. XXXIV) running from aleph to pe; except for aleph, all else is accounted for—until one sees that the paleohebrew Yhwh, with which the piece begins in the scroll, must stand for an original הַלָּוָה. In col. V, line 1, the phrase "the man who fears the Lord" from Ps 128:4 shows Yhwh in paleohebrew letters, but in the same line the next verse, with its blessing formula, "May the Lord bless you," has הַלָּוָה written thus. Twice more in the first 10 lines of the same column, where the received text has Yhwh, as commonly in these pilgrimage Psalms, הַלָּוָה appears instead: Ps 129:4, הַלָּוָה הַלָּוָה, and Ps 130:1, הַלָּוָה in direct address to open the Psalm. This lapse from his usual style shows clearly what the scribe of 11QPa was pronouncing when
he encountered the divine name. In Ps 119:68, "Good art thou, Lord," occurs in the scroll with מַלְאַךְ ה' (LXX has Kyrie, here) where no Yhwh is present in MT: was there no written source to prompt the copyist to write the Name in paleohebrew at this point?

"Yah" could apparently be said: the scribe's expanded form for the beginning of Ps 135 goes, "Praise, you servants of Yhwh; praise the name of Yhwh: Praise Yah, and exalt Yah, you who stand in the house of Yhwh...." With Yhwh in paleo­hebrew as usual, י is written normally in the "Aramaic" script. So are El and Elyon, which incline to be more frequent in the scroll than Pss 101-150 would suggest, because of the other compositions introduced in which the names of God tend to be those of 1QS and 1QH. Again within Ps 135, we have at v 6 the acclamation:19 "There is none like Yah; there is none like Yhwh; and there is none who does as (does) the King of 'gods.'" Both י and יְלַוֵּה יִשְׁמַעְיָא are written normally here, as is יִשְׁמַעְיָא also when it means "God": Ps 145:13c (col. XVII, lines 2, 3), "Faithful is God in his words...." In this last, Ywhw is not used because the line, missing in MT, has been restored for the acrostic pattern of the Psalm, but again the copyist had no written source to prompt him to write Yhwh; LXX has the line in question and does show Kyrios.

An oddity that helps show the adventitious character of the archaic script for Yhwh in this line of transmission is that מַלְאַךְ is in the acclamation in Ps 135, יְיִשְׁמַעְיָא in Ps 136:1, and ה' in col. XVI, line 4, are given with the inseparable prefix in the normal lettering of the scroll, though the four letters of the Name are in paleohebrew—but יְיִשְׁמַעְיָא in Ps 144:15 becomes יְיִשְׁמַעְיָא followed by the archaic Yhwh form.

Not everything can be neatly solved. In transmitting Ps 144 (col. XXIII) the scribe of 11QPa begins vv 3, 5 with יְבַשְׂרוּ as a vocative in places where the Yhwh of the received text is scarcely subject to challenge: Ps 144 is anthologi­cal, and the sources for these two verses are in Pss 8, 17, and 104, all of which are Yahwistic Psalms. One might have expected to see paleohebrew Yhwh both times?

Development in the More Fragmentary MSS. More fragmentary MSS further illustrate the divergent usages sketched thus far. For the use in the early 1st cent. B.C. of four dots for Yhwh, as in 1QS, the known parallels are in 4Q516, largely a concatenation of Isaiah passages. Following Strugnell's analysis, there are two scribes; both avoid writing Yhwh by this same device, with a slight variation as to how the dots are aligned (two clusters of two dots each for the second scribe). The date should be close to that of 1QS. At fragments 1-2, col. II, line 2, מַלְאַךְ, the Elohim is a substitute for Yhwh of Isa 49:13 in the hand of the second scribe; he also slips once, and writes ה' instead of מַלְאַךְ, frg. 3, line 1, Isa 43:1. In 1Q4a the missing Yhwh from 42:6 מַלְאַךְ ה' (the scroll reads מַלְאַךְ ה') is supplied by a hand other than that of 1QS with five dots above the line (to be read, presumably, מַלְאַךְ ה').
1Q11, which should be of the 1st half, 1st century A.D., has paleohebrew Yhwh in its text of Pss 126-128. The MS is likely not a copy of the 150-Psalm collection exclusively: Barthélemy and Milik both relate the hand to that of 1Q88, prayer fragments.

4QPs2 is a combination of canonical Psalms with other hymnic materials, different from 11QPs a,b, and written about 50 B.C. (Starcky). It has in common with Sanders' Psalms scroll the "Apostrophe to Zion" piece, which does not contain a divine name. 4QPs2 presents, however, no change of script anywhere, with וֹ הָיָה written normally both in the canonical Psalms and in a composition about the land of Judah (Starcky's col. X, line 13).

The "Temple Scroll," published by Y. Yadin,21 dating from the mid-1st century A.D., keeps to its quasi-scriptural character by writing Yhwh in its normal hand: col. XVIII, lines 13-14 לְהָיָה; col. XXXIV, line 14, יְהֹוָה; col. LIII, line 8 יְהֹוָה לְהָיָה...יְהוָה לְהָיָה.

1Q22, styled by Milik "Dires de Moïse," perhaps early Herodian, has three exceptional readings in normal script, as follows: col. II, line 1 ולֶה הָיָה; col. III, line 6 וֹ הָיָה. Moses is the speaker, in a style patterned on Deuteronomy, and the three instances reinforce each other as to how the gaps must be filled. In view especially of the last instance, for which the background is Deut 15, Milik is no doubt right in supposing that וֹ הָיָה (מֵאָהָי) each time, on Moses' lips, is put forward as a substitute for Yhwh of the biblical text.

1Q3422 is an early 1st cent. A.D. collection of prayers; in its fragment 1, lines 4, 7, the phrases וֹ יִדְּרֹךְ וֹ יִדְּרֹךְ וֹ יִדְּרֹךְ parallel the usage in 1QHodayot. The opening lines of 4Q180, Herodian copy of a sectarian document,23 have El in a good paleohebrew script, whereas the scribe of the related 4Q181 writes the same name in his normal Herodian hand. 4Q185 is a fairly late Herodian copy of another sectarian writing, and it exhibits both El and Yhwh in a somewhat stylized paleohebrew script; "fragment 3" of the publication belongs with 4Q171 and its different paleohebrew hand: Strugnell's Planche IIIa shows the join. 4Q179, in the genre of Lamentations, is late Hasmonean and writes El normally. 4Q178, frg. 5, a stray bit in a hand of the 1st cent. A.D., includes a citation of Ps 118:20 with הָיָה substituted for וֹ הָיָה and written in distorted, unnatural paleohebrew lettering. 4Q185 (4QpIsa6), early Herodian, in quoting (frg. 6) Isa 32:6 leaves for the name Yhwh a space that was never filled. 4Q174, 177 are early Herodian copies of what seems one same work, on David and on the incipits of Pss 1-17 at the least. They write Yhwh and all else in their normal hand. If 4Q174, fragment 21, belongs with frgs. 1-3, col. I, line 3, where Strugnell puts it, it testifies to a variant מָהְלָה for the מִדְּרֹךְ in MT of Exod 15:17.

Among the MSS from the Minor Caves, four illustrate the use of paleohebrew for divine names. 2Q3 is texts from Exodus, Herodian in script, with Yhwh in paleohebrew;
M. Baillet leaves open the question whether the scroll was directly biblical or an anthology or reworking of some kind. 3Q is fragments of Lamentations, stichometric by the full line, with Yhwh in paleohebrew. (5Q13 is a sectarian writing, dated 1st cent. A.D. by Milik, that has י.tipo 글 in its usual script.) 6Q16,18 are the Damascus Covenant and a hymnic text, both in Herodian hands; they have in common that they write El in paleohebrew and that their script for this purpose is mildly absurd.

The end of the line in such developments is 4QIsaC, a strictly scriptural scroll with fragments preserved from all parts of the book, written some very few years before the destruction of the Qumran settlement in A.D. 68.24 It has Yhwh, Elohim, Adonay (5 letters), גֶּבָּרָת, and phrases like מִיְּהוָה and מַלְאַכְיָה regularly written in a respectable, though quite angular, paleohebrew script. For its scribe, the initial purpose of avoiding unwarranted utterance of the divine name by his readers has given way to a kind of partly reverential, partly decorative, fetish.

III. Development in Greek Manuscripts

It is against this background from Palestine that the present writer views the much mooted question of divine names in Greek copies of the Scriptures—the "Septuagint" to begin with, and the various reworkings of it, leading ultimately to Aquila, Symmachus and the Hexapla. There is evidence of four early stages.

(1) IAQ (4QLXXLevB). The first stage is represented by 4QLXXLevB, dated by C. H. Roberts to the late 1st cent. B.C. or the opening years of the 1st cent. A.D.25 It has, in Lev 4:27, the unmistakable reading τον ευρισκομενον Ιω; at Lev 3:12 the final omega and enough of the preceding alpha are present in the fragments to preclude any other reading there. The four broken papyrus columns within which this occurs reconstruct well throughout with the same reading of the divine name (sometimes with the appropriate Greek article to introduce it). The hand of this scroll has from the first reminded all observers of the best represented hand in P. Pousad Inv. 265 in Cairo (to be discussed below). The latter is the earlier scroll, still in the 1st cent. B.C. The priority here assigned to the Qumran fragments is typological: the MS which allows for the pronunciation, or at least a pronounceable and normal writing, of the Yhwh name in the same hand employed for the rest of the text, derives from a period of LXX transmission prior to all texts which in written form warn against utterance of the Name.

In the 1st cent. B.C., Diodorus of Sicily26 (I,94,2) tells us that Moses referred his laws to τον Ιω ευρισκομενου τον Ιω. Thereafter, our most significant witness to this first stage is Origen.27 Not that he ever used IAQ in his Hexapla (see below); from the biblical text it had already been banished before his day. Indeed, if we can trust the Migne text of Origen’s Commentary on Ps 2:2 (PG 12:1104), his own chosen transcription of Yhwh was Ιω (two occurrences). But in his Commentary on John 1:1 (GC Origenes 4:53) he gives, apropos of divine names, the equation Ἱερομαρκ... ίους... ευρισκομενον Ιω. That this was an entry in an onomasticon of
Hebrew names in LXX which he employed as a reference work becomes clear from other sources: the only one that is a biblical MS is the 6th cent. codex Marchalianus (Q), in the margin of which at Ezek 1:2 the name Ἰωακεὶμ is explained by Ἰω εἰς τοῦμανος; and at Ezek 11:1 Βασαλου is glossed by οὐκοδομη ὁ ἱσκος Ἰωα. Related to this are two documentary papyri, each a fragment reemployed on the verso to carry a list of LXX names interpreted on an identical pattern with the foregoing; both are from the turn of the 3d/4th centuries A.D. One was published by A. Deissman in 1905: out of 24 names it presents 9 with ΙΑQ included in the interpretation, 2 more with ΙQ. The other was published by D. Rokeah in 1970 as P. Oxy. 2745; its 3 fragmentary columns contain by happy coincidence, out of 19 interpretations preserved, 9 such with Ιω; for example, AB12 Ιωακεὶμ Ιω εἰς τοῦμανος; AB17 Ιωας Ιω γνωστικ. When Rokeah in his comparative material cites such witnesses as Hesychius of Jerusalem (PG 29:931C; the authorship by H. is certain) for Ἰωακεὶμ...ἐκου εἰς τοῦμανος, Jerome for Ιωας ὁ διοίκητος, and a Vatican onomasticon for Ἰωας ἐπάτου γνωσις, one must agree with E. G. Turner (quoted by R., p. 3) "It...becomes necessary to ask...whether this text is a copy of part of an onomasticon compiled by Origen." Origen must indeed be mentioned, but the list must have been already archaic in his time; materials that suppose the ΙΑQ name freely used come from an earlier period of Jewish practice. Rokeah himself carries the quest farther back and sees the compilation as an anonymous work of the 3d/2d cent. B.C. He makes the point that not merely the names expounded, but also the diction of the interpretations, are clearly drawn from the text of LXX, and the whole was meant to be a companion to that version. In the other direction, we may note above how the ΙΑQ of earlier times was "edited out" from the later Christian lists—a process completed much earlier still in the LXX text itself. Of Yhwh, St. Jerome (Comm. in Ps 8:2, CC Lat. 72:191) later says legi potest ΙΑΝΟ: which is surely the same tradition.

That, however, is hardly the whole story. Rokeah quotes Turner with reference to Origen, and he refers to the Heidelberg list. Is it of no interest that that strip of papyrus begins with 3 names starting with alpha, but that the first has no interpretation, and instead the space is filled with ἸΗΕΟΥΣ ΙΩ ΕΠΗΠΙΑ? Or that lines 7-8 have been made to receive the pattern-breaking entry ἩΑΙ ἩΑΙ ᾿ΙΑΣΑΧΑΝΙ ΟΕ MOY ΟΕ MOY ΕΕ ΤΙ ΜΕ ΕΝΚΑΤΕΙΔΗΕΙ;31 Deissman did not fail to make the obvious remarks about this slightly bizarre reflection (a generation after Origen) of Matt 27:46. Whatever the failings of the scribe, in this case the proximate source of his list will indeed have been Origen, to whose activity, most, if not all, of the surviving traces of the onomasticon in question are attributable.

(3) "Aramaic" Script in Greek MSS (P. Fouad Inv. 366). The second stage for which evidence is at hand is the writing in Greek copies of the Torah of the Hebrew name Yhwh in the contemporary Jewish ("Aramaic") script. The oldest LXX scroll fragment (p. Ryl. iii.458, 2d cent. B.C., Deut.) yields no instance of the name; at so early a date we might
have expected IAM?

Under the general label P. Fouad Inv. 266 there are now known to be included 3 distinct MSS: some bits of Genesis with no divine name occurring; some bits of a 1st cent. A.D. Deuteronomy (added to the Rahlfs' Vervelkning listings as no. 847),32 and numerous fragments of the 1st cent. B.C. Deuteronomy (848) that has been known since 194433 to present Yhwh repeatedly in a normal Jewish script for the time. The phenomenon is not isolated: the Mercati palimpsest containing extensive portions of the Hexapla of Psalms34 carries repeatedly across all its columns, including the $^2$, otherwise filled with Greek transliterations, a stylized form of the tetragrammaton that reflects the Jewish script. Other testimony to the practice includes Jerome's reference (CSEL 54:219) to a ΜΗΠΙΙΙΙI deformation of the name by those reading from Greek MSS that contained it, plus the consistent use of ὑππυ in Syriac script to represent it in the Syrohexaplar version. In the gemara to y. Nedarim XI,1 there is reference to someone held bound by an oath in which he included Popi as a substitute for the divine name. None of this has anything to do with paleohebrew script, which, however deformed it might become, could never suggest ΜΗΠΙΙΙΙI. In Hebrew MSS the paleohebrew Yhwh was used to differentiate the name from the rest of the text; in a Greek MS Aramaic script would do that much.

(3) Paleohebrew Script in Greek MSS (V. Khabra XII χαύς). Paleohebrew script for the Name in a Greek text is the third stage. The oldest witness for it is the Greek Minor Prophets scroll published by D. Barthélemy.35 These fragments of what has come to be known as the χαύς recension of LXX were discovered in a cave in the Wadi Khabra in the Judean desert of Palestine. There were two scribes, working at about 50 A.D. Barthélemy gives two plates, showing both hands and their manner of indicating the tetragrammaton. He says of their yods that they are quite recognizable (!) and allows himself (p. 168) a warranted reference to τέτραγραμματεῖς de fantasie. With or without fantasy, perhaps more often with, this practice also extended to texts of Aquila and of Symmachus, and both Origen (PG 12:1104) and Jerome (Prol. in libri Regum) report it. From Qumran practice we can see the impetus for a spread of this usage as a phenomenon of the 2d half of the 1st cent. B.C., continuing through the following century until the fall of the settlement in A.D. 68. The intrusion of paleohebrew script into strictly biblical MSS was, as indicated above, relatively limited among the ± 166 such MSS from Qumran (excluding 12 other biblical MSS that are wholly in the older script). What the proportions may have been in LXX MSS through the period after 50 B.C. in Jewish circles we are scarcely in a position to judge; the evidence from Origen indicates that both the paleohebrew and the Aramaic options remained open. P. Oxy. viii.1007, a 3d century parchment codex of Genesis, has twice the abbreviated form: two paleohebrew yods, with the horizontal stroke in the middle continuous through both. A. S. Hunt, who published this in 1910, indicated that the shape of the yods in the MS resembled that of coins "of the second century B.C."
The reference would seem to be to the Hasmonean coinage now dated mainly, if not altogether, to the 1st century B.C. He did not say that the abbreviation as such appeared on any coin, nor does it.

(4) KYPIOC (Copies of LXX). The fourth stage, of course, is the arrival of Kyrios in at least the Christian copies of LXX as a replacement for ΙΑQ/יְהֹוָּה. Whether this practice had its roots in a corresponding usage in Jewish LXX scrolls continues to be asked; clear indications one way or the other are hard to find. C. H. Roberts' recent acceptance ("most probably") of P. Kahle's contention that p. Oxy. iv.656, from a 2d cent. papyrus codex (!) of Genesis, is a Jewish text, if adhered to more generally by papyrologists, will go far to fill the gap. In the part of Genesis that is extant, one possible Kyrios (or: יְהֹוָּה) is simply omitted. In its line 17 a blank was at first left; then Kyrios was entered in full, without the conventional abbreviation for נְמוֹנָא אָסַרָה, by a second hand. In lines 122 and 166, נ and נו appear on the right margin, where in the first case there would be no room for the complete word, and in the second instance, though no line for abbreviation is present, it seems clear the word did not continue. Roberts also has an Appendix II (pp. 78-81) in which he reexamines the dating of p. Chester Beatty VI (Num-Deut), and concludes to 2d/3d cent. This MS has of course Kyrios along with other נמוה אסורה in contracted form as part of the regular systematization that came to prevail in copies by Christian scribes.

IV. Greek Texts of the Prophets

Light from Hebrew MSS. From the direction of Palestine, the Qumran and Masada scrolls show a widespread exclusion from speech, and a less extensive exclusion from appearance in everyday script, of the Yhwh name. Occasionally they give insights as to what was spoken instead: within the Scriptures, 3 times Elohim (1Q1sa², see n. 14); when pressed, once אֱלֹהִים (see n. 2); attributed to Moses, Elohay (1Q32); alluding to known scriptural passages, El (1QSa,b; 4Q171 at Ps 37:40; 4Q171 frg. 5), and once Elohim (4Q176); in language of prayer and blessing, Adonay (1Q3b, Hodayot, 1Q3d). Outside of direct address or invocation, the Masada scroll of Ben Sirah shows Adonay in written use when Yhwh, and also Elohim, are being avoided. That Adonay was read for Yhwh in the Scriptures by the copyist of 1Q1sa² is a solid inference from his scribal habits (see n. 14).

LXX Ezekiel (pap. 967). In the light of that background material, a new look at the divine names in papyrus 967 of LXX Ezekiel seems called for. The names (to describe them as they are dealt with in the tradition) יִהְוֶה יִהְוֶה יִהְוֶה in combination in that order occur in Ezekiel some 205 times in a pattern of first person speech on the part of the prophet which cannot be altered without destroying a deliberate, comprehensive structure essential to the book. That structure makes sense when יִהְוֶה יִהְוֶה יִהְוֶה is understood as "My Lord, Yahweh," with "lord" not a title or name, but a personal claim by the prophet that he is servant of the Lord for whom he speaks.
Yet before 100 B.C., to judge by the \textit{Hodayot} and 1Q\textit{Isa} \textsuperscript{3}, Adonay was both a name that might be used in prayer by any Israelite, and the name regularly spoken as the substitute for Yhwh in reading the Scriptures. On the other hand, it is firmly established that in the earliest extant form of LXX Ezechiel, represented by 967, almost all אדוניא ויהוה readings in MT have as their equivalent only the single name Kyrios. The codex certainly had a Christian scribe: he transcribes "spirit" as \textit{πνεῦμα}, besides using \textit{κύριος} and a limited range of other abbreviations for \textit{ nomine saora}. The only variant he presents for אדוניא alone, in the places where MT has אדוניא ויהוה—between Ezek 11:25, where the extant folia begin, and the end of the book in 48:35, with quite limited lacunae—is אדוניא ויהוה. \textsuperscript{40}

Of this longer form there are 15 occurrences\textsuperscript{41} that tend to appear in clusters; the later MS tradition knows nothing of them,\textsuperscript{42} and they do call for an explanation. This Christian copy cannot be far from a Jewish prototype, and it shows no trace of the almost universal reworkings that yield for אדוניא ויהוה combinations like אדוניא ויהוה and אדוניא ויהוה in these places. Whether from the original translator or from later retouchings (such as Ziegler would put in the 1st cent. A.D.), we have in its 15 אדוניא ויהוה readings evidence of a Jewish source that judged the best reflection of אדוניא ויהוה in a translation to be one that followed the Palestinian \textit{qôdêsh} Adonay Elohim. This presupposes that the same source was satisfied that Kyrios in the text was a proper reflection of Hebrew יְהוָה; and it betokens acceptance also of the practice whereby Kyrios elsewhere in the translation stood (some 217 times in the book) for Yhwh occurring alone—on the basis, clearly, of the same Adonay as \textit{qôdêsh}.

\textbf{LXX \textit{Isaiahs}.} The use in the Ezechiel translation of a single Kyrios only, at least 190 times, to reflect the combination\textsuperscript{43} of Adonay and the unutterable name Yhwh is on a par with the usage in LXX \textit{Isaiahs}. Of the 17 places where MT has אדוניא ויהוה in Isaiah, it may be said that the first two (7:7; 25:28) show the translator with as yet no established pattern for rendering the combination. The following 15, however, without exception, read (following Ziegler) a single Kyrios only. \textit{The fuller expression נגזרת כח הוה occurs in Isaiah 8 times. Of these, LXX omits 2 (at 3:15 and 22:14) not necessarily, as is often affirmed, because the clause in which they stand was not present in a prototype: each is immediately followed, at the beginning of the next verse, by another formula announcing divine speech (22:15 in the very wording of 22:14); and though 1Q\textit{Isa} \textsuperscript{4} already provides section divisions in both places, at any stage of translation or transmission these heapings up of names in short sequence could have led to an abridgement. (A characteristic of the LXX translator of Isaiah is that where synonymous parallelism is at work in the poetry he not uncommonly renders only 3 cola for 2 bicolon of the Hebrew.) At 10:23 LXX \textit{Isaiahs} renders ז"ש \textit{בֵּאָרָה} by \textit{δοῦλός} alone (var., אדוניא); in the other 5 cases the rendering is אדוניא ויהוה, in which the use of Kyrios matches the 15 cases cited above.}
LXX Duodecim Prophetarum. The Minor Prophets in the received Hebrew have 23 occurrences of קֶדֶר הָיוֹת, of which 19 are in Amos. Of these, 9 (7 in Amos) are rendered in LXX by Κυπλος o θεος (LXX Amos has 6 additional occurrences of this phrase, which with παντοκρατωρ =MASTER OF THE UNIVERSE added—borrowed from 3:13—is used once more in 9:15 for MT's אלהים to end the book). The vocative appears in 2 cases as ΚΥΡΙΟΣ (Amos 7:2, 5); the other 12 instances have Kyrios once only.44

Summary for Greek MSS. A large part of the LXX prophetic corpus, therefore, with Jeremiah as the exception, comes to hand with its earliest attainable stage showing leanings toward קֶדֶר הָיוֹת as an equivalent for קֶדֶר הָיוֹת, in accordance with the Palestinian קֶדֶר. Also, as far back as it is possible to go, the Kyrios term is employed in these books for both אלהים and חכמים, on the basis of the spoken Adonay that stood for either separately; and there is a wide acceptance of one single Kyrios to stand in the place of the combined names. This cannot have come about as exclusively the work of Christian scribes. Whatever earlier incidence of IAH or אלהים there may have been in these prophetic books—compare the way reworking of the Twelve from Wadi Khabra45—the option of translating only the קֶדֶר, and doing it with more or less consistency, would seem to have been selected by sources familiar with Hebrew and not connected with the work of Origen.

NOTES

1. Suggested forms of Elohim occur in the normal script: at 5.25 קַדְרֶה אָלֹהִים as an error for יִשְׂרָאֵל (1); at VIII.15 קַדְרֶה אָלֹהִים in a quotation of Isa 40:3. In 1QSb IV.25 the same scribe writes [אָלֹהִים נָּמַצֶּה] normally, in a prayer, in his supplement to the text of Isa 40:7-8 in 1QS he writes קָדְרֶה אָלֹהִים normally. In 4QSamC he writes normally the phrase קֶדֶר אֲשֶׁר (דָּרֶךְ) at 2 Sam 14:20. Those are all the occurrences. A. M. Habermann in his Тздh w-sədeq of 1952 and again in his Тздh דֵתבנ ה-מִדְבָּר Yehuda of 1959 arbitrarily introduces קֶדֶר אֲשֶׁר.[8] into 1QS I.1.

2. Thus קָדְרֶה (= the pronoun הָיוֹת) is put forward to be a spoken substitute for the divine name; the abnormal orthography הָיוֹת suggests that this can hardly have been a routine practice for the scribe. Indeed, in the poetic section which concludes 1QS, a bicolon in X.18 reads: // יָדַע לֹא יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר קָדְרֶה אָלֹהִים, so that קָדְרֶה, this time spelled normally for the two syllable pronunciation, is offered as a parallel of sorts to YHWH; and both in Essene prayer, Ps 135:7-8 (11QPsA col. XXIV), and for the ultimate source of this in Ps 143:2, the divine name to be associated with this turn of thought is YHWH. There is thus room for sporadic occurrences (see also CD IX.5 quoting Nah 1:2); but as will be seen, the literary course of the period does not point to קָדְרֶה as a widely favored device. In this exact place (VIII.13), 4Q50 avoids the difficulty by reading קִדְרֶה (הוֹדֵעַ; see J. T. Milik's list of variants in 4Q 67 (1960) 413. Milik also (ibid.) identifies the Isaiah reference and quotation as an expansion on the original text of the Sefer.

3. Knowledge of these instances I owe to the kindness of E. C. Ulrich, by whom they are being published at about this time in BASOR 235 (1979) 1-25. The two cases in 2 Sam 15:8 are on either side of a lacuna, so that in fact only 3 of the 4 dots survive in each place.


5. In this it is being accepted that the Moreh ha-sedeq is the author of the Hodayot poems. For a fairly recent discussion, cf. M. Delcor in DBSuppl IX, fasc. 51 (Paris: Letouzey, 1978) cols. 861-864, 997-998 (this is continuous text; the intervening column numbers are on a series of plates).

6. Of course, in MT יִשְׂרָאֵל occurs also as a parallel to YHWH in Ex 15:17.

8That the occasion represented in Sir 50 is not an annual recurrence on the Day of Atonement, but the daily recurrent morning sacrifice, on a day when the high priest officiated in person, has been argued with good reason by F. O'Fearghail, "Sir 50:5-21: Yom Kippur or the Daily Whole Offering?" *JBL* 59 (1978) 301-316.


10M. H. Pope, *Song of Songs* (AB 7C; 1977) 651, 670-671 is so uncomfortable with this that he takes the surviving word to be a gloss. The second missing word (x) may indeed be Yah (cf. 1QpHab, above, p. 24, lines 6-11).

11This writer cannot resist affirming that the *mappan* of Esh 4:14 is a cipher for *YHWH*.


14There is a fully intelligible pattern to the names *Yhwh* and *YHWH* as they are dealt with by the scribe of 1QIsa. He has no problem with the name *Yhwh* as such, which he writes in his ordinary script. He always has a problem with the name *YHWH*, and when that name occurs in close conjunction with *Yhwh*, a secondary Jacob's 1968 *MT* translation, he is writing at dictation, and both he and his reader pronounce Adonay for both *YHWH* and *Yhwh*. When he hears Adonay, unless somehow warned, he automatically writes *Yhwh*. For *YHWH* alone, the received text has 22 instances. In 13 of these, 1QIsa has *YHWH* correctly; in 2 others, 3:18 and 8:7, he writes *Yhwh*, then corrects to *YHWH* above the line. (In 3:18 the *YHWH* is clearly a correction and not an addition: there are 4 dots beneath the *YHWH* to indicate it is being replaced. At 8:7 the leather is broken away just below the tops of the letters of *YHWH*, so that any dots for those letters are lost.) 5 cases have *YHWH* written and left uncorrected (6:11; 7:14; 9:7; 21:16; 28:2). There are 2 false corrections; unfortunately for readers' impressions, the first, in 3:17, is the most botched. Warned that *YHWH* occurred in the verse (the combination *YHWH* *YHWH* had been used in 3:15 for which see below), the scribe wrote it correctly; then within the same verse and the same line of script, where *YHWH* should occur, he wrote *Yhwh* (with dot marks). Learning (from the 2 *Yhwh* in one verse) that he had made an error, he "corrected" the first *Yhwh* by writing *YHWH* above it and placing 5 dots below it. He thus left both names wrong. The other place is 49:14, where he correctly wrote *YHWH* *YHWH*; then because *YHWH* immediately precedes, he "corrected" *YHWH* *YHWH*, employing a device familiar from the Massoretes to avoid the sequence *YHWH* *YHWH*. He had no averted keeping his words apart!

In 17 places the reading *YHWH* is found in the received text, and the scroll adds one, in 49:7. In 10 of these IQIsa transcribes correctly in its own orthography: *YHWH* *YHWH*. In 6 others, hearing Adonay, the scribe writes *YHWH* only. Of these, he supplements 3 (28:16; 30:15; 65:13) with an *YHWH* correctly placed above the line to provide the normal reading; the other 3 remain uncorrected (49:22; 52:4; 61:1). There are 2 unusual cases. In 50:5 *YHWH* is correctly written but *YHWH* is substituted for by the familiar *Yhwh* written out as *YHWH* (compare 49:14 above). At 61:11 for *YHWH* the scribe heard Adonay Elohim (with the qere for both words) and wrote *YHWH* *YHWH* as the equivalent (IQIsa introduces the same qere form at 61:1). The still further reasoning here, we think, is that he has had a warning when Adonay Elohim, or Adonay Elohim/ Elohim Sabaoth was read—but not necessarily before he had begun to write *YHWH*. He would then finish writing that name and leave the problem for the correction stage. A reluctance to substitute for *YHWH* once written, to say nothing of erasing the Name, will account for the nature of his corrective attempts. An intrusive *YHWH* before *YHWH* in 54:5 he simply left. The unique combination *YHWH* *YHWH* in 42:15 (MT) he seems to have found confusing; the *YHWH* he resolves it he has borrowed from the near unique (cf. 37:16) occurrence of *YHWH* in a related context at 45:18. The scribe seems not to have copied Isaiah before, and for that reason his beginning (3:15-18) includes the highest proportion of error and attempted revision.

13For the script of this as yet unpublished MS see Fig. 2, line 8 (p. 139) of F. M. Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts. In the Bible and the Ancient Near East," (Albright Festchrift) ed. G. E. Wright (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1961) 133-202, and Cross' note there. It is also available as line 15 in the same chart, enlarged as plate 885 (cols. 883-886) with the "Qumran" article in fasc. 51 of *DESuppL* (Paris: Letouzey, 1978).

14Of this Psalms scroll, published by J. A. Sanders in DJD IV (1965) and again in The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll,
(Ithaca, NY: Cornell, 1967), the present writer has by now formed the following estimate: It is a copy, from the 1st half of the 1st cent. B.C., of an instruction book for budding Levite choristers at the Jerusalem temple in the time of the Oniad high priests, c. 200 B.C. It is based on the last third of the canonical Psalter (Pss 101-150) with added materials, of which a limited amount was introduced during its reemployment among the Essenes at Qumran.

It accounts for the emphasis on David ("author" of the Psalms), plus the various traces of liturgical adaptation and regrouping (cf. CBQ 35 [1973] 195-205; also "Qumran and Old Testament Criticism," in qumran : es piété, es théologie et son milieu, ed. M. Delcor, Louvain/Gembloux: Duculot, 1978, pp. 171-172). Finally, it explains how Ps 119, which occupies 8 columns of the scroll, could be functional in this anthology.

17J. van der Ploeg, "Fragments d’un manuscrit de Psaumes de Qumran (11QPsa)," RB 74 (1967) 408-412; pl. xviii.
20The extra-canonical texts have been published by J. Starcky, "Psaumes apocryphes de la grotte 4 de Qumran (4QPsa VII-X)," RB 63 (1965) 353-371; Planche III.
22DJD I, 136, 153-155; photos in DJD I, Plate XXXI, plus J. C. Trever’s "Completion of the Publication of Some Fragments from Qumran Cave I," RB 5 (1966) 323-344, see plate IVd.
24The writer first described this scroll in CBQ 17 (1955) 162.

27On this and the following, extensive background materials and bibliography are gathered in J. A. Fitzmyer’s lately expanded study of "The Semitic Background of the New Testament kyrie-Leiio." in A Wandering Aramaean: Collected Aramaic Essays (SBLS 25; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979) 115-142.


29Das Septuaginta Papyri..., Heidelberg: Winter, 1905, 86-93; Tafel 57G.
31This transplant of the Gospel/Psalms text, with uncertainty in the copy we have as to whether Aramaic or Hebrew is to be favored (but with a leaning to the "Dabathni of the Hebrew Ps 119 (22-2, which Origen presumably opted for), into an onomasticon of Hebrew names has had a strange afterlife. It is this that accounts for the form of the Gospel verse in codex Bezae in Mt., the African Old Latin Bobbio codex in Mk., and a scattering of Old Latin MSS in both Gospels, plus the Codex Bobiensis (I) of codex B in Mt. The influence reaches from the Bobbio Gospels (K) into the Codex of St. Patrick, in a forthcoming article on this last association the present writer had mentioned Origen, without awareness of the Heidelberg papyrus reading.
32The announced publication of Z. Aly, Three Roles of the Early Septuagint, Genesis and Deuteronomy... Plates and Notes... in Collaboration with the Association Internationale de Papyrologie, which would include 847, the present writer has not seen.
35Les documents d’Aquila (VTSup 10; Leiden: Brill, 1963) the fragments were already described by B. in RB 60 (1953) 18-29.
36Manuscript, Society and Beliefs, especially pp. 33-34 and Appendix I, pp. 76-77, but see also the Index.

So with J. Lust, "'Non Seigneur Jahweh' dans le texte hébreu d'Ezekiel," ETL 44 (1968) 482-488, following L. Cerf and J. Herrmann.

By contrast, the systematic appraisal of IQIsa as an "addition" to the text throughout Ezekiel in the apparatus to BHS, appealing to 967 as the evidence, does not make sense.

Kase's discussion (p. 58) included 9 anarthrous instances (Ko 65) drawn from codex B of Ezek 45-48 before these chapters were recovered in the Cologne acquisition of that part of 967. See for the present status J. van Haelst, Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens (Paris: Sorbonne, 1976) no. 315, pp. 115-117 and D. Fraenkel's Appendix to J. Ziegler, Ezekiel (Septuaginta XVI,1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht) in printings from 1977 on.

16:8,19,43,62, 17:9,16,19; 24:3,9; 34:17; 39:5,29; and (following ch. 39) 37:3,5,9.

MS 62 at 16:8 derives its one agreement with 967 from Aquila; 449 in 37:3 and Latin witnesses in 4 cases only (3 are from Jerome) must be presumed coincidence.

Ant. 1.10 (988), 4th cent., supports 967 in reading a single Kyrios only, at 34:20, in such an instance.

For Isaiah and the Minor Prophets as well as for Ezekiel, the figures given are based on the text as established by J. Ziegler for the Göttingen Septuaginta.

None of these passages seems to have survived in the scroll fragments from the Wadi Rhabra in Palestine.

This article was first conceived as a summary of my revised dissertation, entitled The Greek Text of Judges: Recensional Developments. It will constitute such, but with the addition of some new results and further reflection.

The major emphasis of this study has been an examination of the textual affiliation of the Vaticanus family of Judges, which consists of Biruaq and efsz as the primary witnesses, with jm(o)q joining in secondarily.

When this family is tested against the now quite extensive body of published kaige characteristics, the results are conclusive. It clearly stands within this recension for the whole of Judges. Of the thirty characteristics which are applicable to Judges, sixteen positively support the identification, with twelve of these resting on a base of at least three and normally many more examples. Those which could be considered negative evidence come to five at the most, and three of these are questionable as to their validity. Of the remaining nine, eight are neutral, and one is mixed in Judges.
This conclusion is further strengthened by several additional characteristics which can be identified elsewhere in the kaige material and appear also in the B family of Judges. Those already discussed in GTJ are the following: הֶנָא (and cognates) = אֶסְכֶּנָא (and cognates), לֹא (all forms of the verbal root) = אֶסְכֶּנָא (and cognates), יָעַף (all forms of the verbal root) = אֶסְכֶּנָא (and cognates), עַל = אֶסְכֶּנָא, לֹא = אֶסְכֶּנָא, לֹא = אֶסְכֶּנָא.

In addition, the following three newly-discovered kaige characteristics also appear in the B family of Judges and further strengthen the above argument. The first is הָרָם = אֶסְכֶּנָא. Revision can be seen in Judges, 2 Kings, Isaiah (though this evidence is qualified), Jeremiah, and Job. Exodus 32:18, although Field records the α' and θ' reading as a form of θεος, must be left in abeyance in light of the uncertain retroversion of Syriac תָּנָא. The second newly-proposed characteristic is מָא (all forms of the verbal root) = מָא. The equivalence appears as a kaige trait most clearly in Judges, where it stands in the kaige text three times, each time against a different rendering in the OG. It can also be seen in the readings of Aquila which involve מָא, most often against a different OG, and in the sixth column of Exodus and Job. The more frequent occurrence of the compound הָרָם מָא in the sixth column may point to a distinctive rendering on the part of the second-century Theodotion, if he is demonstrated to have been a distinct reviser in his own right.

The third characteristic is מָא (both noun and verb) = מָא. It appears in Judges, in 2 Kings, in the remains of the Three for Isaiah, Hosea, Psalms, and Job, and in the α' text of Daniel. Frequently the OG differs, suggesting revision in the later texts. It is noteworthy that, in this case, no contrary example appears anywhere in the kaige material or in any of the Three.

There are other characteristics which can be identified in the kaige text of Judges but which do not appear in the kaige material generally. These serve to illustrate the distinctiveness of this section of the kaige recension and indicate the need for the further study of all members of the recension in order to discern their respective differences. Such can be assumed, given the likelihood of multiple revisers working within the kaige movement. Those distinctive features in the kaige text of Judges thus far discovered include the following:

A detailed study of six chapters of Judges, selected from the early, middle, and late sections of the book, has yielded the following conclusions relative to the other Greek families and some of the other witnesses to the text. The best avenue to the OG of Judges is through the text of Lucian, apart from the kaige movement. This possibility will be discussed further below.
especially when it agrees with υ, demonstrating that the reading in question is prior to the revision of historical Lucian. The A family is primarily Hexaplaric. υ is a mixed text, agreeing most often with A, L, Υ, and υ against the B family, but, on the other hand, showing more agreement with the B family than does any of the other groups. The influence of the sixth column is also present, though not to be associated with υ's agreement with the kaige text.

The analysis of the remains of the Hexapla in Judges is more involved and can only be briefly reviewed here. In GTJ the fifth and sixth columns are dealt with specifically. The Vorlage of the fifth column is OG. Kaige type revision, however, can be discerned. Furthermore, there is evidence that Origen drew for his revisional work on a source which was even more Hebraizing than the kaige text and that this source was, in fact, the text of Aquila. Origen also drew on the sixth column in the process of his revision.

A study of the sixth-column citations preserved for Judges leads to two primary conclusions. One is that the Vorlage of that material is the OG; the other is that this Vorlage has been extensively revised toward a Hebrew text like the present MT. Examples of the evidence for these conclusions may briefly be set forth as follows, examples (a) and (b) illustrating the OG Vorlage, and examples (c) and (d) illustrating the revisions which appear in the sixth column of Judges:

(a) 4:21a δῆμος; 3', A, L, K, Σ, Z: ηοιχη; B: εν χωκη

The kaige text renders the Hebrew more literally by reproducing the preposition explicitly, while 3' retains the OG.

(b) 7:21a. ψυχ; 3', A, L, K, Σ, Z: εναστος; B: αυτο

Again 3' retains the OG, here vis-à-vis an established kaige characteristic in the B family.

(c) 2:5 ἁναπάτης; A, L, K, Σ, Z: διά τοῦ ποιήσει; 3': διὰ τοῦ ποιήσει

Although both 3' and B (together with 3) have a plural verb, only 3' pluralizes the OG verb. (The agreement between B and 3 is noteworthy, but not typical in Judges.)

(d) 9:11b διαφέρειν τοῦ οὐδῆς; A, L, K, B-Fam: (του) οἰκεῖν (των) Εὐλογί; 3': (του) οἰκεῖν Κ επὶ Λ (των) Εὐλογί; B (Vaticanus only): κυνοσθήν επὶ των Εὐλογί; 3': ηυθοις επὶ των Εὐλογί;

The Hebrew preposition, apparently not expressed explicitly in the OG, is filled in by Origen under the asterisk, in Vaticanus, and in 3'. The verb is rendered most literally in Vaticanus; another translation is uniquely present in the sixth column.

The great majority of the sixth-column readings of this latter type, representing revision from the OG, are unrelated either to the kaige characteristics specifically or to the
"kaige" text generally. Similarly, all of those sixth-column readings which show the OG preserved and those which have been left unassigned due to their ambiguity are unrelated either to the "kaige" characteristics specifically or to the "kaige" text generally. Thus, a disjunction can be clearly affirmed between the two: in Judges the sixth column is not to be classified as a "kaige" text. It does not agree with the "kaige" text of Judges, nor can its author be regarded as a "kaige" reviser in his own right. 38 Yet he is a careful reviser who has altered his Greek Vorlage extensively to make it conform more closely to the Hebrew text before him.

In GTJ it is proposed that, on the basis of presently limited evidence, this reviser be identified as the traditional Theodotion of the second century. In support of this identification are the label "5" which attaches to the material, 39 the tendency to transliterate (Theodotion's chief identifying characteristic), 40 and the rendering of 7732 by 人大常委 or 人大常委 ("kaige = 𡎚故"). 41

If this proposal should prove to be correct, it would call for the dissociation, at least in part, of the labels "Theodotion" and "kaige." For those books in which the 5 material is "kaige," the presumption would be that Theodotion used a "kaige" Vorlage. In these cases, the need for his own further revision would, frequently at least, have been minimal. 42 In Judges, however, his base text was the OG, 43 and he revised it extensively. 44 Further study of Theodotion should be directed to the tasks of identifying his Vorlage in selected texts and then of isolating and analyzing his own revisional work upon that Vorlage. Comparable results from elsewhere in the remains of the sixth column will be necessary in order to confirm the present proposal that second-century Theodotion be reinstated as a reviser in his own right and distinguished from the "kaige" school.

It should be said that other interpretations of the data from Judges are possible. Perhaps the most plausible alternative would be to argue that, since the sixth column of Judges is non-"kaige" (typologically), it is also pre-"kaige" (chronologically) and represents revisional work which was carried out prior to the "kaige" movement. 45 Another possibility would be simply to leave this reviser unnamed, or to produce an entirely new label. 46 The above proposal, however, appears to this writer to be the most likely at present, though it is offered with the recognition that more extensive data will be required for a firm conclusion.

In summary, several conclusions from the evidence examined in Judges seem especially significant. The B family is a part of the "kaige" recension; Barthélemy's identification is sound. The A family is both earlier (in that it preserves the OG more extensively than B) and later (in the high proportion of Hexaplaric influence it demonstrates). The sixth column is based on an OG Vorlage, but it has undergone systematic revision, not to be classified as "kaige," toward a Hebrew text like the Massoretic Text.
NOTES

1Harvard Semitic Monographs 23; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1980 [hereafter GTJ].

2This follows the manuscript groupings of J. Soinalon-Soininen, Die Textformen der Septuaginta-Hermeneutik der Richterbuches (Helsinki, 1951), pp. 20-21. Other families of the Greek Judges are as follows: A( sabot, KZogn, (D)ptv [hereafter L, the Lucanian family of Judges], and M/NHyb [hereafter K, for Koiné]. For a helpful survey of past study of the present subject, see Soinalon-Soininen, pp. 7-15. Since that time, note should be taken especially of Joseph Schreiner, Septuaginta-Masora des Buches der Richter (Rome, 1957) and Robert G. Boling, Judges: Introduction, Translation, and Notes (The Anchor Bible; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1975). The sigla ß and Ý represent the Syro-Hexapla and Old Latin, respectively.

3Leonard Greenspoon, who contributed to the last issue of this Bulletin, has collected and organized all of the kaige characteristics discovered up to 1977, plus some which he newly discovered, in his Harvard dissertation, "Studies in the Textual Tradition of the Book of Joshua," pp. 344-50. To this should be added ßUV = ελονά from Dominique Barthélemy, Isé divorcés d’aquila (VTSup 10; Leiden, Brill, 1968), pp. 10, 74. Note also the new equivalence K +% = µατας, which Greenspoon cited from my dissertation, has been removed from the revised GTJ and that the new characteristic K +% = ονοματος has been added (GTJ, 148).

4It was Barthélemy who first proposed the identification of the B family in Judges as a member of the kaige recession in ḫa, pp. 34-35, 47, 49, 55, 60, 62, 66-68, 67-70, 78, etc.

5The six characteristics are: ÛUV/ΞUV = κωλυς, έσης (used as an indefinite pronoun) = αναφ, Εήμ - σαπονέων (και-σαπονέων), λεία = κερατινι, λέιν = εγώ εμί, λέίν = εισέρχων, δοέ = συνάχω, ρήμα = εν ουσίανις, πέπ = συνίσταμα, ζῆρι = σύνοικα, διόμ = σούρ, βρέχω = εν μεσο, ρήμ ( appropriations) = εισέρχω, ρήμ = συνάχω, άνω = νυστατος/καί = γονασθε. θελ = έκμ. See GTJ for the specific references involved in these and the following sets of data.

6ΡΥ/ΞΡΥ = στήλως, the elimination of the historical present, misc. πετάω, έρμι - ωρωλ, ήλι簸 - εν γατον εισ/εισάγοντα. The first, third, and last are questionable; see GTJ for details. The third can be definitely ruled out as a kaige characteristic. The first appears twice, and the others appear only once. Experience shows that such limited evidence is inconclusive.

7These eight all show the kaige reading in the B family, but it appears in other families as well. Therefore, while they may represent revision which has spread to the other texts, this cannot be demonstrated. The characteristics are: Εήμ = forms of εναντίο, άναφ = ονα κατά, είνα του, είνα τοι του αναν, έσης = ταχυνω, ματας άναφ = αυθεν εν οσια, έσης άναφ = αυθεν την δυνατείας, φορέω = κερατινω, ζῆρι = κερατινω, θελ = καταφεκ.

8ονομάτευς (in a context of aorists). It can be noted that this characteristic is mixed in other kaige material as well.

9The discussion of these characteristics constitutes chapter two of GTJ. έσης = αναφ and άναφ have also been discussed in Eugene Charles Ulrich, The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus (Harvard Semitic Monographs 19; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978), pp. 100-1, and 111-12. They were included earlier in Ulrich’s dissertation of 1975 and in mine of 1973, having been discovered independently in the course of the respective dissertation research.

10Judg 5:31. The B family (hereafter B) has a form of δωδεκάς, whereas A, L, K, ß and Ý all have a form of δωδεκά. In Judg 6:12, all Greek families have δωδεκά, so that revision cannot be affirmed there.

112 Kings 18:20, where the Lucanian family (μορφος) omits any rendering of δωδεκά. All of the other examples in 2 Kings, in each of which δωδεκά is translated by a Lucanian δωδεκά, simply continue the formulaic expression already established in 1 Kings (1 Kings 15:23; 16:5, 27; 22:46; 2 Kings 10:34; 13:8, 12; 14:15, 28; 20:20). In this case kaige revision was not strong enough to break the formulaic pattern, but it does appear when the formula is not involved, i.e., in 2 Kings 18:20.

12Isa 36:5. The Old Greek (hereafter OG) omits δωδεκά. The reference is parallel to 2 Kings 18:20, discussed above, where the Lucanian reading is similar to the OG here. In 28:6, however, is contrary, at least in regard to έφ’, which has ψαρος, though έφ’ has the kaige word (as also in 30:15 and 36:5). In 3:25 έφ’ has a form of δωδεκά; all of those έφ’ references stand against a different OG or an OG omission. If a kaige Vorlage were to be demonstrated for έφ’ in Isaiah, this would be significant.

13Jer 10:6. The OG omits, but the asterisked addition of έφ’ has δωδεκά.

14Job 4:14, which has έφ δωδεκά.

15In Ps 20:7 Field renders the same Syrian term by a form of δωδεκά with a form of δωδεκά as an alternative.
This would be in accord with the equivalence τοιοντι = οὐκ εἴπετο noted by O'Connell for the sixth column of Exodus (Kevin G. O'Connell, *The Theodotionic Revision of the Book of Exodus* [Harvard Semitic Monographs 1; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972], p. 318 [hereafter TBE]).


18Exod 24:16; 25:8 (ος ἂν); Jer 7:3; Ps 65:5, 66:7; 139:9; Job 11:14 (= α', σ'); 38:19 (= θ'). The equivalence does not appear in Aquila in Isa 8:18 (Theodoret omits this part of the quotation by Eusebius); Jer 48:28; 49:16; Ezek 17:23a; and Ps 68:19 (which may be the OG retained).

19Exod 25:8 (ος ἂν); Job 11:14 (= α', σ'); 38:19 (= α').

20Isa 32:16 (= α', σ'); 34:17 (= α', σ'); Jer 33:16 and 46:26 (both filling in an OG minus and following an asterisk); Ps 68:7; 78:6; 139:9 (the last two of which are identical with the OG); Job 18:15; 29:15 (both with Σ).

21If this is a correct interpretation, then Isa 8:18; Ps 65:5; and Job 26:5 would represent inconsistency (though Ps 65:5 could be a preservation of the OG).


232 Kings 19:30.

24I.e., Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion.

25Isa 11:1 (α', σ'); 14:29 (α', σ'); 27:6 (α', σ', θ'); 53:2 (α', σ', θ').

26Hos 9:16 (α', σ').

27Ps 52:7 (α', σ' [differently]); 80:10 (σ' [21]).

28Job 8:17 (θ'); 18:16 (X: α'); 19:28 (X: α'); 29:19 (X: α'); 30:4 (α', θ'; σ' [diff.]); 31:8 (σ'); 36:30 (θ'; α', σ' [diff.]).

29Dan 11:7. The conclusion of A. Schmitt, *Stammt der Aegyptische "Ein" Text bei Daniel wirklich von Theodotion?* (Göttingen, 1966) must be held in abeyance until all of the sixth-column material has been analyzed. In this study, the sixth column is treated as homogeneous, with the exception of the Minor Prophets and by (2 Sam 11:2-1 Kings 2:11 according to H. St. J. Thackeray, "The Greek Translators of the Four Books of Kings," *JPS* 8 [1907] 266-67; but better expanded to

2 Sam 10:1-1 Kings 2:11 according to James Donald Shenkel, *Chronology and Revisional Development in the Greek Text of Kings* [Harvard Semitic Monographs 3; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968]. Though Barthélemy recognizes the uncertainty of the identification and, at least by implication, the need of a complete analysis, he does classify the sixth column as kaige, with the two exceptions mentioned above (DA, p. 47, [cf. n. 1 esp.], 128-36, particularly 125-60). The sixth column of Exodus has been confirmed as a kaige text (TBE). On the other hand, the sixth column of Judges must be excluded from the kaige group. In light of the Judges material (for which see below), several possibilities exist for the θ' text of Daniel.

30These are all discussed in chapter three of *GTJ*.

31The literal rendering is employed in the B family of Judges before a suffix whose antecedent is ιηη (but not before ιηη explicitly). Both cases are rendered literally in the kaige text of Samuel-Kings (CRDK, 13-17).

32In Samuel-Kings, the kaige rendering is εἰς οἱ ἄνων (DA, pp. 76-80).

33This discussion is abstracted from chapter four of *GTJ*, though the order of the discussion is modified in part.

34I.e., in agreement with Origen's fifth column.

35Of the total of 341 citations, at least 124 appear to be best classified as OG.

36In the terminology which Cross has recently proposed, the "Rabbinical recension" (Frank Moore Cross, "Problems of Method in the Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible," pp. 31-54 of The Critical Study of Sacred Texts, ed. Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty [Berkeley Religious Studies Series, 1979], p. 38). Those which show such revision amount to a total of seventy.

Although by the rather stringent standards applied in *GTJ*, only 59 of these were classified as the work of the sixth-column revisor, his influence is almost certainly much more extensive than that, e.g., he is likely responsible for many of the 128 readings which were left unassigned (due to their being common to other major Greek families and distinct from the kaige text, yet demonstrably neither closer to nor more distant from MT than is kaige).

The most significant of those 59 readings which represent revision unique to the sixth column (1:4b; 2:5; 14b; 3:3; 19d; 4:14, 18c, 23a; 5:12, 14b, 16a, 17, 21b, 23b, 25, 26, 27a; 6:22; 7:11, 12; 8:13c, 18; 9:11b, 27; 10:4; 11:35; 12:10; 14:14b; 16:29b; 19:16, 22a, 25b).
The same rendering also appears in Vaticanus alone in vv 9 and 13 and most likely constitutes a \textit{kaige} revision which does not appear in the entire family.

Most telling for the latter point are the thirty-four instances in which the sixth column retains an OG rendering against a specifically \textit{kaige} characteristic in the B family, especially the seventeen in which the characteristic has been confirmed for the \textit{kaige} family generally (these latter are underlined in the following list: 1:5b; 4:18a; 5:20; 6:9; 7:21a, 22b, 23; 8:13a; 9:17; 10:5b; 11:34; 18:28a; and 19:4, 15, 20, 25b). The seven instances in which a \textit{kaige} characteristic may appear in the sixth column do not offset the conclusion. In two cases (involving three references), the actual characteristics are qualified \cite{GTJ}; in two others, contrary examples also appear in the sixth column of Judges \cite{GTJ}. The other references are 7:22a (where considerable mixture has taken place among the Greek families) and 13:8b. In the last instance (involving δύο = \textit{φωσκείον}), Smith has noted that all Theodotionic citations for the Hebrew verb in question have a form of \textit{φωσκείον}. This could indicate that another characteristic of Theodotion is in view here, apparently coinciding in this case with the \textit{kaige} rendering.

There are actually six examples (five according to Michael Smith \cite{GTJ}); in two others, contrary examples also appear in the sixth column of Judges \cite{GTJ}. The other references are 7:22a (where considerable mixture has taken place among the Greek families) and 13:8b. In the last instance (involving δύο = \textit{φωσκείον}), Smith has noted that all Theodotionic citations for the Hebrew verb in question have a form of \textit{φωσκείον}. This could indicate that another characteristic of Theodotion is in view here, apparently coinciding in this case with the \textit{kaige} rendering.

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Thus far in the study of Theodotion, transliteration has been consistently noted as his major characteristic. It is significant that seven of these eight instances of transliteration in the sixth column of Judges are unrelated to the \textit{kaige} family (which also, in other references, evidences the tendency to transliterate; for the latter reference, see the appendix to \textit{GTJ}).

The use of \textit{καταφωτίζω} in the 8' material to render \textit{για} (in \textit{καταφωτίζω}, pointed out earlier in this article, should be added to this collection of evidence).
THE TRANSLATOR OF THE SEPTUAGINT OF ISAIAH
AND "RIGHTEOUSNESS"

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There have been numerous studies involving Greek words occurring in the New Testament, most recognizing the need to examine Septuagintal usage. Yet all too often the LXX has been treated in a mechanical manner on the basis of word-translation statistics, generally with the unexpressed (and unrecognized?) assumption that the context of LXX has the same meaning as that of MT. No account is taken of possible variation among LXX translators, and often the LXX is treated indiscriminately with inter-testamental literature. On this account alone there is need for studies which take into account the Septuagintal literary context. One must exegete the LXX material in its own right, examining not only how words are translated but also how the translators understood the contexts of those words.

On the other hand, theological studies which start with the LXX are sparse. A perusal of the Bibliography by Brock, Fritsch and Jellicoe and of the "Record of Work Published, in Hand, or Projected" in issues of this Bulletin demonstrates an overwhelming emphasis on textual matters and translation techniques. Necessary as such studies are, the plea of Fritsch needs repeating: "scholars must pay more attention to the theology of the LXX.... [It] reflects much of the theological ferment which was going on within Judaism at this time." Of particular interest is the book of Isaiah. The oft-noted freedom which the Isaiah translator exercised means that it is easier to see his own theological predilections!

These are some of the factors which led to my study which sought to determine how the translator of Isaiah interpreted one important Hebrew root, פֶּתַי: what he understood to be the meaning of the Hebrew words he read and of the Greek words he used—with particular emphasis on both MT and LXX contexts. The purpose of the present article is to summarize the method of investigation (which may provide a model for other studies) and to describe some of the conclusions.

Method of Investigation

(1) The investigation first seeks to determine secular Greek usage of δικαίο- words, apart from Jewish influence. This is necessary so that one can compare the translator's usage with that in non-Jewish secular Greek, so enabling a better understanding of possible Jewish influence on the translator's language.

(2) Then in the book of Isaiah, it looks at each occurrence of the verbs, פֶּתַי and δικαίοוν, and at each "unusual" translation of nouns (i.e., instances of departure from וֹפַי = δικαίוּת). One cannot assume that, because a particular
Hebrew word is "usually" rendered by a particular Greek word, therefore there is considerable semantic overlap. Much can be learned by looking at possible contextual reasons for "unusual" renderings, on the initial heuristic assumption that the translator intended his reading to make sense. In the case of our study this assumption led to a consistent picture of some aspects of the translator's theology and technique.

(3) In each case, it examines the occurrence in its literary context (this may be a single verse, a group of verses or a whole chapter, as deemed relevant), determining (a) what is the meaning of the MT, as seen by various modern exegetes, and (b) how the translator interpreted the context, in light of which his understanding of particular words may be seen.

(4) Within such a context there are often cases of (π)πς = δικαιοσύνη or of some other translation of note. Thus the occasion where the context is discussed, by reason of (2), is also the occasion for the discussion of these other translations. Investigation in detail was made of 41 out of 61 instances of (π)πς, and 30 out of 50 instances of δικαιοσύνη. A check has shown no reason to suspect that there is any difference in the uses in the passages not examined in detail.

(5) Since (π)πς is occasionally translated by words other than those related etymologically to δικαιοσύνη, account must be taken of how these Greek words are used elsewhere in Isaiah. And since δικαιοσύνη occasionally translates words other than (π)πς, account must be taken of how these words are translated in other contexts in Isaiah. This is not, strictly speaking, a complete investigation of the translator's concept of "righteousness" or "justice" (the limitations of these English words are recognised). To do so would require taking account of other ethical, judicial and soteriological words in both Hebrew and Greek. Nevertheless, the investigation of the translator's handling of certain important words, with attention given to exegesis of passages, does enable one to make several major observations about the translator's theology and his understanding of certain words.

Summary of Results and Conclusions

I. Translation.

In several of the passages examined in detail it is evident that the translator has given a connotation different from that seen in MT by modern exegetes, or at least has seen fit to emphasize one aspect. Sometimes he seems caught up with one idea, frequently a contrast (often from one verse, and usually present in MT), and carries on that emphasis for several verses. For example, in 1:19f; 33:1-8 and chapter 59 he emphasises the distinction between two groups of people, and in chapter 28 he heightens the two alternatives of false hope in allies, leading to destruction, or hope based in the Lord. Similarly, ethical exhortation to Israel may be strengthened, e.g., 32:16f; 54:13f; 51:1-8. Occasionally words applied to Yahweh in MT are applied to Israel in LXX
and vice versa (e.g., 1:24f; 51:9f; 61:8; cf. 41:1-4; also 55:3). In most of these cases MT is clear, with LXX almost certainly based on MT, but differing in exact meaning.

There may be some reflections of the translator's historical background in his emphasis upon Israel's being ill-treated and oppressed, and also in the LXX reference to proselytes (54:15f; also 14:1f, as in MT, and perhaps 50:9b-11 and 45:15-25; cf. 56:8), together with the appeal to the "islands" to "be renewed" (41:1). Through Israel's obedience God's law or the knowledge of his ways are made known to the nations (42:1-9 LXX; 51:4-7 LXX; 2:4; cf. 50:9-11 LXX). Especially in view of the reference to proselytes in LXX 42:1-9, together with the implied call to become proselytes in the midst of warnings of judgment (LXX 50:9b-11; 45:15-25), it is apparent that at least for the translator, if not for MT, this refers to present responsibilities as well as to the results of a restored Zion. 4

II. Verb Forms

In every occurrence of ὅλωσα in Isaiah, except 5:23, there are indications in the immediate context that the translator has, in varying degrees, understood MT differently from modern exegetes.

A. The Active of ὅλωσα

The four occurrences of the active, ὅλωσα, are in forensic settings. The subject is either God (50:8; 53:11) or leaders whose responsibility it is to give judicial decisions (1:17; 5:23). In each case there appears to be a general connotation of "to see that justice is done to a person, to treat justly," the particular meaning in a given context being provided by the context itself. Thus in 5:23 the object τον ἄνθρωπον at first sight suggests "punish," but the addition of εὐερήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον shows that in fact an unjust situation is being envisaged, i.e., acquittal. In both 50:8 and 53:11 (here contrary to MT) the object is the servant who has suffered unjustly, but God is to correct the injustices.

B. The Passive

The four occurrences of the passive, ὅλωσα, are in contexts where LXX and MT differ. Although the LXX description is of judgment, the form of the passage is unlike the trial or disputation speech form seen in MT by recent exegetes.

In 43:26 the most likely interpretation of LXX is that, if Israel comes to God and confesses her sins, then she will "be treated as righteous," i.e., enjoy the blessings of a harmonious relationship with God. Similarly, in 45:25, if the nations are willing to worship God, they too will enjoy the covenant blessings with Israel; otherwise they will be punished.

In 43:9 "have justice done to one" (spoken of the rulers of the nations) is the most likely meaning. Perhaps this leads on to "be punished" for their treatment of Israel.

Finally, 42:21 seems to refer to God's being treated justly, i.e., obeyed and praised.
It should be stressed that only in 42:21 is it possible for ἀδικήσας to have the same connotation as ἴσις, although here too the Greek probably has a different connotation.

Thus we cannot, for Isaiah, "assume that the Greek translators know the force of the Qal of ἴσις."^5

In 42:21; 43:9; and probably 45:25 (but not 43:26) the meaning is in accord with usual Greek usage, "to have justice done to one, be treated justly." Further, in 43:9 and 45:25 it is possible, although admittedly not necessary, that punishment is involved. In each of the four occurrences the action referred to is corrective, restoring a "just" situation. In 43:26 restoration of a state of "righteousness" in the relationships between God, Israel and the nations is also in view, but here (and possibly also in 45:25) forgiveness is included: one will be "treated as being 'in the right'" if one (Israel or the nations) recognizes one's sins or failure to give God the allegiance due to him.

It may be countered that perhaps the translator has merely translated ἴσις with ἀδικήσας woodenly. That he consistently and uniquely so translated cannot be gainsaid. It is also apparent that he has used ἀδικήσας because of the presence of ἴσις in MT (perhaps under the influence of some tradition which he had inherited). The fact, however, that his treatment of contexts varies from MT suggests that he believed his translation to be not inappropriate.

C. General

(1) The translator is often unaware of the specific connotation of MT, and his usage seems to be much closer to classical Greek usage: "to do to a person what is necessary to correct an act or state of injustice," i.e., predominantly forensic. All the uses in Isaiah come under this broad rubric, with one major qualification:

(2) While for the Greeks emphasis is placed upon the need for corrective punishment as the major way injustice is corrected, for the translator of Isaiah the emphasis is upon vindication and also upon the possibility of forgiveness if the wrongdoer genuinely confesses his wrongdoing (this use is with God as subject). Because the translation is a translation, the object of ἀδικήσας is usually not the wrongdoer, and so Hebrew emphasis is carried through into the Greek. The interplay between Greek usage and Jewish faith is seen in the addition (to both MT meaning and Greek custom) of the thought of confession as a means of avoiding punishment (cf. the thought of the later Book of Baruch, Prayer of Manasseh and Prayer of Azariah). This connotation is nowhere present in ἴσις.

(3) What is evident in the Isaiah translation is a natural consequence of the secular Greek forensic use of ἀδικήσας with a personal object (including the passive). The connotation is chiefly, but not exclusively, the positive one of "vindicate, acquit, restore to a right relationship."

III. Noun Forms

A. Use for Community or Individuals

In several places ἀδικήσας describes the state or quality of a community (Zion, Israel, the redeemed Israel)
where there is harmonious good order, everyone doing what is right (32:16f; 59:9, 14), where injustices are corrected (61:11) and evildoers removed (61:3; 32:16f).

Often there is explicit contextual reference to this "just harmony," including rulers (1:21, 16), or to the leaders either having this virtue themselves or having responsibility to bring it about in the community (9:6; 11:5; 16:5; 60:17).

At times it is clearly an ethical virtue, related to law-keeping and reverence for God (33:5, 6, 15; 56:1a; 58:2; 61:11; 64:5[6]), and contrasted with taking what is not one's own (61:8) or with "wrongdoing" (το ἄδικον, 54:14; άνομία, 5:7).

In these uses much overlap is evident between (ὁ)δικαίος referring to man and society and δικαιοσύνη in the classical Greek sense. While in Hebrew "what is right" is described in terms of the covenant relationship, a Jewish reader of the LXX would probably think in terms of God's law, but in both cases this comes from the social context of the word, rather than from the word itself. In some instances the translator appears to place more emphasis on ethical aspects than does MT (e.g., 1:27; 32:16f; 33:5f; 56:13f; 59:14; 60:17), occasionally referring to Israel (or Zion) where MT refers to Yahweh's action which is either his (ὁ)δικαίος or his bringing about (ὁ)δικαίος (33:5f; chap. 51; 54:13f; 59:14). (In 51:1-8 LXX also emphasises Israel's ethical responsibilities, but δικαιοσύνη is not used.)

In several instances (ὁ)δικαίος referring to man or society is not rendered by δικαιοσύνη:

(1) In 5:23 το δικαίον, the "right" of the innocent is used, and in 64:4(5) the standard Greek phrase, το τον δικαίον (in the following verse δικαιοσύνη is used as general virtue). Both follow normal Greek usage where δικαιοσύνη would be unusual.

(2) The adjective δικαίος is used in 32:1 to describe the ethical quality of the ruler rather than, as in MT, his task, and in 54:17 the adjective is used to assert that God will treat the Jews as "righteous" or "innocent" when others rise against them (δικαιοσύνη would be most inappropriate).

(3) In 51:1, το δικαίον "what is right," and in 51:7, κύριος as now Israel's responsibility since she has God's "law" (cf. LXX 51:4; 2:4; 42:1-4), the translator seems also to be avoiding the use of δικαιοσύνη of man when it is used in the immediate context of God's "justice" which brings deliverance to Israel and wrath to her enemies.

(4) δικαια as object of "speaking" (59:4) is a natural antonym of άνομία and άδικα.

(5) κρύεται κρίσιν (Μτ: ἡγείται δικαιοσύνη) in 11:4 is the result of the translator's emphasising the fact that the cases of the "lowly" will be heard, rather than the manner of judging (cf. 1:17).

(6) ευπραξία in 61:10 is surprising, but δικαιοσύνη as a virtue (as in 61:3, 11) would have been inappropriate here.

(7) In addition, το δικαίον occurs in 47:3 (Μτ: επι) in the Greek sense of "just penalty," imposed on Babylon.
It will be noted that in each case the translator's rendering follows Greek usage, usually following a possible MT sense.

There are no instances of δικαιοσύνη rendering man's ἄλλος, although there is a single such instance of δίκαιος (57:1). It hard to see this as introducing any covenant idea into δίκαιος (and thereby into δικαιοσύνη).

In 39:8, possibly from another translator, δικαιοσύνη translates πάντα in describing the continuing situation of Judah promised to Hezekiah. It is most unlikely that this introduces any idea of "security" into δικαιοσύνη, but rather it reflects the utter inadequacy of αλήθεια (in its Greek connotation) in the context. The translator has chosen a word which is contextually appropriate: a word to describe absence of wrongdoing and freedom from attack with consequent peace and harmony.

The only other noteworthy instance of δικαιοσύνη is its use to translate πάντα in 61:8. MT refers to Yahweh's concern, while LXX uses δικαιοσύνη to describe the human virtue opposite to ἀπαντώματα ἐπὶ αδίκιας, a common Greek usage (κακοντικος, in Greek connotation, is inappropriate).

Thus, in reference to man and society, the LXX usage in Isaiah is indistinguishable from classical Greek usage, except perhaps in that δικαιοσύνη is used more commonly than το δίκαιον. While there is considerable semantic overlap with (πράγμας αδίκως) in any case, our examination of departures from (πράγμας = δικαιοσύνη) leads to the conclusion that the translator is in fact thinking of Greek connotation. The contribution of Jewish faith and the biblical context is in the further explanation of the kinds of actions or situations which may be referred to as "righteousness," "justice" or "what is right."

B. Use in Reference to God

There are many instances where LXX refers to God's δικαιοσύνη or to his concern that δικαιοσύνη be brought about. In an overwhelming number of these, reference is clearly to God's "justice" which expresses itself in:

1. deliverance of Israel because she is being unjustly ill-treated by the nations amongst whom she dwells (46:12f; 59:17), Israel occasionally being described as righteous (63:7f);

2. punishment of evildoers (45:23; 59:17);

3. or more commonly a combination of these (41:1-13; 45:23f; 46:12f; 59:17; 61:11; 63:1).

4. In 51:4f there is also the fact that if the nations are willing to follow God's law, they too will share in the blessings; otherwise there is punishment (cf. 45:22f, and the thought of 42:4 and 54:15f).

The duality of deliverance (or vindication) and punishment is also reflected in (πράγμας, and to this extent there is semantic overlap between (πράγμας and δικαιοσύνη. However, cases where (πράγμας is not rendered by δικαιοσύνη indicate that δικαιοσύνη, in the translator's mind, means more narrowly "justice."

Although ελεός and ελευς are favourite words for the translator, only in 56:1 is το ελεός used for πράγμας, perhaps
because δικαιοσύνη is used in the same verse to refer to Israel's ethical behaviour; also there is a clear parallel in thought with 55:7 which includes ελεον and speaks of pardon for sins. On the other hand, τὸ ελεος is used in 4 of the 5 instances of Yahweh's τὸν (LXX interpretation). Only in 63:7 does δικαιοσύνη translate τὸν, ελεος having just been used for δίκαιος, and here the choice of δικαιοσύνη is appropriate in a context of God's being a "good judge" (63:7f), rather than being due to any connotation introduced into δικαιοσύνη from τὸν.

What is of note are the instances where ΠΡΤΧ is translated by ελεον (following Pentateuchal precedent for cases where δικαιοσύνη as "justice" would be erroneous). In 1:27; 28:17 and 59:16 the context has emphasised Israel's sin and God's punishment of evildoers, so Israel can only look to his "benevolent action"—in each case reference to God's "justice" would be inappropriate. (On the other hand, δικαιοσύνη in 59:17 refers to God's "justice" in punishing evildoers who ill-treat repentant Israel.) The use of δικαιοσύνη and ελεον to translate ΠΡΣ in 38:18f (a different translator?) seems to reflect a feeling on the part of the translator that αληθεία is inappropriate in the context, and so other related words have been chosen to express God's benevolent justice.

In view of the overwhelming opinion of modern exegetes (including the present writer, with some qualifications) that (Π)ΡΤΧ, especially in chaps. 40-66, is often best translated "salvation," it is of particular note that nowhere is there any translational overlap with ΠΕΝ."
on the other hand, are the two aspects of πρᾶς polarized into δικαιοσύνη and ελεημοσύνη (Dodd).

(c) Nowhere does δικαιοσύνη mean "victory," "salvation" or "deliverance" (Hill); rather the translation emphasises salvation of Israel as being an act of God's justice.

(d) The idea of the "righteousness (or justice) of God" comes straightforwardly from the classical Greek ideal of the just ruler or judge. The contribution of the Jewish context is to enable this analogy to be applied to God, but δικαιοσύνη itself has Greek connotation.

(e) Nevertheless, it must be said that, because of the contexts of (n)πρᾶς in MT, the translator uses δικαιοσύνη predominantly in contexts of God's saving action. This involves "mercy" to those who repent and who are willing to obey God's law. It is incorrect to say that the content of "mercy" is thus "supplied" (so Hill) to δικαιοσύνη.11 The Isaiah context rather serves to emphasise this possible (albeit sometimes misused and neglected) content of δικαιοσύνη in Greek usage.

IV. Jewish Greek?

For both the verb and the noun it seems evident that the translator begins with the usual secular, non-Jewish Greek meanings. These meanings do, however, undergo slight semantic expansion due to their usage within a Jewish theological framework, being used in contexts which are recognizable but perhaps uncommon in secular Greek:

(a) The use of δίκαιον chiefly, but not exclusively, in a positive sense, "do justice to, acquit, vindicate, restore to a right relationship," is an extension of the Greek forensic use with a personal object, "do to a person what is necessary to correct an act or state of injustice."

(b) The use of δικαιοσύνη and δικαίος in contexts of deliverance from unjust oppression or of pardon for those who show genuine repentance and desire to follow God's law (Jews and proselytes) is a straightforward extension to God of similar attitudes and actions by a good and wise secular ruler or judge (including, e.g., remission of a sentence for one who shows he can be corrected).

These extensions could be readily understood by anyone familiar with Greek usage, on the basis of the literary contexts in which they appear. There is no "Jewish Greek" but rather Greek words with some new associations added due to the Jewish context. Thus, for δικαιοσύνη referring to man, the Jewish context links "righteousness" with God's requirements but does not alter the basic Greek connotation of "righteousness." δικαιοσύνη ascribed to God refers to his concern to act on behalf of his people—he is "just" and acts according to "justice" to bring about a state of "justice." That God is like this is added by Jewish faith, but the translator believes that "justice" is an appropriate word to use. The historical situation of the Jews and the translator's reading of MT lead to emphasis on God's "justice" as being seen in both deliverance and punishment. The use in such new contexts may influence the later semantic development of the Greek words, but the translator clearly starts with Greek meanings.
NOTES


2 Ziegler and Seeligmann both give much evidence in support of a single translator for the whole book. My own study provided no evidence to the contrary, except perhaps for chaps. 36-39.

3 'Righteousness' in the Septuagint of Isaiah: A Contextual Study (SBLSCS 8; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979).

4 Some of these issues are discussed in detail in my book in separate chapters and appendices: the translation of ὑποτασία in Isaiah, the relationship between Israel and the nations in MT and LXX, "pity" to the wrongdoer in classical Greek, and the translation of ἀφέων, ἀδίκων- and ἀνόητον- words.

5 D. Hill, Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings (SNTSMS 5; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1967), p. 108.

6 A detailed re-examination of classical and hellenistic (non-Jewish) Greek usage of δικαιοσύνη and cognates led to a two-fold conclusion regarding δικαιοσύνη. (a) The great majority of occurrences are with an infinitive or other impersonal object, with the general idea of "deem right or appropriate" (i.e., an idiom). (b) In only 13 instances (in literature spanning 500 years) was δικαιοσύνη used absolutely or with a personal object, including 9 uses of the passive. The common translation "punish" was seen to be a special application of the more general dynamic sense, to "do (to a person, or in an absolute sense) what is necessary to correct an act or state of injustice."

7 It is unnecessary to follow J. A. Ziesler, The Meaning of Righteousness in Paul (SNTSMS 20; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1972), pp. 47-48, who looks to the use with an impersonal object to understand LXX use.


9 See note 5.

10 See note 7.

11 See note 4. In Plato, Laws 731b-d, mercy for the wrongdoer who can be cured is commendable as part of the act of justice.
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