



BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION  
FOR SEPTUAGINT AND COGNATE STUDIES

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A Note of Appreciation	1
Minutes of IOSCS Meeting	2
Financial Report	5
News and Notes	6
Record of Work Published or in Progress	9
The Divine Name at Qumran, in the Masada Scroll, and in the Septuagint <i>Patrick W. Skehan</i>	14
<i>Kaige</i> and Other Recensional Developments in the Greek Text of Judges <i>Walter Ray Bodine</i>	45
The Translator of the Septuagint of Isaiah and "Righteousness" <i>John W. Olley</i>	58

BULLETIN IOSCS

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The International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies

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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 *Bulletins* 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

4. Treasurer's Report: Balance on hand November 15, 1979:  
\$915.44

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

6. Report of the Editorial Committee (Orlinsky): SCS vols.

8 (J. W. Olley) and 9 (M. K. H. Peters) have appeared.

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
Interest on Savings	63.71
	<u>469.21</u>

EXPENDITURES

<i>Bulletin</i> 12	
Printing	385.00
Mailing Supplies	20.00
Dupl. & Postage (CSU)	135.26
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Postage of Supplies (Ulrich)	54.74
New Equipment (Peters)	10.00
	<u>605.00</u>

Income	469.21
Expenditures	605.00
NET LOSS	<u>135.79</u>

Balance on hand, Nov. 15, 1978	1051.23	
Net loss to Nov. 15, 1979	135.79	
BALANCE ON HAND, Nov. 15, 1979	<u>915.44</u>	\$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

## NEWS AND NOTES

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 Archeologist* 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 sémitisants 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 biblistes 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 hébraïque; 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

## RECORD OF WORK

## PUBLISHED OR IN PROGRESS

- Ajamian, S. Has prepared a catalogue of the detailed contents of all Armenian OT MSS. Jerusalem: St. James Press (Armenian Patriarchate) [in press].
- Baars, W. Preparing a critical edition of 4 Maccabees for the Göttingen Septuagint.
- Barthélemy, D. "La qualité du Texte Massorétique de Samuel" [see Tov (6)].
- Brock, S. P. (1) "Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 20 (1979) 69-87. (2) "Bibelübersetzungen (AT)" and "Bibelhandschriften (AT)," articles to appear in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*.
- Busto-Saiz, José Ramón. (1) "Algunas aportaciones de la *Vetus Latina* para una nueva edición crítica del libro de Tobit," *Sefarad* 38 (1978) 53-69; (2) "El léxico peculiar del traductor Aquila," *Emerita* 40 (1980) [in press].
- Charlesworth, J. H. (1) A new edition of the Pseudepigrapha [in press]. (2) "The Manuscripts of St. Catherine's Monastery," *BA* 43 (1980) 26-34; see also *BA* 41 (1978) 29-31 and 42 (1979) 174-179.
- Cowe, Peter. "The Armenian Version of Daniel and its Affinities." Thesis in progress (director: M. Stone).
- Cox, Claude E. *The Armenian Translation of Deuteronomy*. University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 2. Scholars Press [in press].
- Cross, Frank M. "The Ammonite Oppression of the Tribes of Gad and Reuben: Missing Verses from 1 Samuel 11 Found in 4QSamuel<sup>a</sup>" [see Tov (6)].
- Deboys, D. G. "The Greek Text of II Kings." Oxford thesis in progress (director: S. Brock).
- Delling, D. G. Is an excellent bibliographic resource for many aspects of the Hellenistic-Roman-Jewish world (DDR-4020 Halle/Salle. Fischer von Erlach-Strasse 45).
- van Esbroeck, M., and Stone, M. Edition of the Armenian and Georgian Fragments of Epiphanius' *De Mensuris* [in progress].

- Fernández-Marcos, Natalio. (1) *Introducción a las Versiones Griegas de la Biblia*. Textos y Estudios "Cardenal Cisneros" 23; Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1979. (2) "Hacia un léxico del griego de traducción," *Revista Española de Lingüística* 9 (1979) 489-504. (3) "ἐγγίζειν or ἐπιίζειν? in *Prophetarum Vitae Fabulosae* 12,9 and in the Septuagint," *Vetus Testamentum* 30/3 (1980) [in press]. (4) Preparing with J. R. Busto-Saiz the critical edition of Theodoret's *Quaestiones in Reges et Paralipomena*.
- Görg, M. "Ptolemäische Theologie in der Septuaginta," *Kairos* N.F. 20 (1978) 208-217.
- Goshen-Gottstein, M. "The Aleppo Codex and the Rise of the Massoretic Bible Text," *BA* 42 (1979) 145-163.
- Hanhart, R. (1) ed. *Judith*. Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum VIII,4 (Göttingen, 1979). (2) *Text und Textgeschichte des Buches Judith* (Göttingen, 1979). (3) The edition and text history of the book of Tobit [in progress].
- Henderson, William S. Review of: F. Petit, *Catena Graecae in Genesim et in Exodum: I. Catena Sinaitica*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1977) in *JBL* [in press].
- Hiebert, Robert. Dissertation on the Syro-Hexapla of Psalms (director: A. Pietersma) [in progress].
- Hyvärinen, K. *Die Übersetzung von Aquila*. Coniectanea Biblica, OT Series 10. Lund, 1977.
- Karl, Z. *Targum hashiv'im la-Torah*. Jerusalem, 1979. This is a translation into modern Hebrew of the LXX of the Pentateuch.
- Knibb, M. A. *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*. Vol. I. Text and Critical Apparatus; Vol. II. Introduction, Translation and Notes. Oxford University Press, 1978.
- Lipscomb, Lowndes. "The Armenian Adam Books." Columbia University-Union Theological Seminary thesis [in progress].
- Lust, J. "The Demonic Character of Jahweh and the Septuagint of Isaiah," *Bijdragen* 40 (1979) 2-14.
- McCrystall, A. P. J. "Studies in the Old Greek Translation of Daniel." Oxford thesis in progress (director: S. Brock).

- Min, Young-Jin. "The Minuses and Pluses of the LXX Translation of Jeremiah as Compared with the Massoretic Text: Their Classification and Possible Origins." Dissertation, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1977 (supervisors: S. Talmon and E. Tov).
- Muraoka, T. (1) "Ben Sira," translation into Japanese with an introduction and notes, in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2 (Tokyo, 1977), pp. 67-207, 365-510. (2) "Syntax of the Pronouns in the Greek Genesis," *Linguistic Studies* 15 (1976) 226-235. (3) "Some Observations on Ben Sira" (in Japanese), *Evangelical Theology* 8 (1977) 22-41. (4) "A Syntactic Problem in Lev. xix 18," *JSS* 23 (1978) 291-297. (5) "Notes on the Septuagint Version of Hosea" (in Hebrew), pp. 180-187 in *M. Wallenstein Volume*, ed. C. Rabin et al. (Jerusalem, 1979). (6) Reviews of: E. Mühlberg, *Psalmenkommentare aus der Ketenenüberlieferung*, Bd. I (Berlin, 1975); and A. Schenker, *Hexaplarische Psalmenbruchstücke* (Göttingen, 1975) in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 33 (1976) 350-351 and 351-352.
- Nyssen, Richard. "An Analysis of the Greek Witnesses to the Text of the Lament of David" [see Tov (6)].
- O'Connell, Kevin G. (1) Review of: J. W. Wevers, ed., adjuvante U. Quast, *Deuteronomium*. Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum III,2 (Göttingen, 1977), and J. W. Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Deuteronomy*. MSU 13 (Göttingen, 1978) in *JBL* [in press]. (2) Review of: A. Schenker, *Hexaplarische Psalmenbruchstücke: Die hexaplarischen Psalmenfragmente der Handschriften Vaticanus graecus 752 und Canonicianus graecus 62*. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 8. (Freiburg, Schweiz: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975) in *Religious Studies Review* [in press].
- Olley, John, W. (1) Review of: Léo Laberge, *La Septante d'Isaïe 28-33: Etude de tradition textuelle* (Ottawa, 1978) in *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 42 (1980) 103-104. (2) Review of: R. Hanhart, ed., *Judith*. Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum VIII,4 (Göttingen, 1979) and R. Hanhart, *Text und Textgeschichte des Buches Judith* (Göttingen, 1979) in *CBQ* [forthcoming].
- Orlinsky, Harry M. "Introductory Essay: On Anthropomorphisms and Anthropopathisms in the Septuagint and Targum" in the Zlotowitz volume (see below).
- Perkins, L. J. "The Textual Character of the Syro-hexaplar Version of Deuteronomy." Dissertation, Toronto, 1980. (director: J. W. Wevers).
- Peters, M. K. H. Preparing critical texts of the Bohairic for Genesis—Deuteronomy.

- Pietersma, A. (1) "David in the Greek Psalms" *VT* 30 (1980) 213-226. (2) "The Edited Text of P. Bodmer XXIV," in press for *BASP*. (3) with Susan Turner Comstock, and with assistance from H. W. Attridge, *The Apocalypse of Elijah* (Texts and Translations, Pseudepigrapha Series) [in press]. (4) with R. T. Lutz, "Jannes and Jambres" in J. H. Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* [in press]. (5) Reviews of: a) E. Tov, *The Septuagint Translation of Jeremiah and Baruch*, in *JAOS*; b) J. T. Nelis, *I Makkabeeën*, in *Bib. Or.* XXXV (1978) 304-305; c) M. Caloz, *Etude sur la LXX Origenienne du Psautier*, in *JBL* 99 (1980) 589-590. (6) Renewed SSHRC (formerly Canada Council) Extended Grant (3 years) for the classification of Psalter manuscripts.
- Pisano, Stephen. Preparing a study of differences between the Septuagint and the Hebrew texts of the books of Samuel with a view to discerning the originality and nature of each of these texts (director: D. Barthélemy).
- Rengstorff, K. H., ed. *A Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus*. Vol. III (A-II) Leiden: Brill, 1979. The final volume (P-Ω) is in press.
- Roberts, C. H. *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt*. Schweich Lectures 1977. Oxford University Press, 1979. Chapter II, "Nomina Sacra: Origins and Significance," is especially relevant to LXX-MSS.
- Schenker, Adrian. *Psalmen in den Hexapla: Die hexaplarische Randlearten der HS Ottobonianus graec. 398 zu Ps 24-32*. *Studi e Testi* [in press].
- Shanidze, Mzekala. *P<sup>c</sup>salmunt<sup>c</sup>a Cignis Žpeli K<sup>c</sup>art<sup>c</sup>uli T<sup>c</sup>argmanebi* [The Old Georgian Translation of the Book of Psalms]. Tbilisi: "Mec<sup>c</sup>niereba" Publishing House, 1979.
- Silva, Moises. (1) "Bilingualism and the Character of Palestinian Greek," *Biblica* [in press]. (2) *Biblical Words and their Meaning: An Advanced Introduction to Lexical Semantics* (includes a chapter on "Semantic Change and the Role of the Septuagint") [submitted for publication]. (3) "The New Testament Use of the Old Testament: Text Form and Authority" [in preparation].
- Soisalon-Soininen, I. (1) "The Rendering of the Hebrew Relative Clause in the Greek Pentateuch," *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies* I, 401-406. 1977. (2) "Verschiedene Wiedergaben der hebräischen status-constructus-Verbindung im griechischen Pentateuch," *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* 41-42 (1976-77) 214-223. (3) "Die Wiedergabe einiger hebräischer, mit der Präposition be ausgedrückter Zeitangaben in der

- Septuaginta," *Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute XI* (1978) 138-146. (4) "Die Konstruktion des Verbs bei einem Neutrum Plural im griechischen Pentateuch," *VT* 29 (1979) 189-199. (5) "Beobachtungen zur Arbeitsweise der Septuaginta-Übersetzer," *Jubilee Volume I. L. Seeligmann* [in press].
- Sollamo, Raija. *Renderings of Hebrew Semiprepositions in the Septuagint*. *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Dissertationes Humanarum Litterarum* 19 (Helsinki, 1979).
- Stone, Michael E. (1) *The Armenian Version of IV Ezra (editio major)*. University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 1. Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979. (2) "Concerning the Seventy-Two Translators: Armenian Fragments of Epiphanius' *On Weights and Measures*," *HTR* [in press]. (3) See van Esbroeck (above). (4) Work on an edition of the Armenian *Penitence of our Father Adam*, a previously unknown Adam book for CSCO. (5) *Anti-quariaat Spinoza*, 26 Den Textstraat, Amsterdam, has copies of M. E. Stone, *Armenian and Biblical Studies* (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1976) and of *Concordance of the Armenian Bible*.
- Tov, Emanuel. (1) *A Classified Bibliography of Lexical and Grammatical Studies on the Language of the Septuagint*. Jerusalem: Academon, 1980. 46 pp. (2) "The Lucianic Text of the Canonical and Apocryphal Sections of Esther: A Rewritten Biblical Book," *Textus* 9. (3) *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*. Jerusalem: Simor Press, 1980 [P.O. Box 39039, Tel Aviv]. (4) "The Textual Affiliations of 4QSam<sup>a</sup>," *JSTOT* 14 (1979) 37-53 [reprinted in (6)]. (5) "Determining the Relationship between the Qumran Scrolls and the LXX: Some Methodological Issues" [published in (6)]. (6) Edited *The Hebrew and Greek Texts of Samuel*. Jerusalem: Academon, 1980: papers by Barthélemy, Cross, Nysse, Tov, and Ulrich for the IOSCS Panel in Vienna, August 1980.
- Ulrich, E. C. (1) "4QSam: A Fragmentary Manuscript of 2 Samuel 14-15 from the Scribe of the *Serek Hay-yahad* (1QS)," *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)].
- Zlotowitz, Bernard. *The Septuagint Translation of the Hebrew Terms in Relation to God in the Book of Jeremiah*, with an Introductory Essay by H. M. Orlinsky. HUC-JIR D.H.L. dissertation (director: H. M. Orlinsky) [in press].

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

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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 4QSam<sup>a</sup>.* 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 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, plus the "Testimonies" page 4Q175, and 4QSam<sup>c</sup>. 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.<sup>1</sup> 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: לפנות שם את דרך הוֹאֵהָ<sup>2</sup> כְּאִשֶׁר . . . . כְּחֹרֵב בְּמִדְבָּר פִּנּוּ דֶרֶךְ . . . . The other cases of the four-dot device by this scribe are in נִשְׁבַּח בְּרוּאָ . . . . כִּי יִרְוַח in the supplement to Isa 40:7 of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, col. XXXIII, above line 7; in 4QSam<sup>c</sup> 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;<sup>3</sup> and in 4Q175, 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" (אֲשֶׁר יִזְכִּיר דָּבָר בְּשֵׁם הַנִּכְבֹּד) — 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 ישועות I.19; אל הדעות III.15; אל ישראל III.24. The address to God 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 (אל יבוא) בקהל אלה is a transparent copyist's error<sup>4</sup> for בקהל אל, 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 רוח דעת ויראה אל 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 כיהא אל הקימכה לשבט למושלים; El here may go back to Num 24:16. In 1Qsb V.8 וואדון occurs, without context. When God is invoked as the source of blessing in 1Qsb, it is as אדוני. Restored from an *alep* in I.3 [אדוני], יברככה אדוני, this name is fully present in II.22 יחונכה אדוני (*etc!*) and in V.23 אדוני לרום עולם [ישאכה] (the verb is supplied: compare 1QH III.19-20). The chain of citations which is nearly the total content of 4Q175 presents, with Num 24:16, both Elyon and Shaddai in addition to El.

*1QH.* 1QHodayot transmits a composition of the mid-2nd century B.C.<sup>5</sup> Its two scribes, however, were at work toward the mid-1st century A.D. Its hymnic character calls for direct address to the deity, and for this אדוני is used, always in the ordinary script, some 20 verifiable times, usually in the formulas אדוני אדוכה or אדוני אחה אדוני ברון אחה אדוני. Of special interest is 1QH VII.28 מי כמרכה באלים אדוני, wherein the text of Exod 15:11 is employed with אדוני introduced as the to-be-spoken substitute for Yhwh.<sup>6</sup> The frequent use of El as a divine name conforms to the practice of 1QS but goes beyond it in the number of occasions on which אל, אלה, אל הדעות, and several similar expressions are used in direct address to God. Both scribes regularly write these names or forms of address in their usual script, but the first scribe also conforms four times to the spreading practice of his day by writing אל (I.26; XV.25; DJD I, 1Q35, frg. 1, line 5) and אלה (II.34) in a paleohebrew script as steady and practiced as his normal hand. Of other names, אל עליון occurs twice (IV.31; VI.33). If frg. 17, line 4 (juxtaposed by Lohse<sup>7</sup> with line 1 of the truncated col. XIII), [לעולמי עד אחה הוא] is to be taken as one complete clause, it may relate to the usage in 1QS VIII.13 (cf. note 2 above). Neither Yhwh nor Elohim is anywhere to be found.

*1QM.* Far less homogeneous in its origins, and surely later in its final literary form than either the *Serek* or the *Hodayot* is the War Scroll. The copy we have of it in 1QM dates from the last thirty years of the 1st century B.C. (cf.

CBQ 40 [1978] 603), 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; אלוהים 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, אלים; for God, אל ישראל 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:

כִּיָּא קְדוֹשׁ אֲדוֹנֵי וּמֶלֶךְ הַכְּבוֹד אֲחֻנְנִי... וְגִבּוֹר הַמְּלַחְמָה בְּעִדְחָנִי וְצִבְאָה  
רוֹחִיו עִם צַעֲדֵינוּ. A reflective reading of Ps 99:9 and of Ps 24, especially vv 6-9, cannot but show that this lone occurrence of אֲדוֹנֵי 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 אֲדוֹנֵי (without the expanded Qumran orthography). 42:15cd reads:

בְּאִמַּר אֲדוֹנֵי מַעֲשֵׂיו // וּפְעַל רִצְוֹנוֹ לִקְחוּ. Despite the versions and Cairo MS B, the אִמַּר 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, *bērā'ēt bē'ō' (śiel) 'ēlōhīm...wayyō'mer*; and אֲדוֹנֵי 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 אֵל in 42:15a, it reads אֱלֹהִים in 15c. In the next line, 42:16b reads וְכִבְדוֹ אֲדוֹנֵי מְלֵא מַעֲשֵׂיו. The LXX fully reflects this Masada form of the colon. In the light of Isa 6:3, the reading of יְיָ in Cairo MS B here reflects יְהוָה as the presumptive original reading. Two lines later, Masada's 42:17cd reads: אִמַּץ אֲדוֹנֵי צְבָאוֹת // לְהַחֲזִיק לְפָנָיו כְּבוֹדוֹ. *immaē* is *pi'el* pf. Again Cairo MS B has אֱלֹהִים, 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 כִּי גִדּוֹל אֲדוֹנֵי עֲשָׂהוּ "for great is the Lord, its (מְאוֹר = the sun's) Maker." Here the Greek and the Syriac (*kyrios, maryā'*) coincide with Masada's אֲדוֹנֵי, whereas Cairo MS B again has יְיָ. Finally, in 43:10a Masada has בְּדַבַּר אֲדוֹנֵי יַעֲמַד חֶק "the subject is כְּוֹכַב. Cairo MS B reads אֵל here, which is unlikely because that name ends the preceding line; the Greek and the

Syriac suppose קדוש ישראל—also unlikely: Cairo B's קדוש ישראל (50:17) and שם הקדוש [but שם קדוש ע"ב (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.<sup>8</sup> Hesitancy to write the name Yhwh, or even Elohim, would seem to account for the use of אדני 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:<sup>9</sup> אדני appears only in the post-script to 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, איו is a scribes' emendation for אלהים) and 38:7 (in the phrase בני אלהים) are hardly relevant. In the Song of Songs, the שלתבחייה 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:

šalhābōt x (šalhābōtēnā).<sup>10</sup> 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).<sup>11</sup> 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 *peshar* MSS. The oldest of these<sup>12</sup> is 4Q163 (pap4QpIsa<sup>c</sup>), which Strugnell sees as more or less contemporary with 1QSerak, 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, אדוני, אלהי משפט, אלוהי ישראל, אלוהי ישראל in their normal hand; no unusual script is employed anywhere. Some later *peshar* MSS continue this practice: 4Q162 (4QpIsa<sup>b</sup>), pre-Herodian, writes יהוה normally (col. II.3, 7, 8). 4Q166-170 range from late Hasmonean/ early Herodian (166 [the Nahum *peshar*], 170) to later Herodian hands that should be of the 1st cent. A.D. (166-168). 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 צבאות 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 *peshar* (168) has

יהוה 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, 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 יהוה and אלוהים 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<sup>a</sup> (c. 200 B.C.),<sup>13</sup> both 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> (c. 125-100 B.C.)<sup>14</sup> and 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> (1st cent. A.D.), and 4QPs<sup>c</sup> (between 50 and 68 A.D.).<sup>15</sup>

(2) *Substitution of Paleohebrew.* By contrast, 4Q171 (4QPs<sup>a</sup>, 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 4QpPs<sup>a</sup> 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 חוהה אלוהי is written in the scribe's regular script; אלוהי is in the normal script in col. III, line 16; col. IV, lines 9, 14, 21. In the last instance, the commentary is resuming the language of Ps 37:40 where the corresponding subject (not extant in the fragmentary column) is Yhwh. The scribe of 1QpHab uses אלוהי frequently (22 instances extant), in his normal script; but

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 *he*, and with *waw* truncated as to its staff. From cave 1, 1Q14, 15 (1QpMic, 1QpZeph) write the archaic script for Yhwh; 1QpMic frg. 12 adds paleohebrew El in its *pesher*.

(3) *Spread of the Substitution Process (11QPs<sup>a</sup>).* The spread of the substitution process to scrolls that are wholly, or almost wholly, copies of the biblical text is shown in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>,<sup>16</sup> where again only the tetragrammaton is involved. The paleohebrew script for Yhwh in this copy is a secondary development: 11QPs<sup>b</sup>, a contemporary copy of the same compilation,<sup>17</sup> 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 (11QPs<sup>a</sup> col. XXXIV) running from *'alep* to *pe*;<sup>18</sup> except for *'alep*, 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 יהוה. 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 יהוה 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, יהוה appears instead: Ps 129:4, יהוה צדיק, and Ps 130:1, יהוה in direct address to open the Psalm. This lapse from his usual style shows clearly what the scribe of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> was pronouncing when

he encountered the divine name. In Ps 119:68, "Good art thou, Lord," occurs in the scroll with אֲדֹנָי (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, יה 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:<sup>19</sup> "There is none like Yah; there is none like Yhwh; and there is none who does as (does) the King of 'gods.'" Both יה and אֱלֹהִים are written normally here, as is אֱלֹהִים also when it means "God": Ps 145:13c (col. XVII, lines 2, 3), "Faithful is God in his words...." In this last, Yhwh 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 כִּיְהוָה in the acclamation in Ps 135, לִיהוָה in Ps 136:1, and כִּיְהוָה 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 כִּיְהוָה in Ps 144:15 becomes אֲשֶׁר followed by the archaic Yhwh form.

Not everything can be neatly solved. In transmitting Ps 144 (col. XXIII) the scribe of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> begins vv 3, 5 with אֱלֹהִים 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 4Q176, 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, נַחַם אֱלֹהִים, the Elohim is a substitute for Yhwh of Isa 49:13 in the hand of the second scribe; he also slips once, and writes יה [יה], frg. 3, line 1, Isa 43:1. In 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> the missing Yhwh from 42:6 אֲנִי יְהוָה קְרָאתֶיךָ (the scroll reads אֲנִי קְרָאתֶיךָ) is supplied by a hand other than that of 1QS with five dots above the line (to be read, presumably, אֲדֹנָי, allowing for the full orthography of this period!).

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 1Q30, prayer fragments.

4QPs<sup>f</sup> is a combination of canonical Psalms with other hymnic materials,<sup>20</sup> different from 11QPs<sup>a,b</sup>, 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. 4QPs<sup>f</sup> presents, however, no change of script anywhere, with יהוה 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,<sup>21</sup> 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 ליתרה (twice); col. XXXIV, line 14, לפני יהוה; col. LIII, line 8 אנו יהוה אלוהיכם; col. LIV, lines 12-14 יהוה אלוהי אבותיכם... יתרה אלוהיכם.

1Q22, styled by Milik "Dires de Moïse," perhaps early Herodian, has three exceptional readings in normal script, as follows: col. II, line 1 אלוהי [אלוהי]ך; line 6 אל[ו]הי; col. III, line 6 מ[א]ל[ו]הי אלוהיכם. 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 אלוהי (ʾēlōhāy) each time, on Moses' lips, is put forward as a substitute for Yhwh of the biblical text.

1Q34<sup>22</sup> is an early 1st cent. A.D. collection of prayers; in its fragment 1, lines 4, 6, the phrases ברוך אלוהי and זכור אלוהי parallel the usage in 1QHodayot. The opening lines of 4Q180, Herodian copy of a sectarian document,<sup>23</sup> have El in a good paleohebrew script, whereas the scribe of the related 4Q181 writes the same name in his normal Herodian hand. 4Q183 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. 4Q173, frg. 5, a stray bit in a hand of the 1st cent. A.D., includes a citation of Ps 118:20 with לא substituted for ליהוה and written in distorted, unnatural paleohebrew lettering. 4Q165 (4QpIsa<sup>e</sup>), 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 יהוה for the אלוהי 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. 3Q3 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 אלהי ישראל in its usual script.) 6Q15,18 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 4QIsa<sup>c</sup>, 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.<sup>24</sup> It has Yhwh, Elohim, Adonay (5 letters), *šēbā'ôt*, and phrases like *byhwh* and *'lwhynw* 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) IAΩ (4QLXXLev<sup>b</sup>). The first stage is represented by 4QLXXLev<sup>b</sup>, dated by C. H. Roberts to the late 1st cent. B.C.

or the opening years of the 1st cent. A.D.<sup>25</sup> It has, in Lev. 4:27, the unmistakable reading τῶν ἐπιτολῶν Ἰαω; 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. Fouad Inv. 266 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 Sicily<sup>26</sup> (I,94,2) tells us that Moses referred his laws to τοῦ Ἰαω ἐπιταλοῦμενον θεοῦ. Thereafter, our most significant witness to this first stage is Origen.<sup>27</sup> Not that he ever used IAΩ 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 Ιαη (two occurrences). But in his Commentary on John 1:1 (GCS *Origenes* 4:53) he gives, apropos of divine names, the equation Ἰερεμίας... μετεωροισμος Ἰαω. 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),<sup>28</sup> in the margin of which at Ezech 1:2 the name  $\text{Ιωακειμ}$  is explained by  $\text{Ιωω ετοιμασμος}$ ; and at Ezech 11:1  $\text{Βαβαλου}$  is glossed by  $\text{οικοδομη η οικος Ιωω}$ . 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:<sup>29</sup> out of 24 names it presents 9 with  $\text{ΙΑΩ}$  included in the interpretation, 2 more with  $\text{ΙΩ}$ . The other was published by D. Rokeah in 1970<sup>30</sup> as P. Oxy. 2745; its 3 fragmentary columns contain by happy coincidence, out of 19 interpretations preserved, 9 such with  $\text{Ιωω}$ ; for example, AB12  $\text{Ιωναδαβ Ιωω εκουσιότης}$ ; AB17  $\text{Ιωιαδε Ιωω γνωσις}$ . When Rokeah in his comparative material cites such witnesses as Hesychius of Jerusalem (PG 29:931C; the authorship by H. is certain) for  $\text{Ιωναδαβ...θεου εκουσιότης}$ , Jerome for *Joiade Domini cognitio*, and a Vatican onomasticon for  $\text{Ιωιαδα αορατου γνωσις}$ , 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  $\text{ΙΑΩ}$  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  $\text{ΙΑΩ}$  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 IAHO*: 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  $\text{ΙΗΘΥΣ ΙΩ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑ}$ ? Or that lines 7-8 have been made to receive the pattern-breaking entry  $\text{ΗΑΙ ΗΑΙ ΞΑΧΘΑΝΙ ΘΕ ΜΟΥ ΘΕ ΜΟΥ ΕΣ ΤΙ ΜΕ ΕΝΚΑΤΕΑΙΗΕΣ}$ ?<sup>31</sup> 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.

(2) "Aramaic" Script in Greek MSS (P. Fouad Inv. 286). 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 IAO? 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' *Verzeichnis* listings as no. 847),<sup>32</sup> and numerous fragments of the 1st cent. B.C. Deuteronomy (848) that has been known since 1944<sup>33</sup> 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 Psalms<sup>34</sup> carries repeatedly across all its columns, including the 2<sup>a</sup>, 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 ΠΙΠΙ deformation of the name by those reading from Greek MSS that contained it, plus the consistent use of *Pypy* 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 ΠΙΠΙ. 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 (W. Khabra XII καλϋε)*. 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.<sup>35</sup> These fragments of what has come to be known as the καλϋε 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 *ces tétragrammes de fantaisie*. 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 (*Prolog. in libros 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. vii.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 *ΙΑΩ/יהוה*. 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<sup>36</sup> acceptance ("most probably") of P. Kahle's contention that p. Oxy. iv.656, from a 2d cent. papyrus codex (1) 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: *יהוה*) is simply omitted. In its line 17 a blank was at first left; then *Kyrios* was entered in full, without the conventional abbreviation for *nomina sacra*, by a second hand. In lines 122 and 166, *κ[* and *κν* 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 *nomina sacra* 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* (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, see n. 14); when pressed, once *האיה* (see n. 2); attributed to Moses, *Elohay* (1Q22); alluding to known scriptural passages, *El* (1QSa,b; 4Q171 at Ps 37:40; 4Q173 frg. 5), and once *Elohim* (4Q176); in language of prayer and blessing, *Adonay* (1QSB, *Hodayot*, 1Q34). Outside of direct address or invocation, the Masada scroll of Ben Sira 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 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> is a solid inference from his scribal habits (see n. 14).

*LXX Ezechiel* (pap. 967). In the light of that background material, a new look at the divine names in papyrus 967 of *LXX Ezechiel* seems called for.<sup>37</sup> The names (to describe them as they are dealt with in the tradition) *אדני יהוה* 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.<sup>38</sup> That structure makes sense when *יהוה אדני* 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.<sup>39</sup>

Yet before 100 B.C., to judge by the *Hodayot* and 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, 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 אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה readings in MT have as their equivalent only the single name Kyrios. The codex certainly had a Christian scribe: he transcribes "spirit" as ΠΝΑ, besides using ΚΕ and a limited range of other abbreviations for *nomina sacra*. The only variant he presents for ΚΕ alone, in the places where MT has אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה—between Ezek 11:25, where the extant folia begin, and the end of the book in 48:35, with quite limited lacunae—is ΚΕ Ο ΘΣ.40

Of this longer form there are 15 occurrences<sup>41</sup> that tend to appear in clusters; the later MS tradition knows nothing of them,<sup>42</sup> 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 אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה combinations like αδωναι ΚΕ and ΚΕ ΚΕ 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 ΚΕ Ο ΚΕ readings evidence of a Jewish source that judged the best reflection of אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה in a translation to be one that followed the Palestinian *q̄r̄ê* Adonay Elohim. This presupposes that the same source was satisfied that Kyrios in the text was a proper reflection of Hebrew אֲדֹנָי; 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 *q̄r̄ê*.

LXX *Isaias*. The use in the Ezechiel translation of a single Kyrios only, at least 190 times, to reflect the combination<sup>43</sup> of Adonay and the unutterable name Yhwh is on a par with the usage in LXX *Isaias*. Of the 17 places where MT has אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה in *Isaias*, 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. The fuller expression אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת occurs in *Isaias* 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 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> 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 *Isaias* is that where synonymous parallelism is at work in the poetry he not uncommonly renders only 3 cola for 2 bicola of the Hebrew.) At 10:23 LXX *Isaias* renders 'צ' 'י' 'א' by θεος alone (var., ΚΕ); in the other 5 cases the rendering is ΚΕ Σαβαωθ, 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 אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה, of which 19 are in Amos. Of these, 9 (7 in Amos) are rendered in LXX by Κυριος ο θεος (LXX Amos has 6 additional occurrences of this phrase, which with ο Παντοκρατωρ = צבאות added—borrowed from 3:13—is used once more in 9:15 for MT's יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ to end the book). The vocative appears in 2 cases as ΚΕ ΚΕ (Amos 7:2, 5); the other 12 instances have Kyrios once only.<sup>44</sup>

*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 Κυριος ο θεος as an equivalent for אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה, in accordance with the Palestinianian *qêrê*. Also, as far back as it is possible to go, the Kyrios term is employed in these books for both יְהוִה and אֲדֹנָי, 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 ΙΑΩ or יְהוָה there may have been in these prophetic books—compare the *καὶ* reworking of the Twelve from Wadi Khabra<sup>45</sup>—the option of translating only the *qêrê*, 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

\*Bibliography in J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Major Publications and Tools for Study* (SBL SBS 8; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1975), and see note 27 below.

<sup>1</sup>Suffixed forms of Elohim occur in the normal script: at V.25 אֱלֹהֵיהֶן as an error for רַעְהוּ (1); at VIII.15 אֱלֹהֵיהֶן in a quotation of Isa 40:3. In IQSb IV.25 the same scribe writes [תְּהִי צְבָאוֹת] normally, in a prayer; in his supplement to the text of Isa 40:7-8 in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> he writes אֱלֹהֵיהֶן normally. In 4QSam<sup>c</sup> he writes normally the phrase [מְלֹאךְ הָאֱלֹהִים] at 2 Sam 14:20. Those are all the occurrences. A. M. Habermann in his *ʿEdah we-ʿEduth* of 1952 and again in his *Megillot midbar Yehuda* of 1959 arbitrarily introduces [אֱלֹהֵיהֶן וְאֵן] into 1QS I.1.

<sup>2</sup>Thus הָאֱלֹהִים (= the pronoun הוּא) is put forward to be a spoken substitute for the divine name; the abnormal orthography הוּאֵהָא 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: // כִּי־אֵל מְעַשֵׂה כֹּל חַי כִּי־אֵל הוּא, so that הוּאֵהָא, this time spelled normally for the two syllable pronunciation, is offered as a parallel of sorts to אֱלֹהִים; and both in Essene prayer, Ps 155:7-8 (11QPs<sup>a</sup> 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 literature of the period does not point to הוּאֵהָא as a widely favored device. In this exact place [VIII.13], 4QSe avoids the difficulty by reading הוּאֵהָא (אֵהָא דִּרְךָ); see J. T. Milik's list of variants in *RB* 67 (1960) 413. Milik also (*ibid.*) identifies the Isaiah reference and quotation as an expansion on the original text of the *Serek*.

<sup>3</sup>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.

<sup>4</sup>So J. T. Milik in *DJD* I.117. He notes that אֱלֹהִים occurs in II.1 and again later in II.4.

<sup>5</sup>In this it is being accepted that the *Moreh ha-ʿsedeq* 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; 897-900 (this is continuous text; the intervening column numbers are on a series of plates).

<sup>6</sup>Of course, in MT אֲדֹנָי occurs also as a parallel to Yhwh in Ex 15:17.

<sup>7</sup>E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran*<sup>2</sup> (Munich: Kösel Verlag, 1971) 160.

<sup>8</sup>That the occasion represented in Sir 50 is not an annual occurrence 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. Ó Fearghail, "Sir 50:5-21: Yom Kippur or the Daily Whole Offering?" *Bib* 59 (1978) 301-316.

<sup>9</sup>For Job 12:9, dependent in MT on a harmonizing with Isa 41:20, see M. H. Pope, *Job*<sup>3</sup> (AB 15; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1973) xxxix, 91.

<sup>10</sup>M. H. Pope, *Song of Songs* (AB 7C; 1977) 653, 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. 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, above, p. 24, lines 6-11).

<sup>11</sup>This writer cannot resist affirming that the מקום אשר of Esth 4:14 is a cipher for משהשמים.

<sup>12</sup>Discussion by J. Strugnell in his indispensable critique of J. M. Allegro's 1968 *DJD* V publication, in "Notes en marge du volume V des 'Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan,'" *RQ* 7 (1969-1971) 163-276, see pp. 188-189, 191. Relative datings and types of script for the 4Q *peshtarim* are specified in his comments on 4Q161-173.

<sup>13</sup>Cf. G. Janzen, *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah* (Harvard Semitic Monographs 6; Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1973) Appendix D, pp. 174-181; see also his p. 9.

<sup>14</sup>There is a fully intelligible pattern to the names יהוה and אדוני as they are dealt with by the scribe of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>. 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 אדוני, and when that name occurs in close conjunction with Yhwh, a secondary problem arises for the tetragrammaton. He is writing at dictation, and both he and his reader pronounce Adonay for both יהוה and אדוני. When he hears Adonay, unless somehow warned, he automatically writes יהוה. For אדוני alone, the received text has 22 instances. In 13 of these, 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> has אדוני correctly; in 2 others, 3:18 and 8:7, he writes יהוה, then corrects to אדוני above the line. (In 3:18 the אדוני is clearly a correction and not an addition: there are 4 dots beneath the יהוה to indicate it is being replaced. At 8:7 the leather is broken away just below the tops of the letters of יהוה, so that any dots for those letters are lost.) 5 cases have יהוה 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 אדוני occurred in the verse (the combination יהוה אדוני had occurred in 3:15, for which see below), the scribe wrote it correctly; then within

the same verse and the same line of script, where יהוה should occur, he wrote ואדוני. Learning (from the 2 אדוני in one verse) that he had made an error, he "corrected" the first אדוני by writing יהוה above it and placing 5 dots below it. He thus left both names wrong. The other place is 49:14, where he correctly wrote ואדוני; then because יהוה immediately precedes, he "corrected" ואדוני to ואלוהי, employing a device familiar from the Massoretes to avoid the sequence 'āḏōnāy wa'āḏōnāy: he had no *athnah* keeping his words apart!

In 17 places the reading אדוני יהוה is found in the received text, and the scroll adds one, in 49:7. In 10 of these 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> transcribes correctly in its own orthography: אדוני יהוה. In 6 others, hearing Adonay, the scribe writes יהוה only. Of these, he supplements 3 (28:16; 30:15; 65:13) with an אדוני 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 אדוני is correctly written but יהוה is substituted for by the familiar *qēṣ* written out as אלוהים (compare 49:14 above). At 61:11 for אדוני יהוה the scribe heard Adonay Elohim (with the *qēṣ* for both words) and wrote אלוהים as the equivalent (1QIsa<sup>b</sup> introduces the same *qēṣ* form at 61:1). The still fuller reading אדוני יהוה צבאו occurs 8 times, and 6 times the scribe has it correctly. In 3:15 he first wrote יהוה צבאו and then corrected with אדוני placed above to be read at the head of the phrase. In 28:22 the same error stands uncorrected. In all these cases of combined names, the scribe will have had a warning when Adonay Elohim, or Adonay Elohim/ Elohe Sabaoth was read—but not necessarily before he had begun to write יהוה. He would then finish writing that name and leave the problem for the correction stage. A reluctance to substitute for יהוה once written; to say nothing of erasing the Name, will account for the nature of his corrective attempts. An intrusive יהוה before אלוהים in 54:6 he simply left. The unique combination האל יהוה in 42:5 (MT) he seems to have found confusing; the האלוהים with which (instead of יהוה) he resolves it he has borrowed from the nearly unique (cf. 37:16) occurrence of האלוהים in a related context at 45:18. The scribe seems not to have copied Isalah before, and for that reason his beginning (3:15-18) includes the highest proportion of error and attempted revision.

<sup>15</sup>For 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 *Festschrift*) ed. G. E. Wright (Garden City, 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 *DBSuppl* (Paris: Letouzey, 1978).

<sup>16</sup>Of 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. A.D., 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. Such an origin 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 *Qumrân: sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu*, ed. M. Delcor, Leuven/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 (11QPs<sup>b</sup>)," *RB* 74 (1967) 408-412; pl. xviii.

18Cf. the present writer's "A Broken Acrostic and Psalm 9," *CBQ* 27 (1965) 1-5, reprinted in *CBQMS* 1 (1971) 46-51.

19Discussed in the writer's "A Liturgical Complex in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>," *CBQ* 35 (1973) 195-205, on p. 198.

20The extra-canonical texts have been published by J. Starcky, "Psaumes apocryphes de la grotte 4 de Qumran (4QPsf VII-X)," *RB* 63 (1966) 353-371; Planche XIII.

21Y. Yadin, *Megillat ha-Miqdaš* (The Temple Scroll), Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1977, 3 vols. + supplementary plates (Hebrew edition).

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," *RQ* 5 (1966) 323-344, see plate IVd.

23Called by J. T. Milik "Peshar on the (Book of the) Periods," cf. *JJS* 23 (1972) 110-124.

24The writer first described this scroll in *CBQ* 17 (1955) 162.

25Most recently in his 1977 Schweich Lectures, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (London: British Academy, 1979) p. 30, n. 1. See earlier P. Kahle, "The Greek Bible and the Gospels: Fragments from the Judaean Desert," *Studia Evangelica* I, ed. K. Aland et al. (TU 73; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1959) 613-621.

26Ed. C. H. Oldfather, *Diodorus of Sicily, I* (Loeb Classical Library; New York: Putnam's Sons, 1933) 321.

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 *Kyrios*-Title," in *A Wandering Aramaean: Collected Aramaic Essays* (SBLMS 25; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979) 115-142.

28Cf. the preliminary description of 4QLXXLev<sup>b</sup> by the present writer in "The Qumran Manuscripts and Textual Criticism," *Volume du Congrès: Strasbourg, 1956* (VTSup 4; Leiden: Brill, 1957) 148-160, on p. 157 reprinted in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text*, ed. F. M. Cross and S. Talmon (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1975): see there p. 221.

29*Die Septuaginta Papyri...*, Heidelberg: Winter, 1905, 86-93; Tafel 57C.

30*Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XXXVI, ed. R. A. Coles et al. (London: British Academy, 1970) 1-6.

31This transplant of the Gospel/Psalm text, with uncertainty in the copy we have as to whether Aramaic or Hebrew is to be favored (but with a leaning to the 'šabtanî of the Hebrew Ps 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 versé 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 ζαβαθαυ (!) of codex B in Mk. The influence reaches from the Bobbio Gospels (k) into the *Confessio* 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 Rolls 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.

33W. G. Waddell, "The Tetragrammaton in the LXX," *JTS* 45 (1944) 158-161.

34J. [=G.] Card. Mercati, *Psalterii Hexapli Reliquiae*, I (Vatican City: Bibliotheca Vaticana, 1958).

35*Les devanciers d'Aquila* (VTSup 10; Leiden: Brill, 1963); the fragments were already described by B. in *RB* 60 (1953) 18-29.

36*Manuscript, Society and Belief*, especially pp. 33-34 and Appendix I, pp. 76-77, but see also the Index.

<sup>37</sup>The presumptions on which E. H. Kase, Jr., based his treatment of these names no longer hold for matters of dating because of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>. See: *The John H. Scheide Biblical Papyri: Ezekiel* (Princeton Studies in Papyrology 3), ed. A. C. Johnson, H. S. Gehman, and E. H. Kase, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1938) 48-52(n.); 56-62.

<sup>38</sup>So with J. Lust, "'Mon Seigneur Jahweh' dans le texte hébreu d'Ezechiel," *ETL* 44 (1968) 482-488, following L. Cerfaux and J. Herrmann.

<sup>39</sup>By contrast, the systematic appraisal of  $\text{ⲚⲓⲦⲐ}$  as an "addition" to the text throughout Ezekiel in the apparatus to *BHS*, appealing to 967 as the evidence, does not make sense.

<sup>40</sup>Kase's discussion (p. 58) included 9 anarthrous instances ( $\text{Ⲛⲉ Ⲑⲉ}$ ) 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, *Ezechiel* (Septuaginta XVI,1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht) in printings from 1977 on.

<sup>41</sup>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.

<sup>42</sup>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.

<sup>43</sup>p. Ant. 1.10 (988), 4th cent., supports 967 in reading a single Kyrios only, at 34:20, in such an instance.

<sup>44</sup>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*.

<sup>45</sup>None of these passages seems to have survived in the scroll fragments from the Wadi Khabra in Palestine.

## KAIGE AND OTHER RECENSIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

### IN THE GREEK TEXT OF JUDGES

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This article was first conceived as a summary of my revised dissertation, entitled *The Greek Text of Judges: Recensional Developments*.<sup>1</sup> 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 Birua<sub>2</sub> and efsz as the primary witnesses, with jm(o)q joining in secondarily.<sup>2</sup>

When this family is tested against the now quite extensive body of published *kaige* characteristics,<sup>3</sup> the results are conclusive. It clearly stands within this recension for the whole of Judges.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> Those which could be considered negative evidence come to five at the most, and three of these are questionable as to their validity.<sup>6</sup> Of the remaining nine, eight are neutral,<sup>7</sup> and one is mixed in Judges.<sup>8</sup>

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: גלה (and cognates) = ἀποικίζω (and cognates), מנוח (all forms of the verbal root) = ἀγαθος (and cognates), ישר (all forms of the verbal root) = εὐθους (and cognates), ליי = αὐλιζω, נצל = ρομαι, שר = επιστρεφω.<sup>9</sup>

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 גבורה = δυναμις. Revision can be seen in Judges,<sup>10</sup> 2 Kings,<sup>11</sup> Isaiah (though this evidence is qualified),<sup>12</sup> Jeremiah,<sup>13</sup> and Job.<sup>14</sup> Exodus 32:18, although Field records the α' and θ' reading as a form of ισχυς, must be left in abeyance in light of the uncertain retroversion of Syriac ḡaylâ.<sup>15</sup>

The second newly-proposed characteristic is שכך (all forms of the verbal root) = σκηνοω.<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup> It can also be seen in the readings of Aquila which involve σκηνοω, most often against a different OG,<sup>18</sup> and in the sixth column of Exodus and Job.<sup>19</sup> The more frequent occurrence of the compound κατασκηνοω in the sixth column<sup>20</sup> 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

apart from the *kaige* movement.<sup>21</sup> This possibility will be discussed further below.

The third characteristic is שרש (both noun and verb) = ριζ-. It appears in Judges;<sup>22</sup> in 2 Kings;<sup>23</sup> in the remains of the Three<sup>24</sup> for Isaiah,<sup>25</sup> Hosea,<sup>26</sup> psalms,<sup>27</sup> and Job;<sup>28</sup> and in the θ' text of Daniel.<sup>29</sup> 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:<sup>30</sup> אבה (לא) = εὐδοκω, ארר = διαφασκω, אביא = φερω/εισφερω, בעיני = εν οφθαλμοις,<sup>31</sup> קעז/קעצ = βοω, אה קרה = οργιζομαι θυμω, נלהם = παρατασσομαι, מלהמה = παραταξις, לקרא = εις συναντησιν,<sup>32</sup> נהץ = καθαιρεω, סרן = αρχων, פגע = συνανταω, קצין = αρχη, רעה = πονηρια.

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.<sup>33</sup> The best avenue to the OG of Judges is through the text of Lucian,



especially when it agrees with  $\mathcal{V}$ , demonstrating that the reading in question is prior to the revision of historical Lucian. The A family is primarily Hexaplaric.<sup>34</sup> K is a mixed text, agreeing most often with A, L,  $\mathcal{S}$ , and  $\mathcal{Z}$  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 K'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;<sup>35</sup> the other is that this *Vorlage* has been extensively revised toward a Hebrew text like the present MT.<sup>36</sup> 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  $\text{בְּלִלְכָה}$ ;  $\Theta'$ , A, L, K,  $\mathcal{S}$ ,  $\mathcal{Z}$ : ηουχη; B: εν κρουση  
The *kaige* text renders the Hebrew more literally by reproducing the preposition explicitly, while  $\Theta'$  retains the OG.
- (b) 7:21a  $\text{שׁוֹרֵי}$ ;  $\Theta'$ , A, L, K,  $\mathcal{S}$ ,  $\mathcal{Z}$ : εκαστος; B: ανηρ  
Again  $\Theta'$  retains the OG, here vis-à-vis an established *kaige* characteristic in the B family.
- (c) 2:5  $\text{וַיִּקְרָא}$ ; A, L, K,  $\mathcal{S}$ ,  $\mathcal{Z}$ : δια τουτο εκληθη;  
 $\Theta'$ : δια τουτο εκαλεσαν; B,  $\sigma'$ : και επωνομασαν  
Although both  $\Theta'$  and B (together with  $\sigma'$ ) have a plural verb, only  $\Theta'$  pluralizes the OG verb. (The agreement between B and  $\sigma'$  is noteworthy, but not typical in Judges.)
- (d) 9:11b  $\text{וַיִּשְׁעֵן לַעֲזַבֵּן}$ ; A, L, K, B-Fam: (του) αρχειν (των) ξυλων;  $\mathcal{S}$ : (του) αρχειν \* επι λ (των) ξυλων; B (Vaticanus only): κινεισθαι επι των ξυλων;  $\Theta'$ : ηγεισθαι επι των ξυλων;  
 $\mathcal{Z}$ : *regnare in lignis*  
The Hebrew preposition, apparently not expressed explicitly in the OG, is filled in by Origen under the asterisk, in Vaticanus, and in  $\Theta'$ . The verb is rendered most literally in Vaticanus;<sup>37</sup> 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.<sup>38</sup> 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 Θ' which attaches to the material,<sup>39</sup> the tendency to transliterate (Theodotion's chief identifying characteristic),<sup>40</sup> and the rendering of גבור by συναστης or συναστεια (*kaige* = συναστος).<sup>41</sup>

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 Θ' 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.<sup>42</sup> In Judges, however, his base text was the OG,<sup>43</sup> and he revised it extensively.<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup> Another possibility would be simply to leave this reviser unnamed, or to produce an entirely new label.<sup>46</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup>Harvard Semitic Monographs 23; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1980 [hereafter *GTJ*].

<sup>2</sup>This follows the manuscript groupings of I. Soisalon-Soininen, *Die Textformen der Septuaginta-Übersetzung des Richterbuches* (Helsinki, 1951), pp. 20-21. Other families of the Greek Judges are as follows: AGabckx [hereafter A], KZgln(o)w, (d)ptv [hereafter L, the Lucianic family of Judges], and MNhyb<sub>2</sub> [hereafter K, for Koine]. For a helpful survey of past study of the present subject, see Soisalon-Soininen, pp. 7-15. Since that time, note should be taken especially of Joseph Schreiner, *Septuaginta-Massora 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 § and ¶ represent the Syro-Hexapla and Old Latin, respectively.

<sup>3</sup>Leonard 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 שלום = εἰρήνη from Dominique Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila* (VTSup 10; Leiden: Brill, 1963), p. 106, [hereafter *DA*]. Note also that the equivalence וְאֵל = κραταιω, which Greenspoon cited from my dissertation, has been removed from the revised *GTJ* and that the new characteristic וְבוֹר = δυνατος has been added (*GTJ*, 148).

<sup>4</sup>It was Barthélemy who first proposed the identification of the B family in Judges as a member of the *kaige* recension in *DA*, pp. 34-35, 47, 49, 55, 60, 62, 66-68, 69-70, 78, etc.

<sup>5</sup>The sixteen characteristics are: וְנָם/וְנָם = καίγε, אִישׁ (used as an indefinite pronoun) = ἀνήρ, מַעַל = επανωθεν (ἀπ'ανωθεν); שׁוֹפֵר = κρατινή, אֲנָכִי = εγώ εἰμι, לַפְנֵי = ἐνώπιον, הָאָם = συναγω, בְּעֵינַי = ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς, זָבַז = θυσιαζω, הָרַךְ = δλιωω, כָּחַם = סוף-, בָּקָרָב = ἐν μέσῳ, רִיחַ (pi'el) = ενισχω, חָרַב = ρομφαία, חָקַם = συμφιός/γῆμ = γαμβρός, עָבַד = δουλ-. See *GTJ* for the specific references involved in these and the following sets of data.

<sup>6</sup>בְּצַב/בְּצַב = στηλω, the elimination of the historical present, misc. = ηνικα, חָרַב = φωτιζω, חָרַב = εν γαστροι εχω/λαμβανω. 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.

<sup>7</sup>These 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: נָגַד = forms of εἰδέναι, עַל כֵּן = ὅτι τούτο, לַעֲלֹמַם = εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, מָהַר = ταχυσω, יַעַן אֲשֶׁר = ἀφ' ὅτι, שָׁר (ה)צָבָא = ἀρχων τῆς δυναμειως, חָרַב = κωφεω, חָרַב = σιωπω, בֵּינָם = ἀνα μέσον.

<sup>8</sup>אִישׁ = οὐκ ἐστίν (in a context of aorists). It can be noted that this characteristic is mixed in other *kaige* material as well.

<sup>9</sup>The discussion of these characteristics constitutes chapter two of *GTJ*. לֵיךְ = αὐλιζω and נָצַל = ρουσαι 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.

<sup>10</sup>Judg 5:31. The B family (hereafter B) has a form of δυναμις, whereas A, L, K, § and θ' all have a form of δυναστεια. In Judg 8:21, all Greek families have δυναμις, so that revision cannot be affirmed there.

<sup>11</sup>2 Kings 18:20, where the Lucianic family (borcpe<sub>2</sub>) omits any rendering of נְבוֹרָה. All of the other examples in 2 Kings, in each of which נְבוֹרָה is translated by a form of δυναστεια, 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.

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

<sup>13</sup>Jer 10:6. The OG omits, but the asterisked addition of θ' has δυναμις.

<sup>14</sup>Job 41:4, which has \*θ' δυναμις.

<sup>15</sup>In Ps 20:7 Field renders the same Syriac term by a form of τοχος with a form of δυναμις as an alternative.

<sup>16</sup>This would be in accord with the equivalence  $\gamma\delta\omega\delta = \sigma\eta\eta\eta$  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 3; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972], p. 318 [hereafter *TRE*]).

<sup>17</sup>Judg 5:17a (A, L, K,  $\xi$ ,  $\zeta$ , [vid.] =  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\eta\eta\eta\omega$ ), 17b (A, L,  $\xi$ ,  $\zeta$ , [vid.] =  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\eta\eta\eta\omega$  [K = B]); 8:11 (A, L, K,  $\xi$ ,  $\zeta$  =  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\eta\eta\omega$ ). On the identification of the OG in Judges primarily through the agreement of the Lucianic and Old Latin texts, see *GTJ*, pp. 134-36.

<sup>18</sup>Exod 24:16; 25:8 ( $\sigma\upsilon$   $\lambda$ ); Jer 7:3; Ps 65:5, 68:7; 139:9; Job 11:14 (=  $\theta'$ ,  $\sigma'$ ); 38:19 (=  $\theta'$ ). 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).

<sup>19</sup>Exod 25:8 ( $\sigma\upsilon$   $\lambda$ ); Job 11:14 (=  $\alpha'$ ,  $\sigma'$ ); 38:19 (=  $\alpha'$ ).

<sup>20</sup>Isa 32:16 (=  $\alpha'$ ,  $\sigma'$ ); 34:17 (=  $\alpha'$ ,  $\sigma'$ ); 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 \*).

<sup>21</sup>If 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).

<sup>22</sup>Judg 5:14 (A, L, K,  $\xi$ ,  $\zeta$  =  $\tau\upsilon\mu\omega\rho\epsilon\omega$ ).

<sup>23</sup>2 Kings 19:30.

<sup>24</sup>I.e., Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion.

<sup>25</sup>Isa 11:1 ( $\alpha'$ ,  $\sigma'$ ); 14:29 ( $\alpha'$ ,  $\sigma'$ ); 27:6 ( $\alpha'$ ,  $\sigma'$ ,  $\theta'$ ); 53:2 ( $\alpha'$ ,  $\sigma'$ ,  $\theta'$ ).

<sup>26</sup>Hos 9:16 ( $\alpha'$ ,  $\sigma'$ ).

<sup>27</sup>Ps 52:7 ( $\alpha'$ ,  $\sigma'$  [differently]); 80:10 ( $\sigma'$  [2]).

<sup>28</sup>Job 8:17 ( $\theta'$ ); 18:16 (\*  $\theta'$ ); 19:28 (\*  $\theta'$ ); 29:19 (\*  $\theta'$ ); 30:4 ( $\alpha'$ ,  $\theta'$ ;  $\sigma'$  [diff.]); 31:8 ( $\sigma'$ ); 36:30 ( $\theta'$ ;  $\alpha'$ ,  $\sigma'$  [diff.]).

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

2 Sam 10:1--1 Kings 2:11 according to James Donald Shenkel, *Chronology and Recensional Development in the Greek Text of Kings* [Harvard Semitic Monographs 1; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968], hereafter *CRDK*). 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, 253-60). The sixth column of Exodus has been confirmed as a *kaige* text (*TRE*). 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  $\theta'$  text of Daniel.

<sup>30</sup>These are all discussed in chapter three of *GTJ*.

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

<sup>32</sup>In Samuel--Kings, the *kaige* rendering is  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\alpha\pi\alpha\eta\tau\eta\nu$  (*DA*, pp. 78-80).

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

<sup>34</sup>I.e., in agreement with Origen's fifth column.

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

<sup>36</sup>In 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 reviser, 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*).

Most significant are those 32 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).

37The same rendering also appears in Vaticanus alone in vv 9 and 13 and most likely constitutes a *kaige* revision which does not appear in the entire family.

38Most telling for the latter point are the thirty-four instances in which the sixth column retains an OG rendering against a specifically *kaige* characteristic in the B family, especially the seventeen in which the characteristic has been confirmed for the *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, 30, 52, 56, 57; 10:7, 9, 10, 16; 11:17, 25, 32b; 12:1b, 3b; 14:3b, 7[bis]; 15:2, 6a; 18:19b, 28b; 19:4, 5b, 15, 20, 25a).

The seven instances in which a *kaige* characteristic may appear in the sixth column do not offset the conclusion. In two cases (involving three references), the actual characteristics are qualified (קָיָה: 11:34; 18:28a; and הָרָה: 13:3 [see the discussions in *GTJ*]); in two others, contrary examples also appear in the sixth column of Judges (קָעַז: 18:23, but 10:10; לָיָן: 19:13b, but 19:4, 15, 20). The other references are 7:22a (where considerable mixture has taken place among the Greek families) and 13:8b.

In the last instance (involving הָרָה = φουζω), Smith has noted that all Theodotianic citations for the Hebrew verb in question have a form of φουζω. This could indicate that another characteristic of Theodotion is in view here, apparently coinciding in this case with the *kaige* rendering. There are actually six examples (five according to Michael Smith ["Another Criterion for the *καίτε* Recension," *Biblica* 48 <1967> 445]): Judg 13:8; 1 Sam 12:23; Ps 27:11; Prov 5:13; Isa 2:3; Mic 3:11.

Note also that of these seven instances of an apparent *kaige* rendering in the sixth column of Judges, only one (18:23) is in agreement with the B family (and with Lucian as well; such agreement of the B family with L is extremely rare in Judges, apart from their mutual preservation of the OG).

39In spite of certain cases where these Hexaplaric labels may have become misplaced, e.g., Θ' in βγ and the Minor Prophets, the only sound methodology is to take them at face value until adequate evidence requires that they be otherwise understood.

40Thus 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 *kaige* family (which also, in other references, evidences the tendency to transliterate; for the latter references, see the appendix to *GTJ*).

41The use of κατασηνω in the Θ' material to render שָׁכַן (in *kaige* = σηνω), pointed out earlier in this article, should be added to this collection of evidence.

42This would explain why O'Connell saw no decisive role for traditional Theodotion in Exodus (*TRE*, pp. 292-93).

43There is a small proportion of text common to the sixth column and the B family (sixteen readings, to be exact) which appears to represent earlier revision that was already present in the *Vorlagen* of both.

44This does leave unexplained the sixth column of βγ and of the Minor Prophets, but the *kaige*-Theodotion identification can explain neither this nor the Θ' material of Judges.

45Cf. Kraft's comments to this effect on βoc<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub> in Samuel-Kings (R. A. Kraft, "Review of Dominique Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila*," *Gnomon* 37 [1965] 482).

46It is unquestionably true that revisional work prior to and after the turn of the era was more complex than the few such efforts which can presently be identified with reasonable confidence would indicate (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 482-83, and Sidney Jellicoe, "Review of *Les devanciers d'Aquila* by Dominique Barthélemy," *JAOS* 84 [1964] 181, with the other works cited there).

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."<sup>1</sup> Of particular interest is the book of Isaiah. The oft-noted freedom which the Isaiah translator<sup>2</sup> exercised means that it is easier to see his own theological predilections!

These are some of the factors which led to my study<sup>3</sup> which sought to determine how the translator of Isaiah interpreted one important Hebrew root, פִּיץ: 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 δικαιω- 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, פִּיץ and δικαιου, and at each "unusual" translation of nouns (i.e., instances of departure from (π)ΠΙץ = δικαιουσση). 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)ΡΤΥ = 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)ΡΤΥ, 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)ΡΤΥ 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)ΡΤΥ, 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.<sup>4</sup>

## II. Verb Forms

In every occurrence of *δικαίου* 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 *δικαίου*

The four occurrences of the active, *δικαίου*, 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 ασεβη* at first sight suggests "punish," but the addition of *ενεκεν δωρων* 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. This is more explicitly forensic than MT usage.

### B. The Passive

The four occurrences of the passive, *δικαλουσθαι*, 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 δικαιοσύνη to have the same connotation as πῦν, although here too the Greek probably has a different connotation. Thus we cannot, for Isaiah, "assume that the Greek translators knew the force of the Qal of πῦν."<sup>5</sup>

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 πῦν with δικαιοσύνη woodenly. That he consistently and uniquely so translated cannot be gainsaid. It is also apparent that he has used δικαιοσύνη because of the presence of πῦν 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.<sup>6</sup> 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 δικαιοσύνη 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 πῦν.

(3) What is evident in the Isaiah translation is a natural consequence of the secular Greek forensic use of δικαιοσύνη with a personal object (including the passive).<sup>7</sup> 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 δικαιοσύνη 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 αδικιον, 54:14; ανομια, 5:7).

In these uses much overlap is evident between (π)πτυσ referring to man and society and δικαιοσυνη 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; 54:13f; 59:14; 60:17), occasionally referring to Israel (or Zion) where MT refers to Yahweh's action which is either his (π)πτυσ or his bringing about (π)πτυσ (33:5f; chap. 51; 54:13f; 59:14). (In 51:1-8 LXX also emphasises Israel's ethical responsibilities, but δικαιοσυνη is not used.)

In several instances (π)πτυσ referring to man or society is not rendered by δικαιοσυνη:

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

(2) The adjective δικαιος 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 (δικαιοσυνη would be most inappropriate).

(3) In 51:1, το δικαιο "what is right," and in 51:7, κρισις 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 δικαιοσυνη 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) δικαιο as object of "speaking" (59:4) is a natural antonym of ανομια and αδικια.

(5) κρινειν κρισιν (MT: פתח משפט) 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) ευφοσυνη in 61:10 is surprising, but δικαιοσυνη as a virtue (as in 61:3, 11) would have been inappropriate here.

(7) In addition, το δικαιο occurs in 47:3 (MT: חסד) 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 δικαιοσυνη rendering man's  $\tau\omicron\pi\iota$ , although there is a single such instance of δικαλος (57:1). It is hard to see this as introducing any covenant idea into δικαλος (and thereby into δικαιοσυνη).

In 39:8, possibly from another translator, δικαιοσυνη translates  $\pi\delta\kappa$  in describing the continuing situation of Judah promised to Hezekiah. It is most unlikely that this introduces any idea of "security" into δικαιοσυνη, but rather it reflects the utter inadequacy of αληθεια (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 δικαιοσυνη is its use to translate  $\mu\delta\omega\delta$  in 61:8. MT refers to Yahweh's concern, while LXX uses δικαιοσυνη to describe the human virtue opposite to αρπαγματα εξ αδικιας, a common Greek usage ( $\kappa\rho\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma$ , 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 δικαιοσυνη is used more commonly than  $\tau\omicron$  δικαλον. While there is considerable semantic overlap with  $(\eta)\pi\tau\upsilon$  in any case, our examination of departures from  $(\eta)\pi\tau\upsilon$  = δικαιοσυνη 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 δικαιοσυνη or to his concern that δικαιοσυνη 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  $(\eta)\pi\tau\upsilon$ , and to this extent there is semantic overlap between  $(\eta)\pi\tau\upsilon$  and δικαιοσυνη. However, cases where  $(\eta)\pi\tau\upsilon$  is not rendered by δικαιοσυνη indicate that δικαιοσυνη, in the translator's mind, means more narrowly "justice."

Although ελειν and ελεος are favourite words for the translator, only in 56:1 is το ελεος used for  $\pi\tau\upsilon$ , perhaps

because δικαιοσυνη 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 ελεειν and speaks of pardon for sins. On the other hand, το ελεος is used in 4 of the 5 instances of Yahweh's ἴδιον (LXX interpretation). Only in 63:7 does δικαιοσυνη translate ἴδιον, ελεος having just been used for ἰσχυρις, and here the choice of δικαιοσυνη is appropriate in a context of God's being a "good judge" (63:7f), rather than being due to any connotation introduced into δικαιοσυνη from ἴδιον.

What is of note are the instances where ἰσχυρις is translated by ελεημοσυνη (following Pentateuchal precedent for cases where δικαιοσυνη 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, δικαιοσυνη in 59:17 refers to God's "justice" in punishing evildoers who ill-treat repentant Israel.) The use of δικαιοσυνη and ελεημοσυνη to translate ἰσχυρις in 38:18f (a different translator?) seems to reflect a feeling on the part of the translator that ἀληθεια 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 (ἰσχυρις), especially in chaps. 40-66, is often best translated

"salvation," it is of particular note that nowhere is there any translational overlap with ἰσχυρις.

For the Isaiah translator it thus appears that δικαιοσυνη (of God) refers to God's actions and character as ruler or judge (63:7f expresses many of the emphases of the translator): he delivers Israel from unjust ill-treatment by her enemies and punishes evildoers. He is also "just" in punishing Israel by exile (chaps. 63f), but is willing to "pity" her when she repents and does what is right (cf. 64:3[4]f); he is a "judge" who shows "pity" (e.g., 30:18). Such mercy is also extended to proselytes (54:15f). Where the context has not referred to Israel's sins, but rather to her being unjustly oppressed or to her doing what is right, then δικαιοσυνη is used unambiguously to refer to deliverance of Israel and punishment of evildoers; but where the context has emphasised Israel's sins, then the translator uses ελεημοσυνη for (ἰσχυρις) referring to God's delivering act.

It may be helpful to contrast our conclusions with those of Dodd,<sup>8</sup> Hill<sup>9</sup> and Ziesler:<sup>10</sup>

(a) There is considerable, but certainly not complete, semantic overlap between (ἰσχυρις) and δικαιοσυνη with reference to God. δικαιοσυνη is usually "justice"; as a good judge, however, God in his practice of justice may include the wise use of mercy.

(b) δικαιοσυνη and ελεημοσυνη cannot be used interchangeably for ἰσχυρις and ἴδιον (Ziesler), nor in fact is there evidence that the translator saw in ἴδιον and ἰσχυρις any covenantal association or connotation of faithfulness (Hill). Nor,

on the other hand, are the two aspects of πτυ polarized into δικαιοσυνη and ελεημοσυνη (Dodd).

(c) Nowhere does δικαιοσυνη 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 δικαιοσυνη itself has Greek connotation.

(e) Nevertheless, it must be said that, because of the contexts of (η)πτυ in MT, the translator uses δικαιοσυνη 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 δικαιοσυνη.<sup>11</sup> The Isaiah context rather serves to emphasise this possible (albeit sometimes misused and neglected) content of δικαιοσυνη 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 δικαιοου 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 δικαιοσυνη and δικαιοου 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 δικαιοσυνη referring to man, the Jewish context links "righteousness" with God's requirements but does not alter the basic Greek connotation of "righteousness." δικαιοσυνη 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

<sup>1</sup>C. T. Fritsch, "The International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies," *JSJ* 3 (1972) 5.

<sup>2</sup>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.

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

<sup>4</sup>Some of these issues are discussed in detail in my book in separate chapters and appendices: the translation of  $\tau\omicron\pi$  in Isaiah, the relationship between Israel and the nations in MT and LXX, "pity" to the wrongdoer in classical Greek, and the translation of  $\sigma\epsilon\beta$ -,  $\alpha\delta\iota\kappa$ - and  $\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon$ - words.

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

<sup>6</sup>A detailed re-examination of classical and hellenistic (non-Jewish) Greek usage of  $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\sigma\upsilon\nu\eta$  and cognates led to a two-fold conclusion regarding  $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon\nu$ . (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  $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon\nu$  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."

<sup>7</sup>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.

<sup>8</sup>C. H. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1935).

<sup>9</sup>see note 5.

<sup>10</sup>see note 7.

<sup>11</sup>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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1. Record of work published or in progress. (Please print or type in publishable bibliographic format.)
2. Record of Septuagint theses and dissertations completed or in preparation.
3. Reports significant for Septuagint and cognate studies. Items of newly discovered manuscripts or of original ground-breaking research will be given primary consideration. Reports should be brief and informative and may be written in English, French, or German. Greek and Hebrew need not be transliterated.
4. Abstracts of Septuagint papers read before international, national, regional, and local academic meetings. Abstracts should be previously unpublished, not more than one page (8½" by 11"; 22 by 28 cm.), double-spaced, including the time, place, and occasion of the presentation.

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