



BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION  
FOR SEPTUAGINT AND COGNATE STUDIES

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## BULLETIN IOSCS

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**THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR  
SEPTUAGINT AND COGNATE STUDIES**

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## MINUTES OF THE IOSCS MEETING

7th December, 1987--Mariott Hotel, Boston

### *Programme*

3:45 - 5:45 *Albert Pietersma presiding*

Johann Cook, University of Stellenbosch, "Hellenistic Influence in the Greek of Proverbs?"

Claude Cox, McMaster University, "Terminology for Sin and Forgiveness in the Greek Translations of Job"

Bernard A. Taylor, Binghamton, NY, "The Majority Text of the Lucian Manuscripts for 1 Reigns: An Update on the Method and the Results"

Leonard Greenspoon, Clemson University, "The Use and Abuse of the Term 'LXX' and Related Terminology in Recent Scholarship"

### *Business Meeting*

The meeting was called to order by the President, Albert Pietersma at 5:45 p.m.

1. Minutes of the 1986 meeting in Jerusalem were read and approved.
2. The President announced that in 1989 we would meet in conjunction with the IOSOT, in Leuven, Belgium. The IOSOT meetings will convene on August 27 and last until September 1. We will meet on the preceding Friday and Saturday, August 25 and 26. Among possible topics for symposia at the 1989 gathering are (a) Qumran, the LXX and the New Testament and (b) LXX Lexicography.
3. The executive Committee proposes an expanded program for next year's meetings in Chicago. In addition to our usual morning or afternoon "open" session, we are proposing an evening plenary session on the impact and significance of D. Barthélemy's *Les Devanciers d'Aquila*. The year 1988 will mark the 25th anniversary of the appearance of that volume. If the plenary session is approved by the SBL Programme Committee, papers were to be solicited for a panel.

4. The Treasurer, Walter Bodine, stated that his report would appear in the upcoming volume of the *Bulletin*. He noted that, as a result of our raising the annual dues to \$5, we are in good financial condition.
5. The Editor of the Bulletin, Melvin Peters, announced that most of the material for volume 20 is in hand. Peters urged members to provide him with information on their own research and that of others.
6. Editor of the SCS Series, Claude Cox, reported that four volumes have recently appeared: the Proceedings of the Jerusalem Meeting, and monographs by Kraft-Tov, Cox, and Peters. He also reported on projected volumes that deal with the Septuagint and with the Pseudepigrapha.
7. The general membership accepted the Executive Committee's recommendation that the positions of Secretary and Treasurer be merged into one office.
8. The following slate of officers was unanimously elected for a period of three years:
  - President: Eugene Ulrich
  - Vice President: Robert Hanhart
  - Secretary-Treasurer: Leonard Greenspoon
  - Editor of the Bulletin: Melvin Peters
  - Editor SCS Series: Claude Cox
  - Honorary President: John Wm Wevers, to join Harry M. Orlinsky
  - Immediate Past President: Albert Pietersma
  - Members at large: to be appointed by the new President at a later date.
9. A motion was passed thanking Albert Pietersma for the services he rendered as president.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 6:16 p.m.

Respectfully submitted  
Leonard Greenspoon  
Secretary-Treasurer

## NEWS AND NOTES

### *Death of Professor Ziegler*

It is with deep regret that *BIOSCS* notes the passing of Professor Joseph Ziegler in October of 1988. A more detailed Memoriam to this distinguished scholar will be forthcoming in the next issue of the *Bulletin*. It is only fortuitous, but entirely fitting, that two of the articles in the current issue deal with or make explicit reference to his work.

### *Note of Appreciation.*

Professor Albert Pietersma served as president of IOSCS from 1981 through 1987. He ordered the business of the Organization with efficiency and skill. A motion of appreciation appears as item 9 of the current Minutes. That seems hardly a sufficient means to express the organization's gratitude to Professor Pietersma for his service. *BIOSCS* takes this opportunity to recognize more fully the contribution of the Immediate Past President and to wish him continued success in his research.

### *LXX and NT: A Review*

Dietrich Alex Koch. *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1986).

The problem of identifying the *Vorlage* of the apostle Paul's frequent quotations from the Hebrew Scriptures has long challenged serious students of Paul's letters. As far back as the 1720's the Englishman William Whiston and the German Johann G. Carpzov were debating whether the Pauline citations or the Masoretic text more faithfully preserved the wording of the original Hebrew Bible.<sup>1</sup> NT scholarship has long since moved beyond such apologetics to an appreciation of the rich diversity that characterizes Paul's frequent appeals to Scripture. Nevertheless, the fundamental question of the relation between Paul's citations and the known texts of the Hebrew Scriptures has yet to be satisfactorily resolved.

<sup>1</sup>W. Whiston, *An Essay Towards Restoring the True Text of the Old Testament* (London: n. p., 1722), and J. G. Carpzov, *A Defence of the Hebrew Bible* (London: n. p., 1729). Cited in E. E. Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1957).

From the standpoint of LXX studies, of course, the more significant question is the reverse: how important are Paul's biblical citations as witnesses to the text of the Hebrew Scriptures? Numerous studies have established beyond doubt that Paul drew his quotations from Greek (not Hebrew) biblical texts that stood not far from the mainstream of our present LXX tradition.<sup>2</sup> Assuming that the texts of the Pauline citations themselves could be established with reasonable certainty, one might anticipate that they would provide valuable evidence for the text of the Greek Bible in the first century CE. A brief survey of the standard printed editions of the LXX, however, would quickly dispel that notion. The classic edition of Holmes and Parsons appears to exclude the NT citations entirely from its critical apparatus. Drs. Alan Brooke and Norman McLean started out citing the evidence of the NT only when it supported known variants within the LXX manuscript tradition, but shifted to including all "definite quotations" after concluding that the original approach resulted in "a somewhat inadequate treatment of such early and important evidence."<sup>3</sup> The editors of the Göttingen Septuagint have obviously struggled with the same problem, listing Paul's quotations as evidence in certain cases and not in others, with no clear explanation for the variations in treatment.<sup>4</sup> For example, Paul's use of the word ἐπικατάρατος instead of κεκατηραμένος ὑπὸ θεοῦ in Gal. 3:13 is cited in full in the apparatus to Dt. 21:23, even though most New Testament scholars would see here a clear instance of Paul's molding the biblical text to fit his own theological and rhetorical purposes.<sup>5</sup> The somewhat adapted citation of Dt. 29:3 in Rom. 11:8, on the other hand, is not mentioned at all in the same volume, despite the fact that at least two of its divergences from the central LXX tradition (the omission of κύριος before ὁ θεός and the substitution of σήμερον

<sup>2</sup>Many of the arguments presented below concerning Paul's reliance on written texts rather than memory can also be seen to support Paul's use of a Greek rather than a Hebrew original. A Hebrew Vorlage is generally presumed only for Rom. 11:35, 1 Cor. 3:19, 2 Cor. 8:15, and 2 Tim. 2:19, in all of which the wording appears to stand closer to the Hebrew than to any known Greek text.

<sup>3</sup>Alan E. Brooke, Norman McLean, and H. St. J. Thackeray, eds., *The Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge: University Press, 1906-), Vol. 1, *Genesis*, p. vii.

<sup>4</sup>On a visit to Duke University in December 1988, Dr. John Wevers informed me that such decisions were left up to the editors of each volume.

<sup>5</sup>See for example the commentaries of Lightfoot (1881), Burton (ICC, 1921), Lagrange (1950), Bligh (1966), Betz (Hermeneia, 1979), and Bruce (NIGTC, 1982). Two features lead most scholars to such a conclusion: (1) the obvious inappropriateness of the original wording for the point Paul wishes to make (the Deuteronomy language depicts God's "curse" as being actualized prior to the "hanging", rather than in the act itself); and (2) the choice of the word ἐπικατάρατος as a replacement (a seemingly intentional echo of Dt. 27:26, cited just three verses earlier). Note also the complete lack of extra-Christian testimony to the Pauline reading.

for ταύτης before ἡμέρας) are rather difficult to explain as intentional Pauline alterations. Most intriguing is the treatment of Rom. 10:6-8, a Christian midrash on Dt. 30:12-14. Here the Pauline forms of v. 6 (= Dt. 30:12) and v. 8 (= Dt. 30:14) are noted in the apparatus along with the other variants, whereas v. 7, which Paul treats likewise as a citation, is omitted entirely. Presumably the editor judged Paul's reworking of the intervening verse (Dt. 30:13) to be so thorough as to preclude the possibility of it representing a different *Vorlage* in any of its details.

To characterize such variations in treatment as a serious weakness in the editorial technique of the Göttingen LXX would of course be short-sighted, since it is the editors' aim in such a project to bring together every piece of evidence that might possibly contribute to a proper evaluation of the text of the Old Greek Bible. What these examples do indicate, however, is the need for a better set of tools to guide LXX textual scholars in their use of the NT evidence. The biblical citations in the NT do indeed afford a valuable glimpse into the status of the Greek and Hebrew texts of the Bible at a relatively early and important period in their development. Their usefulness for text-criticism, however, is clouded by the effects of a relatively "loose" citation practice that runs throughout the NT documents. Whether one attributes it to carelessness, faulty memory, unconscious adaptation, or active "christianization" of the text, the fact remains that the NT authors as a whole do not appear to have been highly scrupulous about adhering to the precise wording of any known text in their frequent citations from the Hebrew Scriptures. Unfortunately, NT scholars have been relatively slow to take up the challenge of providing LXX text critics with practical guidelines for distinguishing between editorial activity and genuine textual variants within the broad corpus of NT citations. As a result, the evidence of the NT citations is generally given little weight by textual scholars as a witness to the text of the LXX.

It is therefore with gratitude that one acknowledges the publication of any work that attempts to bridge the seemingly impassable chasm that sometimes separates these two disciplines. Such a work is Dietrich Alex Koch's *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1986). Though written primarily as a contribution to the broader discussion of Paul's use of the Hebrew Scriptures in explicating his Christian theology, Koch's study offers a number of observations along the way that will be of interest to LXX scholars as well.

Early in his book (pp. 48-57) Koch undertakes a careful investigation of the place of Paul's Greek *Vorlage* within the text-history of the LXX. In the process he moves the study of the Pauline citations a significant step forward by carrying out a separate analysis for each book cited by Paul, rather than treating the LXX as a monolithic entity in the manner of most previous Pauline scholarship. (Koch acknowledges the assistance of Robert Hanhart of the

Göttingen Septuagint project in this part of his study.) Through a careful comparison of the Pauline citations with the primary witnesses for each book of the Greek Bible, Koch is able to conclude that Paul stands closer to the tradition represented by A and Q in his citations from the book of Isaiah; whereas his quotes from the Pentateuch, while more diverse in their textual origins, appear on the whole most closely related to the tradition found in F. Quotations from the Twelve are too few and diverse to allow a clear textual orientation to emerge, but agreement seems to be greatest with the tradition represented by V. No specific profile can be identified for the multitude of Psalms citations found in Paul's letters.

Several readings from Isaiah (8:14 in Rom. 9:33, 25:8 in 1 Cor. 15:54, 28:11ff in 1 Cor. 14:21, and 52:7 in Rom. 10:15), along with Paul's two citations from Job (41:3 in Rom. 11:35 and 5:12-13 in 1 Cor. 3:19) and two from 3 Reigns (19:10 and 19:18 in Rom. 11:3-4) do not appear to fit within the known text-history of the LXX, and must therefore be traced to different *Vorlagen*. To explain these texts, some of which agree with one or another of the later "Hebraizing" recensions of the LXX, Koch posits the use of Greek texts similar to those found at Qumran, where an earlier revision of the LXX in the direction of the Hebrew text seems to be indicated (pp. 57-78). The presence of such a wide diversity of text-types within the Pauline corpus is attributed to Paul's supposed practice of excerpting potentially useful texts from a broad range of biblical manuscripts in the course of his travels throughout the Roman Empire (pp. 80-81, 99-101, 284-5). Finally, a number of texts are identified in which divergent readings would appear to be attributable to textual developments predating Paul's use of the text. These include the addition of μή to Gen. 21:10 in Gal. 4:30, the addition of ἀντά to Lev. 18:5 in Gal. 3:12 and Rom. 10:5, the use of ὅς instead of ὅστις and the addition of τοῦ to Dt. 27:26 in Gal. 3:10, possibly the omission of σφόδρα in Rom. 10:8 and the substitution of κηνώσεις for φημίσεις in 1 Cor. 9:9, and additional variants in Rom. 9:25 (Hos. 2:25), 9:26 (Hos. 2:1), 11:9 (Ps. 68:23), and 12:20 (Prov. 25:21) (pp. 48-78 *passim*). Unfortunately, Koch nowhere spells out his methodology for determining which variations are Pauline and which represent the use of a different *Vorlage*.

Another aspect of Koch's work that would be of interest to students of the LXX is his careful investigation of Paul's technique of citing Scripture (pp. 92-98, 189). Here he offers what will no doubt be viewed as the definitive refutation of all "memory lapse" theories for explaining Paul's relative "freedom" with the wording of the biblical text. Though most of his arguments are not new, the cumulative effect of Koch's marshalling of the evidence is highly convincing. Among the observations that he puts forward are: (1) the exact agreement of fully 40% of Paul's citations with a known text of the LXX, including numerous instances where the wording of the LXX diverges significantly from the Hebrew; (2) the close approximation of almost all the

remaining texts to the wording of one or another version of the LXX, with most of the divergences attributable to the needs of the new context; (3) the general agreement between Paul and the LXX concerning the form of the divine name (θεός or κύριος) used in the various citations; and (4) the presence of different wording in two instances of parallel citations (Rom. 11:5 = Gal. 3:11, Rom. 9:33 = Rom. 10:11), which would appear to point toward intentional modification of a known biblical text. Additional evidence said to support Paul's reliance on written texts rather than memory citation includes: (1) the presence of pre-Pauline Hebraizing text-forms in a number of Paul's citations (see above); (2) the lack of citations in the so-called "prison epistles", which might be traced to the inaccessibility of written texts at the time they were composed; (3) instances of apparent haplography in Paul's reading of his Greek *Vorlage* (Rom. 9:27, 10:15); and (4) indications of Paul's ongoing personal study in the text of Scripture, including the shift in his treatment of Abraham between Galatians and Romans and the careful construction of the Scriptural catena in Rom. 3:10-18.

Koch's fundamental thesis, for which he presents a strong case, is that Paul actively and consciously modified the wording of his *Vorlage* where necessary to bring out what he as a Christian felt was the true meaning of the Scriptures as a witness to the coming of Christ and his gospel. In a careful examination of the individual citations (pp. 102-56), Koch identifies a number of ways in which Paul commonly modified the wording of his texts: (1) reversing the order of words (primarily for accentuation);<sup>6</sup> (2) changing person, number, gender, tense, and mood (to suit a new context or to render a new sense from a verse);<sup>7</sup> (3) omitting words from the text (to make it more concise, to accentuate, or to offer a new interpretation);<sup>8</sup> (4) adding words to the text (relatively

<sup>6</sup>Note for example the reversal of clauses in Paul's (highly adapted) citation of Hos. 2:25 in Rom. 9:25, which brings "not my people" into a place of prominence in accordance with his application of the verse to Gentile Christians, and 2 Cor. 8:15, where a transposition of subject and verb in the first clause creates a neat formal parallelism. Other instances can be seen in Rom. 2:25 (citing Is. 52:5) and 1 Cor. 15:55 (citing Hos. 13:14).

<sup>7</sup>Typical examples of conforming the text to its new grammatical context can be found in Rom. 3:18 (αὐτοῦ from Ps. 35:2 changed to αὐτῶν), Rom. 10:19 (αὐτοῦς from Dt. 32:21 modified to ὑμᾶς), and 1 Cor. 15:27 (ὑπέταξας from Ps. 8:7 replaced by ὑπέταξεν). More theologically motivated changes can be seen in Rom. 9:17, where reversion to the MT's first person address (ἐξήγησα in place of the διετηρήθης of Ex. 9:16 LXX) suits Paul's emphasis on the absolute sovereignty of God, and Rom. 10:15, where the shift from a singular to a plural participle (from the εὐαγγελιζομένου of Is. 52:7 to the Pauline τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων) is necessary for Paul's re-application of the verse to Christian missionaries. Additional examples may be found in Rom. 10:11 (citing Is. 28:16), 1 Cor. 14:21 (= Is. 28:11-12), and 1 Cor. 15:54-5 (combining Is. 25:8 with Hos. 13:14).

<sup>8</sup>Instances of omissions that affect the meaning of the text include Rom. 1:17 (the μου in the LXX of Hab. 2:4 clearly refers to the πᾶσις of God, not man), Gal. 3:13 (reflecting Paul's Christian sensitivity to speaking of Christ as "cursed ὑπὸ θεοῦ" as in Dt. 21:23), and Gal. 4:30 (adapting a narrative declaration by Sarah into a universal principle by omitting the

infrequent, usually to clarify its sense);<sup>9</sup> (5) replacing words or phrases by new formulations (to adapt to Pauline patterns of speech, to accentuate, or to express a new interpretation);<sup>10</sup> (6) introducing a portion of one verse into the text of another (so-called "mixed" or "conflated" citations);<sup>11</sup> and (7) combining different texts back-to-back under a single introductory formula ("combined citations").<sup>12</sup> According to Koch's calculations, such intentional modifications can be found in fully 56% of Paul's citations (52 out of a total of 93), with over half the modified texts experiencing multiple alterations. Up to three-fourths of these modifications introduce basic changes in the "sense" of the texts so treated, with most tied directly to the function of the citation within its new context. All in all, says Koch, the evidence is overwhelming that Paul was aware of the precise wording of the Scriptural text in every case, and either retained or altered that wording depending on what he intended to signify by his use of the text (pp 186-90). The significance of such conclusions for the use of Paul's citations as a witness to the text of the LXX cannot be overestimated. Regardless of whether one agrees with his handling of every individual citation, Koch has made a convincing case for attributing the bulk of Paul's deviations from the central LXX textual tradition to the editorial activities of Paul himself.<sup>13</sup> This means that text critics have generally been on the right track in downplaying the importance of Paul's divergent text-forms as a witness to the text of the Greek Bible in the first century CE. It does not mean, however, that the evidence of

ταύτην, ταύτης, and μου Ἰσαακ of Gen. 21:10). Other omissions of various types can be observed in Rom. 3:15-17 (= Is. 59:7-8), Rom. 9:28 (= Is. 10:22-23), Rom. 10:6-8 (= Dt. 30:12-14), and 1 Cor. 2:16 (= Is. 40:13; cf. Rom. 11:34).

<sup>9</sup>For instance, the twofold addition of οὐκ to Ps. 13:2 in Rom. 3:11, used to maintain the sense of the original in a new context, and the emphatic addition of ἐγὼ to Dt. 32:35 in Rom. 12:19.

<sup>10</sup>Out of the numerous examples may be noted the substitution of ἐλευσσομαι for ἀναστρέψω in Rom. 9:9 (the original reference to the angel's "return" in Gen. 18:14 would have made no sense in the new context); the use of ἀθετήσω in place of κρύψω in 1 Cor. 1:19 (strengthening the depiction of the divine action in Is. 29:14 and creating a better parallel with ἀπολώ); and the incorporation of σοφῶν into the citation of Ps. 94:10 in 1 Cor. 3:20 in place of the more general ἀνθρώπων (tying the verse more explicitly into the theme of the vanity of human wisdom that dominates 1 Cor. 1-3).

<sup>11</sup>See for example Rom. 9:9, which combines elements of Gen. 18:10 and 18:14; Rom. 9:25-27, where the καλέσω that introduces v. 25 (citing Hos. 2:25) is derived directly from the κληθήσονται of v. 26 (citing Hos. 2:1); Rom. 9:33, which merges a phrase from Is. 8:14 into Is. 28:16; and Gal. 3:8, where Gen. 12:3 and 18:18 are conflated.

<sup>12</sup>The classic example is Rom. 3:10-18, which combines into a single "citation" verses from Ps.13:1-3, Ps. 5:10, Ps. 139:4, Ps. 9:28, Is. 59:7-8, and Ps. 35:2. Other examples include Rom. 11:26-7, citing Is. 59:20-21 and Is. 27:9; Rom. 11:33-6, citing Is. 40:13 and Job 41:3; and 1 Cor. 15:54-5, citing Is. 25:8 and Hos. 13:14.

the Pauline citations can now be conveniently set aside in the conduct of LXX text-criticism. While a great many of Paul's divergent readings can now be attributed with confidence to Paul's own technique of citing Scripture, there remain many others for which the origins are far from clear. Koch's seminal attempt to distinguish intentional Pauline modifications from genuine textual variants represents a major step in the right direction, but his failure to specify the grounds for his various conclusions renders their uncritical use for text-critical purposes suspect. More attention could also be given to evidence within the LXX tradition that might support Paul's use of a different *Vorlage* for at least some of his apparently divergent readings. In a number of instances Koch attributes similarities to the influence of the Pauline citations on the LXX manuscript tradition, with no attempts to justify such a conclusion.<sup>14</sup> The existence of such evidence is noteworthy in instances where no clear Pauline motivation for the deviation can be identified, but becomes especially relevant in those "gray areas" where either a Pauline adaptation or the use of a different *Vorlage* could be posited (e. g., the omission of σφόδρα in Rom. 10:6, citing Dt. 30:12, and the omission of ταύτην and ταύτης in Gal. 4:30, citing Gen. 21:10). Since Koch fails to offer arguments in favor of his positions on many of the more questionable Pauline deviations, it remains for subsequent investigators to sift through the evidence to isolate which are likely the result of Pauline editorial activity and which might represent genuine readings of a variant Greek text. Whether such studies will ever be carried to fruition, however, depends in part on the willingness of serious students of Paul to set aside their immediate exegetical and theological concerns in the interest of furthering the development of scholarship in a related field. Until this happens, the potential contribution of the Pauline citations to a proper evaluation of the text of the LXX will remain largely unrealized.

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RECORD OF WORK

PUBLISHED OR IN PROGRESS

- Alexander, P.S. "The Textual Tradition of Targum Lamentations" *Abr N* 24 (1986) 1-26
- Althann, Robert. Review of: P. KYLE McCARTER, JR., *Textual Criticism: Recovering the Text of the Hebrew Bible*. Guides to Biblical Scholarship, OT Guides. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986). *CBQ* 50 (1988) 690-91
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## BARTHÉLEMY AND PROTO-SEPTUAGINT STUDIES

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Twenty-five years ago Dominique Barthélemy's *Les Devanciers d'Aquila* appeared; its subtitle (in translation) was "First full publication of the text of the Minor Prophets Fragments found in the desert of Judah, preceded by a study on the Greek translations and recensions of the Bible produced in the first century of our era under the influence of the Palestinian Rabbinate."<sup>1</sup> Its impact was immediate and widespread, and today there is no reputable Septuagint scholar who has not been influenced by it.

In this study I shall reflect on two basic contributions which seem to me to have resulted from this publication. Some 20 years ago, in my review of the work in the *Theologische Rundschau* I said:

Apparently the most important conclusion which we can make with certainty is that our texts are part of LXX history and are not a new translation. . . . Our text should once and for all bury Kahle's theory of 'many translations'; here is a text which is obviously Jewish and which just as obviously shows that it is a revision of the so-called 'Christian' LXX text.<sup>2</sup>

What Barthélemy has shown is that we have a Jewish recension of the old LXX text. What he presupposes is that there is a text being revised; the recension is an attempt to correct an existing translation.

<sup>1</sup>*Les Devanciers d'Aquila*; Première Publication Intégrale du Texte des Fragments du Dodecapropheton trouvés dans le désert de Juda, précédée d'une étude sur les traductions et recensions grecques de la Bible réalisées au premier siècle de notre ère sous l'influence du Rabbinate Palestinien. SVT X, Leiden, 1963.

<sup>2</sup>*Theologische Rundschau* N.F. XXXIII (1968) 67f. [The actual quote is in German and reads: "Wahrscheinlich ist die bedeutendste Schlussfolgerung, die man mit Sicherheit ziehen kann, die, dass unsere Texte ein Teil der LXX-Geschichte sind und nicht eine neue Übersetzung bieten. . . . Unser Text sollte nun ein für allemal Kahles Theorie von den 'vielen Übersetzungen' begraben. Hier ist ein Text, der offensichtlich jüdisch ist und der ebenso offensichtlich zeigt, dass er eine Revision des so genannten 'christlichen' LXX-Textes ist. Ed.]

### I. Proto-Septuagint Studies.

This then means that proto-Septuagint studies are a valid enterprise. There was a Septuagint Pentateuch created in Egypt in the third century B.C., and the attempt to get back to the earliest possible pre-recensional form of that original text is as legitimate and as urgent as is the creation of critical editions of the N.T.

Since I have been rather preoccupied since the appearance of Barthélemy's volume with proto-Septuagint studies for the Greek Pentateuch, I might be permitted to reflect on just what that basic contribution of Barthélemy has meant methodologically for the establishment of the critical text and for the understanding of its textual history. It means that Jewish pre-Christian remains can be properly examined as part of the LXX tradition. In Kahle's fanciful reconstruction, the third century quotations from the Pentateuch by Demetrius the Hellenist as well as Aristobulus' reference to the "law code among us . . . translated . . . before Alexander's Conquest" concern translation(s) earlier than the LXX.<sup>3</sup> The fact is that if these prove anything it is that the LXX existed as early as the third century B.C.

It also means that the early Jewish Greek Biblical texts are to be taken as part of the text history of the LXX and are important witnesses to be used for the establishment of the critical text. Two examples immediately come to mind. Manuscript 957 is a small fragment of Deuteronomy coming from the 2nd century B.C.<sup>4</sup> Kahle<sup>5</sup> took this Manchester Papyrus as having "been written before the Alexandrian Committee commissioned by the Jews began its work." By an Alexandrian Committee he means a committee in the latter part of the 2nd century B.C. which he has reconstructed for the creation of a revision which he maintains The Letter of Aristeas was written to defend, and for which there is

<sup>3</sup>P. E. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza*, 2nd edition (1959) 221.

<sup>4</sup>First published by C. H. Roberts, *Two Biblical Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester*, 1936. Cf. J. W. Wevers, "The Earliest Witness to the LXX Deuteronomy" *CBQ* 39 (1977) 240-244

<sup>5</sup>*Op. cit.*, 221.

not one scrap of evidence. These fragments were characterized by Vaccari in 1936 as being Lucianic<sup>6</sup> on the basis of three readings which they supported. In actual fact, it is now fully clear that each of these three readings is a witness to the original text of Deuteronomy. Unfortunately this surprising characterization of a second century B.C. text as Lucianic, though it ought to have been severely questioned by everyone as being most unlikely, has been widely accepted<sup>7</sup> and has become canonical wisdom. It is, however, quite untrue, and even a Lucianic form of the Pentateuch is itself an uncertain matter.<sup>8</sup>

A second example is of much greater significance. It concerns MS 848 or Papyrus Fouad 266.<sup>9</sup> This was copied cir. 50 B.C. and contains substantial parts of Deut. 17-33. What makes this find so sensational is that it gives us an insight into the nature of the pre-recensional text of Deuteronomy as it existed in Egypt only two centuries after it was translated and almost half a millennium before Codex Vaticanus.<sup>10</sup>

Its significance lies not only in its unusual value for identifying the original text of Deuteronomy, but also in showing us what a text with non-recensional revisions actually looks like. This kind of Egyptian text is in essence worlds apart from the kind of Palestinian recensional text that Barthélemy published.

<sup>6</sup>"Fragmentum Biblicum Saeculi II ante Christum" *Bib XVIII* (1936) 501-504.

<sup>7</sup>E.g., in B. M. Metzger, "The Lucianic Recension of the Greek Bible" *Chapters in the History of N. T. Textual Criticism*. NTS IV (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1963) 1-41.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. the writer's "A Lucianic Recension in Genesis?" *BIOSSCS VI* (1973) 22-35; "The Lucianic Problem" *Text History of the Greek Genesis* (1974) 158-175; and particularly see *Text History of the Greek Deuteronomy* (1978) 25-30.

<sup>9</sup>Facsimile edition: Zaki Aly, *Three Rolls of the Early Septuagint, Genesis and Deuteronomy* (P. Fouad inv. no. 266 = Rahlfs' nos. 847, 848 and 942), Plates and Notes in Collaboration with the International Archive of Greek and Latin Papyri of the Association Internationale de Papyrologues, 1980.

<sup>10</sup>See J. W. Wevers, "The Attitude of the Greek Translator of Deuteronomy, Beiträge für alttestamentlichen Theologie" *Festschrift für Walther Zimmerli zum 70. Geburtstag* (1977) 498-505. For a full analysis cf. *Idem*, "The Text Character of 848" in *Text History of the Greek Deuteronomy* (1978) 64-85.

So one may conclude that in the Kahle vs Lagarde-Rahlfs controversy Kahle was wrong and the Lagarde school was right. Not that Lagarde's methodology for reconstructing the text history of the LXX can be accepted *holus bolus* as a blueprint for restoring the original text. His views are far too simplistic. Jerome had referred to the *trifaria varietas*, i.e. the three Christian recensions of his day: the Lucianic in Syria, the Hesychian in Egypt and the Hexaplaric in Palestine.<sup>11</sup> Lagarde's plan for recovering the original LXX was first to identify these three recensional texts, and then by removing all the recensional elements to recover the pre-recensional text of the LXX.<sup>12</sup> To this end he published in 1883 his Lucianic text<sup>13</sup> propaedeutic to an eventual critical edition of the LXX, a text which his disciple Rahlfs called "Lagarde's biggest failure."<sup>14</sup>

My own work on the Greek Pentateuch illustrates how much more complex its text history really is. Only one of the three Christian recensions can be clearly identified, namely the hexaplaric, whereas the other two remain uncertain. On the other hand an analysis of the approximately 100 extant Greek MSS copied before Gutenberg, of papyri remains, versions and patristic quotations has yielded not only the major hexaplaric witnesses but also two sub-groups, a large Catena group which includes two sub-groups as well, and nine further distinctive textual groups or families--a total of eleven text families and four sub-groups. Of course, none of these MSS exhibits a pure text; all MSS are eclectic;<sup>15</sup> in fact, several MSS remain which are so mixed in character as to

<sup>11</sup>Praef. in *Lib. Paralip.*: "totusque orbis hac inter se trifaria varietate compugnat."

<sup>12</sup>First outlined in *Symmicta* II (1880), 137-148, and later in *Ankündigung einer neuen Ausgabe der griechischen Übersetzung des alten Testaments* (1882) especially p. 22ff.

<sup>13</sup>*Librorum Veteris Testamenti canonicorum pars prior Graece Pauli Lagarde Studio et sumptibus edita.*

<sup>14</sup>"Dieser Ausgabe. . . überhaupt wohl der Grösste Fehlschlag Lagardes," *Paul de Lagardes wissenschaftliches Lebenswerk in Rahmen einer Geschichte seines Lebens dargestellt*. MSU IV, 1 (1928) 78f.

<sup>15</sup>P. de Lagarde, *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Übersetzung der Proverben* (1863), in his first axiom of text criticism says "die manuskripte der griechischen Übersetzung des a. t. sind alle entweder unmittelbar oder mittelbar das resultat eines eklektischen verfahrens. . . , p.3.

defy classification. Nor can one say that these eleven text families are independent of each other. At the risk of gross oversimplification I would say that my overall impression might well identify larger clusters of text in the tradition; some such clustering would be attracted to the B text, the A text, the hexaplaric text, the Catena tradition and the Byzantine group.<sup>16</sup> But except for the hexaplaric text these clusters do not on the whole show recensional traits. Furthermore, these groups may be said to have probably originated in certain geographical areas: the B text as well as the A text, in Egypt, the hexaplaric text in Palestine, and the Catena and the Byzantine texts in Byzantium.

What is clear from all this is that the text history of the Greek Pentateuch is complex and represents such a degree of eclecticism as to make a clear statement of stemmata for any group, let alone for any individual MS, quite impossible, even though it is throughout equally clear that it is all part of the textual development of a single original translation.

There is a second approach towards the critical text which is not through the text history at all but rather through the translator himself.<sup>17</sup> The LXX is a library of materials deriving from different translators of different countries. Even the books of the Pentateuch are the products of different translators. This was already known to Zacharias Frankel in 1851,<sup>18</sup> but the implications of that knowledge have not always been drawn by today's critics. Each translator's approach to his task must be studied through a careful analysis of his work. Is his reverence for the language of the source document so great that it

<sup>16</sup>With considerable hesitation I suggest the following tendencies towards clustering: for the B text *xf* and MS 55; for the A text F, M and *y*; the hexaplaric text *O''* and *z*; the Catena text *C'' s of*, with hex readings on the margins of *C''* and *s*, and the Byzantine text group *d n t* and to a lesser extent *b*. It must be emphasized that these are not to be identified as distinct textual entities but merely as textual drifts.

<sup>17</sup>Cf. my discussions in *BIOSCS* 18 (1985) 16-38; see also "Translation and Canonicity: A Study in the Narrative Portions of Exodus." *Scripta Signa Vocis* (Festschrift J. H. Hospers, 1986) 295-303; but particularly the various chapters entitled "The Critical Text" in my *Text History of the Greek Genesis* (1974), *Leviticus* (1986) and *Exodus* (in press).

<sup>18</sup>*Über den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik*, and already in his *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta* which appeared ten years earlier. Cf. *BIOSCS* 18 (1985) 19-21.

overwhelms the demands of the target language? i.e. is the translation a literalistic word for word rendering, a noun for noun, verb for verb, preposition for preposition, kind of Greek? Or does the translator have such a fine sense of the demands of Greek style and rhetoric that the content but not the structure of the source language is expressed? One might thus contrast Numbers with Exodus, the former being far more Hebraic, and the latter much better Greek. Or for extreme cases outside the Pentateuch one might contrast Ecclesiastes in its painful Aquilanic literalness with the free paraphrase of Proverbs where even metaphors and similes are changed so as to be more attractive to a Hellenized audience.

Or to ask another question: does the translator tend to translate with stereotyped patterns as in the census reports and repeated offerings in Numbers or does he engage in variation for variety's sake as in Leviticus? What are the patterns of usage which a particular translator follows? Does he follow his Hebrew word for word, clause for clause, or is he aware of the larger context of the book and thus level out the text as is frequently the case with the Exodus translator?

Such an analysis may also involve grammatical matters. For example, the Deut translator often adapts the case of a relative pronoun by attraction to its antecedent, whereas in Numbers the grammatically correct case is insisted on. Or again did the translator prefer Hellenistic forms to Attic ones? Or individual patterns of usage may emerge. The Exodus translator renders the phrase "in the land of Egypt" inevitably by ἐν γῆ Αἰγύπτῳ i.e. the word "Egypt" is in the dative, but the phrase "in all the land of Egypt" always appears as ἐν πάσῃ γῆ Αἰγύπτου i.e. "Egypt" is in the genitive. But in Genesis the pattern is different. In the phrase "in all/whole land of Egypt" the name is in the dative three times and only once in the genitive. The phrase "in the land of Egypt" is translated as in Exodus except for one case where the genitive occurs. This is but a minor point but it is illustrative of the kind of stylistic patterns or mannerisms that occur.

It is scarcely necessary for me to belabor the point any longer. By now it is clear that one should view with scepticism if not alarm general claims

concerning Septuagint usage unless they are verified by full study. Far more convincing are statements on usage or translation techniques of single translators.

To summarize what has been said thus far, the search for an original text from which extant witnesses in Greek are derivative is a valid one. But in so doing it is methodologically wrong to impose on the text history of such texts a preconceived pattern of recensional activity; the witnesses must be sorted out and allowed to speak for themselves without presuppositions, and text families must be identified on the basis of factual, textual evidence.

It is then clear that the recovery of the original, or better said, the establishment of the critical text, involves not simply an assessment of the text history but also an understanding of the mind, habits, and quirks of the translator.

## II. The Recension

Meanwhile in Palestine, Seleucid interference in matters Jewish created a strong sense of nationalist fervor which focused particularly on strict adherence to the practices demanded by the Torah. The Maccabean revolt gave impetus to nationalist feeling and pride. Not that this new feeling of independence and self-sufficiency could stem the onward march of Greek as the lingua franca of the civilized world, but it could demand full observance of the law as found in the Pentateuch. Furthermore it could look askance at and make demands upon the diaspora. For the Lord roars from Zion and not from Alexandria; it was Jerusalem which he had chosen to put his name there; Israel was the land of promise, not Egypt. Is it any wonder then that questions might be raised about the origins of the Greek Pentateuch? Was it after all legitimate; did it actually render the hands unclean?

It is in this context that the *raison d'être* of the Legend of Pseudo-Aristeas can best be understood. Written as most scholars agree in the latter part of the second pre-Christian century, its central story stresses the Palestinian roots of the translation, a translation made over a century beforehand but whose authenticity was only now being questioned.



Of course the story was made up out of whole cloth; of course it is not a piece of historical writing, but it did carry an important message. The sacred text had been sent by the high priest in Jerusalem; that Hebrew text was not only not an Egyptian copy, it was actually Palestinian and it was official. Furthermore the translators were not even diaspora Jews; there were six chosen from each of the twelve tribes of Israel resident in the holy land, and these 72 had been commissioned by the high priest himself. What could be more authentic than that! And that Greek translation had been rendered canonical by the Jewish community in Alexandria who not only accepted it but declared accursed anyone who might add or subtract anything from the work or effect any change in it whatsoever.<sup>19</sup>

And the Letter was indeed successful. For over a century the Greek Pentateuch was more or less unquestioned as the canonical Greek form of the Torah. It is not an accident that the recension represented the fragments published by Barthélemy finds no parallel in the Pentateuch. In fact, even for two of the three Christian recensions I can find no convincing evidence.

Which brings me back to Barthélemy, who after all was dealing with a Jewish recension as found in the Minor Prophets fragments. And I would say that the second basic contribution which Barthélemy has made is the demonstration that R is a recension of the old Septuagint.<sup>20</sup> What is abundantly clear from Barthélemy is just what a recension looks like. Certain clear norms for identifying a recension stand out, and it might be worthwhile to examine these in some detail.

1). It must be clear that a recension is not a new translation but a revision of an existing text. In other words the text being revised must be identifiable, must shine through. In our case it is the old Septuagint. To illustrate this let me take the first two columns which contain fragments of the text Jonah. Most words are fragmentary and so one can only consider the number of words which actually show change. And one can only count such

<sup>19</sup>Aristeas, 310f. Cf. also, *BIOCS* 18 (1985) 18-19.

<sup>20</sup>*Op. cit.*, 179

words as being extant whose restoration is fairly certain to be correct. There are 15 verses represented in the two columns. Approximately 149 words can be read or restored with some certainty. Of these 38 show a revised text; the remainder do not. Though the proportions which these numbers suggest may not be entirely accurate since the text is fragmentary and partially restored it does reflect an overall picture of a text which has been extensively revised but at least two thirds of which has been left untouched and thus easily identified. A recension then is a revision of an existing text.

2). A second criterion for a recension is a standard used for determining what needs revision and what can be left unrevised. That norm for this text is correspondence to the Hebrew text. To illustrate this I shall again use only columns 1 and 2.

a). Such changes may involve number. In 2:4 נהר "river" is taken (correctly) as a collective by the LXX and translated by ποταμοί. Our text changes this to ποταμος. So too at 3:10 הרעה הרבם "their evil way" in referring to the Ninevities is understood by LXX as τῶν ὁδῶν αὐτῶν πονηρῶν "their evil ways." This was corrected by the revisor to the singular της οδου πονηρας. Or at 4:2 דברך "my word" is singular in the Hebrew, but LXX took it as οἱ λόγοι μου "my words" and R changed it to ο λογος μου.

b). Revision may involve articulation. At 2:5 the phrase קדשך היתכך "your holy temple" is correctly rendered in LXX by, τὸν ναὸν τὸν ἅγιόν σου i.e. with both "temple" and "holy" articulated. The Hebrew phrase is of course not articulated and our scroll has ναον αγιον σου with both articles omitted, resulting in poor Greek though fine Hebrew.

c). Revision may simply change the word order. At 2:4 יסבבני "shall surround me" is translated in LXX as "me shall they surround." The reviser has placed the pronoun με after the verb to correspond more closely to MT.

d). Should the LXX have a shorter text the reviser filled it in to correspond to the Hebrew. At 2:5 the Hebrew has "I am cast out from your sight" = עיניך מנגד. LXX translated the compound preposition idiomatically by ἐξ, but to reviser this left נגד untranslated, so he added, εναντίας i.e. "from over against (your sight)." And at 3:9 MT has ונחב ושוב "turn and

repent." LXX simply has *ἐὶ μετανοήσῃ* omitting the first verb. This the reviser supplies by adding *ἐπιστρέφει καὶ* "return and."

e). Free or idiomatic renderings are also changed to more literal ones. Thus at 1:14 *נִקְיָן דָּם* "innocent blood" is rendered by LXX as *αἷμα δίκαιον* "righteous blood." But *δίκαιον* is not quite the same as *נִקְיָן* and R changed it to *ἀθῶον* "innocent." At 2:6 the colorful statement *שָׂא לְרִאשׁוֹן עָרְסוֹ* literally "reeds (were) wrapped about my head" is prosaically interpreted by LXX as *ἔδυν ἡ κεφαλὴ μου* "my head sank down." This has been changed by R to a literal *ἔλας περιέσχεν τὴν κεφαλὴν μου* "reeds encircled my head." Or at 3:8 the Hebrew clause "they turned each from his way" *וַיִּטְּוּ מִדְּרָגְתוֹ* is correctly translated by LXX as *ἕκαστος ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ* "each from his way." But *וַיִּטְּוּ* to the reviser meant "man" and should be translated by *ἀνὴρ* wherever it occurred and so *ἀνὴρ* is substituted for *ἕκαστος*. Or to mention but one more, at 4:1 it is said that Jonah *וַיִּחַר לוֹ* "became angry." The LXX with due regard for the context of the story made an excellent choice in *συνεχύθη* "he became frustrated, confounded" which described Jonah's mood precisely. This, however, was far too free for the reviser who changed it to *ἠθύμησεν* "became angry."

f). And finally at times the reviser is impelled by his reverence for the Jewish sensibilities of his time. Rather than use *κύριος* as the substitute for the tetragrammaton, he has reverted to the YHWH of the original in each case and that in the archaic Canaanite script. Also illustrative of this same avoidance of possible offence may well be his revision of LXX's translation of *נִפְחַן*. The Niph'al of the root *נִפְחַן* occurs both at 3:9 and 10. LXX in both cases used the verb *μετανοεῖν* "to change one's mind, to repent." Since it is God who is the subject of the verb this means that God has changed his mind. The reviser in both cases has substituted the passive of *παρακαλεῖν* "to relent."

3). A third criterion for a recension is evidence of a certain consistency in the revision. There is then a marked tendency in R to avoid polysemy in favor of a one to one correspondence. Accordingly *וַיִּטְּוּ* is rendered regularly by *ἀνὴρ* even when it really means "each one"; *נִלְכַּח* is rendered throughout by *καίγε*; the verb *וַיִּשְׁבַּח* becomes *ἐπιστρέφω* even when followed by *וַיִּבְרַח* where *ἀποστρέφω* is used in the LXX. Presumably based on the Psalms our reviser

renders the title *וַיִּבְרַח מִפְּנֵי יְהוָה* by *YHWH τῶν δυνάμεων*, which incidentally always occurs articulated in spite of the lack of an article in the Hebrew original. The conjunction *וְ* which is translated in LXX by *ὅτι* is usually changed to *διότι* by the reviser. And the various Hebrew equivalents for "therefore," *עַל זֵאת* *עַל לִבְךָ* and even *כִּי*, all become *διὰ τοῦτο* in the Minor Prophets fragments. Over against this LXX used *διὰ τοῦτο* for *עַל לִבְךָ* as well as one time for *עַל* which is elsewhere rendered by *ἐνεκεν τοῦτου*. It also used *ἐνεκεν τοῦτου* for *עַל זֵאת*. For *כִּי* LXX apparently understood the root *כָּן* since it is translated by *ἐτοιμάζω* "be prepared." At the other end of the scale Aq reserved *διὰ τοῦτο* solely for *עַל לִבְךָ*.

I would like to conclude this discussion by calling attention to the terminology which Barthélemy himself used. At the beginning of this discussion I called attention to the lengthy sub-title to the book which Barthélemy used to describe exactly what his study was about. Not only was this the first full publication of the text of the Minor Prophets fragments, but it also included a study of Greek translators and recensions of the Bible produced in the first century of our era under the influence of the Palestinian Rabbinate. Unfortunately scholars who have applauded his work have paid little attention to his own description. Careful scholar that he was he referred to translations and recensions. The only context in which he used the term *καίγε* recension was in describing the Vaticanus text of the βγ' section of the Books of the Kingdoms, viz. 2 Sam 11:2 to 1 Kgs 2:11. Many texts, both recensions and translations have used *καίγε* to render the Hebrew *נִלְכַּח*, and it is quite legitimate to speak of a *καίγε* group of texts as Barthélemy himself has done. It is, however, bizarre and misleading to speak of such materials as Lamentations, Canticles, Ruth, Qoheleth, the B text of Judges, parts of the Books of the Kingdoms, the Theodotion text of Daniel, Nehemiah, the Quinta and Theodotion in general as representing a *καίγε* recension. Barthélemy did not do so; even the texts which he published he never called such but always the R (for Reviser) text; in fact, in his summary chapter he refers specifically to the existence of recensions of the LXX in the group to which the recension R belongs.<sup>21</sup> I would strongly urge

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 267

that we ban from academic usage the term *καίγε* recension, reserving the term *καίγε* either for the *καίγε* group or simply as the common, in fact the excellent, rendering for  $\square\lambda$  and  $\square\lambda\iota$ . Since Barthélemy himself refers to the source for this revisional impulse in the first century as the Palestinian Rabbinate, why not refer to this as part of the Palestinian Rabbinical tradition?

After all, the first century Rabbinic tradition in Palestine comprised more than *καίγε*, more than a R recension of the Minor Prophets; it has inherited the Septuagint in all its variegated forms, and the tradition attempted in various ways to put its interpretative stamp upon them. In due course this influence became stronger and stronger, until finally the old Septuagint was no longer recognizable and it was transformed into something totally other, into an Aquila or a Symachus. The impulse to recensional activity had so dominated the original text that it has replaced it; it has become something new, and exists independently of the LXX. All of this development is part of the Palestinian Rabbinical tradition, not just a recension, but a tradition beginning already before our era began and issuing in the barbarisms of Aquila's translation.

## THE SEPTUAGINT VERSION OF ISAIAH 23:1-14 AND THE MASSORETIC TEXT

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### I. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

A synoptic comparison of the critical Hebrew and Greek texts of Isaiah 23:1-14 makes it clear that substantial similarities<sup>2</sup> and differences<sup>3</sup> exist between the Massoretic text and the Septuagint translation of the pericope. In this paper I attempt to account for the differences and to deal with a case of "pseudo-similarity." In such an enterprise, it is necessary to take cognizance of three factors, which are aptly summarized in a forthcoming article by Eugene Ulrich:

- (i) the Hebrew *Vorlage* which is being translated into Greek,
- (ii) the results of the transformational process by the original Greek translator, and (iii) the subsequent transmission history within the Greek manuscript tradition.<sup>4</sup>

With reference to these three categories, I proceed to examine Isaiah 23:1-14. However, it would better suit the material under discussion if I do so in an order opposite to that enumerated by Ulrich: (i) the transmission history of the Greek text, (ii) translation technique, and (iii) the Hebrew *Vorlage*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This paper was read at the IOSCS session of the 1988 Annual Meeting of the AAR/SBL in Chicago. I thank Dr E. Ulrich (University of Notre Dame) for his guidance in its production, and for providing access to the relevant portions of 4QIsa<sup>a</sup> and 4QIsa<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., verses 4 and 9.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., verses 3 and 10.

<sup>4</sup> E. Ulrich, "The Canonical Process, Textual Criticism, and Latter Stages in the Composition of the Hebrew Bible" (forthcoming).

<sup>5</sup> Ascertaining what Hebrew text the translator had before him, and how he went about translating it, are of fundamental importance in dealing with differences between a passage in the LXX and in the MT (cf. A. Aejmelaeus, "What can we know about the Hebrew *Vorlage* of

## II. Transmission History of the Greek Text

It is beyond the scope of this paper to investigate extensively the transmission history of the Greek text. The point to be stressed – especially in the case of LXX Isaiah<sup>6</sup> – is that modern critical editions of the Septuagint approximate, but are not necessarily identical with, the OG (Old Greek).

For example, chapter 23:12 of J. Ziegler's Göttingen text of Isaiah (as well as A. Rahlfs' earlier edition) reads: καὶ ἐροῦσιν Οὐκέτι μὴ προσθήτε τοῦ ὑβρίζειν καὶ ἀδικεῖν τὴν θυγατέρα Σιδῶνος· καὶ ἐὰν ἀπέλθῃς εἰς Κιτιεῖς, οὐδὲ ἐκεῖ σοι ἀνάπαυσις ἔσται.<sup>7</sup> The Göttingen edition thus accepts Σιδῶνος,<sup>8</sup> following almost all of the tradition going back to Origen, Lucian and B\*. However, Codex Vaticanus is a witness to the hexaplaric text in the case of Isaiah,<sup>9</sup> while Origen and Lucian tend to bring the LXX into conformity with the MT – as is illustrated by Lucian's insertion of παρθένον in front of θυγατέρα. These considerations, together with superior manuscript support,<sup>10</sup> indicate that the alternative reading, Σ(ε)ιδών, was probably contained in the OG of Isaiah 23:12 (although inner-Greek corruption cannot be ruled out completely). If this be the case, then an apparent instance of similarity ("Sidon")

the Septuagint?" ZAW 99 [1987] 58-65). These issues are further explored in sections IV and V below.

<sup>6</sup> The standard critical text is J. Ziegler, *Isaias (Septuaginta 14)*; 2d ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967). This edition of Isaiah is an eclectic text, but mostly follows B (i.e. Codex Vaticanus). Although B is normally highly valued for its close relationship to the OG, in Isaiah it is "expansionistic with insertions from parallel passages and hexaplaric revision, not OG" (P. Kyle McCarter, *Textual Criticism. Recovering the Text of the Hebrew Bible* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986] 90); cf. Aejmelaeus, "Hebrew Vorlage," 61; and I. L. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah* (Leiden: Brill, 1948) 88.

<sup>7</sup> "And they shall say: 'No longer will you continue to insult and abuse the daughter of Sidon, and if you depart to the Kittim, you will also have no rest there.'"

<sup>8</sup> On the basis of O\* (B\*) L<sup>α-93</sup> - 456 449' and Eusebius, Theodoret and Jerome.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 88, and note 6.

<sup>10</sup> I.e., C, S, A, Q and B<sup>c</sup>. It is interesting to note that Ziegler, when faced in v 1 with a similar choice between βήμα (supported by B, Q and L) and ὄραμα (on the basis of and C, S and A), selected ὄραμα.

between the MT and the OG is actually one of dissimilarity: "Sidon" versus "Zion."<sup>11</sup> It is thus necessary, as this example demonstrates, to establish the OG text as closely as possible, before the "Septuagint" translation of a passage can be compared with the Massoretic Text.

## III. Differences due to Translation Technique

Many differences between the MT and the LXX version of the pericope under discussion are explicable in terms of translation technique, which Albert Pietersma has likened to the "Archimedean point" of LXX text-criticism.<sup>12</sup> LXX Isaiah is generally viewed as a very free translation;<sup>13</sup> but this assessment only serves as a guide to the book as a whole, not necessarily to each word and phrase of a particular pericope. With reference to the views of James Barr in particular,<sup>14</sup> but also to those of Emanuel Tov,<sup>15</sup> Anneli Aejmelaeus<sup>16</sup> and Arie van der Kooij,<sup>17</sup> I suggest that three categories of translation may be distinguished in Isa 23:1-14: (a) Literal and semantically accurate; (b) Non-literal, but semantically adequate; (c) Non-literal and semantically inadequate.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>11</sup> I will be returning to this important difference in the discussion of "tendentious exegesis" in section V below.

<sup>12</sup> "Analysis of translation technique might indeed be called the quest for the Archimedean point, because only from this vantage point can the text-critic sit in judgement over the fidelity with which the manuscripts have preserved the original text. ..." ("Septuagint Research: A Plea for a Return to Basic Issues," VT 35 [1985] 299).

<sup>13</sup> P. Kyle McCarter describes LXX Isaiah as a "Very free translation, verging on paraphrase, except in chaps. 36-39, where it is relatively literal" (*Textual Criticism*, 90).

<sup>14</sup> J. Barr, "The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations," (Göttingen: Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen [= MSU XV], 1979) 289-91.

<sup>15</sup> E. Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (Jerusalem: Simor, 1981) 82-88; "Septuagint," IDBSup 810.

<sup>16</sup> Aejmelaeus, "Hebrew Vorlage," 63-65.

<sup>17</sup> "Accident or Method? On 'Analogical' Interpretation in the Old Greek of Isaiah and in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>," BO 43 (1986) 368-69.

<sup>18</sup> Other categories that could be considered are "free" vs. "literal," "faithful" vs. "unfaithful," and "intentional" vs. "unintentional." Since the criterion for Barr's categories is the degree of literalism ("Typology," 288-89), he would classify my third category (c) as invalid or

(a) *Literal and semantically accurate* instances abound in LXX Isaiah 23, and are easily recognisable. For example, ὀλολύζετε in v 1b clearly renders יהיגלו;<sup>19</sup> several other examples could be provided.

(b) *Non-literal, but semantically adequate* cases are numerous; for example:

## VERSE

- (1) Τὸ ὄραμα "vision" for מַשָּׂא "pronouncement"<sup>20</sup>
- (2) διαπερῶντες "passing over" (pl.) for עָבַר (sing.)<sup>21</sup>
- (3) ἐν ὕδατι "in water" for מִיַּם בְּמִיָּה<sup>22</sup>  
μεταβόλων (and μεταβόλοι) "merchants" for שָׂרְפָיִם<sup>23</sup> and שָׂרָפִים

speculative. This type seems necessary for what Tov ("Septuagint," 810) calls "tendentious exegesis." Van der Kooij's fivefold classification is also significant, under the following headings: (a) the text of the LXX version; (b) word-word relations; (c) grammar and semantics; (d) the context of LXX Isaiah as a whole; (e) semantics ("Accident or Method?" 368-69).

<sup>19</sup> The degree of accuracy need only be reasonably precise, as illustrated here (ὀλολύζειν = "to utter a loud cry (usually in joy)," "to ululate"; cf. הִפְחִיל *hiphil* "to howl," "to wail").

<sup>20</sup> Characteristic of, and restricted to, LXX Isaiah (cf. 15:1; 21:1, 11; 22:1; van der Kooij, "A Short Commentary on Some Verses of the Old Greek of Isaiah 23," *BIOSCS* 15 [1982] 37). See also note 10.

<sup>21</sup> The Hebrew is here viewed collectively. An alternative explanation in this case may be a difference in *Vorlage* – cf. עָבַר in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> and 4QIsa<sup>a</sup>, and the comments of D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament* (OBO 50/2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986) 161-63. The verb עָבַר is also translated by διαπερῶν in Deut 30:13.

<sup>22</sup> Omission or addition of syndeton is normally a minor detail that can be due to a difference in *Vorlage* or to freedom on the part of the translator (Aejmelaeus, "Hebrew *Vorlage*," 67). Since LXX Isaiah is a free translation, the latter seems applicable in this case; but cf. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle*, 161.

<sup>23</sup> Understood as שָׂרָפִים ("profit" or "merchant" [?]), due to the phonetic similarity between שָׂרָפִים and שָׂרָפִים (Tov, *Text-Critical Use*, 203; A. van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches* [OBO 35; Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitäts-Verlag, 1981] 68; "Short Commentary," 42).

(5) λήμψεται αὐτοὺς ὀδύνη περὶ Τύρου ("Distress will seize them concerning Tyre") adequately renders the sense of יהיגלו כששמע צר ("They will be in anguish over the report about Tyre").

(7) The force of the question in the Hebrew הֲזֶה ("Is this?") is rhetorically reinforced by the addition of οὐχ in the OG οὐχ αὕτη ἦν ("Was this not"?).<sup>24</sup>

(8) The single expression οὐ ἔμποροι αὐτῆς ("her merchants") renders both the Hebrew terms סוֹהַרִיָּה and כְּנַעֲנִיָּה.<sup>25</sup>

(10) The Greek words καὶ γὰρ πλοῖα οὐκέτι ἔρχεται ἐκ Καρχηδόνας ("for ships no longer come out of Carthage") renders very freely the sense of the Hebrew *Vorlage* עוֹד מִזֶּה אֵיךְ תַּרְשִׁישׁ אֵיךְ בָּתְלָהּ לָאֲרָבֶת<sup>26</sup> ("for the boats of Tarshish<sup>27</sup> no longer have a harbour").

(11) The use of βασιλεύς to translate מַמְלָכָה (here in the plural) is common in the Septuagint as a whole, and is characteristic of LXX Isaiah.<sup>28</sup>

(13) The sense of the Hebrew יָסַדָהּ לְצִיִּים ("The Assyrians established [or, destined] her for desolation"<sup>29</sup>) is adequately expressed by the

<sup>24</sup> For οὐ expecting the answer "yes", cf. H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956) §2651.

<sup>25</sup> In the same verse, a more speculative suggestion is that μὴ ἥσσων ἐστὶν ἢ οὐκ ἰσχύει ("She is not inferior or without strength, is she?") renders the sense of the Hebrew term הַמַּעֲטִירָה ("who wears crowns," or "the bestower of crowns") in a very free manner. Here μὴ has the sense of the Latin *num*; cf. Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, §2651. Alternatively, the translator's *Vorlage* may have included a form of מַעֲטַף "to be small, few."

<sup>26</sup> For discussion of the *Vorlage*, cf. section IV below.

<sup>27</sup> The translation of שִׂרְפָיִם by Καρχηδών is dealt with in section V below.

<sup>28</sup> E.g., 13:4, 19; 14:16; 60:12. See E. Hatch & H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897 [repr. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1983]) 1.197ff. for further examples.

<sup>29</sup> The צִי is the desert dweller, desert demon or wild beast. The term is frequently used to signify desolation, as in both the LXX and MT versions of this line (cf. *BDB* 850a; *KBL*

Greek καὶ αὕτη ἠρήμωται ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ("she also has been made desolate by the Assyrians"). The Hebrew בַּחֲנֵה שָׂמָה לְמַפְלֵה ("As for her [watch-] tower, they made it a ruin") is rendered by the Greek ὁ τοίχος αὐτῆς πέπτωκεν (= "her wall has fallen") in a paraphrastic manner.<sup>30</sup>

(c) The third category is *non-literal and semantically inadequate*. Three possible cases are evident, and will be examined further in section V below. They are:

VERSE

(2) Φοινίκης "of Phoenicia" for צִידֹן.

(12) Σ(ε)ιών for צִידֹן, as already indicated in section II above.

(1, 6, 10, 14) Καρχηδών<sup>31</sup> for שִׁירָה.

#### IV. The Hebrew *Vorlage*

Although the Septuagint version of Isaiah is a free translation, this does not mean that all differences between it and the Massoretic Text are attributable to translation technique; some are better accounted for in terms of the actual *Vorlage* used by the translator. Admittedly, one can also speak in terms of his "mental" *Vorlage* – i.e., the correct text in his opinion, or even the text as he misread it – but the fact that some of the readings I shall propose are supported by 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> or 4QIsa<sup>c</sup> indicates that they did actually exist in ancient Hebrew scrolls and are not merely conjectures of modern scholarship. This does not imply that LXX Isaiah is dependent upon these particular scrolls, but indicates that texts slightly different from the MT were to be found in antiquity, making it reasonable to suppose that the translator made use of a text that was not identical to the MT in every respect. For example, in verse 1 מְבֹאוֹת ("without coming") underlies the OG καὶ οὐκέτι ἔρχονται ("they no longer arrive"); the

801a). The translator's use of a verb connected with the desert (ἐρημοῦν) to translate צִידֹן is thus appropriate.

<sup>30</sup> The apparent necessity for several emendations in *BHS* supports the view that the MT of v 13 is corrupt; for further details regarding the *Vorlage*, cf. section IV below.

<sup>31</sup> In the genitive sing. in vv 1, 10 and 14, and accusative sing. in v 6.

Massoretic forms מְבֵית ("without house") and מְבֹאוֹת ("without entry") seem to be two corruptions of this word. The *hiphil* מְבִיאֹת ("[you ships] transporting") is also possible for the translator's *Vorlage*, but מְבֹאוֹת is preferable because the negative force of the Greek οὐκέτι requires that מָן be understood in the sense of separation or preclusion.<sup>32</sup> The differences between the translator's *Vorlage* and the MT are summarized as follows:

Massoretic Text	Translator's <i>Vorlage</i>	Old Greek Text
(v 1) מְבֵית מְבֹאוֹת	"without house, מְבֹאוֹת "without coming" = without entry"	καὶ οὐκέτι ἔρχονται
גלה־ נגלה למֹן "to them"	a "to reveal" גלה־ b "to go into exile" למי "to whom" <sup>33</sup>	= ἔκταται ἀιχμάλωτος = τίνι (v 2)
(v 2) דמו "Be still!"	דמו "they are like" <sup>34</sup>	= ὅμοιοι
(v 5) שמע "report"	שמע "it will be heard" <sup>35</sup>	= ἀκουστέον γένηται
(v 7) קדמתה "whose origin"	קדמת "before" <sup>36</sup>	= πρὶν ἢ
(v 9) גאון כל "pride of all"	כל גאון "all the pride" <sup>37</sup>	= πᾶσαν τῆν ὕβριν

<sup>32</sup> For מָן as denoting separation or preclusion, cf. *GKC* 119 v-z.

<sup>33</sup> Possibly due to the confusion of ו and י (See Tov, *Text-Critical Use*, 197).

<sup>34</sup> MT דמם I "to grow silent" and *Vorlage* דמה I "to be like"; cf. van der Kooij, "Short Commentary," 42.

<sup>35</sup> Although the LXX reading here could be a free rendering of שמע (= MT), the difference in *Vorlage* is supported by: (a) the fact that ἀκουστέος invariably translates a verbal form of שמע in the Septuagint; (b) the translation of שמע by nominal forms elsewhere in LXX Isaiah (e.g., 69:19); and (c) the possible omission of ו in the MT due to haplography because of its graphic similarity to ו (cf. the preceding word כֹּאשֶׁר). See the note in *BHS*.

<sup>36</sup> The construct form of קדמתה ("beginning"), and equivalent to a temporal conjunction under Aramaic influence (cf. Ps 129:6).

<sup>37</sup> The transposition of כל is also attested by 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>.

(v 10)  
 עברִי "pass through" עבְרִי "cultivate"<sup>38</sup> = ἐργάζου  
 בַּת כִּיָּאֵר בַּת "like the Nile, o daughter" לְאֵן בַּת "for to the boats" = καὶ γὰρ πλοῖα

(v 11)  
 יָדוֹ "his hand" יָדְךָ "your hand" = ἡ χεῖρ σου<sup>40</sup>  
 הִרְגִּיז "he shook" לְהִרְגִּיז "to shake"<sup>41</sup> = ἡ παραξύνουσα  
 יְהוָה "the LORD" יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת "the LORD of hosts"<sup>42</sup> = κύριος σαβαωθ

(v 12)  
 הִמְעַשְׂקָה "s abused (one)" וּלְעַשְׂקָה "and to abuse" = καὶ ἀδικεῖν  
 צִידוֹן "Sidon" צִיּוֹן "Zion" = Σ(ε)ιών<sup>43</sup>

<sup>38</sup> The ך and ך can easily be confused (cf. Tov, *Text-Critical Use*, 127, 196-97). 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> also reads עבְרִי; however, Barthélemy (*Critique textuelle*, 167-69) attributes this and ἐργάζου (LXX) to graphical error.

<sup>39</sup> For a translation of v 10a, see the discussion in section III above. אַרְבָּה is admittedly an unusual form, signifying "(flat-bottomed) boat" in Modern Hebrew. It occurs only once in the Hebrew Bible, at Isa 25:11, in connection with swimming. Its meaning there is uncertain (*KBL* 82b "unexplained"; *BDB* 70b "lit. 'tricks of his hands'"). The Hebrew *Vorlage* suggested here is virtually identical with the MT, except for the addition of the ל to אַרְבָּה. The great semantic divergence is due to different vocalization; nevertheless, the Greek adequately renders the sense of the Hebrew text when vocalized in this way. For the suggestion of אַרְבָּה (J. Fischer and J. Ziegler, cf. van der Kooij, "Short Commentary," 39; and for γὰρ (LXX) = כִּי, cf. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle*, 167-68.

<sup>40</sup> The negative force of עוֹרֵךְ in v 10 is continued (= οὐκείτω) in v 11.

<sup>41</sup> הִרְגִּיז is also found in 4QIsa<sup>c</sup>. ל is read with הִרְגִּיז because the infinitive form is parallel with לְהַשְׂמִיךְ in 11b. In the latter case, the *hiphil* infinitive לְהַשְׂמִיךְ is possible by elision of the ה (cf. MT, *KBL* 985a and *GKC* 53q), but לְהַשְׂמִיךְ seems preferable (= 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>).

<sup>42</sup> The Greek κύριος σαβαωθ (= יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת) could be due to the translator's tendency to reproduce a construction that is characteristic of LXX Isaiah (e.g., 22:14, 15, 25; 23:9); cf. Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 48-49. However, it is also possible that both words lay in the translator's *Vorlage*.

<sup>43</sup> For the reading Σ(ε)ιών, cf. section II above. The relationship between צִיּוֹן and צִידוֹן will be discussed further in section V below.

(v 13)  
 הִן "Behold" הִן "if"<sup>44</sup> = εἰν  
 בַּחוֹנוֹת "their siege towers" בַּחוֹנָה "her (watch)tower"<sup>45</sup> = ὁ τοῖχος αὐτῆς

With reference to the above, the *Vorlage* of Isaiah 23:1-14 is (tentatively) reconstructed below, but first a brief explanation is necessary. The stichoi of the pericope are presented on alternate lines. In the spaces *above* the Massoretic stichoi, two types of construction are to be found:

- (a) Hebrew words (e.g., לְמִי in v 2) represent differences between the MT and the *Vorlage* that probably lay before the translator.
- (b) The symbols < > denote letter(s) or word(s) present in the MT, but missing from the *Vorlage* (e.g., in the second stich of verse 2).

מִן מְשֹׁא צֶרֶךְ 23:1 מ

מִן הַיְלִילוֹ וְאֲנִיּוֹת תִּרְשִׁישׁ כִּי־שָׁדַד מִבַּיִת

מְבֹאוֹת נְגַלְהָ: 23:2 לְמִי

מִן מְבֹאוֹ מֵאֲרָץ כְּתֻמִּים וְנִגְלָה־לָמוֹ:

דְמו

מִן 2 דְמוּ וְשָׁבִי אֵי סָחַר צִידוֹן

< >

מִן עֲבָרָה גַם מִלְאֹד: 3 וּבְמֵימֵי רַבִּים

<>

מִן גֵּרַע שָׁחַר קָצִיר וְאֹר תִּבְוֹאֲתָהּ וְתִהְיֶי סָחַר גּוֹזִים:

מִן 4 בּוֹשֵׁי צִידוֹן כִּי־אָמַר לָם מַעֲזוּ הַיָּם לְאֹמֶר

מִן לֹא־תִקְלָתִי וְלֹא־תִלְדָּתִי

<sup>44</sup> For הִן in the sense of "if" (= εἰν), cf. *GKC* 159w and *KBL* 238a.

<sup>45</sup> This would admittedly be a free rendering; τοῖχος normally translates קִיר in the LXX (cf. Hatch & Redpath, *Concordance to the Septuagint*, 2.1362-63).

זח וְלֹא גִדְלֹתַי בְּחוּרִים רוּמְמָתַי בְּתוֹלָתַי :  
 יִשְׁמַע

זח 5 בְּאֲשֶׁר-שָׁמַע לְמִצְרָיִם יִחִילוּ כְשָׁמַע צֹר :

זח 6 עֲבְרוּ תַרְשִׁישָׁה הַיְלִילוּ לְשִׁבִי אֵי :  
 קִדְמַת

זח 7 הַזֹּאת לָכֶם עֲלִינָה מִיַּמֵּי-קָדָם קִדְמָתָה

זח לְבִלְוָהּ נִגְלִיָּה מִרְחֹק לְגֹוֶר :

זח 8 מִי יַעַץ זֹאת עַל-צֹר הַמַּעֲשִׂירָה

זח אֲשֶׁר סִחַרְיָהּ שָׂרִים בּוֹעֲנִיָּה וְכַבְדֵי-אֶרֶץ :  
 כַּל-גְּאוּן

זח 9 יִהְיֶה צָבָאוֹת יַעֲצָה לְחַלֵּל גְּאוּן

<tr>

זח כַּל-צִבְיָה לְהַקֵּל כַּל-וְכַבְדֵי-אֶרֶץ :

עֲבָדִי כִי לֹאֲרַבַּת

זח 10 עֲבָרִי אֶרְצֶךָ בְּיָאֵר בְּתִתְרַשִׁישׁ אֵין מִזַּח עוֹד :

יָדְךָ לְהַרְגִּיז

זח 11 יָדוֹ נָטָה עַל-הַיָּם הַרְגִּיז מִמְלָכּוֹת

יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת לְהַשְׁמִיד

זח יְהוָה אֵל-בְּלִעַן לְשִׁמּוֹד מַעֲוִיָּה :

וּלְעֶשֶׂק < > בַּת צִיּוֹן

זח 12 וַיֵּאמֶר לֹא-תוֹסִיפִי עוֹד לְעָלוֹז הַמַּעֲשָׂקָה בְּתוֹלָתַי בְּתִצִּידוֹן

זח כַּתְּיִים קוּמִי עֲבָרִי גַם-שָׁם לֹא-זָנוּחַ לָךְ :

הָן < >

זח 13 הֵן אֶרֶץ בְּשָׂרִים נָה הָעַם לֹא הָיָה אֲשׁוֹר יִסְדָּה לְעֵצִים

< > בַּחֲנוּהָ  
 זח הַקִּימוּ בְּחִינָיו [בְּחֻזְנָיו] עָרְרוּ אֶרְמוֹנוֹתֶיהָ שָׁמָּה לְמַפְלָה :

זח 14 הַיְלִילוּ אֲנִיּוֹת תַרְשִׁישׁ כִּי שָׁבַד מַעֲוֹבֶךְ : ס

Some of my retroversions (e.g., 23:1 נגלה : 2 למי) may be considered more plausible than others (e.g., כי לארבת in verse 10). It is important to note, however, that several of these proposals are supported by scrolls from Qumran. For example, 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> contains the transposition from the Massoretic reading כל גאון "pride of all" to כל גאון "all the pride" in v 9, and the form עבדי "cultivate" instead of MT עברי "pass through" in v 10. Similarly, 4QIsa<sup>c</sup> contains the infinitive להרגיז "to shake" instead of MT הרגיז "he shook" in v 11. This evidence indicates that at least some of the differences between the Hebrew and Greek texts of Isaiah 23:1-14 are explicable in terms of *Vorlage* rather than translation technique.

#### V. The Case for Tendentious Exegesis

It has been demonstrated so far that some of the differences between the Greek and Hebrew texts of Isaiah 23:1-14 are explicable in terms of the *Vorlage*, but that most are attributable to the first two categories of translation technique. Under the translation category that is of particular relevance in this paper ("non-literal and semantically inadequate"), three possible cases were identified in III above. The issue at stake is whether or not deliberate, "tendentious" exegesis has taken place on the part of the translator. In other words, has he consciously tried to contemporize the material before him by applying it to events or situations in his own time? The answer to this problem requires further examination of six verses of the pericope.

#### Sidon or Phoenicia?

The first possible case of tendentious exegesis is in verse 2a, where זח צידון is translated by Φοινίκια "of Phoenicia"; compare the following:



2. לָמוּ ( : לָמוּ 1.)  
 לְשָׁבִי אֵי  
 סְחָר צִיּוֹן  
 עָבַר קָם מִלְּאָדָּךְ :

2. τίνι ὅμοιοι γεγόνασιν  
 οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐν τῇ νήσῳ  
 μεταβόλοι Φοινίκης  
 διαπερῶντες τὴν θάλασσαν<sup>46</sup>

In view of the free nature of the translator's technique, and the absence of manuscript support, it seems obvious that no difference in *Vorlage* can be considered in this case. But is this an instance of non-literal and semantically inadequate (i.e., tendentious or contemporizing) translation? In a sense, the word צִיּוֹן is indeed being interpreted by Φοινίκης, but only on the level of clarification: the translator is not claiming that what was once written about "Sidon" is now coming to pass concerning "Phoenicia." Instead, he loosely refers to Sidon as denoting her country, apparently for purposes of clarification or explanation to his audience. It is most reasonable, therefore, to regard the translation of צִיּוֹן by Φοινίκης as non-literal, but semantically adequate (the category under which fall most of the examples provided in section III).

#### Sidon or Zion?

The second candidate for tendentious exegesis is found in verse 12, where – as was previously<sup>47</sup> indicated – the reading Σ(ε)ιών is to be preferred over Σιδῶνος. It may then be argued that the translator deliberately rendered צִיּוֹן by Σ(ε)ιών,<sup>48</sup> making not Sidon, but Zion, the victim of oppression – in order to portray her as the object of the apparently tender attitude expressed towards Sidon in this verse. The case for interpretative exegesis seems to be supported further by a significant syntactical change, whereby הַמַּעֲשָׂה ("o

<sup>46</sup> 2. Be still,  
 you inhabitants of the coast,  
 you merchants of Sidon;  
 your messengers passed over the sea ...

2. Like whom  
 have the dwellers on the island become  
 – the merchants of Phoenicia,  
 as they pass over the sea ...?

<sup>47</sup> In section II above.

<sup>48</sup> This is the position of Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 88.

abused one") is translated by καὶ ἀδικεῖν ("and to abuse").<sup>49</sup> Instead of Sidon being oppressed herself (thus the MT), the LXX would seem to indicate that Tyre and Sidon will no longer insult and abuse the daughter of Zion – because Phoenicia's power will be broken (vv 11-14). The difference in meaning between the OG and the MT would thus lend support for a tendentious or contemporizing translation.

However, this apparently convincing example lacks a solid basis, in that it requires the translator's *Vorlage* to have read צִיּוֹן בַּת צִיּוֹן (בַּת־לֵת) הַמַּעֲשָׂה.<sup>50</sup> I have already suggested<sup>51</sup> that the *Vorlage* probably contained צִיּוֹן בַּת צִיּוֹן וְלַעֲשֹׂק piel "and to abuse the daughter of Zion" (= καὶ ἀδικεῖν τὴν θυγατέρα Σ(ε)ιών). At this point, even the MT would make better sense with the alternative reading, because the entire pericope is directed against Tyre and Sidon; the present Massoretic sequence seems almost sympathetic to Sidon! The alternative, as reflected in the proposed *Vorlage*, makes Zion the victim of Phoenician oppression.<sup>52</sup> With respect to written evidence, the apparatus of the standard critical edition of the MT (*BHS*) gives no hint of manuscript support for the *Vorlage* צִיּוֹן; however, *BHK* (Kittel) indicates that צִיּוֹן is found in 14 mediaeval MSS.<sup>53</sup>

It thus seems reasonable that two readings for v 12, צִיּוֹן and צִיּוֹן, existed in antiquity, the first being attested by the OG and 14 MSS, and the

<sup>49</sup> Cf. the comments on v 12 in section IV above.

<sup>50</sup> Seeligmann understands the "deliberate" use of ἀδικεῖν "to denote the deprivation of their rights to which the Jewish people were subjected when living among hostile foreign powers" (*Septuagint Version*, 88).

<sup>51</sup> In section IV above.

<sup>52</sup> The "(virgin) daughter of Zion" also appears in a favourable light in Isa 37:22; the "(virgin) daughter of Babylon" occurs perjoratively at 47:1.

<sup>53</sup> Although *BHK* still prefers the reading in MT, the fact that manuscript evidence in support of צִיּוֹן is found there (and not in *BHS*) demonstrates the importance of not relying on only one printed Hebrew text!

second by the MT (in the form<sup>54</sup> צִיִּדָן). I suggest that the original צִיִּדָן was later corrupted to צִיִּדָן due to the orthographic similarity between צ and י.<sup>55</sup> Even in this case of apparent tendentious exegesis, therefore, the differences between the MT and LXX versions of v 12 are adequately explicable in terms of the *Vorlage*.

### Tarshish and Carthage

In verses 1, 6, 10 and 14, תַּרְשִׁישׁ is rendered by Καρχηδών:

23.1 מִשָּׂא צָר	23.1 Τὸ ὄραμα Τύρου. <sup>56</sup>
הֵי לֵילוֹ   אֲנִיּוֹת תַּרְשִׁישׁ	Ὀλολύζετε, πλοῖα Καρχηδόνος,
כִּי־שָׁדָד מִבְּלַת מִבְּזָא	ὅτι ἀπώλετο, καὶ οὐκέτι ἔρχονται
מֵאַרְצָךְ כִּתְּיִם וְנִגְלָה־לָמוֹ :	ἐκ γῆς Κιτιέων· ἦκται αἰχμάλωτος.
6 עֲבְרוּ תַרְשִׁישָׁה הֵי לֵילוֹ	6 ἀπέλθατε εἰς Καρχηδόνα, ὀλολύζετε, <sup>5</sup>
לְשִׁבֵי אֵי :	οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ.

<sup>54</sup> Note both forms in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>: צִיִּדָן (v 4) and צִיִּדָן (v 12).

<sup>55</sup> For the confusion of צ and י with orthographically similar letters, cf. Tov, *Text-Critical Use*, 196-97, 200; McCarter, *Textual Criticism*, 43-49; E. C. Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus* (Harvard Semitic Monographs 19; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978) 209, 211.

#### 56 1. The Oracle concerning Tyre

Wail, you ships of Tarshish,  
for [Tyre] has been laid waste,  
without house or haven!  
From the land of the Kittim  
it is revealed to them.

- 57 6. Pass over to Tarshish; wail,  
you inhabitants of the coast!  
10. Overflow your land  
like the Nile, you daughter of Tarshish;  
there is no restraint any more.  
14. Wail, you ships of Tarshish,  
for your stronghold is laid waste.

#### 1. The Vision concerning Tyre

Wail, you ships of Carthage,  
for it has been laid waste,  
and no longer do they arrive  
from the land of the Kittim.  
It is led captive.

6. Depart for Carthage; wail,  
you who live on this island!  
10. Till your land,  
for no longer do ships come forth  
from Carthage.  
14. Wail, you ships of Carthage,  
for your stronghold has been destroyed.

10 עֲבְרִי אַרְצֶךָ	10 ἐργάζου τὴν γῆν σου,
כִּי־אָרַךְ בַּת־תַּרְשִׁישׁ	καὶ γὰρ πλοῖα οὐκέτι ἔρχεται
אֵין מִזֶּה עוֹד :	ἐκ Καρχηδόνος.

14 הֵי לֵילוֹ אֲנִיּוֹת תַּרְשִׁישׁ	14 ὀλολύζετε, πλοῖα Καρχηδόνος,
כִּי שָׁדָד מֵאַרְצֶךָ :	ὅτι ἀπώλετο τὸ ὄχυρῶμα ὑμῶν.

Following Seeligmann's earlier observations,<sup>58</sup> Arie van der Kooij has proposed<sup>59</sup> that the rendering of תַּרְשִׁישׁ by Καρχηδών in Isa 23:1-14 is a case of contemporizing exegesis in the Septuagint. According to this viewpoint, not only does the translator render the pericope into Greek, but also reinterprets the original Hebrew oracle against Tyre as being fulfilled in Hellenistic times by the destruction of Carthage in 146 BCE:

... the "vision of Tyre" once spoken and written by the prophet Isaiah was fulfilled in [the translator's] own time, when Carthage was destroyed and Tyre was confronted with the consequences of the downfall of her mighty daughter.<sup>60</sup>

The case for contemporizing exegesis is supported by the fact that an interpretative translation is more likely to be found in a freely rendered text, such as LXX Isaiah, than in a strictly literal one corresponding closely to its *Vorlage*. Not surprisingly, several scholars<sup>61</sup> have concluded that deliberate interpretation on the part of the translator(s) is to be found in this book of the Septuagint. In the light of the evidence so far, van der Kooij's comments on Isa 23 certainly appear to have some foundation.

<sup>58</sup> Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 79, 90, 91.

<sup>59</sup> Van der Kooij, "Short Commentary," 36-50.

<sup>60</sup> Van der Kooij, "Short Commentary," 46; cf. 41. See also Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 79.

<sup>61</sup> Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version* 46-47, 79 *et passim*; van der Kooij, *Textzeugen* 33-60; "Short Commentary," 36-50. See also J. Koenig, *L'Herméneutique analogique du Judaïsme antique d'après les témoins textuels d'Israël* (SVT 33; Leiden: Brill, 1982); Aejmelaeus, "Hebrew *Vorlage*," 65.

## Tendentious Exegesis Reconsidered

But is this indeed a case of contemporization of an earlier prophecy, whereby the translator has deliberately used a term (*Καρχηδών*) that is neither lexically nor semantically equivalent to that in his *Vorlage*? There is little evidence to suggest a difference in *Vorlage*,<sup>62</sup> and this is not an example of the first category of translation posited above.<sup>63</sup> With respect to the two other categories proposed in section III, it remains to be decided whether the translation of *שִׁשְׁרִי* by *Καρχηδών* is: (b) non-literal, but semantically adequate; or (c) non-literal and semantically inadequate. This issue can only be decided by further investigation of the word *שִׁשְׁרִי* and how it is translated elsewhere in Isaiah and in the LXX as a whole.

*In the Hebrew Bible*, an analysis of the term yields the following data:

(1) *שִׁשְׁרִי* is sometimes a personal name, e.g., Tarshish the descendant of Javan (Gen 10:4; 1 Chr 1:7), and perhaps a nation named after him (Isa 66:19).

(2) *שִׁשְׁרִי* is often associated with the sea and ships, and the term "ship of Tarshish" can denote a type of vessel.<sup>64</sup>

(3) Tarshish was a sea-port, whose status and location were uncertain in biblical times. There were probably several places of that name – notably Tartessus in Spain, a port in Sardinia, Tyrseni in Etruria (Italy), and Tarsus in

<sup>62</sup> The rendering *Θαρσείς* in some versions – e.g., Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion – does not represent a difference in *Vorlage*, but a tendency to revise the OG to conform with the MT.

<sup>63</sup> I.e., (a) literal and semantically accurate.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Exod 27:5; 1 Kgs 22:49; Isa 2:16; 23:1, 14; 60:9; Ps 48:8; and "Tarshish," in G. W. Bromiley et al (ed.), *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988) 4.734.

Cilicia.<sup>65</sup> It was towards Tarshish that Jonah fled, instead of obeying God's command to go to Nineveh (Jonah 1:1-3).

(4) *שִׁשְׁרִי* also denotes a precious stone, possibly a gold-coloured gem such as jasper (e.g., Exod 28:20; Ezek 28:13).

*As regards the Septuagint*, a careful analysis<sup>66</sup> reveals that *שִׁשְׁרִי* is translated by the following terms:

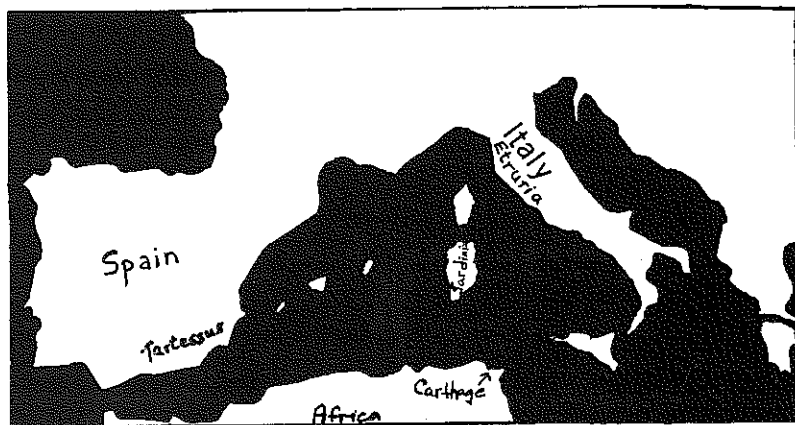
<i>Θαρσίς</i> or <i>-είς</i>	19x
<i>Θάρσος</i>	Ezek 27:25 B
<i>θάλασσα</i>	2x
<i>ἄνθραξ</i>	2x
<i>χρυσόλιθος</i> or <i>-ον</i>	3x
<i>Καρχηδών</i>	4x (all in Isaiah)
<i>Καρχηδόνιοι</i>	(Ezek 27:12 B Q; 27:25 A Qmg; 38:13 B Q).

Most of these renderings are clear equivalents in meaning to *שִׁשְׁרִי* in the Hebrew Bible. For instance, *Θαρσίς* translates *שִׁשְׁרִי* as a name in Gen 10:4; 1 Chr 1:7 and Isa 66:19. Not surprisingly, the association with the sea and shipping is expressed by *θάλασσα* in Isa 2:16 and Dan 10:5[=6]. Finally, *שִׁשְׁרִי* denoting a precious stone is rendered by *χρυσόλιθος* ("chrysolite") in Exod 28:20 and *ἄνθραξ* ("carbuncle") in Ezek 10:9. More difficult to explain, however, is the translation by *Καρχηδών* in LXX Isaiah and by *Καρχηδόνιοι* in LXX Ezekiel.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. "Tarshish," in *The Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1975) 5.597-98; "Tarshish," in J. D. Douglas (ed.), *The New Bible Dictionary* (Leicester, England/Wheaton, Illinois: Inter-Varsity Press/Tyndale House, 1982) 1165; "Tarshish," in the *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* 4.734. For the looseness of the term *שִׁשְׁרִי* in the Hebrew Bible, see G. C. & C. Picard, *The Life and Death of Carthage* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1968) 16.

<sup>66</sup> With the aid of Hatch & Redpath, *Concordance to the Septuagint*.

The three cases of *Καρχηδόνιοι* for *שִׁשְׁרִי* in Ezekiel provide an important link with the Isaiah pericope under discussion.<sup>67</sup> This occurs once in an oracle against Gog (38:13) and twice in an oracle against Tyre (27:12, 25). The connection with Tyre in both LXX Isaiah and LXX Ezekiel helps justify *Καρχηδών* as a non-literal, but reasonable, translation of *שִׁשְׁרִי*, in view of the ambiguous status and location of Tarshish.<sup>68</sup> Carthage was a colony of Tyre (against which the oracles in both Isa 23 and Ezek 27 were directed); like Tarshish, the city was renowned for its harbour and ships,<sup>69</sup> and it was situated in the vicinity of three traditional locations of Tarshish (Tartessus, Sardinia, and Tyrseni in Etruria), as the map below<sup>70</sup> illustrates:



Carthage in Relation to Three Possible Locations of Tarshish

<sup>67</sup> The difference between the city (*Καρχηδών*) in LXX Isaiah, and its inhabitants (*Καρχηδόνιοι*) in LXX Ezekiel, is noted, but is not pertinent to the present discussion.

<sup>68</sup> This uncertainty is reflected by alternative MS readings for *Καρχηδών* in Isaiah 23 (e.g., *Χαλκηδών* and *Χαλχιδών* – i.e., Chalcedon; cf. the apparatus of Ziegler's *Septuaginta*). It seems to me that these variants do not stem from the OG, but reflect ongoing ambiguity regarding the exact location of Tarshish.

<sup>69</sup> See "Carthage" in *EncAmer* (1986) 5.723.

<sup>70</sup> The map has been adapted from the *Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia* 5.598.

It seems impossible to say whether the rendering of "Tarshish" by "Carthage" was an educated guess on the translator's part, whether he actually believed the two locations to be identical, or whether he was equating an unknown place associated with Tyre in the Hebrew text before him with the most likely city in the given geographical area. In any event, the evidence suggests that to identify Tarshish with Carthage would have been most reasonable on his part. The use of *Καρχηδών* to translate *שִׁשְׁרִי* is not literal and may be considered "exegetical" – but only on the level of clarification, just as *שִׁשְׁרִי* was rendered by *Φοινίκης* in verse 2a.

The overall sense of the pericope lends credibility to the translation of *שִׁשְׁרִי* by *Καρχηδών*: Tyre (against which the oracle is directed), has been destroyed (v 1),<sup>71</sup> and the news of this destruction will cause anguish in Egypt (v 5). Tyre's inhabitants dwell *ἐν τῇ νήσῳ* ("in the island," v 2),<sup>72</sup> and are told to go to Carthage (Tyre's colony) in v 6. Ships no longer come out of Carthage (v 10), because her stronghold (*τὸ δούρωμα* = *שִׁשְׁרִי*) is laid waste (v 14): i.e., since Tyre has been destroyed, Carthage can no longer conduct her trade by sea. In the light of this evidence, it seems best to regard the four instances of *שִׁשְׁרִי* rendered by *Καρχηδών* as non-literal, but semantically adequate – the second category of translation of those proposed in section III. I thus find myself unable to accept the thesis that this is a case of actualization of prophecy or tendentious exegesis on the part of the LXX translator.

## VI. Conclusion

In this paper I have suggested a methodology for explaining the differences between the Massoretic and Septuagint texts of Isaiah 23:1-14. After dealing in turn with the transmission history of the Greek text, translation technique and the question of the Hebrew *Vorlage*, my conclusion is that most of the differences are explicable in terms of two categories of translation

<sup>71</sup> Thus RSV, and *contra* Seeligmann (*Septuagint Version*, 90-91), who suggests that the ships of Carthage have been destroyed, and van der Kooij ("Short Commentary," 41), who proposes Carthage.

<sup>72</sup> For the almost impregnable position that Tyre's offshore island gave her, cf. "Tyre," in the *Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia* 5.834.

technique,<sup>73</sup> but that some are due to variations in the *Vorlage*. The case for contemporizing or tendentious exegesis (i.e., a non-literal and semantically inadequate interpretation) was presented thrice over, but seen to be lacking: in each instance, the differences between the MT and the LXX version were found to be attributable to the *Vorlage*, or to a non-literal but semantically adequate translation technique. These conclusions do not prove that tendentious or contemporizing exegesis cannot be found elsewhere in LXX Isaiah, but in attempting to identify it we do well to heed the advice of Anneli Aejmelaeus:

...the scholar who wishes to attribute deliberate changes, harmonizations, completion of details and new accents to the translator is under the obligation to prove his thesis with weighty arguments and also to show why the divergences cannot have originated with the *Vorlage*. That the translator *may* have manipulated his original does not mean that he necessarily did so. All that is known of the translation techniques employed in the Septuagint points firmly enough in the opposite direction.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>73</sup> I.e., "literal and semantically accurate," and "non-literal, but semantically adequate."

<sup>74</sup> Aejmelaeus, "Hebrew *Vorlage*," 71.

## THE UNITY OF THE MINOR PROPHETS IN THE LXX: A REEXAMINATION OF THE QUESTION

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No major study has yet set out expressly, let alone exhaustively, to examine the question of whether the same person or group translated into Greek all twelve books of the Minor Prophets (MP). Nevertheless, contemporary scholars have generally accepted the idea that the LXX Book of the Twelve is essentially the work of one translator (Tov, 1981:48). Ziegler (1934/35), Tov (1976), and Tov and Wright (1985) have all presented evidence in support of a one-translator thesis. But at closer inspection, these studies demonstrate less than their authors intended. They suffer from a combination of generality, over limitation and unreflective methodology. In sum, scholars have assumed too easily the translational unity of LXX-MP.

This study is a preliminary attempt to reopen the question of how many people or groups are responsible for the LXX translation of the MP. It does not analyze the Book of the Twelve comprehensively; rather, it concentrates on LXX-Nahum and Joel as a test case<sup>1</sup>. This thoroughgoing analysis of two books has called into question at three points the idea that one translator is responsible for LXX-MP: (1) in their attempts to support the idea of a unified Greek translation of MP, earlier studies drew examples from Nahum and Joel which are less than convincing; (2) moreover, earlier studies employed flawed logic and methodologies to establish the translational unity of MP; (3) and most importantly, the primary evidence itself from LXX-Nahum and LXX-Joel suggests that those two books at least are the products of different translators.

<sup>1</sup>This study took Nahum and Joel as its test case because of their manageable size, the relative integrity of their Hebrew texts, and their non-contiguous position in both the Hebrew and LXX canons. The books both contain large sections of poetry, and they share a respectable vocabulary. The Greek text used throughout is Ziegler, 1943.

In order to substantiate claims one and two, we must first review the established case for the unity of the Book of the Twelve in the LXX. The chief defender of the idea J. Ziegler, whose 1934 monograph *Die Einheit der Septuaginta zum Zwölfprophetenbuch* explored the question, wrote his essay in response to an earlier proposal by J. Hermann and F. Baumgartel (1923) that the LXX of the MP (and Isaiah) was the work of two translators. Ziegler's magisterial work in Isaiah had led him to the conclusion that LXX Isaiah had but one translator, and he set out to show the same was true for the Book of the Twelve. He successfully refuted Hermann and Baumgartel by showing that the line they attempted to draw between translators was easily blurred.

Hermann and Baumgartel's arguments were based on the false assumption that each of their alleged translators used a consistent set of Hebrew-Greek equivalences. Ziegler showed that was not the case, drawing several examples from LXX Amos where the same Hebrew word receives more than one Greek translation. Ziegler found a high degree of lexical flexibility between Hermann and Baumgartel's hypothetical halves, as well as a preferential use of some Greek words by both supposed translators. For each of Hermann and Baumgartel's examples, Ziegler pointed out exceptions or extenuating circumstances which invalidated the alleged patterns of usage they were supposed to illustrate. Ziegler also criticized Hermann and Baumgartel's selections on the grounds that the words in question occurred infrequently and because the uses which they noted were often fragmentary or incorrect.

Next, Ziegler advanced three arguments to support his own contention that there had been only one translator for the Book of the Twelve. First, he noted that his single alleged translator freely established different Greek equivalences for the same Hebrew word both within and among the twelve books. For example, Ziegler noted that  $\text{כָּר}$  is translated as  $\delta\omega\rho\omicron\nu$  in Amos 5:11, that it is omitted in 8:5, translated as  $\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  in Amos 8:6 and as  $\sigma\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\varsigma$  in Joel 2:24. Ziegler argued that this great lexical flexibility was "nicht begründet in der Verschiedenheit des Übersetzer, sondern in der Art des Übersetzers, der sich nicht an eine bestimmte Form bindet." (1934/35: 11). Secondly, Ziegler cited forty-five examples where the supposed translator of the MP had shown a

preference for a certain Greek word throughout the entire course of the Book of the Twelve. For example, Ziegler noted the word  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$  which stands as the equivalent of  $\text{נָגַר}$  (Mic 1:6),  $\text{כָּרַר}$  (Zeph 3:6) and  $\text{יָרַר}$  (Zach 11:2). Finally, Ziegler compiled a list of twenty-four Hebrew words that are rendered uniquely in LXX MP. For example, he listed the relatively rare word  $\text{קָצוּרִי}$ , which is rendered by  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\varsigma$  at each of its three appearances in MP (Mic 7:19, Jon 2:4, and Zach 10:11).<sup>2</sup>

More recently, E. Tov (1976) has also argued for the unity of the Twelve in the LXX. Tov suggested that the same translator(s) were responsible for Ezekiel, Jeremiah a' (chapters 1-28) and MP.<sup>3</sup> Tov's proposal is tentative, since he presented it in the context of a study on the Septuagint translation of Jeremiah and Baruch. The evidence Tov drew to support his ideas about the translator(s) of LXX-MP is limited to examples which surfaced in his study of LXX-Jeremiah. Nevertheless, Tov found "striking" the similarities between Ezekiel, Jeremiah a' and MP. To support his case, Tov collected a total of eighty-one examples of "distinctive agreements" and "rare words" shared between and among the three units.<sup>4</sup> Eighteen of the distinctive agreements were between Jeremiah a' and MP, while another eleven were shared among Jeremiah a', Ezekiel and MP.

A new statistical study by Tov and Wright (1985) has given some empirical support to the idea that only one person or group is responsible for

<sup>2</sup>Altogether, the word  $\text{קָצוּרִי}$  occurs twelve times in the Hebrew Bible. Elsewhere in the Septuagint, the usual equivalent is  $\beta\theta\theta\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  (Ex 15:5, Neh 9:11, Ps 68:16). The somewhat problematic  $\text{קָצוּרִי}$  (Zach 1:8, a *bapax legomenon*) receives the Greek equivalent  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\kappa\iota\omicron\nu$ , presumably an interpretative translation based on the root  $\text{קָצַר}$ .

<sup>3</sup>H. St. J. Thackeray first made this proposal in *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship: A Study in Origins* (London: Oxford University Press, 1920), pp. 28ff.

<sup>4</sup>Tov defined a distinctive agreement as "a rendition or word which is common to two or more LXX books and which distinguishes them from the remainder of the Septuagint" (1976:135-136). Tov acknowledged that such agreements were more persuasive if a particular rendition is the only one or the main one utilized in the unit(s) under investigation. Rare words are those which occur very infrequently in the LXX, even if they represent more than one Hebrew equivalence.

translating LXX-MP. The study surveyed a number of translation units on the basis of several quantifiable characteristics of literalness. Here is a summary of their data for Nahum and Joel:

Characteristic	Nahum	Joel
כ = ἐν	62 %	57.5%
כך = ὅτι / διότι	100 %	100 %
ל / לו = αὐτός / εαυτος	100 %	100 %
added prepositions	0.2%	0.3%

As far as these four criteria are concerned, Tov and Wright argued, the translations of Nahum and Joel seem quite similar. These figures placed both books in the category which Tov and Wright described as "mixed" translations. That is to say, Tov and Wright's analysis placed both LXX-Nahum and LXX-Joel into that majority group of Septuagint translations which are neither strictly literal nor completely paraphrastic.

Taken together, these studies by Ziegler, Tov, and Tov and Wright seem to present a very persuasive case for the unity of the Minor Prophets in the Septuagint. Someone seems to have employed the same translation technique to produce the LXX version of all twelve minor prophets. But is that impression accurate? The cumulative effect of these studies is less impressive when we subject to closer scrutiny their use of examples from Nahum and Joel and the logic underlying their selection.

The most important study to date is Ziegler's, hence it is appropriate to begin our critique there. Each of Ziegler's three principal arguments in support of his one-translator thesis is open to question. Both Nahum and Joel are consistent with Ziegler's first observation that the alleged translator of LXX-MP frequently established different Greek equivalents for the same Hebrew word both within and between books. For example, in Nahum 1:4 לְמַלְאָךְ is translated first as ἀλιγώθη and then seven words later as ἐξέλιπεν. The translator of Joel is even more flexible in this regard. The verb אָכַל is rendered by καταφαγεῖν (1:4, +5x), ἀναλίσκειν (1:19; 2:3), κατεσθίειν (2:5), and ἐσθίειν (2:26). Examples are easily multiplied:

Hebrew word	X appears in Joel	# of different Gk. equivalents
בוא	8	4
קרא	7	4
אמר	5	3
קרב	4	3
רוץ	3	2
כרת	2	2
חרף	2	2

The question, however, is not whether Ziegler has rightly observed a phenomenon common to the collected books of LXX-MP. Rather, discussion should revolve around the issue of whether Ziegler can use lexical flexibility to support his thesis (viz., that the same translator was responsible for the whole collection). Ziegler's first argument (that variation is grounded in the art of one translator rather than the presence of many translators) proves very little in the end. Very few, if any, translation units in the LXX display absolute consistency in their renderings of the *Vorlage*. The same Hebrew word receives different Greek translations within and among many books of the LXX; artistry in translation is characteristic of almost every translation unit in the LXX. To contend that any two (or twelve) units of translation are closely related merely because they both (or all) had an artful translator is not a strong argument. Carried to its logical extreme, Ziegler's first line of reasoning could even be used to prove that the entire LXX was translated by the same (very artful) translator.

Ziegler's second argument involves his observation that in LXX-MP the alleged sole translator showed a preference for certain Greek words.<sup>5</sup> The equivalences Ziegler noted, however, are convincing only if they meet at least

<sup>5</sup>In Nahum, for instance, ἀργή translates both זַעַם and חַרְוֹן in the same verse (1:6). The Greek θυμός stands for both הַמָּה (1:2) and אַף (1:3). Examples can also be multiplied from Joel, where, for example, περθεῖα is the equivalent of שֹׁדֵד (1:11, 19, 22), מַדְבָּר (2:3), and נֶאֱדָה (2:22).

three criteria. First, the most convincing examples would involve equivalences which are unique to the translation units under investigation. Otherwise, it would be possible to construct any number of hypothetical relationships between translation units. If close inspection can demonstrate that a preferred equivalence among the Book of the Twelve exists in a LXX translation unit beyond MP, one might argue that the alleged translator of LXX-MP was responsible for that other unit as well. Strong examples must be distinctive. Second, examples of preferred Greek equivalents are stronger if they are the only ones utilized in the book(s) under consideration. Strong examples must be consistent. Third, alleged preferences for certain Greek equivalents are most convincing when they occur with enough regularity that a pattern of usage is evident both within and outside of the translation unit(s) under investigation. Strong examples must be frequent.

Of Ziegler's examples, none of the thirteen involving Nahum and/or Joel meets this triple criterion of distinctiveness, consistency, and frequency. In all thirteen, either the evidence is too broad, the equivalences are present elsewhere, or the sample is too small. These examples illustrate the deficiencies in Ziegler's selection:

1. (Ziegler's #6) *διώκειν* =  $\gamma\iota\gamma$  Am 6:13(12); Hab 2:2; Hag 1:9; also *καταδιώκειν* =  $\gamma\iota\gamma$  Joel 2:4

Although this equivalence appears according to Ziegler's citation, it is by no means consistent within MP. The translator's alleged preference for equating *διώκειν* and  $\gamma\iota\gamma$  does not hold since *διώκειν* is used to translate four other words in MP ( $\epsilon\pi\iota\phi\alpha\nu\eta\varsigma$ , Hos 6:4; 12:1; Am 1:11; Nah 1:8;  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\delta\iota\omega\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$  Mic 2:10;  $\delta\iota\omega\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$  Am 2:16;  $\nu\alpha\chi$  Nah 3:2). The evidence is too broad to substantiate a specific preferred equivalence used throughout MP; the alleged translator is inconsistent.

2. (Ziegler's # 11) *ἐπιφανής* =  $\aleph\gamma\iota\iota$  Joel 2:11; 2:31 (3:4); Hab 1:7; Zeph 2:11; 3:2; Mal 1:14; 4:5 (3:23)  
(Ziegler's # 13) *ἐλλαβεῖσθαι* =  $\pi\omicron\pi$  Nah 1:7; Zeph 3:12

(Ziegler's # 14) *θάρασει, θαρσεῖτε* =  $\aleph\gamma\iota\gamma$   $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\delta\iota\omega\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$  Joel 2:21, 22; Zeph 3:16; Hag 2:6 (5); Zach 8:13, 15

The value of these examples is decreased because they identify equivalences which are not distinctive to MP. Each equivalence occurs elsewhere in LXX. *ἐπιφανής* =  $\aleph\gamma\iota\iota$  in Jud 13:6 and 1 Chron 17:21; *ἐλλαβεῖσθαι* =  $\pi\omicron\pi$  in Prov 24:28 (30:5); and *θάρασει, θαρσεῖτε* =  $\aleph\gamma\iota\gamma$   $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\delta\iota\omega\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$  in both pentateuchal and historical texts (Gen 35:17; Ex 14:13; 20:20; 1 Kgs 17:13). Since the preference for these equivalences is not unique to MP, we can suggest that the common usages Ziegler cites result from a general convention among LXX translators--not from the distinctive preferences of an alleged sole translator of MP.

3. (Ziegler's # 10) *ἐξάλλεσθαι* =  $\delta\iota\omega\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$  (Hiph) Mic 2:12; =  $\gamma\iota\gamma$  Joel 2:5 (Piel); = ? Nah 3:17; =  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\delta\iota\omega\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$  Hab 1:8

This example is also problematic because it presents an equivalence that is not unique to MP. In it, however, Ziegler proposed that his alleged translator betrayed a different kind of preference by using the same rare Greek word to stand for three different (also generally unusual) Hebrew words. Ziegler's citation did not include the fact that *ἐξάλλεσθαι* translates a fourth word ( $\pi\alpha\tau\alpha$ ) which occurs outside the Book of the Twelve (Isa 55:12).

4. (Ziegler's # 31) *ὄρμᾶν* =  $\omega\psi\epsilon$  Nah 3:16; Hab 1:8 (MT unclear); = *ὄρμημα* Hos 5:10; Am 1:11; =  $\epsilon\pi\iota\phi\alpha\nu\eta\varsigma$  Hab 3:8

The problem of frequency plagues any discussion of LXX-MP. This example demonstrates that Ziegler's evidence sometimes involves rare words whose usage patterns are difficult to evaluate. *ὄρμᾶν* occurs



six times in the Hebrew Bible, and each occurrence reflects a different *Vorlage*.  $\delta\rho\mu\eta\mu\alpha$  occurs five times in similar circumstances.<sup>6</sup>

The examples Ziegler used to support his third argument (that the translator of MP established unique translations for certain Hebrew words) suffer from similar shortcomings. Ziegler's evidence is comprised of words that are quite infrequent, words that have the same equivalences outside LXX-MP, and words that have multiple equivalents within the Book of the Twelve. These examples are only illustrative:

1.  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\nu\eta\pi\epsilon\iota\nu = \gamma\tilde{\rho}\tilde{\rho}$  Joel 1:5; Hab 2:7, 19

This alleged unique equivalence is not very convincing because it deals with rare words and because it appears beyond the corpus of LXX-MP. The Greek word  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\nu\eta\pi\epsilon\iota\nu$  appears only four times in LXX, standing each time for the Hebrew  $\gamma\tilde{\rho}\tilde{\rho}$ . Thus it is difficult to establish a pattern of usage unique to the translator of MP. Moreover, the same equivalence occurs in Genesis 9:24. This evidence, by an extension of Ziegler's logic, could be used to show that the alleged sole translator of LXX-MP was responsible for LXX-Genesis as well.

2.  $\delta\chi\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omega\mu\alpha = \text{רצב}$  Am 5:9; Nah 3:12, 14; Hab 1:10

This same equivalence occurs once in Daniel and twice in Lamentations. Further, in its only other occurrence in MP (Hos 10:14),  $\text{רצב}$  is translated by  $\pi\epsilon\pi\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$ . The equation  $\delta\chi\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omega\mu\alpha = \text{רצב}$  is neither unique to nor consistent within LXX-MP.

3.  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omicron\varsigma = \text{רצב}$  Hos 2:3(5); Joel 2:20; Zeph 2:13

This word pair is by no means unique to LXX-MP.  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omicron\varsigma$  stands for  $\text{רצב}$  frequently and consistently in LXX-Psalms, LXX-Job, and LXX-Ezekiel.

<sup>6</sup>To Ziegler's credit, this preference for translating words denoting anger with the root idea of  $\delta\rho\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu$  (instead of the more expected  $\delta\rho\gamma\acute{\eta}$ ) seems to be unique to LXX-MP. The translation itself is, however, rare-- only four times. It brings only one-third of the *Dodecapropheten* into discussion. However, this translational equivalent is by no means consistent within MP. The Hebrew word  $\text{עבר}$  is also translated by  $\delta\rho\gamma\acute{\eta}$  (Hos 13:11; Zeph 1:15, 18), and  $\text{עש}$  receives two other translations ( $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu$  Hos 2:5; 7:7, and  $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\epsilon\delta\epsilon\alpha\rho\alpha\nu$  Mic 2:8; 3:3).

The fact that this equivalence occurs consistently within LXX-MP means very little if the same equivalence occurs regularly in other units which have no translational relationship.

Ziegler's thesis thus becomes more difficult to substantiate when we scrutinize his arguments concerning lexical consistency. Perhaps Ziegler was aware of such difficulties, for he concluded his article with an argument which effectively dismantles any such criticism based on lexical inconsistencies within LXX-MP. Ziegler claimed that "Wenn sich trotz dieser einheitlichen Züge eine Reihe von abweichenden Wiedergaben finden, dann gibt die Beweglichkeit des Übersetzers die Erklärung für die Verschiedenheit in der Wiedergabe." (1934/35:15-16). But if that claim is true, it becomes impossible ever to advance an argument against the unity of LXX-MP. To say that a given translation unit is consistently inconsistent is to construct a no-lose situation; one can marshal both consistent and inconsistent usage patterns in an attempt to demonstrate a relationship between what might be genuinely disparate translation units.<sup>7</sup> As Ziegler stated his case, demonstrating multiple translators on the basis of word usage is a logical impossibility.

The examples which Tov drew in his 1976 study are similarly flawed. Of the fourteen "unique" equivalences he cited from Nahum and/or Joel, twelve (# 1, 3, 6, 7, 9, 18, 22, 23, 33, 61, 62, 69) provide inconclusive proof either because they appear inconsistently within MP or because they occur outside

<sup>7</sup>For example, Ziegler found strong support for his one translator thesis from the LXX rendering of  $\text{פארוך קבצו}$  ("grow pale") in Nahum 2:10 (11) and Joel 2:6. Both occurrences receive the obscure translation  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\sigma\kappa\alpha\upsilon\mu\alpha \chi\acute{\upsilon}\tau\rho\alpha\varsigma$  ("as the blackening of a pot"), an indication that both books had the same translator. However, Ziegler neglects to mention the equally rare  $\text{ויהוה רעם מצינן}$  ("and YHWH roared from Zion," Joel 3[4]:16; Amos 1:2) which receives two different translations in the LXX. The translator of Joel renders the phrase  $\delta \delta\epsilon \kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\kappa \Sigma\iota\omega\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\kappa\epsilon\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ , while Amos's translator renders it as  $\text{Κύριος ἐκ Σιών ἐφθέγγετο}$ . Yet as Ziegler constructed his argument, he could employ both of these examples to support his thesis. Ziegler's alleged "artfulness of the translator" seems to be a convenient way to explain important discrepancies and inconsistencies.

Viewed another way, Ziegler's contention is a statement of the obvious, since no LXX translator demonstrated absolute lexical consistency. Using lexical inconsistency as a description of translation technique, one could argue that relationships exist between and among any number of LXX translation units.

MP/Jer a'/Ezk-- sometimes with equal frequency. For example, Tov noted the translation of צבאות יהוה as κύριος παντοκράτωρ, which occurs over 100 times in MP (and five times in Jer a' as well). However, what Tov did not note is also important. This equivalence is not widespread in MP, it is not unique to MP, and it is not consistently used in MP. Half of the MP occurrences are in Zechariah alone. The same rendering occurs eight times in the historical books. In Zephaniah 2:9 the Greek equivalent is κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων.<sup>8</sup> Tov's examples are weak by his own criteria of uniqueness. The problem appears again when Tov cites the equivalence מַלְאָכִים = μεγιστάνες (Jer 14:3; Nah 2:6; Zech 11:2): מַלְאָכִים occurs only one other time in MP (Nah 3:18), where it received the translation δυνάστης.

Along with problems concerning consistency and uniqueness, the issue of frequency troubles Tov's examples. Over one-third of his exemplary "unique equivalences" consist of instances in which two or more unusual Hebrew words are rendered by the same (and usually appropriate) rare Greek word. Data involving such infrequent usage is difficult to evaluate; it fails to illuminate regular patterns of usage. If a word occurs only a very few times in LXX, the possibility exists that it was employed by several different translators, each of whom made an appropriate translation based on his understanding of various obscure Hebrew *Vorlagen*. We can illustrate this situation with a random example. The word תִּיָּבֵן occurs only twice in LXX. In Daniel 3:21, it stands for כַּרְבֵּל, "cap" (a hapax legomenon); in Ezekiel 23:15, it stands for פְּרֹס, "flowing" (eight occurrences in MT). Using Tov's logic, one might advance the highly unlikely argument that LXX-Daniel and -Ezekiel were translated by the same hand.<sup>9</sup> Tov's examples--and the logic that impelled him to select them--lack credibility.

<sup>8</sup>In Isaiah, צבאות יהוה is consistently rendered by this phrase.

<sup>9</sup>Tov noted in his book that he failed to find any evidence which might suggest that the same person did not translate Jeremiah a', Ezekiel, and MP. Several such pieces of negative evidence surfaced in the course of this study which might refute Tov's argument from silence:

a. The word מַלְאָכִים is rendered αἰετὶς consistently in Joel, while its seven occurrences in Ezekiel never receive that translation.

Tov and Wright's 1985 study is an interesting entry into the sophisticated world of computer analysis, but their survey includes only a few characteristics which measure degrees of literalness. In order to demonstrate conclusively that various translation units are related, a more extensive profile of literalness must be developed. Moreover, the statistics which Tov and Wright do develop are quite ambiguous. The parameters which they establish for Nahum and Joel are shared by many other translation units; Qoheleth, Ezra, and 2 Kings share the same range of literalness. Few would argue that those three books share the same translator. In any case, Tov and Wright offer only qualified support for the idea that LXX-Nahum and -Joel shared the same translator. They ultimately classify the Book of the Twelve as an "inconsistent" or "indecisive" translation unit (along with 2 Samuel and Ezekiel, both of which scholars suggest had more than one translator).

We have examined three important studies of LXX-MP, arguing that they provide less-than-convincing material to support the idea that one person was responsible for translating the whole of LXX-MP. We have also suggested that the logic underlying their methodologies is flawed. But what of the primary evidence? Do LXX-Nahum and -Joel themselves contain indications that they were translated by different people or groups? The evidence is, unfortunately, ambiguous.

b. The word לָלַךְ is consistently and uniquely translated by ἀλλάξεν in Jeremiah a' and b', in distinction from all its uses in Ezekiel and MP. (Altogether, לָלַךְ occurs ten times in MP. It receives either θρηνεῖν or ὀλοθυζεῖν as its translational equivalent in all those occurrences.)

c. The consistent and unique translation of לָלַךְ in MP is θάρσει. The phrase appears seven times in Jeremiah, translated each time by μὴ φοβεῖν. The only translation in Ezekiel (it appears five times) is μὴ φοβήσεσθαι. Compare note 8 above.

d. In contrast to the five different Hebrew words διώκειν translates in MP, the translator of Jeremiah used διώκειν only to stand for עָרַב at every occurrence.

Tov handily relegates to a footnote the one instance he uncovered in which LXX-Jer differed significantly from Ezekiel and MP (note 23, p. 155, concerning the absence of ὄν τροπον = מַלְאָכִים in LXX-Jer).

LXX-Nahum and Joel share many translational characteristics. The translation of both books adheres closely to the word order of the Masoretic Text (MT).<sup>10</sup> In both books, Greek words almost always share a 1:1 correspondence with their Hebrew equivalents.<sup>11</sup> Neither book is given to paraphrase.<sup>12</sup> Both books show a great deal of flexibility in translating verb forms, with a tendency toward creating participial constructions. They shift number, tense, voice, and mood as context allows or demands. Both translations use a similar variety of techniques in the process of defining equivalents for unusual Hebrew words.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup>The exception is Nahum 3:8, a notoriously difficult verse in which either the translator's *Vorlage* differed in its word order, or the translator manipulated the word order of his *Vorlage* to convey meaning while maintaining a strict 1:1 correspondence between Hebrew and Greek words. In that verse, the Hebrew הֲתִשְׁבֵּי מִנָּא אֲמוֹן ("Are you better than No of Amon [Thebes]?") apparently receives the translation ἄρμσσαι χορδὴν, ἐτοίμασαι μερίδα Ἀμων ("Tune the chord, prepare a portion; Amon . . ."). At first glance, it seems there exists an unexplained Greek plus (ἄρμσσαι χορδὴν), which precedes the then correctly ordered ἐτοίμασαι μερίδα Ἀμων (= הֲתִשְׁבֵּי מִנָּא אֲמוֹן). We suggest, however, that the translator was faced here with a dittographic Hebrew text which read הֲתִשְׁבֵּי מִנָּא אֲמוֹן מִנָּא אֲמוֹן. To make sense of this problematic reading, the translator reversed the order of the first three words in order to give the sentence meaning. From his re-ordered *Vorlage* מִנָּא אֲמוֹן הֲתִשְׁבֵּי מִנָּא אֲמוֹן, he translated ἄρμσσαι χορδὴν, ἐτοίμασαι Ἀμων (using the equivalences מִנָּא אֲמוֹן = ἄρμσσαι, cf. Prov 8:30; מִנָּא = χορδὴν, cf. Ps 150:4; הֲתִשְׁבֵּי = ἐτοίμασαι, cf. Mic 7:3; מִנָּא = μερίδα, cf. Jer 13:25).

<sup>11</sup>Nahum 2:4(5) is one of the few instances in which the translator veers away from a 1:1 correspondence. The single word כַּלְפִּיד is rendered ὡς λαμπάδες [πυρός]. However, לַפִּיד = λαμπάδες πυρός is an equivalence common throughout the LXX (Zech 12:6; Dan 10:6; Gen 15:7). In this verse, the translator seems only to have been following convention.

<sup>12</sup>Nahum 1:9 may contain one small paraphrastic construction. In that verse, פְּעַמִּים צָרָה receives the translation δις [ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν] θλίψει. Both LXX-Nahum and -Joel evidence several small plusses. Most, however, are variants/non-variants such as αὐτός, εἶναι, and various articles (cf. E. Tov, *The Text Critical Use of the Septuagint*, Jerusalem Biblical Studies 3 [Jerusalem: Simor Ltd., 1981], pp. 217-227). Both translations frequently add καί, translating poetic hypotaxis paratactically.

<sup>13</sup>Not surprisingly, the most common clue to meaning seems to have been context. In their attempts to decipher unusual words, the translator(s) of both LXX-Nahum and -Joel used known words which appeared nearby. For example, in Joel 2:20 (MT) a "stench" (רִיחַ, *hapax*) goes up when the invader is thrown into the sea; LXX-Joel cogently interprets the rare word as βρόμος, "loud noise." Sometimes the translator(s) might have established equivalents by relating difficult words to forms with which they were already familiar. These "pseudo-variants" existed only in the translator's mind, so they are difficult to verify (cf. Tov, 1981, p.

Both translations try to avoid monotony.<sup>14</sup> In at least one instance, the two books share a demonstrably unusual translation.<sup>15</sup>

But do these similarities justify the predominant conclusion that the same person or group translated both books? That question is difficult to address since most of the similarities between Nahum and Joel are quite general. However, significant differences in translation technique suggest that LXX-Nahum and Joel came from different hands:

(1) **Lexical flexibility.** We have already noted that LXX-Joel exhibits greater lexical flexibility than LXX-Nahum.<sup>16</sup> The translator of LXX-Joel demonstrated his ability even by the way he dealt with the repetitive Hebrew construction of the infinitive absolute. While the translator of LXX-Nahum always translated infinitive absolutes stereotypically, LXX Joel's translator consistently introduced some variation in his equivalences. For example, in Nahum 1:3 the phrase הַקָּדֵשׁ לֹא יִנְקָה becomes in translation καὶ ἀθῶν οὐκ ἀθῶσει; in contrast, the translator of Joel renders הָשָׁפַח הָשָׁפַח as ἐρευνῶν ἐξηρεύνησεν (1:7). LXX-Joel offers multiple translations for even the simplest words, most of which receive consistently the same equivalent in LXX-Nahum.<sup>17</sup>

155); one possible example occurs in Nahum 1:3 where הַקָּדֵשׁ ("whirlwind," 2x TNK) is translated συσσεισμῶ ("earthquake/hurricane," cf. טעם in Nah 3:2 and Joel 2:10).

<sup>14</sup>Here are some examples from both Nahum and Joel: שְׂמַע עַל שְׂמַע = οἱ ἀκούοντες τὴν ἀγγελίαν σου, Nah 3:19; הָרַת = θήρας / הַפַּרַס = ἀρπαγῆς, Nah 2:12 (13); הַמִּוֹנֵה הַמִּוֹנֵה = (incorrectly) ἦχοι ἐξήχησαν, Joel 3(4):14;

הַמִּוֹנֵה הַמִּוֹנֵה = (incorrectly) ἦχοι ἐξήχησαν, Joel 3(4):14;

הַמִּוֹנֵה הַמִּוֹנֵה = (incorrectly) ἦχοι ἐξήχησαν, Joel 3(4):14;

<sup>15</sup>See above, note 7.

<sup>16</sup>See above, pp. 58-59.

<sup>17</sup>For example, (1) הַמִּוֹנֵה = [τὰ] ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ (2:3), πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ (2:3), and πρὶν (2:31[3:4]); הַמִּוֹנֵה = ἐν (2:8), διὰ (2:9); הַמִּוֹנֵה = ταῦτα (1:1), τοιαῦτα (1:1); הַמִּוֹנֵה = alpha negative (1:6), οὐχ ὑπερέχεσθαι (1:18), οὐκ ἔστιν (2:27). Compare Nahum, where הַמִּוֹנֵה always stands for οὐκ ἔστιν (7x).

(2) **Plusses.** LXX-Joel contains five times more interpretative additions than LXX-Nahum. For example, Joel 1:5 embraces two LXX additions: ἐξ οἴνου αὐτῶν and εὐφροσύνη καὶ χαρά. The first appears under Origen's obelus. The second seems to result indirectly from the mistranslation of עֲסִיבָה לֵעַל. We suggest that the translator supplied the phrase עֲסִיבָה וְגִיל (= εὐφροσύνη καὶ χαρά., "joy and gladness") as the missing object of his phrase ὅτι ἐξήρται ἐκ στόματος ὑμῶν.<sup>18</sup> Interestingly enough, the added phrase appears only a few verses later in Joel 1:16 as the object of the same verb (כָּרַח, niphal).

Four other plusses in Joel also reflect constructions which appear in identical contexts elsewhere within both Masoretic and Septuagintal versions of that book: πολὺς, 2:5 (cf. 2:2); μεγάλη, 2:11 (cf. 2:31 [3:4]); ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν, 2:12 (cf. 2:13); πάντα, 3[4]:4 (cf. same verse). In contrast, this phenomenon occurs only once in Nahum (πάντα, Nah 3:10; cf. same verse [2x]).

In terms of grammatical lexemes, we may also note a difference in pronoun usage between Nahum and Joel. LXX-Joel adds eleven pronouns not found in MT (including ἐκ, ἀπὸ, ἔτι, εἰς, and ἐν); LXX-Nahum adds only two.<sup>19</sup>

(3) **Word Usage.** This study did not attempt an exhaustive analysis of the vocabulary shared by Nahum and Joel. In at least one instance, however, the two books establish patterns of equivalences which are quite suggestive.

<sup>18</sup>In MT, עֲסִיבָה לֵעַל is the proleptic subject of the phrase כִּי נִכְרַח מִפִּי כִי ("for it is cut off from your mouth"). The translator correctly rendered that phrase into Greek as ὅτι ἐξήρται ἐκ στόματος ὑμῶν ("for removed from your mouth are . . ."). Unfortunately, the translator understood עֲסִיבָה לֵעַל as εἰς μέθην ("to the point of drunkenness") rather than the more accurate "on account of sweet wine." Thus, the translation lacked a description of what had been removed from the mouth of the Ninevites.

<sup>19</sup>This reckoning does not count two "added" pronouns in Nahum which result from misreadings (ἐκ, Nah 2:1[2]; ἐξ, Nah 2:3[4]) or one which is a correct interpretation of *he locale* (ἐν, Nah 1:9).

Multiple words for "flying insect" appear several times each in both Nahum and Joel. LXX-Joel consistently translates βροῦχος for יִלְקַח and ἀκρίς for אַרְבֵּה. On the other hand, LXX-Nahum is quite inconsistent in its equivalents (ἀκρίς = גִּב, יִלְקַח; βροῦχος = יִלְקַח, אַרְבֵּה; ἀττῆλεβος = אַרְבֵּה).

(4) **Quality of translation.** If LXX-Nahum generally translates the MT with which we are familiar, its translation is vastly inferior to LXX-Joel. Nahum contains 43 misreadings (vs. 13 for Joel), 11 misunderstandings of syntactical relationships (vs. 2 for Joel), and 7 misinterpretations of Hebrew poetic parallelism (vs. 1 for Joel). These statistics take on even more meaning given the relative lengths of Nahum and Joel: Joel is nearly twice as long as Nahum.<sup>20</sup>

Translation errors in LXX-Nahum fall into several categories. Sometimes the translator confused similar-looking letters (e.g. שֶׁאֵשׁ for כֶּאֱשׁ, 1:6). In other places, the confusion seems to be more auditory (e.g. בְּקִרוֹם for בְּכֹרֶם, 3:12). There are problems with prefixes and suffixes (e.g. צַרָּה (נֶן) for מְצַרָּה, 2:1[2]). The translator posits the wrong root in several places (e.g. לָזַג for לָזַח, 1:12) and fails to capture the full range of meaning for several words (e.g. חִזַּק hipil ["take hold"] = κατακράτησον ["make stronger"], 3:14). In one instance, the translator divided the text incorrectly (מִן שֶׁל מִים) for שֶׁל מִים, 1:12).<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup>Of course, one might dismiss many of the difficulties outlined in this section by arguing that LXX-Nahum is simply translating a poor text, or a text which varies appreciably from MT as preserved in BHS. In that case, blame lies with the translator's faulty and/or variant manuscript and not with his sloppy technique or poor understanding of Hebrew. Even this large number of simple misreadings is easily explained by such logic. However, the translator's consistent misunderstanding of Hebrew syntax and poetic form-- problems almost unknown in LXX-Joel-- surely reflect more on the translator's (lack) of ability rather than the state of his *Vorlage*.

<sup>21</sup>Here is a catalogue of translation errors in Nahum:  
 graphic confusion-- 1:6; 1:8; 1:12; 2:3(4); 3:17  
 auditory confusion-- 2:10(11); 3:12; 3:17  
 prefix-suffix confusion-- 2:1(2); 2:3(4); 2:5(6); 2:9(10); 3:9; 3:14  
 root confusion-- 1:9; 1:12; 2:1(2); 2:3(4); 2:7(8); 3:17  
 faulty word division-- 1:2  
 failure to capture semantic range-- 1:12; 1:14; 2:2(3); 2:7(8) [2x]; 3:3; 3:18

The translator of Nahum frequently misunderstood the syntax of Hebrew sentences with which he was working. He ignored the basic sentence structure and thought division of the *Vorlage*, rearranging modifiers, shifting clauses, and confusing parts of speech. Compare Nahum 3:6, where the Hebrew verb  $\text{וַיִּבְלֹתֵךְ}$  becomes the Greek adverbial phrase  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma \sigma\upsilon\upsilon$ .<sup>22</sup> Nahum's translator was also generally insensitive to the mechanics of Hebrew verse. He commonly ignored the parallel structure of his *Vorlage*, generally recasting the book as prose. That insensitivity manifests itself clearly in Nahum 2:3-4(4-5). The intricately parallel Hebrew stichs

באש פלדות הרכב ביום הכינו  
והברשים<sup>23</sup> הרעלו

בחוצות יתהוללו הרכב  
ישתקשקו ברחבות

In a flash of fire (go) chariots on the day of their mustering,  
and the horses they make tremble.

In the streets the chariots go madly;

They run about wildly in the squares.

appear in Greek as:

<sup>22</sup> Other problem verses include Nahum 1:4, 11, 12, 15 (2:1); 2:2(3), 7(8) [2x], 10(11) [2x]; 3:6.

<sup>23</sup> Reading with LXX ( $\sigma\iota \tau\eta\eta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ), and Samaritan Pentateuch. Graphic confusion between  $\text{ד}$  and  $\text{ד}$  during the transmission of the Hebrew text is likely.

... ἐν πυρί, αἱ ἡνίαι τῶν ἀρμάτων αὐτῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐτοιμασίας αὐτοῦ,  
καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς θορυβηθήσονται ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς. Καὶ συγχυθήσονται τὰ ἄρματα  
καὶ συμπλακήσονται ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις

[they have destroyed. . . their mighty men sporting] with fire, the  
reigns of their chariots on the day of preparation, and the confused  
horsesmen in the way. And the chariots will clash together and be  
entangled in the broad ways.

The translator of Joel made significantly fewer mistakes in these four  
categories, leaving us a Greek text far more accurate than LXX-Nahum.<sup>24</sup>

We may conclude by reviewing this study's main findings. Scholars  
seem to begin by assuming that one person translated the entire Book of the  
Twelve into Greek. They support that assumption with arguments that are  
flawed in logic or unsupported by textual evidence. The problematic nature of  
their assumption is further illustrated by a careful analysis of LXX-Nahum and -  
Joel. This analysis reveals important differences in translational character which  
make it difficult for us to assume that a single translator was responsible for both  
books. From that point we might go on to extrapolate the existence of  
significant differences among the Septuagint translations of other books in the  
corpus of MP.

In light of these facts, the uncritical assumption of translational unity  
within the collection which comprises the twelve minor prophets must be  
rejected. The methodological grounds for making judgments about the  
relationships between and among the books of LXX-MP must be reassessed.  
More detailed study of the subject is necessary before sweeping theoretical  
assumptions are made. Some evidence is contradictory; perhaps a quite  
complicated redactional history may emerge for the Septuagint translations of the  
Minor Prophets. At the very least, it becomes apparent that the question of the

<sup>24</sup> For other examples of this desperate (and mistaken) attempt by the translator to make  
sense of his source text, see Nahum 1:15 (2:1); 2:3(4), 4(5); 3:3, 4, 9, 10.

unity of the Minor Prophets in the Septuagint is still open. To argue otherwise is to be guilty of a serious oversimplification.

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