Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies

Volume 36 • 2003

IOSCS Matters

Book Reviews

Editorial

—◆—

Change is one of the few certainties of life, and with this volume comes change, first of Editor. In the history of the *Bulletin* there have been 5 editors prior to this volume. For the record, they are:

1968–1973	Sidney Jellicoe
1973–1979	George Howard
1980–1985	Eugene Ulrich
1986–1996	Melvin K. H. Peters
1997–2002	Theodore A. Bergren

Ted served in an editorial role for 9 years: first as associate editor, 1993–96; and then as Editor, 1997–2002. He labored tirelessly, and the volumes testify to this, and none more so than the last two volumes published by Eisenbrauns. They are a credit to him.

It is easy to see from a review of the earliest *Bulletins* why they were so named. Volume 2 records with remarkable brevity the founding of IOSCS, December 19, 1968 at Church Divinity School, School of the Pacific, Berkeley, California:

Professor John W. Wevers moved that:

1. The meeting constitute itself as an organizing meeting of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies (IOSCS).

2. The following nominations be approved:
   President – Professor Harry M. Orlinsky;
   Secretary – Professor Charles T. Fristsch;
   Editor – Dean Sidney Jellicoe.

3. The Executive Committee of the organization be appointed by the Chairman.

The motion was passed, and IOSCS was born.

The *Bulletin* was a place to record significant meetings, activities of the members, minutes, abstracts of papers presented, and lists of books published by members or by others but of interest to septuagintalists. It was not primarily a journal. In fact the first volume was typed and mimeographed. The second was more auspicious, being printed due to underwriting from KTAV (and included a reprint of the first volume).

It was six years before the first full paper was published, that of J. W. Wevers, "A Lucianic Recension in Genesis?" (*BIOSCS* 6 [1973] 22–35). Up through Vol. 35 the major task of the editor has been to find by whatever means possible the details to include in what was originally called "Record of Work Recently Completed, in Hand, or Projected." In the days of limited communication this was an invaluable service to members, though in retrospect many of the proposed projects never materialized.

As early as Vol. 3 (1970), in a presentient note, Kent L. Smith reported on his paper "Data Processing the Bible: A Consideration of the Potential Use of the Computer in Biblical Studies," saying at the outset:

> The purpose of this paper is to indicate the state of the art of humanistic programming, as it would apply to text criticism; to describe some projects that could be implemented on the computer; and, hopefully, to stir some interest in the use of computers in Biblical studies.

What could not be foreseen at the time was the World Wide Web providing virtually instant communication around the world.

Much has changed since then, and the Executive Committee took this into consideration this year (in an online series of exchanges), recommending Jay Treat to the new office of Editor of the IOSCS website (an Executive Committee position), and this action was confirmed at the SBL Annual Meeting in Atlanta, November 2003. It was decided that the helpful information that has hitherto been published in the *Bulletin* under News and Notes, Varia, and Record of Work Published or in Progress will now be published in a timely manner on the website, leaving that space in the *Bulletin* for more articles and Reviews. However, official IOSCS documents such as minutes and the Treasurer's reports continue to be included.

For the first time this volume was prepared in Unicode 3.0 (in Word 2002 under Microsoft Windows XP) and this has facilitated the typing of Greek and Hebrew. The character assignments are standardized, and right-to-left languages are automatically formatted correctly.

BERNARD A. TAYLOR

ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, εἶ μήν . . .
dans la Septante d'Ézéchiel

KATRIN HAUSPIE

*F. W. O.-Vlaanderen Centre for Septuagint
Studies and Textual Criticism, Leuven*

La combinaison des mots ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, εἶ μήν,[1] si on la compare avec les traductions et la relation avec son correspondant du texte massorétique חַי אָנִי נְאֻם אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה אִם לֹא, introduit l'expression du serment. εἶ μήν, אִם לֹא dans le texte massorétique, introduit l'affirmation ou la promesse de ce que l'on va faire ou de ce qui va se passer. Souvent cette promesse est affirmée en invoquant un supérieur, généralement Dieu, en gage de sa bonne foi; c'est ce qui est exprimé par חַי אָנִי dans le texte massorétique—nous l'appelons la formule exclamative du serment—traduit par ζῶ ἐγώ dans la Septante. Les deux éléments composants constituant l'expression du serment, tels qu'ils se trouvent dans la Septante d'Ézéchiel ζῶ ἐγώ d'une part et εἶ μή, ἐὰν μή, εἰ μή, εἰ, οὐ d'autre part, posent des problèmes.

Nous commencerons d'abord avec ζῶ ἐγώ. La traduction de ζῶ ἐγώ de la Septante dans les traductions modernes attire l'attention sur cette expression grecque: cette traduction rend plutôt l'hébreu חַי אָנִי, c.-à-d. la formule

---

   1. Pour la Septante d'Ézéchiel, nous nous basons sur l'édition de Ziegler 1977; les citations d'autres livres de la Septante sont tirées de l'édition de Rahlfs. Les citations du texte massorétique sont celles de BHS, celles du Nouveau Testament sont celles de NA[27].

exclamative du serment en hébreu. Nous aborderons ensuite la situation en grec: le serment en grec est renforcé par la formule affirmative introduite par μά ou νή. Nous continuerons par la présence de ζῶ ἐγώ hors de la Septante. Conjointement, nous analyserons d'autres formes verbales de ζάω (ζῆν), en décalque de la formule exclamative du serment hébraïque. Enfin nous essaierons de nous prononcer sur le sens de ζῶ ἐγώ en Ézéchiel et sa position dans l'expression du serment.

Nous étudierons en second lieu la formule introductive du serment. En grec on s'attend à ἦ μήν. La Septante d'Ézéchiel atteste d'une part εἰ μήν conforme à l'usage contemporain, en accord avec le texte massorétique quant au sens, et d'autre part εἰ μή, ἐὰν μή, εἰ, ne se référant pas au serment et différent du texte massorétique en ce qui concerne le sens.

<p style="text-align:center">ζῶ ἐγώ</p>

1. Traduction

L'expression ζῶ ἐγώ se lit 16 fois dans la Septante d'Ézéchiel.[2] Elle est toujours précédée ou suivie des mots λέγει κύριος: τάδε λέγει κύριος, ζῶ ἐγώ, et ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος. ζῶ ἐγώ correspond à חַי אָנִי, la formule exclamative qui précède le serment, dans le texte massorétique.[3]

Un emploi identique de ζῶ ἐγώ en Nb 14,28[4] et en So 2,9[5] est traduit par «aussi vrai que moi je suis vivant» dans La Bible d'Alexandrie, et «as I live» chez Brenton. On trouve aussi la traduction «par ma vie» pour ζῶ ἐγώ en

---

2. Ez 5,11; 14,16.18.20; 16,48; 17,16.19; 18,3; 20,3.31.33; 33,11.27; 34,8; 35,6.11.

3. Je remercie mon collègue Antoon Ternier pour ses remarques judicieuses sur חַי אָנִי.

4. Dorival et al., *Les Nombres*, 325. La note en bas de la page au v. 21 (322) spécifie que ζῶ ἐγώ est littéralement «je suis vivant». Quoique cette traduction littérale convienne mieux à ζῶ ἐγώ, elle n'est pas retenue dans la traduction. Le choix des auteurs du volume des Nombres «aussi vrai que je suis vivant» s'oppose au point de vue de Wevers selon lequel ζῶ ἐγώ est une déclaration signifiant «je suis vivant», «je vis» (*Notes on the Greek Text of Numbers*, 221–22: 'and the formula ζῶ ἐγώ 'I am alive', must also be understood as an asseveration').

5. Harl et al., *Joël, Abdiou, Jonas, Naoum, Ambakoum, Sophonie*, 352. La note en bas de la page au v. 9 spécifie que ζῶ ἐγώ «aussi vrai que je suis vivant, moi», retenu en tant que traduction, est littéralement «moi, je vis».

Rm 14,11[6] dans *La Bible de Jérusalem* et dans la plupart des commentaires, et pour ζῶ ἐγώ en Ézéchiel dans la traduction de Giguet.

Ces traductions se réfèrent en fait à חַי־אָנִי, qui d'ordinaire est traduit par «aussi vrai que je suis vivant»[7], ou «par ma vie»[8]. חַי־אָנִי est une phrase nominale: חַי peut être interprété comme le participe du *qal* du verbe חיה «vivre», le pronom personnel אָנִי sert de sujet dans la phrase nominale. Joüon l'interprète de la même façon, en traduisant littéralement «vivant je suis!», ce qui revient à «par ma vie!».[9] Traditionnellement חַי est considéré comme un adjectif «vivant».[10]

Greenberg conteste dans son article 'The Hebrew Oath Particle ḤAY/ ḤĒ' que חַי est une forme participiale du verbe חיה. Il considère חַי comme l'état construit du substantif חַי «vie», de sorte que la formule signifie: «par la vie de moi», «par ma vie»; l'état construit חַי s'oppose à l'état construit ordinaire חֵי, s'employant exclusivement en relation avec le Seigneur.[11] Joüon maintient la distinction morphologique entre חֵי, forme nominale, en traduisant חֵי פַרְעֹה par «par la vie de Pharaon!», et חַי, forme participiale, en traduisant חַי יְהוָֹה par «vivant est Jahwé!» (ce qui revient à «par la vie de Jahwé», mais la traduction française s'exprime clairement sur le caractère verbal de חַי).[12] La deuxième difficulté dans l'interprétation de Greenberg est la valeur du génitif qui est accordée à אָנִי. Normalement le génitif du pronom personnel s'ajoute au substantif sous forme de suffixe, donc ־ִי pour la première personne du singulier. Selon Greenberg le pronom אָנִי est un succédané pour le tétragramme.[13] Les exemples que Greenberg apporte en

---

6. C'est le seul exemple de ζῶ ἐγώ dans le Nouveau Testament. Il n'est pas issue de la déclaration forte ζῶ ἐγώ dans la phrase ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ en Ga 2,20, qui s'oppose à ζῇ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός dans le droit fil du récit.

7. *Bible de la Pléiade: l'Ancien Testament*.

8. TOB; *La Bible de Jérusalem*.

9. *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique*, §165 e.

10. HALAT *s.v.* חַי I, A, 2, c et חַי II, 3; BDB *s.v.* חַי I, 1, a; DCH *s.v.* חַי I.

11. La vocalisation de l'état construit de חַי est normalement חֵי mais en combinaison avec le tétragramme יהוה il est vocalisé חַי (pour des raisons euphoniques par rapport à la conservation du י final en חַי suivi d'un mot commençant par י). חַי est devenu la forme de l'état construit en combinaison avec tout mot référant au Seigneur (Greenberg, 'The Hebrew Oath Particle', 35–36).

12. *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique*, §165 e.

13. Hors de la formule חַי־אָנִי, un emploi similaire de אָנִי n'est attesté que dans le Mishna Sukkah 4,5, où la valeur de אני est interprétée différemment par les commentateurs. אני à valeur de génitif se référant au Seigneur est une faute grammaticale mais

faveur de cette interprétation ne sont pas très convaincants: le mot הואהא, dans ללכת למדבר לפנות שם את דרך הואהא «pour aller au désert pour dégager là-bas le chemin», est une forme inhabituelle pour le pronom personnel, dont le sens n'est pas clair,[14] et הוא, «il», en נוקם הוא לצרו fonctionne comme sujet du participe נוֹקֵם «il se venge de ses oppresseurs».[15] Nous ne suivons pas la thèse de Greenberg. חַי אָנִי est une construction grammaticale différente du type חֵי פַרְעֹה, nom à l'état construit suivi d'un nom. Ces deux types de construction חַי אָנִי et חֵי פַרְעֹה appartiennent à la formule exclamative précédant un serment ou un jurement.[16]

En traduisant חַי אָנִי par ζῶ ἐγώ, la Septante a interprété חַי comme une forme participiale résultant en une forme verbale ζῶ. Un participe en hébreu dans une phrase nominale est souvent traduit par un indicatif présent en grec.

2. La formule d'affirmation traditionnelle avec le serment en grec

Les deux traductions, «aussi vrai que moi je suis vivant» et «par ma vie», ne rendent pas ce qui est exprimé par ζῶ ἐγώ mais reflètent la formule exclamative du serment en hébreu. ζῶ ἐγώ en revanche, ne porte pas d'indication de la formule grecque d'affirmation d'un serment.

La formule d'affirmation du serment en grec, introduite par μά, suivi, le plus souvent, d'un nom d'un dieu à l'accusatif, par exemple μὰ Δία «par Zeus»,[17] est attestée dans la Septante en 4 M 10,15. Le quatrième des sept frères, forcés par le roi Antioche à manger des aliments impurs, appuie ses

---

apparemment 'not intolerable to the Hebrew ear' (Greenberg, 'The Hebrew Oath Particle', 38–39).

14. בַּמִּדְבָּר ללכת למדבר לפנות שם את דרך הואהא est une paraphrase d'Is 40,3, פַּנּוּ דֶּרֶךְ יְהוָה «dans le désert dégagez la route du Seigneur», dans la Règle de la Communauté à Qumrân (1QS 8,13). La forme הואהא n'est pas attestée ailleurs, et est contestée: le א à la fin serait ajouté pour signaler la valeur succédanée de הואהא (Yalon, 'Review of M. Burrows, *The Dead Sea scrolls of St. Mark's monastery II, 2*', 71). Greenberg juge הואהא un succédané pour le tétragramme יהוה ('The Hebrew Oath Particle', 38); mais vu le caractère incertain de הואהא, cet argument est faible dans la discussion sur la valeur de génitif du pronom personnel.

15. Na 1,2 נֹקֵם יְהוָה לְצָרָיו «le Seigneur se venge de ses oppresseurs» est cité à Qumrân dans le Document de Damas ainsi: נוקם הוא ל[צרו] «il se venge (de ses oppresseurs)» (4Q270 6, 3, 19); Greenberg juge que הוא est un succédané pour le tétragramme יהוה ('The Hebrew Oath Particle', 38).

16. Joüon et Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, II, §165 e.

17. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, II, 1, 2, 569–70 et 707. Kühner et Gerth, *Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, II, 2, 148). Les noms de dieux y sont très fréquents: μὰ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, μὰ τὸν Δία, μὰ τὸν Ἑρμῆν.

propres mots par μὰ τὸν μακάριον τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου θάνατον καὶ τὸν αἰώνιον τοῦ τυράννου ὄλεθρον καὶ τὸν ἀίδιον τῶν εὐσεβῶν βίον.[18] Vu son origine grecque, le quatrième livre des Maccabées ne peut pas servir d'exemple pour toute la Septante; 4 M 10,15 ne peut donc pas servir de parallèle pour l'emploi de ζῶ ἐγώ en Ézéchiel. Les manuscrits lucianiques portent μὰ τὴν ζώην σου καὶ μὰ τὴν ζώην τῆς ψυχῆς en 2 R 11,11 pour חַיֶּךָ וְחֵי נַפְשֶׁךָ «par ta vie et par la vie de ton âme» dans le texte massoréti-que.[19] La tradition lucianique a aperçu la formule exclamative précédant le serment dans le texte massorétique, et l'a traduite par la formule correspon-dante en grec, introduite par μά, tandis que la Septante a traduit וְחֵי (חַיֶּךָ) נַפְשֶׁךָ mot à mot par ζῆ ἡ ψυχή σου.[20] Dans la Septante d'Ézéchiel il n'y a aucune trace de cette formule avec μά. Elle est aussi absente du Nouveau Testament, à la différence de νή, autre particule de la formule affirmant le serment,[21] en 1 Co 15,31: νὴ τὴν ὑμετέραν καύχησιν «par votre orgueil». Cette particule se lit dans la Septante uniquement dans la Genèse νὴ τὴν ὑγίειαν Φαραω «par la santé de Pharaon» (42,15.16), pour חֵי פַרְעֹה dans le texte massorétique, «aussi vrai que Pharaon est vivant».[22] Tous ces exem-ples attestent μά et νή suivis d'un substantif, qui n'exprime jamais un nom de dieu, mais qui se réfère à un état, en décalque du texte massorétique; notre cas en Ézéchiel en revanche porte une forme verbale.

Le grec d'ordinaire n'utilise pas d'expression verbale à l'affirmation d'un serment. Il y en a cependant quelques exemples de l'emploi du verbe, notam-ment du verbe ζῆν, avec le serment.[23] En Aristophane Καί σ᾽ ἐπιδείξω νὴ τὴν Δήμητρ᾽, ἢ μὴ ζώην, δωροδοκήσαντ᾽ ἐκ Μυτιλήνης πλεῖν ἢ

---

18. Breitenstein, *Beobachtungen zu Sprache, Stil und Gedankengut des vierten Mak-kabäerbuchs*, 16–29, conclut que 36,1% des mots du quatrième livre des Maccabées sont absents des autres livres de la Septante, dont un nombre non négligeable appartient au vocabulaire classique. Ce trait n'est pas surprenant dans un livre d'origine grecque. Mais en comparaison avec la Sagesse (19,3% du vocabulaire est absent de la Septante), aussi d'origine grecque, la proportion du vocabulaire absent de la Septante du quatrième livre des Maccabées est remarquable (Breitenstein, *Beobachtungen zu Sprache, Stil und Gedan-kengut des vierten Makkabäerbuchs*, 16). De ce point de vue la présence de μά pour la formule de serment confirme ce caractère singulier du livre.

19. Cf. l'édition de Brooke, McLean et Thackeray, *I and II Samuel*.

20. ζῆ ἡ ψυχή σου traduit וְחֵי נַפְשֶׁךָ. חַיֶּךָ n'est pas traduit dans la Septante, c'est pourquoi nous l'avons mis entre parenthèses.

21. Kühner et Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, II, 2, 147.

22. *La Bible de Jérusalem*; TOB.

23. Headlam et Knox, *Herodas*, 155.

μνᾶς τετταράκοντα les mots μὴ ζῴην, également comme νὴ τὴν Δήμητρ᾽, servent de renforcer les paroles du charcutier: «Et je montrerai encore, par Déméter—ou que je meure—que tu as reçu de Mytilène plus de quarante mines» (*Eq.*, 832b–835). L'expression avec νή (ou μά) est parfois tout à fait absente, par exemple en Euripide: μὴ ζῴην ἔτι, εἰ τἀμὰ τέκνα πρὸς βίαν νυμφεύεται «Que je meure, si je dois voir ainsi déflorer mes enfants» (*Suppl.*, 454b–455). Il s'agit dans ces cas de l'optatif du souhait.

3. ζῶ ἐγώ ailleurs

L'expression ζῶ ἐγώ telle qu'elle est, n'est pas attestée dans la littérature grecque en dehors de la Bible.[24] Sa présence dans la Septante est toujours un décalque de אֲנִי חַי.[25] Vu qu'elle est aussi rare dans le Nouveau Testament, elle n'est pas devenue idiomatique dans la langue grecque ou dans le grec biblique.[26]

La citation en Rm 14,11 nuance cette conclusion. L'introduction γέγραπται γάρ montre que ζῶ ἐγώ en Rm 14,11 est une citation de Is 49,18; Jr 22,24; Ez 5,1 etc. de l'Ancien Testament.[27] L'auteur de l'Epître aux Romains n'a probablement pas un seul passage sous les yeux, mais il cite un texte qui se trouve à plusieurs endroits dans l'Ancien Testament. Peut-être s'agissait-il

---

24. ζῶ ἐγώ se lit ailleurs dans la Septante en Nb 14,21.28; Dt 32,40; Odes 2,40; So 2,9; Is 49,18; Jr 22,24; 26,18(TM 46,18).

25. Dt 32,40 est un décalque de אָנֹכִי חַי; אָנֹכִי est une forme parallèle, moins fréquente, pour אֲנִי, mais en Deutéronome elle surpasse largement la présence de אֲנִי. Les Odes ne dépendent pas d'un original sémitique, mais ζῶ ἐγώ est une citation de Dt 32,40.

26. Une formule de serment, introduite par μά ou νά, est très rare dans le Nouveau Testament. Le verbe ὄμνυμι se lit 20 fois, avec l'accusatif (seulement Jc 5,12) mais le plus souvent avec une préposition à l'indication de la personne ou de la chose que l'on atteste (BDR, §149, 2).

Nous définissons 'idiome' ou 'expression idiomatique' ainsi: un "ensemble des moyens d'expression d'une communauté correspondant à un mode de pensée spécifique" (*Le Nouveau Petit Robert, s.v.*). L'idiome de la langue grecque est moins restreint que l'idiome du grec biblique, qui est propre au domaine spécifique de la Bible et de son monde apparenté.

27. Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums*, 11–12 et 25. Koch délimite les différentes façons de citer l'Ancien Testament dans le Nouveau Testament notamment dans l'Épître aux Romains; une citation est entre autres reconnaissable à sa formule introductive. NA[27] notent dans la marge de Rm 14,11 les versets cités de l'Ancien Testament en italique. Il n'est pas possible d'identifier la source de l'auteur de l'Epître aux Romains: le texte hébreu ou la Septante.

d'une expression d'emploi général.[28] Par conséquent il est possible que ζῶ ἐγώ soit devenue idiomatique dans la langue biblique, devenant une formule de serment, comme le dit Koch.[29] De ce point de vue, ζῶ ἐγώ signifierait alors «par ma vie», «aussi vrai que moi je suis vivant» au lieu de la déclaration forte «moi, je vis!». Un seul passage dans le Nouveau Testament n'est cependant pas suffisant pour parler d'une expression idiomatique biblique.

4. Autres formes verbales du verbe ζῆν en décalque de la formule exclamative du serment hébreu

La formule exclamative du serment dans le texte massorétique n'est pas limitée à la première personne du singulier. Les gens jurent ou promettent en invoquant Dieu ou un être reconnu. La troisième personne du singulier ζῆ est fréquente dans cette position dans la Septante: ζῆ κύριος se lit le plus souvent, ζῆ ἡ ψυχή σου en 2 R 14,19, ζῆ ὁ θεός σου Δαν καὶ ζῆ ὁ θεός σου Βηρσαβεε en Am 8,14. ζῆ correspond toujours à חי dans la formule exclamative du serment dans le texte massorétique: si la formule se rapporte au Seigneur les massorètes ont mis les voyelles חַי, si la formule se rapporte à toute autre autorité invoquée, ils vocalisent חֵי.[30] Les traducteurs de la Septante avaient un texte hébreu non-vocalisé sous la main; ils ont toujours interprété חי comme une forme participiale, le rendant par ζῆ ou ζῶ, et ils n'ont apparemment pas voulu faire de distinction entre la formule se rapportant au Seigneur et celle se rapportant à quelqu'un d'autre. Seulement en Gn 42,15.16 la Septante traduit חֵי פַרְעֹה, «par la vie de Pharaon», du texte massorétique par νὴ τὴν ὑγίειαν Φαραω: la formule exclamative qui précède et affirme le serment a été reconnue dans le texte massorétique, et a été rendue par l'expression correspondante grecque.

---

28. C'est ce que suggèrent Archer et Chirichigno, *Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament*, 114–15: 'Paul's introductory formula is picked up from general usage elsewhere in the OT, such as in Isa 49,18; Ezek 5,11 and Jer 22,24'. Koch (*Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums*, 185) dit que ζῶ ἐγώ λέγει κύριος se lit à plusieurs reprises dans les livres prophétiques et l'on peut se demander si l'on a affaire à une citation d'un passage concret de l'Ancien Testament, ou plutôt à une citation par cœur d'une formule générale. La suite de la phrase par ὅτι, évoquerait Is 49,18 ou Jr 26,18 (ailleurs la formule est suivie par εἰ ou εἰ μήν), de sorte que Koch parle quand même d'une citation d'Is 49,18 en Rm 14,11.

29. *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums*, 184.

30. חַי אֵל חַי הָאֱלֹהִים, חַי־יְהֹוָה et חַי אֵל (ζῆ κύριος dans la Septante) se rapportent au Seigneur, וְחֵי דֶרֶךְ חֵי אֱלֹהֶיךָ דָן (ζῆ ὁ θεός σου Δαν), חֵי נַפְשְׁךָ (ζῆ ἡ ψυχή σου), בְּאֵר־שָׁבַע (καὶ ζῆ ὁ θεός σου Βηρσαβεε) se rapportent à un autre.

Dans le premier livre des Règnes ζῆ κύριος (par exemple en 14,39 et 45) rend חַי־יְהֹוָה dans le texte massorétique (1 S 14,39 et 45), qui a la valeur d'une formule affirmant le serment «aussi vrai que vit Jahwé». ζῆ κύριος est traduit «aussi vrai que vit le Seigneur» ou «par le Seigneur vivant» dans La Bible d'Alexandrie. [31] La même expression en Jg 8,19, correspondant à חַי־יְהֹוָה dans le texte massorétique, est traduit par «le Seigneur est vivant»,[32] ce qui convient mieux au grec que les traductions offertes dans le premier livre des Règnes. Les traductions modernes de ζῆ κύριος ne sont pas unanimes, et montrent que l'identité prétendue de ζῆ κύριος avec μά ou νή suivi de l'accusatif, n'est pas certaine.

Cet emploi de ζῆ κύριος n'apparaît également pas dans le Nouveau Testament. Au sixième et septième siècle ζῆ κύριος refait surface dans les papyrus comme formule affirmative, bien qu'elle soit inhabituelle dans cette fonction[33]: ζῆ κύριος, ἐὰν ἔτι ἔλθη πρὸς ἐμὲ [καὶ μὴ συ]νηλλάγησαν, οὐκ ἔχεις μου βαστάξαι «il vit, le Seigneur!, s'il vient encore à moi et s'ils ne se sont pas réconciliés, tu ne peux pas me battre» (P.Oxy. XVI 1839, 2), et ἐπεὶ, ζῆ κύριος, ἐὰν συμβῇ αὐτῷ τί ποτε, παρέχεις τὴν τιμὴν αὐτοῦ «quand, il vit, le Seigneur!, si jamais quelque chose lui arrive, tu paies le prix qu'il a coûté» (P.Oxy. XVI 1854, 4).[34]

L'absence de ζῶ ἐγώ et les emplois identiques (tel que ζῆ κύριος) dans la littérature contemporaine en dehors de la Septante, et dans la littérature biblique, en particulier dans le Nouveau Testament à l'exception de Rm 14,11, remettent en question l'identification de ζῶ ἐγώ avec la formule typique de l'affirmation du serment, μά ou νή suivis de l'accusatif. Une traduc-

---

31 . Grillet et Lestienne, *Premier livre des Règnes*, 263.266.318.325.330.375.378. 383.384.397.403–4.

32. Harlé, *Les Juges*, 160.

33. Peremans et Vergote, *Papyrologisch Handboek*, 124.

34. Dans son article 'Les formes verbales égyptiennes et leur vocalisation' Vergote considère que ζῆ κύριος provient de la formule copte vivante «il vit, le Seigneur» (355). Il est préférable de dire que la formule copte «il vit, le Seigneur» est basée sur ζῆ κύριος. Les versions coptes de l'Ancien Testament rendent ζῆ κύριος par «il vit, le Seigneur» (Jr 45,16; 51,26), en traduisant l'expression grecque littéralement, sans y voir une formule de serment. Tout serment en copte commence avec le mot démotique «vie», comme en égyptien, ˁnḫ, «vie». Ce mot a pris la nouvelle signification de «serment», au début de cette phrase, il est même devenu une particule comme le grec μά ou νή. De plus en plus cette particule tend à être remplacée par la formule «il vit, le Seigneur». La tournure «il vit, le Seigneur», introduite par la Septante, a survécu en égyptien et est devenue l'introduction du serment.

tion «par ma vie» ou «aussi vrai que je suis vivant» proposant cette formule exclamative du serment, est donc maladroite.[35]

ζῶ ἐγώ comme traduction de חַי־אָנִי ne se comporte pas autrement que d'autres formes de ζῆν comme traduction de la formule exclamative du serment hébraïque. Si un autre que le Seigneur prononce ces mots, c'est aussi une forme du verbe ζῆν, ζῇ, qui est employée.

5. ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος *dans le livre d'Ézéchiel*

Les seize cas de ζῶ ἐγώ, en décalque de חַי־אָנִי du texte massorétique, dans le livre d'Ézéchiel surpassent largement les occurrences uniques dans les autres livres portant cette combinaison (seulement les Nombres comptent deux cas). ζῶ ἐγώ devient un trait particulier du livre d'Ézéchiel: ζῶ ἐγώ est signalé certainement dans le texte par sa fréquence. La combinaison ζῶ ἐγώ comme expression figée n'est pas attestée dans la langue grecque. Si le lecteur est familiarisé avec l'hébreu, ζῶ ἐγώ peut rappeler la formule exclamative du serment hébraïque. Mais ce n'est pas le cas pour tous les lecteurs.

ζῶ ἐγώ est toujours prononcé par le Seigneur, ce qui s'explicite bien par λέγει κύριος qui suit immédiatement,[36] ou par τάδε λέγει κύριος qui précède dans certains cas (Ez 17,19; 33,27). Par ces mots le Seigneur veut faire comprendre à la maison d'Israël qu'il est toujours présent et en état d'agir. Il s'oppose aux idoles, sur qui on ne peut pas compter.

Il est peu probable que ζῶ ἐγώ ait jamais été compris comme une formule[37] alternative de la formule traditionnelle, type μά et νή et l'accusatif, dans les textes vétérotestamentaires. Nous pensons plutôt à une déclaration forte et menaçante dans laquelle le Seigneur affirme clairement sa présence

---

35. Certaines traductions du texte massorétique vont dans la même direction traduisant חַי־אָנִי par «je suis vivant», par exemple la bible Segond et Chouraqui.

36. Dans Ez 20,3 seul une proposition avec εἰ est insérée: ζῶ ἐγώ εἰ ἀποκριθήσομαι ὑμῖν, λέγει κύριος.

37. Une formule est une 'forme déterminée que l'on est tenu ou que l'on a convenu de respecter pour exprimer une idée, énoncer une règle ou exposer un fait' et plus concret 'paroles rituelles qui doivent être prononcées dans certaines circonstances, pour obtenir un résultat' (*Le Nouveau Petit Robert, s.v.*). L'absence de ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, dans la littérature en dehors de la Septante affaiblit le caractère formulaire de ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος. ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος n'apparaît pas comme une formule, qui est déterminée et essentielle dans certaines circonstances.

dont il faut tenir compte.[38] L'explicitation du sujet par le pronom et la conci-
sion de cette combinaison de mots en relation avec λέγει κύριος, donnent
de l'emphase à cette expression. La traduction française «moi, je vis!» (avec
point d'exclamation) semble englober tous les aspects emphatiques. La com-
binaison ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος est employée en relation avec le serment,
mais elle n'est pas exclusive pour le serment. Dans quelques cas (Ez 14,16.
18.20; 16,48; 17,16.19; 18,3; 20,3.31; 33,11 et 35,11), il n'est pas question de
serment dans la Septante d'Ézéchiel.

Le Seigneur ne peut pas jurer par d'autres dieux ou par une instance supé-
rieure. Par conséquent il ne peut dire que ζῶ ἐγώ «moi, je vis» pour affirmer
ces mots. L'expression avec μά et νή suivie de l'accusatif vaut pour des per-
sonnes, et ζῶ ἐγώ comme expression exclamative du serment vaut pour le
Seigneur et pour lui seul. Cependant les exemples de ζῇ κύριος sont nom-
breux: l'expression est prononcée par des prophètes ou des personnes, pour
confirmer leurs paroles ou leur serment. ζῇ κύριος ne fonctionne pas comme
gage de la bonne foi de celui qui promet ou affirme, mais est une forte affir-
mation que le Seigneur est vivant et peut toujours intercéder parmi eux. ζῶ
ἐγώ donc n'est pas une formule alternative de μά et νή et l'accusatif, et est
réservée au Seigneur.

En conclusion de l'étude de ζῶ ἐγώ nous le considérons comme une dé-
claration forte et menaçante prononcée par le Seigneur, que nous traduisons
par «moi, je vis!».

εἶ μὴν . . .

εἶ μήν introduit le serment. Il équivaut à ἦ μήν qui introduit la déclara-
tion, la menace et le serment en grec classique.[39] Dans la koinè la différence
entre les sons η et ει disparaît,[40] et εἶ μήν tend à remplacer ἦ μήν.[41] εἶ μήν

---

38. Le point de vue de Wevers par rapport au Nb 14,21 confirme cette conclusion (voir
la note 5, 2). Aussi le *Papyrologisch Handboek* de Peremans et Vergote l'appelle une
'ongewone bekrachtigingsformule' (124).

39. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri*, II, 3, 146; et Kühner et Gerth,
Grammatik der griechischen Sprache, II, 2, p. 136; Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, II,
1, 2, p. 565; Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, §§2865 et 2921.

40. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri*, 78; Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old
Testament*, 83.

41. Thackeray dit que ἦ μήν se lit plus fréquemment dans le Pentateuque et le livre de
Job que εἶ μήν, qui est plus fréquent dans d'autres livres bibliques, et attesté dans les pa-
pyrus à partir du deuxième siècle av. J.-C. (*A Grammar of the Old Testament*, 83).

n'est donc pas une création de la Septante, formée sur אִם לֹא dans le texte massorétique.[42] À partir du deuxième siècle avant J.-C. on retrouve régulièrement εἶ μήν dans les serments dans les papyrus. En utilisant εἶ μήν la Septante d'Ézéchiel est en accord avec l'usage contemporain.

La traduction du serment hébreu après la formule exclamative du serment חַי־אָנִי dans la Septante produit deux catégories: la première contient les traductions grecques qui respectent le sens de l'hébreu (les cas introduits par εἶ μήν ou οὐ), la deuxième catégorie contient les traductions littérales mais inadéquates (les cas introduits par ἐὰν μή ou εἰ).

1. La Septante est en accord avec le texte massorétique

Le serment en hébreu est introduit par אִם (littéralement «si») au sens de «certainement pas» pour nier, par exemple אִם־יְכֻפַּר «certainement il ne sera pas pardonné» (Is 22,14), et de אִם לֹא (littéralement «si non») au sens de «certainement» pour affirmer, par exemple אִם־לֹא נֶחֱזַק מֵהֶם «certainement nous l'emporterons sur eux» (1 R 20,23); ces particules résument une proposition conditionnelle elliptique (avec ellipse de l'apodose).[43] Au lieu de אִם לֹא on trouve aussi כִּי au sens de «sûrement», par exemple חַי־יְהוָה כִּי בְנֵי־מָוֶת «par Jéhovah, le Dieu vivant! certes vous méritez la mort» (1 S 26,16).[44]

En Ez 5,11 le texte massorétique a חַי אָנִי נְאֻם אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה אִם־לֹא יַעַן אֶת־מִקְדָּשִׁי טִמֵּאת בְּכָל־שִׁקּוּצַיִךְ וּבְכָל־תּוֹעֲבֹתָיִךְ וְגַם־אֲנִי אֶגְרַע que nous traduisons par «Par ma vie—oracle du Seigneur DIEU—: certainement, parce que tu as souillé mon sanctuaire par toutes tes horreurs et par toutes tes abominations, moi aussi je passerai le rasoir».[45] Le texte de la Septante a le même sens Ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, εἶ μήν ἀνθ᾽ ὧν τὰ ἅγιά μου ἐμίανας ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς βδελύγμασί σου, καὶ ἐγὼ ἀπώσομαί σε «Moi, je vis!, dit le Seigneur, vraiment! Puisque tu as souillé mon sanctuaire par toutes

---

42. Voir Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri*, 78 n. 1: 'Wie grundlos und abenteuerlich die Hypothese war, dass diesem εἶ (εἰ) μήν die hebräische Schwurforme אִם לֹא zugrunde liege, zeigt sich aus dem Vorkommen dieser Form in den ptol. Papyri.' Deissmann était le premier pour signaler et critiquer cette absurdité de considérer εἶ μήν comme une contamination de ἦ μήν et de אִם לֹא = εἰ μή (*Neue Bibelstudien*, 33–35). Cette origine hébraïque prétendue de εἶ μήν est encore maintenue par Conybeare et Stock, *A Grammar of Septuagint Greek*, §103.

43. Joüon et Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, II, §165 a; g; j.

44. Joüon et Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, II, §§164 b et 165 b; e; g.

45. Traduction basée sur la TOB.

tes abominations, moi aussi je te répudierai». Le traducteur a bien aperçu la valeur affirmative de אִם לֹא dans cette phrase, en choissisant en grec une particule affirmative εἶ μήν. L'édition de Ziegler 1977 soutient ici la leçon du Vaticanus; l'Alexandrinus a ει μη, une traduction littérale différant du sens dans le texte massorétique.

Également en Ez 20,33;[46] 33,27 et 34,8 on trouve εἶ μήν pour אִם לֹא au sens de «sûrement» dans le texte massorétique, et en Ez 35,6 εἶ μήν pour כִּי au sens de «sûrement».

> Ez 33,27 ζῶ ἐγώ, εἶ μὴν οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἠρημωμέναις μαχαίρᾳ πεσοῦνται «Moi, je vis! vraiment ceux dans les villes dépeuplées tomberont par l'épée»

> Ez 34,8–10 ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, εἶ μὴν ἀντὶ τοῦ γενέσθαι τὰ πρό-βατά μου εἰς προνομὴν καὶ γενέσθαι τὰ πρόβατά μου εἰς κατά-βρωμα πᾶσι τοῖς θηρίοις τοῦ πεδίου παρὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ποιμένας, καὶ οὐκ ἐξεζήτησαν οἱ ποιμένες τὰ πρόβατά μου, καὶ ἐβόσκησαν οἱ ποι-μένες ἑαυτούς, τὰ δὲ πρόβατά μου οὐκ ἐβόσκησαν, ἀντὶ τούτου, ποιμένες, τάδε λέγει κύριος «Moi, je vis!, dit le Seigneur, vraiment! parce que mes brébis sont devenues du fourrage et parce que mes brébis sont deve-nues de la pâture pour tous les fauves de la plaine, parce qu'il n'y a pas de ber-gers et les bergers n'ont pas recherché mes brébis, et les bergers paissaient eux-mêmes, mais mes brébis ils ne les menaient pas paître, à cause de cela, bergers, Voici ce que dit le Seigneur:»

> Ez 35,6 ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, εἶ μὴν εἰς αἷμα ἥμαρτες καὶ αἷμά σε διώξεται «Moi, je vis!, dit le Seigneur, vraiment! tu as péché contre un parent et un parent te poursuivra»

En Ez 33,11 le texte massorétique a חַי־אָנִי נְאֻם אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה אִם־אֶחְפֹּץ בְּמוֹת הָרָשָׁע «Par ma vie, oracle du Seigneur Yahvé, je ne prends pas plaisir à la mort du méchant»,[47] la Septante a Ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος Οὐ βούλομαι τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς «Moi, je vis!, dit le Seigneur, Je ne veux pas la mort de l'impie». La valeur négative de אִם «sûrement pas» est reflétée en οὐ.

Dans tous ces exemples la Septante rend le texte massorétique en respec-tant le sens de l'hébreu. Si le traducteur emploie εἶ μήν ou οὐ c'est parce qu'il a bien compris la valeur de אִם לֹא, אִם et כִּי, qui s'oppose au sens

---

46. Voir plus bas à la p. 19.
47. *La Bible de Jérusalem*.

usuel et littéral de ces particules. Il est frappant que cela se manifeste dans le chapitre 5, et dans le bloc des chapitres 33, 34 et 35.[48]

2. *La Septante diffère du texte massorétique*

Dans la plupart des cas de ζῶ ἐγώ la Septante rend la proposition de serment—qui est en fait une proposition conditionnelle elliptique sans l'apodose—du texte massorétique au pied de la lettre—en une proposition conditionnelle grecque—sans tenir compte du sens du texte massorétique, de sorte que la Septante diffère du texte massorétique sur le plan du sens. Par exemple ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, εἰ πεποίηκε Σόδομα ἡ ἀδελφή σου en Ez 16,48 est clairement une proposition conditionnelle affirmative signifiant «moi, je vis!, dit le Seigneur, si ta sœur Sodome a agi», tandis que חַי־אָנִי נְאֻם אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה אִם־עָשְׂתָה סְדֹם אֲחוֹתֵךְ הִיא וּבְנוֹתֶיהָ dans le texte massorétique est négatif «Par ma vie, oracle du Seigneur Yahvé, Sodome, ta sœur et ses filles n'ont pas agi».[49] Le traducteur de la Septante a compris אִם comme introduction de la proposition conditionnelle, sans percevoir la forme typique de la proposition de serment. De même en Ez 17,16, par exemple, le traducteur a traduit אִם לֹא par ἐὰν μή bien qu'il s'agisse d'une particule affirmative dans le serment hébreu.[50] La traduction produit une proposition conditionnelle en grec.

Nous divisons les cas dans lesquels la Septante diffère du texte massorétique sur le plan du sens, dans un groupe de propositions conditionnelles introduites par ἐὰν (μή), et dans un groupe de propositions introduites par εἰ, qui sont d'abord traitées comme des conditionnelles, puis comme des interrogations directes.

ἐὰν (μή)

Si le texte contient ἐὰν (μή), on a faire à la protase d'une proposition conditionnelle (Ez 14,20; 17,16.19; 18,3). Ces quatre cas ont en commun que אִם (לֹא) du texte massorétique est rendu par ἐὰν (μή) dans la Septante, et

---

48. Ez 35,11 ne porte pas de serment après la formule typique חַי־אָנִי נְאֻם אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה, et la Septante y est en accord ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος καὶ ποιήσω σοι.

49. *La Bible de Jérusalem*. Voir aussi Ez 14,16.20; 18,3; 20,3.31.

50. Certains manuscrits portent la leçon εἰ μήν ou ἦ μήν; tandis que εἰ μήν réserve encore la possibilité d'une proposition conditionnelle (si l'on fait abstraction des accents), ἦ μήν est sans aucun doute une particule qui renforce l'affirmation.

par conséquent le serment hébreu est devenu une condition en grec. En Ez 14,20 et 18,3–4 il s'agit de propositions conditionnelles complètes (avec protase et apodose), en Ez 17,16 et 19 il s'agit de propositions conditionnelles avec protase elliptique, ἐὰν μή «si non».

> Ez 14,20 ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, ἐὰν υἱοὶ ἢ θυγατέρες ὑπολειφθῶσιν, αὐτοὶ ἐν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ αὐτῶν ῥύσονται τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν «Moi, je vis!, dit le Seigneur, si des fils ou des filles y restent encore, eux-mêmes délivreront leurs vies par leur justice».

> Ez 17,16 ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, ἐὰν μὴ ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ βασιλεύσας αὐτὸν, ὃς ἠτίμωσε τὴν ἀράν μου καὶ ὃς παρέβη τὴν διαθήκην μου, μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐν μέσῳ Βαβυλῶνος τελευτήσει «Moi, je vis!, dit le Seigneur, si non, le roi qui l'a fait roi et qui a déshonoré mon serment et a violé mon alliance, mourra dans ce lieu ensemble avec lui à Babylone».

> Ez 17,19 Τάδε λέγει κύριος Ζῶ ἐγὼ ἐὰν μὴ τὴν ὁρκωμοσίαν μου, ἣν ἠτίμωσε, καὶ τὴν διαθήκην μου, ἣν παρέβη, καὶ δώσω αὐτὴν εἰς κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ «Voici ce que dit le Seigneur: Moi, je vis! si non, mon serment, qu'il a déshonoré, et mon alliance, qu'il a violée, je les mettrai sur sa tête».

> Ez 18,3–4 ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, ἐὰν γένηται ἔτι λεγομένη ἡ παραβολὴ αὕτη ἐν τῷ Ισραηλ· ὅτι πᾶσαι αἱ ψυχαὶ ἐμαί εἰσιν· ὃν τρόπον ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ πατρός, οὕτως καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ υἱοῦ, ἐμαί εἰσιν· ἡ ψυχὴ ἡ ἁμαρτάνουσα, αὕτη ἀποθανεῖται «Moi, je vis!, dit le Seigneur, si ce proverbe sera encore dit en Israël!—parce que toutes les âmes sont à moi; comme l'âme du père, ainsi de même l'âme du fils, sont à moi—l'âme qui pèche, elle mourra».

En Ez 14,20 l'apodose de ἐὰν . . . ἢ . . . est αὐτοὶ ἐν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ αὐτῶν ῥύσονται τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν. Ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος qui précède n'est pas incorporée dans cette proposition conditionnelle, et garde ainsi, comme phrase indépendante, un ton expressif. En Ez 17,16.19, comme en hébreu, la protase, marquée par ἐὰν μή, de la proposition conditionnelle ne porte pas de verbe; τελευτήσει et δώσω, des futurs qui sont inconciliables avec ἐάν dans la protase, constituent l'apodose.[51] ἐὰν μή sans verbe a le

---

[51]. Conybeare et Stock donnent des exemples dans la Septante de ἐάν suivi de l'indicatif, entre autres le futur; ils jugent cet emploi en accord avec le grec hellénistique et le Nouveau Testament (*Grammar of Septuagint Greek*, §104 a). BDR cependant ne citent

sens de «si non».[52] En Ez 18,3 ἐὰν γένηται λεγομένη est la protase, et après une longue incision, ὅτι . . . ἐμαί εἰσιν, suit l'apodose à la fin du verset suivant: ἡ ψυχὴ ἡ ἁμαρτάνουσα, αὕτη ἀποθανεῖται.

<div align="center">εἰ</div>

Si la proposition subordonnée est introduite par εἰ, on peut la comprendre comme une proposition conditionnelle.

> Ez 14,16 καὶ οἱ τρεῖς ἄνδρες οὗτοι ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς ὦσι, ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, εἰ υἱοὶ ἢ θυγατέρες σωθήσονται, ἀλλ᾽ ἢ αὐτοὶ μόνοι σωθήσονται, ἡ δὲ γῆ ἔσται εἰς ὄλεθρον «et ces trois hommes se trouvent dans ce pays—moi, je vis!, dit le Seigneur—si des fils ou des filles seront sauvés, alors . . . mais seuls eux-mêmes seront sauvés, le pays au contraire sera une ruine».

> Ez 16,48 ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, εἰ πεποίηκε Σόδομα ἡ ἀδελφή σου, αὐτὴ καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες αὐτῆς, ὃν τρόπον ἐποίησας σὺ καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες σου «Moi, je vis!, dit le Seigneur, si ta sœur Sodome a fait, elle-même et ses filles, comme tu as fait, toi-même et tes filles»

> Ez 20,3 ζῶ ἐγὼ εἰ ἀποκριθήσομαι ὑμῖν, λέγει κύριος «Moi, je vis! si je vous répondrai, dit le Seigneur»

> Ez 20,31 ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, εἰ ἀποκριθήσομαι ὑμῖν «Moi, je vis!, dit le Seigneur, si je vous répondrai»

À première vue Ez 14,16 est le seul cas d'une proposition conditionnelle complète: la protase introduite par εἰ, est suivie d'une apodose αλλ᾽ ἢ αὐτοὶ μόνοι σωθήσονται, ἡ δὲ γῆ ἔσται εἰς ὄλεθρον. La dernière phrase cependant n'est pas l'apodose, mais commence une nouvelle phrase indépen-

---

aucun exemple indiscutable de ἐάν suivi du futur du Nouveau Testament (§454, 5). En Ézéchiel ce phénomène est tout à fait absent.

52. ἐὰν μή au sens de «si non» sans verbe n'est pas fréquent ailleurs en grec. Il se rapproche de l'emploi de deux propositions conditionnelles dont la deuxième protase omet souvent le verbe (Kühner et Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, II, 2, 485); l'introduction de cette deuxième protase est εἰ δὲ μή: par exemple καὶ ἐὰν εὕρωμεν, κάλλιστα ἕξει· εἰ δὲ μή, στέρξω . . . τῇ ἐμῇ τύχῃ «si nous trouvons la solution, tout sera pour le mieux; si non, je me résignerai à mon sort» (Plat., *Hipp. ma.*, 295 b). Mayser traite aussi de εἰ δὲ μή et mentionne en un trait ἐὰν δὲ μή, qui ne se trouve que rarement: ἀρτάβας ιε ἀπομετρήσω σοι ἕως Παῦνι λ · ἐὰν δὲ μή, ἀπομετρήσω καὶ τὴν ἡμιολίαν «je te paierai 15 artabes avant le treize du mois de Pauni; si non, je paierai même aussi 150 %» (P.Tebt. I 3, 9) (*Grammatik der griechischen Papyri*, II, 3, 7–8).

dante en deux parties adversatives: «mais seuls eux-mêmes—c.-à-d. les trois hommes exemplaires—seront sauvés, le pays au contraire sera une ruine». L'interprétation de l'apodose οἱ τρεῖς ἄνδρες οὗτοι ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς ὧσι, qui précède alors, n'a pas de sens.[53] εἰ en Ez 14,16 introduit une proposition conditionnelle avec ellipse de l'apodose. Le texte massorétique porte אִם introduisant le serment, qui dit «ni les fils ni les filles seront sauvés»; le sens négatif de אִם vient d'une contamination mutuelle de l'imprécation et du serment.[54] On peut ajouter en hébreu: «Par ma vie, dit le Seigneur, *que je sois maudit* (= une imprécation), si (= אִם) les fils si (= אִם) les filles seront sauvés»; en transformant l'expression en un serment voici la traduction: «Par ma vie, dit le Seigneur, *je jure que* (= un serment), ni les fils ni les filles seront sauvés», et אִם reçoit un sens négatif. Cette contamination caractérise l'emploi particulier de אִם (et de אִם לֹא *mutatis mutandis*) comme introduction du serment, et distingue אִם de la conjonction de l'hypothèse proprement dite. Apparemment le traducteur de la Septante n'a pas toujours aperçu ce trait particulier de אִם, et il le traduit souvent par εἰ comme s'il s'agissait d'une proposition conditionnelle.

L'emploi de εἰ correspondant au אִם du serment dans le texte massorétique, est traditionnellement appelé εἰ-*negandi*.[55] Comme en hébreu, il faut tenir compte d'une proposition conditionnelle elliptique: l'apodose n'est pas exprimée. En cas d'imprécation l'apodose contient la menace qui pèse sur le parjure, par exemple: . . . כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה־לְךָ אֱלֹהִים וְכֹה יוֹסִיף אִם «que Dieu te fasse ce mal et qu'il ajoute encore cet autre si . . .»[56] en 1 S 3,17; si ce qui est dit dans l'hypothèse se réalise, la menace sera réalisée. En fait, on ne veut pas voir se réaliser ce qui est dit dans l'apodose (la menace), et on s'efforce de ne pas faire ce que l'on jure dans la protase. On veut donc le contraire de ce que l'on exprime dans la protase.[57] En hébreu en cas d'absence de l'apodose, le

---

53. Le subjonctif ὧσι est surprenant; la phrase fait écho au v. 14 où ἐάν justifie l'emploi du subjonctif ὧσιν. Quelques manuscrits n'ont pas de ὧσι.

54. Joüon et Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, II, §165 g; h.

55. Harl doute de l'exactitude de εἰ-*negandi*, un terme qui est employé dans les grammaires bibliques: 'les grammairiens du grec biblique l'appellent de façon peu exacte le εἰ-*negandi*' (*La Genèse*, 76). Dorival utilise ce terme par rapport à Nb 14,30: εἰ ὑμεῖς εἰσελεύσεσθε εἰς τὴν γῆν «vous, vous n'entrerez pas dans la terre» (*Les Nombres*, 326).

56. *La Bible de Jérusalem*.

57. Dans l'exemple d'Eur., *Suppl.*, 454b–455 à la 5 la proposition conditionnelle est complète: l'apodose contient la menace qui sera réalisée si la protase se réalise. Thésée dit en fait qu'il ne veut pas voir déflorer ses enfants!

serment sous-entend toujours une imprécation, de sorte que אִם reçoit un sens négatif et אִם לֹא un sens positif. En grec par contre cet emploi de εἰ est absent des grammaires du grec non-biblique; ni les textes ni les papyrus attestent εἰ au sens négatif. Ce phénomène est bien attesté dans la Septante et le Nouveau Testament. Dans la plupart des grammaires, l'emploi de εἰ au sens négatif est seulement décrit et expliqué comme un hébraïsme.[58] Il en résulte la traduction «ne . . . pas» pour εἰ. Les traducteurs de la série La Bible d'Alexandrie sont à la fois prudents, peut-être même réservés, pour accorder un simple sens négatif à εἰ; par contre ils explicitent l'apodose elliptique—ce qui est à l'origine de אִם du serment en hébreu—en ajoutant entre parenthèses «malheur» et en gardant ainsi la proposition conditionnelle.[59] C'est ce qui était déjà proposé par Conybeare et Stock[60] et par Thackeray: l'idée de la menace qui pèse sur le parjure est à ajouter en 1 R 19,6, ζῇ κύριος, εἰ ἀποθανεῖται pour חַי־יְהוָה אִם־יוּמָת (1 S 19,6) dans le texte massorétique.[61]

Nous pouvons cependant en déduire par son usage fréquent dans le Nouveau Testament que εἰ au sens négatif est passé dans l'idiome grec biblique.[62] Il est à noter que ce εἰ au sens négatif dans le Nouveau Testament est toujours accompagné du verbe ὄμνυμι, qui suggère clairement le serment.

À propos de εἰ, on peut aussi penser à une interrogation directe; c'est le cas pour Ez 14,16; 16,48; 20,3.31.

Ez 14,16 καὶ οἱ τρεῖς ἄνδρες οὗτοι ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς ὦσι, ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, εἰ υἱοὶ ἢ θυγατέρες σωθήσονται, ἀλλ᾽ ἢ αὐτοὶ μόνοι σωθήσονται, ἡ δὲ γῆ ἔσται εἰς ὄλεθρον. «et ces trois hommes se trouvent dans

---

58. Conybeare et Stock, *Grammar of Septuagint Greek*, §101 a: 'This use of εἰ is a sheer Hebraism'; BDR, §454, 5: "Eindeutiger Hebraismus ist εἰ in Schwüren und Beteuerungen 'dass nicht'".

59. Gn 14,23 «malheur à moi si jamais je prends quelque chose de tous tes biens, corde ou lanière de sandale» (Harl, *La Genèse*, 160); 1 R 3,14 «Malheur si la faute de la maison d'Éli est expiée»; 1 R 19,6 «Malheur s'il vient à mourir» (Grillet et Lestienne, *Premier livre des Règnes*, 158; 318). Mais Nb 14,30 «vous, vous n'entrerez pas dans la terre» (Dorival et al., *Les Nombres*, 326); Dt 1,35 «Aucun de ces hommes ne verra cette bonne terre» (Dogniez et Harl, *Le Deutéronome*, 120).

60. Conybeare et Stock expliquent l'emploi de ce εἰ dans le même sens: 'the negative force imported into εἰ is due to a suppression of the apodosis, which the reader may supply as his own sense of reverence suggests' (*Grammar of Septuagint Greek*, §101 a).

61. *A Grammar of the Old Testament*, 54.

62. BDR, §454, 5: la valeur négative de εἰ est typique au serment et à la déclaration dans le Nouveau Testament; cet emploi de εἰ est un hébraïsme.

ce pays—moi, je vis!, dit le Seigneur—est-ce que des fils ou des filles seront sauvés? seuls eux-mêmes seront sauvés, mais le pays sera une ruine».

Ez 16,48 ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, εἰ πεποίηκε Σόδομα ἡ ἀδελφή σου, αὐτὴ καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες αὐτῆς, ὃν τρόπον ἐποίησας σὺ καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες σου. «Moi, je vis!, dit le Seigneur, est-ce que ta sœur Sodoma a agi, elle-même et ses filles, comme tu as agi, toi-même et tes filles?».

Ez 20,3 ζῶ ἐγὼ εἰ ἀποκριθήσομαι ὑμῖν, λέγει κύριος. «Moi, je vis!, est-ce que je vous répondrai?, dit le Seigneur».

Ez 20,31 ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, εἰ ἀποκριθήσομαι ὑμῖν «Moi, je vis!, dit le Seigneur, est-ce que je vous répondrai?»

La particule εἰ introduit une interrogation directe, comme illustrent les *Sortes Astrampsychi*.[63] Bien que la Septante n'a pas de négation qui correspondrait au sens du texte massorétique, la teneur de la phrase est négative comme dans le texte massorétique. Symmaque en Ez 20,3 a clairement une phrase négative: οὐκ ἀποκριθήσομαι ὑμῖν, respectant le sens propre de אם. Le sens négatif est aussi clair en Ez 20,31. La réserve du Seigneur pour répondre y est encore plus manifeste par la proposition interrogative dubitative précédente, ἐγω ἀποκριθῶ ὑμῖν, οἶκος τοῦ Ισραηλ. Ez 20,3 et 20,31 attestent une traduction mot à mot du texte massorétique, sans respect pour le sens propre de אם—dit négatif «sûrement pas», ce qui est évident en Ez 33,11 par la traduction οὐ—résultant par hasard en un même sens: le Seigneur ne répondra pas (texte massorétique) ou n'envisage pas de répondre (Septante). Il n'est cependant pas clair si le traducteur a bien compris le texte massorétique, vu sa traduction. C'est pourquoi εἶ μήν, la leçon dans l'édition de Ziegler 1977, en Ez 20,33 est d'autant plus frappante: εἶ μήν comme traduction de אם לא rend le sens de אם לא, dépassant le niveau d'un décalque de l'hébreu (ce qui est cependant le cas en Ez 20,3 et 31).

---

    63. εἰ, ordinairement particule de l'interrogation indirecte, introduit ici l'interrogation directe, conformément à l'usage de εἰ dans la koinè. Dans les *Sortes Astrampsychi*, une collection d'oracles du troisième siècle après J.-C. (voir Hoogendijk et Clarysse, 'De Sortes van Astrampsychus', 80), les questions, posées directement à l'oracle, commencent toutes par εἰ, équivalant à ἤ; suite au iotacisme la différence entre εἰ et ἤ tend à disparaître, et εἰ fonctionne également comme particule de l'interrogation directe (contre l'interprétation d'une particule de la protase, avec ellipse de l'apodose, proposée par Browne, *The Papyri of the Sortes Astrampsychi*, 24). εἰ introduisant l'interrogation directe apparaît en Ez 14,3.16; 15,3(bis).5; 17,9.15(tris); 20,3(bis).4.31(bis); 22,2.14(bis); 37,3 et 47,6.

Ez 20,33 ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, εἶ μὴν ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ καὶ ἐν βραχίονι
ὑψηλῷ καὶ ἐν θυμῷ κεχυμένῳ βασιλεύσω εφ᾽ ὑμᾶς «Moi, je vis!, dit le
Seigneur, vraiment! avec une main puissante et un bras levé haut et une fureur
déversée je régnerai sur vous».

Ez 20,33 s'inscrit parfaitement dans la première catégorie, où le grec rend
l'hébreu mot à mot respectant le sens du texte source. Il est surprenant que le
traducteur se soit aperçu soudain de la valeur propre de אִם לֹא «sûrement»,
après Ez 20,3.31. Le papyrus 967 a ἐὰ[ν μή], en désaccord avec le sens du
texte massorétique mais dans le droit fil du mode de traduction de ce chapi-
tre. L'Alexandrinus aussi porte ἐὰν μή. Le Vaticanus ne traduit pas אִם לֹא;
est-ce une omission délibérée de la particule négative en hébreu au sens af-
firmatif, qui aboutit à une affirmation en grec? La leçon, telle qu'elle est at-
testée dans l'édition de Ziegler 1977, n'est pas soutenue par les manuscrits;[64]
Ziegler harmonise Ez 20,33 avec Ez 5,11.

En Ez 14,16 on peut douter que εἰ fonctionne comme introduction de
l'interrogation directe. Un peu plus loin au v. 20 la même construction dans
le texte massorétique, . . . אִם . . . אִם est traduite par une proposition con-
ditionelle: ἐάν avec disjonction ἤ. Il en va de même probablement pour le
v. 16, . . . אִם . . . אִם, qui traite du même sujet. Le traducteur ne se montre
pas très compétent en hébreu dans ce chapitre 14 par rapport à l'expression
de serment; il ne s'aperçoit pas de la valeur propre du particule אִם introduis-
ant le serment. En Ez 14,18 il n'y a pas de serment en hébreu après la for-
mule typique חַי־אָנִי נְאֻם אֲדֹנִי יְהוִה; לֹא introduit une phrase négative,
comme le fait également οὐ μή dans la Septante.

Ez 14,18 ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, οὐ μὴ ῥύσωνται υἱοὺς οὐδὲ θυγατέρας
«moi, je vis!, dit le Seigneur—ils ne délivreront ni fils ni filles».

Conclusion

1. ζῶ ἐγώ dans la Septante d'Ézéchiel est un décalque de חַי אָנִי dans le
   texte massorétique. L'expression grecque n'est pas une formule parallèle à
   la formule μά ou νή suivi d'un accusatif, utilisé en grec classique et dans
   la koinè. ζῶ ἐγώ est toujours accompagné par λέγει κύριος, qui lui ac-
   corde une force expressive. Il en résulte une déclaration forte de la bouche
   du Seigneur: le Seigneur est vivant et peut toujours agir parmi les gens.

---

64. Les manuscrits lucianiques et les manuscrits hexaplaires ont η μην.

2. La fréquence de cette combinaison de mots dans la Septante d'Ézéchiel correspond à la fréquence de חַי אָנִי dans le texte massorétique; l'expression est donc typique d'Ézéchiel seul, et non pas seulement pour la Septante d'Ézéchiel. Mais faute de parallèles de ζῶ ἐγώ hors de la Septante et par la singularité de ζῶ ἐγώ en grec, ζῶ ἐγώ dans la Septante d'Ézéchiel a certainement attiré l'attention du lecteur grec, plus que חַי אָנִי l'attention du lecteur hébreu. ζῶ ἐγώ par conséquent est plus expressif que חַי אָנִי en hébreu.

3. Le traitement de l'introduction du serment en hébreu, אִם et אִם לֹא, dans la Septante d'Ézéchiel dans les chapitres 5 et 33, 34, et 35, contraste avec les autres chapitres (qui contiennent le serment hébreu). Dans les chapitres 5, et 33, 34, et 35 le traducteur a bien compris l'expression de serment hébreu en employant εἰ μήν ou οὐ. Le chapitre 5 rejoint ce groupe pour autant qu'il s'agit du Vaticanus. Dans les autres chapitres qui contiennent le serment hébreu, la traduction grecque manque d'une indication claire du serment grec; ou bien le traducteur n'a pas compris l'expression de serment en hébreu, ou bien il n'a pas su la reproduire en grec. En Ez 20,33 εἰ μήν est la leçon de l'édition de Ziegler 1977 sans appui des manuscrits, tandis que l'Alexandrinus et le papyrus 967 portent ἐὰν μή, et le Vaticanus ne traduit pas אִם לֹא. La transmission manuscrite n'est pas unanime en Ez 5,11 et 20,33 en ce qui concerne les manuscrits en onciale. Le traitement du serment hébreu dans la Septante d'Ézéchiel suggère que deux traductions différentes ont été intégrées imparfaitement.

Bibliographie

Archer, G. L., et G. C. Chirichigno. *Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament*. Chicago: Moody Press, 1983.
  = Archer et Chirichigno. *Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament*.
BDB = Brown, F., S. R. Driver, et C. A. Briggs. *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament based on the Lexicon of William Gesenius*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1959.
BDR = Blass, F., A. Debrunner, et F. Rehkopf. G*rammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck et Ruprecht, 1990[17].
Breitenstein, U. *Beobachtungen zu Sprache, Stil und Gedankengut des vierten Makkabäerbuchs*. Basel: Schwabel, 1978.
  = Breitenstein. *Beobachtungen zu Sprache, Stil und Gedankengut des vierten Makkabäerbuchs*.
Brenton, L. C. L. *The Septuagint with Apocrypha: Greek and English*. Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1987[2] [= 1851].
  = Brenton.

Brooke, A. E., N. McLean, et H. St. J. Thackeray. *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Text of Codex Vaticanus, Supplemented from Other Uncial Manuscripts, with a Critical Apparatus Containing the Variants of the Chief Ancient Authorities for the Text of the Septuagint*. II: The Later Historical Books. 1: I and II Samuel. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927.
 = Brooke, McLean et Thackeray. I and II Samuel.

Browne, G. M. *The Papyri of the Sortes Astrampsychi*. Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie, 58. Meisenheim am Glan: Anton Hain, 1974.
 = Browne. *The Papyri of the Sortes Astrampsychi*.

Chouraqui, A. *La Bible*. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1989.
 = Chouraqui.

Conybeare, F. C., et St. G. Stock. *A Grammar of Septuagint Greek*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1981[2] (= reprint from *Selections From the Septuagint, According to the Text of Swete*. Boston: Ginn, 1905).
 = Conybeare et Stock. *A Grammar of Septuagint Greek*.

DCH = Clines, D. J. A. *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*. 4 vols. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993–.

Deissmann, G. A. *Neue Bibelstudien*. Sprachgeschichtliche Beiträge, zumeist aus den Papyri und Inschriften zur Erklärung des Neuen Testaments. Marburg: N. G. Elwert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1897.
 = Deissmann. *Neue Bibelstudien*.

Bible de la Pléiade: l'Ancien Testament = Dhorme, É., et al. *La Bible: l'Ancien Testament*. 2 vols. Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 120 et 139. Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1959.

Dogniez, C., et M. Harl. *Le Deutéronome*. La Bible d'Alexandrie 5. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1992.
 = Dogniez et Harl. *Le Deutéronome*.

Dorival, G., et al. *Les Nombres*. La Bible d'Alexandrie 4. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1994.
 = Dorival et al. *Les Nombres*.

Giguet, P. *La Sainte Bible: traduction de l'ancien testament d'après les septante*. IV: *Isaïe, Jérémie, Baruch, Lamentations de Jérémie, Ézéchiel, Daniel, les deux livres des Machabées*. Paris: Poussielgue Frères, 1872.
 = Giguet.

Greenberg, M. 'The Hebrew Oath Particle ḤAY/Ḥ̄E.' *Journal of Biblical Literature* 76 (1957) 34–39.
 = Greenberg. 'The Hebrew Oath Particle ḤAY/Ḥ̄E.'

Grillet, B., et M. Lestienne. *Premier livre des Règnes*. La Bible d'Alexandrie, 9/1. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1997.
 = Grillet et Lestienne. *Premier livre des Règnes*.

HALAT = Koehler, L, et W. Baumgartner. *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*. 5 vols. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967–1995[3].

Harl, M. *La Genèse*. La Bible d'Alexandrie 1. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1986.
 = Harl. *La Genèse*.

Harl, M., et al. *Les douze Prophètes: Joël, Abdiou, Jonas, Naoum, Ambakoum, Sophonie*. La Bible d'Alexandrie 24/4–9. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1999.

= Harl et al. *Joël, Abdiou, Jonas, Naoum, Ambakoum, Sophonie*.

Harlé, P. *Les Juges*. La Bible d'Alexandrie 7. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1999.
  = Harlé. *Les Juges*.

Headlam, W., et A. D. Knox. *Herodas. The Mimes and Fragments*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922.
  = Headlam et Knox. *Herodas*.

Hoogendijk, F. A. J., et W. Clarysse. 'De Sortes van Astrampsychus: een orakelboek uit de Oudheid bewerkt voor het middelbaar onderwijs.' *Kleio* 11 (1981) 53–99.
  = Hoogendijk et Clarysse. 'De Sortes van Astrampsychus.'

Joüon, P. *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique*. Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1996^2 (= 1965).
  = Joüon. *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique*.

Joüon, P., et T. Muraoka. *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*. 2 vols. Subsidia Biblica 14/I–II. Roma: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1991.
  = Joüon et Muraoka. *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, I
  = Joüon et Muraoka. *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, II.

Koch, D.-A. *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums: Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus*. Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie 69. Tübingen: Mohr, 1986.
  = Koch. *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums*.

Kühner, R., et B. Gerth. *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*. II: *Satzlehre 2*. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1992^3 (= 1904).
  = Kühner et Gerth. *Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, II, 2.

La Bible de Jérusalem = La Bible de Jérusalem traduite en français sous la direction de l'École Biblique de Jérusalem. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1988.

Le Nouveau Petit Robert = Robert, P., J. Rey-Debove, et A. Rey. *Le Nouveau Petit Robert. Dictionnaire alphabétique et analogique de la langue française*. Nouvelle édition du Petit Robert. Paris: Dictionnaires Le Robert, 2000.

Mayser, E. *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit mit Einschluss der gleichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Ägypten verfassten Inschriften. Laut- und Wortlehre*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1906.
  = Mayser. *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri*.

Mayser, E. *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit mit Einschluss der gleichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Ägypten verfassten Inschriften*. II: Satzlehre. Berlin und Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1934.
  = Mayser. *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri*, II, 3.

NA^{27} = Nestle, E., et K. Aland, éds. *Novum Testamentum Graece/Biblia N. T.* Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993^{27}.

Peremans, W., et J. Vergote. *Papyrologisch Handboek, Philologische Studiën*. Teksten en Verhandelingen 2/1. Leuven: Beheer van Philologische Studiën, 1942.
  = Peremans et Vergote. *Papyrologisch Handboek*.

Schwyzer, E. *Griechische Grammatik auf der Grundlage von Karl Brugmanns Griechische Grammatik*. 2: *Syntax und syntaktische Stilistik*. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, II/1. München: Beck, 1959^2 (= 1950).
  = Schwyzer. *Griechische Grammatik*, II, 1, 2.

Segond, L. *La Sainte Bible qui comprend l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament traduits sur les textes originaux hébreu et grec*. Genève: La Maison de la Bible, 1964.
    = Segond.

Smyth, H. W. *Greek Grammar*. Revised by G. M. Messing. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984.
    = Smyth. *Greek Grammar*.

Thackeray, H. St. J. *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint*. I: *Introduction, Orthography and Accidence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909.
    = Thackeray. *A Grammar of the Old Testament*.

TOB = *Traduction Œcuménique de la Bible*. Édition intégrale. *Nouveau Testament*. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1975.
    Traduction Œcuménique de la Bible. Édition intégrale. Ancien Testament. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1972.

Vergote, J. 'Les formes verbales égyptiennes et leur vocalisation.' *Orientalia* 34 (1965) 345–371.
    = Vergote. 'Les formes verbales égyptiennes et leur vocalisation.'

Wevers, J. W. *Notes on the Greek Text of Numbers*. SBLSCS 46. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998.
    = Wevers. *Notes on the Greek Text of Numbers*.

Yalon, H. 'Review of M. Burrows. *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery II, 2*. New Haven: The American Schools of Oriental Research, 1951.' *Kirjath Sepher* 28 (1952–1953) 64–74.
    = Yalon. 'Review of M. Burrows. *The Dead Sea scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery II, 2*.'

Ziegler, J., *Ezechiel.* Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum, 16/1, 2, durchgesehene Auflage mit einem Nachtrag van D. Fraenkel. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck et Ruprecht, 1977.
    = Ziegler 1977.

A New Manuscript of Jeremiah in Greek according to the Lucianic Recension (de Hamel MS 391; Rahlfs 897)

PETER M. HEAD
Tyndale House

—◆—

Introduction

The manuscript here published for the first time consists of two small pieces of vellum. Despite the small amount of extant text (Jer 14:3–5, 7–9), the manuscript is of interest because of its attractive hand and spacious layout, its relatively early date, and because the text represented belongs firmly in the group usually identified as Lucianic. I shall say something about the manuscript and the page layout it represents, and then discuss the date and the identification process before offering a transcript (with textual notes) and a brief conclusion.

The Manuscript

The manuscript currently consists of two pieces of vellum stuck together with tape. One piece (11.5 x 2–2.5 cm) has the main bulk of the extant text: only traces of lower extensions of letters on the line designated as line one and then thirteen lines of text—the back, or flesh side, has more limited legibility—and a large lower margin (3.5 cm). The other piece (11 x 2.7–3.0 cm) is of very similar color and general appearance and has been taped in place at some unknown (but broadly recent) stage in this manuscript's history. The two pieces are taped together incorrectly, but can be shown to be from adjoining parts of the original page.

The Jeremiah pieces are part of a collection of small pieces of vellum (unidentified) that were purchased early in 2003 from a London dealer in books and manuscripts by a private collector in Cambridge. This collector made the

texts available for identification, study, and publication. The purchased collection included some Latin uncial fragments and portions of five different NT manuscripts (which will be published separately).[1] Evidence of provenance for individual manuscripts is lacking, although it was reported to me that the dealer "believes they [that is, the whole collection] were part of a pre-War Armenian collection of antiquities and Armenian manuscripts in France." From the nature of the manuscripts—all in small pieces with glue and other damage—it is rather clear that they were cut up into small pieces some time in the distant past (with a pattern of wear after the cutting) and used in the repair or bindings of other manuscripts (hence the glue marks, generally on the hair side). It might be, therefore, that the fragments were extracted at some point from Armenian bindings, but there is no solid evidence for their original provenance, nor is there definite proof that the separate pieces are related in their provenance.[2]

Page Layout and Format

As regards the page layout and format the following can be deduced from the extant remains: (a) at least a portion of the whole of the lower margin, measuring 3.5 cm, is extant; (b) at least some part of the right hand margin of the main piece, measuring around 3 cm, is also extant (currently on the back of the second piece). Since, as can be observed in the photographs, the pattern of wear for these edges is both different from other cut edges and consistent across the two pieces and the two margins, it is probable that these represent the complete extent of the margin of the page.

---

1. For a preliminary report see: P. M. Head, "Fragments of Six Newly Identified Greek Bible Manuscripts in a Cambridge Collection: A Preliminary Report," *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* [http://purl.org/TC] 8 (2003). The manuscript there designated as Greek MS 6 should now be designated, as above, de Hamel MS 391. Detlef Fraenkl of the Septuaginta Unternehmen in Göttingen reports (email June 17, 2003) that the manuscript has been "registered" as Rahlfs 897 (thanks are also due to Detlef for his critical comments on an earlier draft of the transcription and textual notes). I am also grateful to Prof. H. Maehler in correspondence and to Prof. P. Easterling and Dr. N. Tchernetska in conversation, for helpful discussions about the date of the manuscript.

2. The original manuscripts range in date from perhaps the fourth to the ninth century. They differ considerably, not only in date and extant text, but also in style, original format (large format, single column, double column, etc.) and textual features (spelling, text type broadly defined, etc.). Beyond their presence in the same collection and the fact that they are from the Greek Bible there is no other obvious evidence that would connect the different manuscripts.

Other measurements can only be deduced from the extant material in the light of the known text. Between the ετεκον of Jer 14:5, which closes the front page, and the εναντιον of the fourth line of the back (which is the first text that can be unambiguously identified on the back), there are (in the Lucianic text as can be reconstructed from Ziegler's edition) 188 letters. Given the fairly consistent average of around 16 letters per line (+/− 1, with extra space taken up by dots and punctuation gaps), this suggests that there were approximately 12 (+/− 1) more lines of text above the 10 extant lines on the back, giving a suggested 22 lines of text per page. Since each line of text occupies 0.6 cm, this would give a text space of 13.2 cm in height (plus margins of at least 3.5 cm below and presumably the same for the top margin), a page of around 21 cm in height. The width is rather difficult to determine considering the relatively small proportion of each line which is extant, but an average of around 0.5 cm per letter (as derived from the extant letters) would suggest a line width of around 8 cm (plus margins of at least 3 cm on each side): the entire text space (assuming a single column codex) would occupy about 13 x 8 cm; and the page size would be 21 x 14 cm.

It is theoretically possible that our piece could be from a multicolumn format, but as a general rule, since multicolumned biblical codices are uncommon, it cannot be presumed unless the format demands it—and the multicolumned biblical codices from this era all have much longer columns (Sinaiticus has 48 lines, Vaticanus has 42 lines, Alexandrinus has 49 lines per column). The single column format with this type of page dimensions is extant in a number of other manuscripts, both biblical and secular, from the fourth century to the seventh century.[3] The four closest parallels, all single-columned manuscripts except for the last, are:[4]

i. NT MS W 032 (The Freer Gospels): 21 x 14.3 [text: 15.7 x 9.8] [30 lines] (IV/V)
ii. Menander (PSI 126 & P. Berlin 13932 [Pack 1318]): 22 x 14 [text: 17.7 x 10] [24–28 lines] (IV or V)
iii. Psalms (Vienna, G. 39773 a–q; Ps 9:33–; Rahlfs 1221): 21.1 x 14 [text: 16 x 9] [21–25 lines] (VII?)
iv. Demosthenes (P. Ant 80; [Pack 321]) 21 x 14 [text: 12 x 11] [2 cols; 25 lines] (IV)

---

3. E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977) 28.

4. From Turner, *Typology*, with further information from the Leuven Database of Ancient Books.

In the extant material there are two examples of punctuation by double point (hair side, lines 7 and 10). In line 7 this coincides with a slightly short line (perhaps the hole was already there) at the end of v. 4; in line 10 this coincides with a break in thought at v. 4b.

Date

The script is a very attractive one of the "Biblical Majuscule" type also used in the major biblical manuscripts of the fourth and fifth centuries.[5] Note the following: individual letters fit within squares, the absence of serifs, a clear contrast in thickness of strokes, the formation of the *alpha* (the cross-stroke is written at an angle), the descenders for *rho* and *upsilon* reach well below the line—somewhat similar to that used in Codex Sinaiticus. Notably the *kappa* has a space between the upright and the angled strokes (this occurs only occasionally in Vaticanus' first hand; more frequently in Ephraimi Rescriptus),[6] the letters with descenders exhibit an elegant angled closure (*rho, upsilon, phi* are extant), and there are touches of decorative endings of the cross strokes of *gamma* and *tau* (as indeed occur occasionally in Vaticanus, also in Sinaiticus, esp. the third hand, and more regularly in P. Berol. 5011).[7] Many of these features are present, in a more developed and exaggerated form, in the Vienna Dioscurides (A.D. 513), which provides the outstanding chronological marker for this period.[8] Our manuscript is certainly earlier than this, and may be earlier than the late fifth-century examples given in Cavallo and Maehler.[9] These considerations suggest a fifth-century date for this

---

5. Comparable manuscripts are cited from the following collections: G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica* (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1967); G. Cavallo and H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period A.D. 300 – 800* (BICS Supp. 47; London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1987); B. M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Greek Palaeography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991 [corrected edition]).

6. For the first hand of MS Vaticanus see Cavallo, *Ricerche*, pl. 34, p. 176; for Ephraimi Rescriptus see Cavallo, *Ricerche*, pl. 82.

7. For Vaticanus (both hands), see Cavallo, *Ricerche*, pls 34–35 (cf. Metzger, *Manuscripts*, pl. 13); Sinaiticus (fol 93r, third hand), see Cavallo, *Ricerche*, pl. 38; P. Berol. 5011 recto = Cavallo, *Ricerche*, pl. 44.

8. Codex Vindob. Med. Gr. 1, Cavallo and Maehler, *Greek Bookhands*, pl. 25b.

9. Cavallo and Maehler, *Greek Bookhands*, pl. 24.

manuscript. A very close parallel would be the Freer manuscript of Deuter-onomy and Joshua, also conventionally dated to the fifth century.[10]

A Note on the Process of Identification

As the manuscript has no long complete words and represents a particular text form it may be worth noting the process by which the text was identified. The initial presumption, given its association with other pieces which turned out to be New Testament manuscripts and reinforced by the general appear-ance of the text and the nature of the incomplete words, was that it might be biblical. But computer searches on various combinations using *BibleWorks* failed to provide any identification (these utilized a standard Rahlfs Septua-gint text, as appears to be common to all computerized databases). A wide range of searches of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: A Digital Library of Greek Literature*, where searches on different letter combinations in associa-tion can be attempted on basically all Greek literature, were attempted, and this finally bore fruit. A search on March 4th, 2003 for texts with ΚΕΦ in association with ΓΕ ΕΛΑ returned a single possible match in John of Da-mascus.[11]

This provided a very clear and exact match with a passage of his *Sacra Parallela*, but only for a portion of our text. Since John of Damascus lived c. A.D. 655–750, and this work has been described as "a vast compilation of scriptural and patristic texts on the Christian moral and ascetical life," it ap-peared that our manuscript must represent something quoted by John of Da-mascus.[12] From here it was easy enough to locate the Migne edition which came with the note that John's source at this point was Jer 14:4,5.[13] Then it

---

10. Noted by H. Maehler in private correspondence (Sept 4, 2003). Washington, Smith-sonian Institute, Freer Gallery of Art, Cod. Wash. 1; H. A. Sanders, *A Facsimile Edition of the Washington Manuscript of Deuteronomy and Joshua* (Ann Arbor, 1910); cf. Metzger, *Manuscripts*, pl. 17, pp. 84–5; Cavallo, *Ricerche*, pl. 78.

11. I thank my colleagues Dr. Leslie McFall, for attempting an independent tran-scription, and Dr. Peter J. Williams, for encouraging "just one more search" of the TLG (http://www.tlg.uci.edu/).

12. F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) 891.

13. TLG had already provided the information: *Sacra parallela* (recensiones secundum alphabeti litteras dispositae, quae tres libros conflant) (fragmenta e cod. Vat. gr. 1236) (TLG ref.: 2934.018) J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus (series Graeca)* (MPG) 95, 96 (Paris: Migne, 1857–1866) 95:1040–1588; 96:9–441. This passage: vol. 96, p. 97, lines 10–15. For information on John of Damascus' OT text, see O. Wahl, *Die*

became clear that our text had not registered in any of our earlier computer searches because it did not follow the Septuagint text form represented by the Rahlfs edition.
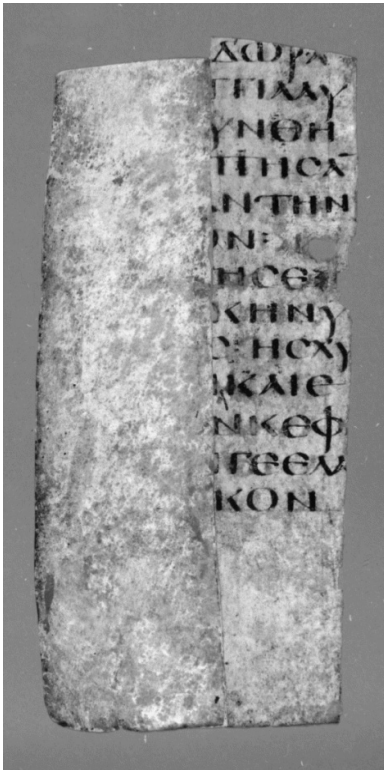
Figure 1. Jer 14, front   **Figure 2. Jer 14, back**
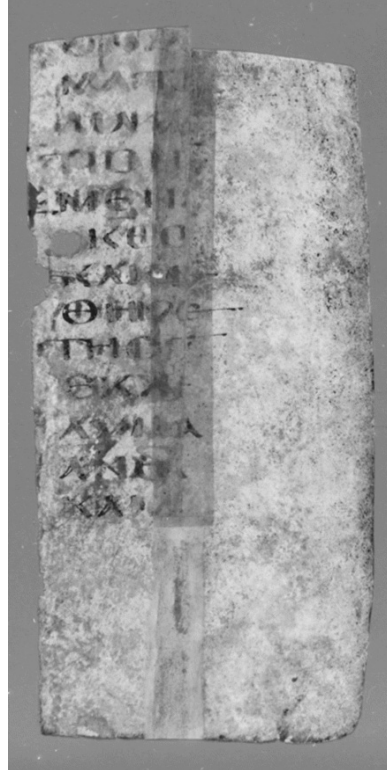
A Note on the Photographs

Numerous indications prove conclusively that the two pieces have been incorrectly taped together.

To begin with, the upper join that is given seems an implausible way for a surplus text to be cut up into pieces (note that the left-hand piece slopes down

---

Prophetenzitate der Sacra parallela in ihrem Verhältnis zur Septuaginta-Textüberlieferung (SANT 13; München: Kösel, 1965).

to the left, while the right hand piece slopes down to the right; and they do not meet in a natural way). But as to textual matters, first, if we look at the first visible letters on each line (on the hair side), it is clear that some are incomplete (which itself is incompatible with this being a left-hand margin). Second, it is very unlikely that lines would begin with many of these formations. Third, on the right hand end there are several indications that this is the right-hand margin of the original column (or page): the first three visible lines (lines 2–4) all have significant spaces; the next line (line 5) has a line for final *nu* (which only occurs at ends of a line); line 7 has major punctuation and an early closing; further down (line 11) we have an *epsilon* with extended midstroke (most characteristic of line endings); and on the final line (line 14) a more definite short line. Fourth, looking at the ultraviolet photograph of the other side shows that some letters are visible on the largely blank piece, but they do not fit plausibly into the lines.

Working on the assumption that the similarity of color and general appearance and the similarity of letter styles for the few extant letters on the mainly blank piece, and that they were found together and taped together by someone for some reason, and following the clue that the upper line of both pieces provides (that is that the two pieces do have an edge with exactly common length—11.2 cm—that would result in a neat downward sloping upper line), it seems clear that the pieces do belong together, but attached to the other side and facing the other way. Once this is done (conceptually at least), it emerges that the two clear letters on the back of this mostly blank piece fit perfectly into the text, for example: probable *epsilon* in line 8; the *epsilon* in line 9, the back of which can be seen on the main piece; the right arm of *upsilon* plus *nu* (as line), visible at line 10; clear extra *alpha* in line 12 fits with left-hand foot of *alpha* visible on main piece; tail of the *alpha* in line 13. I have formatted the transcription to reflect this, although the published photograph reflects the actual state of the pair of fragments in their current unrestored state.

Transcript
Jer 14:3–5
Hair side

1	…] traces only	
2	ουχ ευροσαν υ]δωρ α	
3	πεστρεψαν τα α]γγια αυ	18 letters
4	των κενα ησχ]υνθη	14
5	σαν και ενετρα]πησα⁻	17
6	και επεκαλυψ]αν την	16
7	κεφαλην αυτ]ων·	12 (double dot) [hole in vellum]
8	και τα εργα της γ]ης εξε	18
9	λιπεν οτι ου]κ ην υ∣ε	15
10	τος επι της γη]ς· ησχυ∣⁻	17 (double dot)
11	θησαν γεωργο]ι και ε	16
12	πεκαλυψαν τη]ν κεφ∣α	16
13	λην αυτων κα]ι γε ελα	16
14	φοι εν αγρω ετε]κον	15

<end of page>

Sources

OTG: H. B. Swete. *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint*. 3 vols.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1899, vol. 3.

Ziegler/Göttingen: J. Ziegler, ed. *Ieremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Ieremiae*. Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum 15. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957.

Holmes-Parsons: R. Holmes and J. Parsons, *Vetus Testamentum Graecum cum variis lectionibus. Tomus Quartus*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1827.

Notes

line 2 (v. 3): omission of και (3°): A-410 Q-V-26-46-86'-130-544 *O*-233 *L'*-198-449-538 Sa Arab Arm Cyr. in Am. (Ziegler/Göttingen).

line 3 (v. 3): spelling αγγια (with maj.); B^ab ℵ Q^a have αγγεια (*OTG*)

lines 4–7 (v. 3): ησχυνθησαν και ενετραπησαν και επεκαλυψαν την κεφαλην αυτων· Q^mg 86: θ' (Theodotion); also added in *O* and *L'* Aeth Arm (Ziegler/Göttingen).

Line 8: the single vertical line indicates the seam between the two manuscript frag-
ments.

Line 10 (v. 4): επι της γη]ς. Q^{mg} : θ′ (Theodotion); also *O*-86^{mg}-233 *L′* Aeth Arm
(Ziegler/Göttingen)

Line 11 (v. 4): mss in the B-group characteristically have οι (before γεωργοι) here:
B-S-130 86; while the reading of our fragment is not really determinable with any
confidence, it is more likely to be lacking here (with the other witnesses); on the
grounds of line length (if the article was included this would be the longest line of
all at 19 letters) and general textual orientation. The Lucianic tendency to add the
article is not exhibited in the other Lucianic witnesses at this point (cf. J. Ziegler,
Ieremias, 89; more fully in *Beiträge zur Ieremias-Septuaginta* [Nachrichten der
Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, 1958, Nr. 2] 162–64).

Line 11 (v. 4): add και: *L′* Aeth (Ziegler/Göttingen)

Lines 12–13 (v. 4): την κεφαλην: τας κεφαλας: B Arm Syp (*OLG*)

Line 13 (v. 5): γε: with *L′*

Line 14 (v. 5): ετεκον: ετεκοσαν A-106' *c* 86^{mg} (Ziegler/Göttingen)

Back: most of the text is lost due to abrasion, and from confusion gener-
ated by bleed-through from the other side; a few letters are visible, and can be
placed within the following portion of Jeremiah.

Jer 14:7–9
Flesh side

1	no trace [	
2	. . [	
3	. . [	
4	.. α[μαρτιαι ημων εναν	
5	τιον[σου σοι ημαρτο	16 letters
6	μεν·[υπομονη Ισραηλ	14 (+double dot)
7	$\overline{κε}$ σ[ωζεις εν καιρω	15
8	κακ[ων ινα τι εγενη	15
9	θη ι ς[ως παροικος επι	17
10	της γ[ης και ως αυτοχθων	19
11	εκλι[νων εις κατα	14
12	λυμα[μη εση ωσπερ	14
13	$\overline{ανθς}$[υπνων <blank?>	
14	κα[ι ως ανηρ …	
	<end of page>	

Notes

line 4 (v. 7): α[μαρτιαι (with Ziegler/Göttingen); α[νομιαι (with Cyr. X 548) would
   also be possible.

line 5 (v. 7): line length suggests omission of οτι (with XII 23 26 48 51 62 96 144 231
   233 Cyrill. Alex. Arm (Holmes-Parsons) [48, 51, 96, 231 represent part of Zieg-
   ler's *L* group])

line 7 (v.8): omission of και: *L'* (-311) Sa Aeth Arab Arm. Tht. (Ziegler/Göttingen).

line 9 (v.8): assuming ως: with O-233 *L'*-198 *C'* Tht. (Ziegler/Göttingen).

line 10 (v8): appears too long, possibly a word was omitted or a different word used
   for αυτοχθων. ℵ* reads αυτοχων (*OTG*). Fraenkel suggested:

> with autox. the line is too long; either the scribe made a simple error or he used
> another word, cf. 2nd app. of Ziegler: "hodites"; in this context it is remarkable
> that autoxth. is a free rendering, chosen by the translator as a complement to the
> foregoing "paroikos", but in fact, we have no more than a suspicion. I think, it
> is not necessary to say more than these facts.

Line 11 (v. 8): εκλινων : εκκλινων all other witnesses

Lines 13–14: since both the unusual four-letter *nomen sacrum* (with two contraction
   bars) and the KA of line 14 seem clear (ΣA does not seem possible) we are left
   with an unusually short line in line 13. The best solution would be to read
   ανθρωπος υπνων (13 letters); but the markings for a *nomen sacrum* are clear
   (and not interference from the other side of the vellum) and the letter after the
   theta is clearly a *sigma* (or at least the left hand edge of it). Fraenkel suggested:

> the scribe began with the intention "anthropos" not to write as a nomen sacrum:
> this explains the beginning with a-n-th-; apparently then he saw in his "Vor-
> lage" the shortened form and added a sigma + a horizontal stroke. This case
> shows that the scribe was not familiar with the nomen-sacrum writing, cf. e.g.
> the fully written "Israel" on the flesh side (there your reconstruction must be
> correct). The fully written Israel together with the tendency to reproduce "an-
> thropos" also as a full word, are indications for an early date.

Line 14 (v. 9): και : with *O* (Syh[txt]) *L'*-198 Aeth. Tht. Hi. (Ziegler/Göttingen).

Conclusion: An Early Representative of the "Lucianic" Group

   As the transcript has shown, the text of the short fragment exhibits six
clear agreements with the Lucianic group of manuscripts identified by
Ziegler. According to Ziegler, the primary Greek manuscript witnesses to the
Lucianic recension are the group of minuscules 22 36 48 51 96 231 311 and
763 (predominantly eleventh century, which he labels *L*); and a subgroup of

mss, 62 198 407 449 (labeled *l*).[14] The combined witness of all these manu-scripts constitute the Lucianic group (labeled *L'*). These six readings are: και omitted in v. 3; ησχυνθησαν και ενετραπησαν και επεκαλυψαν την κεφαλην αυτων added in v. 3; επι της γης added in v. 4; και added in v. 4 (this uniquely with the Lucianic manuscripts); γε added in v. 4 (this also uniquely with the Lucianic manuscripts); και omitted in v. 8. Given that two of these agree uniquely with the Lucianic manuscripts and that there are no clearly extant departures (except for spelling variations) from this group of manuscripts, it follows that this is an early manuscript of the Lucianic type.[15] This small fragment of the Greek Jeremiah thus represents the earliest extant continuous text manuscript witness to the Lucianic text of Jeremiah by around four hundred years (the earliest witness hitherto was Rahlfs' 407, Je-rusalem, Patr. Bibl. τάφου 2; 9th cent.).[16]

---

14. J. Ziegler, *Ieremias*, 79–92. S. Soderlund, *The Greek Text of Jeremiah: A Revised Hypothesis* (JSOTSup 47; Sheffield: JSOT, 1985), 60–76 accepts the same grouping (he does not deal with 231 or 198—both of which are deficient or non-Lucianic for the text he studied, Jeremiah 29; and adds 770 [described as 'practically identical' to 449]).

15. D. Fraenkl wrote: "your description [of the ms] as a lucianic ms. is quite right" (email; June 11, 2003).

16. On the Lucianic recension generally, see B. M. Metzger, "The Lucianic Recension of the Greek Bible," *Chapters in the History of New Testament Textual Criticism* (NTTS 4; Leiden: Brill, 1963) 1–41; N. F. Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible* (ET; Leiden: Brill, 2000) 223–38.

"Heaven" and "Heavens" in the LXX: Exploring the Relationship Between שָׁמַיִם and οὐρανός

JONATHAN T. PENNINGTON
University of St. Andrews, Scotland

———◆———

Introduction

Heaven is an important and frequently occurring concept in the OT. The Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek equivalents for heaven appear regularly throughout the Hebrew Bible and Septuagint with a variety of uses: in connection with the creation of the cosmos, the observable phenomenon of the skies, and the invisible throne and abode of God. There is great overlap in the semantic domains of שָׁמַיִם ("heavens") and οὐρανός ("heaven"). Therefore, οὐρανός served well as a translation equivalent in all parts of the LXX. This article explores the relationship between these two words, focusing especially on the morphological incongruity between the plural שָׁמַיִם and the singular οὐρανός. The thesis is as follows: contrary to the typical explanation, the uncommon plural forms of οὐρανός which appear in the LXX are not the result of Semitic morphology. Instead, as D. F. Torm and Peter Katz have suggested, there are poetical and syntactical reasons why the occasional plural forms of οὐρανός are found. This is a superior understanding of plural forms of οὐρανός. Going beyond the work of Torm and Katz, this article also offers additional explanations for the other plural occurrences in parts of the Septuagint, particularly a singular versus plural distinction in meaning in the Wisdom of Solomon.

1. General Usage of שָׁמַיִם *and* οὐρανός *in the OT Literature*[1]

The Hebrew שָׁמַיִם and the Aramaic שְׁמַיִן both translated as "heaven," occur 458 times (420 Hebrew; 38 Aramaic[2]) in the MT. שָׁמַיִם plays an important role in many central OT texts including Genesis 1–2, and it occurs quite frequently in certain books: Genesis (41x); Deuteronomy (44x); Isaiah (33x); Jeremiah (33x); Psalms (74x).

Despite some differences in Greek and Hebrew cosmology, the Greek word οὐρανός was used regularly as a translation equivalent for שָׁמַיִם. In the parts of the LXX which correspond to the Hebrew Bible, οὐρανός is used almost exclusively to render שָׁמַיִם, occurring as a translation equivalent nearly 450 times. Conversely, in only a very few instances is שָׁמַיִם translated with another Greek word such as ἄστρον (Job 15:15?) or ἥλιος (Job 8:29). Apparently, the semantic domain of οὐρανός was sufficiently flexible to communicate the varied senses which שָׁמַיִם did, and it became a fairly fixed translation equivalent from the Pentateuch on.[3]

In the Hebrew Bible, we find that the semantic domain of heaven is quite wide indeed. Reference works have categorized the connotations of שָׁמַיִם in sundry ways, but two distinct poles of meaning are universally recognized:

---

1. For the use of heaven in the OT in general, comprehensive and exhaustive is Cornelis Houtman's *Der Himmel im Alten Testament: Israels Weltbild und Weltan-schauung* (Leiden: Brill, 1993). Houtman's detailed work covers all the various uses of heaven in the OT, focusing particularly on the combination of heaven and earth.

2. The Aramaic word occurs 8 times in Ezra, 2 times in Jer 10:11, and 28 times in Daniel.

3. An examination of the pluses and minuses of οὐρανός relative to the MT reveals that there are very few minuses (only about 7) and approximately 45 pluses. The few minuses confirm the close semantic connection between שָׁמַיִם and οὐρανός. In most instances, they likely stem from a different underlying parent-text. The pluses often make more explicit the meaning of the Hebrew and at times create a heaven and earth pair that is lacking in the MT. Interestingly, a significant portion of the pluses occurs in the OG of Job (14 of 45). There we find the phrase ὑπ᾽ οὐρανόν used as a circumlocution for "earth." This pattern of pluses in Job may serve to highlight God's exaltedness, a theme certainly prevalent in Job. That is, to regularly refer to the created world of humanity as that which is "under heaven" simultaneously highlights the extent of God's dominion and the lower place of humanity from the God who dwells in the height of heaven (Job 22:12). The phrase "under heaven" may also have some relationship with the similar expression "under the sun" which occurs 30 times in Greek Ecclesiastes, in addition to three occurrences of ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν there.

heaven as (1) the sky, atmosphere, and space of the created order; and (2) the dwelling place of God.[4]

1.1 Heaven as the Space of the Created Order

In the first instance, שָׁמַיִם is quite fluid and can refer to the place of meteorological phenomena such as rain, snow, frost, dew, hail, thunder, wind, and clouds (for example, Gen 8:2; Isa 55:9–11; Job 38:29; Deut 33:13; Josh 10:11; 1 Sam 2:10; Zech 6:5; Ps 147:8), as well as to the place of the stars, sun and moon (Gen 15:15; Deut 4:19; Job 9:8–9; Ps 8:3). Any space from above one's head (where the "birds of heaven" fly) to the farthest visible heights of the astral plane is considered heaven. In Genesis 1 heaven is also the name given to the רָקִיעַ (firmament, or expanse), a solid surface that separates the waters above from the waters below (Gen 1:7–9).[5] It is best to understand that the term רָקִיעַ is hyponymous to שָׁמַיִם, that is to say what רָקִיעַ refers to is a subset of or included in the broader term שָׁמַיִם.[6] רָקִיעַ was a more technical cosmological term, while שָׁמַיִם was used more widely and fluidly.[7]

1.2 Heaven as the Dwelling Place of God

From reflection on the majesty of the heights above and a belief in the connection of deity with the always-important phenomena of weather, it was an easy transition to understand the heavens above as the habitation of God. God dwells *above* the created heavenly bodies *in heaven*.[8] This is the place of God's abiding from which all things are seen and from which God is revealed (Gen 21:17; 28:12, 17; Job 22:12; Ps 14:2). In heaven is the temple and throne of God (Ps 11:4; 103:19; Isa 66:1). And in the postexilic literature we find many occurrences of the moniker "God of heaven" (for example,

---

4. Jürgen Moltmann refers to these two different senses of heaven as "direct meanings" and "symbolic meanings." *God in Creation: An Ecological Doctrine of Creation* (trans. Margaret Kohl; London: SCM, 1985) 158, 160.

5. רָקִיעַ and שָׁמַיִם are also put in parallel construction, such as in Ps 19:1. At other times the phrase is, "the firmament/expanse of heaven" (for example, Gen 1:14; Dan 3:56 Th).

6. Tsumura, *NIDOTTE* 3:1198 (s.v. רָקִיעַ). Tsumura discusses the meaning of hyponyms more fully in "A 'Hyponymous' Word Pair: *'rṣ* and *thm(t)* in Hebrew and Ugaritic," *Bib* 69 (1988) 258–69.

7. G. von Rad, *TDNT* 5:503 (s.v. οὐρανός).

8. Failure to make this distinction and to worship the sun, moon, stars or the host of heaven was sternly forbidden (Deut 4:19; 17:3; 2 Kgs 17:16).

2 Chr 36:23; Ezra 1:2; Tob 7:12), a term which emphasizes the universality of his sovereignty.

Von Rad points out that the Bible actually speaks of God's dwelling place in a number of nonharmonized ways: on Mount Sinai, in the Ark, on Zion, and in heaven.[9] It is best to understand these as various theologically significant metaphors for God's dwelling, with heaven being the supreme abode of God.[10] Speaking of God as being in heaven emphasizes God's separateness, transcendence and limitlessness.[11] At the same time, there is awareness that not even "heaven or the heaven of heavens" (the heights above the heavens) can contain God (1 Kgs 8:27).

1.3 Heaven and Earth

Very frequently words for heaven in the OT are combined with the lexical equivalents of "earth" (most frequently, Hebrew אֶרֶץ). This pairing occurs at least 185 times, depending on how broadly one considers the context. It proves to be a key use of heaven throughout the HB and the LXX. In fact, as Cornelis Houtman points out, we cannot even speak meaningfully of heaven in the OT without also discussing earth.[12]

In some senses, the heaven and earth pair can be understood as straddling or combining the two semantic poles we have just discussed: those of the created realm, and the abode of God. That is, at times the heaven and earth pair is used to refer to the entire created world (heaven and earth), while quite often, instead it contrasts God (in heaven) with humanity (on earth). Thus, we have an example where a particular word pair can function both merismatically (heaven and earth) and antithetically (heaven versus earth).[13] Both uses

---

9. Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* (trans. D. M. G. Stalker; 2 vols.; Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1962–1965) 2:346.

10. M. G. Reddish, "Heaven," *ABD* 3:90.

11. Donald K. Innes, "Heaven and Sky in the Old Testament," *EvQ* 43 (1971) 148.

12. Houtman, *Der Himmel im AT*, 2. The structure of Houtman's wide-ranging tome conforms to this conviction. The entire middle part of the book (approximately 175 of its 370 pages) is dedicated to various aspects of "Himmel und Erde."

13. See Yitzhak Avishur, *Stylistic Studies of Word-Pairs in Biblical and Ancient Semitic Literatures* (Kevelaer: Verlag Butzon and Bercker, 1984); and Jože Krašovec, *Antithetic Structure in Biblical Hebrew Poetry* (Leiden: Brill, 1984). Krašovec, 6 n. 26., provides another example of this dual usage of a word-pair. The word pair צַדִּיק ("the righteous") and רָשָׁע ("the wicked") is merismatic in Eccl 3:17: "God will judge the righteous and the wicked"; but is antithetic in Ps 1:6: "The Lord knows the way of the righteous, but the way of the wicked will perish." The heaven and earth pair likewise functions in these two distinct ways.

prove to be quite common in the OT, and these two uses play on the different senses of heaven, the cosmological, and the metaphorical.

1.4 Heaven in the LXX

When we turn from the Hebrew Bible to the LXX, we find that in each of the variegated uses of שָׁמַיִם, οὐρανός is employed in much the same way. οὐρανός functions in reference to the created order (meteorological phenomena and the starry realm), in connection with earth, and as the place of God's dwelling. In these ways the Septuagintal use of heaven is very close to that of the Hebrew Bible. Again, it appears we have a particularly happy match and standardized translation equivalent between שָׁמַיִם and οὐρανός. οὐρανός has the flexibility to appear in cosmological and cultic contexts, even as does שָׁמַיִם.

2. Singular and Plural οὐρανός in the LXX

The nearly coextensive overlap of שָׁמַיִם and οὐρανός highlights, then, a very unexpected incongruity between the two words. As is well known, the Semitic words for heaven occur only in the plural form.[14] Therefore, it is impossible to distinguish between "heaven" and "heavens" in light of Hebrew/Aramaic morphology. Greek is quite different. Both singular and plural forms do exist. However, quite the opposite of Hebrew/Aramaic, the vast majority of extant forms of οὐρανός in antiquity are singular.

In light of the universally-plural morphology of שָׁמַיִם, one might expect the LXX to typically translate these words with a Greek plural, οὐρανοί. However, just the opposite is the case. Plural forms of οὐρανός make up less than 9% of the uses of οὐρανός in the LXX. This is true for the Hebrew-

---

14. The consistent plurality of שָׁמַיִם is one of its most curious features. There has been debate for over 100 years about the morphology of this word. A helpful survey of this debate can be found in Houtman, *Der Himmel im AT*, 5–7. Due to its final root letter being weak, the dual and plural forms are indistinguishable (Bruce K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* [Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1990] 118). Thus, several scholars formerly argued the word is actually a dual form, reflecting the influence of Egyptian cosmology. However, the consensus now is that שָׁמַיִם is in fact plural in form. See *HALOT* 4:1560; GKC §88, 124b; Paul Joüon, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (trans. and rev. T. Muraoka; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute) §98e; Bernard Alfrink, "L'expression 'šamain or šᵉmei Haššmaim' dans l'Ancien Testament," *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant* (ed. Eugène Tisserant; Studie Testi 231; Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1964) 1–7.

canonical as well as apocryphal sections of the LXX.[15] Moreover, the plurals occur predominately in the Psalms (29 of 51 or 52 instances). The remainder of the LXX has surprisingly few occurrences.[16]

In fact, the *singular* οὐρανός for *plural* שָׁמַיִם is such a standard in Septuagintal translation that even in the phrase, "the heaven of heavens" and "heaven and the heaven of heavens" where one might expect plural forms, instead we find the singular (ὁ οὐρανὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ).[17] As a result of this standard practice, the plural only appears once in the Pentateuch (Deut 32:43)[18] and inconsistently elsewhere in the LXX.[19]

---

15. In the sections of the LXX which correspond to the Hebrew Bible, plurals occur 41 or 42 times (with one variance between OG and Th Daniel) out of 502 total uses (= 8.4%). In the non-MT LXX writings (excluding Odes but including Prayer of Manasseh and the Additions to Daniel) there are 11 instances out of approximately 114 occurrences (= 9.6%). In the Greek Pseudepigrapha, the percentage is slightly higher: approximately 16%. However, most of these plurals are found in documents whose translations into Greek were later and/or contain later Christian interpolations such as *1 Enoch* and the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*. In the Qumran literature, a handful of forms of οὐρανός are found in the Greek manuscripts, but all are singular in form.

16. The complete list of plurals is as follows:

"Canonical" LXX – Deut 32:43; 1 Rgns 2:10; 2 Rgns 22:10; 2 Chr 28:9; 2 Esd 19:6; Ps 2:4; 8:2, 4; 18:2; 32:6; 49:6; 56:6, 11, 12; 67:9; 68:35; 88:3, 6, 12; 95:5, 11; 96:6; 101:26; 106:26; 107:5, 6; 112:4; 113:11; 135:5; 143:5; 148:1, 4 (3x); Prov 3:19; Job 16:19; Hab 3:3; Isa 44:23; 49:13; Ezek 1:1; Dan (OG) 3:17.

"Apocryphal" LXX – Jdt 9:12; 13:18; Tob 8:5; 2 Macc 15:23; 3 Macc 2:2; Pr Man 15 [*Ode* 12:15]; Wis 9:10, 16; 18:15; *Pss. Sol.* 2:30; Dan (OG and Th) 3:59 [Hymn of the Three].

17. Peter Katz, *Philo's Bible: The Aberrant Text of Bible Quotations in Some Philonic Writings and Its Place in the Textual History of the Greek Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950) 6. More precisely, in the threefold expression "heaven and the heaven of heavens," singular forms of οὐρανός always occur (Deut 10:14; 3 Rgns 8:27; 2 Chr 2:5; 6:18; 2 Esd 19:6), but the plurals do occur once in the twofold phrase, "heaven of heavens" (Ps 148:4). However, the other occurrences of "heaven of heavens" (Ps 113:24 [MT 115:16]; 3 Macc 2:15) also use the singular.

18. There is no reference to heaven in the MT of Deut 32:43, though there is in the LXX and 4QDeut^q, the latter of which represents in part the parent text of the LXX. See J. W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy* (SBLSCS 39; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995) 533–35. In light of the rarity of plural forms in the LXX in general and especially in the Pentateuch, the plural form in Deut 32:43 may suggest that this reading is part of a later recension. Indeed, Katz argues that the plural here must be the result of borrowing from elsewhere in the LXX (Katz, *Philo's Bible*, 144).

19. Katz states that in contrast, plurals are a distinctive feature of the "Three." My examination of the Hexapla, however, does not reveal any significant difference in the occasion or use of plural forms.

It is striking that more plural forms were not used in the LXX, especially in the Pentateuch where the LXX typically shows close dependence on the Hebrew *Vorlage*. One recent writer has described the LXX Pentateuch this way: it "mimics in Greek many formal aspects of its Hebrew source text, which results in a translation that has at times been called everything from awkward to stilted to simply bad."[20] Yet despite this mimicking, the singular οὐρανός still predominates, despite the plural שָׁמַיִם.

In the predominance of the singular forms, however, the LXX aligns very closely with the Greek of antiquity. In fact, outside of the LXX, one is hard-pressed to find more than a handful of plural forms of οὐρανός in all of Classical or Hellenistic Greek well into the Christian era.[21] It is not until the writings of the New Testament that plural forms of οὐρανός appear alongside the singular with any frequency. Yet, even there they remain in the minority.[22] The notable exceptions are Matthew, Hebrews, and 2 Peter, each of which has more plural forms than singular, while many of the NT books have few or no plurals of οὐρανός at all. After the time of the NT, plural forms begin to appear in several of the early Christian writings.[23]

---

20. Benjamin G. Wright III, "Access to the Source: Cicero, Ben Sira, the Septuagint and Their Audiences," *JSJ* 34 (2003) 4.

21. According to a search of TLG, there are a few occurrences in Anaximander (ca. sixth century B.C.E.) and Aristotle and one each in Eratosthenes and Aesop. In the Greek Pseudepigrapha, plurals crop up occasionally in *Enoch*, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the Greek fragments of *Jubilees*, the Greek *Apocalypse of Ezra*, the *Apocalypse of Sedrach*, *Joseph and Aseneth*, the *Testament of Abraham*, and the *Testament of Job*. The dating on most of these documents is notoriously difficult and in many instances the extant Greek manuscripts are translations from other languages and evidence later (Christian) interpolation. Hence, it is difficult to determine how early some of these plural forms were. Regardless, the plural forms are still a small minority and show the later development of the plural. The *Sibylline Oracles*, which show clear affinities to other non-Jewish Greek literature, are good examples of typical Hellenistic Greek usage of οὐρανός: While οὐρανός is used fairly frequently and in a variety of ways, no plural forms are found. The same results are found for Philo and Josephus. There are no plural forms from either writer's corpus. The Greek nonliterary papyri likewise manifest a dearth of plural forms: a search of the Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri reveals only one plural form, coming from a fourth century C.E. document (P.Erl. 107 r,1 1).

22. There are 90 plurals in the NT out of 273 total occurrences of οὐρανός (= 33%). Matthew alone accounts for 55 of these 90 (61%). Apart from Matthew, the rest of the NT uses plural forms less than 13% of the time. Thus, when Matthew is removed from the reckoning, this percentage is only slightly higher than the frequency of usage in the LXX.

23. In addition to Christian interpolations in the Greek Pseudepigrapha, occasional plural forms can be found in Irenaeus, Clement, Hermas, and some of the NT Apocrypha.

So there is a bit of a mystery, one that can be described with two related questions: (1) In light of the rarity of plural οὐρανοί in the Greek language, why did the LXX begin to use this form at all? The typical answer is that the Septuagint translators were being influenced by the plural morphology of the Semitic words. However, if this is the case, we can ask a second question: (2) If the plurality of the Semitic words was the cause of the plural οὐρανοί in the LXX, why then are there so *few* plurals there (less than 1 out of 10)?

Previous scholarly discussions of שָׁמַיִם and οὐρανός offer a number of explanations given for the plural forms in the LXX.

2.1 Belief in Multiple Heavens

One typical explanation is that the plural forms, at least in the later Septuagintal literature, are the result of a burgeoning belief in multiple heavens. The apocalyptic speculations about the various levels and furniture of heaven are well known to us today. In this theory, the plurals are "true plurals" in that they refer to several heavens in distinction. Typically, the argument starts from the phrase "the heaven(s) of the heavens" which is understood as referring to at least two or three distinct heavenly realms. Versions of this phrase occur some seven times in the MT and corresponding LXX passages. Von Rad and others saw in the postexilic writings suggestive echoes of the Babylonian ideas of multiple heavens.[24] Traub, writing in the same *TDNT* article, says that this phrase "presupposes the idea of several heavens, perhaps a plurality."[25] These occurrences in Scripture are then connected with the well-known development of belief in multiple heavens in other later second temple literature and rabbinic materials.[26]

However, there is a marked difference between the use of heaven in the LXX (including the latest books) and the apocalyptic literature. In the LXX we have no heavenly journeys or speculations about the levels of the heavens like are found in the later apocalyptic and rabbinic traditions. Any "levels" of heaven that may be discerned in the MT or LXX are quite vague and refer

---

Dependence on NT usage, especially that of Matthew, is the most likely explanation for this development.

24. Gerhard von Rad, "οὐρανός," *TDNT* 5:503.

25. Helmut Traub, "οὐρανός," *TDNT* 5:511.

26. Following Traub and Bietenhard, this is the approach of Adela Y. Collins in "The Seven Heavens in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses," in John J. Collins and Michael Fishbane, eds., *Death, Ecstacy, and Other Worldly Journeys* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995) 59–93.

only to perceived differences of height in the created realm.[27] This is a quite different sense of "levels of heaven" than the apocalyptic usage.

Moreover, the phrase "heaven and the heaven of heavens" (which uses singular forms despite the plural *Vorlage*[28]) need not be more than hyperbolic, poetic language to communicate the vast greatness and exaltedness of God.[29] This phrase would have been the perfect opportunity to exploit a plurality of heavens. Yet we still find singular forms of οὐρανός there. Therefore, no direct causal connection can be made between a belief in multiple heavens and the development of the plural forms of οὐρανός. Von Rad himself concludes by concurring that connections with multiple-heavens views are at best "general connections" and not direct borrowing.[30]

Indeed, any partial causal connection that may exist probably goes the opposite way: the occasional use of plural forms of οὐρανός in the LXX lent credence and opportunity for apocalyptic writers to develop the idea of multiple heavens.[31] While later writers may have found in such phrases the "proof" for multiple heavens, this in no way argues that such a belief was in fact widespread and effective in preexilic or postexilic Judaism, nor the cause of the origin of plural forms. Even in the latest LXX apocryphal books, there is no evidence for a plurality of heavens. Moreover, very few plural forms are

---

27. As Stadelmann observes: "The few references to different kinds of heaven are either so generic in their scope or metaphorical in their significance that an exact determination of the stages of the heavenly dome is impossible. . . . [T]his space was not conceived as a structured complex of clearly distinguishable levels" (Luis I. J. Stadelmann, *The Hebrew Conception of the World: A Philological and Literary Study* [AnBib 39; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1970] 41).

28. The only instance of plural forms of οὐρανός in the "heaven of heavens" phrase is Ps 148:4. As noted above, the others, as well as the fuller "heaven and heaven of heavens," all use singular forms.

29. Koehler and Baumgartner state that this construction "probably does not mean a number of different heavens but is an expression of the superlative," *HALOT* 4:1561. See Joüon, *Grammar*, §141 1.

30. Von Rad, "οὐρανός," *TDNT* 5:503.

31. Traub argues that the Septuagint "contributed to the Greek word the status constructus form and the plural use" thereby giving Hellenistic thought "the possibility of expressing more easily and quickly" ideas about a plurality of heavens (H. Traub, *TDNT* 5:511). D. F. Torm remarks that over time there was likely an interplay between the use of the plural and the growing concept of multiple heavens: ". . . der Gebrauch des Pluralis der Vorstellung einer Mehrheit von Himmeln förderlich sein musste, und . . . andererseits diese Vorstellung einen häufigen Gebrauch des Pluralis verursachen konnte" (D. F. Torm, "Der Pluralis οὐρανοί" *ZAW* 33 [1934] 49).

found even in the Jewish apocalyptic documents which manifest multiple heavens schemes.[32]

2.2 οὐρανός *as a Semitism*

By far the most common explanation for plural forms of οὐρανός in the LXX and the NT is an apparently obvious solution: the plurals come about through the influence of the plural forms of שָׁמַיִם (Hebrew) and שְׁמַיִן (Aramaic); thus, the plural οὐρανοί is a Semitism. This explanation is frequently offered by scholars writing from the perspective of the plural forms in the NT and looking back on their origins (though not exclusively by such scholars). For example, one regularly finds comments that Matthew's frequent use of the plurals is "in accordance with the Semitic idiom."[33] Likewise, this argument from the Hebrew/Aramaic to the Greek is often used to explain Matthew's "kingdom of heaven," as Davies and Allison state: "βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν . . . is to be judged a Semitism in view of rabbinic usage, *malkŭt šāmayim*."[34] In addition to the commentaries, this line of reasoning is found in nearly all of the standard dictionary[35] and grammar[36] discussions of οὐρανός.[37] This seems straight forward enough. But is this a

---

32. Indeed, most of the apocalyptic texts which have multiple-heavens journeys continue to use the singular primarily or exclusively. For example, no plurals are found in the *Greek Apocalypse of Moses* or *3 Baruch* and very few in *1 Enoch*. The *Testament of Levi* has the most plural forms, but the heavenly journeys section is almost certainly a later redaction and not part of the earlier Aramaic form. On this last point, see M. de Jonge, "Testament of Levi and Aramaic Levi," in *Jewish Eschatology, Early Christian Christology, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Leiden, 1991) 244–62; and John J. Collins, "A Throne in the Heavens: Apotheosis in Pre-Christian Judaism," in *Death, Ecstacy, and Other Worldly Journeys* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1995), 56 n.11.

33. F. W. Beare, *The Gospel according to Matthew: A Commentary* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981) 356. Almost verbatim is W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, *Matthew* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988) 1:328.

34. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:81. Similar is David Hill who says that kingdom of heaven "indicat[es] faithfulness to the Aramaic," *The Gospel of Matthew* (NCB; London: Oliphants, 1972) 90.

35. For example, NIDOTTE, TDNT, NIDNTT, and New Dictionary of Biblical Theology, s.v. heaven/οὐρανός.

36. For example, Nigel Turner, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek, Vol. III: Syntax* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1963) 25, and BDF §4.2, 141.1.

37. A fuller, but still brief argument along the same lines may be found in Elliot C. Maloney, *Semitic Interference in Marcan Syntax* (SBLDS 51; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1981) 190–192.

sound interpretation regarding the development of the plural forms in the Septuagint?

Before answering this, we must clarify the terms at hand. What exactly is a "Semitism"? Stanley Porter's distinction between different levels of Semitic influence on Greek is very astute and applicable to Septuagintal Greek.[38] He observes that only an element of Greek that occurs at the level of an *incursion* by a Semitic language can be classified as a Semitism. In the cases when "a rare construction that can be paralleled in Greek has its frequency of occurrence greatly increased due to associations with Semitic literature," this should instead be called a "Semitic enhancement." This is an important clarification of terms. This nuanced difference between a "Semitic enhancement" and a "Semitism" enables one to reconsider whether an apparent linguistic anomaly in Greek (such as plural οὐρανοί) is truly a "Semitism" and not merely an "enhancement."

It should be clear from the preceding discussion that the plural forms of οὐρανός cannot rightly be classified as a "Semitism" but at best as evidence of "Semitic enhancement" on biblical Greek; plural forms of οὐρανός are not morphologically irregular in Greek, but only uncommon. Is Semitic enhancement, then, the way to describe the development of the plural forms in the Septuagint? The answer is yes, but only in a qualified and careful way —*not* in the morphological way typically assumed.

Because plural forms of οὐρανός appear to have been almost non-existent in Greek literature before the time of the Septuagint translation (and even subsequently they are found almost exclusively in Jewish Greek literature for some centuries), it *is* reasonable to view those 51 (or 52) Septuagint occurrences as evidence of Semitic enhancement. However, this is different from arguing that the plural forms came about as a direct result of the morphological plurality of שָׁמַיִם. This needs to be proven, not just assumed, especially in light of the fact that in most cases (over 90%), the *singular* forms are found despite the universally-plural Hebrew counterpart. The plurality of שָׁמַיִם and שְׁמַיִן likely made the use of plural forms of οὐρανός a quite easy and a reasonable step when a translator chose to do this.

---

38. Porter distinguishes three possible levels of Semitic influence on the Greek of the NT: (a) direct translation; (b) intervention, "when a form that cannot reasonably be formed or paralleled in Greek must be attributed to the influence of a Semitic construction"; and (c) enhancement, "when a rare construction that can be paralleled in Greek has its frequency of occurrence greatly increased due to associations with Semitic literature." Stanley E. Porter, "The Language of the Apocalypse in Recent Discussion," *NTS* 35 (1989) 587.

However, it must be emphasized that the plurality of the Hebrew and the Aramaic does not appear to be the *cause* of the plural οὐρανοί, either in the Hebrew-canonical LXX or the Apocrypha (most of which likely had Semitic *Vorlagen* as well). If indeed the morphology of the Semitic *Vorlagen* were the contributing factor in the plurals, we might expect to find that plurals occur less often in LXX documents which do *not* have a Semitic original. However, just the opposite is often the case: In Wisdom of Solomon (composed in Greek), half of the occurrences are plural, while none are in 1 Esdras or 1 Maccabees (translations of Semitic originals). Clearly, factors other than morphology are at work. Indeed, other identifiable causes led to the development of the plurals in the LXX.[39]

2.3 Poetic and Syntactical Reasons (D. F. Torm and P. Katz)

D. F. Torm was one of the first scholars to examine the oddity of the plural οὐρανοί in the LXX and to argue for an explanation other than a plurality of heavens or Semitic influence.[40] He was also the first to point out that plurals in secular Greek were not completely unknown. He disputes the Hebrew plural explanation by first pointing out that in the instances of ὁ οὐρανὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, where the plural would be expected, it does not appear. He goes on to observe that of the 51 plural occurrences in the LXX, more than half occur in the Psalms, and most others, similarly, in elevated prophetic speech or prayers.[41] He concludes, therefore, that the plurals pertain to the category of poetical and ceremonial speech, and are not the result of Semitic influence.[42] Nor should the plurals be understood to indicate a mean-

---

39. In light of the literalizing tendency of the recensions of the LXX, one might argue that this is the source of the plural οὐρανοί. However, in Theodotion Daniel, we do not find an increase in plural forms (in fact, one less than in OG). Similarly, of the 23 occurrences of οὐρανός in the *kaige* portion of Samuel and Kings, only one plural is found (2 Rgns 22:10).

40. D. F. Torm, "Der Pluralis Ouranoi," 48–50.

41. There are 29 plurals in the Psalms, though Torm does not make this number entirely clear. When the reckoning is limited to the canonical LXX books, the predominance of the Psalms is even stronger: 29 of 41 (or 42) uses. The variance between 41 and 42 depends on which version of Daniel one uses in the counting. At 3:17 the OG has a plural where the Theodotion text lacks a reference to heaven. Typically, reference works refer to the 51 plural occurrences in the LXX, thereby (knowingly or unknowingly) following Theodotion.

42. G. Mussies' survey of the data of the Septuagint concurs with this conclusion, "the Hebrew equivalent . . . probably did not influence the use of the plural in Greek."

ing different from the singulars. Instead, they should be classified as examples of the poetic technique of *pluralis majesticus*,[43] whereby the poet uses the plural to amplify or extend the expression.[44]

Some years later, the Septuagintal scholar Peter Katz dedicated an appendix to the question of plural οὐρανός in the LXX.[45] He begins by reviewing Torm's argument, but concludes that his case is inconclusive. Katz argues that the important question is different than Torm's. The real question for Katz is: how did it come about that שָׁמַיִם could be expressed by both οὐρανός (sg.) and οὐρανοί (pl.)?

Similar to Torm, Katz observes that the singular οὐρανός in the complex phrases, "the heaven of heavens," shows that there was a consistent translation technique of שָׁמַיִם to singular οὐρανός at work for this word. The plural occurrences then call for explanation. Katz finds the solution in observing *syntactical* considerations in addition to poetic ones, specifically, where the Hebrew verb governing the phrase is plural and/or there are other plural nouns in a parallel stychos. Thus, in the latter case, many of the plural οὐρανοί can be understood as having been attracted by a parallel noun which is plural: for example, οὐρανῶν—ἀβύσσων (Ps 106:26), οὐρανῶν—νεφελῶν (Ps 56:11; 107:5), ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν—ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις (Ps 148:1), ἐν οὐρανοῖς—ἐν ὑψίστοις (Job 16:19).[46]

But even more strongly, Katz highlights the role that the Hebrew verbs in the *Vorlage* played in the Septuagint's plural οὐρανοί. That is, there are eleven cases in the Psalms where in the Hebrew, שָׁמַיִם governs a plural verb, and thus the translator had "either to transform the whole sentence into the singular or to use Hebraizing Greek."[47] In cases where the plural verb had more than one subject, οὐρανός, as only one of them, could remain singular (for example, Gen 2:1). However, when plural שָׁמַיִם stood alone with a

---

G. Mussies, *The Morphology of Koine Greek as Used in the Apocalypse of St. John* (SNTS 27; Leiden: Brill, 1971) 84.

43. Joüon, *Grammar*, prefers to classify the plural שָׁמַיִם under the category of "plural of extension" (§136c) and "plurale tantum" (§90f), and reserves "plural of excellence or majesty" for the sacred and divine (§136d–e).

44. "Die Dichter brauchen den Plural oft, um den Ausdruck zu amplifizieren." Torm, "Der Pluralis," 49.

45. Peter Katz, *Philo's Bible*, 141–46.

46. Ibid., 143–44. Katz gives other examples including a case such as Prov 3:19 where οὐρανούς is in direct parallel with (sg.) τὴν γῆν yet it is still embedded in a series of poetical plurals, hence its plurality.

47. Katz, *Philo's Bible*, 145.

plural verb, the temptation to pluralize οὐρανός was strong (though not irresistible, it should be added), especially in cases of personification, such as εὐφράνθητε οὐρανοί (Isa 44:23) or εὐλογεῖτε οὐρανοί (Dan (Th) 3:59, Prayer).[48] Stated simply, "the choice of οὐρανοί in some parts of the LXX is caused by the fact that שָׁמַיִם was introduced by a plural verb."[49]

Therefore, Katz concludes by concurring with Torm that the plurals are elements of poetical and solemn language, but he disagrees with Torm's deduction that this means there is no Semitic influence. Indeed, the Semitic influence can be seen in the fact that plural שָׁמַיִם required a plural verb, which in turn often effected a plural οὐρανοί. The *pluralis majesticus* explanation is true as far as it goes, but the additional syntactical considerations are required to explain the phenomenon of plural οὐρανοί.

2.4 Evaluation of Torm and Katz

Both Torm and Katz offer far better explanations of the phenomenon of plural οὐρανοί than the typical dictionary and commentary accounts that simply assume a morphological connection. Unfortunately, most such accounts acknowledge Torm's *ZAW* article in a footnote (and Katz less often), but then go straight on with the Semitic-morphology explanation.

In comparing the two, Katz's treatment is a real improvement over Torm's and provides a persuasive explanation for most of the plurals in the LXX. And again, both are far superior to the standard reference works and scholarly assumption on this question. However, while Katz is basically right in his analysis, at times he gives a list of verses with only a cursory and less than satisfactory explanation. Moreover, there are a few trouble passages in earlier sections outside of the Psalms that he rather quickly dismisses as being not from the hand of the original translator (1 Rgns 2:10; 2 Rgns 22:10). This may be the case, but at times it seems as though the explanation is a little too convenient and circular. Additionally, there are also a number of passages from the Psalms and other portions which Katz does not mention at all.

---

48. The solitary occurrence of plural οὐρανοί in the Pentateuch (Deut 32:43), though it contains the phrase εὐφράνθητε οὐρανοι and could be explained that way, is instead explained by Katz as being unoriginal, a later borrowing from elsewhere in the LXX (p. 144). The portion of 32:43 containing "heaven" is indeed a Septuagintal plus as compared to the MT. However, it is found in the Qumran text, 4QDeut 9.

49. Katz, *Philo's Bible*, 145. Katz points out that this rule does not generally apply in cases where the plural verb follows at the end of the sentence.

Further, Katz does not deal with the eleven plurals which occur in the LXX Apocrypha.

3. Further Insights on Singular and Plural οὐρανός in the LXX

While acknowledging the crucial insights of Torm and Katz, some additional explanations and observations are offered. In the case of the nine canonical plurals which Katz did not mention in his treatment,[50] little can be said other than he judiciously chose not to include them. In each case except one there is no clear reason why the plural form appears. The rules put forth by both Torm and Katz fail to explain these instances. In 2 Chronicles, 2 Esdras, Psalms, and Daniel, the plural instance not mentioned is one among a vast majority of singular forms throughout the book with no apparent difference in meaning.[51] There are no recorded textual variants in any of these cases and no definitive explanation for the solitary plural can be found. They remain an anomaly. In one instance which Katz neglects, however, his suggestion of plural Hebrew verb syntax influencing the LXX form proves right. In Ezek 1:1, heaven is the subject of a passive verb: "The heavens were opened." Thus, the Hebrew verb is naturally plural because of the plural שָׁמַיִם, and consequently, the plural οὐρανοί is not surprising. This instance, then, strengthens Katz's argument for syntactical considerations resulting in plural forms. Regarding the other plurals, however, it should be stated that the remaining anomalies in no way discredit the explanations of Torm and Katz. For such cases it is good to remember Katz's comments about the necessarily uncertain nature of our existing LXX text(s): "Amongst our evidence [of the LXX] there is hardly one MS which does not disclose some influence from [the] later stages of transmission."[52] This may very well be the best explanation of these odd plurals.

But one glaring deficiency in Katz's treatment is his failure to examine the eleven plurals which occur in the LXX Apocrypha. While these instances are not much more relatively frequent than plurals in the rest of the LXX,[53] in

---

50. 2 Chr 28:9; 2 Esdr 19:6; Ps 2:4; 88:3; 95:5; 135:5; Hab 3:3; Ezek 1:1; Dan (OG) 3:17.

51. In the case of Hab 3:3, the plural is the only instance of "heaven" throughout the book, and interestingly, the only plural form in all of the Book of the Twelve Prophets.

52. Katz, *Philo's Bible*, 4.

53. As mentioned above, the percentage of plural forms to the total in the canonical LXX is 8.4% (41 or 42 of 502). The percentage for the apocryphal LXX is only slightly higher: 9.6% (11 of 114).

several cases they prove interesting. The eleven plurals are found in only
eight of the seventeen apocryphal books and no book contains plurals
exclusively.[54] In most instances, we find one plural occurrence in a book in
the midst of many singular occurrences. We shall briefly examine the books
containing these eleven occurrences, seeking to discern any patterns or
development in the use of the plural.

3.1 Examination of the Plural Forms in the LXX Apocrypha

The use of οὐρανός in both manuscript traditions of Tobit is quite
frequent, but especially in the version preserved in Codex Sinaiticus (א).[55]
Both traditions share uses of heaven to describe God, as is quite common in
the second temple literature. For example, God is the "God who dwells in
heaven" (5:17), the "Lord of heaven (and earth)" (7:17), the "God of heaven"
(10:13), and the "King of heaven" (13:13).[56] In every case except one,
however, the forms of οὐρανός are singular. The sole plural example is
found in both manuscript traditions at 8:5 when the heavens and all creation
are called upon to bless God (εὐλογησάτωσάν σε οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ πᾶσα
ἡ κτίσις σου). This use of the plural is immediately recognizable as the
typical formulation when the heavens are personified and addressed, as Katz
argued for the Psalms.

The book of Judith has two instances of the plural out of a total of
seven occurrences of οὐρανός. Here the usage is markedly inconsistent. We
have two very common instances of the singular: the heaven and earth pair
(7:28) and "the birds of heaven" (τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ) paired with
"the beasts of the field" (11:7).[57] Yet in 13:18, the heaven and earth pair

---

54. The plurals are Jdt 9:12; 13:18; Tob 8:5; 2 Macc 15:23; 3 Macc 2:2; Pr Man 15
[*Ode* 12:15]; Wis 9:10, 16; 18:15; *Pss. Sol.* 2:30; Dan (OG and Th) 3:59 [Hymn of the
Three].

55. This longer version is now generally considered the older, more reliable version as
dozens of fragments of five separate manuscripts of Tobit have appeared from Qumran.
These generally support the longer version over that found in codices A and B. See Peter
W. Flint, "Noncanonical Writings in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Apocrypha, Other Previously
Known Writings, Pseudepigrapha," in *The Bible at Qumran: Text, Shape and Interpreta-
tion* (ed. Peter W. Flint; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001) 90.

56. The greater number of occurrences in the Sinaiticus version is mainly due to
multiple uses of these same epithets.

57. "Birds of heaven" occurs 49 times in the Hebrew-canonical LXX, 7 of which are
pluses over the MT, in addition to several instances in the apocryphal LXX and in the
Greek Pseudepigrapha.

appears again, but this time with a plural form of οὐρανός. God is said to be the creator of τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ τὴν γῆν. Similarly, in 9:12 in a list of appellations of God, he is described as the "Lord of heaven and earth" (δέσποτα τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς), again using a plural form.[58] Yet this usage is somewhat inconsistent with the three times in which the singular appears in the common second temple moniker, "God of heaven" (5:8; 6:19; 11:17).

A similar inconsistency of usage is found in 2 and 3 Maccabees, the *Psalms of Solomon*, and the *Prayer of Manasseh*. In both 2 and 3 Maccabees we find many instances of οὐρανός (20 and 9, respectively),[59] in a variety of phrases, but only one plural each. In 2 Macc 15:23 God is called the "Sovereign of the heavens" (δυνάστα τῶν οὐρανῶν), though in 15:4 the singular is used in a very similar expression, "the living Lord himself, the Sovereign in heaven" (ὁ κύριος ζῶν αὐτὸς ἐν οὐρανῷ δυνάστης). Similarly, in 3 Macc 2:2 God is described as the "King of the heavens" (βασιλεῦ τῶν οὐρανῶν), yet throughout the rest of the book only singular forms appear, even when usage evidently refers to God at least in a metonymic sense. In the *Psalms of Solomon*, we find several instances of the heaven and earth pair, explicitly (8:7) and thematically (2:9; 2:33; 17:18), each using the singular. Yet in 2:30 God is the "King over the heavens" (βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν), which is contrasted thematically with the proud man who says he will be "lord of earth and sea" (2:29). The *Prayer of Manasseh* likewise fails to indicate any clear pattern of singular and plural usage. In vv. 2 and 9 we find singular forms in the phrases "heaven and earth" and the "height of heaven" (τὸ ὕψος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ). Yet the prayer ends with a plural reference to the "host of the heavens" (ἡ δύναμις τῶν οὐρανῶν) (v. 15).[60]

Thus, none of these books manifests a clear and consistent reason for the mix of singular and plural forms. The only thing that can be said about these plurals is that they have one thing in common: they are all in words of praise

---

58. The combination of plural οὐρανοί with γῆ in the phrase "heaven and earth" is uncommon. Instead, singular οὐρανός plus γῆ is the standard throughout the LXX and NT. Notable exceptions are Ps 69:34 and 2 Pet 3:7, 13.

59. There are an additional three occurrences of an adjectival form of οὐρανός in 3 Macc: οὐράνιος in 6:18 and ἐπουράνιος in 6:28 and 7:6.

60. This combination of δύναμις plus a plural form of οὐρανός occurs elsewhere only in Matt 24:29; Mark 13:25; and Luke 21:26, though the similar στρατιαὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν is found in 2 Esdr 19:6.

and prayer addressed to God. In Jdt 9:12 and 13:18, 2 Macc 15:23, 3 Macc 2:2, *Pss. Sol.* 2:30, and *Pr. Man.* 12, God is exalted as the Ruler, Lord, and King of the heavens (τῶν οὐρανῶν). In each of these phrases, a plural form of heaven is used. Most interesting, in these epithets for God with the plural we do not find the typical word for God (θεός) or even Lord (κύριος), but instead terms that emphasize God's ruling lordship: δυνάστα τῶν οὐρανῶν (2 Macc 15:23); δέσποτα τῶν οὐρανῶν (Jdt 9:12); βασιλεῦ τῶν οὐρανῶν (3 Macc 2:2). Conversely, in no instance does the frequent second temple phrase, "God of heaven" use a plural form. Thus, while there does not seem to be a consistent pattern of singular and plural forms within each book, when God is addressed and his reigning lordship is emphasized, plural forms do sometimes appear.[61]

3.2 A Singular versus Plural Pattern: Wisdom of Solomon

Thus far no consistent reason why plural forms appear in these apocryphal books has been discerned. In one book, however, there seems to be an intentional contrast *in meaning* between the singular form of οὐρανός and the plural. The use of the plurals in the Wisdom of Solomon is best understood not as a Semitism or a further example of Katz's patterns, but as part of an intentional singular versus plural usage coming from the authors' literary style and serving a theological purpose.

Of all the apocryphal LXX books, Wisdom uses plural forms most often. This work, known for its combination of Greek philosophical concepts and language with the biblical teachings, speaks much about the world, creation, and the elements of nature.[62] As a result, one might expect to find even more instances of οὐρανός than six.[63] Despite this low number, however, it is

---

61. It must be acknowledged that this pattern is not entirely consistent or developed, however. For example, in 2 Macc 15:3–4, God is referred to as the ἐν οὐρανῷ (sg.) δυνάστης. However, in this case, the difference may reflect that God is not being addressed but is being spoken about. In 1 Esdras, which has no plural forms, we find "the king of heaven" (βασιλεὺς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ) with the singular form (4:36). Likewise, the Sinaiticus reading of Tobit has βασιλεὺς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (1:18; 13:13, 17).

62. See James M. Reese, *Hellenistic Influence of the Book of Wisdom and Its Consequences* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1970). See also Michael Kolarcik, "Creation and Salvation in the Book of Wisdom," in *Creation in the Biblical Traditions* (ed. Richard J. Clifford, and John J. Collins; *CBQMS* 24 [1992] 97–107).

63. Although the heaven and earth pair does occur explicitly (18:15) and thematically (9:16), the book's later date and Hellenistic origins shine forth through the more common

noteworthy that of these six occurrences, half are plural. Within these occurrences, the author of Wisdom apparently uses plural forms to refer to God's dwelling place and the singular to refer to the created realm. In 9:10, 9:16, and 18:15 "wisdom" or "the word" is said to search out and come forth from heaven, that is from the place of God's throne. In contrast, the singular occurrences in 13:2, 16:20, and 18:16 each refer to the sky. Thus, in Wisdom, which manifests no multiple-heavens speculation, the singular and plural forms are used to clearly distinguish between the two common semantic poles of οὐρανός: the sky (singular) and the abode of God (plural).[64]

In the plural category, 9:10 and 18:15 are put into clear apposition with God's royal or glorious throne as the place of his dwelling. In 9:16, there is a thematic heaven and earth pair: "We can hardly guess at what is on earth . . . but who has traced out what is in the heavens (ἐν οὐρανοῖς)?" (RSV). This might at first appear to be a reference to the entire universe, with ἐν οὐρα-νοῖς as the starry realm as compared to the earth. However, the context makes clear that this familiar phrasing is a sharp, Platonic distinction between two realms, the lower earthly realm contrasted with the place where wisdom dwells, with God.[65] Thus, Wisdom uses the OT language and contrastive sense of the heaven and earth pair, but uses it differently both philosophically and morphologically. The emphasis in this context is that humanity cannot understand the counsel of God (v. 13) without God sending wisdom from heaven through the Holy Spirit (v. 17).

The three singular occurrences of οὐρανός, conversely, are limited in reference to the phenomena of the created realm below the dwelling of God and wisdom. In 13:1–2 the foolishness of humanity is derided for failing to understand God as the creator despite the obvious craftsmanship of creation. Instead, foolish humans supposed that the created things like the fire, wind, circle of the stars, and the luminaries of heaven (ἡ φωστῆρας οὐρανοῦ, that is the sun and moon) were gods (13:2). The polemic emphasizes the

---

use of κόσμος to refer to the world/universe (15x) rather than "heaven and earth," thus there are not as many occurrences of heaven as there would be without the use of κόσμος.

64. My examination of commentaries on Wisdom unearths no mention of singular and plural οὐρανός nor a pattern thereof, even in a detailed phrase-by-phrase study such as A. T. S. Goodrick, *The Book of Wisdom* (London: Rivingtons, 1913).

65. Compare with 9:15, "For a perishable body weighs down the soul, and this earthly tent burdens the thoughtful mind." The influence of Platonism on Wisdom and the similarities with Philo are well known, see David Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon* (AB; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1979) especially 59–63.

created nature of all these things. In 16:20, which alludes strongly to Ps 78:23–28, food is provided for the Israelites "from heaven" (ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ). Again, the context makes clear that the created realm is the emphasis. The third singular reference (18:16) also has a biblical precedent. Even as David sees the angel of death standing "between earth and heaven," that is the sky, so the stern warrior of Wis 18:16 stands and fills all things with death in the earthly realm. In fact, the two uses of οὐρανός together in 18:15–16 show the singular and plural distinction at work. The "all-powerful word" leaps from God's throne, from heaven (ἀπ᾽ οὐρανῶν) onto the earth and stands, filling the earthly realm (οὐρανοῦ μὲν ἥπτετο βεβήκει δ᾽ ἐπὶ γῆς).

This pattern of singular versus plural usage appears to be part of the author's own idiolect.[66] No precedents for such a developed pattern have been found from my examination of οὐρανός throughout the extant Greek literature. Of course, the occasional plural forms which do appear throughout the LXX and pseudepigrapha provided raw materials with which the author of Wisdom could build this theological contrast between God in his abode and the inferior created realm. On occasion, other second-temple texts come close to such a singular versus plural contrast, but none so consistently as Wisdom.[67]

Summary and Conclusion

The purpose of this article has been twofold. First, I have sought to highlight the problem with the typical understanding of plural οὐρανοί in the LXX and bring to bear upon it the overlooked insights of Torm and Katz. These scholars have provided a much more thoughtful and convincing explanation than the widespread assumption found in reference works on the

---

66. George Steiner observes that no two human beings ever use words and syntax in exactly the same way. Instead, "each living person draws, deliberately or in immediate habit, on two sources of linguistic supply: the current vulgate corresponding to his level of literacy, and a private thesaurus. . . . They form what linguists call an 'idiolect'" (*After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation* [3d ed.; New York: Oxford University Press, 1998] 47).

67. Both the *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra* and the *Apocalypse of Sedrach* have some elements of the same sort of singular and plural pattern, but in both cases there are inconsistent and inexplicable exceptions. Though it goes beyond the scope of this article, it is interesting to note that both the Gospel of Matthew and the *Testament of Abraham* likewise appear to use the singular and plural forms to contrast the sky and the abode of God.

matter. Second, I have examined the plural forms of οὐρανός which Torm and Katz did not discuss and have offered observations and suggestions which go beyond theirs.

In sum, there is little evidence that the occasional plurals in the LXX came about as a result of a belief in multiple heavens. They may be called Semitic enhancement, but not in the directly morphological way that is usually assumed (plural Hebrew to plural Greek). As a result, this common assumption in scholarship (especially at the reference-work level) needs to be qualified. Instead, there is often—though not always—an indirect Semitic influence stemming from the influence of the syntax of the Hebrew verbs. Additionally, poetic factors played a significant role, both attraction of words through parallelism and the use of hyperbolic and expansive speech. This poetic and syntactical combination is the best explanation for most but not all of the occurrences of οὐρανοί in the LXX, particularly in the canonical portions. The LXX Apocrypha provides other interesting uses of οὐρανός which deserve examination. There we find inconsistency even as in the other portions of the LXX, yet there is a development among some authors of using plural forms when addressing God as ruler. Moreover, the Wisdom of Solomon provides a well-crafted use of singular and plural forms in a pattern designed to distinguish the divine realm from the created.

While the Septuagintal use of plurals varies by book and by author, this novel development relative to secular Greek encouraged a wider use of plural forms in secular Koine Greek as well as the NT and Patristics. The developing belief in and exploration of multiple heavens likely sped up this process in a mutually combustive way.

The Septuagint and/in Popular Culture

LEONARD GREENSPOON
Creighton University

———◆———

Introduction

An Aramaic Septuagint? Teams of rabbis as Old Greek translators? Susannah in the Book of Tobit? Although none of these figure in the academic study of the LXX, they, along with other oddities and mischaracterizations, are features of the Septuagint as portrayed in popular culture. Such portrayals, sometimes verging on betrayals, have a serious side as well. Though this article explores material that does not often come into the world of serious scholars, I hope to show it is nonetheless worthy of our consideration and, on occasion, worth action on our parts.

The discovery in 1947 of the Dead Sea Scrolls has proven a bonanza not only to scholars, but also to purveyors and consumers of popular culture. The battle for the Scrolls, the personality of Scrolls researchers, reputed links with early Christians (possibly with Jesus himself), the whiff of Church-sanctioned conspiracy, the bizarre Qumran-related fantasies of a few, to say nothing of the truly significant findings by reputable scholars—all of this has been fuel for the popular press, as well as fodder for the tabloids.

About two years earlier, in 1945, the first of the Nag Hammadi manuscripts came to light. All things considered, this discovery has as much claim to popular, as well as scholarly, attention as the Scrolls. Alas, this Gnostic material, although duly covered by the press, has never enjoyed the popularity, to say nothing of the notoriety, of the Scrolls and their attendant research—and researchers.

If popular culture and the Scrolls would fill volumes, and popular culture and Nag Hammadi can be encompassed in a few sentences (although this is changing with the best-selling volumes by Elaine Pagels and the incredibly popular *Da Vinci Code*), the Septuagint and popular culture is a perfect topic for a relatively brief treatment such as this. To my knowledge, this topic has

not been examined elsewhere. Although I am undoubtedly overlooking much, I do wish to look at the Septuagint in the press; the Septuagint in non-print media; and the Septuagint as a component in Christian missionary activity aimed at Jews (as, for example, the group Jews for Jesus), in counter-missionary activity on the part of certain Jewish groups (Jews for Judaism, for instance), and in intra-Christian debates.

I hasten to add that I do not deal here with the numerous electronic and print resources prepared and published by responsible academic institutions or respectable professional organizations. For the most part, these are well known to readers of this journal. At the same time, my conscious omission of this material may give the impression that there is little reliable information being purveyed to the general public. This is not the case.

1. The Septuagint in the Press

In one prominent category of newspaper references the Septuagint is not really part of anything new, but rather it is brought (or dragged) into larger discussions of a didactic nature. Thus, there is this question and answer exchange from the *Times-Picayune* (New Orleans, LA, Nov. 10, 2001):

> Q. Why are the Catholic and Protestant Bibles slightly different, and why do Catholics and Protestants prefer different translations?

> A. Catholic and Protestant Bibles both include 27 books in the New Testament. But the Protestant Old Testament contains 39 books, while Catholic Bibles contain seven more: Tobit, Judith, 1 and 2 Maccabees, Wisdom, Sirach and Baruch—along with additions to the books of Esther and Daniel not found in Protestant Bibles.
>   The reason is older than Christianity. In the third century B.C.E., Jewish scholars began translating their Hebrew Scriptures into Greek for the benefit of Greek-speaking Jews in and around Alexandria, Egypt. This version included the "extra" books not fully accepted by Jews in and around Palestine, so that, by the time of Christ, the differences in what Christians now call the Old Testament were already in place.

Far more brief, and decidedly less helpful, is this sentence, the sole reference to the Septuagint in a *Columbus Dispatch* (Columbus, OH, March 15, 2002) article titled, "Museums Preserve Oldest Christian Texts": "Much later, other books, written in Greek, became part of the Old Testament in the Bible." This article also makes mention of the great fourth–fifth century biblical codices, but readers are not informed that these are Greek manuscripts.

The great uncials also make an appearance in an article on ancient Bible texts that was published in the *State-Times/Morning Advocate* (Baton Rouge, LA; Jan. 4, 2003). Here it is specified that the "codexes" (I prefer the more classical plural, codices) contain the Greek Bible, including the Old Testament. But even careful readers are bound to be somewhat confused because the only earlier reference in the article to Greek is this sentence: "The Old Testament books were written in Hebrew and the New Testament books were written in Greek," without mentioning any translation from Hebrew to Greek.

More frequently the LXX is brought into the fray to support one or another contention about translation. So, a letter to the editor in the *Independent on Sunday* (London, Dec. 2, 2001) contains this: "That the word *parthenos* in the Greek translation of the Old Testament and its later rendition as 'virgin' in the Authorised Version is a mistranslation of the original Hebrew word for 'young woman', has been known for at least 150 years."

Far more extensive, if no less problematic in its own way, is this paragraph in the body of a lengthy article titled, "Commentary—Straight-Horned Creature's Crooked Journey" and appearing in the *Providence Journal-Bulletin* (Providence, RI, Aug. 27, 2001):

> In 280 B.C., in Alexandria, King Ptolemy assembled 70 Biblical authorities to translate the Hebrew Bible into Greek. Tradition says that the task was completed by the 70 scholars in 70 days (hence the tome was called the Septuagint, meaning the 70 in Greek). A wild ox is mentioned in a number of Books of the Old Testament. The Alexandrian scholars chose to translate this as the word *monokeros,* thus giving Biblical credence to the existence of this fabled creature. And the word "unicorn" continues to be preserved in the 17th Century English translation of the Bible called the King James version.

I cannot vouch for the accuracy of the remainder of this seemingly erudite exposition, which ranges from Darius to Nero and beyond, but the LXX paragraph cautions against uncritical reliance.

The British press provides one further example, with an extended article (of over 2,100 words) that appeared in the *Daily Mail* (London, Dec. 14, 2002) under the headline, "Solved: The Moses Mystery," with this equally sensationalist subheading, "Plagues. Rivers of blood. The parting of the Red Sea. A new book says the most awesome Old Testament story of all really could be true. . . ." The Septuagint's role in solving the mystery is indicated thus:

> It has to be said that a mistranslation in the Old Testament text is partly responsible for this event seeming even more incredible. When Exodus refers to the

Red Sea, the original Hebrew words actually mean "Reed Sea"—a sea of reeds such as abound in the watery Nile Delta. The mistake occurred when the Old Testament was translated from Hebrew into Greek about 300 B.C. The earliest complete text to survive was the Greek one, so it was perpetuated.

On occasion, the Septuagint is found in reporting on an event of current interest or even controversy. In the latter category is the recent publication of a gender-sensitive edition of the popular NIV with the title *Today's New International Version.* Surveying the long history of Bible translation, the Septuagint naturally occupies a place of honor. Thus, we find the following in a *USA Today* story (March 27, 2002) titled, "Translation: Risky Business":

> It starts with second-century Greeks, says David Burke, dean of the New York-based American Bible Society's Nida Institute for Biblical Scholarship. When they created the Greek Old Testament, the Septuagint, it was the first translation of the Hebrew and Aramaic. The underlying idea: People should have the revelation of God in a language they could read. Later, that concept was absorbed into Christian thought, and the Roman church sought a Latin translation. The man now known as St. Jerome did the work, and it became the early standard for the West. Indeed, Burke says, many came to see the Latin version as the sacred scripture of revelation. Fourteenth-century preacher John Wycliffe, who knew neither Hebrew nor Greek, was declared a heretic and expelled from his post at Oxford for daring to turn from sacred Latin to ordinary English.

Burke has assured me that during his interview he dated the Septuagint to the third and second centuries; it is the reporter who was responsible for the misleading truncation.

Amidst the same controversy another, more succinct reference to the Septuagint appeared:

> It's so easy to forget that unless we are fluent in Hebrew and ancient Greek, every time we read the scriptures we are reading a translation, and quite often a translation of other translations. The Jewish scriptures, which Christians, in an act of religious imperialism, call the Old Testament, were written in Hebrew and later translated into Greek, while all the Christian scriptures were written in Greek.

This is found in Australia's *Courier Mail* (Feb. 2, 2002) in a story intriguingly titled, "If God's My Father, Who's My Mother?"

Less controversy and more hoopla welcomed the inauguration of the new library in Alexandria, Egypt. This momentous event, reported by the Associated Press (Oct. 16, 2002) in a story titled, "Bibliotheca Alexandrina to Open; Hopes to Bring in an Era of Freedom of Expression in Region," contains, as appropriate, a reference, albeit fleeting, to the LXX: "Scholars in the ancient

library are thought to have produced the Septuagint, the Greek translation of the Old Testament; edited Homer's works; and found that Helios, the sun—not Earth—was the center of our galaxy." A similar comment is found in a review of the book *ALEXANDRIA: City of the Western Mind (Kirkus Reviews,* Oct. 15, 2001): "Its scholars translated the Old Testament into Greek and established neo-Platonism as a school of philosophy." The *Irish Times* (Oct. 17, 2002) reports that it was "a team of rabbis [who] translated the Pentateuch of the Old Testament from Hebrew into Greek" at the Library, while United Press International (April 3, 2002) cites the Library as the site where "the Old Testament was translated for the first time from Aramaic to Greek."

It is clear that many reporters would benefit from reading about a less publicized, but (for the world of LXX scholarship) more significant event: "The Septuagint in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity," a fall 2002 conference held at Bangor Theological Seminary and attended by several IOSCS members. An excellent account, amounting to more than 1,000 words, appeared in the *Bangor Daily News* (Bangor, ME, Sept. 21, 2002) with the headline, "Alphabet Snoops; Detectives at Bangor Seminary Try to Unravel Mystery of Biblical Words." Typical of this well-informed reporting is the following paragraph:

> According to legend, the Septuagint was created when King Ptolemy Philadephus of Alexandria, Egypt, decided to make a collection of the world's greatest literature about 250 years before the birth of Christ. His librarian suggested that he include the Hebrew books of holy law. The high priest in Jerusalem, according to legend, selected six elders from each of the 12 tribes and sent them to Alexandria with a copy of the scriptures in which the Hebrew letters were written in gold.

2. The Septuagint in Non-print Media

The Bible has traditionally been the inspiration for artistic achievement in many media aimed at diverse audiences. In and of itself, art may appeal to the elite or be easily accessible to a wide public. Paintings and other visual representations on display in museums do not always, or even regularly, qualify for inclusion within popular culture. One exception, from which tens of thousands of viewers have derived pleasure (and, we hope, insight) and dozens of museums substantial income, is the blockbuster show.

These "big draws" include the Gentileschi exhibition, featuring the seventeenth century work of father Orazio and daughter Artemisia Gentileschi. Among the more famous of their works is a scene from the book of Judith,

which both portrayed (from the *Riverfront Times,* Missouri; July 24, 2002; nearby St. Louis was one of the stops for the exhibit):

> In 1608–09, Orazio Gentileschi painted "Judith and her Maidservant," a large canvas depicting the Old Testament heroine as she steals away with her servant, holding in a basket the bloody head of the enemy General Holofernes, whom Judith has just slain. . . . It is true that Artemisia distinguished herself as a painter of strong, commanding heroines at intensely dramatic moments in their lives. Consider her famous depiction of Judith slaying Holofernes (1612–13), in which the heroine saws off the head of her victim, who lies helpless in bed, his face twisted in pain. Judith has rolled up her sleeves to complete the job, as if she expected it to get messy. And messy it is: blood spurts up in fountains as Judith works away, a look of studied concentration on her face. Compare Artemisia's work with the same scene depicted earlier by Caravaggio. Though similar in composition, the paintings could not be more different in tone—Caravaggio's Judith looks as if she is cutting a slice of bread for her breakfast.

It is unfortunate that the reporter for this story could not find any room in his almost one thousand words to expand upon his description of Judith as an "Old Testament heroine." A longer written account (which appeared in the *Hamilton Spectator,* Ontario, Canada, March 23, 2002) is even less specific in its characterization of Judith (she is here a "biblical heroine"), but does include a bit of information about the book of Judith: "The story of Judith and Holofernes appears in the book of Judith, part of the Old Testament Apocrypha, probably written in the second century B.C." The term "Apocrypha" also appears, without any explanation at all, in a review of a performance by the dance troupe Voices of Sepharad of a piece based on the "Biblical tale of Judith" (*Star Tribune,* Minneapolis, MN, Feb. 16, 2003).

Judith also appears in conjunction with Chanukah both in terms of the historical record and in connection with holiday-centered food (cheese pastries appear on some tables during the winter celebration to honor Judith; see, for example, the *Chicago Sun-Times,* Dec. 12, 2001). A lengthy report prepared by Canadian Jewish News (Dec. 6, 2001) provides ample and useful information that should whet readers' appetites in several directions:

> It's a pretty male-dominated story. But there is an additional Chanukah tradition in which a woman plays a central role as warrior. The source for this tradition is the book of Judith. Judith is, of course, not part of the Jewish Bible, but is one of the books of the Apocrypha, a set of writings that, for one reason or another, were not included in the biblical canon. Scholars think Judith was written in Hebrew around 150 B.C.E., roughly at the time of the Maccabees' revolt, and was translated into Greek. Only the Greek version survives as the basis for

modern translations. . . . Over the centuries, the story has become associated with the Chanukah celebration for many people, perhaps because it reflects a triumph of relatively powerless Jews over a foreign enemy. Some Jews even have the custom of eating dairy foods on Chanukah to commemorate the tradition that Judith served salty cheese to Holofernes to make him thirst for wine, a detail not mentioned in the version of the Judith story that survives in the Apocrypha.

Although the news report cited just above does not mention the books of Maccabees, these documents do receive some coverage in the popular press, unsurprising given their connection with Chanukah and its origins. In some accounts they are described simply as "apocryphal" (so, for example, the *Jerusalem Post*, Nov. 20, 2002); others specify their inclusion "in the Roman Catholic version of the Bible" (the *Leader-Post,* Regina, Canada, Dec. 15, 2001) or, more expansively, their canonical status "in the Roman Catholic, Greek, and Slavonic Bibles" (*National Review,* Dec. 5, 2002).

From the perspective of the Septuagint scholar, it is possible alternately to applaud and to despair when locating a relevant reference in popular culture. What, for example, are we to do with the following piece of misinformation found at TheBabyOutlet.com: "Susannah (and variants): In the apocryphal Book of Tobit Susannah courageously defended herself against wrongful accusations. White lilies grew in the Biblical city of Susa in Persia"? Who, we might ask, will defend Susannah against her displacement from the book of Daniel?

In scholarship on popular culture, as in any other field, thorough knowledge of the relevant material is needed in order to avoid misperception. This is amply illustrated in our last example in this section, from "The Simpsons," the long-running animated series that enjoys worldwide popularity. One of the earlier episodes, originally airing on October 1, 1995, is titled "Home Sweet Home—Diddily-Dum-Doodily." One scene depicts the library in the home of Simpson neighbor Ned Flanders. Among the volumes is an "Aramaic Septuagint."

A newcomer to the show, or a neophyte researcher, might ascribe this garbled title to carelessness or even ignorance. Such a characterization, actually mischaracterization, is immediately called into question when we list some of the other "Bibles" with which the Septuagint shares shelf space. They include such "real" Bibles as NASB, Good News Bible, The Living Bible, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the Vulgate of St. Jerome. Others, like the Aramaic Septuagint, are clearly, and cleverly, intended to invoke questioning and laughter; thus, Today's Family Gnostic Bible, Hebrew National Bible, the

Thump Resistant Bible, and St. James. This last version, along with the Vulgate, makes an appearance later in the episode within the context of a Flanders Family Bible quiz.

More generally, religion features prominently in many episodes of "The Simpsons" in references, characters, and actions. Biblical references in particular are not infrequent. Given the high level of sophistication of the writers responsible for "The Simpsons," it is not surprising to find abundant evidence of authentic, dubious, and downright erroneous "facts." It is up to sharp viewers and researchers to distinguish the wheat from the chaff, while enjoying both.

3. The Septuagint in Missionary Activity

As we turn to the third part of this paper, which is primarily a chronicle of the "use and abuse of the LXX" in Jewish-Christian debate and intra-Christian controversy, it is appropriate to make this initial observation: within the realm of popular culture (as evidenced by websites on the Internet), the value and validity of the Septuagint are typically upheld when Protestants seek to convert Jews, but attacked when Protestants (although not necessarily the same Protestants) take issue with Roman Catholic beliefs and practices.

Often, the Septuagint, alone or in tandem with other ancient versions, is pressed into service that is as apologetic in function as it is questionable in format, Sometimes, the tone is relatively mild:[1]

> Septuagint: Dramatic Evidence for the Credibility of Messianic Prophecy

> The Septuagint and the Dead Sea Scrolls establish a very dramatic piece of evidence for Christianity—that the Old Testament prophecies of the coming Messiah unquestionably predated the time that Jesus Christ walked the earth. All theories of First Century A.D. conspiracies and prophecy manipulation go out the door when we realize that prophetic scripture like Isaiah 53 and Psalm 22 were fixed in written form at least 100 years before Christ, and probably many more. Again, despite time, persecution, and the incredibly minor in-stances of scribal mistakes, the Septuagint is just another example of how the Biblical text has remained faithful in its message and theme.

On occasion the argument turns into invective, and the language becomes patently offensive:[2]

---

1. http://www.Septuagint.net/Septuagint.htm.
2. http://www.christianseparatist.org/ast/hist/lxx.htm.

> We have already pointed out that the Septuagint was used by the early Christians exclusively as their Old Testament Bible. This is a widely accepted fact, and it is enough to again remind the reader that the quotations of Christ and His Apostles that occur in the New Testament are taken exclusively from the Septuagint. This is the reason why the Christ-hating, Talmudic Jews so vehemently attacked the Scriptures used by the early Christians, the Greek Septuagint.

Those responsible for this website go on, at great length, to turn reputable scholarship—on topics as specific as LXX origins, Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus—to their own distinctly non-, if not anti-scholarly purposes, as in this summary evaluation of the Three:

> According to Origen, there were at least three other translations of the Hebrew into Greek known to him. Who translated them or of what quality they were is unknown. However, of the versions of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, it is certain that all three were nothing but Jewish tools to attempt to discredit, displace and remove the Greek Septuagint from the Christians. All three were, for the most part, failures. It was because of these failures that the Jews began to create the Masoretic Text. The early Christians who spoke Greek and read the New Testament in the Greek tongue could not be deceived regarding the Greek Septuagint, for they could see clearly that the authors of the Greek New Testament used and quoted the Septuagint at all times.

Other missionizing webmasters are more vulnerable to criticism for the sloppiness of their research than the dubious nature of their theology, as in this paragraph from "The Latter Rain Page":

> The Septuagint project was undertaken for the gratification of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who wished to have a specimen of the Bible in the great Alexandrian library. Ptolemy Philadelphus is called by moderns as the first apostle of the gentiles. For the first time the heathen of every land were enabled to read and judge for themselves of all that Moses delivered. Ptolemy sent to the High Priest in Jerusalem asking for six Hebrew scholars from each of the 12 tribes of Israel to be sent to Egypt to translate the scriptures. When 70 scholars arrived in Egypt each translator was shut up in separate cells by pairs in 36 cells, where they might work alone. For 70 days not a word was heard from the 70 scholars. When compared all were found to be identical. Each translation produced an exact agreement proving the work was inspiration from God.

The Jewish response to such proselytizing typically adopts a more irenic tone, but is no less prone to special pleading and dubious presentation. This is evident in the following exchange from the online reference section of "Jews for Judaism":

Question: Why do the respective Jewish and Christian renderings of Psalms 22:17 (16 in some versions) differ in the translation of the Hebrew word *ka-ʾari*?

Answer: Christians see in this verse an opportunity to make the claim that the psalmist foretold the piercing of Jesus' hands and feet as part of the crucifixion process. They maintain that the Hebrew word *ka-ʾari* in verse 17 (16 in some versions) should be translated as "pierce." They render this verse as: "They pierced my hands and my feet." This follows the Septuagint version, used by the early Christians, whose error is repeated by the Vulgate and the Syriac. However, it should be noted that the Septuagint underwent textual revisions by Christian copyists in the early centuries of the Common Era; it is not known if the rendering "pierced" is one of those revisions.

The question-and-answer format on "Outreach Judaism" similarly mixes academically respectable interpretation with tendentious, if not out-and-out erroneous, argumentation about the LXX:

Question: Why did you say Christians mistranslate the scripture by saying "*almah*" doesn't mean "virgin," when their translation of virgin comes from the *Septuagint's* "*parthenos,*" not the Hebrew "*almah*"? "*Parthenos*" does mean "virgin." They didn't mistranslate but used a different text. This is pretty well known, did you not know?

Answer: Your inquiry will undoubtedly make an enormous contribution to our website because contained within your question are some of the most commonly held misconceptions regarding Matthew's rendering the Hebrew word *alma* as virgin in Matthew 1:23. . . . Your assertion that Matthew quoted from the *Septuagint* is the most repeated argument missionaries use in their attempt to explain away Matthew's stunning mistranslation of the Hebrew word *alma*. This well-worn response, however, raises far more problems than it answers. To begin with, your contention that "*parthenos* does mean virgin" is incorrect. . . .

Moreover, the *Septuagint* in our hands is not a Jewish document, but rather a Christian one. The original *Septuagint*, created 2,200 years ago by 72 Jewish translators, was a Greek translation of the Five Books of Moses alone. It therefore did not contain prophetic Books of the Bible such as Isaiah, which you asserted that Matthew quoted from. . . . The fact that the original *Septua-gint* translated by rabbis more than 22 centuries ago was only of the Pentateuch and not of prophetic books of the Bible such as Isaiah is confirmed by countless sources including the ancient *Letter of Aristeas*, which is the earliest attestation to the existence of the *Septuagint*. . . . Regarding your assertion that Matthew was quoting from the *Septuagint*, nowhere in the Book of Matthew does the word *Septuagint* appear, or, for that matter, is there any reference to a Greek translation of the Bible ever mentioned in all of the New Testament; and there is good reason for this. The first century church was well aware that a Jewish

audience would be thoroughly unimpressed by a claim that Jesus' virgin birth could only be supported by a Greek translation of the Bible.

Websites featuring Jewish themes or topics are numerous on the Internet and form a fairly prominent element of online popular culture. In addition to the sources mentioned just above, the Septuagint, in particular the fast day associated with it, is explicated briefly or at greater length on at least two sites aimed at Jews. The OU/NCSY Israel Center "Torah Tidbits" contains this relatively brief exposition:

> To the 10th of Tevet has been added events that are associated with the 8th of Tevet—namely, the "tragedy of the Targum Shiv`im," the first (and coerced) translation of the Torah into Greek. The day is considered as "dark" as the day of the Sin of the Golden Calf. Literal translation of the Written Torah without the inseparable Oral Law, opens the Torah to misunderstanding and distortion, the effects of which have haunted us throughout the generations.

"Decoupage for the Soul" imaginatively combines LXX origins with zoology to produce a modern rabbinic sermon:

> On the 8th of Tevet, the Torah was translated into Greek. King Ptolemy, who ruled over Egypt after the death of Alexander of Macedonia, took 70 Jewish elders, locked them in 70 separate cells and ordered them to each do a complete translation of the Torah into Greek (this is why this translation is known as the Septuagint). A miracle occurred, in that all of the 70 translations were exactly the same—despite the fact that every verse in the Torah lends itself to a myriad of possible meanings. So why is this day a tragedy?
> The translation that was presented to King Ptolemy by the 70 scholars was a literal translation of the Torah. Although a literal translation may be a necessary first step in understanding the Torah, it can never be the final word because the Torah's literal meaning is just one of many possible levels of meaning. Since the Septuagint was totally devoid of any of the Torah's deeper wisdom, with this translation the Torah was compared to a lion that had been roaming free and was now put in a cage. . . . On this day, therefore, it is possible to say that the deeper meaning of the Torah came under siege.

When some Protestants turn their sights on Roman Catholics, the Septuagint comes into play, but with a decidedly less favorable valuation than that enjoyed by the LXX in proselytizing aimed at Jews. The following extensive example illustrates this line of "reasoning":[3]

---

3. http://www.jesus-is-lord.com/apocrypha.htm.

Why the Apocrypha Isn't in the Bible.

1. Not one of the apocryphal books is written in the Hebrew language, which was alone used by the inspired historians and poets of the Old Testament. All Apocryphal books are in Greek, except one which is extant only in Latin.

3. The apocryphal books were never acknowledged as sacred scriptures by the Jews, custodians of the Hebrew scriptures (the apocrypha was written prior to the New Testament). In fact, the Jewish people rejected and destroyed the apocrypha after the overthrow of Jerusalem in 70 A.D.

4. The apocryphal books were not permitted among the sacred books during the first four centuries of the real Christian church (I'm certainly not talking about the Catholic religion which is not Christian).

5. The Apocrypha contains fabulous statements which not only contradict the "canonical" scriptures but themselves. For example, in the two Books of Maccabees, Antiochus Epiphanes is made to die three different deaths in three different places. The Apocrypha includes doctrines in variance with the Bible, such as prayers for the dead and sinless perfection:

Basis for the doctrine of purgatory: 2 Maccabees 12:43–45, 2,000 pieces of silver were sent to Jerusalem for a sin-offering. . . . Whereupon he made reconciliation for the dead, that they might be delivered from sin.

Salvation by works: Ecclesiasticus 3:30, Water will quench a flaming fire, and alms maketh atonement for sin. Tobit 12:8–9, 17, it is better to give alms than to lay up gold; for alms doth deliver from death, and shall purge away all sin.

Magic: Tobit 6:5–8, If the Devil, or an evil spirit troubles anyone, they can be driven away by making a smoke of the heart, liver, and gall of a fish . . . and the Devil will smell it, and flee away, and never come again anymore.

7. It teaches immoral practices, such as lying, suicide, assassination and magical incantation.

Errors of all sorts are also adduced among the "reasons for rejecting the Apocryphal writings" in an online brochure prepared by an Omaha, NE, church:[4]

They contain numerous historical and geographical inaccuracies, are filled with anachronisms and do not breathe the prophetic spirit so evident in canonical writings. In Judith 1:1–7 Nebuchadnezzar is called the king of the Assyrians and declares that he reigned in Ninevah [*sic*]. However, Daniel tells us that he was actually king of Babylon (4:4–6, 30). These books were never regarded as divinely inspired . . . both Judith and Tobit contain historical, chronological, and geographical errors.

I do not intend to leave the impression that, apart from academic sites, there is no positive presentation of the Septuagint on the Internet. Even sites

---

4. http://www.omahabiblechurch.org/apocrypha.html.

that many would characterize as bizarre, such as www.bibleufo.com, can provide useful correctives to biased presentations found elsewhere:

> What is missing from most Bibles, and our understanding of it, is what happened in that 450 year gap. Prophets were still writing and reflecting on life in the Holy Land right up until the Romans destroyed the temple of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. The world that Jesus entered in 4 B.C. is not the world that Daniel and Malachi experienced. . . . The Apocrypha bridges that gap and gently nudges us into the reality of Roman Palestine.

I offer as a final example something that defies easy categorization. It is especially meaningful because it comes compliments of our esteemed colleague Emanuel Tov. As Tov recalls, on one of his walls there hung for many years a clipping from an Israeli newspaper. It showed the scantily-clad members of Charlie's Angels, with the description "targum ha-shivʿim"; that is, "the Septuagint." He thinks this referred to the fact that the series started in the seventies.

Conclusion

This research on the Septuagint in popular culture has led in all sorts of directions. As stated at the outset, the LXX is not, nor is it likely ever to be, among the most common popular culture topics relating to the ancient world in general or Judaism in particular. Nonetheless, sufficient examples have been cited to draw some at-least-tentative conclusions. First, in news and feature reporting, the Septuagint is generally characterized correctly, but specific details are frequently mangled, murky, or misstated. Second, when the Septuagint is placed in the more controversial terrain of intra- or extra-mural religious debate, even general characterizations often fall victim to bias, prejudice, and presupposition. Third, we must distinguish between intentional misstatement, which is rare and typically for comic effect, and misinformation. Fourth, LXX scholars, being the most likely source of authentic data about the Septuagint, should make themselves available to reporters and news services and should take the time to correct erroneous statements whenever possible. We disregard popular culture at our own peril. Whether we regard it with interest, amusement, or disdain, our chosen field is fertile ground for exploitation or for education. To a large extent, the choice is ours.

Select Bibliography (the Bible and Popular Culture)

Aichele, G., ed. *Culture, Entertainment and the Bible*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000.

Aichele, G. and R. Walsh, eds. *Screening Scripture: Intertextual Connections between Scripture and Film*. Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2002.

Davis, Jr., W. T., et al., eds. Watching What We Watch: Prime-Time Television through the Lens of Faith. Louisville: Geneva, 2001.

Greenspoon, Leonard. "The Use and Abuse of the Term 'LXX' and Related Terminology in Recent Scholarship." *BIOSCS* 20 (1987) 20–28.

———. "It's All Greek to Me: The Septuagint in Modern English Versions of the Bible." Pp. 1–21 in *VII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies (Leuven, 1989)*. Edited by Claude Cox. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991.

———. "Extra! Extra! Philistines in the Newsroom!" *BR* (Aug. 2000) 50–53.

———. "The Bible and/in Popular Culture," *Norii/The Clouds* (online journal) 12 (winter 2002).

Hodgson, R., and P. A. Soukup, eds. From One Medium to Another: Basic Issues for Communicating the Scriptures in New Media. New York: American Bible Society, 1997.

Kee, H. C., ed. *The Bible in the Twenty-First Century*. New York: American Bible Society, 1993.

Phy, A. S., ed. *The Bible and Popular Culture in America*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985.

Solomon, J. *The Ancient World in the Cinema*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001 (revised and expanded edition).

The NETS Translation of 1 Reigns:
Lexical Issues

BERNARD TAYLOR
Loma Linda University

———◆———

Introduction

In the overall study of 1–4 Reigns in the various extant Greek texts and traditions, 1 Reigns plays an important role. The main text as witnessed, for instance, by MS Vaticanus (MS B), is divided in the four books between the OG on the one hand, and the so-called Kaige text on the other, in an alternating X Y X Y pattern, where "X" is the OG, and "Y" is the Kaige text.[1]

Thackeray's first siglum, α, included all of 1 Reigns. The second, $\beta\beta$ (2 Rgns 1:1–11:1),[2] served to indicate the first section in 2 Reigns and that this section consisted only of text found in 2 Reigns, in contradistinction to $\beta\gamma$ (2 Rgns 11:2–3 Rgns 2:11)[3] which included both the rest of 2 Reigns and

---

Author's note: This is a revision of a paper presented to the Biblical Lexicography section at the Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting held in Atlanta, Georgia, November 22–25, 2003.

  1. However, it is common to designate the "X" passages as "non-Kaige" rather than "OG," even though "OG" and "non-OG" would arguably have been better.

  2. Thackeray intended no distinction in text type between sections α and $\beta\beta$, seeing them both as OG. However, the latter deserves closer scrutiny, since it appears a mixed text, sharing characteristics of both α (the predominant influence) and $\beta\gamma$ (for instance, καίγε is found in 2 Rgns 2:8).

  3. These divisions date to Thackeray in his 1920 Schweich lectures, and continue to be quoted, though Shenkel (*Chronology*, 117–20) demonstrated evidence that the section better ends at 9:13, starting the next section at chap. 10 rather than the traditional chap. 11. While I am not aware of this having been adopted, I also do not know of any refutation. Thackeray's interests concentrated primarily on content (The David and Bathsheba story), while those of Shenkel concentrated on context and linguistic features.

the early part of 3 Reigns. Section βγ is the first of the two Kaige sections that have displaced the OG in the surviving texts.

The point is important: the α section (1 Reigns in its entirety, the largest of the four sections) is all of a kind, and OG. Here it is possible to establish the characteristics of the OG in Reigns and the methodology of the original translator. This in turn provides the necessary base for comparing and contrasting the methodology evidenced in the Kaige sections. At least that is how it would be in an ideal world. In reality it is more complex, since this is translation Greek with variables on both sides of the equation, Hebrew and Greek.

On the Hebrew side, except for the extant portions from the Qumran text of 1 Samuel, the only text available is the MT. However, it has long been known that in 1 Samuel this text has suffered in transmission, as seen by comparison with both the OG and the Qumran material. However, this does not preclude the use of the MT, though it does call for caution.

On the Greek side, the picture is brighter. Manuscript B (Vaticanus) is an excellent witness to the OG. Shenkel comments:

> The best witness in Samuel and Kings for the pre-hexaplaric text of the Old Greek is the codex Vaticanus. . . . Fortunately, the purity of this codex as a witness to a pre-hexaplaric text seems to be greatest precisely in the Books of Samuel and Kings.[4]

In practice, given the general reliability of the text, it is important not to assume *a priori* that a given reading is in fact the original OG simply because it is found in Vaticanus.

The single most useful tool used in preparing the NETS translation of 1 Reigns was clearly Emanuel Tov's Hebrew-Greek parallel text database. Even if it had not contained any more than the two texts in a vertical arrangement, it would have been useful. However, the addition of suggested retroversions where the two texts are not in agreement also proved helpful. Perhaps its most useful function was the ability to see the extent to which the two texts aligned.

In an effort to convey a general sense of the translation methodology used, translations are often placed on a continuum between "free" and "literal." The OG of 1 Reigns is clearly "literal." At the same time, it is not slavishly literal. In an effort to refine what "literal" might mean, recourse is made at

---

4. James Shenkel, *Chronology and Recensional Development in the Greek Text of Kings* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968) 8.

times to the two terms "isolate" and "contextual." While for the most part the text is contextual, there are instances where the literality of the text leads to isolate translations. This is said at the outset because the nature of the paper may appear to call into question any notion that the translation is literal, since the focus is on differences between the two texts.

The scope of the paper is limited to lexical issues in 1 Reigns 1–15. The various issues addressed are in text order.

Texts and Lexica

In the absence of 1–4 Reigns in the Göttingen Series, NETS policy is to use the semicritical edition Rahlfs text as the basis for translation. Where standard text-critical evaluations call for such, the text may be emended, and a footnote is used to indicate the change. Two key sources were the Brooke-McLean Larger Cambridge Septuagint (B-M) of 1–4 Reigns,[5] and Field's *Hexapla*.

While lexical aids are more limited than for the NT, for instance, several helpful resources are available. The primary one is LSJ. Beyond ascertaining basic meaning, this lexicon was constantly searched to determine whether the known semantic range of words under study included the sense of the Hebrew in nontranslation Greek up to the time-frame of the LXX translation. Definitions or glosses based solely on LXX occurrences were *ipso facto* rejected.

LEH, which is *inter alia* a distillation of LSJ with focus on the LXX, was also useful. Because of the editorial decision to limit the total number of references initially cited for any one word to five, many potential references to 1 Reigns are thereby excluded. However, rarer words are more likely to be included. As will be seen, in some instances suggested glosses have not been accepted, especially where they are based on the Hebrew without supporting nontranslation Greek evidence.

Much has been written about TDNT and the limitations of the underlying philosophy that guided contributors. However, so long as one is careful and judicious, useful information relevant to the LXX is available.

---

5. A machine-readable database of the variants listed in the first B-M apparatus was created for my dissertation research, and this proved helpful in checking the witnesses of the various manuscripts to readings under study.

At the time of translation, the only portion of the LXX covered by Mura-oka's lexicon was the Minor Prophets. This coupled with the decision to limit comment to LXX books available in the Göttingen series placed a potentially very helpful volume out of reach for translating 1 Reigns.

On the Hebrew side, the standard volumes such as BDB and HALOT were often helpful. Less so were TDOT and TWOT for similar reasons to TDNT, and in particular because of the overlay of theological interpretation.

Examples

a. 1 Reigns 1:3

MT: וְעָלָה הָאִישׁ הַהוּא מֵעִירוֹ מִיָּמִים יָמִימָה

LXX: καὶ ἀνέβαινεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἡμερῶν εἰς ἡμέρας

NRSV: Now this man used to go up **year by year**

It is clear that the semantic range of יום in the plural used in a phrase such as מימים ימימה above included the connotation "year."[6] In turn, the LXX has translated literally,[7] but ἡμέραι does not have the same semantic range as ימים.

LEH do not address the use of ἡμέρα in this particular verse, and do not offer any other instances of the word meaning "year." Similarly, LSJ offer no corresponding examples from nonbiblical Greek for ἡμέραι meaning "year." However, they cite: "εἰς ἡμέραν *yearly*, Lxx *Jd*. 17.10." This is the reading of the B text, and a closer parallel is found in the A text, since the reading is the plural εἰς ἡμέρας, corresponding directly to the Hebrew לְיָמִים. Micha says to the Levite:

Κάθου μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ . . . καὶ ἐγὼ δώσω σοι δέκα ἀργυρίου εἰς ἡμέρας
Stay with me . . . and I will give you ten pieces of silver by the days

However, this example does not advance our understanding of how the Greek text would have been understood in its own right *sans* the Hebrew. It only demonstrates that the Hebrew is adjudged to mean "year," but in the absence of nonbiblical examples this meaning cannot be transferred to the Greek

---

6. See HALOT sub יום, "7. period of time: **year** . . . year by year, annually (MHaran VT 19:11) Ex 13₁₀ Ju 11₄₀ 1S 1₃ 2₁₉."

7. The translation of ימימה as εἰς ἡμέρας treats the paragogic ה as akin to the so-called ה-locale in indicating motion, except that here it is temporal rather than spatial.

solely on the authority of the Hebrew. In the light of this, NETS translates the phrase under study as: "from time to time."

b. 1 Reigns 2:1

  MT: רָמָה קַרְנִי בַּיהוָה

  LXX: ὑψώθη κέρας μου ἐν θεῷ μου

  NRSV: my strength is exalted in my God[8]

The translation of קרני by κέρας occasions no surprise, since each in its respective language carries the denotation 'horn (of an animal)', and by extension things made of horn; and further, objects shaped like a horn.

The current context is Hanna's prayer, where the metaphorical use of words is to the fore. Here קרן carries the connotation of '*strength*' frequently found in the HB. This idea is so prevalent that HALOT devotes an extended section to detailing the many uses related to humans and animals. After citing examples from various languages, the observation is made that "קרן is part of the cultural and transferable vocabulary, not belonging to a specific language group, cf. e.g. Greek κέρας, Latin *cornu*."[9]

In cases such as this, it is important to understand that consonance of sound should not be mistaken for synonymy. The Hebrew notion of power is beyond the semantic range of κέρας in nontranslation Greek, despite the note in LEH: "*power* (metaph.) 1 Sam 2,1."[10] LSJ cite no examples of this meaning. Hence the NETS translation is: "my horn is exalted in my God."

c. 1 Reigns 4:3

  MT: וְיֹשִׁעֵנוּ מִכַּף אֹיְבֵינוּ

  LXX: καὶ σώσει ἡμᾶς ἐκ χειρὸς ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν

  NRSV: and save us from the power of our enemies

What has been said above of κέρας applies in this verse to χείρ. Hebrew

---

  8. Note that the NRSV translation "in my God" adopts the LXX reading ἐν θεῷ μου, rather than the MT ביהוה.
  9. HALOT, sub קרן. Contra HALOT, it is clear that κέρας is Indo-European. See P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: Histoire des mots* (Paris, 1980) 518; *The American Heritage Dictionary of Indo-European Roots* (2d ed.; rev. and ed. Calvert Watkins; New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2000), 40.
  10. Johan Lust, Erik Eynikel, and Katrin Hauspie, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (revised; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003).

כַף and יד find many parallels in Greek χείρ, since both have the denotation of 'hand', again whether of humans or animals ('paw', etc.); and each word in its respective language carries a wide variety of connotations, though 'power' is not one of those found in nontranslation Greek. LSJ include the glosses 'dominion', 'rule', but only cite LXX references.

An extension of יד in a different direction is found in 1 Rgns 15:12, where it signifies a monument. Here יד is translated by χείρ. This use of יד is common in Hebrew, but the use of χείρ in this context is not secure. LSJ cite some examples where χείρ indicates objects of art or the handiwork of a workman, but instances where it signifies 'a pillar' or 'a cairn' are all from the LXX. Thus there is reason to believe that a LXX reader would not have known what it was to raise a "hand."

Accordingly, the translation in 4:3 is: "and it will save us out of the hand of our enemies"; and in 15:12 it is: "and raised a hand for him (or, "for himself")."

d. 1 Reigns 4:10

MT: וַיִּפֹּל מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל שְׁלֹשִׁים אֶלֶף רַגְלִי

LXX: καὶ ἔπεσεν ἐξ Ισραηλ τριάκοντα χιλιάδες ταγμάτων

NRSV: for there fell of Israel thirty thousand foot soldiers

At issue here is the relationship between רגלי and τάγμα. Of the 15 times τάγμα occurs in the LXX, 12 are in Numbers where it consistently translates דֶּגֶל[11] 'standard', partic. of indiv. tribes; 3x in 1 Reigns (4:10, 15:4 *bis*) where it translates רגלי, and each time it is genitive plural (ταγμάτων); and 1x in 2 Rgns 23:13, translating חַיָּה.[12]

It is clear from LSJ that, *inter alia*, τάγμα is a military term: 'body of soldiers', 'division', 'brigade', dating back at least to the time of Xenophon (v/iv B.C.).[13] What is surprising is to find it here translating רגלי. This Hebrew word, related to רגל 'foot', is an adjective used substantivally to indicate 'one who goes on foot,' 'a pedestrian',[14] which in a military context is

---

11. Note the ר/ד relationship between the first letter of the two words.

12. The second occurrence in 15:4 has no equivalent in the MT. HR list a form of τάγμα in Esth 3:13 found in MS B[1] (= first hand) that is not shared in the other uncials, and no Hebrew equivalent is listed.

13. X.*Mem.* 3.1.11.

14. KB HALOT, sub רגלי.

'the foot soldier'. Once lexical opposition is introduced, such as סוסים 'cavalry', רגלי takes on the corresponding connotation of 'infantry'.

Outside of 1 Reigns, πεζός is the word used to translate רגלי in the LXX. Like רגלי, πεζός is an adjective related to the word for 'foot' (πούς), but is used substantivally. Whether by omission or commission, Muraoka in his *Index* to HR only lists πεζός as translating רגלי, τάγμα not being included.

Delling in *TDNT* has the following comment:

> In the LXX the noun occurs only in the sense of "unit" for דֶּגֶל "ensign" and then "unit" in Nu. 2:2 ff., 10:14 ff.; for רַגְלִי "pedestrian" in 1 S. 4:10; 15:4; חַוָּה "camp" is obviously presupposed in 2 S. 23:13 (Mas. חַיָּה). There is no other instance in the LXX.[15]

At first glance, the use of the word "for" in connection with the gloss 'pedestrian' appears to be sensitive to the difficulty of equating τάγμα and רגלי, but in fact this is not the case since "for" is also used to introduce the reference to דגל. Thus Delling understands τάγμα to mean 'pedestrian' in the verse under consideration.

The Hebrew is only referenced because the normal semantic range of τάγμα does not fit the context of the verse. Justification for this seems to lie readily to hand, since the Greek closely parallels the Hebrew throughout this verse in particular and the immediate context in general, and so invites the assumption that it does so here as well,[16] but close association is not sufficient grounds for transferring the meaning of the Hebrew to the Greek. It must be demonstrated that the Greek word carried this meaning in non-translation Greek.

Though there are only two examples, since the third use has no (extant) Hebrew equivalent, in the case of 1 Reigns τάγμα is associated with רגלי whatever the context, further indicating that transfer of meaning from the source to the target language is not appropriate. There are no variants listed in B-M, although Field lists the hexaplaric variant πεζῶν [πεζός] in MSS 92 243* in the margin without any name attached. The same translation/association is found at 15:4 and there the reading is listed as: οἱ λοιποί.[17]

This raises the question of what the translator understood or intended the text to mean. The larger context of the verse is a battle between "the

---

15. Gerhard Delling, *TDNT*, 8:31.

16. The only difference between the two texts is the transposition of ἀνήρ relative to the Hebrew.

17. Elsewhere in the LXX πεζός exclusively translates either רגלי or איש רגלי.

foreigners" (the Reigns identification of the Philistines[18]) and Israel, and part of the semantic register of τάγμα is military. With all this in mind, the NETS translation is: "for there fell of Israel thirty thousand from the units," understanding the genitive plural as partitive.

e. 1 Reigns 4:13

> MT: כִּי־הָיָה לִבּוֹ חָרֵד עַל אֲרוֹן אֱלֹהִים

> LXX: ὅτι ἦν ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ ἐξεστηκυῖα περὶ τῆς κιβωτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ

> NRSV: for his heart trembled for the ark of God

At issue here is the NRSV translation of היה חרד, *vis-à-vis* the NETS translation of ἦν ἐξεστηκυῖα. Of the seven times ἐξίστημι occurs in 1 Reigns, six are a translation of חרד,[19] indicating that the translator saw some measure of convergence of meaning. However, the two words are by no means synonymous.

חָרֵד means 'to tremble', and by extension 'to be terrified', 'to be astonished'. HALOT glosses the adjective as 'anxious', 'frightened', listing this verse under the first gloss, clearly a meaning the context can well sustain; though TWOT understands the adjective in the current verse as 'trembling'.

For the meaning of εξίστημι, the definition of Louw and Nida is representative: "cause someone to be so astounded as to be practically overwhelmed—'to astonish greatly, to greatly astound, to astound completely'." Thus, while they both share the sense "astonish" or "be astonished," the starting point is different, since חרד carries the denotation 'to tremble', and NRSV has concluded this meaning to be to the fore in this verse, thus choosing a branch in the road down which ἐξίστημι is unable to go.

It is important to note at this point that it is not necessary to conclude that the translator has simply followed a stereotypical rendering in the use of ἐξίστημι. The sole issue is the NRSV translation, and then only in the context of the LXX interpretation. The range of common meaning is more than adequate to accommodate both contexts; but since NRSV has moved outside of the range of meaning available to ἐξίστημι, the NETS translation is: "for his heart was distraught for the ark of God."

---

18. The noun is not intended to be understood as a name, but rather as a (perhaps, impersonal and even pejorative) description.

19. In this verse the adjective חָרֵד is used; 5x the qal occurs, and 1x the hiphil.

f. 1 Reigns 5:6

MT: Q. וַיַּךְ אֹתָם בעפלים/K. בַּטְּחֹרִים

LXX: καὶ ἐξέζεσεν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὰς ναῦς

NRSV: and struck them with tumors

The first occurrence of both elements of this Q/K combination is in Deut 28:27:

MT: יַכְּכָה יְהוָה בִּשְׁחִין מִצְרַיִם וּבעפלים/ובטחרים וּבַגָּרָב וּבֶחָרֶס
אֲשֶׁר לֹא־תוּכַל לְהֵרָפֵא

LXX: πατάξαι σε κύριος ἐν ἕλκει Αἰγυπτίῳ ἐν ταῖς ἕδραις καὶ ψώρᾳ ἀγρίᾳ καὶ κνήφῃ ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαί σε ἰαθῆναι.

NRSV: The LORD will afflict you with the boils of Egypt, with ulcers, scurvy, and itch, of which you cannot be healed.

It is clear from the context that some sort of skin eruption is intended,[20] and traditionally עפל[21] has been understood as *boils*, probably from the juxtaposition here to שְׁחִין.[22] The Q reading is a *qere perpetuum*, an example of those places where a euphemism replaces an indelicate expression.[23] טְחֹרִים has characteristically been glossed as 'emerods', an old term for the modern word *hemorrhoids*.

The LXX reads ἕδρα, which is first 'a sitting-place' such as 'a seat', 'a chair' or 'a bench', and then by extension a 'sitting' in the sense of 'the act of sitting', esp. 'sitting still', and metaphorically 'a sitting (in session)' as of a committee or a council. Next, it can mean 'seat' as the backside of animals, or as here, persons.[24] LEH acknowledge the traditional understanding,[25] but

---

20. The Vulgate at this point is descriptive rather than definitive: "et parte corporis per quam stercora digeruntur."

21. It is surprising to find the degree of specificity in HALOT: "(*Lisān* s.v., information from Franz Allemann, Bern): the layer of subcutaneous fat around the testicles, perinaeum, wild growth of tissue in the vulva, thickening of flesh in the anus. . . ."

22. TWOT cites the Arabic: "*ʿafl^un* "tumor, boil of the anus or vulva."

23. Megilla 25. See: C. D. Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretic-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible* (New York: KTAV, 1966 reprint), 345, 346. Along the same line, *Targum Onqelos* reads ובטחרין with the qere.

24. See LSJ, sub ἕδρα. For the final definition cited above, LSJ gloss as: 'seat', 'breech', 'fundament', English examples of the very same problem in the Hebrew text.

25. "[H]ind parts, buttocks?"

also suggest an alternative, citing 1 Rgns 5:9 "(better) *seat, abode, residence, locality*?" suggesting the translation based on the VL: "*he smote them (with an army) in their localities (Ashdod and its coast).*"[26] However, it is not clear that the VL is translating the LXX, and even if it were, there is no evidence in nontranslation Greek of ἕδρα meaning 'abode', 'residence' or 'locality'. Rather it serves to highlight the effort put into attempting to understand and translate these terms.

The verse under study is the second time the K/Q pair appears in the MT, and this time the LXX word is ναῦς, the first time the word occurs in the LXX, and the only time it appears in the context of עפל/טחור. In classical Greek ναῦς means 'ship', but as LSJ observe, it is "rare in nonliterary Hellenistic Greek, [it occurs] once in [the] NT . . . πλοῖον being generally used."[27] It occurs 15x in LXX, 1x in 1 Reigns, and 10 times in 3 Reigns; against 42x overall for πλοῖον.

Thus in this verse the LXX stands in rather stark contrast to the MT,[28] since there is no way to get to the HB reading from the LXX reading, or *vice versa*. Brooke-McLean list no significant variants apart from the (expected) hexaplaric reading ἕδρας found in MSS Acx, the chief hexaplaric manuscripts in 1 Reigns.[29] Everywhere else in the LXX ναῦς translates either אני or אניה, so the presence of ναῦς here is not due to misread graphemes.

One solution would be to assume a homonym, and this is in fact what the LSJ Supplement offers under ναῦς: "II. app. representing Hebr. wd. for *anus*, Lxx 1 Ki. 5.6 (ita B, ἕδρας A)." While this appears to solve the problem in this context, it is an unsatisfactory solution, since for it to be correct, it is necessary to demonstrate that the two texts are in very close parallel in a fashion similar to Aquila's text or the Syro-hexapla that underlies Field's retroversions. In fact that is not the case in 1 Reigns.

As noted earlier, the LXX translation in 1 Reigns is a literal translation, but nowhere near literal enough to warrant the creation of a new meaning for

---

26. LEH, sub ἕδρα. The VT reading "et percussit illos in domibus eorum, in Azotum et regiones eius is cited as support. However, the Vg *et conputrescebant prominentes extales eorum* moves in quite another direction. The Douay translation "and they had emerods in their secret parts" is either guided by other texts, or is itself a euphemism, since the Latin is quite explicit.

27. LSJ, 1162. See also, Thackeray, *Grammar*, 152.

28. Here the Vg et percussit in secretiori parte natium Azotum et fines eius is not dependent on the LXX.

29. MS 242 has μυάς.

a word which is not otherwise in question, simply because two words, each in a different language, happen to coincide at this point in the text, but in all other respects have no possible semantic relationships or senses.[30] It would be different if it could be established that in time the text came to take on this meaning and it could be cited from some other reference with this meaning, but neither condition has been met. It is *sui generis*.

Based on the symptoms that accompanied the outbreak of disease brought by the mice, it has generally been assumed that it was bubonic plague; and v. 6 serves to indicate the extent of the disease; it was not confined to land, but was carried on board the ships. Clearly the translator saw the disease as widespread, even if it cannot be explained why he chose to depart from the Hebrew text.[31]

Thus the first part of the verse in NETS reads: "The hand of the Lord was heavy upon Azotus, and brought trouble on them, and it broke out upon them into the ships."

Conclusion

Translating a translation has proved to be a demanding task, and never more so than when the meaning of the Hebrew is clear and the Greek translation closely tracks the Hebrew, since as has been seen, the sum total of each may be quite different. My methodology under this and related circumstances is perhaps best summarized in the dictum (or mantra) that became my guiding principle: Translate the text in front of you, not the one behind it; translate what the Greek says, not what the Hebrew means.

---

30. This is an example of the dubious LXX lexicography for which the Supplement has been roundly criticized.

31. The assumption is that, in the absence of any variants in any texts (Heb., Gk., Lat., Aram., Syr.) that might be construed as representing or implying a text different from the HB, the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the translator read the same as the MT.

Critical Notes

—◆—

Critical Note on Job 2:8:
Ash-Heap or Dung-Heap?

TIMOTHY J. JOHNSON
Marquette University

In Job 2:8 a seemingly inconsequential difference occurs between the OG[1] and the MT. The texts read:

<div dir="rtl">

ויקח־לו חרש להתגרד בו והוא ישב בתוך־האפר׃

</div>

He took a potsherd with which to scrape himself, and sat among the <u>ashes</u>.[2]

καὶ ἔλαβεν ὄστρακον, ἵνα τὸν ἰχῶρα ξύῃ,
καὶ ἐκάθητο ἐπὶ τῆς κοπρίας ἔξω τῆς πόλεως.[3]

And he took a potsherd in order to scrape away the discharge,
and sat upon a <u>dung-heap</u> outside the city.

Prima facie, the difference between 'ashes' and 'dung-heap' may appear inconsequential, the conclusion drawn by three classic commentators on Job: M. H. Pope, E. Dhorme, and S. R. Driver. All three suggest that the OG translator treated האפר as some type of town dump that lay outside the town gate, and contained all sorts of garbage and refuse, including dried dung.[4] A

---

1. OG citations are based on Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Iob, Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum* (vol. 12.4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1982).

2. All translations are by the author unless otherwise indicated.

3. The phrase ἔξω τῆς πόλεως is attested by Ziegler but does not have a Hebrew equivalent.

4. Driver describes the town dump, see S. R. Driver and G. B. Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Job* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1921) 24–25. Dhorme states that this town dump served as a refuge for the inhabitants of a town recently captured or

 closer investigation, however, suggests that the difference is not so easily dismissed. This paper offers a unique explanation for the problem. I propose that the Hebrew Vorlage of OG Job 2:8 may have preserved a reading closer to the ancient Near Eastern text *Ludlul Bel Nemeqi* than what emerged later in the MT.

The Greek word for 'dung-hill', κοπρία, is used 13 times in the LXX,[5] of which only ten have Hebrew counterparts.[6] In seven of these ten instances, κοπρία translates the Hebrew אשפת.[7] Only once does it translate אפר—in Job 2:8. The remaining two occurrences of κοπρία translate דמן[8] (4 Rgns 9:37) and סוחה[9] (Isa 5:25). Furthermore, throughout the MT אשפת occurs only seven times, all of which are translated by κοπρία.[10]

In contrast, אפר is translated in the LXX as σποδός, 'dust'[11] in 26 of 27 instances. Within Job itself there are three passages where σποδός translates אפר: 13:12, 30:19, and 42:6. The only instance in the LXX where אפר is not translated by σποδός is Job 2:8; and significantly, both Aquila and Symmachus translate אפר as σποδός in Job 2:8.[12]

---

destroyed (E. Dhorme, *A Commentary on the Book of Job* [trans. Harold Knight; London, Wis.: Nelson, 1967] 19). Pope notes that the LXX phrase, "'on the dunghill' . . . is in keeping with the traditional view of Job," but he does not explicate what has established the tradition. See M. H. Pope, *Job* (AB 15; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1965) 21.

5. Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998) 778c–79a. The passages are: 1 Rgns 2:8; 4 Rgns 9:37; Neh 2:13; 3:13, 14; 12:31; Esth 4:17; Job 2:8; Ps 112 (113):7; Sir 27:4; Isa 5:25; Lam 4:5; 1 Macc 2:62.

6. LSJ cites the verb κοπρίζω as: 'carry dung', and lists several substantival forms, all of which concern dung or manure (Henry George Liddell, and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* [9th ed.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968] 979a).

7. BDB defines this as 'ash-heap (?)', 'refuse-heap', 'dung-hill' (Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, eds., *The New Brown–Driver–Briggs–Gesenius Hebrew and English Lexicon With an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic* [Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1979] 1046a).

8. BDB, 199a, states that this word is always used of corpses lying on the ground as offal, 2 Kgs 9:37; Jer 8:2, 9:21, 16:4, 25:33; Ps 83:11. See also 199a: מדמנה, 'dung-place', 'dung-pit', as found only in Isa 25:10, which idea is lost in the LXX of Isaiah.

9. BDB, 691b, also defines this as: 'offal', as found only in Isa 5:25.

10. Ibid., 1046a. These seven citations match those listed in Hatch and Redpath under κοπρία, see n. 5.

11. LSJ, 1629a, cites for σποδός: 1. *ashes*; 2. *dust*; 3. *oxide*; 4. *metaphor for a "bibulous old woman"*; 5. *lava.*

12. See HR, 1285a. It is also worth noting that of the 27 instances cited, the Hebrew of Sirach twice uses אפר, both translated as σποδός.

This evidence suggests that the relationship between κοπρία and אפר in Job 2:8 represents an anomaly. Is there any significance to this isolated incident?

As noted, the commentators find no particular significance in this apparent irregularity since the translator must have felt that אפר contained a range of meanings that included a 'dung-heap';[13] but these proposals assume that the translator of the OG was working with a *Vorlage* similar to the MT of Job. This presupposition has traditionally dominated research on the OG of Job.[14] Only Edwin Hatch's late nineteenth century study seriously challenged this assumption.[15] A closer look at Job 2:8, however, may provide evidence against the priority of the MT.

The MT of Job 2:8 and the first words of 2:9 reveal an interesting possibility:

ויקח־לו חרש להתגרד בו והוא ישב בתוך־האפר   ותאמר לו אשתו

I propose that if the *waw* of ותאמר and the *reš* of האפר are conjoined, the combination could be seen as a ת. That is, רו written in close proximity may appear as a ת. Similarly, a ת may appear on a worn manuscript as רו. Thus, I propose that אשפת might have stood in the *Vorlage* (H) of the OG translator. I offer the following reconstruction:

H   ויקח־לו חרש להתגרד בו והוא ישב בתוך־האשפרת   ותאמר לו אשתו

OG   καὶ ἔλαβεν ὄστρακον, ἵνα τὸν ἰχῶρα ξύη, καὶ ἐκάθητο ἐπὶ τῆς κοπρίας ἔξω τῆς πόλεως   Χρόνου δὲ πολλοῦ προβεβηκότος εἶπεν αυτῷ ἡ γυνη αὐτοῦ[16]

---

13. BDB does not cite any occasion in which אפר is used as "dung."

14. Harry Orlinsky chronicles the history of research into the OG of Job ("Studies in the Septuagint of the Book of Job," *HUCA* 28 [1957] 53–73). A more recent study of the OG of Job demonstrates the persistence of this assumption (Homer Heater, *A Septuagint Translation Technique in the Book of Job* [CBQMS 11; Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1982] 5).

15. Edwin Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1889) 215–45. By removing Origen's asterisked material Hatch sought to demonstrate that no significant loss to the story resulted. His study met with immediate resistance and has since been neglected. For more on Hatch's study, see Orlinsky, 61ff. Orlinsky also challenged the regnant theory, but in the end he, too, held to a *Vorlage* that, while different in some ways, nevertheless was still consonant with the MT (Heater, 5 n. 31).

16. There is no apparent accounting for the two phrases, ἔξω τῆς πόλεως and Χρόνου δὲ πολλοῦ προβεβηκότος. Neither phrase occurs in the Hebrew, and the suggestion that they serve as explanatory glosses cannot be ruled out. However, reconciling

Assuming what I propose is an accurate description of the reconstruction of H, I would argue that the *Vorlage* before the OG translator conveyed that Job sat in a dung-heap (האשפת), not just in ashes. How then do I account for what I argue is a later development for H, namely the reading preserved in the MT?

I present the following hypothesis:

H   האשפת ותאמר
MT   האפר   ותאמר

It is possible to conceive of a later Hebrew manuscript reflecting a graphic confusion[17] whereby the medial שׁ of האשפת has been dropped and the final ת of האשפת has split and appeared as a ר and a ו. Such a corruption may explain the exclusive instance found in Job 2:8 where κοπρία apparently translates האפר, as others argue.

It may be helpful to consider a larger context:

ויקח־לו חרש להתגרד בו והוא ישב בתוך־האשפת ותאמר לו אשתו

I propose that while a scribe was copying האשפת, he first glanced ahead to אשתו, and, by haplography, dropped the medial שׁ in האשפת. As he proceeded, he read, as it were, ת - פ - א - ה as ו - ר - פ - א - ה. Thus, he reasonably assumed that האפר was before him. Additionally, he would have treated the *waw* in ותאמר as a dittographical error in the text before him, or he may have simply overlooked it.[18]

Yet to be addressed is H's intention in his use of אשפת. Given that אפר is translated by κοπρίας only in Job 2:8, the idea that Job sat in an ash-heap can be rejected. But was he sitting in a refuse-heap or specifically in a "dung-heap"? For some, the point may be irrelevant. After all, in the seven instances where אשפת occurs in MT, the idea of a town dump or refuse-heap, as suggested by the commentators, is quite plausible. This is especially the case

---

these differences in the texts are separate issues from the one of concern here. They serve as two more demonstrations of the complexity of text-critical studies in the book of Job.

17. For examples of graphic confusions, see P. Kyle McCarter, Jr., *Textual Criticism: Recovering the Text of the Hebrew Bible* (Old Testament Series; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986) 43.

18. One might also suggest that the ו in ותאמר did not exist and that the split ת would have provided it. However, the OG seems to retain the sense of the *waw* consecutive with the use of δέ. A similar relationship is found at the beginning of Job 2:7, MT: ויצא השטן; OG: Ἐξῆλθεν δὲ ὁ διάβολος.

in Nehemiah, in which all references to אשפת refer to the "refuse gate."[19] One might even say that the OG of Job seems to bear this out with the explanatory gloss ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ("outside the city"), which is not found in the MT.

I propose, however, that the distinction between 'refuse-heap' and 'dung-heap' is, in fact, indicative of the ANE milieu. The idea that Job specifically sat in a dung-heap mirrors the image of the righteous sufferer found in the popular ancient Near Eastern tale *Ludlul Bel Nemeqi*. The pertinent portion of the text reads: [20]

> I spent the night in my dung like an ox,
> And wallowed in excrement like a sheep.

Since the date for the original *Ludlul* may be as early as the fifteenth century B.C.E. and the extant text dates to the seventh century B.C.E.,[21] it is quite possible that the author of Job knew this ancient tale. Most scholars consider such an acquaintance axiomatic based on the assumption that Israelite scribes knew of ancient Near Eastern wisdom texts. For example, the well-known sayings of the Egyptian sage, Amenemope, cast a distinctive shadow on Prov 22:17–24:22.[22] That said, it is quite plausible that the more ancient text of Job contained a reference to dung-heap and that the *Vorlage* of the OG preserved the original Hebrew with אשפת.

Arguing in a similar manner, both Dhorme and Pope observe that the use of dung-hill in the OG recalls a similar incident in Homer's *Iliad*, where Priam mourns Hector's death while rolling in dung.[23] While neither Dhorme nor Pope explicitly suggests that the OG translator altered the reading of the Hebrew *Vorlage* in order to conform to the *Iliad*, they intimate as much. In my view, it seems more likely that the *Ludlul* would have influenced the post-exilic editors of Job, especially since the *Ludlul* has a greater affinity with the story of Job than does the *Iliad*.

---

19. Neh 2:13; 3:13, 14; 12:31. In each case, אשפת = κοπρία.

20. For the text see James B. Pritchard, ed., *The Ancient Near East, Volume II: A New Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975) 148–60. The passage is taken from lines 106–7.

21. John Gray, "The Book of Job in the Context of Near Eastern Literature," *ZAW* 82 (1970) 254.

22. For more on this see Roland E. Murphy, *Tree of Life: An Exploration of Biblical Wisdom Literature* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996) 23–25.

[23]23. Pope, 21 and Dhorme, 19. Both refer to *Il.* 22.414.

In conclusion, it is quite possible that the Hebrew text before the OG `translator specifically retained the idea of dung over against either refuse or ashes. While the analysis of this verse does not seriously challenge the conventional assumption that the *Vorlage* of the OG translator was generally similar to the MT, it at least indicates the value of pursuing comparable research on a case-by-case basis. This study may also promote a fuller investigation into those occasions where the OG differs from the MT and where those differences display affinities with ancient Near Eastern accounts of a righteous sufferer.[24]

---

24. I wish to thank professors Sharon Pace and Deirdre Dempsey for their valuable contributions to this paper.

An Almost Unknown Translation
of the Greek Bible into Italian

GIANCARLO TOLONI
Seminario Vescovile

———◆———

In contrast to the current stall in philological studies of the Hebrew Bible, above all following progressive abandonment of textual criticism,[1] there has been renewed vitality in studying the LXX for the past twenty years or so. Interest in the Greek translation is mainly founded on philological reasons.[2] Indeed, publication of the fragments discovered at Qumran since 1947 has led to knowledge of a pre-Masoretic textual form, mainly conforming (above all in the books of Samuel and Jeremiah) to that of the *Vorlage* witnessed to by the LXX.[3] It is therefore fundamental to compare the two translations seeing that, better than any other witness, they could reflect the original

---

1. See B. Chiesa, *Filologia storica della Bibbia ebraica* (Studi biblici 125; Brescia: Paideia, 2000) 1:11–13. For a well documented presentation of biblical textual criticism in the last two centuries and of the innovative contribution on a methodological level supplied by Italian scholars, see vol. 2 (Studi biblici 135; Brescia: Paideia, 2002) 2:399–441.

2. See H. M. Orlinsky, "A Message from the President," *BIOSCS* 2 (1969) 2. See also J. W. Wevers, "The Use of Versions for Text Criticism: the Septuagint," *La Septuaginta en la Investigación contemporanea (V Congreso de la IOSCS)* (Textos y Estudios "Cardenal Cisneros" 34; ed. N. Fernández Marcos; Madrid: Instituto "Arias Montano" de la Biblia Políglota Matritense: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1985) 15–24.

3. See N. Fernández Marcos, *La Bibbia dei Settanta. Introduzione alle versioni greche della Bibbia* (Introduzione allo studio della Bibbia. Supplementi 6; Brescia: Paideia, 2000), 82–87, esp. 85 (tit. orig. *Introducción a las versiones griegas de la Biblia* [Textos y Estudios "Cardenal Cisneros" de la Biblia Políglota Matritense 64; Madrid: Instituto de Filología "Arias Montano" del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Departamento de Filología Bíblica y de Oriente Antiguo, 1998[2]]).

Hebrew version, because they go back to an age prior to the establishment of
the consonantal text characterized by textual pluralism.[4]

Apart from bringing lexical and morpho-syntactical studies and improve-
ments in historical-cultural knowledge,[5] the reawakening of critical interest in
the LXX in the second half of the twentieth century has led to various
publishing initiatives to render the Greek text accessible in modern
languages.

1. The Main Translation Projects

The first in point of time is the French translation, *La Bible d'Alexandrie,*
led by M. Harl, G. Dorival and O. Munnich.[6] The collection, begun in 1986,
provides a rich contribution of critical notes and comments to the French
version. To date it includes twelve volumes: the Pentateuch (Genesis,
Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy [1986]; Numbers [1994]), Joshua (1986),
Judges (1994), 1 Reigns (1997), the Twelve Prophets I–II (2002, 1999),
Proverbs (2000), and Sirach (2002).[7]

---

4. On the contribution of the Qumran manuscripts and of the LXX to Biblical
philology, see N. Fernández Marcos, "The Use of the Septuagint in the Criticism of the
Hebrew Bible," *Sefarad* 47 (1987) 59–72; K. H. Jobes and M. Silva, *Invitation to the
Septuagint* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2000) 167–182; M. Harl, "La place de la
Septante dans les études bibliques," *Esprit et Vie* 65 (2002) 3–15.

5. Among the most significant input see G. Dorival, M. Harl, O. Munnich, *La Bible
grecque des Septante. Du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme ancien* (Initiations au
christianisme ancien s.n.; Paris: Du Cerf - C.N.R.S., 1994[2]); G. Dorival, O. Munnich, eds.,
*Selon les Septante: Trente études sur la Bible grecque des Septante. En hommage a
Marguerite Harl* (Paris: Du Cerf, 1995); M. Harl, "*La Bible d'Alexandrie* et le débats
actuel sur la LXX," *La double transmission du texte biblique. Études d'histoire du texte
offertes en hommage à Adrian Schenker* (ed. Y. Goldman and Ch. Uehlinger; OBO 179;
Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2001) 7–24.

6. M. Harl *et al.*, eds., *La Bible d'Alexandrie. Avec la collaboration de M. Alexandre.
Traduction du texte grec de la Septante*, I–XII (Paris: Du Cerf, 1986-2002). The
translation, introduction and the notes on the single volumes are the work of various
collaborators. The first five volumes have been republished all together in M. Harl, C.
Dogniez, eds., *Le Pentateuque d'Alexandrie. La Bible des septante: texte grec et
traduction. Ouvrage collectif . . . avec une introduction par M. Alexandre* (Paris: Du Cerf,
2001), a bilingual edition with a reprint of the Rahlfs Greek text, a reworked translation of
the single books and a summary of the notes.

7. More information is available in the presentation by M. Harl, "*La Bible
d'Alexandrie*. Translating the LXX: Experience of 'La Bible d'Alexandrie,'" *BIOSCS* 31
(1998) 31–35.

The *New English Translation of the Septuagint* (NETS), under the direction of A. Pietersma and B. Wright, will replace the Brenton translation published in 1851.[8] This initiative is the fruit of the progress of studies on the LXX in recent decades, above all in the ambit of Greek lexicography. To date, only one volume of this work has appeared.[9] This is certainly an important project in terms of quality and it is ambitious in its aims.[10]

The German project started in October 1999. It appears to be very similar to NETS, but perhaps concentrates more on textual comparison with the MT. It is being worked on by a team of around seventy scholars under the direction of M. Karrer and W. Kraus. The work is progressing thanks to good financing made available by the German Bible Society (taking care of the editing) and the *Evangelische Kirche im Rheinland*. The work plan foresees the publication of the German version in two volumes; the various introductions, the general introduction, those to the individual books and the critical comments on the most difficult passages from a textual point of view will be contained in a third volume.[11]

There is also news of a project for a version in Japanese,[12] in modern Greek, and in modern Hebrew; however, more precise information about the current progress of these studies is not known.[13]

2. *The Italian Project*

There are two translation initiatives of the LXX into Italian, each fashioned differently, both in terms of its methodology and of its aims. Also, their

---

8. L. C. L. Brenton, *The Septuagint with Apocrypha: Greek and English* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1986) (orig. tit. *The Septuagint Version of the Old Tes-ament, with an English Translation; and with Various Readings and Critical Notes* [London: Bagster, 1851]).

9. A. Pietersma, *A New English translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title, I. The Psalms* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

10. See also A. Pietersma and B. Wright, "The *New English Translation of the Septuagint* (NETS)," *BIOSCS* 31 (1998) 26-30.

11. More detailed information can be found on the web page of Septuaginta-deutsch.de.

12. G. Hata is the Japanese scholar responsible for the project.

13. Alongside these initiatives is the research project—still in progress—by C. Houtman, on the Coptic version of Deuteronomy that is remarkably close to the LXX, aimed at the preparation of a commentary on this Biblical book. The work is conducted by comparing the Coptic with the MT and with the Greek of the Göttingen edition.

publication followed two distinct routes, with very different developments and results.

2.1. Il Pentateuco by L. Mortari

The activity of a group of scholars from Bologna, under the direction of L. Mortari, gave life to an important and qualified publishing project aimed at the full translation of the LXX into Italian.[14] The first volume, a total of l,989 pages, appeared in 1999 at "Edizioni Dehoniane" of Rome, and covers the Pentateuch. The translation is accompanied by critical notes and an introduction to each book. Special attention has been paid to this section, since the Pentateuch constitutes the first groups of books of the Hebrew Bible translated into Greek. At the same time, principles were developed relating to methodology and lexical choices to guide in the translation of the remaining books. The *Introduction* to the work illustrates the affinities the Greek text has with the MT and the most significant differences between the two texts and consequently the impact the Greek Pentateuch had with the Greek-speaking Jewish tradition, both in the *diaspora* and later in the Christian world.

The work plan foresaw that this volume would first be followed by the Book of Psalms (an anticipation of which had appeared in a previous work by Mortari),[15] the Major Prophets, the wisdom books, the historical books, and finally the other writings.[16] Unfortunately, the death of the person responsible for the publishing project has slowed down the publication of the successive volumes, and there is no news as to the continuation of the work.

2.2. La Bibbia by A. Brunello

At the time of writing, the first and only full Italian translation of the LXX remains the one by A. Brunello.[17] Unfortunately it is almost unknown, as it is

---

14. L. Mortari, ed., *La Bibbia dei LXX*, vol. 1: *Il Pentateuco: Testo greco con traduzione italiana a fronte* (Rome: Dehoniane, 1999).

15. L. Mortari, ed., *Il Salterio della tradizione: Versione del Salterio greco dei 70* (Bibbia. Vecchio Testamento. Salmi - Commenti 223; Turin: Gribaudi, 1983).

16. For a complete presentation of the work, see A. Cacciari, S. Tampellini, "La Bibbia dei Settanta: A New Italian Translation of the Septuagint," *BIOSCS* 31 (1998) 36–38.

17. A. Brunello (ed.), *La Bibbia secondo la versione dei Settanta. Prima ed unica traduzione in lingua moderna con introduzioni, commento e note* (vols. 1–2; Rome: Istituto diffusione edizioni culturali, 1960). Two later editions are also known of this work: one published at Città di Castello by *Unione arti grafiche*, in 1962, the other at Brescia, by

difficult to find in libraries and bookshops. For this reason it is briefly described here.

The work is subdivided into two 35 cm. high volumes with illustrated plates. The first contains the books from Genesis to Psalms, covering a total of xxi/806 pages; the second contains the remaining books, from Proverbs to the Apocalypse on 834 pages.[18] The general introduction covers methodology, while another one introduces the single books.

This is a work worthy of attention for various reasons: first, because it is a complete translation. The subtitle presents it as the "first and only" Italian translation of the LXX. Brunello conceived it and finished it around forty years before Mortari's translation. Also, the entire translation is the work of just one translator who dedicated roughly twenty years to the task (1941–1960), working in uncomfortable and precarious conditions. This in part could justify the inevitable differences in quality between one section and the next, sometimes leaving the translation open to question. Even considering the limitations reported here, it is nevertheless the fruit of an original intuition that offers scholars an important tool in their work.

The author personally explains[19] that the version was begun in Greece at Athens in the years 1941–1945 and was then continued for around two decades, to be published "just before the 'Vatican II Ecumenical Council,'" almost as a kind of "fundamental meeting point" with the Eastern Church. The primary achievement of the work, therefore, (apart from providing a significant contribution to ecumenical progress) is decidedly found on a philological level, as Brunello himself stated. His aim was "to validate the authority of the Septuagint Greek Bible," which in those years was already "the object of particular attention from critics and modern exegetes because of the innumerable and extraordinary confirmations that its text and the writing of its names find in more recent archaeological discoveries."

S.E.A.P., in 1963. Nevertheless it appears that these are purely reprints rather than new editions, since the page numbers of the two volumes remain the same in all three exemplars; the same *Translator's note* introduces the work without updates or explanations, and in the second and third cases the date is 1960.

18. The two volumes thus contain the full Greek Bible, OT and NT. No Greek text is included for comparison, only the Italian translation.

19. Ibid., vii.

The translator used the 1952 "fifth edition" of the Rahlfs text published at Stuttgart in 1935.[20] On his own explicit admission, Brunello did not intend to discuss the philological problems of the text. He limited himself to pointing out the various divergences of the Greek from the *Vulgata*, including the omission of the odd verse in one or the other. Fortunately, at least for the Pentateuch, comparison with Mortari's more recent translation is possible. Mortari used the same Rahlfs text, chosen precisely because of the incompleteness of the edition of the Science Academy of Göttingen,[21] but after examining the main differences of the text and of the notes with respect to Rahlfs' manual edition considered this *editio critica magna* more precise on a philological level.[22]

Brunello explicitly states[23] feeling committed to "making the translation as close as possible to the original text," moved by a desire to be loyal more to the Biblical text than to the rules of Greek morpho-syntax. Nevertheless, concern about "the literal translation" of the Greek—the peculiarities of which the translator also wanted to try to preserve as far as possible—did not impede him from giving the Italian version "an agile, flowing, clear form."

The work has a general introduction, with some preliminary information to guide in textual understanding (xi–xxi). The scheme of the subdivision of the Bible is particularly important with regard to the different arrangement of the books in the Hebrew Bible, in the Reformed Church Bible, and in the Catholic one (xi–xiii). On this subject, and in planning his work, the translator opted for the "traditional and most diffuse" order (viii) of the *Vulgata*, in other words that of the Catholic Bible and not that of the LXX. Elementary notations then follow concerning paleography and biblical philology on the original text and on the Biblical languages, on the history of the transmission of the text—from manuscripts to the first printed editions— (xiii–xvi), on ancient versions of the Bible and on Italian ones of the modern

---

20. A. Rahlfs, ed., *Septuaginta: Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes* (vols. 1–2; Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1935). The latest edition, the 9th, again in two volumes, is dated 1971 (reprinted in 1984); the *editio minor*, in just one volume, appeared in 1979. Nevertheless, there are no appreciable differences between the 9 editions, because they are in fact, simply reprints.

21. *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1931).

22. Mortari, *La Bibbia*, xxv.

23. Brunello, *La Bibbia*, vii.

era (xvi–xix). He concludes with brief considerations about inspiration and inerrancy, interpretation and Biblical exegesis (xix–xxi).

Each book has a brief, specific introduction to prepare the reader to approach the text, giving explanations about the meaning and origin of the title, its composition, content, and historical authority.

The notes are brief, reduced to the essential, and placed at the bottom of the page. They in fact have a "purely illustrative character": they are limited to "supplying historical and geographical information particularly necessary to understand the text."[24] They are thus stripped of any theological, moral or spiritual comment, foreign or secondary for immediate understanding.

In writing the names of persons and places, Brunello "naturally adhered to the Greek text"[25] that he transliterated faithfully. He showed the most important divergences from the text as footnotes, and referred the reader to the analytical list at the end of the second volume for the rest.

Given the period in which the author created his work, one should not look for comparison with the MT or for any indication of the main differences of the Greek text in these critical notes. Instead, as already mentioned—and in a perfectly understandable manner for the period preceding Vatican II—one will find annotated the differences between the LXX and the *Vulgata,* including the textual omissions of either relative to the other. This is certainly not surprising given the great consideration always afforded to Jerome's translation by the church until Vatican II—even if of limited relevance for textual criticism. This information was nevertheless essential, since the work was mainly aimed at a heterogeneous public without the critical faculties for a philological analysis of the Biblical text.

The work has various complementary didactic instruments. Apart from those already mentioned, especially useful ones are: a table with the order of the books in the Bible according to the LXX and according to the *Vulgata* (xxii); a list of abbreviations indicating the citation methods of Biblical passages (xxiii); a general index, and an analytical one at the end of the second volume. On a formal level, the work is enriched by the exclusive reproduction of the small Bible by Raffael, on 52 color plates.

---

24. Ibid., viii.
25. Ibid., vii.

3. Research Perspectives

Critical studies of the LXX will probably not receive particular impulse from the publication of the various modern translations of the Greek text. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that the vivacity of the research in progress is demonstrated by the proliferation of these publishing initiatives in numerous modern languages.[26]

Even if these translations were not primarily aimed at opening up new research perspectives, it is anyway true that they indicate a critical interest in the LXX. They are also important on a historical level, because they clearly reveal the amount of consideration afforded to the Greek version by scholars. This is clearly evident from the specific aims behind the individual publishing initiatives. This paper is directed above all to the two Italian versions mentioned here. These are in fact inspired by different intentions, as the authors themselves declare. Mortari's consists of "validating the 'Christian' significance of the text of the LXX."[27] At the same time, the intention is religious and cultural. It is the Christological interpretation of the OT that leads to considering the Bible in its canonical articulation and in making the OT message almost a metaphor that anticipates and prepares for the Christ.[28] In the notes the accent is in fact placed on lexical elements and on themes from the Greek OT into NT passages, on the basis of interpretations of the Biblical language by Philo of Alexandria, seen as mediation between Judaism and Christianity. The concentration here is mainly on the NT passages recalling the OT, annotated clearly in the margin of the Greek text of the Pentateuch, or on the interpretations of the Eastern Church Fathers, indicated in the introductions to the individual books. There can be no doubt that this historical-cultural aim has clearly contributed to a unitary reading of the Christian Bible. It should also be remembered that in the uncial codices of the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. the OT and the NT were contained in one single volume: this contributed to keeping the OT in the Christian Bible.

---

26. The contribution of the modern translations of the LXX was the subject of important discussions at the IOSCS tenth Congress. Here, the two most recent publishing projects in French and English and their different execution methods were especially examined. The records are now available in B. A. Taylor, ed., *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Oslo, 1998* (SBLSCS 51; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001).

27. Mortari, *Bibbia*, xi.

28. See also N. Fernández Marcos, review of Mortari, *La Bibbia*, in *Adamantius* 7 (2001) 320–24, esp. 321.

There are therefore many and diversely motivated approaches to tackling the text of the LXX. Apart from the approach of historians of Judaism and of primitive Christianity, of scholars of the NT and of patrologists, of Hellenists and of papyrologists, the philological approach is very important and considers the Greek version for textual criticism. This in fact witnesses how Hellenized Jews read the Hebrew Bible from the 3rd to the 2nd century B.C., long before it was used by the authors of the NT and commented on by Philo. In other words using a text with the consonants still not established or vocalized. Brunello took the historical-critical perspective into account. Even with his inevitable cultural conditioning and ideological limits due to the times he worked in, Brunello expressly proposes, for example, exploiting data supplied by recent archaeological finds. Today we would have to add those of the documentary papyrology to confirm the LXX text and the writing of the names contained in it.

Brunello completed his work when publication of the Qumran fragments had only just begun. He could not therefore benefit, even indirectly, from the extraordinary impulse that comparison of this form of the Hebrew text with the *Vorlage* supposed by the LXX gave to the studies on the Greek version in successive decades.[29] We are left with the precious fruit of a singular intuition, perhaps not well defined in terms of its specific aims, but of clear critical utility. His work has in fact given Italian scholars a complete version of the Greek Bible. This could be the starting point for further philological and lexical studies for an ever-better understanding of the world of the LXX.

---

29. This however did not impede him from considering the discovery of parchment and papyrus fragments at Qumran in 1949, containing almost the entire book of Isaiah, as being worthy of "exceptional importance." This was in fact "a Hebrew Biblical text more than 1,000 years older than the Hebrew codex hitherto possessed" that "textually agrees with today's printed version" (Brunello, *La Bibbia*, xv).

Dissertation Abstract

*La version de la Septante d'Ézéchiel: traduction annotée
d'Ézéchiel 1-24 et étude du grec d'Ézéchiel par une sélection
de particularités lexicales et grammaticales*

Researcher: Katrin Hauspie
Faculty Advisers: Profs. W. Clarysse and J. Lust
Date Completed: 2002

Abstract

The research for my doctoral dissertation was done within the framework of the French series of *La Bible d'Alexandrie*, whose aim is to offer a French translation with explanatory notes of all the LXX books. The volume on Ezekiel is being prepared under the guidance of Professor Johan Lust at the Centre for Septuagint Studies and Textual Criticism of the Faculty of Theology of the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium.

The first part of my dissertation consists of the French translation of Ezekiel 1–24 (according to the text edited by J. Ziegler, *Ezechiel* [Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Societatis Litterarum Gottingensis editum 16/1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977]) accompanied by extensive notes on the Greek used in the text (*Traduction annotée*). The first 24 chapters of Ezekiel make up almost half of this prophetic book and content-wise form a unified textual block. They offer a good point of departure for a grammatical study of the whole book (Ezek 1–48), which was carried out in the second part of my dissertation (*Capita Selecta*).

The Greek text was read as a text on its own, not in comparison with the MT. In the notes that accompany the translation I have commented in detail on new meanings borrowed from the source language as well as on the evolution of meanings *Ézéchiel* evinced in the Septuagint version of Ezekiel that are often also seen elsewhere in the Greek language. The papyri deserve special mention. Beside the lexical notes, there are also extended comments on some grammatical peculiarities of Ezekiel. Such notes aim at understanding the Greek employed in the translation of Ezekiel as far as

possible from within Greek itself, and not from the meaning of the Hebrew—Masoretic—text, the source language.

The second part of my research (*Capita Selecta*) was conceived along the same lines, and in it ten grammatical peculiarities of the LXX text of Ezekiel are thoroughly examined (Le verbe ἀκούω; Les pronoms de la troisième personne; ἐν et le datif indiquant l'instrument; Les locutions prépositives; Le comparatif et le superlatif ; ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, εἶ μήν . . . ; πίπτω ἐπὶ πρόσωπόν μου; Les périphrases avec εἰμι et γίγνομαι; Les verbes de 'craindre' et leurs compléments; Proposition complétive avec τοῦ et l'infinitif). These grammatical constructions stand out in Greek because they go counter to the rules of the Greek language.

In this grammatical section we have investigated whether and in what way these examples of word-for-word translation may have been occasioned by the original text, the Hebrew text, i.e., whether a given Hebrew construction was automatically rendered by another given Greek one. Our study has shown in this respect that the Hebrew was not translated in an automatic manner but that, on the contrary, the autonomy of the target language, namely Greek, played an important role in the translation. Constructions that result from a word-for-word rendition witness to a certain ambiguity that was already present in Greek itself, which the translator—faithful to his *Vorlage*—then used precisely because Greek itself gave him the room to do so. Whenever Greek did not lend itself to such translating maneuvers, the Greek text avoided slavish word-for-word renditions.

This is one point of the Conclusion: our grammatical examination asks for a correction of the description of the translation technique of the LXX qualified as mechanical. A second point of the Conclusion deals with the homogeneity of the Greek translation of Ezekiel. The cases we have examined situate some grammatical features in Ezekiel 26–39, which are absent from or different in the other two sections in Ezekiel; but we need more research on grammatical constructions to express ourselves with more certainty on the topic of the homogeneity of the Greek translation of Ezekiel.

PROGRAM FOR THE IOSCS MEETINGS
IN TORONTO, NOVEMBER 23–26, 2002

———

Sunday November 24

9:00–11:30 a.m.
Robert Hiebert, Trinity Western University, presiding
Joachim Schaper, University of Cambridge
*God and the Gods: Pagan Deities and Religious Concepts as Reflected
in the Greek Isaiah*

S. Sippilä, United Bible Societies
The Language of 1 Maccabees

Sarah Pierce, University of South Hampton
Contextualizing Greek Deuteronomy

Dirk Büchner, Trinity Western University
*LXX Leviticus: The Issue of Inconsistency in a Greek Work
of Translation*

Trevor V. Evans, Macquarie University
Approaches to the Language of the Septuagint

R. Glenn Wooden, Acadia Divinity College
2 Esdras: Its Translation Technique and Its Challenges

1:00–3:30 p.m.
Albert Pietersma, University of Toronto, presiding
A. Aejmelaeus, University of Göttingen
*Faith, Hope, and Interpretation: A Lexical and Syntactical Study of the
Semantic Field of Hope in the Greek Psalter*

Tyler F. Williams, North American Baptist College
Psalm 151: An Orphan in the Greek Psalter

Sabine Koch, University of Göttingen
"Reign" and "Rule" in the Greek Psalter

H. F. Van Rooy, Potchefstroom University
The Text of the Psalms in the Shorter Syriac Commentary of Athanasius on the Psalms

James K. Aitken, University of Reading
Designations of the Divine in the LXX

4:00–6:30 p.m.
Bernard A. Taylor, Loma Linda University, presiding
Karen H. Jobes, Westmont College
The LXX Tradition in 1 Peter

Cameron Boyd-Taylor, Scarborough, Ontario, Canada
The Calque as a Cross-Cultural Phenomenon

Alison Salvesen, Oxford University
Revising Field's Hexapla and Hexaplaric Materials in Exodus

Kristin De Troyer, Claremont School of Theology
The Schoyen Greek Joshua Papyrus: Its Contribution to the Textual History of Joshua

Business Meeting

Annual Meeting in Toronto, November 24, 2002

1. R. Hiebert reported that our account balance as of June 30, 2002 was about $6,900 in the US account, $300 in the Canadian account, and $9,050 in the NETS account. He noted that Eisenbrauns is beginning to receive payments for the Bulletin. Rob Hiebert moved the adoption of the treasurer's report. Seconded by S. Sippilä. Approved.

2. The editor for the SBLSCS series, Mel Peters, reported that the following publications have appeared since 1999:

   Zipora Talshir, *1 Esdras: From Origin to Translation*, SBL 1999 = SBLSCS 47

   Kristin De Troyer, *The End of the Alpha Text of Esther*, SBL 2000 = SBLSCS 48

   Zipora Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text-Critical Commentary*, SBL 2001 = SBLSCS 50

   Bernard Taylor, ed., *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Oslo, 1998*, SBL 2001 = SBLSCS 51

   The following have been accepted for publication:

   Martha Wade, *Consistency of Translation Techniques in the Tabernacle Accounts of Exodus in the Old Greek* (= SBLSCS 49)

   A. Schenker, *The Earliest Text History of the Hebrew Bible: The Relationship Between the Masoretic Text and the Hebrew Base of the Septuagint Reconsidered*

   Peters also noted that we should no longer assume that the SBLSCS series is "ours" in the historic sense of the word, and that a vote by the Executive Committee is insufficient to guarantee publication in the series. SBL now requires formal proposals for all projects, which will be considered and approved by the Editorial Director in consultation with the respective editor before moving forward. Mel Peeters moved the adoption of his report. Seconded by John Wevers. Approved.

3. The President reported that another edition of NETS on the Romances has been sent to Oxford University Press, but we have not yet heard whether they will publish it as a separate volume.

4. The President reported that discussions are ongoing with SBL regarding a contract to publish the Commentary Series.

5. The President reported that the Executive Committee recommends to the membership that the present Executive Committee continue for another term, and the NETS advisory and editorial committees continue for another year. John Wevers moved the recommendations of the Executive Committee. Seconded by Richard Saley. Approved.

Respectfully submitted,
Tim McLay, IOSCS Secretary

Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies

TREASURER'S REPORT
U.S. DOLLAR ACCOUNTS
JULY 1, 2002 – JUNE 30, 2003

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

BALANCE 7/1/02   6,861.61

CREDITS

7/2/02 (Interest)	1.40
8/1/02 (Interest)	1.46
8/8/02 (Deposit)	50.00
8/8/02 (Deposit)	282.00
8/28/02 (Deposit)	74.00
9/3/02 (Interest)	1.51
10/1/02 (Interest)	1.49
10/15/02 (Deposit)	10.00
10/15/02 (Deposit)	165.00
10/29/02 (Deposit)	5.00
10/29/02 (Deposit)	162.00
11/1/02 (Interest)	1.57
12/2/02 (Interest)	1.56
1/2/03 (Interest)	1.61
1/17/03 (Deposit)	94.00
2/3/03 (Interest)	1.61
3/3/03 (Interest)	1.46
3/4/03 (Deposit)	54.00
4/1/03 (Interest)	1.63
5/1/03 (Interest)	1.58
6/2/03 (Interest)	1.63
6/6/03 (Deposit)	23.00

Total   937.51

DEBITS

12/24/02 (Postage [IOSCS secretary])	78.78
3/14/03 (Nonprofit Corporation Biennial Report fee)	20.00
6/13/03 (BIOSCS 34 costs [Eisenbrauns])	3,915.50

Total   4,014.28

BALANCE 6/30/03   3,784.84

SUMMARY

BALANCE 7/1/02		6,861.61
7/1/02 – 6/30/03	Credits	+937.51
	Total	7,799.12
		7,799.12
7/1/02 – 6/30/03	Debits	–4,014.28
	Total	3,784.84
6/30/03	BALANCE	3,784.84

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

BALANCE 7/1/02   0.32

CREDITS

11/26/02 (Deposit)	981.00
12/13/02 (Deposit)	400.00
1/31/03 (Deposit)	1,393.11
2/6/03 (Deposit)	86.00
3/13/03 (Paypal)	857.52
3/26/03 (Deposit)	1,393.00
5/22/03 (Deposit)	1,125.03
5/27/03 (Paypal)	490.29

Total	6,725.95
6/30/03 BALANCE	6,726.27

Respectfully submitted:	Audited:
Robert J. V. Hiebert	Bruce Guenther
IOSCS Treasurer	Associated Canadian Theological Schools

TREASURER'S REPORT
CANADIAN DOLLAR ACCOUNT
JULY 1, 2002 – JUNE 30, 2003

Account No. 8082-010—Bank of Montreal, Mississauga ON

BALANCE 7/1/02   304.55

Credits

7/31/02 (Interest)	0.01
8/8/02 (Deposit of petty cash)	10.55
8/30/02 (Interest)	0.01
9/30/02 (Interest)	0.01
10/15/02 (Deposit)	30.00
10/17/02 (Reversal of Comtran fee)	2.00
10/31/02 (Interest)	0.01
11/29/02 (Interest)	0.01
12/31/02 (Interest)	0.01
1/31/03 (Interest)	0.01
3/31/03 (Interest)	0.01
4/30/03 (Interest)	0.01
5/30/03 (Interest)	0.01
6/30/03 (Interest)	0.01

Total   42.66

Debits

8/8/02 (Comtran fee)	2.00
12/3/02 (IOSCS executive committee lunch)	212.74
12/17/02 (postage [IOSCS secretary])	4.42

Total   219.16

BALANCE 6/30/03   128.05

SUMMARY

BALANCE 7/1/02		304.55
7/1/02 – 6/30/03	Credits	+42.66
	Total	347.21
		347.21
7/1/02 – 6/30/03	Debits	–219.16
	Total	128.05
6/30/03	BALANCE	128.05

Respectfully submitted: Audited:
obert J. V. Hiebert   Bruce Guenther
IOSCS Treasurer   Associated Canadian Theological Schools

New English Translation of the Septuagint Project

TREASURER'S REPORT
U.S. DOLLAR ACCOUNT
JULY 1, 2002 – JUNE 30, 2003

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

BALANCE 7/1/02   9,054.53

CREDITS

7/2/02 (Interest)	1.36
8/1/02 (Interest)	1.92
8/28/02 (Deposit: NETS royalty from OUP)	203.21
9/3/02 (Interest)	1.93
10/1/02 (Interest)	1.90
11/1/02 (Interest)	1.96
12/2/02 (Interest)	1.90
1/2/03 (Interest)	1.96
2/3/03 (Interest)	1.96
3/3/03 (Interest)	1.78
3/4/03 (Deposit: NETS royalty from OUP)	40.41
4/1/03 (Interest)	1.97
5/1/03 (Interest)	1.91
6/2/03 (Interest)	1.97

Total   266.14

BALANCE 6/30/03   9,320.67

SUMMARY

Balance 7/1/02		9,054.53
7/1/02–6/30/03	Credits	+266.14
	Total	9,320.67
6/30/03	BALANCE	9,320.67

Respectfully submitted: Audited:
Robert J. V. Hiebert   Bruce Guenther
IOSCS/NETS Treasurer   Associated Canadian Theological Schools

Book Reviews

———◆———

Lee, John A. L. *A History of New Testament Lexicography*. New York: Peter Lang, 2003. Pp. xiv + 414. ISBN 0-8204-3480-9.

John Lee is the author of a lexical study of the Septuagint version of the Pentateuch (1983) and of many articles on the vocabulary of biblical Greek. An article in *Glotta* (1969) on Septuagint citations in the first *Supplement* to Liddell and Scott brought his qualities as a painstaking and excellent lexicographer to the attention of classical scholars more generally. His work has now come to a full flowering in this superb and essential book on the history of New Testament lexicography, which has great implications for Greek lexicography in general.

The book is beautifully crafted, arranged in very readable and, in view of the potential of the topic to be somewhat dry, almost cliffhanging sections. Each chapter is headed with engaging quotations and contains personal touches throughout, reflecting the author's long years of study and love of the subject, and especially of antiquarian books. Lee has tracked down all the lexicons of the New Testament ever published through the libraries of the world. Full lists are given, together with a location guide for older and rarer publications. The enthusiasm is catching, and many who read this book will forever remain interested in the history of dictionaries and the design of their entries. The earliest New Testament lexicon is contained in a volume of the *Complutensian Polyglot* (a complete bible in many languages) published in 1514 in Alcalá in Spain, with entries from Greek to Latin, and the most recent is Frederick Danker's *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (2000; *BDAG*), a third and fully revised edition of an adaptation of a German dictionary by Walter Bauer, in its turn an adaptation of a dictionary by Erwin Preuschen. The intervening history, and indeed the journey further back into the origins of lexicography in antiquity, is fascinating and full of surprises for lexicographers and linguists alike.

The history is not an entirely happy one. All the lexicons have the same genealogy, and this book brings to light the effects of the copying of ideas over some hundreds of years, with the attendant dangers of the introduction of misunderstandings and quirky innovation. We might well reflect on the imperfect development of our lexicons, the inadequacies of which hinder our appreciation of the full subtleties and richness of the Greek language.

Greek lags behind Latin in this respect, where a completely new reading of texts was carried out for the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (*OLD*). Articles were written taking inspiration from the style of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), and without dependence on any previous Latin dictionary. The history of the Liddell and Scott *Lexicon* for all classical Greek (1940, *LSJ*), with its many editions going back to a German original, mirrors to some extent the situation with New Testament lexicons. However, in recent decades, the field of Greek lexicography is experiencing a renewal, most importantly with the ongoing *Diccionario griego-español* (Adrados 1980–; *DGE*) which will eventually be a replacement to *LSJ*, albeit in Spanish. Montanari's Greek-Italian dictionary was published in 1995, and a second *Supplement* to *LSJ* appeared in the following year (Glare 1996). A book by John Chadwick on the need for a completely reworked Greek-English dictionary also appeared in that year. In the field of biblical studies, besides *BDAG*, there is notably Louw and Nida (1988), also an ongoing Spanish New Testament dictionary (Mateos 2000–, *DGENT*), and Septuagint lexicons by Lust, Eynikel and Hauspie (1996) and Muraoka (2002). Lee's book comes at an opportune moment, as a reminder of the past and of the potential for the future before us in the age of computer technology.

Glosses and Definitions

Much of the suspenseful readability of this book is in the careful development of the argument that the faults in our lexicons arise mostly because of the system of definition using one-word English equivalents. These are termed "glosses." A succinct statement of the underlying lexical meaning is advocated as a replacement for the gloss for most of the words in the dictionary, and this is termed a "definition." A definition consisting of a single word will suffice under certain conditions for some words, and this is termed a "definition gloss." Some words, such as those involving explanation of cultural aspects, require a different treatment altogether.

The verb κατανοῶ is taken as an illustrative example. It has been defined in dictionaries with glosses such as *notice*, *observe*, *look at*, *consider*, *contemplate, understand, apprehend* and many others. The author suggests tentatively the scheme below for definitions of the underlying lexical meanings. (pp. 22–25, with discussion also on pp. 18–19, 167–9). The translations are from various traditional versions and are chosen to indicate the multiplicity of glosses these call forth. I have included only some of the quotations for each sense.

1 inspect with the eyes

Acts 7:31

ὁ δὲ Μωϋσῆς ἰδὼν ἐθαύμαζεν τὸ ὅραμα, προσερχομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ **κατανοῆσαι** ἐγένετο φωνὴ κυρίου

When Moses saw it, he was amazed at the sight; and as he approached **to look**, there came the voice of the Lord

Acts 7:32

ἔντρομος δὲ γενόμενος Μωϋσῆς οὐκ ἐτόλμα **κατανοῆσαι**

Then Moses trembled, and durst not **behold**.

See also Acts 11:6, Jas 1:23, 24

2 perceive by visual or other observation

Matt 7:3

τί δὲ βλέπεις τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου, τὴν δὲ ἐν τῷ σῷ ὀφθαλμῷ δοκὸν οὐ κατανοεῖς;

Why do you see the speck in your neighbor's eye, but do not **notice** the log in your own eye?

See also Luke 6:41

Luke 20:23

κατανοήσας δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν πανουργίαν εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς

He **saw through** their duplicity and said to them

Acts 27:39

Ὅτε δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἐπεγίνωσκον, κόλπον δέ τινα κατενόουν ἔχοντα αἰγιαλὸν εἰς ὃν ἐβουλεύοντο εἰ δύναιντο ἐξῶσαι τὸ πλοῖον.

And when it was day, they knew not the land: but they **discovered** a certain creek with a shore, into the which they were minded, if it were possible, to thrust in the ship.

3 direct the mind towards and reflect on

See Luke 12:24

Luke 12:27

κατανοήσατε τὰ κρίνα πῶς αὐξάνει· οὐ κοπιᾷ οὐδὲ νήθει·

Think of the lilies: they grow; they neither spin nor weave;

See also Rom 4:19, Heb 3:1, 10:24

This definition methodology greatly improves the clarity and precision of the lexicographer's appreciation of the meaning of a word. However, the fact that the body of this book is devoted to a history of New Testament lexicons does mean, rather frustratingly, that there is not enough room to develop the argument for the merits of the method. The meticulous and factual account of the history sits a little uneasily alongside a proposed theory which is still somewhat raw. The author acknowledges that more elaboration of the theory will be needed, and there will have to be more trials with different types of words. Lexicography is a practical art, where theories are only as good as successfully-worked entries.

Several of the dictionaries mentioned above use definitions: *OED*, *OLD*, *BDAG*, Louw and Nida, *DGENT* and Muraoka. However, it is difficult to identify within these a uniform methodology. *OED* is obviously different from *OLD* because it is a monolingual dictionary, and there is little in the methods in *OED* and *OLD* that is shared by any dictionary in the biblical field. All differ in some respects from what Lee proposes. All the dictionaries also include glosses and illustrative quotations, which expand upon and give focus to the definition. In the scheme above for κατανοῶ, the intended relationship between the definitions and quotations is not explained, and it is not clear if the latter are intended to supplement the definitions.

The book's focus on the gloss means that other sources of inadequacy in New Testament lexicons, although touched on in the discussion of illustrative examples, are not stressed. The impression left is that the gloss is a scapegoat for a multitude of sins, and some of its more positive aspects are not well presented.

It should have been made clear that, even in traditional methodology, a gloss serving as a dictionary definition was meant to be something different from a word which happens to be used in a translation of a particular passage. An overall gloss ought to be as near as possible in range of meaning and usage to the word in the foreign language, the finding of which is a rather precise art, once much valued. Translation words suiting individual contexts are naturally more varied. However, such a translation word, suiting a narrower range of contexts, could be used in traditional methodology in one of the sense subdivisions which reflects those particular contexts. It is true though that many translations have crept into dictionaries in an uncontrolled manner.

OED and *OLD* testify to the fact that glosses, whether seen as definition or translation glosses, can find an important place in a scholarly dictionary. Interaction between definition and gloss within an entry is intended to bring the reader's perception of meaning into a sharper focus than can be obtained by reliance exclusively upon either one of them. The role of the gloss in learning a language also needs to be considered. These topics are brought out right at the end of Part I where they might almost be missed (pp. 185–87).

The gloss has always been a part of language learning. Would learning a language be easier with phrasal definitions for most words? If it were decided that glosses are better for the early stages of learning, at what stage should there be a switch? Indeed, this book perhaps overlooks some older pedagogical theories. It was not that glosses were thought to be sufficient in themselves, but that they were a first foothold in learning a language. The early simple glossaries would often have been material for learning by heart, an adjunct to much more sophisticated oral teaching. The finding of fuller answers in dictionaries at an early stage was considered a hindrance to acquisition of fluency in a language until fairly recently, on the level of the cheating indulged in by those who used interlined cribs. Exegesis on meaning was to be found in a commentary, which had an important role as an adjunct to the dictionary. The use of English to Greek dictionaries was considered particularly bad practice, and the

longer lexicons thus had a dual function, to provide a guide to meaning as well as information on syntax and idiomatic usage for translation into the language. This resulted in muddled priorities in many entries, especially over the course of different editions. Modern readers mostly require information in the direction Greek to English.

In general, the pursuit in this book of the definition theory is in some places in danger of becoming too extreme, such as the assertion that a definition "must" be typographically differentiated from a gloss (p. 22). This precise distinction perhaps leaps ahead of what has been proven for the theory, and certainly should not be used as a criterion for criticizing existing dictionaries. The assertion that "in the minds of many in the past, and still today, glossing is the right way to indicate meaning: one word *is* another in another language" (p. 26 n. 3), rather ignores the consensus of all modern linguistic scholarship. The orator Lysias is mentioned as one of the first users of glosses, because he gives one word equivalents for old words in laws of Solon (p. 15). But his purpose in the first speech *Against Theomnestos* is rather a bitter indictment of this man who bases his legal argument on quibbling about alternative words rather than the spirit of their meaning. Some of the equivalents would actually merit the title of definitions, and all are presented in the context of the full sentence. Criticism of dictionaries is sometimes harsh. A trivial infelicity in *LSJ*, which is not even a mistake but something which arises out of the typographical conventions in that dictionary, is described in a note as a "gem" of a find (p. 27 n. 7). Whatever the faults in our dictionaries, the gems are the wealth of scholarly and accurate information from which generations have profited. It is salutary to remember that it will not be easy to match what was achieved in the past, particularly with the declining place of the classical languages in the curriculum. The author knows the dangers (p. 177), quoting John Chadwick: "But the iconoclast runs the risk of damaging fine structures; it is easier to pull down false idols than to erect noble images in their place."

The Future

However, enthusiasm for the definition methodology is not misplaced, and we can reflect upon what has been achieved in this book and upon developments for the future. The conclusion in the last chapter, *The Way Ahead* (pp. 177–90), is upbeat. It is recommended that a database should be established, containing all the citations for words in the New Testament and the evidence for them in contemporary texts, along with interpretations from secondary literature. Lexicon entries will be compiled with well-framed definitions and illustrative quotations in Greek, together with translations into English, and there will be the possibility of access to all sorts of linguistic and cultural information. Texts included in the database which do not find their way into the main body of the lexicon entry can still be filed according to the particular senses, and notes on the thinking behind the lexicon entries will remain available for revisers who come afterward.

Yet some will read this final chapter pessimistically. The practicalities are a cause for concern, as to where the project is to be based, who the team will be, how it will be paid for. There is currently hardly any provision for training in lexicography, and high proficiency in Greek based on years of reading is not as common as it once was. Differences of theory and approach, shortage of resources, the difficulty and length of the work make harmonious cooperation notably hard to achieve in lexicography. Long projects are not in tune with the notions of our age, certainly not with funding bodies, so it will be necessary to concentrate on putting in place some short-term goals, as well as on carrying out the work which will take decades to bring to fruition.

One mistake often made in planning lexicographical projects is the notion of comprehensiveness, that every instance of a word must be collected. A good dictionary entry can be compiled even for very common words from a few dozen examples, providing a reasonable spread is included in the sampling. Once one has mastery of the lesser number, then it becomes much easier to sort hundreds, even thousands, of other examples. Often, only small adjustments need to be made subsequently, and because an electronic text can easily be revised, entries will no longer have to be fixed as it were in stone. The vast secondary literature on Greek vocabulary, growing all the time, is even more daunting. A project of one hundred years or so may be able to attempt an assessment of it, but processing of the information from the texts themselves is the more important task. Once the foundations of a reasonable scheme for the history of the word and a lexicon entry have been laid, the secondary literature can be scanned more efficiently. However, it must always be remembered that a dictionary is different from a database, since it should consist of a concise summing up of what all the information in the database amounts to.

The introduction of definitions by Louw and Nida (1988) is regarded as "the breakthrough" in this book. But their work contains another important breakthrough, for which there is some precedent in history, but which was a road never traveled. This is the arrangement of words in semantic categories, with an escape from alphabetic ordering, a feature demanded by the printed book. The desirability of a systematic presentation of the lexical structure, or sense-relations, of the whole vocabulary is acknowledged by the author (p. 186), but is not put as a priority for the task ahead, for the good reason that how to design such a work is very far from obvious. But the vocabulary of a language is not arranged in the speaker's brain in alphabetical order, and it cannot be described adequately in that way. Computers now offer multiple ways of arranging material and it is imperative to seize the opportunity.

The field of New Testament lexicography cannot remain isolated from classical Greek lexicography, and the time has come for this historic rift to be dissolved. The later language right up to modern times is also important. Proper understanding of biblical Greek can only be achieved by complete integration of the material into its contemporary context and historical dimension. Editors of New Testament lexicons of the past did not have access to all the texts on papyrus and stone which we now have, and most seem to have had little knowledge of Byzantine or modern Greek, to which

New Testament language is in many ways more akin than fifth century Attic. The wealth of knowledge about Greek vocabulary gained from studies stimulated particularly by the development of the Indo-European field from the end of the eighteenth century onwards, and later the decipherment of Linear B in the middle of the twentieth, has yet to have a proper impact on lexicography. Semitic languages are of course an important part of the historical context for the New Testament, and their influence will stand out all the more.

Conclusion

John Lee's book has exceptionally wide scope, providing superb coverage of the history of New Testament lexicography, as well as a discussion of definition theory and practical proposals for the future. The establishment of the database is to be supported in every possible way and would bring about a revolution in the study of Greek vocabulary. It would be a vehicle for both learners and scholars, providing different kinds of information in various layers, accessible according to the needs of the user. Further discussion of definition theory is an exciting prospect. Lee's book will be seen in the future as a landmark in the introduction of a scientific method of defining in dictionaries of ancient languages.

Notes on Case Studies

Appended here are some notes on words mentioned in the book: three from the detailed and excellent studies in the second part entitled *Case Studies*, along with two others, χιών, the word for 'snow', and the verb κατανοῶ already mentioned. My purpose is to comment on how analysis of wider structures within the language will be important for the proposed database, and also to suggest points for further discussion of definition theory.

χιών

This is cited (p. 22) as a type where one word rather than a phrase might be sufficient as a definition. There is certainly no need to explain what snow is in scientific terms for a Greek to English dictionary, because that is the preserve of the monolingual dictionary. In view of the anecdotal stories concerning the alleged plethora of Eskimo words for snow, the choice of this example invites a pause for thought. Without getting into Inuit linguistics, what is important is a proper description of the lexical systems in a language to which a word belongs. In classical Greek χιών is 'snow' as the substance, and the verb 'it is snowing', referring to the weather phenomenon, is from a different inherited word: νείφει (see Chantraine *DELG* under χείμα). At some later point in the history of Greek, this verb is replaced by χιονίζει, with the other root remaining in modern Greek only in νιφάδα 'snowflake'. χιονίζει is not well attested in classical Greek and seems to come in generally at a relatively late date, but Herodotus uses it in a passage about speculation as to whether the water of

the river Nile comes from melting snow (2.22.3, 4). Snow as the substance is more to the point in this context, which is different from another passage where Herodotus uses νείφεται (in the passive, 4.31.1), referring to regions of Scythia with continuous snowfall. Knowledge of the whole history of the word makes an accurate assessment in these passages more likely, as it does for any word at any one point in time.

The New Testament examples of the word are in the phrase λευκὸς ὡς χιών "white as snow," referring to a garment or white hair, which is likened also to white wool. The simile occurs first in Homer. Here the word needs to be defined not by the one word *snow*, with the comparison left to readers to appreciate from similar uses in their own language, but following the kind of description for the second sense for 'snow' in *OED*: "**I. 1. b**.: Taken as a type of whiteness or brightness."

Other derivative words can be compared, such as χιόνινος, χιόνεος, where 'snow-white' or 'pure-white' are descriptions associated particularly with wool and garments, and which show the word in use in color terminology. Comparative context may also be considered. For example, the Herodotus passage, and other instances in literature which refer to fertilizing rivers full from melting snow, can be placed alongside a Septuagint passage where snow which melts and irrigates the land is likened to the enriching word of God (Isa 55:10). Another strand of the usage of χιών is the association in the Septuagint with the appearance of leprosy, a simile which seems nowadays somewhat culturally alien, but which is linked, in terms of its reference to the body, to the association with hair and wool.

Comment on such points relates to peripheral features of meaning, and depends to some extent upon subjective interpretation. If included, the peripheral nature has to be clearly marked, but of course the area between the peripheral and the central is in reality a continuum. Distinctions between notional points need to be made, so that the exercise of definition is scientifically rigorous. However, any idea of a distinct cut-off point between what the word brings to the context, and what the context amounts to, is misleading, even though lexicographers have to work with such an assumption.

κατανοῶ

The definitions quoted above have been written with the New Testament contexts in mind. One wonders how they might suit other passages, either from contemporary sources or from a longer historical span. The author recognizes that adjustments might have to be made after such an examination. However, there is the difficult question of whether definitions in a dictionary should reflect the language of the range of the texts within its remit, or something wider. These two goals are not necessarily the same.

The definitions are intended to represent underlying "lexical meaning," but there is no discussion in the book of exactly what is meant by this. The intention must be to represent meaning at the level of the word and not of the sentence. It would be difficult to argue that a whole sentence with definitions substituted for most of the words could ever convey the underlying meaning as satisfactorily as a conventional translation.

It is clear also that any notion of literal (as it is traditionally called) interpretation is abandoned. In literal terms, the verb is a denominative from νοῦς 'mind', i.e., 'apply the mind', with a preverb which is an intensifier, i.e., 'apply the mind with particularly directed focus'. (I am assuming here a single intensive use for the preverb in all the New Testament examples.) Literal translations are awkward and run the risk of presenting an older stage of the language no longer current. But teachers often employ them as a half-way stage before more fluent interpretation can be attained. In this case, the suggested literal interpretation for this verb is a key which could help a reader unlock the meaning of all the passages cited, though some adjustment would have to be made to take account of uses with a following accusative case.

The definitions in the κατανοῶ model appear to be a representation of the Greek word with a thinking which is wholly in English, and one might ask whether this is entirely desirable. In sense **1**, *inspect with the eyes*, the phrase *with the eyes* surprises as a first sense for a verb whose basic stem in Greek refers to a mental process and not to visual perception, even though cross-over between these realms is common in languages. κατανοῶ does move towards a sense referring to a visual process, but the question of exactly how far it goes in this direction is not easy to answer. Positioning of κατανοῶ next to verbs of seeing is consistently frequent throughout its history, and this should indicate caution. Only sense **3** *direct the mind towards and reflect upon* seems to mirror more closely the Greek formation, and one wonders whether it should not therefore be placed first.

It is hard to see how the preverb κατα- is reflected in the English definitions, except obliquely somewhere within the periphrases. Will the reader appreciate any distinction between κατανοῶ and the uncompounded νοῶ, and how will the latter be treated in the definition methodology?

Definitions have to be found for other related words in the New Testament: νοῶ and νόημα, προνοῶ and πρόνοια, ὑπονοῶ and ὑπόνοια, also διανόημα, διάνοια and ἐπίνοια. There are many more compounds and derivatives in Greek as a whole. If there is to be no single base word in English representing the stem running throughout the definitions, the relationship between the derivative words in Greek will be blurred or obliterated, and the wording of definitions very free. The definitions in the *OLD* entry for *considero* are mentioned as a parallel for some of the meanings of κατανοῶ, and the wording there is similarly free of any connection with the stem, but in Latin the connection with *sidus* 'star' (if that is the correct etymology) is perhaps not likely to have been felt by a native speaker, whereas the connection through all these words with the same stem as νοῦς was probably felt relatively strongly. Even if this were not the case, there are good reasons for the learner to be aware of them.

Definitions also have to be framed for words with overlapping meaning, such as ὁρῶ, καθορῶ, συνορῶ, βλέπω, ἐμβλέπω, ἀτενίζω, ἀντιλαμβάνω, καταλαμβάνω, γινώσκω, ἐραυνῶ, θεῶμαι and θεωρῶ. Glosses have certainly not helped readers much in this web of interrelationships, but definitions might tangle things if

not carefully created. It would be interesting to see worked examples on a larger scale. In some passages, allowances may have to be made for differences which depend on literary style, the rhythm and sound of phrases. How far description of these should find a place in a dictionary is a subject for discussion.

There is a fear that there could quite easily be as many definitions as there are definers, and that variability and imprecision could be great, though the point that definitions should be written by a group of people rather than an individual is noted (pp. 170, 184). Perhaps the important thing is the assessment of the sense categories and their description, not the precise wording. As the author acknowledges, making the divisions is difficult and never exact, because there is always overlap and interaction between them in the real language.

The definition of sense **2** *perceive through visual or other means*, containing within itself an alternative, leaves the reader unclear as to what is meant unless the quotations are referred to. The final parts of the first two definitions *with the eyes* and *by visual or other observation* are similar. For the more specific determination of meaning one is actually left to fall back on the difference between two glosses: *inspect* and *perceive*. Presumably, the methodology takes it for granted that the illustrative quotations will expand upon the definition to give some idea of typical context. For instance, could the verb be used, as in sense **1** *inspect with the eyes*, for a master who lines up his slaves to check on the standard of their cleanliness and dress? The English definition could cover this, but the Greek could not. (Such a verb would begin with ἐπι- in Greek, and there is a problem with the one word *inspect* and its different senses in English.) However, the quotations show that this is not a typical context. Should the definition be framed only with the passages in mind for which the reader will be using the dictionary? Traditionally, Greek dictionaries have been interactive tools, designed to be used alongside the texts from which they were compiled, not as independent descriptions of the language. There is an important point here for consideration, as to what is desirable for the lexical reference works of the future.

In the scheme presented for κατανοῶ, there is no mention of syntax, nothing even about transitivity. The history of the syntactic constructions occurring with the verb is not straightforward, and a study of them may have consequences for the semantic analysis. The examples here where the verb does not have a following object can be said to have an object understood from the context or, just possibly, they are to be analyzed as intransitive or absolute. Clarification would be helpful. A cardinal rule for the definition method is that it should be a substitution equivalent, so that put in the place of the word in any context it will convey the same meaning as the word itself (p. 21). If we try to fit the definition in sense **1** into the contexts: "When Moses saw it, he was amazed at the sight; and as he approached *to inspect with his eyes*" and "Then Moses trembled, and durst not *inspect with his eyes*," there is a slight awkwardness as to whether the English verb expects an object, even allowing for the fact that these translations may not be ideal. Also, after the translation of the participle ἰδών, the

 visual process sits a little awkwardly for the first example. Some sort of natural English version here might be "as he approached to find out what it was" and for the second passage "he did not dare look," that is with some shift between the two. Another possible shift is that in the first instance Moses sees an unusual sight, the bush on fire, in the second he has heard the voice of the Lord. Can we be sure that the second κατανοῆσαι is meant still to refer to visual inspection, or has it shifted to implying that he is now also listening to ascertain the nature of the sound? In any event, translation of these two verses without changing the English rendering of κατανοῆσαι is difficult, though the verb 'to look' covers both fairly seamlessly. The slight difficulty with both the substitution of the definition and the translation may signal that the definition is somewhat off the mark.

Verbs of perception, with their interchangeable emphasis on the physical senses or on inner mental processes, are particularly likely to throw up a proliferation of translation glosses. The phenomenon of aspect also contributes to the proliferation. For verbs of perceiving or knowing, the punctual or non-durative aspect can refer to a different concept from the durative, one which is not dependant on tense. Such distinctions are often rendered by different verbs in English. For example, for a verb of knowing, the durative can refer to a permanent state of knowing, 'understand', or possibly an inchoative, 'try to learn, learn', whereas the punctual can refer to getting to know at one particular moment, 'realize'. Some verbal entries cry out for comment on aspect more than others, and there is little by way of example in present dictionaries to show how this might be done successfully. Greek dictionaries have been too much influenced by models for verbal entries which work better for Latin. The choice of the English verb *perceive* in sense **2**, with its aspectual ambiguity, does not help with precision over the aspects of the Greek verb. The imperfect (a durative tense) κατενόουν at Acts 27:39, with its non-durative translation 'they discovered', begs for further elucidation, particularly since 'perceive' in a durative sense in English would not be normal in the context of this sentence.

ἀκροατήριον

The *Case Study* for this word (Acts 25:23) demonstrates that any special legal meaning referring to a particular "hall of justice" known from Roman legal procedure is an erroneous assumption which has crept into the tradition. Association with such a technical term or a particular building would have to be based on historical or archaeological evidence, which is absent in this case. The author does however think that the word refers to a place, a kind of hall or audience room. The formation of the -τήριον suffix was originally from agent nouns in -τήρ or -τής, referring to something associated with people carrying out a particular activity, or things employed as instruments to carry out some function. The suffix would later have gained some independence and not always been closely associated with an agent noun. A prevalent use is indeed for places or establishments, but it would be interesting to know more

precisely the balance of probability for the NT example of ἀκροατήριον. Such a study needs to be not of one specific word, but of the trends for all the words in the history of the suffix.

The author mentions that a search of TLG CDROM E for the word produces examples where ἀκροατήριον means 'audience'. An example occurs in Plutarch (*Life of the Elder Cato* 22), a passage about the charm of Karneades the Academic philosopher attracting large and appreciative audiences. A meaning referring to the occasions of the philosopher's lectures does not suit this passage, but is only a small step away. A sense 'the occasion of the hearing' would suit ἀκροατήριον in Acts, and perhaps cannot be ruled out on present evidence. The relatively late first attestation of ἀκροατήριον indicates that interaction with Latin *auditorium* is possible for any example, though it could be in either direction. Sense **3** in *OLD* for *auditorium* 'the hearing of a case' (marked as a legal term) provides a parallel for this as a possible sense in Acts. The context of εἰσελθόντων εἰς τὸ ἀκροατήριον does not necessarily suggest a particular place. The early and regular phrase εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον for persons coming before a court has no sense of place necessarily attached to it, only the presence of the jurors and the occasion of their judgment.

One might compare another word with the same suffix: ληστήριον, in singular or plural, has various meanings relating to men who rob and carry out banditry or piracy. It can refer to a group of men, the occasion of their attacks, their activities in general, or the place where they carry them out.

Dictionaries of Ancient Greek fail to take proper account of the richness afforded by the language's propensity for suffixation. The important analysis of suffixes by Buck and Petersen (1946) had not been published when *LSJ* appeared, and although Chantraine's work on noun formation (1933) had been published a little earlier, the editors show little sign that they knew of the work or appreciated its implications for Greek lexicography. Palmer's grammar for papyri (1946) does a good basic job in sorting derivative suffixes into groups, and for a stage in the language contemporary with the New Testament.

γυναικάριον

This *Case Study* raises the question of the place of bibliography in a dictionary and whether opinions in the secondary literature should be reported impartially. *BDAG* is taken to task for reporting a view from Moulton and Milligan (1930) for γυναικάρια (at 2 Tim 3:6) by means of a short parenthesis: "(w. suggestion of higher societal status)." This is criticized for giving extended life to the extravagant phrase in the original: "society ladies, borne by caprices in various directions and full of idle curiosity." This was not, however, by way of a definition or translation, but a commentary. *BDAG* does not report the whole of this, and the translations offered: *idle/foolish/weak woman*, do not give it any prominence, differing little from *OLD*'s entry for *muliercula*: '(a little, weak, foolish, etc.) woman'. Whatever the deficiencies in the Moulton

and Milligan commentary, it is quite possible that these women do have a respectable status in society, because they are in their houses behind closed doors.

The author's guess that γυναικάρια in this passage is not so much contemptuous as sympathetic is very tempting, but has to be well justified. παιδάριον 'child' frequently occurs in passages emphasizing vulnerability, especially poverty. Certainly, the point made that "silly woman" in lexicons and traditional translations may not mean what it does in modern English is an important one. Compare, for example, *OED*: 'silly: **A. I. †b.** Helpless, defenceless; *esp.* of women and children', a sense rightly picked by the author as being very possibly relevant. The changes in our own language mean that a bilingual dictionary, even for an ancient language, will always have to be updated. An interesting question is whether definitions will tend to become dated less quickly than glosses.

The author has found some sixty passages with γυναικάριον, nine of which are quoted. This approach of comprehensive searches is found throughout the book. However, it is not so important to collect every example of a particular word, but rather to understand its place within the structure of the language. Examination of other words with the same suffix, the authors who use them, the tone of the passages and changes of usage over time, is likely to be more profitable for sharpening appreciation of meaning.

Comparing words with this suffix which refer to people is an obvious approach. Most are colloquial and sparsely attested, but three are relatively common: ἀνδράριον, ἀνθρωπάριον and παιδάριον. ἀνθρωπάρια are mentioned in the discussion, paired with γυναικάρια in one passage (Epiphanius *Panarion* 26.5.8), men and women who devote themselves to pleasurable pursuits. But ἀνθρωπάριον is a strange pairing, since ἀνήρ, not ἄνθρωπος is the natural mate for γυνή. Here, different considerations cut across the suffixal grouping. A diminutive formation for each of these words does not carry the same connotations. It is not necessarily pejorative for a child, who is young and small anyway. A woman is always of inferior status to a man, so pejorative intentions are more likely, whether mild or strong. The tone has to be pejorative for a man. ἀνδράριον is always highly insulting because of the nobility of the word ἀνήρ, and ἀνθρωπάριον must be a degradation for a man, less so when applied to a slave or just referring to a human (compare a sense something like 'earthling', from Poverty's point of view, at Aristophanes *Ploutos* 416). Of course, γυναικάριον is an ultimate insult for a man, as in one of the passages cited. In the Epiphanius passage, the noble word ἄνδρες is not used, and ἀνθρωπάρια is going to be insulting to some degree. Such men are not men, but just excuses for men, spending their time in indulgence.

Every passage quoted in the *Case Study* actually puts women in a relatively bad light compared with the serious duties to which men are called. Even those put forward in the discussion as more sympathetic do not lack pejorative associations. A little woman or wife (Epictetus, *Enchiridion* 7) may be very nice for a man to have,

but is to be abandoned if higher duties call. The New Testament passage is similar to the one quoted from *Historia Alexandri Magni* (*Recensio* β 1.46.12): γυναικάρια who live in seclusion behind walls are hardly worthy opponents for fighting men. Women are weak and defenseless, and going into houses using force against them is hardly manly. The suffix is actually as much to do with the speaker's attitude to the men as to the women.

One of the functions of a derivative suffix is to signal that the meaning is once removed from the basic noun term. παιδάριον is something like 'kid', not a child with a particular place in society. There can be an almost collective sense for the plural: παιδάρια 'a group of boys or kids', even 'a pack of brats'. These distinctions can be seen with a word belonging to the grouping of animal words: in Plutarch (*Life of Aratos* 5–8) breaking into a city is difficult because of the noise and danger from a gardener's dogs: κυνάρια. These are a 'pack of dogs', probably referring not so much to their size, because at one point they are said to be μικρά 'small', but rather viewed as a group with lots of them and as a nuisance. However, in the same passage, an individual large hunting dog elsewhere in the city is κύων, and κύνες is even used for the same κυνάρια in parts of the narrative purely concerned with the action. In a passage in Plato (*Euthudemos* 298e) both κυνίδια 'puppies' and κυνάρια 'a brood of dogs, whelps' are used for the same animals, with some sort of contrast as suggested by these translations, with the idea that the puppies become something different and removed when viewed in another emotional way. κυνάρια (Matt 15:26) is one step down from κύνες and intensifies the contrast with τέκνα, the children who should be given the bread. γυναικάριον is not a particular wife or woman with full status, but a more anonymous woman. The only passage quoted which concerns a specific woman refers to Helen of Troy (Epictetus, *Enchiridion* 3.22.36). This follows an old tradition, where terms other than 'woman' or 'wife' are used contemptuously for Helen, going right back to Homer, with the implication in the insult to Paris as γυναιμανής 'woman-mad', possibly 'mad about the woman', formed on γύναιον (*Iliad* 3.39), which never has the same meaning as the more noble γυνή, despite what *LSJ* says.

δεξιολάβος

The examination of this word serves to remind that we do not know what it means. The author observes (p. 260 in a note) that in his experience participants in discussions of this example always show most interest nonetheless in trying to decide what it means. This lively natural curiosity should be encouraged and harnessed to proper training in assessing the evidence. A single new observation or discovery may make the correct answer suddenly stand out, and the importance of keeping a record of possibilities in the electronic database is obvious.

The phrase δεξιὰς δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν referring to the clasping of right hands as a way of sealing an agreement is mentioned here in the additional note by Peter Brennan on military matters (p. 263), who suggests that the δεξιολάβοι might be an ir-

regular force put together on a handshake agreement for an *ad hoc* purpose. There is no certainty about this suggestion, but the study of common collocations of words in sentences is very important for lexicography, not just for compounds, but for the description of meaning in terms of the contexts in which a word commonly occurs. The search-tool for *Greek Words in Context* on the *Perseus Digital Library* site (http://ibis. perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/vor?lang=greek) makes collocational searches possible for a large amount of classical literature. A search for the words ἔργον and λαβεῖν in close proximity in texts raises some interesting possibilities for elucidation of the rather imprecise entry in *LSJ* for the compound ἐργολάβος, for example. Listing instances where δεξιά or δεξιός occur in a syntactic relationship with λαβεῖν is perhaps only indulging further in inconclusive speculation about this unfamiliar word. However, knowing that there are clusters of meaning, such as in a pledging hand-shake, or as a gesture of entreaty, taking a weapon in the right hand, or taking the right hand position, allows speculation to be rooted in real possibilities.

At the moment, a definition for this word is impossible, and it must therefore be treated in a different way. The problem remains as to whether a handy translation word should be provided for those who need it, one which seems reasonable in the light of the context and available evidence, as long as there is honesty about the uncertainty.

<div align="right">

ANNE THOMPSON
UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

</div>

De Troyer, Kristin. *The End of the Alpha Text of Esther: Translation and Narrative Technique in MT 8:1–17, LXX 8:1–17, and AT 7:14–41*. SBLSCS 48. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000. Pp. 435. ISBN 0-88414-036-9.

The title of this book has been cleverly chosen: there is a *double entendre* which alludes both to the texts under discussion and to De Troyer's conclusions. She presents a closely argued study of Esther chap. 8 in the MT, the LXX, and the corresponding passage in the so-called Alpha Text. This is generally taken to be the conclusion of the earliest form of the Esther story. The conclusion she reaches is at odds with much contemporary scholarship: the AT does not witness to a Hebrew *Vorlage* different from the MT, but is a recension of the LXX, adapted to a new situation.

In her opening chapter, *Status Quaestionis*, De Troyer rehearses the complexities of research into the texts of the book of Esther. The table on page 13 comparing the enumeration of text editions is very helpful, as is the schematic representation of the various hypotheses of the relationship between MT, LXX and AT on page 39. After giving an overview of scholarship, she focuses on the theories of Hanhert (1966, 1983), Cook (1969), Tov (1982), Clines (1984), and Fox (1991). In critically discuss-

ing these works, she focuses on two primary questions: Does the second Greek text have a different Hebrew *Vorlage*, of which it is a relatively faithful translation; or is it a creative reworking of the LXX? Assuming the first option, what was the extent of the original text? For her own contribution to the debate, she focuses on the mutual interdependence of the MT, the LXX, and the AT, taking the explanation of the AT as the primary issue. Her choice of MT 8:1–17, LXX 8:1–17, and AT 7:14–41 has two motivations: this passage exhibits more significant differences than preceding chapters; and it is apparently where an older book of Esther ended. She thus asks secondary questions about this conclusion. De Troyer's starting point for her research is a synopsis of the texts (included as an appendix). There is no hierarchical placing of the texts; each functions as a reference text with respect to the location of differences. Her analysis of the similarities and differences operates on two levels: translation technique, and narrative technique. In other words, she views the translator/redactor as a storyteller in his own right. De Troyer devotes a chapter each to the MT, the LXX and the AT, in that order. Her approach in each chapter differs in line with the questions asked of each text.

Her analysis of MT 8:1–17 is driven by the question of whether this passage was written by the same author who composed the remainder of the Hebrew narrative. Her verse-by-verse analysis is marked by very sensible judgments. She succeeds in demonstrating that it does indeed fit well with the rest of the MT of Esther, showing that it makes use of material from preceding chapters, predominantly, but not exclusively, chap. 3. She is of the opinion that the Hebrew text is a coherent and unified whole, rejecting Fox's assertion that chap. 8 is the work of a redactor. Based on the MT of Esther, it does not seem necessary to postulate a highly-skilled imitator of the author as the originator of chap. 8.

When De Troyer turns to the LXX she accepts as a working hypothesis that the MT is its *Vorlage*, and carefully compares the two texts. From this close analysis she draws conclusions about the translation technique and the narrative technique. For the former, she describes the translation on the levels of syntax, semantics, and style. In terms of narrative technique, De Troyer argues that the translator has not only translated the Esther narrative, but has also transformed it into a new text. Nevertheless, the changes in the narrative remain in line with the possibilities of the Hebrew text. De Troyer therefore reaffirms that the MT *is* the *Vorlage* of the LXX, with the understanding that it is not a literal translation, but a creative reworking. It is difficult to prove such an assertion with any degree of certainty, given the circular nature of the argument, but she has succeeded in demonstrating that it is plausible. Her hypothesis has the advantage of being the simplest explanation for the text as we have it, given the data available. She links the changes in the narrative to a postulated context for the translation. Here she follows Bickerman (1944) in accepting that the LXX of Esther was written in Jerusalem and brought to Alexandria in order to introduce the feast of Purim and to bring a pro-Jewish message before Ptolemeus XII Auletos. She allows, though, the need to re-examine these suggestions after a study of Add. E, when it can

be determined whether the date and the situation fit the entire Septuagint of Esther, including the Additions.

When she turns to the AT section, De Troyer studies it first and foremost against the background of the AT as a whole. Her analysis outlines the characteristics of the AT scene by scene and reveals the distinctive structure of this text. Given her working hypothesis that AT is a reworking of the LXX, she explains it in these terms wherever possible. Almost all the material unique to the AT she demonstrates to have been constructed from material already used in the AT. She also shows how this material could be considered a further elaboration and reworking of the LXX, including Add. E. Substantial divergences from the LXX are explained with reference to the AT's modified narrative structure and different context. There is thus no need to postulate a different Hebrew *Vorlage* for the material unique to AT. Because she is able to explain all the elements of AT 7:14–41 at the narrative technical level she rejects the notion of primary and secondary (adapted to the LXX) segments of the AT. Once again, there is an inevitable degree of circularity about the arguments, but De Troyer certainly puts forward a very plausible case.

Before giving her final conclusions, De Troyer devotes a separate chapter to Addition E in the LXX and in the AT. From a brief survey of scholarly research into the Additions in Esther she draws out a number of important conclusions and questions about Add. E. It is generally accepted that the original Additions B and E were written in Greek. It appears, furthermore, that they were generally available at the time of the Greek translation, however that be understood. The question, then, is to which text was Add. E added? In line with her conclusion that the AT is a retelling of the LXX, De Troyer endeavors to show that Add. E of the AT offers a reworking of LXX Add E. She also works to establish whether Add. E was attached by the translator of the LXX or whether it was introduced into the LXX by a later interpolator. Drawing on her previous findings, she claims that AT took up Add. E as ordinary text into its narrative, implying that its author was familiar with the LXX, including this addition. The AT narrative is integrated with much greater skill, and the basic text is harmonized with the Additions. This explains the greater number of common terms shared between the basic text of the AT and Add. E. better than the conclusion of Jobes (1996) that the AT has preserved a more original form of Add. E.

Turning to the LXX, De Troyer has shown how the LXX not only introduced Adds. B and E, but even changed its translation in order to adapt to the additions. (The LXX adapts the text of MT 8:11–12 in order to allow LXX 8:11–12 to appear more like the text of Add E:19.) De Troyer discerns a number of differences between the basic text and the Additions at the semantic level, but believes nonetheless that they are the product of a single author. In support of this she points out that Greek—or a text for which there is no existing Hebrew *Vorlage*—is for the most part better Greek than translation Greek, and asks how Add. E and B could have been in circulation without being anchored in a particular text. Her argumentation here is plausible, but not compelling.

Her 'Conclusions' (which for some reason are not set out as a chap. 6) give a concise summary of her arguments and conclusions. Appended to this summarizing statement are further suggestions about the function of these texts in their historical context, which, as she carefully points out, are not extensively substantiated. She suggests that the AT is a rewriting of the LXX for Agrippa, grandson of Herod the Great. I find her approach at this point somewhat naïve. She equates the AT Mordecai with Agrippa I, and links up the other characters with other historical figures. Of Esther, though, she writes that "[her] identity is not so easily established," implying that the AT is something of an allegory. A story can be adapted to fit a new situation, and the characters reworked to illustrate pertinent virtues and vices; it is perhaps also possible that a key character or two be reworked with a specific historical person in mind; but it pushes the point too far to try to make an ancient story mirror a later context in terms of all its principal characters.

Whether the scholarly community agrees with De Troyer's conclusion that the *Vorlage* question of the AT has been satisfactorily answered remains to be seen. But De Troyer's thought-provoking work will certainly need to be taken seriously in future debate on the issue.

JESSIE ROGERS
CORNERSTONE CHRISTIAN COLLEGE, CAPE TOWN

McLay, R. Timothy. *The Use of the Septuagint in New Testament Research*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 2003. ISBN: 0-8028-6091-5

Septuagint studies have certainly come into a time of significant and welcomed activity. From the publication of Swete's *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* in 1900 to that of Jellicoe's *The Septuagint and Modern Study* there was a span of 68 years. Since Jellicoe we have seen the production of a number of significant introductory texts. Natalio Fernández Marcos provided an introduction, first in Spanish, *Introducción a las versiones griegas de la Biblia* (1979; 1998), and now in English, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible* (2000); and at a more introductory level we have *Invitation to the Septuagint* by Karen H. Jobes and Mosés Silva (2000). In French there is *La Bible grecque des Septante: du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme ancien* by Gilles Dorival, Marguerite Harl, and Olivier Munnich (1988). To these one could add the work by Walters [Katz], *the Text of the Septuagint, Its Corruptions and Their Emendation* (1973) and Tov's *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (1981; 1997), and numerous monographs and collections of papers. Now, Tim McLay (Associate Professor of Biblical Studies at St. Stephens University in New Brunswick, Canada) has written an introduction to the use of the Septuagint in the NT. He is no stranger to the IOSCS, having served as its Secretary for several years now, and having published on Septuagint topics in the

SBLSCS series and in various journals and collected papers, and presented at various conferences.

McLay's purpose in writing was to correct what he perceives as a weakness in NT scholarship: "Septuagint research has up until now played a relatively minor role in the world of New Testament Scholarship" (p. xi). Not only does he find a lack of discussion of the Septuagint in basic introductions to the NT, as shown by a survey of introductions from 1985 to present 2000 (p. 1 n. 3), but he also finds a lack of awareness of the advances in Septuagint studies and how they make a difference to discussions of the relationship between the NT and the Greek translations of the Jewish Scriptures, even when it is acknowledged that NT writers used Greek versions of those Scriptures. In chap. 2 he asks the question, How can NT scholars talk about the exegetical procedures of NT writers "without first discerning *what* texts the author is citing?" Then he states: "The modest aim of this volume is to contribute to our ability to answer the above question by illuminating the ways in which the Greek writings of the Jewish Scriptures were employed in the NT" (p. 37). I would add that Hebrew Bible (HB) scholars without training in Septuagint studies and wanting an introduction to the study of Translation Technique (which should include any scholar intending to use the Greek versions for text critical work) will also find great benefit in this volume.

The book has a warm conversational style to it, and falls somewhere between a textbook and a monograph, being written for the Septuagint novice but having copious notes that interact with scholarship. It consists of: an introduction; six chapters, each with a set of summary points; a four page glossary of terms; a twenty page bibliography; and indexes of authors and texts. Structurally, the book moves from a general introduction to the issues using examples, to a theoretical discussion that provides the foundation for detailed work, back to the issues, again using examples from the NT, but with a discussion that now assumes knowledge of the theory McLay has brought to the task.

There are numerous uses of NT quotes of earlier Scriptures in all chapters except 2 and 3, where the theory is covered. It becomes clear throughout the book that McLay's particular expertise is the OG and Th versions of Daniel (see his Durham Ph.D. dissertation, *The OG and Th Versions of Daniel* [SBLSCS 43; Atlanta, Scholars Press, 1996], and various articles). When brief examples are cited of what happens when the Hebrew/Aramaic text was being translated into Greek, more often than not, they are from these translations. Adding more—and longer—examples to chaps. 2 and 3, and broadening the range from which they are drawn would enhance the book.

After a brief introduction, chap. 1 eases the reader into the whole topic through a case study. Using the citation of Amos 9:11–12 in Acts 15:16–18, a comparison is made among the NT, OG, and MT versions of this material, and many of the ideas that will be discussed in the following chapters are touched on here first. In this way the complex set of issues that must be borne in mind are set out: although the OG renders the Hebrew text that we have, and it is what is cited in Acts, there are differ-

ences that still require explanation, and not all can be explained as a problem with the text used for Acts; there are also issues of the way in which the NT author has cited the text—was it cited from memory or copied, and were changes made to fit it into a context, or to make a theological point?

To this point in the book McLay has not done much that others have not already done. Chapter 2 is where this book adds to what other introductory texts offer. While for translation technique (TT, the abbreviation is used throughout the book) others suggest consulting works like *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations* by Barr, or *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators* by Anneli Aejmelaeus who gathers together a series of TT studies, McLay devotes two entire chapters to the specifics of TT (pp. 37–99). Eschewing statistical analysis, his approach is close to that of Soisalon-Soininen and Aejmelaeus who focus on the idiosyncrasies of the individual translators by interacting more with the work at hand rather than with statistical probabilities of choices based on undifferentiated practice over the whole of the "Septuagint." Chapter 2 lays out the linguistic rationale behind McLay's understanding of TT, and chap. 3 presents a four-step model for doing TT (adapted from Szpek's *Translation Technique in the Peshitta to Job*): (1) compare the correspondence between texts as to morphology, syntax, and lexicology, looking for how the translator rendered the text using "additions, omissions, and substitutions" (p. 80); (2) note the adjustments made to morphology, syntax, and lexical elements in order to render the Hebrew/Aramaic into Greek; (3) determine, as possible, whether changes were intentional (such as: clarification of subjects, qualifications, harmonizations) or unintentional (textual corruptions, lack of vocabulary knowledge); and, (4) determine what effect changes have on the meaning of the resultant translation. Why so much time for this in a book for New Testament scholars? He explains: "Though the analysis of TT has more direct bearing on Septuagint research, the principles behind the methodology are applicable to the analysis of quotations in the NT and determining whether a quotation is based on the Hebrew text or a Greek translation" (p. 14). There will be disagreement over his choice of theory for the linguistics background, and whether his four steps for doing a TT study go too far, or are not developed enough; but this section of the book, its heart, is a clear advancement over what other introductory texts have done with this topic: Fernández Marcos's text, for example, has only 5 pages devoted to an actual discussion of TT, but touches only on the "range of translation techniques" used; and Jobes's and Silva's text has only 4 pages. No other introductory text actually sets TT into a broader theoretical framework. Unfortunately, these chapters are the ones most likely to be skimmed over by those wanting a quick introduction.

The final two chapters move to the consideration of NT texts in the light of the TT theory now presented. Chapter 4 outlines some of the issues raised by the existence of different forms of the Hebrew Bible in existence, and other translations and recensions of the Greek Jewish Scriptures and their precursors (e.g., proto-Theodotion). At the end of the chapter he lists seven steps to follow when answering the question,

"Which text (or texts) might this reading reflect?" In chap. 5, he considers the question of what impact the LXX had on the NT. Here the question is, If the NT authors had not used the Septuagint, would there be theological differences in the presentation of the NT? (p. 144). He argues that the LXX made a difference as evidenced by the influence of the LXX on NT vocabulary; citations from the LXX that differ from the HB and are used in the NT (for example, Paul's citation of Isa 40:13 at 1 Cor 2:16 where νοῦς, rather than an equivalent of רוּחַ, comes from the OG tradition, and makes a difference to the context); and finally in theology, for which he has an extended discussion of the use of motifs from the book of Jonah in Matthew, launching from Matt 12:40 (published in an expanded form as "Death, Descent, and Deliverance in Matt 27:51b–53," in *You will be My Witnesses* [ed. R. G. Wooden, T. R. Ashley, and R. S. Wilson; Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 2003] 81–93).

McLay makes it clear that this is not a general introduction to LXX studies, but rather is an introduction to issues that apply to NT research (p. 4). He wrote this specifically for NT scholars, graduate students, and others working with NT texts that cite or allude to Jewish Scriptures in the NT. Given that emphasis, he does not provide coverage of all LXX matters, but only those necessary to his focus. Thus, he advises (p. 171 n. 1) that works such as those by Jellico, Fernández Marcos, Jobes and Silva, and Dorival, Harl and Munnich, should be consulted for discussion of the wider range of issues. Thus, this text is meant to be used as a complement to what others have done. He accomplishes this well, pointing readers to the relevant works in the areas where he has chosen only to touch lightly.

There is a series of mistakes associated with the discussion, beginning on p. 107, of Heb 1:6, Deuteronomy 32, and *Ode* 2. Consistently McLay translates the third person imperative προσκυνησάτωσαν as a second person imperative, which results in "Worship him, all sons of God," rather than "Let all the angels/sons of God worship him." As well, the form of the last verb in the quote from *Ode* 2:43, ἐκδικᾶται, must come from Rahlfs edition of Deut 32:43, not from *Odes* or from Wevers' editions, which read ἐκδικεῖται. As well, he refers to the collection of 14 liturgical odes from the OT and NT found appended to the Psalms in Ralfs' *Septuaginta* (see Swete, pp. 253–54) as if they were the *Odes of Solomon*. Readers are wrongly pointed to Charlesworth's *Old Testament Pseudapigrapha*, 2:726–27 for an introduction, as part of this discussion. These are not the same books. The first is a collection of materials used in the liturgy of the church, and the second is the *ca.* 100 C.E. work. This raises some questions about what the relation of Heb 1:6 is to *Ode* 2, which in turn is a version of Deut 32. Although it is McLay's mistake, it is also surprising that others who vetted, edited, or wrote promotions did not pick up on this mistake and suggest a change. Nonetheless, that there is a text from Qumran with similarities to *Ode* 2 makes the discussion valuable, just not as certain as McLay thought.

I expected to find in this volume reference to and discussion of the recent monographs on the use of the OT in the NT published before this volume went to the publisher. There are no references, positive or negative, to works such as: Leschert, *Her-*

meneutical Foundations of Hebrews: A Study in the Validity of the Epistle's Inter-
pretation of Some Core Citations from the Psalms (Mellen, 1994); Steyn, *Septuagint*
Quotations in the Context of the Petrine and Pauline Speeches of the Acta Apostolo-
rum (Kok Pharos, 1995); Menken, *Old Testament* Q*uotations in the Fourth Gospel:*
Studies in Textual Form (Kok Pharos, 1996); and Wilk, *Die Bedeutung des Jesa-*
jabuches für Paulus (Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1998). These would have illustrated
further both the poor and the good use of the LXX by scholars.

Improvements that could be brought to the next edition are: to address the con-
cerns noted above; to include an index of topics; to include a "for further study" bibli-
ography section at the end of each chapter, rather than letting the notes do that; to
consistently use NT examples in each chapter; to relate the theoretical chapters more
to actual NT examples, before getting to chaps. 4 and 5; and to employ a clearer sys-
tem of headings so that readers have a better sense of when sections are subordinated.
As well, the various references to Longenecker's *Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic*
Period as the 1975 edition will need to be changed to the 1999 edition.

Despite my criticisms, this work is an important contribution to the fields of NT
and LXX studies. New Testament scholars and students investigating the dependence
of the NT on the OT especially need to consider this work. However, those interested
in an introduction to the field of Translation Technique will also benefit from chaps. 2
and 3. It should be part of the required reading lists of courses introducing the LXX,
the NT's use of Jewish Scriptures, and even the Church Fathers' use of the OT.

Glenn Wooden
Acadia Divinity College, Wolfville, Nova Scotia

Walser, Georg. *The Greek of the Ancient Synagogue: An Investigation on the Greek of*
the Septuagint, Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament. Studia Graeca et Latina
Lundensia 8. Lund: Almqvist and Wiksell, 2001. Pp. xxv + 197. ISBN 91-22-
01928-6.

"This is a study of how the Greek language was used in the ancient synagogue,"
says the first sentence of the book, followed by the amplification that it is aimed at
"testing the hypothesis that there existed a peculiar variety of Greek that was used for
certain purposes by Jewish and Christian writers in the context of the synagogue"
(p. 1). This seems an interesting and useful objective, though one sees an immediate
difficulty: how and where will the Greek used in the ancient synagogue be found?
After all, we have no direct access to what was said or written in the Greek-speaking
Jewish/Christian synagogue—unless Walser has discovered some new evidence. It
quickly turns out, however, that when W. speaks of "the Greek of the ancient syna-
gogue" he does not intend "synagogue" to mean what one might suppose. As he ex-
plains: "'Synagogue' may be said to denote the environment in which texts with reli-

gious content were produced by the Jews and the early Christians in the period c. 200 BC to c. AD 200." So the synagogue is an environment, the Jewish and Christian milieu in which certain texts appeared over the course of 400 years. Actually W. has little to say about this environment: his target is the texts, a selection of which he assembles into a body and uses for statistical comparison with another selected body of texts from outside this environment.

The labeling of these Jewish and Christian texts as representing "the Greek of the ancient synagogue" distracts the reader at the outset and throughout the work, in which such terms are used repeatedly. They in fact anticipate a debatable conclusion advanced but hardly proved later in the book. W. is aware of the difficulty and says (p. 2) that this and similar phrases are chosen "for the reason that much of the religious activity of both Jews and Christians in those centuries was centred around the synagogue, as an institution and as a building." But he goes on to admit that "the synagogue was not the only religious institution relevant to Christians and Jews of the period, and there is no guarantee that *any* of the Greek texts discussed here had something to do with a particular synagogue." So the use of the phrase "the Greek of the ancient synagogue" is a handy but question-begging term for something that has not been proved to be anything of the kind. Its use as a provocative title for the book might be excused, but its repetition, as if "the Greek of the ancient synagogue" was an entity that has actually been found and identified, is an irritant. And there is another large assumption behind the lumping together of Jewish and Christian texts, one that W. excuses in a sentence (p. 2): "The dependence of early Christianity on its Jewish background justifies the supposition that Jewish and Christian texts in Greek exhibit the same variety of language."

Walser's chosen body of texts "with an origin within the context of the synagogue" consists of the Pentateuch, some other LXX texts (Joshua, Judith, Tobit I, II, etc.), most of the NT, some Pseudepigrapha (*Apocalypse of Moses*, *Joseph and Asenath*, etc.), the *Letter of Aristeas*, selections from Josephus and Philo, and the Yadin Papyri. The other group, the "texts with no reference to the synagogue," consists of selected parts of Herodotus, Xenophon, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Dio Chrysostom, Plutarch, Epictetus, and "selected papyri" (a small number of texts taken from two published selections). The difficulty of the label "the Greek of the ancient synagogue" is no more evident than in the case of the Yadin Papyri. These consist of 22 *documentary* texts, i.e., marriage contracts, petitions and the like, as WALSER well knows (p. 14), that have no link to the synagogue. They could just as well be regarded as belonging to the other group. What does unite the former group? It seems to be nothing more than that they derive from Jewish and Christian sources.

But in fact the groupings as such do not mean a great deal, because the primary goal of the study is to determine the relative frequency of certain features in the texts of the whole corpus. If (as they do) the Yadin Papyri, along with Aristeas, Paul, Josephus and Philo end up falling outside their original group, this becomes apparent

in the tabulation (e.g., 164). This fact however does not stop Walser from continuing to label them "texts with an origin within the context of the synagogue" (p. 165). Once named, they cannot escape!

The bulk of the book consists of tables of frequency with attendant explanation and discussion. Walser appears expert in statistics; at any rate the non-expert has to assume he knows what he is doing when he speaks of "the Mann-Whitney *U*-test" and other such recondite matters. But even the numerically challenged can follow well enough to see the import. Walser chooses three features and examines them primarily in regard to word order. The features are participles, conjunctions and particles, and the focus is mostly on how they are placed in relation to other words. Walser attempts to identify certain peculiarities that are normal enough Greek but are nevertheless in some way conditioned by peculiarities of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX (pp. 5–6). The presumption is that when these reappear in other texts, those texts "may be regarded as exhibiting the same variety of Greek." Frequency is the key, and the Pentateuch is the touchstone against which all the other texts of the corpus are measured.

Thus, for example, Walser takes a number of conjunctions (ἕως, ἡνίκα, ἵνα, ὅτε, etc.) and, having observed that in the Pentateuch these are very often followed immediately by the principal verb of the clause, goes looking for the same feature in his corpus. Tables of frequency show the results. In the final table (p. 118), when the Pentateuch is at 100 on the "LXX-index," Joshua, for example, is at 97, Revelation at 83, Matthew at 76, Luke at 64, Paul at 24, Epictetus at 11 and Xenophon at 0. The first 24 texts in this table, arranged in a falling scale, are "all from the group with an origin within the context of the synagogue." We can see that a frequent feature of Pentateuch word order as in ἵνα τρέφῃς (Gen 6:19) turns up, say, in Luke (e.g., 6:13 ὅτε ἐγένετο), at a much greater frequency than in a writer like Epictetus. Even so, some from that group, notably Josephus (at –6 on the "LXX-index"), Philo (at –7) and Aristeas (at –9) fall well outside the upper 24 and are found with the non-Jewish/Christian texts.

Another feature studied is the present participle of λέγω in the nominative case introducing direct speech, a characteristic of the LXX Pentateuch with an obvious link to Hebrew. The table (p. 87) shows what seem to the lay eye wild variations. While a book like LXX Daniel scores only 22 on the "LXX-index" of 100, Matthew's Gospel hits 205. Walser nevertheless finds (p. 88) that "since the *p*-value is lower than 0.1%, there is a significant difference" between his two groups, i.e., "the group of texts with an origin within the context of the synagogue and the group of texts with no reference to the synagogue." On the statistical test I have to trust him. But as he himself points out, there is "great variation" even within the former group. Walser admits (p. 88) that "this is, of course, to a great extent due to the content of the texts."

A combined table for all the features studied is given (p. 164), providing an overview of Walser's results. It seems clear that Walser has demonstrated that certain features characteristic of the Greek of the Pentateuch are statistically more likely to recur, with some notable exceptions, in texts from Jewish and Christian sources. But

how is this result to be interpreted? That is the all-important question. When Walser concludes (p. 173) that "the language of the Pentateuch served as some kind of a model for subsequent texts written in the same genre as the Pentateuch, intended for a similar audience and dealing with the same subject-matter," we may be inclined to agree, though with the caveat that genre, audience and subject-matter need much more refined description (for example, in what sense was the audience for the Pentateuch "similar" to that for the book of Acts?). But when Walser moves on, as he does in the next sentence, to say "this peculiar 'Pentateuchal' variety of Greek was used within the context of the synagogue . . ." and (p. 185) "there is a group of texts with an origin within the context of the synagogue, which show close affinity with each other and differ significantly from the texts with no reference to the synagogue," he has leapt to a further conclusion that has not been proved and is difficult to sustain. The "synagogue," whatever Walser now means by it, becomes the link between a number of very varied texts and a convenient explanation for their shared use of certain linguistic features. Despite chap. 6 (pp. 174–84), which has many sensible things to say about diglossia and the polyglossic speech community of the ancient synagogue, and about how knowledge of "Pentateuchal Greek" might have been transmitted, Walser has by no means explained exactly how books like John's Gospel or Luke-Acts originated "within the context of the synagogue." In fact he has not engaged at all with the question; he just assumes that these Christian texts can be brought under the label without further ado.

Walser gives little prominence to the fact that in the final table of frequency of features (p. 164), certain Jewish/Christian texts, as mentioned above, fall outside their supposed group and "show closer affinity to the mean of the texts with no reference to the synagogue than to the Pentateuch" (p. 165), i.e., they are closer to the non-Jewish/Christian authors like Plutarch and Polybius. Walser does not consider what the explanation for this might be. It clearly calls into question his assumption that these were "texts with an origin within the context of the synagogue" and casts doubt on his hypothesis that a variety of language mediated via the synagogue can be identified. The reason for the choice of the Pentateuch as some kind of model by subsequent writers—that is, the ones who do choose it, such as Luke—may have no direct connection with the synagogue.

There is a further concern in relation to Walser's corpus of texts. As his representatives of "texts with no reference to the synagogue" he chooses portions of various Classical and post-Classical authors (as noted above), all writers of literary Greek, with only Epictetus somewhat closer to the vernacular. To represent the lower levels of the language he has only a group of "selected papyri," which consist of 184 documents, 21,995 words in all (p. 16). It should be pointed out that papyrus texts and ostraka, etc., entered in the Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri now amount to over *five million* words. And that is not to mention inscriptions, which are even more numerous. What might all this body of evidence reveal if investigated thoroughly?

Is this study an attempt to revive "Jewish Greek"? It is. The words take some time to appear, and even then are mentioned only once, close to the end of the book, but it is evident that Walser believes the variety of Greek he has tried to identify is exactly that. He says (p. 184): "The question of 'Jewish Greek' has for a long time occupied several scholars. Was there ever a distinct Jewish variety of Greek . . . ? If the suppositions in this chapter are right, the answer to this question could be 'yes'. Yes, there was a distinct Jewish variety of Greek, viz., the Pentateuchal variety of Greek, and, yes, that variety was a quite natural element in the polyglossic spectre [*sic*] that characterized the ancient Greek language situation." It looks as if this was the agenda from the beginning of Walser's investigation, and what lies behind the characterization of Jewish/Christian texts as originating "within the context of the synagogue."

Walser is right to point out (pp. 145, 147, 181–2) that when we attempt to determine the nature of LXX and NT Greek and the degree of Semitic influence in them, all levels of the language, not just the lexicon, need to be investigated. Syntax and especially word order, he says, are likely to reveal Semitisms much more than the lexicon. From the outset investigations have tended to concentrate on the vocabulary. But according to Walser this cannot tell us much: "when the *lexicon* of the alleged vernacular papyri of the Egypt desert was studied and it was noticed that it has very much in common with the *lexicon* of the NT, this is just what we would have expected" (p. 181). Walser underestimates the importance of vocabulary as evidence. It was, just as much as other levels, what was claimed to be peculiar to the LXX and NT by proponents of a special variety of Biblical Greek, and in need of bringing out of its isolation. When this happened, thanks to Deissmann, it was not at all expected. This work is still not finished and needs to continue alongside the study of syntax, even though it does not lend itself to statistical analysis of the kind Walser clearly finds so satisfying. It must be reiterated that the "alleged" vernacular papyri and inscriptions are a rich source still awaiting full exploitation to elucidate the vocabulary of the LXX and NT. What they offer may even prove to be evidence that the LXX and NT vocabulary is indeed different in some respects from that of non-Biblical texts.

Walser himself makes a foray into lexicon in his corpus of texts (pp. 71–9), but it is a very strange one. He takes all the predicative aorist participles in the nominative case occurring in the Pentateuch and traces their recurrence—i.e., of these *words*—in the rest of his corpus and presents the results statistically. It is hard to see what this can achieve when subject-matter must play such a crucial role, both in determining the initial list and in deciding whether the words will recur in other authors. That Herodotus, writing in Ionic in V B.C., does not use such words as ἀποσκηνώσας, εὐλογήσας, and κεκράξαντες is hardly surprising and not informative.

It is a pleasure to record that Walser's quotations of Greek are without blemish, most notably in regard to accents; inadequacy in this area is all too often noticeable.

This is an interesting and thought-provoking study, but Walser has some way to go to make his case. In particular, the assumption that what he is dealing with is "the Greek of the ancient synagogue" needs to be supported by convincing argument; and

the evidence of a wider range of vernacular texts needs to be brought into the picture. But he has shown that the vexed and difficult issue of the nature of LXX and NT Greek, on which so much has been written, still has life in it as a topic of research. Whether it will ever be finally resolved is another matter.

<div align="right">

JOHN A. L. LEE
MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY

</div>

Hengel, Martin. *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture: Its Prehistory and the Problem of Its Canon*. Introduction by Robert Hanhart, and translated by Mark E. Biddle. New York: T&T Clark, 2002. Pp. xvi + 153. ISBN: 0-567-08737-9.

In *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture* Martin Hengel brings his mastery of Second Temple Judaism and early Christianity to bear specifically on the matter of the origins and nature of the Greek Jewish Scriptures, commonly referred to as the Septuagint (LXX). More specifically, his intention is to investigate how the Greek Jewish Scriptures became the Scriptures of the Christian church (p. 22). The heart of the volume consists of a brief introduction by Hengel followed by four chapters, but his aims and purposes are well understood against the backdrop of the introductory essay by Robert Hanhart, whose views differ significantly from Hengel's.

Based on the prologue to Ben Sira and the *Letter of Aristeas*, Hanhart argues that "Hellenistic Judaism had a relatively well defined canon of 'Holy Scripture' already in the second century B.C." (p. 2). The Palestinian canon was the standard to which the Greek translations were continually compared and the LXX (or Alexandrian canon) derived its canonical status solely on the basis of its relationship to the Hebrew text (pp. 3–5). Hanhart cites the work of the revisers, the replacement of the Greek κύριος with a form of the Tetragrammaton in Jewish manuscripts of the LXX, and Origen's Hexapla as decisive evidence in favor of the canonical and authoritative status of the Hebrew text in the early church (pp. 7–12).

Against the view of Hanhart, Hengel rightly begins his investigation with the observation that the existence of a pre-Christian Jewish canon cannot be proved, much less the existence of any type of Alexandrian canon (pp. 19–20). Rather, Diaspora Judaism did not have any ruling body that could have defined a canon, so a variety of books would have been "simply treasured and utilized." In the course of time, the first Christians, as a Jewish sect, read and applied their Scriptures, and it is apparent from the citations and allusions of the NT writers that these Scriptures were Greek. The writings that were recognized as authoritative were broader than the Hebrew canon, but it is impossible to define a canon at that time (though Hengel does fix an early dating of the Hebrew canon). Hengel's aim is to understand how it is that the LXX, which originally referred only to the translation of the Pentateuch, became the "authoritative 'Holy Scriptures' of the Old Testament in the Christian church" (p. 22).

In chap. 2 Hengel sets forth the evidence for the LXX as a collection of writings claimed by the church. Beginning with Justin's use of the LXX, Hengel notes the way in which the LXX had come to designate the whole collection of Greek Jewish Scriptures (p. 27), which later developed into a claim for the divine inspiration of the LXX by writers like Irenaeus, Clement and Tertullian (pp. 38–41). Here Hengel notes that Origen and Jerome remained significant exceptions to those who recognized the authority of the LXX in the Christian church, but this acknowledgement only underlines his earlier point about the ambiguity of the canon within the church. However, to this reviewer, Hengel's discussion could have been improved by referring once more to the predominantly Greek character of the early church, since his aim is to understand how the LXX became the "authoritative 'Holy Scriptures' of the Old Testament in the Christian church." Hengel provides a description of the testimonies about the miraculous origins of the LXX translation, but such testimonies, important as they may be, are symptomatic of something that has already been accomplished and assumed. For this reviewer, the *reason* for the belief in the miracle of the divine origin of the LXX was based in the accepted use of the LXX as Scripture throughout the early church, which was predominantly Greek speaking. If the LXX is Scripture, it must have had a divine origin.

In the course of his discussion of the "Christian appropriation" of the LXX, Hengel introduces the revisers of the LXX, such as Theodotion, Aquila, and Symmachus, as evidence of Jewish reaction (pp. 43–44). Though there is no reason to doubt that much revisionary activity was motivated by efforts to correct what Jews believed to be errors due to sloppy translation (e.g., Isa 7:14), Hengel's treatment at this point neglects to take two important points into account. First, the fact that revisionary work was being undertaken by Jews in the second century undermines Hengel's view that the Hebrew canon was in the process of being closed from the end of the first century into the middle of the second (p. 44; but compare p. 126 where the date is 100 C.E.). If the Hebrew canon were closed and definitive for all Jews, why would anyone within the Jewish community have been revising the Greek? Hengel's notion of the closing of the Hebrew canon depends on statements from Josephus, the Mishnah, and the Tosefta (pp. 44–45), which are late, and seems to be driven by an overly exuberant emphasis on the "Christian appropriation" of the LXX from the Jews. Second, Jewish revisionary activity of the original Greek translation began prior to the Christian era, which is proven by the *Letter of Aristeas*, as well as by the *Minor Prophets Scroll*, which has been dated as early as 50 B.C.E. Thus, revising the Greek translation began within the Jewish community and was not necessarily a response to Christians, and Hengel notes this fact later in the volume (p. 83). In this chapter Hengel concludes his discussion of the early Church Fathers and the obvious tension raised by Jerome's refusal to recognize the authority of the LXX by focusing on Augustine's attempt at compromise. Augustine's solution was to affirm the inspiration of both the Hebrew and the Greek Scriptures and to claim that any differences must be due to the Holy

Spirit (pp. 51–54). The chapter closes with a brief discussion of the book of *1 Enoch* (pp. 54–56) and its disputed authority.

Hengel's third chapter has the misleading title, The Later Consolidation of the Christian 'Septuagint Canon' (p. 57). The chapter begins with an excellent description of the contents of the oldest codices (pp. 57–60) as well as the various canon lists in the fourth century (pp. 60–66), but the discussion becomes focused on the growing recognition of the secondary character of the apocryphal or deuterocanonical books. He then discusses some of the reasons why books came to be regarded as being of "second class character": absence from the Hebrew canon, late origins, and question-able content (pp. 66–70). However, Hengel offers no integration of this discussion with his earlier findings regarding the contents of codices and the various canon lists, nor is it clear how any of this discussion contributes to understanding the way in which the Septuagint Canon was consolidated. The final sections of this chapter (pp. 70–74) discuss why other pseudepigrapha were rejected outright from any claims to canonical status.

Chapter 4 begins with the *Letter of Aristeas* to outline the origins of the LXX. Hengel identifies the liturgical needs of the Alexandrian Jews as the motivation for the original translation (p. 75), and then offers a fairly standard description of the individual books of the Greek Scriptures (pp. 83–96). Noteworthy is his suggestion that the translator of Job "probably abbreviated" his text (p. 86). The remainder of the chapter examines the evidence regarding a fixing of the Hebrew canon from Jesus ben Sirach, Philo, and Josephus (pp. 96–103). In keeping with his previous discussion, Hengel argues that Josephus's reference to 22 books "is describing the 'pharisaic' Jewish 'canon' originating in Palestine" (p. 102). Though Hengel is probably correct that there was a developing sense of canon for at least some (probably Pharisaic) Jews in Palestine, it does not follow that the twenty-two books that Josephus was promoting were identical to the current Masoretic Text nor that they held such an elevated status among other Jewish groups at the end of the first century.

The fifth and final chapter briefly examines the use of the Greek Jewish Scriptures by the NT writers and is followed by an illuminating discussion of the citations of the deuterocanonical books in the early Church Fathers (pp. 112–122). Given the tendency of Christians in the East in the first couple centuries to follow a more limited canon, Hengel seeks to explain how it is that the Eastern Church came to exhibit a more open attitude toward the deuterocanonical books in the fourth century. He suggests that after the destruction of Jerusalem the Christian church in Rome, which also had a thriving Jewish community, may have had these extra books in its library. Christians found these Jewish books interesting and valuable, and, over the next centuries, as visitors and bishops visited Rome and consulted the library, their influence grew. Some of these documents did circulate in the East, but "the mere fact that they were read and utilized in instruction in Rome and then also in Alexandria . . . made them interesting elsewhere as well" (p. 124). In this context, it is interesting to note

the ambiguities in Hengel's discussion of the use of the Scriptures by the NT writers, particularly Paul, who Hengel notes was trained as a Pharisee (p. 109). On the one hand, he acknowledges the use of the LXX by the NT writers (pp. 108–9), but, on the other hand, he argues that citations were "primarily concentrated on relatively few" Scriptures (the core Hebrew Scriptures, see p. 112) and that 2 Peter "strikes from the letter of Jude . . . the reference to the book of *Enoch*" (pp. 107–8). Thus, Hengel wishes to bring in through the back door an argument that though the NT writers were citing the LXX, for the most part they only used the books that were translations of the Hebrew canon. Based on his exclusion of the deuterocanonical works from the "core Scriptures" in Diaspora Judaism and the early church it is not surprising that Hengel finds the inclusion of the deuterocanonical works in the codices to be "essentially insoluble" (p. 112).

By and large, Hengel accepts far too dominant an influence of Palestinian pharisaic Judaism (note in this connection his references to the Palestinian "motherland" on pp. 82–83, and the early Christian dependence upon Palestinian tradition on p. 111). Though the evidence indicates a tendency amongst some in Palestinian Judaism toward a more limited number of books that constituted Scripture (22 or 24 books)— and this tendency seems to have exercised some influence on the Eastern Church in the first centuries—it does not follow that this was normative for all Judaism. At Qumran, for example, it is widely acknowledged that their notion of Scripture was much more open than what Hengel proposes for Pharisaic Judaism. The acceptance of the book of *1 Enoch* at Qumran and in the early church, which Hengel fails to explain adequately (pp. 54–55), is an important example of the way in which his insistence on an early Hebrew canon fails. It seems more likely that recognition of a larger body of Scripture was characteristic of, but not limited to, Diaspora Judaism, and the early church mirrors this situation. Moreover, if the Hebrew canon were fixed c. 100, then presumably the sole authority of the Hebrew text and most of the books would have been established for decades. This scenario would be in keeping with Hengel's citation of Jesus ben Sirach and Philo to support his position. However, the NT writers' use of the Greek Scriptures is nothing more than normal and in no way supports any kind of polemical "Christian appropriation" of the LXX as opposed to the Hebrew. Is it not more likely that the use and recognition of Scripture by the NT writers and later was based on widespread Jewish practice? (Hengel himself suggests this on p. 22). That being the case, the inclusion of the deuterocanonical writings in the codices is explained because Diaspora Judaism accepted as Scripture a larger body of writings than those defined by one particular stream of Judaism in Palestine and these Scriptures were generally adopted and employed by the early church. Following the fall of Jerusalem there was an increasing recognition of the distinction between Judaism and Christianity, which was ultimately delineated by the growing acceptance by the church of Paul's writings and then the Gospels as Scripture. Synthesizing the complexity of the various statements by witnesses who were addressing a variety of issues is probably ultimately beyond any certainty, but it may be that gradually the Greek

Jewish Scriptures were adopted more widely in the Eastern Church, not just under the influence of Rome and Alexandria, but as part of a larger acknowledged package of Christian Scriptures, which were written in Greek.

Overall, *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture* is very readable and it includes several helpful indices. Hengel is to be commended for the wealth of primary and secondary literature that he examines, which must be accounted for if one is going to reconstruct how the Greek Jewish Scriptures were transmitted and became the OT Scriptures of the church. Any students and scholars whose fields of study involve Second Temple Judaism and Christian origins will benefit from a serious reading of this volume.

R. TIMOTHY MCLAY
ST. STEPHEN'S UNIVERSITY

Wade, Martha Jane. *Consistency of Translation Technique in the Tabernacle Accounts of Exodus in the Old Greek*. SBLSCS 49. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003. Pp. xiv + 280. ISBN 1-58983-039-3.

The book under review deals with what is probably the most difficult and perplexing problem in LXX studies, viz. that of the two tabernacle accounts in Exodus, the first a planning account, chaps. 25–31, the second a completion account, chaps. 35–40 (hereafter referred to as A and B, respectively). The volume represents the doctoral thesis of the author, who spent a decade and a half as a Bible translator among Apal speakers in Papua New Guinea, which experience obviously served her well in the course of her study, one which she prepared under the guidance of S. Dean McBride at Union-PSCE in California.

In the course of a long life devoted inter alia to directing and examining doctoral dissertations, I cannot recall one that has satisfied and stimulated me more than this one did. It is a model of detailed and exacting scholarship, and Dr. Wade is to be congratulated on a first-rate piece of work. After spending many days reading and studying her work, I can hardly think of a negative comment that I would care to make (something that my former students would not believe possible).

The relation between A and B has exercised many scholars from Z. Frankel (1851) and Julius Popper (1862) to the present day, including the reviewer who spent many hours and months on it. Wade has carefully considered his work as well, built upon it, criticized it gently but rightly, and gone beyond it. Her principal point of view focused on the problem of consistency (and accuracy) of the two accounts, and she has carefully examined every difference, large and small, between the two as well as between the translations and the parent texts (which she consistently renders in German as *Vorlage*), and was completely convinced that far from being the creation of inept translators (Fenn and Gooding) B's translator has carefully corrected and interpreted

A which he used, i.e., the two accounts are indeed consistent. As an added control over her analysis, she has throughout used and compared a control text from the rest of Exodus in its translation technique, namely chaps. 11–13. Incidentally, this study has shown that it is similar throughout to the technique of A and B.

The core of Wade's work is centered in three chapters: chap. 3 (pp. 56–106) on Lexical Consistency; chap. 4 (pp. 107–48) on Grammatical Consistency, and chap. 5 (pp. 149–232) on Accuracy.

Much has been made in the history of LXX scholarship of the differences in technical vocabulary between A and B. In chap. 3 the author has examined all these differences (as well as many others), and correctly shown that these different lexemes are for the most part not mere synonyms as the reviewer had said, but are intentionally used as more exactly corresponding to what the parent text meant, i.e., they represent context-sensitive changes.

In chap. 4 she chose three Hebrew grammatical categories for detailed comparison: the renderings of the preposition –בְּ "construct noun chains" (the reviewer prefers to call such "bound structures"; see J. W. Wevers, "Semitic Bound Structures," *Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 7 [1961] 9–14), and relative אשׁר clauses. Though default renderings for these are resp. ἐν, the genitive case, and ὅς, the translator(s) was/were throughout context-sensitive, and A and B (as well as the control text) did not differ. The approach used by the author is much like that of Ilmari Soisonen Soininen and his Finnish students, an approach which has found much favor and acceptance by serious LXX students.

Chapter 5 examines the accuracy of the translations. By an accurate rendering is meant "one that conveys what the original author intended to communicate" (p. 150). For "meaning" Wade analyzes three types of meaning: referential, i.e., the information content; organizational, i.e., grammatical features (such as deixis); and situational, i.e., derived from the cultural context (of writer, addressee and translator). These three are further classified by the status of the content (implicit or explicit), and quantity (differences in amount of information between parent and translation). These six classes are not necessarily exclusive, but are useful for sorting. Since over 900 variations obtain in these three texts, an enormous amount of material is dealt with, and the footnotes are long and detailed (often covering more than an entire page), since every variant, plus, minus (which are particularly frequent in B), as well as synonym, and change in word order is dealt with. Over half of these are matters of change in status, according to Wade (I gladly take her word for this). Others may result from harmonizing the text either internally or externally (i.e., to the Pentateuch), or show a "slight layer of meaning to the text" reflecting the translator's understanding, or that of the community. But the conclusion to which the examination led was that both A and B (as well as the control text) showed similar types of change.

The reviewer was not fully convinced by the analysis of some of the larger minuses (and pluses) which especially B portrays, but this is carping. There are in fact many intriguing conclusions which the author made that the outline above has not

even hinted at. For example, special attention is devoted to the Samaritan recension of the Hebrew text and its relation to the Greek Exodus, which is surprisingly close.

Almost incidentally the author cautiously concludes that B is probably the work of a separate translator. Her caution is commendable, but I feel confident that she is almost certainly correct.

JOHN W. WEVERS
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

Cignelli, Lino, and Rosario Pierri. *Sintassi di greco biblico (LXX e NT)*. Quaderno I.A: Le concordanze. Studium Biblicum Franciscanum: Analecta 61. Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 2003. Pp. xxvi + 134. ISBN 965-516-052-1.

This slender (but meaty) book is only the first of six fascicles that are planned. The work as a whole is divided into two main parts: I. Syntax of the Cases and II. Syntax of the Verb. Each of these in turn will consist of three fascicles: I.A (the present one) deals with grammatical concord; I.B with the article (already in press); I.C more directly with the cases; II.A will treat "diathesis" (meaning presumably the arrangement of the simple sentence); II.B will be devoted to the tenses and moods; and III.C to the participle and infinitive. Although a proper review will need to wait until other fascicles become available, this work is obviously of considerable importance and needs to be brought as soon as possible to the attention of biblical scholars, who have gone much too long without an adequate LXX grammar.

The present fascicle is divided into eight chapters: (1) subject and object; (2) ellipsis of subject or other elements; (3) ellipsis of verb; (4) attributes and predicates; (5) participle; (6) the pronoun αὐτός; (7) demonstrative pronouns; (8) relative pronouns (including nine pages on attraction). Each chapter consists of a number of sections, totaling 47 in the whole fascicle. Each section begins with a brief description of the topic and includes references to the relevant material in the standard works. Especially frequent are references to Smyth, the old Winer-Moulton, Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf, and an Italian grammar by F. Marinelli and E. Paoli. Several other works are mentioned from time to time, but there are surprisingly few references to Schwyzer-Debrunner and none to the very important work by F. R. Adrados, *Nueva sintaxis del griego antiguo* (Madrid: Gredos, 1992).

Most of the space is given, appropriately, to illustrative quotations (accompanied by Italian translations) taken from both the LXX and the NT. These are followed by numerous additional biblical references. Moreover, the authors include explanatory notes at relevant points, and some of these are extensive. For example, two full pages (from the middle of p. 29 to the middle of p. 31) are devoted to comments on the use of γίνομαι as an introductory formula in narrative. A useful "morphosyntactic" index (basically a subject index) and a full index of passages cited are included.

The mere classification of the material with abundant examples will be a boon even to students and scholars who do not normally read Italian. It is evident that the work has been thoughtfully and carefully prepared, and an initial, selective check suggests that the discussion is built on reliable scholarship. One can only hope that someone will be bold to undertake an English translation/adaptation in the near future.

<div align="right">

MOISÉS SILVA
LITCHFIELD, MICHIGAN

</div>

Pierri, Rosario. *Parole del Profeta Amos. Il libro di Amos secondo i LXX.* Studium Biblicum Franciscanum: Analecta 59. Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 2002. Pp. 160. ISBN 965-516-037-8.

The author, who teaches biblical Greek at the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum in Jerusalem, originally wrote this work as a thesis for a degree in classical literature (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore in Milan). The material, however, does not take the form of a conventional thesis, but rather consists of an Italian translation of LXX Amos, followed by a verse-by-verse commentary. A brief concluding chapter (pp. 151–57) gives a useful summary of the characteristics of the version, though there is nothing particularly new in the results of his investigation. One should not infer, however, that the volume fails to make a contribution to knowledge; on the contrary, it includes valuable proposals and, by bringing together a great deal of relevant information, advances our understanding of the text.

It must be said, in general, that the commentary is thorough, reliable, and clear. The author is evidently comfortable in his handling of both Hebrew and Greek, as well as familiar with the scholarly literature relevant to his subject matter. Most of his attention is devoted to explaining the differences between the MT and the LXX, and to shedding light on the translator's method of work. Students and scholars who read Italian will find this volume a very valuable resource as they seek to increase their proficiency in using the Greek version(s) of the Hebrew Bible.

When the LXX departs from the MT, Pierri is cautious about attributing the variation to a different *Vorlage*. In the end, he identifies a dozen or so passages where that explanation seems probable (p. 151), but most of these involve the omission of a divine name (e.g., simple κύριος for אדני יהוה in Amos 1:8), and Greek biblical scribes in both the LXX and the NT are, more often than not, notoriously inconsistent in the way they render or preserve such names. That leaves only four passages where the textual variation may be regarded as significant ("they sawed with iron saws" in 1:3; the addition of "which they made" in 2:4; the last clause of 6:7; and the second clause of 7:1).

It should be pointed out, however, that in three of these verses (all but 2:4) there are other significant differences that Pierri attributes to the process of translation. If

the Greek translator was evidently struggling with the Hebrew text, should not that factor affect the question whether the variation is textual rather than translational in character? It is interesting to note that Douglas Stuart, commenting on 1:3, says nothing about the LXX reading "they sawed with iron saws," yet he accepts as original its plus, "the pregnant women," and translates the reconstructed Hebrew (i.e., reading הרות הגלעד [= v. 13] rather than אֵת־הַגִּלְעָד) as follows: "Because they threshed the pregnant women of Gilead/With iron threshing sledges" (*Hosea–Jonah* [WBC 31; Waco, Tex.: Word, 1987] 304, and see the textual note on p. 307; this work and some other commentaries are not included in Pierri's bibliography).

Pierri, in contrast, regards the first variation as evidence of a different *Vorlage* (although he does not offer a judgment regarding its originality), while interpreting the latter as the translator's harmonizing of v. 3 with v. 13. Such a striking difference in scholarly judgment is a reminder of the inevitable subjectivity involved in this endeavor. More to the point, however, it may reflect an atomistic approach, for surely we should give preference—all other things being equal—to an analysis that offers a coherent explanation for all the differences in one and the same clause. To be sure, it is seldom that all things are equal, and one can find plenty of examples where both factors (a variant *Vorlage* and translation process) have simultaneously been at play. My concern is that neither Pierri nor Stuart addresses this methodological issue, and that in the specific case of Amos 1:3, it makes better sense either to treat both differences as reflecting a different Hebrew text ("they sawed the pregnant women of Gilead with iron saws") or to treat them both as translational in character.

One potential problem for readers of this book is that the author does not clearly define what he means when he says that the Greek translator "reads" a particular Hebrew word (most of us, to be sure, are guilty of this ambiguity). In Amos 3:3, for example, the LXX uses the verb γνωρίσωσιν (plus the reflexive pronoun) where the MT has נוֹעָדוּ (from יעד, which in the niphal may mean 'agree,' 'agree to meet,' 'make an appointment'), and Pierri remarks that the LXX "reads" נוֹדְעוּ (from ידע, 'to know'). But does this mean that the translator's *Vorlage* had the latter form? Or that he made a mistake and in effect *misread* the Hebrew? Or that he intentionally read something other than the text that was in front of him? And if the latter, would that necessarily imply that the translator thought that his Hebrew copy had a mistake? Or might such a change be a hermeneutical device, comparable to the rabbinic *'al tiqrê*?

Pierri shows special interest in the language and style of the Greek translator, and the book includes numerous comments on this subject. In certain cases where one might have expected some discussion, there is none (e.g., the literal rendering ἔδωκεν φωνήν in 1:2, similarly 3:4; the use of the future ἐρεύξεται for the Hebrew perfect in 3:8; etc.). One can also raise questions about some of his decisions. For example, in his discussion of Amos 1:3 he includes an extensive note devoted primarily to the use of the construction ἀνθ᾽ ὧν (p. 41 n. 14). The information is valuable, but it is puzzling that he resists a causal meaning for this idiom (contrast BDF §208;

BDAG, 88); indeed, his literal translation for all instances of the construction ("in cambio del fatto che" = in exchange for the fact that) is at best awkward and at worst incorrect. After all, the idiom occurs over one hundred times elsewhere in the LXX, almost always with a clear causal sense (e.g., Gen. 22:18 for עקב אשׁר; 1 Kgs 3:11 for אשׁר יען; it is especially frequent in Ezekiel as a rendering of יען). I was also surprised, in view of recent work on Greek verbal aspect, to read that the present imperative can indicate repetitive action (p. 98). In general, however, the author provides dependable guidance for students of LXX Greek.

With regard to the textual transmission of the Greek text itself, this is apparently an area of relatively little interest to the author, who basically follows Ziegler's edition and rarely comments on the variants. When he does, the analysis seems somewhat superficial. In Amos 6:1, for example, Pierri informs us that Ziegler's edition has the reading ἑαυτοῖς instead of αὐτοί, and then he argues for the latter on the grounds that it occurs in the main witnesses and that it is more coherent with the translator's understanding of the passage (p. 111; similarly on 4:10, p. 93). Pierri may be right, but he does not pause to ask what may have led Ziegler to opt for the alternate variant, and so the reader is left with inadequate information.

The underlying problem here becomes more explicit in 6:3, where Rahlfs follows the majority reading ἐρχόμενοι but Ziegler prefers the Alexandrian variant εὐχό-μενοι. Pierri acknowledges that the latter is the *lectio difficilior*, but argues that (a) this reading lacks sense in context and that (b) the former reading is closer to the MT (p. 112). With regard to the second argument, Pierri seems to be unaware—or at the very least fails to inform the reader—that frequently, and possibly in a majority of cases, this is an argument properly used *against* the originality of a reading (especially if the variant is suspected of being hexaplaric). With regard to the first argument, one should note that the relatively poor sense of εὐχόμενοι here is in fact what makes it the more difficult reading, so presumably what Pierri means is that this reading is *too* difficult. As is well known, however, most LXX books consist of fairly literal renderings and contain some passages (in certain books, many passages) that make little or no sense.

More important, however, Pierri fails to ask the most fundamental text-critical question: Which reading best explains the origin of the other readings? If εὐχόμενοι is original, it is fairly simple to explain the presence of ἐρχόμενοι (not only is this variant easier, but it also provides a better parallel to ἐγγίζοντες in the next clause—and contextual harmonizations of this kind are quite common in LXX translation technique). But if the latter is original, what could possibly have given rise to the Alexandrian reading? We are not told what the answer might be. But without an adequate explanation for the existence of εὐχόμενοι, one cannot be impressed by the argument that the majority reading makes better sense.

Although this reviewer regrets that the book does not have a stronger treatment of the textual history of Greek Amos, one should not fault the author for failing to do something that was not part of his purpose. The truth is that what he intended to do he

has done admirably well. He should be encouraged to apply the same approach to other books of the LXX.

<div align="right">

Moisés Silva
Litchfield, Michigan

</div>

Hiebert, Robert J. V., Claude E. Cox, and Peter J. Gentry, eds. *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*. *JSOT* Supplement Series 332. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001. Pp. 346. ISBN 1-84127-209-4.

This volume contains 16 academic articles, the biographical sketch "Who Is Albert Pietersma?" by the honoree's wife Margaret, and a list of Al Pietersma's publications. There is an extensive index of references to Scripture and other ancient works, as well as an index of authors cited. The notes that follow are unavoidably incomplete, but should serve to convey some idea of the content of the articles.

Anneli Aejmelaeus looks at "Characterizing Criteria for the Characterization of the Septuagint Translators: Experimenting on the Greek Psalter." Many of the indicators used to assess translation technique, such as the use of ὅτι or γάρ for Hebrew כִּי, are not very useful in the Psalter. Criteria pertaining to the qualitative, rather than the quantitative, aspects of translation are therefore needed. Aejmelaeus experiments with using the translation of Hebrew מִן as a criterion, particularly מִן as a comparative. On this basis, the translator of Psalms performs on a level comparable to that of the translators of the Pentateuch. The translator also displays skill in another qualitative area, that of lexical equivalences, where the translation technique is "by no means literal."

Cameron Boyd-Taylor, Peter C. Austin, and Andrey Feuerverger propose a statistical method of assessing the importance of textual witnesses ("The Assessment of Manuscript Affiliation within a Probabilistic Framework: A Study of Alfred Rahlfs' Core Manuscript Groupings for the Greek Psalter"), a study offered as an aid to Pietersma's upcoming edition of the Greek Psalms. Methodological problems with Rahlfs' method of grouping texts are discussed. A genealogical method such as that used by Rahlfs should be complemented by analysis aimed at determining the independent evidentiary value of the witnesses. The authors examine the agreement of S, A, R, Bo and Sa with B where the latter departs from (Rahlfs') OG, and where at least two variants to OG are attested. The statistical method of maximum likelihood estimation is used to evaluate the resulting lists of agreements and disagreements, and a significance measure (p-value) is computed for the results. The authors report that their findings tend to confirm Rahlfs' assessment of B's affiliations. Dependency is indeed found in the pairs B-S and B-Bo, and no evidence was found to indicate affiliation of B with A, R, or Sa.

In "Intertextual Relationships between the Septuagint of Psalms and Proverbs," Johann Cook seeks to demonstrate that the translator of Proverbs knew and used the

Greek Psalter. Although incontrovertible examples are hard to come by, he provides possible examples of lexical connections, allusions to common *theologoumena*, and an instance in which the translator of Prov 1:7 may have consulted Ps 110 (111):10.

Claude E. Cox's contribution, "Schaper's *Eschatology* Meets Kraus's *Theology of the Psalms*," surveys some twenty passages that are cited in J. Schaper's *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter* as demonstrating an eschatological outlook on the part of the Greek translator. Based on Schaper's examples, however, Cox finds little evidence of eschatological coloring. As a corrective to Schaper's perceived overemphasis on a small number of passages and lack of attention to the Hebrew parent text, Cox looks at the Old Greek Psalms translation in light of major topic areas from H.-J. Kraus's *Theology of the Psalter* (e.g., "The God of Israel," "The People of God"). He suggests, inter alia, that Schaper's study would have been more fruitful if it had focused on the "royal" psalms.

Natalio Fernández-Marcos writes on "David the Adolescent: On Psalm 151." Ps 151 is one of a number of apocryphal writings that describe events from David's adolescent years. In light of recent studies, Fernández-Marcos rejects the idea that the psalm meant to liken David and Orpheus. Instead, the qualities and accomplishments of the young David that are emphasized in the psalm and similar compositions spoke to the messianic hopes of Jews at the time. David, though small in stature, was chosen by God and with God's help defeated the enemies of Israel. The events of the Hasmonean period would provide a fitting context for the composition of the Greek version of the psalm.

In "The Greek Psalter and the καίγε Tradition: Methodological Questions," Peter J. Gentry evaluates S. Olofsson's attempts to place the Greek Psalter in a historical framework, and more specifically Olofsson's suggestion that the book of Psalms stands as "the point of departure for the [καίγε] revision in certain aspects." Gentry examines one of Olofsson's criteria in depth, the rendering of אִין by οὐκ ἔστιν, and in an appendix lays out all of the equivalents for אִין in Psalms, Exodus, and Deuteronomy. Gentry finds fault with some of Olofsson's data, and finds that the treatment of אִין in the Psalter is not unlike that in the two Pentateuchal books. The Greek Psalter may represent an early stage of the καίγε tradition, but much more work, including an analysis of the translation technique of the Psalter as a whole, is necessary to clarify its status.

Robert J. V. Hiebert begins "Syriac Biblical Textual History and the Greek Psalter" with a survey of the background and textual history of the Syrohexapla, and then focuses on the Syrohexaplaric Psalter (SyrPss). Hiebert distinguishes three textual groupings within SyrPss: the majority text SyrPs, SyrPs[a], and SyrPs[b]. The essay examines in depth the relationship of SyrPs[a] to SyrPs. As underscored by an appendix listing over 250 divergences in the translation equivalents of these two groups, SyrPs[a] seems to have been an independent translation. Hiebert revisits his previously published suggestion that Thomas of Harkel was responsible for SyrPs[a] in light of a "Harklean" version of Susannah that is found to differ markedly in method of transla-

tion from SyrPsᵃ. Its style, however, differs also from that of the Harklean New Testament, and so its testimony is not decisive in the matter of a Harklean SyrPsᵃ.

Robert A. Kraft and Benjamin G. Wright present "Coptic/Sahidic Fragments of the Biblical Psalms in the University of Pennsylvania Museum." They publish the text of a fragment of Ps 17(18), vv. 26–30 and 42–45 (estimated 9th–11th century C.E.) and of Ps 28(29), vv. 2–5 (estimated 8th–11th century C.E.). The authors also describe a liturgical fragment that cites Ps 44(45) and Luke 10, observing that it fits O. H. E. Burmeister's description of a Coptic rite for "Absolution of the Woman if she have given birth to a daughter, at the end of 80 days." The article concludes with an examination of the Penn Coptic Psalter, describing the codex's three scribal hands and making observations about its text-critical relations (based on collations of seven sample psalms) to six other sources for the Sahidic Psalter.

Johan Lust looks at "The *Pisqah Beʾemsaʿ Pasuq*, the Psalms, and Ezek 3.16." Ezek 3:16 contains the unusual syntax ויהי . . . ויהי, with a "break in the middle of the verse" or *pisqah beʾemṣaʿ pasuq* (*p.b.p.*) before the second instance, leading some to see the *p.b.p.* as an indicator of a disturbed text. M. Greenberg has rejected that interpretation, citing instances of the same syntax in other verses, including 2 Sam 7:4 and 1 Kgs 13:20, which also contain a *p.b.p.* Lust examines the three passages and argues that their instances of *p.b.p.* are best explained as resulting from a scribal habit of inserting a paragraph break before ויהי, a verb form whose narrative function is to introduce a new element. Syntactically, the verses are not necessarily corrupt. Nevertheless, Lust does not completely rule out suggestions that the *p.b.p.* had liturgical or text-critical significance.

In "Pairs of Synonyms in the Septuagint Psalms," Takamitsu Muraoka looks at synonyms for "rock" or the like as a metaphor for God; and synonyms for "anger," particularly where the words appear in translations of Hebrew poetic couplets. While the Hebrew Psalter uses seven nouns for "anger," the Greek Psalter contents itself in the main with two, and these are used with a fair amount of interchangeability. Consistent translation equivalence was apparently not the translator's aim. Another characteristic of the translation emerges from the examination of the terms for "rock" and similar concepts, where the translator's care to avoid the appearance of idolatry led to the alteration or loss of the metaphor in translation. Literary concerns were subordinated to theological ones.

In "The Greek Psalter in Paul's Letters: A Textual Study," Moisés Silva compares Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis* with *UBSGNT*[4]/Nestle-Aland[27], and classifies the relationships of the texts into four categories: exact agreement, trivial differences, differences of textual or hermeneutical interest, and substantial discrepancies. About two-thirds of the citations fall into the first two categories, and of 24 citations, 22 "clearly reflect the critically restored text." Thus Silva finds evidence for continuity and stability in the biblical text, and cautions against too quickly inferring that some Greek text other than the LXX lies behind a Pauline citation.

Raija Sollamo writes on "Repetition of Possessive Pronouns in the Greek Psalter: The Use and Non-Use of Possessive Pronouns in Renderings of Hebrew Coordinate Items with Possessive Suffixes." Sollamo finds that the categorization of the Psalms as a slavish translation is fully justified by its treatment of possessive pronouns. In a typical instance, the phrase שבטך ומשענתך is translated ἡ ῥάβδος σου καὶ ἡ βακτηρία σου (Ps 23[22]:4). Even when the coordinate nouns are body parts or family members, the Greek Psalter, unlike the Greek Pentateuch, prefers to repeat the possessive pronouns. The highest percentage of repetition in the Pentateuch, 86% in Numbers, is topped by the Psalter's 91%. Its Hebraistic rendering is "almost [the] total opposite of good literary style."

Emanuel Tov examines "Scribal Features of Early Witnesses of Greek Scripture" for possible connections to Jewish scribal practice. A table presents findings for over 70 witnesses dated up to iv C.E. (including those dated iv–v C.E., but excluding very fragmentary texts and the major codices A B S G). Witnesses are arranged by date and categorized as to whether they are of Jewish origin, are scroll or codex, indicate verse divisions, indicate sense divisions, contain *paragraphoi*, use *ekthesis*, write divine names in a special way, or use stichographic arrangement for poetry. Tov concludes that the use of spacing to mark verses (or other small units) and sections, and the use of paleo-Hebrew for the Tetragrammaton, were transferred from Hebrew manuscript writing to early Jewish Greek scripture writing. Greek and early Christian scribal practices also found their way into the texts. After the transmission of the text passed into the hands of Christian scribes, early scribal features were obscured and often rendered unrecognizable.

Arie van der Kooij examines connections between "The Septuagint of Psalms and the First Book of Maccabees" and suggests that the Greek Psalter was produced by a pro-Maccabean group for ideological reasons. Several passages are examined to demonstrate that the LXX book of Psalms knows the concept of priestly monarchy. A link between the Hasideans and LXX Psalms, based especially on the use of ὅσιοι for חסידים and the connection between Psalm 78 and 1 Maccabees 7, is possible but cannot be proven on present evidence.

John W. Wevers writes on "The Rendering of the Tetragram in the Psalter and Pentateuch: A Comparative Study." The Greek Pentateuch uses κύριος without the article when translating יהוה (with some well-defined exceptions). In view of its preference for isolate translations, the Psalter might be expected to do the same. But while the Psalter indeed prefers unarticulated κύριος for יהוה, it makes use of the articulated form as well. This, Wevers suggests, may be due to the fact that the *Qere* of יהוה, namely אדני, is a common noun. Wevers also examines briefly the representation of יה, concluding that the translator of the Psalms did not perceive it to be a proper noun related to the Tetragrammaton.

In "Towards a Date for the Old Greek Psalter," Tyler F. Williams argues that the translation took place in the second century B.C.E. He disputes the inference drawn by some scholars on the basis of 11QPs[a] that the text of the Psalter was not fixed until the

first century C.E. He examines quotations and allusions in Isaiah, Proverbs, I Macca-
bees, and Philo's writings to demonstrate that these works made use of the Greek
Psalter. Williams adduces consistent Hebrew-Greek lexical equivalences, and other
equivalences, in order to show that the Greek book of Psalms is homogeneous.

Considering the broad range of material, and its complexity, there are few typo-
graphical errors, and fewer still that might conceivably cause confusion: p. 9 Unical,
read Uncial; p. 81 אסך, read אסף; p. 149 n. 1, הפיסקא פסוק באמצע, read הפיסקא
באמצע פסוק; p. 219 תכבים, read תככים; p. 297 רחצי סיר, read סיר רחצי; p. 306
פעלי און, read און פעלי.

The editors deserve credit for assembling articles of high quality that also relate to
a common theme. The volume succeeds both as a contribution to research in the
Greek Psalter and as a tribute to Al Pietersma's work as scholar and teacher.

FREDERICK W. KNOBLOCH
PHILADELPHIA, PENN.

Sollamo, Raija, and Seppo Sipilä, eds. *Helsinki Perspectives on the Translation
Technique of the Septuagint.* Proceedings of the IOSCS Congress in Helsinki
1999. Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 82. Helsinki: The Finnish
Exegetical Society / Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2001. ISBN 3-525-
53620-8.

In 1999 IOSCS met in conjunction with the International Meeting of SBL in Hel-
sinki. The papers from that LXX meeting offered here are: Takamitsu Muraoka,
"Translation Techniques and Beyond" (pp. 13–22); Raija Sollamo, "Prolegomena to
the Syntax of the Septuagint" (pp. 23–41); Bénédicte Lemmelijn, "Two Methodologi-
cal Trails in Recent Studies on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint" (pp. 43–
63); "Cornelis G. den Hertog, "The Treatment of Relative Clauses in the Greek Le-
viticus" (pp. 65–97); Frank Austermann, "ἀνομία im Septuaginta-Psalter: Ein Bei-
trag zum Verhältnis von Übersetzungsweise und Theologie" (pp. 99–137); Staffan
Olofsson, "Death Shall Be Their Shepherd: An Interpretation of Ps 49:15 in LXX"
(pp. 139–65); Albert Pietersma, "A Proposed Commentary on the Septuagint"
(pp. 167–84); Jan de Waard, "Some Unusual Translation Techniques Employed by
the Greek Translator(s) of Proverbs" (pp. 185–93); Johann Cook, "Ideology and
Translation Technique: Two Sides of the Same Coin?" (pp. 195–210); Trevor V. Ev-
ans, "A Hebraism of Mixed Motivation" (pp. 211–28); Paul Danove, "The Grammati-
cal Constructions of ἀκούω and Their Implications for Translation" (pp. 229–45);
Evangelia G. Dafni, "איש הרוח—ἄνθρωπος ὁ πνευματοφόρος" (Hos 9:7): Zur
Theologie der Sprache des Hoseabuches" (pp. 247–67); Kristin De Troyer, "Towards
the Origins of Unclean Blood of the Parturient" (pp. 269–78); P. D. M. Turner, "The

Translator(s) of Ezekiel Revisited: Idiosyncratic LXX Renderings as a Clue to Inner History" (pp. 279–307). There are no indexes and there is no list of abbreviations.

Four papers given at the meeting, but not offered here are: that of Anneli Aejmelaeus, "Characterizing Criteria for the Characterization of Septuagint Translators," which appeared in the Pietersma Festschrift; those of Seppo Sipilä, "The Renderings of ו and כ in the Septuagint of Joshua," and Anssi Voitila, "The Use of the Imperfect and the Translator's Concept of the Hebrew Verbal System in the Greek Pentateuch," which were apparently part of their respective doctoral dissertations, now in print (1999 and 2001); and that of Eugene Ulrich, "Translation Technique in the Septuagint of Isaiah." The editors also indicate that Robert Kraft gave a demonstration, "Exploring and Exploiting the Internet for Septuagintal Studies."

The editors have provided ease of entry into the papers by giving the volume a generous Introduction (Sollamo), wherein the contributions are summarized, and through the abstracts that accompany each paper.

Several of the contributions carry on the methodological interest of Ilmari Soislon-Soininen in exploring translation technique through an examination of syntax. This has proved to be a useful approach, though the books and articles that have flowed from it are really better suited for use as reference tools than as stimulating reading, where their mass of atomistic detail can be fairly tiresome except in the hands of a master like Soisalon-Soininen. Papers that concern methodological and terminological issues are those of Muraoka (examples drawn from Genesis); Sollamo (an introduction to and apologia for the study of syntax), Lemmelijn (tools for measuring "free" versus "literal" translations: Tov et al., and Soisalon-Soininen et al.); others are of a more "hands on" nature and represent studies of translation technique, either along the lines pursued in Helsinki, in den Hertog or Evans (see now his doctoral dissertation published by Oxford in 2000, *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch: Natural Greek Usage and Hebrew Interference*), or, perhaps Danove (his minute analysis of syntax surrounding ἀκούω reveals that the classical rules governing noun phrase object complements do not always hold true for that verb in the LXX).

The remaining papers all have to do with translation technique in one way or another; three concern Psalms, two Proverbs, and one each Leviticus, Hosea, and Ezekiel. Pietersma presents a draft commentary on Ps. 1, wherein we find a close comparison of the OG to its parent text; Austermann concludes (*contra* Flasher, Tov) that one need not presume in the use of ἀνομία in the Book of Psalms "a specific, legal-theological understanding of sin" (p. 136); Olofsson's careful exegetical study of Ps 49[OG 48]:15 finds that the use of "βοήθεια is in accordance with the translation of צור as a divine epithet otherwise in the LXX as a whole" (p. 164) and that ἐκ τῆς δόξης αὐτῶν refers to wealth. In the two papers on Proverbs, Cook explores the ideological background which led the translator to work as he did, while de Waard notes specific "unusual" translation techniques, especially metathesis.

The two papers on the prophets are by Dafni and Turner. The former seeks to answer the question of the OG understanding of איש הרוח by its translation ἄνθρω-

πος ὁ πνευματοφόρος at Hos 9:7: the LXX considers איש הרוח as a degenerated form of איש האלהים, which designates the disobedient prophet. (p. 266) Turner uses a study of translation technique to suggest several stages in the translation of Ezekiel. The one remaining paper, on Leviticus, by De Troyer, is a fascinating study of how "purifying blood" became "unclean blood" in Lev 12:4. Its conclusion is that the LXX "opened the way for identifying 'blood of purification' with 'unclean blood' and hence 'uncleanness'" (p. 278).

As I read through this book, I imagined a round-table discussion of certain issues that LXX scholars often talk about. That's not how it was, as they say, but here we have a fruitful mix of methodology and results. The editors have presented us with a useful volume. It is generally free of casual errors but, as an Ontario resident, I cannot help calling attention to the various spellings of the word Mississauga (correctly at p. 107, "variants" at pp. 30, 44), an Ojibwa word meaning "large river mouth"!

CLAUDE COX
MCMASTER DIVINITY COLLEGE

Hartley, Vivian Maria. *The Psalter According to the Seventy.* Edited by Pierre Vachon and Lambros Kamperidis. Westport, Ont.: Wordsmith, 2001. Pp. xxiv + 350. ISBN 0-9688818-0-7.

The Greek Orthodox Church in America and the Archdiocese of Canada have sponsored their own English translation of the Greek Psalter. Vivian Hartley translated the text, which was then edited by Pierre Vachon, a monk; and Lambros Kamperidis, a priest. Their translation is not for the academy; rather, it is for the church (and is in fact called an "ecclesiastical text"). Indeed, the translation has been "(b)lessed for use in the Archdiocese of Canada, Orthodox Church in America, by Seraphim Bishop of Ottawa and Canada" (p. xv).

Unlike Albert Pietersma's NETS translation of Psalms, the Orthodox translation makes no appeal to the Hebrew and Aramaic. The Greek text is approached on its own terms. One senses that the translator is at ease with the Greek, maintaining a balance between literal translation and a traditional, ecclesiastical flavor.

Ms. Hartley's translation also includes the first nine Odes (i.e., the "Biblical Odes"), as well as several prayers, confessions, and services. Among the prayers is found the *Prayer of Manasseh* (pp. 314–15).

CRAIG EVANS
ACADIA DIVINITY COLLEGE, WOLFVILLE, NOVA SCOTIA