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Editorial

Besides the large triannual conference of IOSCS in Munich in August 2013, which as usual will be published in SBL.SCS, and some Festschriften – congratulations to the honorands! – quite a number of interesting studies have been submitted to the Journal. This not only shows the vitality of Septuagint studies but also allows the publication of the new issue of the “Journal of Septuagint and Cognate Studies” (JSCS) quite early in the year. Once more I would like to thank all the contributors of articles and reviews, the members of the editorial board, and the unnamed peer reviewers.

JSCS 47 (2014) opens with the study by Barbara Schmitz, “κύριος συντριβῶν πολέμους ‘The Lord who shatters wars’ (Exod 15:3^{LXX}). The formative importance of the Song of the Sea (Exod 15:1–18^{LXX}) for the Book of Judith”, which discusses the famous reinterpretation of Exod 15:3 in the Septuagint, its reception in the book of Judith, and its ideas on war and peace. The book of Isaiah has a prominent place among the prophets, both in its Hebrew and in its Greek form, and it also has its place in scholarly debates – like in the plenary discussion on Ross Wagner’s book “Reading the Sealed Book” which took place during the SBL-Annual Meeting at Baltimore. In “*Interpreting the Sealed Book*” the six participants – Leonard J. Greenspoon, H.G.M. Williamson, Florian Wilk, Rodrigo Franklin de Sousa, Ronald L. Troxel, and J. Ross Wagner – were willing to share their lively and fruitful discussion with the readers of the Journal. Marieke Dhont, one of the younger scholars, presents her insights on the specific meaning of “*The word δίαίτα in LXX Job*”, as does Patrick Pouchelle “*On the use of παιδευμένος in Greek Sirach*”. Anthony J. Forte, one of the editors of the Vetus Latina Project, also takes up the book of Jesus Sirach with “*Veteris Latinae Ecclesiastici: Apologia pro interprete latino*”. After an introduction to the history of the Vetus Latina Project he presents some questions basic to the research and to the presentation of the Old Latin and shows its relevance not only for “cognate” but also for Septuagint studies proper. Reinhart Ceulemans’s article “*Le texte de la Septante, l’édition de Göttingen et La Bible d’Alexandrie*” outlines the use of the critical editions, especially the Göttingen edition, in some volumes of BdA and how it relates to the latter’s specific profile.

Bénédicte Lemmelijn briefly reports on “*25 Years of the Louvain Centre for Septuagint Studies and Textual Criticism*” which certainly is “*A Reason to Celebrate*” – congratulations, and: *ad multos annos!*

This time, there is a special review: Abram Kielsmeier-Jones presents a review on “*Bible Software for Septuagint Studies: A Comparison of Accordance 10, BibleWorks 9, and Logos 5.*” This is not an introduction into using such a program and even less is it additional training for advanced users (for this, there are introductory videos and special forums for users), but it is an overview of the possibilities and some specific features, and, not the least, it is an encouragement to use such programs.

In the book review section, once more, there are smaller and larger reviews on monographs, commentaries and collected essays. – There are different philosophies for producing a review of a large collection of papers such as a congress volume or a Festschrift. The reviewer may make some general remarks and select some papers which are of interest for him or her. Or a reviewer may study the whole book and provide information on all the contributions with an evaluation. So far we have opted for the second approach in order to inform readers about the whole array of Septuagint studies, leaving it to them to pursue their special interests.

With the 2013 issue, there have been some problems with postal delivery. Eisenbrauns hopes that they are solved. However, if you have a problem or you know of one, let us know.

Last but not least: Eisenbrauns has renewed the membership page for easier access. Go to: www.eisenbrauns.com → Journals → JSCS or access via the IOSCS homepage: <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/ioscs>.

Siegfried Kreuzer

June 2014

κύριος συντριβών πολέμους
“The Lord who crushes wars” (Exod 15:3^{LXX}).
The formative importance of the Song of the Sea
(Exod 15:1–18^{LXX}) for the Book of Judith

BARBARA SCHMITZ

Introduction

“For behold, the Assyrians were increased in their power; they were exalted by horse and rider; they took pride in the arm of infantry; they put their hope in shield and javelin and bow and sling and did not realize that you are the Lord who crushes wars, the Lord is your name.” (Jdt 9:7–8)¹

“You are the Lord who crushes wars, the Lord is your name”: These verses of Judith’s prayer in Jdt 9:7–8 cite Exod 15:3.² The quotation of Exod 15:3 in Jdt 9:7–8 has already been the topic of much discussion. While Deborah L. Gera³ focussed on the differences between the LXX and the MT version of Exod 15, Larry Perkins⁴ contradicts the peace-loving view of God often derived from Exod 15:3. In my view, the value lies not only in the quotation of Exod 15:3 itself,⁵ but rather in the formative importance of the whole song

¹ The translation follows NETS: Boyd-Taylor, C., *Ioudith*, (NETS, Oxford/New York: OUP 2007), 441–455; Engel, H., *Judith. Das Buch Judith*, LXX.E Bd. II, Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 2011), 1297–1315.

² If not indicated otherwise (e.g. by “MT”) references apply to the Septuagint text.

³ Deborah L. Gera, “Translating Hebrew Poetry into Greek Poetry: The Case of Exodus 15,” *BIOSCS* 40 (2007): 107–120; Deborah L. Gera, *Judith* (Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature), Berlin–Boston: de Gruyter 2014.

⁴ Larry Perkins, “‘The Lord is a Warrior’–‘The Lord Who Shatters Wars’: Exod 15:3 and Jdt 9:7; 16:2,” *BIOSCS* 40 (2007): 121–138. See also: Judith Lang, “The Lord Who Crushes Wars: Studies on Judith 9:7, Judith 16:2 and Exodus 15:3,” in *A Pious Seductress. Studies in the Book of Judith* (ed. Géza G. Xeravits; Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies 14; Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2012), 179–187.

⁵ Regarding the relevance of the quotation for the question of the original language of the narrative, see: Helmut Engel, “‘Der HERR ist ein Gott, der Kriege zerschlägt’: Zur

Exod 15:1-18 for the whole book of Judith. Therefore the discussion needs to be extended to cover the whole song Exod 15:1-18. For this reason the overall concept of Exod 15:1-18 will be analysed and its function for the book of Judith will be highlighted.⁶

1. The Song of the Sea (Exod 15:1-18^{LXX})

The Song of the Sea in Exod 15:1-18 is a hymn composed of three parts (Exod 15:1-5,6-17,18).⁷ This structure results from the speech about God in the 3rd person (Exod 15:1-5,18) and the address to God in the 2nd person in the second part (Exod 15:6-17).

The first part begins (Exod 15:1-5) with the request “let us sing to the Lord” (ἄσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ Exod 15:1) and then recapitulate the events of the preceding narrative: “Horse and rider he [= God] threw into the sea” (ἵππον καὶ ἀναβάτην ἔρριπεν εἰς θάλασσαν Exod 15:1 and Exod 15:4-5). Then, in Exod 15:2-3 follows a theological interpretation of these events by addressing God as “helper” (βοηθός) and “defender” (σκεπαστής) (Exod 15:2) and by the statement: “The Lord who crushes wars, the Lord is his name” (κύριος συντριβὼν πολέμους κύριος ὄνομα αὐτῷ Exod 15:3).

Frage der griechischen Originalsprache und der Struktur des Buches Judit,” in *Goldene Äpfel in silbernen Schalen* (ed. K.-D. Schunck and M. Augustin; BEATAJ 20; Frankfurt: Lang, 1992), 155-168; Jan Joosten, “The Original Language and Historical Milieu of the Book of Judith,” in *Meghillot: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. M. Bar-Asher et al.; Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute, 2007), 159-176; Jeremy Corley, “Septuagintalism, Semitic Interference, and the Original Language of the Book of Judith,” in *Studies in the Greek Bible. Essays in Honor of Francis T. Gignac* (ed. J. Corley and V. Skemp; CBQMS 44; Washington D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2008), 65-96; Deborah Gera, “Speech in the Book of Judith,” in *XIV Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Helsinki 2010* (ed. Melvin K.H. Peters; SBL.SCS 59; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 413-423.

⁶ For the relevance of the speeches and prayers in the Book of Judith see Barbara Schmitz, *Gedeutete Geschichte: Die Funktion der Reden und Gebete im Buch Judit* (HBS 40; Freiburg: Herder, 2004).

⁷ For the Hebrew version see Jörg Jeremias, *Das Königtum Gottes in den Psalmen. Israels Begegnungen mit dem kanaanäischen Mythos in den Jahwe-König-Psalmen* (FRLANT 141; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987), 93-106; Erich Zenger, “Tradition und Interpretation in Exodus XV 1-21,” in *Congress Volume Vienna 1980* (ed. J.A. Emmerton; VT.S 32; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1981), 452-483; Victor P. Hamilton, *Exodus: An Exegetical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011), 221-233; Rainer Albertz, *Exodus* (vol. 1: Ex 1-18; ZBK. AT 2.1; Zürich: Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 2012), 248-253; Helmut Utzschneider and Wolfgang Oswald, *Exodus 1-15* (IEKAT; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2013), 327-341.

The second part of the Song of the Sea (Exod 15:6–17) is a unit framed by the address of God (“o Lord” κύριε Exod 15:6,17) and the repetition of “hand” at the beginning and end (“your right hand” ἡ δεξιὰ σου Exod 15:6^{LXX} / “your hands” αἱ χεῖρές σου Exod 15:17). This part is composed of two sections (Exod 15:6–10,11–17), which each give a different account of the preceding event:

The interpretation of the first section (Exod 15:6–10) is closely linked to the event itself and interprets it by using key words and motifs from the first part by mentioning God’s reactions (συντριβῶ Exod 15:3^{LXX} → in Exod 15:7; θάλασσα Exod 15:1,4 → in θάλασσα in Exod 15:8,10 and ὕδωρ in Exod 15:8,10). In the centre of the first section we find a quotation of the adversary (Exod 15:9). The plan of the adversary culminates in the declaration: “my hand shall dominate” (κυριεύσει ἡ χεὶρ μου, Exod 15:9). This formulation alludes to a situation of rivalry between the adversary and the God of Exodus because of the verb κυριεύω, which is only used in Exod 15:9 expressing the wish of the adversary “to dominate”. The verb κυριεύω alludes to the title “Lord” κύριος for the God of Israel (“Lord” κύριος in Exod 5:1,3[twice],6[twice],11,16,17[twice].18). This is reinforced by the wish of the praying person that “your [= God’s] right hand” (ἡ δεξιὰ σου) shall shatter the enemies (Exod 15:6–7). Because “the hand” or “the right” always refers to God (Exod 15:6,12,17), the praying person sees the adversary competing with the God of Israel.

The second section (Exod 15:11–17) expands the perspective on the nations (Exod 15:14–15), Israel’s relation to the nations (Exod 15:16) and the sanctuary of Jerusalem (Exod 15:17). Therefore the names of hostile nations are mentioned: Phylistim, leaders of Edom, rulers of Moabites and all those inhabiting Chanaan (Exod 15:14–15). In this context, God’s incomparability and uniqueness is expressed in a rhetorical question, comparing God with other gods and declaring his surpassing being: “Who is like you among the gods, O Lord?” (τίς ὁμοίός σοι ἐν θεοῖς, κύριε Exod 15:11).

The second section also focuses on the sanctuary in Jerusalem (Exod 15:13,17). This temple perspective implies that Israel lives in the land, has a temple and is surrounded by other nations.⁸ This description does not correspond with the plot of the book of Exodus, but places the event of the Exodus in the Song of the Sea completely under the perspective of the temple: “das

⁸ Anja Klein, “Hymn and History: Observations on the Relationship between Temple Theology and Exodus Narrative in the Song of the Sea,” ZAW 124 (2012): 516–527.

Resultat ist vielmehr, dass Israel, um dessentwillen Jahwe den Kampf ausfocht, dorthin gebracht wird, wo es nach Gottes Willen hingehört und wo es für alle Zeiten bewahrt und geschützt sein wird: an das von Gott gegründete Heiligtum als den Weltenmittelpunkt. [...] Es wohnt künftig dort, wo Gott schon zuvor wohnte”.⁹

In the third part, the Song of the Sea ends with a closing avowal to God as King and ruler: God is described as Lord, ruling as King for eternity and beyond: “The Lord, ruling forever and ever and beyond” (Exod 15:18).

2. Exod 15:3^{LXX} and Jdt 9:7–8

The book of Judith cites Exod 15:3^{LXX} two times: in the closing hymn of Judith in 16:2 in a shortened version (ὅτι θεὸς συντρίβων πολέμους κύριος) and in the prayer of Judith in 9:7–8.¹⁰

Jdt 9 shows Judith praying at the height of peril in Betulia, in a situation, in which there seems to be no way out of the threat posed by the Assyrians. In Judith’s prayer the quotation of Exod 15:3 fulfils the function of stating the basic deficit and main misconduct of the Assyrian undertaking: The Assyrians did not realize that the God of Israel is a God who crushes wars (κύριος συντρίβων πολέμους). The Assyrian problem is not a military, but a theological one.

In her prayer Judith cites Exod 15:3 in the LXX version, which considerably differs from the Hebrew version:¹¹

Exod 15:3^{LXX}: κύριος συντρίβων πολέμους κύριος ὄνομα αὐτῶ

The Lord who crushes wars the Lord is his name

Exod 15:3^{MT}: יְהוָה הַמִּלְחָמָה הַמִּלְחָמָה הַמִּלְחָמָה הַמִּלְחָמָה

The Lord is a man of war the Lord is his name

Jdt 9:7-8: ὅτι θεὸς συντρίβων πολέμους κύριος, κύριος ὄνομά σοι.

that you are the Lord who crushes war, the Lord is your name

Jdt 16:2: ὅτι θεὸς συντρίβων πολέμους κύριος

For the Lord is a God who crushes wars

⁹ Jeremias, *Das Königtum Gottes*, 103

¹⁰ See Barbara Schmitz and Helmut Engel, *Das Buch Judit* (HThK.AT; Freiburg: Herder, 2014).

¹¹ For Exod 15:3 see Joachim Schaper, in *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare zum griechischen Alten Testament*, (ed. M. Karrer and W. Kraus; vol. 1; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011), 292–294.

The formulation “man of war” (אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה), which – with the exception of Exod 15:3 and Isa 42:13 – always refers to humans, is usually translated with ἀνὴρ πολεμιστής in the LXX. The verb συντριβω has the meaning “to crush, to break, to shatter” and serves in the LXX as the translation equivalent for שָׁבַר (Exod 22:9,13; 23:24; Lev 6:21; 1 Ki 19:11 etc.), but also for 24 other Hebrew words. Of course, the notion, that God is a God who ends wars and shatters the weapons, is already present in the Hebrew Bible, for example in Ps 46:10^{MT}.

In Exod 15:3^{LXX} the Hebrew formulation אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה “man of war”, referring to God, is not translated into Greek, but reinterpreted in an anti-militaristic way in the LXX. This is a fascinating discovery, because the LXX translation of Exod 15:1–18 does not draw the picture of a peace-loving God,¹² but rather characterizes God in a much more militaristic than the Hebrew text does. For instance, passive formulations in the Hebrew text are changed to active formulations in the Greek text. Whereas Exod 15:4^{MT}, for example, reads “and his chosen officers were drowned (יָצְבָּ) in the Red Sea”, the LXX intensifies the involvement of God by translating actively: “choice riders, third-ranked officers, he drowned (κατεπόντισεν) in the Red Sea” (Exod 15:4).¹³ It becomes clear that Exod 15:1–18^{LXX} is not interested in drawing a picture of a peaceful God, but of a God, who is mighty, powerful and capable of war, but whose aim is to end the war. Something similar can be shown for the verb “to crush” (συντριβω), which is not a peaceful verb, but expresses divine violence. In Exod 15:7 God “shatters” the opponents in the fullness of his glory (καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῆς δόξης σου συνέτριψας τοὺς ὑπεναντίους).

Only in Isa 42:13 does the phrase “to crush wars” occur again in the LXX. The LXX translates the Hebrew template “like a warrior” (כְּאִישׁ מִלְחָמָה) once more in accordance with Exod 15:3 in terms of the ending of wars: “The Lord God of the powers will go forth and crush the war” (κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων ἐξελεύσεται καὶ συντριβεί πόλεμον Isa 42:13). It seems therefore legitimate to conclude that Isa^{LXX} and Jdt confirm the tradition of an antimilitaristic interpretation of Exod 15:3.

¹² Regarding the criticism on the view of God as a “peacemaker” in Exod 15:3^{LXX} Perkins, “The Lord is a Warrior”, 121–138; Lang, *The Lord Who Crushes Wars*, 2012, 179–187.

¹³ Deborah L. Gera, “Translating Hebrew Poetry into Greek Poetry: The Case of Exodus 15,” *BIOSCS* 40 (2007): 107–120, specifically 117.

The second part of the quotation of Exod 15:3^{MT} “the Lord is his name” (יְהוָה הוּא שְׁמוֹ) is translated with κύριος ὄνομα αὐτοῦ in the LXX. The LXX avoids using the name of God and uses the substantive κύριος without an article instead of the Tetragrammaton and the short version יה as in the rest of the Old Testament.

3. Exod 15:1–18^{LXX}, Judith’s prayer (Jdt 9) and the book of Judith

When a text cites another text, one not only has to focus on the quotation or the cited words or motifs alone. More important is that the whole context of the cited text is brought to mind in the new text in which the quotation is cited. For this reason attention has to be paid not only to the quotation of Exod 15:3, but also to the whole of the Song of the Sea (Exod 15:1–18) as the text of reference for Judith’s prayer (Jdt 9) and the whole of the book of Judith as the text of reception. In doing so, the parts that the receiving text adopts, are as revealing as the parts that differ from the receiving text. In other words: Exod 15:3^{LXX} and its whole context are blended into Judith’s prayer to God (Jdt 9) and into the whole book of Judith.¹⁴

I want to explain the influence of the whole Song of the Sea (Exod 15:1–18) – beyond the quotation of Exod 15:3 in Jdt 9:7–8 (and Jdt 16:2) – on Judith’s prayer (Jdt 9) and the whole book of Judith by the concept of power. After the citation of Exod 15:3^{LXX} Judith expresses her first plea: “Dash down their might with your power and bring down their strength with your fury” (ῥάξον αὐτῶν τὴν ἰσχὸν ἐν δυνάμει σου καὶ κάταξον τὸ κράτος αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ θυμῷ σου Jdt 9:8). Some of the most important Leitwörter of the book of Judith appear in Jdt 9:8: “might” (ἰσχύς), “power” (δύναμις) and “strength” (κράτος). Judith’s plea (Jdt 9:8) to break the strength and might of the Assyrians is based on theological reasons: “...that you are God, God of all power and strength, and there is no one other than you shielding the race of Israel” (ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς θεὸς πάσης δυνάμεως καὶ κράτους καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος ὑπερασπίζων τοῦ γένους Ἰσραηλ εἰ μὴ σὺ Jdt 9:14). Within in the book of Judith, God’s strength and might are completely different from what is associated with Nabuchodonosor and his men: According to Jdt 1:13,14 Nabu-

¹⁴ Xeravits, Géza G., “The Supplication of Judith (Judith 9:1-14),” in *A Pious Seductress. Studies in the Book of Judith* (ed. Géza G. Xeravits; Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies 14; Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2012), 161–178.

chodonosor becomes strong against Arphaxad (κραταιόω/κρατέω). Whilst Nabuchodonosor leads this war personally, he sends Holofernes to conquer the western nations. Holofernes is asked only to allow a certain kind of men to accompany him on his campaign: “and you shall take with you men who rely on their own strength” (καὶ λήμψη μετὰ σεαυτοῦ ἄνδρας πεποιθότας ἐν ἰσχύι αὐτῶν Jdt 2:5 cf. 2:12).

Nabuchodonosor’s military order is distinctly contrasted to Judith’s prayer in which she describes God’s power, which is not based on military power and strength, but paradoxically on the weak and weary: “For your strength is not in numbers, nor is your dominance in those who are fit, but you are the God of the lowly; you are the helper of the inferior, the supporter of the weak, the shelter of the desperate, the saviour of the hopeless” (οὐ γὰρ ἐν πλήθει τὸ κράτος σου οὐδὲ ἡ δυναστεία σου ἐν ἰσχύουσιν ἀλλὰ ταπεινῶν εἶ θεός ἐλαττόνων εἶ βοηθός ἀντιλήμπτω ἀσθενούντων ἀπεγνωσμένων σκεπαστής ἀπηλπισμένων σωτήρ Jdt 9:11). These two different positions regarding might and strength create a tension in the whole book of Judith (Jdt 1:13,14 – Jdt 2:5 – Jdt 9:11). Before this tension is resolved in Jdt 13, it is once more an important feature in Judith’s speech in the presence of Holofernes (Jdt 11:7 [ἰσχύς/ κράτος],10[κατισχύω],22 [κράτος]). Another reference is in her last prayer before the act of decapitation: “Strengthen me, Lord, God of Israel, in this day” (κραταίωσόν με κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ Jdt 13:7). By referring to herself as a “widow” before God, Judith ranks herself with the weak and helpless (Jdt 9:4.9.11.12). She sees her strength founded in God’s might and strength alone. Provided with this strength Judith is able to accomplish her deed: “And she struck at his neck twice with her strength and took his head from him” (καὶ ἐπάταξεν εἰς τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ δις ἐν τῇ ἰσχύι αὐτῆς καὶ ἀφείλεν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ Jdt 13:8). The difference between Nabuchodonosor and the God of Israel in the narrative is finally solved with Judith’s proclamation before the city gates after her return: “God, our God, is with us to rouse again strength in Israel and power against the enemies, just as also he did today” (μεθ’ ἡμῶν ὁ θεὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ποιῆσαι ἔτι ἰσχὺν ἐν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ κράτος κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καθὰ καὶ σήμερον ἐποίησεν Jdt 13:11). Finally, the hymn (Jdt 16:13) “O Lord, you are great and glorious, prodigious in strength, unsurpassable” (κύριε μέγας εἶ καὶ ἔνδοξος θαυμαστός ἐν ἰσχύι ἀνυπέβλητος) proclaims the God of Israel as the one, who alone has “might” (ἰσχύς) and “strength” (κράτος); he is the “omnipotent Lord” (κύριος παντοκράτωρ Jdt 4:13; 8:13; 15:10; 16:5,17).

This concept of power in the book of Judith (Nabuchodonosor – God of Israel) is explained by the key words “might” (ἰσχύς), “power” (δύναμις) and

“strength” (κράτος). As in Jdt 9:8, so these Leitwörter appear in Exod 15:1–18^{LXX} as attributes of God that are necessary for the rescue of Israel: “Your right hand, O Lord, has been glorified in power; your right hand, O Lord, crushed enemies” (ἡ δεξιὰ σου κύριε δεδόξασται ἐν ἰσχύι ἢ δεξιὰ σου χεὶρ κύριε ἔθραυσεν ἐχθρούς Exod 15:6). This example illustrates that Exod 15:1–18 not only influences Judith’s prayer but also the whole book of Judith.¹⁵

Nine aspects of assimilation, modification and reinterpretation in the citing of Exod 15:3 including the whole song 15:1–18^{LXX} in Jdt 9 and the book of Judith shall now be highlighted:

1. The narrated situation

The book of Judith tells of a situation similar to the situation in the book of Exodus: Israel is threatened in its existence by the decision of a foreign king. In both narratives the people of Israel is in an extreme danger.

2. Who is κύριος?

The book of Judith illustrates this constellation by the motif of κύριος. The question is not: Who is κύριος in the political or military sense, but: Who is the one and only κύριος? Who is the one and only God? Nabuchodonosor or the God of Israel? This key question of the book of Judith is answered im-

¹⁵ See furthermore: ὑψόω, “exalt”, in Exod 15:2; Jdt 9:7 and 16:1.11; ὕδωρ, “water”, as a main problem of the narrative of Judith in Jdt 7 cf. Exod 15:8.10.19; Jdt 9:12; σκῦλον, “spoil”, in Exod 15:9, cf. Jdt 4:1; 9:4; 16:4; γῆ, “earth”, in Exod 15:12, cf. Jdt 9:12; ἀκούω, “hear”, in Exod 15:14, cf. εἰσακούω in Jdt 9:4,12; ἔτοιμος, “prepared”, in Exod 15:17, cf. Jdt 9:6; ἵππος καὶ ἀναβάτης, “horse and rider”, in Exod 15:1, cf. Jdt 9:7, cf. Exod 15:19; ἀναβάτης, “rider”, in Exod 15:1,4,19, cf. Jdt 2:5 and 9:7; βραχίον, “arm”, in Exod 15:16, cf. Jdt 9:7; δύναμις, “troup, army, power”, in Exod 15:4, cf. Jdt 9:7 cf. Jdt 9:8,14 relating to the might of God; πλῆθος, “number”, (with συντρίβω, “crush/shatter”) in Exod 15:7, cf. Jdt 9:11 and also πλεθύνω in Jdt 9:7, which apart from Jdt 9:11 always relates to the Assyrians, only in Jdt 9:11 relating to God (cf. Jdt 1:16; 2:5,16,17,18,20; 5:3,9,10; 7:2,4,18; 15:7; 16:3); ἄρμα, “chariot”, in Exod 15:4,19; the chariots of the Assyrians in Jdt 2:19,22; 7:20 cf. Jdt 1:13; ἐπιλέκτους ἀναβάτας τριστάτας in Exod 15:4, cf. Jdt 2:15.19; 3:6); ῥίπτω, “throw”, Exod 15:1,4 (ἔρριψεν εἰς θάλασσαν ἐπιλέκτους ἀναβάτας), cf. Jdt 6:13 (Achiur) and 14:15 (Holofernes: καὶ εὗρεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς χελωνίδος ἐρριμμένον νεκρόν); ἀνελὼ τῆ μαχαίρῃ μου, “I will destroy with my dagger”, in Exod 15:9, cf. ἀνελεῖν ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ in Jdt 16:4; καλύπτω, “cover”, in Exod 15:5,10, cf. Jdt 2:7,19; 5:10; 7:18; 16:3; δύω, “sink”, in Exod 15:10 und καταδύω 15:5, cf. ἐνδύω Jdt 9:1; 10:3 and ἐκδύω in Jdt 10:3; τήκω, “melt”, in Exod 15:15, cf. Jdt 7:14; 16:15; “acquire” κτάομαι in Exod 15:16; Jdt 8:22: cf. Jdt 7:25; “forever and ever and beyond” τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἐπ’ αἰῶνα καὶ ἔτι in Exod 15:18, cf. Jdt 8:13; 13:19; 15:10; 16:17.

plicity from the Assyrian perspective in the first speech of Nabuchodonosor (Jdt 2) and explicitly in Jdt 3:8 and 6:2: Nabuchodonosor is κύριος, the mundane ruler and only god. Judith contradicts this Assyrian perspective by citing Exod 15:3 at the peek of peril in Betulia: Only the God of Israel is κύριος, and nobody else. κύριος is the name of Israel's God (Jdt 9:8). By citing Exod 15:3, Judith brings not only to mind a theological statement from the book of Exodus, but far more the rescue of Israel as it is told in the book of Exodus: While Moses sang his song after the rescue, Judith, by citing Exod 15:3, remembers at the peek of peril her steadfast hope of rescue by the hand of God. In Exod 15:11 the incomparability and uniqueness of God is expressed in the rhetorical question: τίς ὁμοίός σοι ἐν θεοῖς κύριε τίς ὁμοίός σοι, "Who is like you among the gods, O Lord? Who is like you?". Furthermore, the Song of the Sea ends in Exod 15:1–18 with the proclamation of God as King: κύριος βασιλεύων τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἐπ' αἰῶνα καὶ ἔτι, "The Lord, ruling [as king] forever and ever and beyond" (Exod 15:18). Judith prays to God as the βασιλεῦ πάσης κτίσεώς σου, "king of all your creation" (Jdt 9:12). It is interesting that this is the only place in the whole book of Judith where the God of Israel is called "king" (βασιλεύς).

3. The adversary

In the book of Exodus the question of actual power is answered on a first level by referring to the conflict between the God of Israel and Pharaoh, king of Egypt. But at a second level the Song of the Sea broadened the perspective by naming the nations who would surround Israel at a later point in history (Exod 15:14–16). By naming the other nations, the narrative framework of the Exodus is left and becomes transparent for the contemporary time of the text's composition. The book of Judith proceeds in a similar way. It knows the adversary: At the first level it is Nabuchodonosor, king of Assyria, and his representative Holofernes. But at a second level, it is clear to the reader, that the book of Judith is fiction and that its protagonist Nabuchodonosor, king of Assyria, is a fictional person and symbol for the biggest adversary of all times. Nabuchodonosor has the largest army and the nations surrounding Israel have joined the Assyrian army: the ruler of Moab, the generals of Ammon, the satraps of the coast (Jdt 5:2.22; 7:8). Is it by accident that all these nations are mentioned in Exod 15:14–16 as well?

4. God as κύριος συντριβών πολέμους

In the Song of the Sea (Exod 15:1–18) Moses and the people sing of their successful rescue by God, a God, who intervenes and actively takes a stand at Israel’s side. The direct intervention of God is expressed in the Hebrew and as well as in the Greek version. Although God is characterized as κύριος συντριβών πολέμους, the LXX version does not picture God as a peacemaker, but as a mighty leader, whose power exceeds the power of the mightiest adversary and who is able to conquer all enemies. For this reason Exod 15:3^{LXX} does not only characterize God as a “man of war” (Exod 15:3^{MT}), but also describes the aim of God’s intervention: to crush wars, to bring wars to an end. Therefore, Exod 15:1–18 mentions the characteristics of God, that are necessary to rescue Israel: God’s wrath (Exod 15:7.8), God’s power (Exod 15:6.13) and the greatness of God’s glory (Exod 15:7).

5. God’s wrath (ὀργή / θυμός)

In Exod 15:1–18 the wrath of God is identified as the reason for the rescue of Israel: Through the breath of God’s wrath (διὰ πνεύματος τοῦ θυμοῦ σου Exod 15:8) the waters separated and were congealed like a wall; God’s anger consumed the enemies like stubble (ὀργή Exod 15:7). In the book of Judith, Judith also prays: “Dispatch your anger (ὀργή) for their heads...!” (Jdt 9:9) and likewise aims at the destruction of the enemies. But in the book of Judith God’s wrath does not lead to a direct intervention, but, by being theologically reflected in the history of Israel, to the intervention by Judith: She is the one, who rescues her people.

6. God’s power (ἰσχύς)

Another quality of God is his power (ἰσχύς in Exod 15:6.13): “Your right hand, O Lord, has been glorified in power (ἐν ἰσχύϊ)”. In Exod 15:1–18^{LXX} it is God, whose power is responsible for the rescue. In comparison with Exod 15:1–18, the book of Judith shows a different concept of strength and power (ἰσχύς, κράτος, δύναμις): Judith prays: “Place in the hand of me, the widow, the strength (κράτος) that I have contemplated” (Jdt 9:9). Judith prays for her own strength and power, not for God’s power. This difference between the Song of the Sea and the book of Judith is made clear by the use of “hand” and the verb “shatter”: In Exod 15:6, it was the right hand of God that shattered the enemies (ἔθραυσεν Exod 15:6), whereas in Jdt 9:10 it is Judith who asks God to shatter the hubris of the enemies through her hand (θραῦσον αὐτῶν τὸ ἀνάστημα ἐν χειρὶ θηλείας Jdt 9:10). The root θραυ- “shatter” is used by

Judith in her prayer before the beheading of Holofernes (εις θραῦσμα ἐχθρῶν Jdt 13:5) and in the account about her deed (ἀλλ' ἔθραυσε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἡμῶν διὰ χειρός μου Jdt 13:14).¹⁶

7. The greatness of God's glory

In Exod 15:6^{LXX} the motif of the power of God is connected with the motif of the glory of God (δοξάζω Exod 15:1,2,6,11,21, δόξα Exod 15:7,11 and ἐνδόξως Exod 15:1,21), a motif that is adopted in Judith's prayer by speaking of the "name of your glory" (Jdt 9:8; cf. δοξάζω Jdt 12:13; ἐνδόξως Jdt 16:13,21).

8. The titles of God

Exod 15:1–18^{LXX} has a formative influence on the view of God in the book of Judith and especially in Judith's prayer (Jdt 9) not only by the characteristic traits, qualities and actions ascribed to God, but also by the titles of God: In Exod 15:2 God is called upon as "helper" (βοηθός), "defender" (σκεπαστής), "my father's God" (θεὸς τοῦ πατρός μου) and the one who saved me (ἐγένετό μοι εἰς σωτηρίαν)¹⁷. All these epithets are used in Jdt 9:11 in the five titles for God in a quite elegant phrasing: "For your strength is not in numbers, nor is your dominance in those who are fit, but you are a God of the lowly; you are the helper of the inferior, the supporter of the weak, the one who shelters the desperate, the saviour of the hopeless" (οὐ γὰρ ἐν πλήθει τὸ κράτος σου οὐδὲ ἡ δυναστεία σου ἐν ἰσχύουσιν ἀλλὰ ταπεινῶν εἶ θεὸς ἐλαττόνων εἶ βοηθός ἀντιλήμπτω ἀσθενούντων ἀπεγνωσμένων σκεπαστῆς ἀπλησιζόμενων σωτήρ Jdt 9:11). These five titles serve to evoke the whole Song of the Sea (Exod 15:1–18).

9. Aim: The gift of Torah and the guidance into the land

In the Torah, the rescue at the Red Sea aims at the gift of Torah and the guidance into the promised land. Therefore, it does not come as a surprise that the Song of the Sea (Exod 15:1–18^{LXX}) culminates in the plea: "Lead them in, and plant them in the mountain of your inheritance, in your prepared dwelling place that you made, O Lord!" (Exod 15:17). In the same way, the book of Judith aims at the rescue of the people, but also at the rescue of the temple.

¹⁶ See ἐπιπέσοι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς φόβος καὶ τρόμος Exod 15:16^{LXX} in Jdt 2:28; 15:2; φόβος without τρόμος in Jdt 14:3.

¹⁷ Exod 15:2^{LXX} ἐγένετό μοι εἰς σωτηρίαν: see σωτηρία in Jdt 8:17; 11:3.

Important words for the temple in Jerusalem from Exod 15:1–18^{LXX} are key words in the book of Judith: ἁγίασμα Exod 15:17 (see Jdt 5:19), τὰ ἅγια σου Jdt 9:8 (see Jdt 4:12.13; 8:21.24; 16:20) and κληρονομία Exod 15:17 in Jdt 9:12 (see Jdt 4:12; 8:22; 13:5; 16:21). Therefore, Judith’s hope of rescue for the threatened temple in Jerusalem is based upon the close alignment with the topic of the temple in Exod 15:1–18.

Conclusion:

By comparing Exod 15:1–18 with Jdt 9 and the whole book of Judith, it becomes obvious that the book of Judith not only draws upon the key words and motifs of Exod 15:1–18, but that it theologically and literarily depends on Exod 15.

The book of Judith takes words, motifs and theological points of views from Exod 15:1–18 and at the same time modifies them and adds new elements. This can be demonstrated by several motifs: “Lord”, the “right hand”, God’s “wrath” and his “power”, titles of God (helper, saviour and defender), the perspective of temple theology, and the role of the nations and the characterization of God. The conception of God in the book of Judith was decisively shaped by Exod 15:1–18. In contrast to the Book of Exodus, in the Book of Judith, all these aspects do not lead to an intervention of God who himself saves the people of Israel, but it is Judith, who empowers herself in reflecting (Jdt 8) and praying (Jdt 9) and saves her people by her deed: “You accomplished all these things by your hand” (Jdt 15:10). The book of Judith adopts from the Song of the Sea (Exod 15:1–18) the question of rescue of the people (of Israel) and God’s merciful care for Israel and the necessity of violence in order to rescue Israel. Both elements, merciful care and violence at the same time, were taken from Exod 15:1–18 and were adopted in the book of Judith. The whole Song of the Sea (Exod 15) fulfils a programmatic function for the book of Judith and sets the framework for its interpretation. It functions as a theological guideline for the whole of the book of Judith, which not only adopts but also reshapes the theological concepts of Exod 15.

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Interpreting the Sealed Book.

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The following contribution is a documentation of the panel discussion on Ross Wagner's *Reading the Sealed Book. Old Greek Isaiah and the Problem of Septuagint Hermeneutics*¹ which took place at the IOSCS meeting during the SBL Annual Meeting 2013 in Baltimore.² The statements are given in the order of their presentation. We thank the authors for their willingness to share their papers and to prepare them for publication as a contribution to the ongoing task to analyse and interpret the book of Isaiah in its Septuagint version and to basic hermeneutic questions.

S. Kreuzer

1. Leonard J. Greenspoon, Introduction.

Wagner begins his monograph by observing that there are two sharply divergent approaches or alternatives to “Septuagint hermeneutics”: the “interlinear paradigm” underlying NETS, on the one hand, and the approach behind La Bible d’Alexandrie, on the other.

The first question on which these divergent approaches disagree concerns the degree to which the textual-linguistic character of LXX translations conforms to target-language models. One viewpoint holds that, due to pervasive linguistic interference from the source texts, “unintelligibility of the Greek text qua Greek text is one of [the] inherent characteristics” of the Septuagint.³ At the other end of the spectrum lies the view that the translators sought to

¹ *Forschungen zum Alten Testament* 88, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck / Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2013, XI, 295 pp.

² Nov. 24, 2013, 1:00 p.m. to 3:30 p.m.

³ *Reading the Sealed Book*, 3; citing Albert Pietersma, “A New English Translation of the Septuagint,” pp. 217–228 in *X Congress of the IOSCS* (SBLSCS 51; ed. Bernard A. Taylor; Atlanta: SBL, 2001), 219.

“produce a text, if not easy to read, in any case almost always of good “greekness,” comprehensible and coherent.”⁴

A second area of disagreement centers on the nature of the relationship between the Greek translations and their parent texts. One perspective locates the typical translated text in a position of subservience to its source. It attempts to bring its target audience to the source text. In contrast, others regard the typical LXX version as “distinct and independent from its parent text,” a translation that aims to bring an interpretation of its source to the target audience.⁵

A third controversy arises over the proper focus of the modern interpreter’s attention. Drawing a sharp distinction between “text production” and “text reception,” some (e.g., NETS) take the principal object of study to be the Greek text in its relation to its source. Others (so *La Bible d’Alexandrie*) place the Greek text itself at the center of the investigation

What Septuagint hermeneutics needs—and what Wagner seeks to provide through a close investigation of Isaiah 1—is a theoretical framework and a corresponding methodology. Among the tools Wagner employs is Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), as conceived by Gideon Toury. DTS conceives of translation as an event (rather than a single action) within the literary system of the target culture.

Toury’s model recognizes that translation takes place in a social context. Shared cultural expectations regarding aims and methods both guide and constrain translators. Thus, the “paradigm” or “model of translation” from which translators take their bearings can be conceptualized as a set of socially constructed “norms” that are neither static nor absolute; rather they reflect social conventions that are themselves fluid and changeable, and they constitute a spectrum of negotiable behaviors.

This approach starts from the assumption that the translation process involves decision-making on the translator’s part. The concept of translational norms allows for the systematic description of the principles guiding translators as they navigate the challenges of re-presenting the source text in a form that will be “acceptable” to the target culture as a translation. Thus understood, target models serve as key points of reference for determining the “fit” of a translated text within the overall literary system of the target culture. In

⁴ *Ibid.*, 3; citing Marguerite Harl, “*La Bible d’Alexandrie* I. The Translation Principles,” pp. 181–197 in *X Congress of the IOSCS*, 187.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 3; citing Harl, “*La Bible d’Alexandrie*,” 185.

Toury's schema, such an assessment takes place at three distinct levels: the linguistic, the textual, and the literary.

To delineate the interrelatedness of function, process, and product with respect to a particular translation is to specify what Cameron Boyd-Taylor and Albert Pietersma call its "constitutive character." In the case of the Septuagint corpus, it is the textual-linguistic character of the translated text itself that constitutes the primary evidence for these aspects of the translation.

Boyd-Taylor has developed an extended argument for the "interlinear paradigm," theorizing that the "position and function of the typical Septuagintal translation was conceived of as the Greek half of a Greek-Hebrew diglot."⁶ The prototypical example of such an "interlinear" translation is Aquila's version. On this hypothesis, the Greek translation seeks to facilitate the reader's engagement with the Hebrew original in some fashion.

Wagner contends and then demonstrates that DTS has the potential to open up fresh perspectives on the Old Greek version of Isaiah, a translation that despite decades of research has resisted easy categorization.

A hotly debated element in this regard is the contention that a constitutive norm of this translation is the permissibility of "actualizing" Isaiah's prophecies for the community's contemporary situation. Passages that are seen as examples of this are judged to be central to the program of interpreting Isaiah as prophecy. For the Greek translator of Isaiah thus understood, the "actualization" of prophecy represented not only permitted, but expected behavior. As is well known, this bold hypothesis has not been without its detractors.

In the substantive middle chapters of his work, Wagner carefully analyzes all aspects of Isaiah 1 in the Greek in order "to (1) offer a theoretically informed 'thick description' of the translation with a view toward delineating its constitutive character more exactly; and (2) model an approach to interpreting OG Isaiah that befits its character as a translated text" (35).

In assessing this text's prospective function, Wagner determines that "as a translation, OG Isaiah remains strongly redolent of its Hebrew forebear in such areas as the rhythm of its syntax, the shape of its rhetoric, and the texture of its figuration" (234). The Old Greek version thus stands firmly in the tradition of translation that took shape around the Septuagint proper, exemplifying as it does the distinctive "interlanguage" authorized by the Pentateuch.

⁶ Ibid., 12; citing Cameron Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines: The Interlinear Paradigm for Septuagint Studies* (BiTS 8; Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 171–172.

“Where LXX Isaiah most differs from the ‘typical’ translation within the Septuagint corpus is in the translator’s studied attempt to produce a translation with a high degree of textual cohesion, thematic coherence, and rhetorical (or ‘literary’) power. With his tendency to adhere to the translational norms of quantitative and serial fidelity, [the translator] succeeds in representing many of the textual-linguistic features of the source text in his translation. At the same time, he remains cognizant of the needs of those who will read and hear his text in the target language, offering his audience guidance in understanding the message of the prophet” (234).

The translator’s “love for parallelism and his delight in paronomasia and sound-play bespeak an intense interest in the impact of his translation on the ear. This, then, is a text crafted to be heard and experienced on its own. While it may not have been intended to ‘replace’ its Hebrew parent, neither was it designed simply to assume a subservient position in relation to its source” (234).

In Wagner’s view, the most obvious setting for a translation of this character within the Diaspora of the second century BCE would be the Hellenistic synagogue. To imagine that the translator of Isaiah envisioned a “liturgical” use for his translation does not imply that this version could not also have been intended for study alongside the Hebrew text.

In connection with interpretation in Greek Isaiah 1, Wagner observes: “to the extent that the Greek translator interprets Isaiah for his audience, he does so by elucidating its language, modulating its discourse, and contextualizing its message” (235). In connection with elucidation of language, Wagner points out, the translator normally attempts to resolve ambiguities and aporias in the Hebrew, rather than simply passing them on to his audience. In order to rescue his reader from potential pitfalls, the translator also modulates the tone of the prophet’s discourse.

Wagner also contends that “contextualization of Isaiah’s message does not, in OG Isaiah 1 at least, take the form of ‘actualizing’ the ancient prophecies” (236). Rather it is the Greek translator’s passion for particular Isaian motifs—especially those that center on sharp economic and moral divisions within Israel—that marks him as a man of his time. In this way, the Greek translator “makes his own distinctive contribution to the formation and preservation of Jewish identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora” (237).

2. H.G.M. Williamson, *Review*.

As I indicated in my blurb for the publisher, I have enormously appreciated the aim of this monograph, namely its concern to work in detail through an extended passage in Isaiah as a means to address systematically some of the current controversies regarding the method and motivation of the Greek translator of Isaiah. Furthermore, I applaud the care with which this has been done.⁷

I am not a Septuagint specialist, so that I must leave to others an evaluation of the precise approach adopted. The fact remains, however, that there is a great deal that we do not and cannot know about the details of how a rendering of a particular word or phrase in the LXX came about. Some of those who chase after method imply that they know everything; but they do not, and nor do we. The following remarks are therefore offered in a spirit of inquiry with which I know Wagner is happy to engage.

I come unashamedly as a student of the text of the Hebrew Bible, so that my own concern for and interest in the Septuagint text is limited to the extent to which it can serve as a textual witness to the Hebrew. Of course, I am aware that this in itself is not easy, as there is a whole host of considerations that need to be taken into account when trying to determine the wording of the translator's Hebrew *Vorlage*, and Wagner lays these out in short order in part of the second of his introductory chapters. These are familiar to us all when they are listed, because actually they are pretty obvious: things like the need to take account of the translator's practice overall, the uncertainty over whether he had a damaged manuscript, whether consciously or unconsciously he tried to improve upon its intelligibility, and other such matters, including whether or not he was also introducing some form of interpretation or actualization, which is Wagner's main concern behind his book.

But of course that does not mean that they are easy to apply because they require such a sweeping breadth of knowledge which only a few scholars will have. Commentators on the Hebrew text like me generally turn to the Septuagint when there is a problem in the Hebrew to see if the Greek rendering suggests some sort of solution by way of emendation. There is usually little

⁷ The following remarks were written for oral presentation, without thought for any subsequent publication. While I have reworded some of the more blatant colloquialisms, I have generally maintained the less formal oral style and furthermore have not added any more than the bare minimum of documentation.

point in looking at it if there is no problem with the Hebrew and equally when we do look it up, how can we possibly know about things like the translator's practice as a whole? After all, even if I knew a bit about it for one book, I could not apply that to another, so that I am completely stymied when I move from one text to another.

Well, now at least there is no danger of getting it wrong for Isaiah chapter 1, so I guess that's a start. The trouble is, I had already written on Isaiah 1 before Wagner had shown me what I was supposed to be doing, so that it all comes too late!⁸ Still, it is reassuring sometimes to find I was right for unknown reasons. For instance, his detailed study seeks among other things to show how the translator 'takes considerable pains to clarify the structure and cohesion of the discourse in Isaiah 1', and to this he attributes, *inter alia*, the addition of 'Zion' to v. 21 to parallel its appearance in v. 26, where it has been brought in from the start of v. 27 in the Hebrew, so marking out the bounds of this paragraph within the chapter. In my own comments on this I had already associated the occurrence in v. 21 with that in v. 26 (along with some other considerations) so as to conclude that this was an addition by the translator rather than a loss from the Hebrew text (as some commentators had argued), so that it is good now to have this further independent evidence in support.

Moving on from that to passages where one might look to the Septuagint for help with difficulties in the Hebrew text raises other questions, however. The second half of v. 18 sounds in traditional English renderings like an unconditional promise of forgiveness: 'though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool' (RV). And indeed, in an older style of popular Christian piety that is precisely how they were taken. In view of the urgent commands which precede them and the strongly conditional clauses which follow them, however, it has seemed to many in ancient as well as in more recent times that this is unlikely. The Hebrew imperfect verbs (יהיו and ילבינו) are certainly most usually indicative, but they can also be modal if necessary, and that is now the preferred option of many commentators. My understanding is that, unlike Hebrew, Greek is more easily able to distinguish modal from indicative, so that the commentator naturally looks to see if the translator can offer guidance from the oldest interpretive reader known to us. S/he will be disappoint-

⁸ Unless otherwise stated, all references to my own work are to the relevant sections of the first volume of my commentary: *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 1-27*, 1: *Commentary on Isaiah 1-5* (ICC; London: T & T Clark, 2006).

ed, however, as the Greek is as plain as the King James Version! The LXX not only keeps the verbs as simple imperfect indicatives but in addition makes God directly into the first person subject of the verbs: ‘I will make them white like snow’, etc.

In discussing this, Wagner first shows how the translator has tightened up the interconnected structure of the series of four statements through vv. 18–20, draws attention to the emphasis in the Greek text on the divine initiative, and then concludes that ‘the Lord’s adamant refusal to forgive his people’s sins while they persist in practicing lawlessness (v. 14c) is more than matched by his readiness to cleanse them completely, if only they will turn from oppression and pursue justice’. He then dismisses my reading of LXX as providing an unconditional promise of forgiveness as based on only ‘an atomistic reading’ that takes no account of the wider context.

Well, of course in one sense that is true. But the fact of the matter is that this verse has been read atomistically by generations of churchmen (though not by many commentators: only Delitzsch and Eichrodt,⁹ so far as I know), and the question is whether our translator, who could have made the point clear without difficulty, in fact expected his readers to gloss his rendering with the conditional clauses that Wagner inserts into his exegesis at this point. How can we know?

A similar consideration arises at the end of v. 4. Here, the second half of the verse in the Hebrew comprises three clauses, the last of which has proven quite a challenge to translators throughout the ages: נִזְרֵי אֶחָד. So this is an obvious place where one will turn to the versions for some assistance, but when it comes to the Septuagint we may again be disappointed, as it simply omits the clause altogether. Some commentators have suggested that the words did not stand in its Vorlage at all, but I have argued for reasons that need not be rehearsed here that in fact they must have been in the finally redacted text of the chapter, and Wagner appears to agree with me on that. So why were they left untranslated?

Faced with this problem I could only venture to suggest that he did not understand them and so omitted them, aided in this by a quirk of his to which I shall return shortly that he was not always bothered to render lists of things

⁹ F. Delitzsch, *Commentar über das Buch Jesaja* (4th edn; Leipzig: Dörffling & Franke, 1889), 61 = ET, *Biblical Commentary on the Prophecies of Isaiah* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1894), 82–83; W. Eichrodt, *Der Heilige in Israel: Jesaja 1-12* (BAT 17/1; Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1960), 33; see too A. B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel*, 4: *Jesaja, Jeremia* (Leipzig: Hinrich, 1912), 7.

in full or with particular accuracy. Wagner goes further with an interesting suggestion. Allowing that there might have been a physical flaw in the translator's *Vorlage* or that we have here a case of haplography (though I am not quite sure how that would work), he in fact favours a solution based again on wider considerations. Noting that the translator links v. 4 more closely with v. 5 than does the Hebrew text by way of a change of person, he suggests that the last clause of v. 4 was deliberately dropped in order to enhance the parallelism of the passage as a whole. But again, how do we know? Enhancing parallelism is a bold claim for a translator in antiquity. This is a second example where Wagner appeals to an observation from a slight change of literary structure in order to explain a feature of the translation. The more examples of the same phenomenon that one can muster, the more probable it all becomes, and the less forceful the evidence appears for any possible reconstruction of an alternative Hebrew *Vorlage*.

Another passage where the translator's concern to add firm structure to his presentation coincides with the failure to translate a phrase occurs at v. 11. In the sentence 'I am fed up with burnt offerings of rams and the fat of well-fed animals; I take no delight in the blood of bulls and lambs and goats', there is no Greek equivalent of Hebrew **וּכְבָשִׁים**, 'and lambs'. Wagner demonstrates that in this passage the Greek joins this verse with the start of the next as a single sentence as part of 'a series of interrelated macro-level transformations of the source text that bring order to the overall structure of' vv. 11–15.

The lack of an equivalent for **וּכְבָשִׁים** has been taken by very many commentators as a clue to the possibility that it may not have stood in the translator's *Vorlage* and beyond that to the further possibility that it is a later addition to the Hebrew text. Wagner allows that possibility as well as potential loss by parablepsis, but thinks either of these less probable than the suggestion that he 'simply opted to represent **וּכְבָשִׁים וְעֵתִדִים** ... by a single equivalent'. Yes, but why? Wagner does not really delay over that as he moves on to the fact that, as others have observed, he had already used *ἄρνες* to translate **מְרִיאִים** and that there may also have been influence from Deut. 32:14.

This is all fine, but it takes no account (other than in passing in a footnote) of an argument I have tried to set out in full in an article¹⁰ that looks at a number of passages in Isaiah where we have a list of related nouns only to find

¹⁰ 'Isaiah 1.11 and the Septuagint of Isaiah', in A. G. Auld (ed.), *Understanding Poets and Prophets: Essays in Honour of George Wishart Anderson* (JSOTSup 152; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 401-12.

that the translator regularly treats them in a somewhat cavalier fashion, leaving out or adding items, changing their order, and so on. In particular, the present verse may be profitably compared with 34:6–7, where the similarity in the Hebrew is only partial but where in the Septuagint they coincide completely, as if his list were just what he took to be standard for sacrificial animals.

Now, if that is right (as I still believe), then it is an element in the translator's regular practice that ought surely to have a bearing on our understanding of his procedure here, as well perhaps as elsewhere, such as v. 4 that I discussed earlier. In other words, a response to the question 'how do we know' will need to include an element of 'he could in certain circumstances be somewhat cavalier' in it. And if that is the case, it will have a bearing in turn upon the extent to which we should ascribe every difference to some carefully conceived master plan of literary sophistication, which might be used as a caricature of Wagner's approach.

3. Florian Wilk, Review.

This book – focused on “the problem of how to identify and evaluate ‘interpretation’ of the source text in the translation” (5) – is a significant contribution to LXX research. W. is right in dividing his study into two main parts – first setting up a theoretical framework in order to define an appropriate methodology, then offering an in-depth analysis of a delimited textual unit in order to delineate the character of the translation. Indeed, only investigations like this one will enable us to make progress towards solving the problem just mentioned.

With regard to LXX Isaiah, W. considers the debate as centered on the question of ‘actualization’ (32): Is it true that this translation “repeatedly reflects contemporaneous history” (Seeligmann 1948: 4)? I am not quite sure whether ch. 1 is the right text for checking this hypothesis. As far as I know, neither Seeligmann nor van der Kooij, the chief proponents of a fulfillment interpretation, ever referred to it in this regard. On the other hand, it is obvious that the translator presents ch. 1 as a summary of Isaiah's visions of judgment on Judaea and Jerusalem. One should expect, therefore, that a tendency to apply prophecies to his own time – if at all discernible – becomes apparent here, too. In fact, I have tried to show that this is the case (Wilk 2003). Thus, it is up to me to review how W. has tackled the question of ‘actualization’. I will do so in accordance with the structure of his book, taking up his reflections on method and discussing his analysis of Isaiah 1.

Although the debate about ‘actualization’ forms the starting point for his study, W. does not isolate the issue. He models “an approach to interpreting OG Isaiah that befits its character as a translated text” (35). Drawing on insights from Descriptive Translation Studies as developed by G. Toury and refined by C. Boyd-Taylor, W. attempts to describe “the interrelatedness of function, process and product” (11) of the translation. To that end, he analyzes “the textual-linguistic character” (11) of LXX Isaiah “in relation to the cultural framework” (42) in which it was produced and read, i.e., “the reading of scriptural texts in the Jewish diaspora of the second century BCE” (40).

By and large, I can only consent to this approach. The same holds true for the analytical methods W. applies in his investigation. There are, however, two steps in his argument which give rise to questions.

In his description of the cultural encyclopedia W. confines himself to considering “the cultural norms that govern the translation process” (45). This is rather consequential. However, I wonder that he does not refer to the prophetic character of the parent text and its translation at all. Given that the book of Isaiah is “a composition of ... oracles”, “[t]he crucial question is how these oracles were understood by the translator” (van der Kooij 2009: 150) and by the readers. In fact, there is plenty of evidence that during the second century BCE, it was common among Jews to take scriptural prophecies as referring to the present or the near future of one’s own time. From Ben Sira 48:22-25 it can be seen that it was even possible to hold a bifocal view on Isaiah: On the one hand he acted for the good of his contemporaries, on the other hand he showed “to eternity the things that will be.” Is it not *a priori* to be expected that such an attitude towards the book of Isaiah informed the composition and the reception of its Greek version, too?

This leads to my second question. At the end of his book, W. characterizes the translator “as a man of his time” (237) who contextualizes “Isaiah’s message for the Hellenistic diaspora” (236). This “is most perceptible” in his reference to a “division within Israel between those who rely on wealth, power and *Realpolitik* ... and those who trust in the Kyrios.” (237) Depicting “adherence to the νόμος as constitutive of Israel’s identity as the people of God”, the translator points out how Jews are “able to withstand the aggressive ... imperialism of the Hellenistic kingdoms” (237). Furthermore, he “alludes to well known facets of life in the Hellenistic diaspora” (233). All that is reminiscent of what Seeligmann once said – that the translator had a “tendency to rediscover, in the text he was translating, the world of his own period” (Seeligmann 1948: 79). But W. makes a definite qualification: He

does not find “compelling evidence to suggest that the Greek translator sought to ‘actualize’ OG Isaiah 1 for his audience by encoding his translation with specific references to contemporary historical events.” (233)

It is not easy to grasp the reason for this qualification. According to W., LXX Isaiah “evokes cultural knowledge” of its time (233) in distinct terms. Isa 1:22, e.g., “recalls the persistent problems the Ptolemies faced with coinage ...” (233). Assuming this to be true, is it plausible to state that the Greek text includes no allusions to historical events that affected the translator and the readers?

In fact, what W. objects to is a particular variant of ‘actualization’: a mode of reading prophecies that van der Kooij has called “*Erfüllungsinterpretation*” (32). W. makes himself clear: “Heard and studied in the synagogues of second-century Egypt, Isaiah’s sweeping vision ... required no ‘actualization’ to articulate the ... faith and ... hope of the translator’s community.” (237) This statement is ... apparently based on the conviction that the prophetic text remains “open to continual reinterpretation” (Wagner 2007: 267). If, therefore, the translator had ‘actualized’ Isaiah’s prophecy “by identifying it with a specific contemporary situation” he would have “close[d]” it (Wagner 2007: 268 n.64, quoting R. Troxel).

This reasoning is not conclusive, however. In Jewish literature from the Hellenistic period there are different models of fulfillment-interpretation (cf. van der Kooij 2008: 600). Only the ‘*pescharim*’ from Qumran explicitly attest to the view that the prophets wrote down what will happen to God’s people at the end of the days, and that it needs divine inspiration to disclose the hidden meaning of their writings. LXX Isaiah lacks any such statement. We cannot tell, therefore, whether the translator aimed at a definite interpretation of Isaiah’s prophecy in relation to his own time. He might as well have understood that book “as an inexhaustible source for appropriate historical explanations” (Wilk 2010: 191). In that case, one would expect him to allude to specific events in history without imposing such references on his readers. Thus, I do think it necessary to consider any aspect of the translation that might refer to the time of the translator by keeping one’s mind open to different variants of ‘actualization’.

In his actual analysis of LXX Isaiah 1, W. succeeds in showing that contextualization is typical of that version. Again and again he points out how a term or phrase refers to a facet of Jewish life in Hellenistic times. With regard to lexical choices and intratextual linkages, W. confirms what others have observed before: “the ... translator identifies the central issue in the Lord’s

controversy with his people as their ... refusal to pattern their lives according to the νόμος” and pinpoints “the leaders of Zion as the primary target of the prophet’s polemic” (232). Both phenomena enhance the distinctiveness of his “contribution to the ... preservation of Jewish identity in the Hellenistic diaspora” (237).

To my mind, however, we ought to go one step further. LXX Isaiah 1 has two characteristics that should be evaluated more extensively than is done by W.

The first one is the emphasis on the *cultic dimension* of the lawlessness in view. Even the Hebrew parent text speaks of God’s disgust at offerings and feasts (v. 11-14), attributes Zion the title ‘whore’ (v. 21) and refers to the idolatry of Israel’s sinners (v. 28-29). LXX Isaiah 1, however, is concerned with Israel’s cult throughout: In v. 4-5, the translation adopts scriptural polemic against idolatry; in v. 24, it picks up the notion of purity introduced in v. 16 and applies it to the future removal of all lawless leaders from Zion. In this way, the Greek version suggests that those leaders are responsible for the degeneration of the cult. This, in turn, fits the religious situation at Jerusalem in the second century BCE, marked by a continuous fighting over Hellenistic influences on the temple.

Second, the translation has not only clarified (cf. 230) but significantly modified the *structure* of the text. W. rightly observes that the translator tends to add “particles” as well as “personal pronouns” and to “alter[] the grammatical ‘person’ of verbs” (230). The effect of this is that the smaller units of the parent text link together to form a coherent discourse. Diverging from the outline constructed by W. (cf. 65-67), however, I prefer to divide this discourse into three parts: God’s address to the people and its rulers in v. 10-20 constitutes the center; this is preceded by a statement of Israel’s unfaithfulness and its consequences in v. 2-9, and it is followed by a critique of Zion’s disobedience and a prophecy of God’s response to that in v. 21-31. Viewed in this way, it emerges that the sequence of lawlessness and judgment is repeated: Just as Israel once forsook the Lord and provoked him to anger (v. 4), it does so “now” (v. 21, cf. v. 24.28); and just as it was punished in the past (v. 5-7), it will receive punishment in the future (v. 24.28-31). Furthermore, there was and there is an element of hope and salvation: While v. 9 refers to a seed that God left for Israel, V. 26-27 predict that God will restore Zion. That the translator put stress on this analogy can be seen from the structural parallels between the first and the last section of Isaiah 1. In both cases, a bitter complaint (v. 2-3 // v. 21-23) leads to a cry of woe and an exposition of its consequences (v. 4-7 // v. 24-26), followed by a prophecy about Zion’s

fortune (v. 8 // v. 27-28) and a concluding explanation (v. 9 // v. 29-31). Apparently, LXX Isaiah 1 establishes a connection between Zion's past, present and future. It seems reasonable to assume, therefore, that the translator applied those passages in the text that concern the present ("now") to his own time.

It is only in this context, I think, that one can make sense of two striking shifts the translator has made in his *usage of verbal tenses*: In v. 7-9 he switches from present to future and then to aorist, in v. 29-30 from future to aorist and back. I have proposed viewing these shifts as signs of an 'actualization' of Isaiah's vision. W. agrees that they can hardly be attributed to "a mechanical *Übersetzungsweise*" (215, *contra* van der Louw 2007: 230) but presents a different explanation. In his view, the tenses in v. 8-9 "suit[] the perspective of the speakers" (97 n.120) who express first their fear "that ... soon only the mother city will remain unconquered" (94 n.110) and then their "hope in the Lord's fixed purpose to preserve his people" (97 n.120). Again, in v. 29-30 the switch to aorist "recall[s] the past in order to evoke ... a deep confidence that the final downfall of the idolators is certain" (217) – without referring to a particular event (cf. 218). To my mind, however, this interpretation does not correspond to the structure of the discourse as a whole. Considering the parallels between v. 2-9 und v. 21-31, it seems natural to connect both changes of verbal tenses: It is the prediction made in v. 8 that is presented as carried out in v. 29b. In making this connection one can also explain the remarkable wording of those verses: The idolators of the past were not brought to an end (v. 28b-29a) but only 'ashamed' (v. 29b); and so they were since Zion was 'abandoned ... like a garden-watcher's hut in a cucumber field' (v. 8). In other words: Those who were able to watch over Israel have left Zion. But just in this way, God has preserved a 'seed' which maintains the prospect of Israel's future restoration (v. 9). Accordingly, this restoration will imply the return of leaders who "would once again govern the people according to ... the Law" (187, cf. v. 24-26). In view of its cultic dimension the Greek discourse can therefore plausibly be read as referring to the retreat of the Oniads to Egypt and the hope of their reinstatement as high priests in Jerusalem.

The exegesis of Isaiah 1 which is thereby ascribed to the translator can certainly be designated as "fulfillment interpretation". I would deny, however, that it results in a 'closure' of Isaiah's prophecy. Rather, it presents readers of the Greek text in second century Egypt with the opportunity to apply that prophecy to their own situation and to grasp the meaning of their hope of Zion's restoration as it was evoked by Isaiah. Understood in this way, 'actu-

alization' is but an integral aspect of 'contextualization' which W. has shown to be characteristic of the LXX version of Isaiah 1.

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Wilk, Florian, "Between Scripture and History: Technique and Hermeneutics of Interpreting Biblical Prophets in the Septuagint of Isaiah and the Letters of Paul," in *The Old Greek of Isaiah: Issues and Perspectives* (CBET 55. Ed. Arie van der Kooij and Michael N. van der Meer; Leuven: Peeters 2010), 189-209.

4. Rodrigo Franklin de Sousa, Review.

J. Ross Wagner's most recent monograph is a stimulating read, and some of the conclusions resonate with proposals I made in my own work. Yet, in this response to the book, I want to offer some reflections and constructive criticism regarding the general method adopted by Wagner, particularly about the adoption of the "interlinear paradigm" and the issue of "actualization of prophecy".

Wagner approaches LXX Isaiah with the dual purpose of characterizing it as a translation and modeling "an approach to its interpretation appropriate to its character as a translated text" (Wagner 2013: 5). To do this, he turns to Descriptive Translation Studies (henceforth DTS), in the form given by Cameron Boyd-Taylor, who in turn recasts Gideon Toury's method. He adds to this two sets of theoretical postulates adopted from Umberto Eco. The first is that of the *cultural encyclopedia*. This is the idea that every linguistic item is

culturally connected with a wide network of concepts, conventions, ideas and representations. The second set of concepts is that which includes the *model author* and *model reader*, which I will not discuss in this review.

With this theoretical model in the background, Wagner exegetes OG Isaiah 1 thoroughly and ends up with the following overall picture: OG Isaiah displays an orientation to the form of the parent text at the linguistic level, and it aims at producing a highly acceptable translation at the textual and literary levels. The version presents a high degree of isomorphism with relation to its source text, and its deviations are very much in line with the development of Isaianic themes and expand these in the intent of bringing to life the meaning of the version for a Jewish Hellenistic readership (227-235). For this reason, Wagner repeats the verdict of Boyd-Taylor upon OG Job, asserting that it is also an apt description of OG Isaiah: “a translation which would be recognized as a literary composition within the target culture but at the same time be readily identified with the culture of the source text”. The supposed setting of the version is the Hellenistic synagogue, where the version was performed orally, as well as possibly studied alongside the Hebrew (234).

From this brief overview I proceed to my questions. The first is the connection between DTS and the “interlinear paradigm”. Following Boyd-Taylor closely, Wagner weds the adoption of the DTS model with the assumption of the “interlinear paradigm”, according to which the “typical” Septuagint translation is to be taken as part of a diglot, in the model of Aquila. For Wagner, the Isaiah translation often deviates from the “typical” LXX text, so that it toggles between the intention of not replacing the Hebrew original and the attempt to produce an acceptable and palatable version to a new readership (234).

In his presentation of the method, Wagner arrives at a translational model for OG Isaiah from a sustained discussion of Boyd-Taylor’s treatment of the Aquila and OG versions of 3rd Reigns and the OG version of Job, focusing on the study of the latter. He highlights three features that Boyd-Taylor attributes to OG Job as having relevance to the understanding of the Isaiah translator (25-27). The first is the manipulation of the consonantal text; the second is the technique of “anaphoric translation”, that is, drawing on other passages to illuminate the translation of the text at hand; the third, an expansion of the second, is the fact that “the Greek translator occasionally gestures beyond the boundaries of Job toward another text or toward some feature of the wider culture” (27).

Boyd-Taylor describes OG Job as deviating from the interlinear standard of Aquila, but remaining “readily identifiable with the culture of the source text”. OG Job is then “an attempt at cross-cultural extrapolation, the refash-

ioning of Hebrew literature for a Hellenistic Jewish readership. (...). The translator evidently understood his task as one of producing a Jewish literary work in Greek".¹¹ Wagner applies the same conclusions to OG Isaiah.

A primary difficulty I encountered with this approach was the ready adoption of a method developed in work with other versions to Isaiah. Given the plurality in methods and settings of translations of the various LXX books, one ought to view this with caution. We will come back to this point later. But, more significantly, there are shortcomings inherent to Boyd-Taylor's approach. Boyd-Taylor's thorough studies have the goal to establish a benchmark from which to evaluate all Septuagint translations. That is, once we determine the typical text, texts that do not conform to it may be taken as "atypical". The fundamental problem with Boyd-Taylor's method is that his 'typical' text is not a result of his exegetical survey of the versions but comes from an *a priori* decision that a peculiar model, which is both late (2nd century) and unusual, should serve as a paradigm.

Boyd-Taylor's own exegetical work leads him to admit that the bulk of LXX texts do not necessarily follow the interlinear model, and yet he affirms that this should not affect the paradigm, as interlinearity is a theoretical construct (17; cf. Boyd-Taylor 2011). I find it quite hard to follow the argument that we should stick to labeling a certain approach typical when the vast majority of LXX texts simply take no account of it.

The problems with Boyd-Taylor's method become evident as he deals with the the Old Greek of Reigns and of Job. Aptly noticing that the translational methods of OG Reigns do not conform to the 'typical' pattern set by Aquila, Boyd-Taylor persists in describing the features of this version as deviations from a 'standard' norm or expectation of acceptability. The same happens with OG Job (22).¹² This version is presented as influenced by target-language expectations on the linguistic, textual, and literary levels. But if these expectations are met by the text, why should we persist in calling it a deviation? Worse, a deviation from a model that does not yet exist?

While the effort to produce a typology of Septuagint texts is commendable, the interlinear paradigm is very problematic, since it takes as its starting

¹¹ Boyd-Taylor 2011: 424-425 *apud* Wagner 2013: 27-28 What Boyd-Taylor actually does, and this is well demonstrated by Wagner, is an in-depth study of passages in 3 Reigns according to Aquila, after which he studies passages in *καίτε* Reigns, OG Psalter, and LXX Genesis to show that all these versions bear resemblances to Aquila, so that the interlinear paradigm is the "typical" LXX text.

¹² Cf. Boyd-Taylor 2011: 173.

point the assumption that a notably late model represents a typical text, and proceeds to judge all other translations in its light. This is bound to produce a distorted view of the actual process and function of the various LXX books. A useful typology does not start with the assumption of a 'typical' text, but with a cataloguing of the features of each version in its own right, after which a typical model may or may not emerge. A good example of the model I have in mind is that of Barr (1979).

Returning to Wagner, it is not clear how the interlinear model contributed directly to his portrayal of the version. In this regard, one particular feature of his book comes to mind. Wagner accords much significance to the role the Greek Pentateuch occupied in the Alexandrian community and its influence on Greek Isaiah, affirming that this also has to do with power relations and the maintenance of a Jewish cultural identity. Wagner affirms that translations which follow the Pentateuch's model of interference from source language and culture would help foster this identity, so that it was expected from translations, even if they do not follow an interlinear model (56-62).

In this case, a good question to ask is this: If we are to look for a typical version to serve as model and paradigm from which to evaluate OG Isaiah, why not simply to adopt the Pentateuch? What is the real relevance and benefit of resorting to the interlinear paradigm? Don't we run the risk of creating a hybrid and convoluted model?

This leads me to the second point, related to the image we construct of the translator and his social setting, and how this impacts our expectations with regards to what we will find in the translation. Wagner is correct in affirming that the theoretical model of a cultural encyclopedia implies actual social communities, and to understand the work of the Isaiah translator it is fundamental to identify the horizon he shares with the community and the social setting for which the translation is being produced. Naturally, the ultimate clue to this is the version itself, but a measure of consideration of elements drawn from outside the translation is obviously indispensable.

In the case of Isaiah, little is concretely known about this setting, and the standard conjectures are that the translator functioned in the context of a Diaspora community, possibly Alexandria, in the second century BCE, and was likely a scribe. It is within this tradition of Hellenistic Judaism, its practices, representations and literary systems that Wagner seeks to fit the Isaiah translator.

Wagner is highly critical of the view first set forth by I. L. Seeligmann (1948) and later popularized by Arie van der Kooij,¹³ that the Isaiah version is marked by “actualizing” interpretation of prophecy. His remarks against van der Kooij’s position center around the denial that an actualizing reading of prophecy was an expected behavior of the ancient reader (32), and an exegetical analysis of OG Isa 8:14-16. For Wagner, there is nothing in this particular text that points to a fulfillment interpretation, or to a specific contemporary situation, only to the attempt of offering a coherent interpretation in the light of the broader context of Isaiah (32-33; cf. also Wagner 2007).

He follows closely on Troxel’s antagonism to any trace of *Erfüllungsin-terpretation* in LXX Isaiah. For Troxel, this is not to be found in LXX Isaiah because the aim of the translator was rather to bring readers to an *understanding* of the text, which implies, in Troxel’s words, that the translator did not “liberally inje[ct] his own ideas”. The divergences between the Hebrew and Greek texts are due to the derivation of sense “from within a larger notion of literary context than is permitted a modern translator”. The translation is just making the book intelligible to his readership (Troxel 2008: 291, as cited by Wagner 2013: 34).

Along similar lines, Wagner affirms that the translator’s sense of the continued significance of his book to his community does not entail the need or presence of actualization (234-235). For Wagner, the translator seeks to, and indeed succeeds in bringing the text to life before his audience. He does so by expanding themes, particularly the adherence to the Law as distinctive marker of opposition to those who compromise with the cultural, social and political forces of Hellenization. In this way, the translator appears as a man of his time, as these motifs are firmly established in the Jewish literature of the Hellenistic period. So the major transformation is “framing the prophet’s call to social justice as a summons to the faithful practice of God’s Law”, by means of which move the translator fosters the construction of Jewish identity in the Hellenistic world (237).

Like Troxel, Wagner also seems to identify actualization with the injection of “foreign ideas” into the text, as opposed to a reading that highlight themes and brings them to the fore in fresh and creative ways (236).

While I profoundly sympathize with adopting an attitude of caution with regard to the possibility of overly creative assumptions of actualization in the

¹³ E.g. van der Kooij 1998.

Greek text, I also have some difficulty with the position of both Troxel and Wagner on this matter.

To me, it seems misguided to identify actualizing interpretation with the injection of foreign ideas, or the translator's own ideas, especially when this is opposed to a translation that seeks to bring an understanding of the text. This sounds like actualization has to do with a transformation of the text and a conscious distortion or obscuring of its meaning. At best, actualization may be unconscious, but it is still 'illegitimate'. I view actualization precisely as an attempt to bring the sense of the text to the reader, but with certain expectations regarding the text which were, given the social setting in which the translation was produced, quite legitimate.

As we think about evidence that lies outside the text, this is important to remark. If the implications of the DTS method with regard to the function of a translation are to be seriously taken into account, it seems that one cannot reject in principle a practice of reading that was widely attested around the time of the translation.

Wagner is rightly open to invoking the help of ancient readers of Isaiah, arguing that since they are closer in time and place to the translator, they can illuminate his approach. He specifically cites Eusebius, Theodoret, Cyril and Jerome (53, cf. fn. 88.). At another point, when building a case for the liturgical use of Greek Isaiah in the Hellenistic synagogue, he draws on the supposed connection between Philo's citations and the later *Haftarot*, according to the model proposed by Naomi Cohen (2007) (234-235).

But if we are to construct a model based on external evidence, would it not be a good procedure to take into account Isaianic interpretation that is even closer and more directly relevant than the examples mentioned above? If we look at sources which are closer in time and place to the supposed Isaiah translator, such as Qumran texts, the New Testament, and many apocalyptic works, will we not be able to find actualizing interpretation as an expected and legitimate behavior of readers? Even Josephus, who was by no means a sectarian apocalyptic freak said with regards to Isaiah and the prophets that "whatever happens to us, whether good or ill, comes about in accordance with their prophecies" (*Ant.*10:35).

Again, I am sympathetic to guarding against excesses in identifying actualizing interpretation, but I fail to see why there needs to be such a sharp resistance in principle to the possibility that this mode of interpretation might have played a role in the translator's reading of his source. Earlier I affirmed that I found Wagner's adoption of Boyd-Taylor's treatment of Job to discuss Isaiah problematic. I return to the same point here. At the end of his thorough

exegetical work on OG Job, Boyd-Taylor concludes that the version was produced to serve as piece of good Jewish literature in Greek. There is no reason to dispute this conclusion concerning Job, given the role this book played or might have played in Hellenistic Judaism. Quite another matter is extrapolating these conclusions and bringing them to bear on LXX Isaiah

If we are to speak in terms of target language models, and the social function and roles a version is expected to occupy, it is quite easy to realize that the book of Isaiah was expected to occupy a slot that was different from that of Job. One can imagine a community of Diaspora *literati* who wanted Jewish literature in Greek and found that in Greek Job, but it is much harder to envision a context in which Isaiah would not be read as a prophecy. And for all we know, the reading of prophecy, particularly of Isaiah, in the broader context in which the translator lived, namely early Judaism, involved actualization. This was a legitimate and expected procedure, which whilst differing from the practices of our distinguished guild, cannot be judged by our standards as the simple insertion of strange fire into an otherwise clear text.

Obviously, the ultimate judge of whether actualizing interpretation is present in OG Isaiah is not external evidence but the text itself. I have argued in previous works that it is very difficult to identify renderings that display actualization. I still think that is the case. But there are at least two examples, which albeit timid and unexciting, are unmistakable. I am thinking of the well-known rendering of *pēlišīm* by “Ἐλληνας in 9:12(11), and the contemporization of the geographical name *taršīš* ‘Tarshish’ as Καρχηδόνος ‘Carthage’ in 23:1, 6, 10 and 14.

Examples such as these obviously do not allow us to see actualization as a dominant or persistent thread in LXX Isaiah, but they should serve at least to guarding us from adopting a principle according to which actualization is not to be found. These two examples are not mentioned a single time in Wagner’s book. The simplest explanation for that is obviously that they fall out of the limits of his focus, which is chapter 1. With that in mind I think it is worth asking if, with 65 chapters to go, isn’t it still early to write actualization off?

These are the chief points of contention I would raise regarding this book, which still represents an interesting contribution to the study of LXX Isaiah. If Wagner’s goal was indeed, as he stated, to “encourag[e] others to drink more deeply from Isaiah’s abundant waters” (239), he has indeed succeeded.

Barr, J., *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translation*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979.

Boyd-Taylor, C., *Reading Between the Lines: The Interlinear Paradigm for Septuagint Studies*, Leuven: Peeters, 2011.

Cohen, N., *Philo's Scriptures: Citations from the Prophets and Writings. Evidence for a Haftarah Cycle in Second Temple Judaism*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

Seeligmann, I. L., *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: a Discussion of its Problems*, Leiden: Brill, 1948.

Troxel, R. L., *LXX-Isaiah as Translation and Interpretation. The Strategies of the Translator of the Septuagint of Isaiah*, Leiden: Brill, 2008.

van der Kooij, A., *The Oracle of Tyre: the Septuagint of Isaiah XXIII as Version and Vision*. Leiden: Brill, 1998.

Wagner, J. R. "Identifying 'Updated' Prophecies in Old Greek (OG) Isaiah: Isaiah 8:11–16 as a Test Case", *JBL* 126 (2007), 251-269.

Wagner, J. R., *Reading the Sealed Book: Old Greek Isaiah and the Problem of Septuagint Hermeneutics*, Waco: Baylor University Press, 2013.

5. Ronald L. Troxel, Review.

The concluding paragraph of Ross's second chapter elicited one of the heartiest chuckles I have enjoyed while reading scholarly tomes. As a transition to the substance of analysis, he offers an apology for having devoted his first two chapters to method, citing Jeffrey Stout's comparison of conversations about method to clearing one's throat, which "can go on for only so long before you lose your audience" (63). Quite frankly, as much as I like Wagner's whole book, the first two chapters of throat clearing are its real gems. Everything else is commentary, figuratively and literally.

Although W. adroitly applies to OG Isaiah the observations of Descriptive Translation Studies, my admiration for his work has to do more with how he applies DTS in conversation with Umberto Eco's encyclopedia model of language-in-use-in-culture, which holds promise for elucidating the prospective function of OG Isaiah within its socio-cultural milieu. The polyvalent nature of written communication lies in its readers' diverse cultural contexts, each of which has its own encyclopedia that overlaps and differs in varying ways with those of other cultures. The success of the empirical reader – the particular reader of the text – in approximating the model reader anticipated by the text requires engaging the cultural encyclopedia invoked by the model author.

The use of Eco's model in conjunction with DTS raises significant questions. First, and most easily answered is this: if the model author is merely a

metaphor for the strategies of the text, does the category of translation matter? Is it significant for a model that focuses on cooperation between model reader and the textual strategies that evoke her?

The important role of a text as a translation within Eco's model is illustrated by Wagner's discussion of the part played in communication by interference from Hebrew language structures in the OG. Drawing on T. Rajak's framing of the issue, he notes that the "translationese" that characterizes the OG-Torah becomes a register of cultural identity and authenticity (61), so that "translationese" may be less a marker of the *process* of translation than a strategy to authenticate the text as scriptural for the model reader.

Second, if "translationese" serves as a signal of the cultural encyclopedia employed by the model reader, is the fact that a work is a translation significant? Certainly the text linguistic make up of the Septuagint could be imitated, as is illustrated by the diction of the Third Gospel. However, the primary basis for the authority of OG-Isaiah in the eyes of its readers is that it stands in for a book written in Hebrew. The roughly contemporaneous Letter of Aristeas shows that consciousness of the Greek Torah as a translation of Hebrew texts was keen in the Alexandrian Jewish community. Aristeas' notions of the authenticity of the Hebrew text and the fitness of its translators for their task recognizes the importance of its Hebrew pedigree, while the acclaim accorded its reception acknowledges the adequacy of its text linguistic make up as a mark of translation. For the reader/hearer, however, the translation's derivative authority becomes *de facto* authority, so that what we perceive as translation strategies become simultaneously literary strategies.

This observation invites probing the role translation strategies play in the cooperation between model author and model reader. On the one hand, translation strategies are invisible to the model reader. However, if the model author of a work composed in a single language is constructed from the concrete literary strategies the empirical author chooses, then recognition of translation strategies allows modern scholars to observe what literary structures a translator highlights or innovates. A salient example is Isa 1:28-31, where the OG translates the penultimate clause of v. 31 – ובערו שניהם יחדו ('and both of them will burn together') – with καὶ κατακαυθήσονται οἱ ἄνομοι καὶ οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἅμα ('and *the lawless* and *the sinners* shall burn together'). One way of explaining the plus would be to label it as explicitation, with the translator supplying the nouns from v. 28 to clarify the subject of κατακαυθήσονται. That explanation is correct, as far as it goes. However, as Wagner points out, their insertion creates an *inclusio* with v. 28 (149). This observation of consequent literary effects outmodes the atomistic label of

explicitation by revealing that this translation strategy also constitutes a literary strategy.

Confirmation of this as a strategy to direct the model reader's construal of meaning is not hard to find, since the translator created a similar inclusio between v. 21 and v. 26. Not only did he connect צי"י at the head of what we know as v. 27 with the end of v. 26, yielding the title Πόλις δικαιοσύνης μητρόπολις πιστῆ Σιων, but, as Wagner notes, he also supplies Σιων in his translation of v. 21 (188). Positing that the translator supplied Σιων for this purpose seems more plausible than proposing that a corrupt ditography of ונה had occasioned the placement of the proper noun צי"י after נאמנה in the translator's *Vorlage*. The translator's identification of the city is comparable to his explicitation of the subject of the verb in v. 31, but equally, it creates an inclusio, making it a literary strategy as well as a translational one.

Wagner also highlights the link between translation strategies and literary strategies in the translator's frequent insertion of conjunctions to create cohesion and structure. As he astutely notes, the insertion of γάρ in 1:27 leads the reader to link that verse with 26 rather than v. 28 (191). All of these maneuvers, taken together, constitute translation strategies that double as literary strategies. Applying Eco's theory of language rescues study of the translation from focusing solely on the relationship between source text and target text. Equally salutary, contemplating translational shifts in light of the consequent literary structure preserves us from speculating about the translator's religious scruples or other unknowable facets of his psychology to explain equivalents visible only to those who can compare the translation with an approximation of its *Vorlage*.

This raises another question: Does recognition of the relationship between translation strategies and literary strategies in OG Isaiah require that we substitute the notion of a "model translator" for Eco's "model author"? Wagner contends that it does, inasmuch as the model translator stands in "[an] intercultural space where two cultural encyclopedias overlap," prompting us to construct the model translator "as we trace the process of translation and analyze the semiotic strategy of its product in relation to the encyclopedia of the translator and his target community" (43-44).

I challenge employing the phrase "model translator" for two reasons. First it conflates two roles I think are better distinguished: that of interpreter of the Hebrew text and that of a Greek author. Wagner rightly and repeatedly highlights the ways the translator buttresses literary structures native to the Hebrew text or creates structures that do not accord with our usual understanding of the Hebrew. That is a dynamic we could not perceive without compar-

ing the OG to a Hebrew text approximate to the source text. However, as Wagner notes, the *Übersetzungsweise* of OG-Isaiah provides no indication that the translation was meant to be read subservient to a Hebrew text of Isaiah (234). Rather, the translator's use of Greek conjunctions and other particles attests a commitment to acceptability, via which the translator *as translator* vanishes from the reader's view.

Second, if we want to appropriate Eco's model to clarify the function of translations, the notion of a model translator who inhabits an "intercultural space" unavailable to the model reader is analogous to divining the psychology of the empirical author, a practice Eco rejects.

This is not to say that the information we gain from studying the process of translation is illicit. Our access to translation strategies stands outside Eco's model but enables us to better describe the literary strategies of the text. And yet, neither the empirical translator nor a model one can replace the 'model author,' the only author known to the reader.

This conclusion raises a fundamental conundrum in applying Eco's theory: how do we reconstruct the cultural encyclopedia that informs the text? That question has often been solved by claiming that exegetical practices evidenced in Palestine are the standard by which to detect the strategies of the translator of Isaiah. However, Eco's model for understanding the cooperation of readers with texts highlights a flaw in that assumption. Wagner notes Eco's observation that cultural encyclopedias are composed of branches that have "'local' and transitory systems of knowledge" (40), thereby creating the possibility of disjunctions in understanding. Readings must be tested against the structures of the text to see if a particular local encyclopedia illuminates it adequately. I agree with Wagner that testing the hypothesis of an actualizing interpretation exemplified in Palestinian exegesis fails to confirm that encyclopedia as the one assumed by OG Isaiah.

By focusing on literary structures in OG Isaiah, Wagner confirms the translator's concern to present Isaiah as an acceptable literary product in Greek. The uses of καί, δέ, and οὔτε to translate conjunctive *waw* evidence skillful manipulation of the target language. Equally, the use of *inclusio* reveals a feature of the cultural encyclopedia. But by themselves, these do not take us far in delineating the distinctive contours of the putative cultural encyclopedia.

A more promising lead arises from Wagner's observation that the translation of one passage in the light of another is similar not only to Jewish scribal practices but also to "the traditions of scholarship that flourished in [the translator's] Alexandrian milieu" (233). It is this type of comparison that needs further investigation if we want to detect what in the product can be

cited as evidence of the relevant cultural encyclopedia. We certainly cannot expect a complete mapping of literary strategies employed by the *grammatikoi* of the Alexandrian museum on translations of Hebrew books into Greek, for as Wagner observes, “a given instance of discourse (such as a text) activates only a limited number of nodes within a particular cultural encyclopedia” (40). Nevertheless, exploring in greater depth the study of poetry, textual criticism, semantics, and grammar as they were studied in the library might uncover nodes that otherwise escape notice. Pairing DTS with Eco’s theory is a fruitful conjunction, but it carries the price tag of sifting more carefully both the internal and external evidence of what might have constructed the cultural encyclopedia that its textual strategies presuppose.

6. J. Ross Wagner, *Response*.

I am deeply grateful to the panelists: to Leonard for his concise summary of *Reading the Sealed Book*¹⁴ and to Hugh, Rodrigo, Florian and Ron for their responses. Readers of my book will recognize how indebted I am to each of these scholars and appreciate how great a privilege it is to receive their criticism. Limitations of space allow me to address only a few of the important issues they raise for discussion. I will do so under two headings: ‘method’ and ‘results.’

I. Musings on Method

De Sousa states that *RSB* “weds the adoption of DTS with the assumption of the ‘interlinear paradigm.’” However, this is simply mistaken. While my analytical approach to OG Isaiah adopts aspects of Descriptive Translation Studies, I argue neither for nor against the interlinear paradigm per se (see 6 n. 24; 12 n. 55). The value of DTS lies for me, as it does for Cameron Boyd-Taylor, in its capacity to characterize multiple models of translation as well as to display the differences among them. As my discussion of his important study indicates, DTS allows Boyd-Taylor to demonstrate that translations like non-*καίτε* Reigns and OG Job reflect approaches to translation that are “categorically distinct” from the quintessentially ‘interlinear’ Aquila.¹⁵ For the sake of

¹⁴ Hereafter, *RSB*. Page references in the text are to this volume.

¹⁵ Cameron Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines* (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 149; cited in *RSB*, 21.

argument, I grant Boyd-Taylor's claim that the interlinear model is 'typical' of the Septuagint corpus (234 n. 44). But this is only to insist that the Greek translator of Isaiah (hereafter, G) operates with a fundamentally different paradigm of translation. De Sousa has now persuaded me, however, that it is premature to speak of any model of translation as 'typical' of the Septuagint corpus; such a designation, which is purely descriptive, can appear credible only in the wake of a systematic analysis of each member of the corpus.

In the course of my first chapter, I propose that OG Isaiah may turn out to be analogous to OG Job just to the extent that each "would be recognized as a literary composition within the target culture but at the same time be readily identified with the culture of the source text" (31).¹⁶ But this simply states a *hypothesis* that remains to be tested through close examination of OG Isaiah itself. Thus, I can hardly agree with De Sousa that reference to OG Job skews my conclusions. Not only is my initial hypothesis grounded in over a century of previous research into OG Isaiah (see 29–31), it is only after a painstaking investigation of Isaiah's programmatic opening vision, together with numerous other texts, that I attempt – nearly 200 pages later – to characterize the linguistic, textual and literary character of the translation and speculate about its prospective function (227–237). Furthermore, contra De Sousa, I never suggest that OG Isaiah was translated for "a community of Diaspora *literati*."¹⁷ Rather, I argue that the prospective function of OG Isaiah, within a target literary system centered on the Greek Pentateuch (56–62), was to allow the ancient prophet to speak clearly and persuasively to Greek-speaking audiences in Diaspora synagogues (234–235).

Troxel finds my appropriation of Eco's theory of language and interpretation helpful insofar as it "rescues study of the translation from focusing solely on the relationship between source text and target text" and allows us to "contemplat[e] translational shifts in light of the consequent literary structure" of the translation rather than in terms of "unknowable facets of [the translator's] psychology." I'm puzzled, then, that he deems my construct of the 'model translator,' who stands "at the juncture between the translated text and its source" (43), to be problematic. Troxel worries that the model translator conflates the role of "interpreter of the Hebrew text" with that of "a Greek author." But it is the conjunction of these roles in a single agent that helps to

¹⁶The quoted words are taken from Boyd-Taylor's characterization of OG Job (*Reading between the Lines*, 424).

¹⁷As Boyd-Taylor proposes for OG Job (*ibid.*, 426). For my own reservations about viewing OG Job this way, see *RSB*, 28.

distinguish a translator from the author of a non-translated text. Troxel does not, in fact, dispute that by “studying the process of translation” the researcher may gain “access to translation strategies” underlying the translated text. In my adaptation of Eco’s schema, the term ‘model translator’ simply names the aggregate of these translation strategies. Put another way, the model translator is nothing other than the array of explanatory hypotheses the researcher constructs to account for the complex set of relationships she observes between the translated text – in all of its dimensions – and its putative source, considered within the particular cultural and historical context of the translation process. The model translator’s ‘interculture,’ as I have defined it, designates the overlap between two or more cultural encyclopedias.¹⁸ *Pace* Troxel, such intercultural spaces are no less accessible to scholarly analysis than any other region of Eco’s “Global Semantic Universe.”

The study of OG Isaiah in its character as a *translated* text requires us to adopt a bi-focal perspective that attends to the process of translation, as well as to its product. For this reason, it is not enough merely to appropriate Eco’s concept of the ‘model author,’ who is “nothing else but a textual strategy establishing semantic correlations and activating the Model Reader.”¹⁹ So defined, the model author resides entirely within the translated text; thus, to employ this construct rather than the ‘model translator’ would require us to eschew any reference to the source text in our interpretation (43–44). In contrast, Eco’s ‘model reader’ does occupy an important place in my schema. The model reader, who “possesses the necessary competence to interpret the [translated] text in relation to the larger cultural encyclopedia” of the target system (39), plays a role in analysis complementary to that of the model translator: “the [latter] figures more centrally in our exploration of the target-language text *qua* translation; the [former] assumes a more prominent role as we study the translation *qua* text” (45).²⁰ Given the source-oriented nature of our investigation, however, we are never confined to the perspective of the

¹⁸ See *RSB* 43–44, with further reference to Anthony Pym, *Method in Translation History* (Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing, 1998), 177.

¹⁹ Umberto Eco, *The Role of the Reader* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979), 11; cited in *RSB*, 43.

²⁰ For the distinction between “text *qua* translation” and “translation *qua* text,” see Albert Pietersma, “Hermeneutics and a Translated Text.” Online: <http://homes.chass.utoronto.ca/~pietersm/>. Accessed 2/25/2014. My apologies to Prof. Pietersma for exactly reversing, in my description of his approach to LXX hermeneutics, the priority he assigns to each (*RSB* 54 n. 90).

model reader, who in many cases cannot be supposed to enjoy the access to the source text that we share with the model translator.²¹

II. Reflections on Results

Spotlighting what I have termed the “residue of uncertainty” that bedevils all attempts to reconstruct the translator’s *Vorlage* while simultaneously tracing his *Übersetzungsweise* (*RSB*, 50), Williamson calls attention to criteria and patterns of reasoning that must inform our judgments about such matters. Though he remains unpersuaded by my suggestion that G understood the promise of divine cleansing in 1:18 to be contingent on the people’s repentance, he acknowledges the central place my argument gives to structural markers in the translated text. It is by linking v. 18 more tightly to the conditional promise and threat that follow in vv. 19–20, I contend, that G guides the model reader to hear the offer of forgiveness in v. 18 as conditional also.

Williamson further highlights the importance cumulative reasoning plays in my analysis. The suggestion that G dropped the final clause of 1:4 in order to enhance the parallelism of the sentence makes “a bold claim for a translator in antiquity,” he observes. Nevertheless, “the more examples of the same phenomenon that one can muster, the more probable it all becomes.” Williamson himself seeks to solve the puzzle of the minus in 1:11 in a similar manner, by examining the translator’s handling of lists more broadly. I regret that I did not make better use of his earlier study, for I find his explanatory hypothesis quite illuminating. Noting that the exact same animals appear in OG Isa 1:11 and 34:6–7, despite differences in the Hebrew, he conjectures that G chose to employ a stock list of sacrificial animals in both instances rather than attempt to find a distinct equivalent for each item in his source. Williamson’s explanation attributes a certain logic to the translator’s handling of these lists. Whatever he intends by calling the translator’s approach “somewhat cavalier,” then, he clearly does not regard it as simply ‘arbitrary.’ I also proposed that the translator’s failure to translate *וּכְבָּשִׁים* reflects a logic of sorts (though nothing so exciting as “a carefully conceived master plan of literary sophistication”), observing that by his omission G produced an alliterative phrase, *ταύρων καὶ τράγων*, that evokes the diction of the Song of Moses, a passage echoed

²¹ Of course, one may choose to study OG Isaiah entirely within the target literary system (e.g., by exploring its *Wirkungsgeschichte* as a Greek text). But this is another sort of investigation altogether, requiring a different methodology (*RSB*, 5 n. 23; cf. Umberto Eco, *Experiences in Translation* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001], 20–22).

elsewhere in OG Isaiah 1 (109). Our explanatory hypotheses are not mutually exclusive, and both – or neither – may be correct. Still, each of us looks for larger patterns in G’s *Übersetzungsweise* to guide our guesswork, and this is the essential methodological point to underscore.

Wilk challenges my conclusion (against his earlier study)²² that the OG version of Isaiah 1 betrays no sign of ‘fulfillment interpretation’ (*Erfüllungsinterpretation*). He rightly recognizes that the dispute is not over whether OG Isaiah reflects the translator’s cultural and historical context in various ways – we both agree that it does – but whether “the Greek translator sought to ‘actualize’ Isaiah’s opening vision for his audience by encoding the translation with specific references to contemporary historical events” (233). I responded to Wilk’s reading of Isaiah 1:8 and 29 at some length in *RSB*, offering in each instance an alternative account of both the textual-linguistic character of the translated text and the process of translation that produced it (93–98; 202–219). For example, while Wilk discovers in OG Isa 1:8 an allusion to the Oniads’ ‘leaving’ Jerusalem, I see in the Greek text a skillfully crafted expression of poetic justice: having been ‘left’ by his rebellious children (1:4), the Kyrios threatens to ‘leave’ daughter Zion alone as a besieged city in a desolated countryside (1:8); nevertheless, God has mercifully ‘left’ the people (“us”) seed that they might not utterly perish (1:9). It is conceivable that the Greek translator identified this ‘seed’ with the recently exiled Oniads, but I have found no clear evidence of this in the text of Isaiah he produced.²³ Contra De Sousa, I neither adopt nor advocate a blanket “principle according to which actualization is not to be found” anywhere in OG Isaiah. Rather, I have carefully weighed the arguments Wilk advances for seeing *Erfüllungsinterpretation* in Isaiah 1 and found them wanting.

Both Wilk and De Sousa charge that my rejection of *Erfüllungsinterpretation* in Isaiah 1 represents a failure to take the Greek translator’s cultural context fully into account. According to Wilk, one should assume *a priori* not only that G understood Isaiah’s oracles to refer to “the present or the near future of [his] own time” but, moreover, that “such an attitude toward the

²² Florian Wilk, “Vision wider Judäa und wider Jerusalem (Jes 1 LXX),” in *Frühjudentum und Neues Testament im Horizont Biblischer Theologie* (WUNT 162. Ed. Wolfgang Kraus et al.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 15–35.

²³ Wilk apparently concedes that the alleged reference to the Oniads’ retreat from Jerusalem might have been less than obvious to the first readers of the Greek text; in his words, the translator will have “allude[d] to specific events in history *without imposing such references on his readers*” (emphasis mine).

book of Isaiah informed the composition and reception of the Greek version.” I fail to see how the latter assumption does not beg the very question at issue, however. I grant that Ben Sira and the Qumran pescharists shared the belief, widely attested among Second-Temple Jews, that Isaiah’s oracles spoke about events to come. Yet we find no instance of ‘fulfillment interpretation’ in the writings of the second-century sage. Apart from positive evidence, then, we cannot simply assume that G understood his brief as translator to include ‘actualizing’ the source text by means of *Erfüllungsinterpretation*. Such a bold claim requires demonstration. For my part, I have yet to encounter in the literature on OG Isaiah a compelling argument for ‘actualization’ so defined.

To say this, however, is by no means to suggest that G regarded Isaiah as anything other than a prophetic text. I can find no clearer statement of my position in *RSB* than these concluding sentences (236–237):

Contextualization of Isaiah’s message for the Hellenistic diaspora does not, in OG Isaiah 1 at least, take the form of ‘actualizing’ the ancient prophecies. This should not be taken to imply that the translator had no interest in the continuing significance of Isaiah’s oracles for his contemporaries, however. Only a deep conviction that in this ancient scroll the community might still encounter the word of the Kyrios could inspire such a monumental undertaking as the translation of the scroll of Isaiah into Greek. Heard and studied in the synagogues of second-century Egypt, Isaiah’s sweeping vision of the purification of Jerusalem and the restoration of her exiles, of the pilgrimage of the nations to Zion and their diligent obedience to God’s law, of the establishment of a new heavens and a new earth in which the Kyrios would reign victorious over death itself, required no ‘actualization’ to articulate the living faith and enduring hope of the translator’s community.

On the specific matter of *Erfüllungsinterpretation*, Wilk and I obviously continue to disagree. But I trust that the present exchange will have clarified just what is at issue in the debate.

I do not presume to have answered all of my colleagues’ questions – far less to have spoken the last word on either OG Isaiah or Septuagint hermeneutics. I do hope, however, that *Reading the Sealed Book* will continue to elicit the sort of probing questions and thoughtful challenges offered by my respondents and so serve to advance the conversation about matters so central to Septuagint Studies.

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The word δίατα in LXX Job¹

MARIEKE DHONT

The word δίατα occurs frequently in classical Greek literature, as does the related verb διατάω. The noun covers a broad semantic field. According to the LSJ², δίατα means “way of living, mode of life, dwelling, abode, prescribed manner of life, state, condition, arbitration, the office of arbiter, discussion, investigation”, the basic meaning being “way of living”.

Though a common word, δίατα rarely occurs in the Septuagint (LXX) and not at all in the New Testament. In the LXX, δίατα appears only thirteen times³, twelve of which are in the book of Job (5:3, 24; 8:6, 22; 11:14; 18:6, 14; 20:19, 25; 22:23, 28; 39:6) and one in the book of Judith (12:15). The related verb διατάω occurs only twice, in Job 30:7 and in 4Macc 2:17. The word, by some considered to be a philosophical term⁴, is a favourite word of the translator of LXX Job⁵. The question thus arises how and why this word is used in LXX Job. So as to provide an answer to this question, I present and discuss the occurrences of δίατα and διατάω in the LXX⁶, first outside of

¹ This paper is based on a paper of the same title, presented during the SBL International Meeting, Saint Andrews 2013. At the time I was working on a project concerning the translation technique of LXX Job (OT 09/001) at the KU Leuven. I am currently preparing a doctoral dissertation on LXX Job at the Université catholique de Louvain (research funded by the UCL–F.S.R.).

² The dictionaries used throughout this paper are *A Greek-English Lexicon, compiled by H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, revised and augmented throughout by H.S. Jones* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990) (abbreviated LSJ); T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Leuven: Peeters, 2009) (abbreviated Muraoka).

³ Throughout this paper, the concordance used is E. Hatch, H. Redpath *et alii*, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the other Greek versions of the Old Testament (Including the Apocryphal Books)*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998) (abbreviated HR), in addition to Accordance Bible Software (version 9.6.6).

⁴ Cf. G. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, vol. 4 (Marrickville: Southwood Press, 1987), p. 69; J. Lust, E. Eynikel & K. Hauspie, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003), p. 103.

⁵ It can be added to Ziegler’s list of favourite words of the translator of Job, cf. J. Ziegler, “Der textkritische Wert der Septuaginta des Buches Job”, *Miscell. Bib* 2 (1934) 277-296, pp. 284-285 (reprinted in: J. Ziegler [ed.], *Sylloge. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Septuaginta* [MSU 10; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971], 9-28).

⁶ The editions and translations used are, for the Greek, the series *Septuaginta. Vetus*

LXX Job and second within LXX Job⁷. I conclude by discussing the rationale behind the translator's use of this characteristic word.

1. Outside LXX Job

Outside the book of Job, the LXX contains only one occurrence of *δαίαιτα* and one of *δαιτιάω*.

Jdt 12:15 καὶ διαναστᾶσα ἐκοσμήθη τῷ ἱματισμῷ καὶ παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ τῷ γυναικεῖω, καὶ προσῆλθεν ἡ δούλη αὐτῆς καὶ ἔστρωσεν αὐτῇ κατέναντι Ολοφέρνηου χαμαὶ τὰ κώδια, ἃ ἔλαβεν παρὰ Βαγῶου εἰς τὴν καθημερινὴν δαίαιταν αὐτῆς εἰς τὸ ἐσθίειν κατακλινομένην ἐπ' αὐτῶν.

And standing up, she was furnished with raiment and every feminine adornment. And her slave girl approached and on the ground before Olophernes spread out the fleece for her, which they had taken from Bagoas for her daily use so that she might eat reclining upon it.

4Macc 2:17 θυμούμενός γέ τοι Μωυσῆς κατὰ Δαθαν καὶ Αβιρων οὐ θυμῷ τι κατ' αὐτῶν ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ λογισμῷ τὸν θυμὸν διήτησεν.

When Moses was angry with Dathan and Abiron, he did nothing against them in anger, but controlled his anger by reason.

Little can be said on the basis of one occurrence in a book, especially since we do not possess a Hebrew parent text for the book of Judith, nor for 4Maccabees.

In the book of Judith, *δαίαιτα* is used in the original sense of 'way of life' to indicate a daily use. No remarks are to be made; this is a "classical" Greek way of using this noun. The verb *δαιτιάω* basically means "to lead one's life", but can also mean 'to regulate', in classical Greek in the sense of 'to govern' and, from there, 'to moderate' in later Greek (LSJ). The use of the verb in 4Macc 2:17 is an example thereof.

Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1931- (English translation: NETS) and for the Hebrew, K. Elliger & W. Rudolph (eds.), *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1990) (The English translation follows NRSV).

⁷ That is, the Old Greek text without the so-called "asterisked materials": see P. Gentry, *The Asterisked Materials in the Greek Job* (SBL SCS 38; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1995).

2. Within LXX Job

Turning now to LXX Job, I take the Hebrew text as point of departure, as did the translator. The occurrences of δίαιτα are presented below according to the distinctive Hebrew word it renders. It occurs twice for the root נוה (Job 5:3; 8:6); six times as a translation for אהל (Job 8:22; 11:14; 18:6; 18:14; 22:23; 22:28); twice for בית (Job 20:19; 39:6); once for מררה (Job 20:25); once for פקדה (Job 5:24), and once in a context in which there is no clear one-to-one relationship between the Hebrew and the Greek (22:28). The verb only occurs once (30:7).

a) נוה

The word נוה, vocalized as *nawe* in the MT, can be found thirty-two times in the Hebrew Bible. Outside LXX Job, its translations into Greek differ widely. The most common renderings include νομή (“pasturage”), τόπος (“place”), ἔπαυλις (“steading”) and μάνδρα (“fold, byre”). It occurs three times in Job.

In 5:3, it is translated as δίαιτα: ἐγὼ δὲ ἐώρακα ἄφρονας ρίζαν βάλλοντας, ἀλλ’ εὐθέως ἐβρώθη αὐτῶν ἢ δίαιτα – Now, I have seen fools taking root, but at once their way of living was devoured.

In 18:15, the second stich of the verse, in which נוה is found, is left untranslated. The third occurrence, at 5:24, is translated as σκηνή (“tent”), but this will be discussed in detail later on, since this verse contains an occurrence of δίαιτα, but apparently as a rendering of פקדה (cf. *infra*).

Vocalized as *nawa* in the MT, נוה appears fifteen times and is translated most frequently by νομή (“pasturage”) and ὥραϊα (neutre plural, “seasonable things”). In Job נוה occurs once, and is rendered by δίαιτα.

Job 8:6: εἰ καθαρὸς εἶ καὶ ἀληθινός, δεήσεως ἐπακούσεται σου, ἀποκαταστήσει δέ σοι δίαιταν δικαιοσύνης. – If you are pure and genuine, he will hear your entreaty and restore to you a righteous way of life.

The Greek translations of the root נוה indicate that the semantics of *nawa* and of *nawe* partly overlap. One should, however, take into account that the LXX translators worked on the basis of an unpointed Hebrew text⁸.

⁸ J. Barr, “Vocalization and the Analysis of Hebrew among the Ancient Translators”, in B. Hartmann et al. (eds.), *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von W. Baumgartner* (VT Supp 16; Leiden: Brill, 1967), 1-11, p. 4.

b) אהל

The word אהל appears frequently in the Hebrew Bible, some 250 times. In the majority of cases, the LXX renders οἰκία (“building”), οἶκος (“house”), or σκηνή (“tent”).

In Job אהל occurs fourteen times. Aside from δαίτα, which occurs five times as its translation (8:22; 11:14; 18:6; 18:14; 22:23), it is rendered by οἶκος in four instances (5:24; 15:34; 20:26; 29:4) and once by σκηνή (18:15). Once it is left untranslated (21:28), and sometimes rendered more “freely” in the sense that one cannot establish a one-to-one relationship between the Hebrew and the Greek text (12:6; 19:12; 31:31).

Clines made the following observation with regard to the meaning of אהל in the Hebrew text of Job: “The ‘tent’ has a multiple metaphoric significance: it is the man’s shelter, if not exactly his castle, where he has a right to feel secure; it is his own property, where he has a right to invite his own guests (cf. 11:14) and turn away unwelcome visitors like these emissaries of Death; it is the symbol of his well-being and of the security of his existence. (...) The tent *is* the security. No criticism is being made of him for ‘trusting’ in his tent (as if perhaps he would have done better to trust in God)”⁹. As such, the tent is a dignified term derived from a more archaic life-style¹⁰.

When looking at the way in which the metaphor of the tent is rendered, the LXX seemingly makes the archaically phrased metaphor more “modern” in a number of cases by using δαίτα: 8:22; 11:14; 18:6; 22:23. See, for example, Job 22:23:

לך מאהלך – אם תשוב עד שדי תבנה תרחיק עולה מאהלך – If you return to the Almighty, you will be restored, you remove unrighteousness from your tent.

ἐὰν δὲ ἐπιστραφῆς καὶ ταπεινώσης σεαυτὸν ἔναντι κυρίου, πόρρω ἐποίησας ἀπὸ δαίτης σου τὸ ἄδικον. – And if you turn and humble yourself before the Lord, you have put what is unjust far from your dwelling.

The translator is, however, not consistent. In 15:34, for instance, Clines recognizes another usage of this metaphor. Indeed, we find the word אהל in the underlying Hebrew text, but it is rendered with οἶκος.

15:34: כי עדת חנה גלמוד ואש אכלה אהלי שחד – For the company of the godless is barren, and fire consumes the tents of bribery.

μαρτύριον γὰρ ἀσεβοῦς θάνατος, πῦρ δὲ καύσει οἶκος δωροδεκτῶν. –

⁹ D.J.A. Clines, *Job* (WBC 17-18a-18b; Waco, TX: Word Books, 1989-2011), p. 418 (italics are those of Clines).

¹⁰ Clines, *Job*, p. 413.

For the testimony of the impious is death, and fire will burn the houses of bribe-takers.

Hence, the question arises, What reason did the translator have for choosing οἶκος or δίαίτα to render להא?¹¹ In the instances in which להא is rendered as οἶκος, just noted, the translator interprets להא as a physical building.

15:34: πῦρ δὲ καύσει οἴκους δωροδεκτῶν – And fire will burn the houses of bribe-takers.

20:26: κακῶσαι δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπήλυτος τὸν οἶκον – May a stranger afflict his house.

29:4: ὅτε ὁ θεὸς ἐπισκοπήν ἐποιεῖτο τοῦ οἴκου μου – When God would pay a visit to my house.

The word may have a metaphorical meaning in its literary context, but the metaphor refers to somebody coming to one's house.

A more abstract sense can be noted in those cases in which δίαίτα is used. Explicit reference is often made to an abstract concept being part of one's δίαίτα: ἀδικία (“wrongdoing”, 11:14); ἴασις (“healing”, 18:14); ἄδικον (“wrongdoing”, 22:23). In 8:22 and 18:6, the downfall of the wicked is described. The translation demonstrates that the translator did not regard להא as referring to a physical structure, but that he interpreted להא as a metaphor for one's life. In these instances, the meaning of the verse basically remains the same, but by replacing להא with a noun that has a more general sense, δίαίτα, the metaphor is altered. See also the metaphor used in Job 5:3, *supra*.

8:22: ילבושו ואהל רשעים איננו בשת שנאיך – Those who hate you will be clothed with shame, and the tent of the wicked will be no more.

οἱ δὲ ἐχθροὶ αὐτῶν ἐνδύσονται αἰσχύνην, δίαίτα δὲ ἀσεβοῦς οὐκ ἔσται. – But their enemies will clothe themselves with shame, and the way of life of the impious will be no more.

18:5-6: גַּם אֹר רִשְׁעִים יִדְעַךְ וְלֹא יִגַּה שְׂבִיב אֲשׁוּ אֹר חֲשַׁךְ וְגִירוּ בְּאֵהָלוֹ עֲלֵיו יִדְעַךְ – Surely the light of the wicked is put out, and the flame of their fire does not shine. The light is dark in their tent, and the lamp above them is put out.

καὶ φῶς ἀσεβῶν σβεσθήσεται, καὶ οὐκ ἀποθήσεται αὐτῶν ἢ φλόξ τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ σκότος ἐν δίαίτῃ, ὁ δὲ λύχνος ἐπ' αὐτῷ σβεσθήσεται. – Yes, the light of the impious will be put out, And their flame will not do well. His light is darkness in his dwelling, and his lamp will be put out on him.

¹¹ Note in addition that Muraoka, when discussing the lemma δίαίτα – translated as “way of life lived”; “dwelling, abode” – adds a cross-reference to οἶκος.

c) בית

The word בית occurs frequently in the Hebrew Bible: there are more than 2,000 occurrences. Translations into Greek differ widely. In the book of Job, בית appears twenty-five times. Most often it is translated by οἶκος (cf. *infra*); three times by παρά + a dative to indicate a person with whom the events take place (1:4; 1:8; 42:11); and twice it is rendered freely (8:17; 38:20). The translator uses *δίαίτα* only twice (20:19; 39:6). Since οἶκος and *δίαίτα* appear as possible equivalents for בית, as they did for לֵהָא, the question arises why the translator sometimes chooses *δίαίτα* and sometimes οἶκος.

An analysis of all renderings of בית indicates that, in most cases, when a physical structure is meant, בית is rendered as οἶκος. For example:

Job 3:15: ἦ μετὰ ἀρχόντων, ὧν πολὺς ὁ χρυσός, οἱ ἐπλησαν τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν ἀργυρίου. – Or with rulers, who had much gold, Who had filled their houses with silver.

Job 15:28: ἀλυσθειῆ δὲ πόλεις ἐρήμους, εἰσεέλθοι δὲ εἰς οἴκους ἀοικήτους. – Then may he lodge in desolate cities, and enter uninhabited houses.

Job 17:13: ἐὰν γὰρ ὑπομείνω, ἄδης μου ὁ οἶκος, ἐν δὲ γνόφῳ ἔστρωται μου ἡ στρωμνὴ. – For if I last, Hades is my house, and my bed lies spread in gloom.

In these instances, a physical structure is clearly meant¹². Where the translator reads בית, but does not want to refer to a physical structure in his translation, he opts for *δίαίτα*. Let us look at the two instances mentioned above, 39:6 and 20:19.

39:6: ἐθέμην δὲ τὴν δίαίταν αὐτοῦ ἔρημον. – Yes, I made ["the donkey's"] home the wilderness.

Job 39:6 demonstrates that the word *δίαίτα* can refer to a physical place. It is, however, not a building, but rather the area where an animal lives. This is in line with the classical Greek usage of the word – see, for example, Aristotle, *Mu.* 398b32 (of fish). Only in later Greek writings, such as in the works of Josephus or Plutarch¹³, does *δίαίτα* refer to physical structures (houses, rooms, or other buildings).

Job 20:19, however, offers a more difficult example: πολλῶν γὰρ ἀδυνάτων οἴκους ἔθλασεν, δίαίταν δὲ ἥρπασεν καὶ οὐκ ἔστησεν. – For he has

¹² This observation, however, only holds true for those instances in which the *Vorlage* seems to have read בית. The use of οἶκος in general in LXX Job is a more intricate issue, and outside the scope of our paper.

¹³ See, for example, Josephus, *AJ* 15.9.6; Plutarchus, *Publ.* 15.

broken down the houses of many who are powerless, and he has seized a dwelling, though he did not build it.

Seemingly, verse 19b refers to a building, which does not seem to fit what we have said about the use of δῖαιτα so far. As such, it requires further examination. The Greek presents a rather free translation of the Hebrew. The Hebrew text is as follows.

20:19: כִּי רִצֵּץ עֹזֵב דְּלִים בֵּית גּוֹל וְלֹא יבְנֶהוּ – For he has crushed and abandoned the poor, he has seized a house and he will not build it.

In this verse, δῖαιτα occurs in parallelism with οἶκος. I have demonstrated that LXX Job often shows the tendency to render parallel cola more strictly parallel, as an aspect of the translation technique of this book¹⁴. At Job 20:19, the translator follows the same working method. For the rendering of the first colon he might have relied on בֵּית in the second colon. Since he had already used οἶκος and δῖαιτα as a parallel word pair in 5:24 (cf. *infra*), which we will discuss later on, he might have consciously or subconsciously relied on that rendering to structure this parallelism.

The parallelism does not indicate that οἶκος and δῖαιτα are synonymous. It does, however, hint at a switch in the usage of the word δῖαιτα. Though the translator tends to stay close to the classical meaning of the word in most instances, it can be used for a physical building.

d) מררה

Job 20:25: שְׁלֵף וַיֵּצֵא מִגּוּה וּבִרְק מִמְרָתוֹ יִהְיֶה עֲלֵיו אַמִּים – It is drawn forth and comes out of their body, and the glittering point comes out of their gall; terrors come upon them.

διεξέλθοι δὲ διὰ σώματος αὐτοῦ βέλος, ἀστραπαὶ δὲ ἐν δῖαιταις αὐτοῦ περιπατήσασαν· – Yes, may an arrow pass through his body, and may lightning bolts strut about in his dwellings.

In this verse, δῖαιτα renders מררה. Usually interpreted by modern scholars as “gall”¹⁵, מררה (litt. “bitter thing”) is variously rendered in LXX Job¹⁶. The rendering δῖαιτα is, hence, unique. Moreover, in Job 20:25 one encounters the only attestation of δῖαιτα in the plural in the LXX. The suggestion that the

¹⁴ Cf. my paper, *Parallelism in LXX Job*, presented at the XVth congress of the IOSCS (Munich, 2013).

¹⁵ For an overview, cf. Clines, *Job*, p. 478.

¹⁶ Cf. κακά in 13:26 and ἡ γλῆ in 16:13 (which could indicate that the translator knew the ‘literal’ meaning of מררה). In 20:14 it seems to be untranslated.

translator misread a *resh* for a *dalet* (of the root דור, “to dwell”)¹⁷, might be correct. Misreading a consonant is a common mistake among translators, especially since a *resh* and a *dalet* can easily be confused¹⁸. HR marks this occurrence of *δαίτα* with a dagger, considering the relationship between the MT and the LXX not apparent or too tentative. Whether a misreading or not, some remarks can be made. The parallelism between διὰ σώματος αὐτοῦ and ἐν δαίταις αὐτοῦ is not surprising. A comparable parallelism can be found in Job 11:14, where the LXX corresponds closely to the Hebrew.

11:14: אם און בידך הרחיקהו ואל תשכן באהליך עולה – If iniquity is in your hand, put it far away, and do not let wickedness reside in your tents.

εἰ ἄνομόν τί ἐστὶν ἐν χερσίν σου, πόρρω ποίησον αὐτὸ ἀπὸ σοῦ, ἀδικία δὲ ἐν δαίται σου μὴ ἀλλισθήτω. – If anything lawless is in your hands, put it far away from you and let no injustice lodge in your dwelling.

In addition, the rendering of 25b features a repetition of a- and ai-sounds. Assonance has already been demonstrated to be a notable aspect of the translation technique of the Greek translator of Job¹⁹. It can merely be posited that assonance influenced the translator’s word choices; the suggestion that a desire for assonance was active on a (sub)conscious level remains speculative.

e) פקדפ

The MT vocalizes this word in Job 5:24 as the qal perfect consecutive second person singular of פקד (i.e., פקדפ), but the LXX translator clearly read it as the construct state of the noun פקדפ.

The noun פקדפ occurs about thirty times in the Hebrew Bible. Common translations include ἐπισκοπή and related nouns (e.g. ἐπίσκοπος, ἐπίσκεψις, etc.). In LXX Job, we encounter פקדפ twice. The other occurrence, in Job 10:12, is rendered as ἐπισκοπή.

For the sake of completeness, I note that the verb from which this noun is derived, פקד, occurs five times in LXX Job. Three times it is translated by

¹⁷ E. Dhorme, *A Commentary on the Book of Job* (tr. H. Knight; London: Thomas Nelson, 1984), 303-304; C.L. Seow, *Job 1–21* (Illuminations; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2013), 860.

¹⁸ E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (3rd edition, Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2012), 229.

¹⁹ J. Gammie, “The Septuagint of Job: Its Poetic Style and Relationship to the Septuagint of Proverbs”, *CBQ* 49 (1987) 14-31. For a thorough analysis of the LXX rendering of Job 20:25, see M. Dhont, “A New Look at the LXX Rendering of Job 20,25”, *ZAW* 126 (2014) 111-116.

ἐπισκοπή or a related word (7:18; 31:14; 35:15) and once by ἐτάζω (36:23). In one instance, there is no clear one-to-one relationship (34:13). Hence, the rendering of פקדה as ἐπισκοπή is in line with the ‘common’ rendering of the root פקד. The root’s translation by δίατα in 5:24 is unique, and requires more explanation.

5:24: וידעת כי שלום אהלך ופקדת נוך ולא תחטא – You shall know that your tent is safe, you shall inspect your fold and miss nothing.

εἶτα γνώση ὅτι εἰρηνεύσει σου ὁ οἶκος, ἡ δὲ δίατα τῆς σκηνῆς σου οὐ μὴ ἀμάρτη. – Next, you shall know that your household will be at peace, and the livelihood of your tent shall not fall short.

This is another example of the archaic usage of להא in the Hebrew (cf. *supra*). In LXX Job it is usually translated with οἶκος or δίατα; 5:24 is the only instance in which σκηνή renders להא within the context of the metaphoric use of להא. The rendering of the corresponding elements σου ὁ οἶκος and ἡ δὲ δίατα τῆς σκηνῆς seems to have been influenced by the immediate context, *i.e.*, the close proximity of אהלך and נוך, and the meaning that פקדה carries in this context. The parallel structure of the verse has influenced the rendering in this instance as well. Moreover, assonance of a- and è-sounds can be observed in the second colon. Job 5:24 and 20:25 both demonstrate that the translation process in Greek Job is dynamic, and that different elements closely interact in that process.

f) δίατα as a free translation

There is one verse in which δίατα occurs but in which there is no one-to-one relationship between the Hebrew and the Greek.

22:28 ותגור אומר ויקם לך ועל דרכיך נגה אור – You will decide on a matter, and it will be established for you, and light will shine on your ways.

ἀποκαταστήσει δέ σοι δίαταν δικαιοσύνης, ἐπὶ δὲ ὁδοῖς σου ἔσται φέγγος. – Yes, he will restore to you a righteous way of life, and there will be light on your ways.

The Hebrew text of verse 28a is in the LXX replaced by a part of Job 8:6 (cf. *supra*). Rendering a line in the Hebrew text by using another part of the LXX that is not equivalent to the Hebrew is what H. Heater called the “anaphoric” method of translation²⁰. It is a common phenomenon in LXX Job.

²⁰ H. Heater, Jr., *A Septuagint Translation Technique in the Book of Job* (CBQ Monograph Series 11; Washington: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1982), 75-76. On this translation method, see also C. Cox, “The Historical, Social and Literary

g) *διατάω*

As for the verb, *διατάω* occurs only once in LXX Job, namely at 30:7. It renders the Hebrew *ספס*, which occurs five times in the Hebrew Bible. The LXX renders *ספס* differently each time. Within the immediate context of Job 30:5-7, the LXX presents a “free” translation of the Hebrew.

מִן גּוֹ יִגְרֶשׁוּ יִרְעוּ עֲלֵימוֹ כְּגַב־⁵

בְּעֵרוֹץ נַחְלִים לְשֹׁכְנֵי חָרִי עֵפֶר וְכַפִּים⁶

בֵּין שִׁיחִים יִנְהָקוּ תַּחַת חֲרוּל יִסְפְּחוּ⁷

⁵ They are driven out from society; people shout after them as after a thief.

⁶ In the gullies of wadis they must live, in holes in the ground, and in the rocks.

⁷ Among the bushes they bray; under the nettles they huddle together.

⁵ ἐπανάστησάν μοι κλέπται

⁶ ὧν οἱ οἴκοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν τρωγλαὶ πετρῶν·

⁷ οἱ ὑπὸ φρύγανα ἄγρια διητῶντο.

⁵ Thieves have risen up against me,

⁶ whose houses were caves in the rocks,

⁷ who spent their lives under wild bushes.

The verb *διατάω* is employed in its literal sense. When comparing the Greek with the Hebrew, it becomes clear that the translator altered the parallelisms in the Hebrew text and made verses 6 and 7 parallel to one another. This is another example of the importance of parallelism in the Greek version of Job: *οἶκος* and *διατάω* are the corresponding elements in this translation, which brings to mind *οἶκος* and *δίατα* as a word pair, as in 5:24 and 20:19. Moreover, *διατάω* refers to one living in nature, reminding us of the donkey’s living-place mentioned in Job 39:6.

Conclusion: The use of *δίατα*

It is almost needless to state that there is no interdependence between the different LXX books with regard to their use of *δίατα*. The three books in

Context of Old Greek Job”, in: M. Peters (ed.), *XII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies. Leiden, 2004* (SBL SCS 54; Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 105-116, 116; D. Mangin, *Le texte court de la version grecque du livre de Job et la double interprétation du personnage jusqu’au IIe siècle* (unpublished dissertation Université d’Aix-Marseille-I; Aix-en-Provence, 2005), 135-147; Ziegler, “Der textkritische Wert”, 288-290.

question use *δαίτια*/*δαίτιάω* differently: according to later Greek usage in 4Maccabees (once) and according to classical Greek usage in Judith (once) and Job (thirteen occurrences). Since little can be said on the basis of one occurrence in a book, I will focus on LXX Job.

The Hebrew words rendered by *δαίτια* all have quite a broad semantic field, and their respective translations in LXX Job mostly seem to have originated as a contextual matter. On the basis of the occurrences of *δαίτια* discussed above, the following concluding remarks can be made.

First, *δαίτια* often occurs in metaphorical phrases:

- In Job 5:3; 8:22; 18:6; 18:14 and 20:25, it is part of a metaphor expressing what happens to the fool.
- In Job 5:24; 8:6 and 22:28, the image is reversed and the restoration of one's fortunes is expressed.
- In Job 11:14 and 22:23, it becomes clear that one can actively keep one's fortunes safe by keeping wickedness far away.

Second, the use of *δαίτια* is not so much guided by some kind of unity in the meaning of the word itself, since (a) other words, such as *οἶκος*, also appear in the context of the metaphor, and (b) *δαίτια* sometimes appears outside of the context of this metaphor. Rather, the use of *δαίτια* is guided by two elements:

(1) In the first place, *δαίτια* is generally preferred when it does not refer to a physical building. This is in line with the classical Greek usage of the noun, especially when it renders *לְהֵל* and *בַּיִת*.

(2) In the second place, the stylistic context played a role in the translation. The translator was particularly guided by the parallelism (5:24; 20:25; 30:6) and assonance also seems to have influenced the word choice (5:24; 20:25). Exceptions to the first tendency can usually only be explained on this basis.

The usage of *δαίτια* is an illustration of the way in which the LXX translator of Job is sensitive to classical Greek language and to literary features, which, consciously or subconsciously, guided a dynamic translation process.

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On the use of *πεπαιδευμένος* in Greek Sirach*

PATRICK POUCHELLE

Introduction

Marböck, in his recent commentary, made a plea for closer and more thorough study of the Greek Sirach.¹ It should not be undertaken merely to obtain access to the “original” work of Ben Sira; rather, the work of the translator should be studied in its own right.

In this respect, the peculiarities of the vocabulary in Greek Sirach are worth studying. For example, the form *πεπαιδευμένος* appears five or six times in Sirach,² whereas it occurs only twice³ in the remaining parts of the Septuagint and never in the non-translated works such as Wisdom and 4 Maccabees.⁴ This specificity is interesting as the form *πεπαιδευμένος* is of great importance in Hellenistic culture,⁵ where it essentially means “the person who has been educated;” that is to say, the one who possesses culture and

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¹ Johannes Marböck, *Jesus Sirach 1–23* (HThKAT; Freiburg: Herder, 2010), 32–33. See also James Aitken, “The Literary Attainment of the Translator of Greek Sirach,” in *The Texts and Versions of the Book of Ben Sira* [ed. J.-S. Rey and J. Joosten; SJSJ 150; Leiden: Brill, 2011], 95–126. Aitken gives a useful account of studies dealing with the Greek version.

² Sir 21:23; 26:14; 34(31):19; 40:29; 42:8. Sir 31(34):9 is controversial, see below.

³ Prov 10:4 and Tob 4:14. Ps 89[90]:12 is controversial. The word *πεπεδημένος* – from *πέδω*, to bind – is given by Codex Alexandrinus, whereas the variant *πεπαιδευμένος* is found in Codex Vaticanus. Both these variants are very close in sound and spelling.

⁴ With more than 1500 occurrences, the perfect participle is a thoroughly familiar form in the Septuagint. *Γράφω* is the verb which is used the most widely in this form (almost 100 times).

⁵ For the importance of the word in Hellenistic culture, see the brief synthesis in Werner Riess, Introduction to *Paideia at Play: Learning and Wit in Apuleius* (ed. W. Riess; Ancient Narrative Supplementum 11; Groningen: Barkhuis, 2008), ix–xii. See also Graham Anderson, “The Pēpaideumenos in Action: Sophists and their Outlook in the Early Empire,” *ANRW* 2/33.1, 79–208.

education (παιδεία). Plato defines ὁ πεπαιδευμένος as a virtuous and trained person.⁶ Isocrates describes this person as someone who respects the laws of the city,⁷ whereas Aristotle emphasises the fact that this person has discernment.⁸ In a single word, ὁ πεπαιδευμένος represents the ideal of the Greek system of education.

This description is nuanced in recent studies, especially for the Hellenistic period: determining the identity of the Hellenistic πεπαιδευμένος is a complex issue. For example, Jones⁹ argues that Hellenic identity is not so important for Pausanias or Aelius Aristides. For them, the superiority of a culture is due to its age and not to its proximity to Athens. Furthermore, Bowersock¹⁰ suggests that Artemidorus has a specific culture differing from that of his contemporaries, leading to the idea that “local Paideia” could have existed.¹¹ We could also mention of Diodorus Siculus. He said that the Pharaoh usually lived with the sons of the Egyptian priests, who were πεπαιδευμένοι (*Bibl.* 1.70.2). They were models of virtue so that the future king would also become a virtuous man: καθόλου πάσης ἐπιθυμίας κρείττων: “having complete mastery of his passions.” However, these sons, along with Pharaoh, are not at all Hellenized. The same Diodorus Siculus (*Bibl.* 33.7.7) described a Lusitanian leader, named Viriathus, who was considered a πεπαιδευμένος. However, he received no formal education but was characteristically as moderate in speech as he was in life in general. Therefore, the notion of πεπαιδευμένος does not designate a Greek-educated person only, but has wider meanings that could relate to non-Greek culture.

This is the reason why studying the occurrences of this form in Greek Sirach may prove interesting. Indeed, the Hebrew book of Ben Sira is often understood as a didactic work¹² potentially influenced by Hellenistic cul-

⁶ Plato, *Leg.* 643d.

⁷ Isocrates, *Areop.* 41.

⁸ Aristotle, *Part. an.* 639a4–6.

⁹ Christopher P. Jones, “Multiple Identities in the Age of the Second Sophistic,” in *Paideia: The World of the Second Sophistic* (ed. B.E. Borg; Millennium Studies; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004), 13–21.

¹⁰ Glen W. Bowersock, “Artemidorus and the Second Sophistic,” in *Paideia: The World of the Second Sophistic* (ed. B.E. Borg; Millennium Studies; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004), 53–63.

¹¹ As summarised by Barbara E. Borg, Introduction to *Paideia: The World of the Second Sophistic* (ed. B.E. Borg; Millennium Studies; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004), 4.

¹² See for example Franck Ueberschaer, *Weisheit aus der Begegnung: Bildung nach dem Buch Ben Sira* (BZAW 379; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007).

ture.¹³ Therefore, the use of *παιδευμένος* by the translator may be significant for his aims and his background: did the translator only keep to a translation technique without regard to the Greek background? In this case, did this form reflect the basic meaning of the verb *רָצַ* “to be disciplined”, which usually corresponds to *παιδεύω* in the LXX¹⁴? On the contrary, another hypothesis could be that the translator understands or even expands the didactic features in Sira, i.e. he uses this form with classical Greek culture in mind or because he understood his own culture as able to produce a *παιδευμένος*. Accordingly, the focus of this article is to examine this topic by analysing the Greek Sirach.¹⁵

Textual criticism: the Case of Sir 31(34):9

The only controversial occurrence appears in Sir 31(34):9: Ἀνὴρ πεπλανημένος ἔγνω πολλά, καὶ ὁ πολὺπειρος ἐκδιηγῆσεται σύνεσιν¹⁶ “A travelled person knows many things, and one with much experience knows what he is talking about” (NRSV).

¹³ The question of the appraisal of Hellenistic culture by Ben Sira is still debated but its analysis goes well beyond the aim of this article. Some scholars stress the relationship between the Hebrew Ben Sira and Greek Culture (especially Theophil Middendorp, *Die Stellung Jesu Ben Siras zwischen Judentum und Hellenismus* [Leiden: Brill, 1973]) whereas others argue that he is conservative and only refers to earlier Hebrew traditions (see esp. Martin Hengel, “Ben Sira und der Hellenismus,” *JSJ* 5 (1974), 83–87 repr. in *Judaica et Hellenistica. Kleine Schriften I* [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996], 252–257 or Oda Wischmeyer, *Die Kultur des Buches Jesus Sirach* [BZNW 77; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995], 300). For Goldstein, this question is irrelevant, for Ben Sira, Hellenism is simply “not an issue” (Jonathan Goldstein, “Jewish Acceptance and Rejection of Hellenism,” in *Aspects of Judaism in the Graeco-Roman Period* [vol. 2 of *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*; ed. E.P. Sanders with A.I. Baumgartner and A. Mendelson; London: SCM, 1981], 72–75). Alexander A. di Lella, “Wisdom of Ben-Sira,” *ABD* 6 (1992), 933–934 takes a nuanced position, stating that the purpose of Ben-Sira is to give his fellow some arguments against the Hellenization of Judaism. It is not a condemnation of Hellenism as such but a warning against assimilation. We find a similar assessment in James L. Crenshaw, “The Book of Sirach,” *NIB* 5 (1997), 624–626. None of these authors analyses the motive of the Greek translator.

¹⁴ See HRCS.

¹⁵ There are at least two translations/revisions, the so-called Greek I, attributed to the grandson of Ben Sira, and the Greek II. Following the Göttingen edition (Joseph Ziegler, ed. *Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach* [Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Societatis Litterarum Göttingensis editum XII,2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965]), all the occurrences studied here belong to Greek I.

¹⁶ Greek text and numbering are that of Ziegler, *Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach*. Note that Ziegler restored the correct ordering of chapters 30–36 without modifying the traditional numbering. Therefore, Sir 31(34):9 belongs to 34th chapter in the restored order.

The form *πεπαιδευμένος* is preferred to *πεπλανημένος* in the codices Alexandrinus and Vaticanus, the Origenian manuscript 253 (but not the Syrohexaplar), some manuscripts of the Lucianic recension (but not the main group) and a few other manuscripts and versions. Some of them also give *πεπαιδευμένος* instead of *πεπλανημένος* in Sir 31(34):10, seeking to harmonise both passages. According to the great codices, some older commentators preferred *πεπαιδευμένος*.¹⁷ They think that Sirach begins with the important concept of *παιδεία*,¹⁸ and *πεπλανημένος* was erroneously written under the influence of verse 10.¹⁹ This is partly confirmed by the Syriac version which has *ܣܘܒܟܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ*.²⁰ Recent commentators, however, follow Rudolph Smend²¹ and, after him, Ziegler²² who has chosen *πεπλανημένος*. Smend considers that since the concept of travel is often used by Sirach,²³ the idea should occur at the beginning of the strophe.²⁴ Others have argued for a possible allusion to Homer, *Od.* 1, 1–3.²⁵ In fact, *πεπλανημένος* is problematic since the verb *πλανάω* always has a negative connotation: it conveys the sense “to err.” How could someone who errs know so much? Accordingly, the commentators who accept *πεπλανημένος* translate with the more neutral “to travel.” Therefore, some scribes may well have preferred the more positive *πεπαιδευμένος*. Thus, the revision from *πεπλανημένος* to *πεπαιδευμένος* is better explained than the opposite, possibly as a reminiscence of Sir 21:22–23. Another possibility is that the two variants belong to two different translations, as they could be explained by either the Hebrew root *סור*, or *סר*. As a tentative conclusion, in the absence of any Hebrew witnesses, *πεπλανημένος* is cautiously to be preferred. Should *πεπαιδευμένος*

¹⁷ For example, Otto F. Fritsch, *Die Weisheit Jesus-Sirach's* (exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen des Alten Testaments 5; Leipzig: Hirzel, 1859), and Norbert Peters, *Das Buch Jesus Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus* (EHAT 25; Münster: Aschendorff, 1913).

¹⁸ Fritsch, *Die Weisheit*, 193.

¹⁹ Peters, *Das Buch Jesus Sirach*, 282.

²⁰ “A wise man,” translation and Syriac text from Nuria Caldich-Benages, Joan Ferrer, and Jan Liesen, eds. *La Sabiduría del escriba: Wisdom of the Scribe* (Biblioteca Mitrásica 26; Estella: Verbo Divino, 2003).

²¹ Rudolph Smend, *die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1906).

²² Joseph Ziegler, ed. *Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach* (Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Societatis Litterarum Göttingensis editum XII,2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965).

²³ Sir 31(34):10–11; 39:4, with *διέρχουμαι*; 51:13

²⁴ Smend, *die Weisheit*, 307.

²⁵ See for example, G. Sauer, *Jesus Sirach/Ben Sira* (ATD Apokryphen 1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 241.

be original, this would be the only occurrence linking this word with the concept of knowledge in Sirach.²⁶

The Hebrew correspondence

It is still hypothetical to draw conclusions about the Hebrew witnesses of Ben Sira.²⁷ However, the Hebrew manuscripts we possess show that the verb παιδεύω, apart from the form πεπαιδευμένος, almost always corresponds to the root יסר,²⁸ as is usually the case in the other books of the Septuagint.

It is therefore noteworthy to see that this is not the case with πεπαιδευμένος. The only exception may be Sir 40:29 in which πεπαιδευμένος could correspond to the verbal noun יסור. However, this verbal noun occurs in the margin of manuscript B only²⁹: יודע יסור מזעים³⁰ “(The delicacies offered bring revulsion to one’s spirit and) to the intelligent inward tortures.”³¹ However, the Greek and Hebrew texts differ considerably: ἀνήρ δὲ ἐπιστήμων καὶ πεπαιδευμένος φυλάσσεται “but one who is intelligent and well instructed guards against that” (NRSV).

Indeed, ἐπιστήμων is rarely used in the LXX and usually corresponds to the root שכל, never to יודע.³² Furthermore, it is hard to understand how φυλάσσεται could have been used to translate either מזעים or מעים,³³ as it

²⁶ The other occurrences rather connect the word with the concept of polite behaviour, see below.

²⁷ Even if the majority of scholars accept that the Hebrew text given by the medieval manuscripts found in Cairo is not retroversion from Greek or Syriac, it is clear that they are not free from errors, alterations, or revisions... see Marböck, *Jesus Sirach*, 24.

²⁸ Indeed Sir 7:23; 30:13 corresponds to יסר. It is not clear whether Sir 10:1 corresponds to יסר or יסד, however, the Greek translator should have read יסר. Sir 6:32 corresponds to כס. Its *Vorlage*, however, may have been combined with Sir 6:33 since σοφός ἔση corresponds to תוסר. Less certain is Sir 37:23, which corresponds to חכם; the Greek or the *Vorlage* may correspond to Sir 10:1.

²⁹ Manuscript B gives מעים סוד.

³⁰ Hebrew texts given by Pancratius C. Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew: A Text Edition of All Extant Hebrew Manuscripts & A Synopsis of all Parallel Hebrew Ben Sira Texts* (SVT 68; Leiden: Brill, 1997; Atlanta: SBL, 2006) and for Sir 21:22–23 by Shulamit Elizur, “Two New Leaves of the Hebrew Version of Ben Sira,” *DSD* 17 [2010]:13–29.

³¹ Where “tortures” corresponds to the verbal noun יסור. Translation Skehan and di Lella, *The Wisdom*, 464.

³² See for example, Dan^{LXX} 1:4; Sir 47:12; Ps^{Aq} 31[32]:1; 41[42]:1; Dan^{Sym} 12:10, and PrTh 19:14. However, the noun ἐπιστήμη sometimes corresponds to the root ידע like in Exod 31:3, and Isa 33:6.

³³ In manuscript B.

corresponds rather to the root ש.מר.³⁴ Therefore, the Greek sentence either translates a different *Vorlage*, or translates freely. In both cases, the link between παιδευμένος and יסור is weak.

The other equivalents never connect παιδευμένος with the root יסר. Hence, in Sir 21:23, ἀνήρ δὲ παιδευμένος corresponds to אישׁ מזמור “a man of discretion.”³⁵ Again, in Sir 34(31):19 ἄνθρωπος παιδευμένος corresponds to נבון “an intelligent person” and, finally, in Sir 42:8 παιδευμένος to זהיר, “a warned person.”

Sir 26:14 has no Hebrew counterpart. In fact, only manuscript C contains ch. 26 where v. 15 occurs just after v. 13. It is therefore possible that v. 14 is another translation of Hebrew v. 15, or a translation of a lost Hebrew doublet of v. 15. Indeed, v.14 δόσις κυρίου γυνή σιγηρά, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντάλλαγμα παιδευμένης ψυχῆς (“A silent wife is a gift from the Lord, and nothing is so precious as her self-discipline.”) is close to v.15 χάρις ἐπὶ χάριτι γυνή αἰσχυντηρά, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν σταθμὸς πᾶς ἄξιος ἐγκρατοῦς ψυχῆς (“A modest wife adds charm to charm, and no scales can weigh the value of her chastity”). Both verses could correspond, more or less freely, to: הן ע[...].אשה פה לצרורת פה ביישת יאין משקל לצרורת פה “Grace u[pon grace] a modest wife and there is no weight for her chaste mouth.”³⁶

Furthermore, the Syriac version has ܟܝܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ, “lack of throat”.. which could correspond to צרורת פה. In this case, παιδευμένης ψυχῆς may also relate to לצרורת פה. This Hebrew expression could be an euphemism for the vagina and hence indicate chastity,³⁷ but it could also be understood as designating someone who speaks modestly.³⁸

In short, whereas παιδεύω corresponds to the root יסר, the form παιδευμένος has no systematic equivalent. Therefore, the choice of the Greek translator cannot be qualified as a stereotyped rendering.³⁹ Is it

³⁴ Like in Gen 2:15; Exod 31:13; Prov 2:11, ...

³⁵ see Elizur, “Two New Leaves,” 25–26.

³⁶ The translation is my own.

³⁷ Skehan and di Lella, *The Wisdom*, 350.

³⁸ See Charles Mopsik, *La Sagesse de Ben Sira* (Les dix paroles, Verdier: Lagrasse, 2003), 175, n.6.

³⁹ The lexical creativity of the grandson is a well-known phenomenon (see Benjamin G. Wright, *No Small Difference. Sirach's Relationship to its Hebrew Parent Text*, [SCS 26; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1989], 91–112), see also Georg Sauer, “Ben Sira in Jerusalem und sein Enkel in Alexandria” (2003), in id., *Studien zu Ben Sira* (BZAW 440; Berlin: de Gruyter 2013), 25-34, who aims to demonstrate that the lexical choice of the Grandson shows the difference between Ben Sira and his grandson, in place and culture (Jerusalem

possible that Greek Sirach was influenced by the Hellenistic ideal of the πεπαιδευμένος?

The use of πεπαιδευμένος in the Greek Text

The form πεπαιδευμένος is used by Sirach as an adjective qualifying ἀνήρ (twice),⁴⁰ ἄνθρωπος (once),⁴¹ and ψυχὴ (once).⁴² When Sirach uses πεπαιδευμένος governed by εἶμι, it is probably not a periphrastic tense.⁴³

In Sir 21:22–24, Greek Sirach presents three similar verses which establish the difference between the fool and the wise man in terms of behaviour in the other's house. Three different kinds of behaviour are dealt with: how to enter a house, how not to gaze into a house and how not to eavesdrop at the door. In these three verses, πεπαιδευμένος is compared to πολύπειρος (“a man of experience” see Sir 31[34]:9) and φρόνιμος (“a wise man”). Sir 21:23–24 is constructed as a chiasm: ἄφρων is opposed to πεπαιδευμένος and ἀπαιδευσία ἀνθρώπου to φρόνιμος whereas in Sir 21:22 πολύπειρος is compared to πούς μωροῦ.

In Sir 26:14, a wife who is silent is compared to an “educated” soul. The adjective “silent”, in Greek σιγηρός, comes from the verb σιγάω. It is almost a *hapax legomenon* in the Septuagint⁴⁴ and is infrequent in classical Greek.

and Alexandria) and in time (circa 60 years). For a discussion about stereotypes or consistency of lexical representation, see Wright, *No Small Difference*, 91–112.

⁴⁰ Sir 21:23; 40:29.

⁴¹ Sir 34(31):19. The association of πεπαιδευμένος with ἄνθρωπος (e.g. Libanius, *Ep.* 978.3) or ἀνήρ (e.g. Polybius, *Hist.* 12.13.2; Aelian, *Nat. an.* 5.34 or Chariton, *Chaer.* 2.4.1) is infrequent in the Greek corpus, which prefers the substantive πεπαιδευμένος.

⁴² Sir 26:14, only Libanius, *Ep.* 1224.3 associates πεπαιδευμένος with ψυχὴ meaning a cultivated mind.

⁴³ For a brief and recent account of the general use of this tense in the LXX, see Katrin Hauspie, “Periphrastic Tense Forms with εἶμι and γίγνομαι in the Septuagint of Ezekiel,” in *Et Sapienter et Eloquenter. Studies on Rhetorical and Stylistic Features of the Septuagint* (ed. E. Bons and T.J. Kraus; FRLANT 241; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 127–131. Chantraine has shown that the periphrastic tense was more widely used in Hellenistic times, (cf. Pierre Chantraine, *Histoire du parfait grec* [Collection linguistique 21; Paris: Honoré Champion, 1927], 246–247) and especially for biblical literature owing to the influence of Semitic language (*Ibid.*, 250, see also Hauspie, “Periphrastic tense Forms,” 150–151). However, the usage of a periphrastic παιδεύω is rare in classical and Hellenistic Greek (e.g. Plato, *Leg.* 840 a; Philostratus, *Vit. soph.*, Chapter 1, Olearius page 501, line 19). It is therefore not easy to determine whether πεπαιδευμένος is in a periphrastic form, “to have been educated,” or if is used as an attribute: “to be an educated person.”

⁴⁴ Occurring only in the controversial Prov 18:18 where it competes with κληρός. The fact that κληρός matches the MT is probably the reason why Ziegler considered σιγηρός as

This adjective reflects the quality of a man who has control over his language.⁴⁵ The following verse of Sirach, which in fact is a doublet, confirms this interpretation: *πεπαιδευμένης ψυχῆς* corresponds to *ἐγκρατοῦς ψυχῆς* in which *ἐγκρατοῦς* also means to be self-controlled.⁴⁶ In fact, verses 14 and 15 seem to develop the ambiguity offered by the Hebrew text.⁴⁷ In this case, *πεπαιδευμένης ψυχῆς* designates particularly the person who is able to control his speech.

In Sir 34(31):19, we observe pieces of advice advocating moderation during a banquet. Ὁ *πεπαιδευμένος* is a man who needs little. Therefore, he can restrain himself during a banquet. He eats little and does not fall ill (Sir 34[31]:20).

All the preceding occurrences describe a person who avoids inappropriate behaviour: tactlessness, gluttony, gossip. The next occurrence, in Sir 40:28–29, seems to deal with gluttony but evolves into cultic matters. Sirach warns against the envy of the table which belongs to someone else (*ἀλλότριος*). This term is used about fifteen times in Sirach, always negatively.⁴⁸ It sometimes designates a foreign person (like Sir 29:18) or simply someone (or something) who is not closely related (like Sir 23:22). Therefore, this verse deals with moral behaviour: one should not eat at the table of a person who is not a close relative. This is confirmed by the relationship with Sir 29:22 where it is stated that it is preferable to live poor at one's own home than live rich under another man's roof. The verb *ἀλισγέω*, however, gives to the verse a cultic nuance. Indeed, this verb is used in Mal 1:7.12 and in Dan 1:8, always corresponding to the Hebrew *לִאֵל*, “to defile.”⁴⁹

the best variant (see Josef Ziegler, “Zum Wortschatz des griechischen Sirach,” in *von Ugarit nach Qumran, Festschrift O. Eißfeldt* [BZAW 77; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1959], 275 repr. in *Sylloge* [MSU 10; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971], 451) and why this word was not analysed by Christian Wagner, *Die Septuaginta Hapaxlegomena im Buch Jesus Sirach* (BZAW 282; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999).

⁴⁵ Euripides, *Suppl.* 567; Sophocles, *Trach.* 1049

⁴⁶ Cf. LSJ.

⁴⁷ See above.

⁴⁸ For example, you should not act secretly with an *ἀλλότριος* (Sir 8:18), you should not accommodate such a person (Sir 11:34)...

⁴⁹ The Hebrew manuscript B reads *מגעל* which is corrected by Smend, *die Weisheit*, 380 to *מגעל* “abhorring” after the Greek and Syriac versions (which uses *μισε* “to hate”). Smend, however, did not consider the correspondence between *ἀλισγέω* and *לִאֵל* which could point to a *Vorlage* with *גאֵל*.

The parallel with Daniel is striking.⁵⁰ Indeed, Daniel protests against eating at the table⁵¹ of Nebuchadnezzar, so as not to be defiled. Daniel complies with Sir 40:29 as a model of just such an intelligent and educated person.⁵² Such a cultic interpretation is specific to the Greek version.⁵³

The last occurrence of πεπαιδευμένος in Sirach finishes and concludes the so-called “teaching on shame.” This teaching begins in Sir 41:16. It contains two parts presenting good shame and bad shame. The first one until Sir 42:1 describes acts that lead to bad shame. Conversely, the second one describes what the reader should not be ashamed of. Both parts finish with the same structure: καὶ ἔση αἰσχυντηρὸς ἀληθινῶς καὶ εὐρίσκων χάριν ἔναντι παντὸς ἀνθρώπου (Sir 42:1), and καὶ ἔση πεπαιδευμένος ἀληθινῶς καὶ δεδοκιμασμένος ἔναντι παντὸς ζῶντος (Sir 42:8).

It is the only occurrence of πεπαιδευμένος where Sirach gives a list of actions to do and not to avoid. All these actions belong to the sphere of strict moral behaviour except for the first one: keeping the law of the Most High.

Conclusion

Except Sir 40:29, which is more cultic, and Sir 42:2–8 which contains one reference to the Law, Sirach used πεπαιδευμένος when he is dealing specifically with secular moral behaviour. This usage is close to the classical and Hellenistic context, especially if we consider that someone could be a πεπαιδευμένος without training in Greek culture in a Greek school. The translator was aware of the Greek Hellenistic ideal of the πεπαιδευμένος as a virtuous person.⁵⁴ He felt free to translate different Hebrew terms dealing with correct behaviour by this form.

The traditional notion of rebukes associated with the Hebrew root רִי is not absent from Greek Sirach, see for example Sir 30:1–13.⁵⁵ Probably, according to Greek Sirach, ὁ πεπαιδευμένος has been sufficiently disciplined, corrected

⁵⁰ Malachi relates a claim from God about the defilement of the sacrifice.

⁵¹ DanTh 1:8 uses here τράπεζα.

⁵² In the LXX, Daniel is associated with παιδεία, see Ez 28:3 and Dan^{LXX} 1:5, 20.

⁵³ The Syriac version agrees with the Hebrew manuscript in warning against gluttony that leads to suffering. The Latin version suggests a type of moral behaviour simply by giving *alit* (from *alo*, “to nourish”) corresponding to ἀλισιγέω: “he nourishes his soul with meats belonging to other.” It is impossible to know whether the Latin translator had another *Vorlage* or if he altered the meaning himself.

⁵⁴ See above, the introduction.

⁵⁵ See Uebershaer, *Weisheit aus der Begegnung*, 241–49.

and rebuked so as to be aware of his conduct and behaviour. However, a textual and formal link between a harsh pedagogic system, expressed by the verb παιδεύω when translating רי, and its results, expressed by the participle πεπαιδευμένος, is missing. It is not clearly stated that the πεπαιδευμένος is someone who has been “disciplined.” Furthermore, this term is used along with others like πολύπειρος, and φρόνιμος. Therefore, πεπαιδευμένος brought to the translator’s mind more the Hellenistic ideal of temperance than the ideal of training. Moreover, the Hebrew tradition of rebuke is not emphasised by the use of this form. Accordingly, we could state that Sirach used πεπαιδευμένος in reference to a virtuous person. This evolution could be called an appropriation of a Greek word with its background in the context of Hellenistic Judaism.

Sir 40:19 witnesses, however, another kind of appropriation when it states the idea that Jewish religious dietary restrictions are observed by a πεπαιδευμένος. This person is not only well-behaved as in Sir 34(31):19, he or she is also an observer of the Law. This is consonant with the mention of the law at the head of the list that a πεπαιδευμένος should not be ashamed of. This nuance seems to foreshadow the identification of παιδεία and the Jewish law which is clearly stated by 4 Maccabees 1:17.⁵⁶

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⁵⁶ It is impossible to state with certainty whether the two ideas belong to the same translator or not (for example a later reviser could have altered Sir 40:29 and 42:2).

Veteris Latinae Ecclesiastici: Apologia pro interprete latino.

ANTHONY J. FORTE

Introduction*

In April 1957, Bonifatius Fischer, the founder of the Vetus Latina Institute in Beuron, Germany, invited Professor Joseph Ziegler of Würzburg and Benedictine Fathers Henri de Sainte-Marie and Jean Gribomont of the Roman monastery of San Girolamo, where they were preparing the monumental critical edition of the Vulgate, the *Biblia Sacra*, to come to Beuron to discuss their understanding and insights concerning the “Textgeschichte” of the Books of Wisdom and Sirach. The immediate result of this encounter that lasted two weeks was the confirmation of their decision that the three critical editions of these two books (namely, the Göttingen Septuaginta, the Roman Vulgate and the Vetus Latina) should be undertaken in collaboration. The Beuron meeting simply confirmed what had already been taking place. Göttingen, Rome and Beuron knew that it was important to work together so as to share with each other, in as much as possible, not only the results of their research but also to confront problems common to all three projects.

Fischer and his team in Beuron expressed their willingness to alter their plan as to what books of the Bible were to be edited and when. Most especially, they worked to improve and update the Vetus Latina Institute’s rich collection of patristic witnesses and liturgical texts. Joseph Ziegler, following the example of John William Wevers, spent several months in Beuron consulting the Institute’s resources. The great majority of the patristic witnesses and liturgical references found in his critical apparatuses to the Septuagint Wisdom and Sirach have their origin in Beuron. Ziegler had already been to San Girolamo in March of 1957¹ where the collations of several of the most

* The author has deemed it necessary to include this short introduction, given the fact that many modern exegetes have very little knowledge of the history and development of the versions of the Latin Bible.

important manuscripts were made available to him. It is not by chance that both the Göttingen Septuaginta of Sapiaientia and Iesu Filii Sirach, as well as the Roman Vulgate edition of Sapiaientia Salomonis and the Liber Hiesu Filii Sirach, were published in the very same year, 1964. The enormous task of editing Sapiaientia Salomonis and Sirach (Ecclesiasticus) for the Vetus Latina Institute fell to Walter Thiele, who in 1956 had just published volume one (Epistula Iacobi) of the Epistulae Catholicae, completed in 1969. Thiele's first fascicle of his edition of the Sapiaientia Salomonis appeared in 1977 and the entire edition of Sapiaientia Salomonis was completed in 1985. It was not until 1987 that Thiele produced the first installment of his of Sirach (Ecclesiasticus). In 2005 Thiele retired from the Vetus Latina Institute. His contribution consisted in the publication of nine fascicles, beginning with an extensive Einleitung and the Prologue to the Book of Sirach up to and including chapter Sirach 24. This writer is the editor of the Pars Altera of Sirach. The first fascicle, Sirach 25,1-28,24 has just been published.²

Ziegler's remarkable edition of the Septuagint and the Roman Vulgate were invaluable for Thiele's work on Sirach as they are, of course, for my critical edition.³ Had Thiele's edition been finished before the completion of Ziegler's edition, both editions would have been richer. Anyone familiar with the text of Sirach, one of the most complicated among Second Temple Jewish writings, is aware of its extremely complex textual history. The Greek tradition itself is especially difficult because of the two Greek forms of the text, commonly referred to as Greek I (textus minor), based on the the 4th and 5th century uncials B S A C V (and the Coptic versions), most likely the transla-

¹ See the "Vorwort" to Ziegler's first edition (30 November 1964), p. 5: "Ein herzliches Dankeswort gebührt den Mönchen von San Girolamo in Rom, namentlich Herrn P. Jean Gribomont, die mir gütigst ihre Kollationen während meines römischen Aufenthaltes im März 1957 zur Verfügung stellten."

² *Vetus Latina, Die Reste der Altlateinischen Bibel*. 11/2. Sirach (Ecclesiasticus) Pars Altera. Edited by Anthony J. Forte. Fascicle 1: *Sir 25,1-28,24* — Freiburg im Br., Herder, 2014, p. 1-80.

³ See Ziegler's obituary written by Josef Schreiner in *ZAW* (101) 1989, 2: "In den umfangreichen Einleitungen, die er den Textausgaben voranschickte, wie auch in vielen Einzelstudien ging er drei Fragen nach, die für die Erforschung der griechischen Bibel wesentlich waren, sie weiterhin bestimmten und zu grundlegenden Einsichten führten. Er fragte über Einbeziehung der Tochterübersetzungen nach den feststellbaren Rezensionen und ihrem Charakter, nach der Erkennbarkeit und der Gestalt des ursprünglichen Textes, nach dessen Wesen und innerer Struktur. Dabei sichtete und wertete er sorgfältig die einzelnen Lesarten und behielt zugleich die Gesamtüberlieferung im Auge, ein Verfahren, das vorschnelle Abwertungen und Konjekturen vermeidet und Fehlerurteile verhindern hilft."

tion of an early Hebrew text, and Greek II (textus maior), not based on any Greek uncial manuscript but is perhaps a revision of Greek I, or the result of a translation of a longer Hebrew text or that of other versions. In Ziegler's edition, Greek II is printed in small characters. H.B. Swete and A. Rahlfs edited Greek I (Greek II is confined to Rahlfs' apparatus criticus) and Ziegler's Göttingen edition includes three groups of minuscules which transmit a very large number of stichs (Ziegler counted 135) not found in Greek I (34 according to the 1906 Supplement to Hatch and Redpath's *A Concordance to the Septuagint and other Greek Versions of the Old Testament*) and thus constitute Greek II.

The reader of Thiele's and my edition(s) notices that the "schema" or text, following Ziegler's apparatus criticus, is replete with small Greek characters, the so-called Greek II, as well as other Greek variants that correspond to some Latin reading attested either in a Ms or in a patristic or liturgical text. This phenomenon is a clear indication that at times the Latin translator worked with a Greek text found not in any major manuscript but in the minuscules.

Since the publication of Ziegler's work, other studies have appeared that have shed light on some of the problems that still remain unresolved in both the Greek and Latin versions. One of the most important of these is that of Otto Wahl's publication of the verses of Sirach which are according to tradition attributed to John of Damascus.⁴ It is thanks to the *Sacra Parallela* that we now have a collection of a rather large number of stichs in the Greek text that were known previously only in the Latin text. An appendix to Ziegler's critical apparatus is warranted for this reason alone.⁵

⁴ O. Wahl, *Der Sirach-Text der Sacra Parallela* (Forschungen zur Bibel, 16, Würzburg, 1974).

⁵ See P.-M. Bogaert, „Septante“, *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, 12 (1993), 628: The discovery of 28 new stichs in *Sacra Parallela* previously unknown, 15 of which are attested in the Latin tradition “justifierait un appendice à l'apparat critique de l'édition de J. Ziegler.” Another important recent publication is that of Christian Wagner, *Die Septuaginta-Hapaxlegomena im Buch Jesus Sirach* (BZAW 282; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999), 413–16. Wagner's monograph discusses a total of 273 Septuagintal hapax legomena: eighteen from the Greek prologue; 232 from Greek I; twenty-seven from Greek II. Included in his work (328–48) is a discussion of twenty-seven Septuagintal hapax legomena from Greek II (= twenty-three new words plus four words found also in Greek I). Indeed, Wagner (331) notes a gloss not in the concordance, since Ziegler's apparatus lists a variant to 23:4a: “O Almighty Lord of your eternally begotten creation.” This gloss may be of some interest, since it employs two words found elsewhere only once in Greek II, namely, “almighty” (παντοκράτωρ, 24:24c) and “eternally begotten” (ἀειγενεῖς, 24:18d).

The careful reader of the Old Latin text of Ben Sirach will discover that much of the Latin text of Sirach is not only at odds with J. Ziegler's critical edition of the Septuagint⁶ but also that it often does not correspond to the known Hebrew fragments. The Greek and Latin texts of Sirach are likewise frequently very different and one is often at a loss to understand why sections of the Latin or Greek are missing or why there are additions in one of the versions. One must ask whether the Latin text is different or whether the text we have is simply corrupt and is based on a different Greek Vorlage. Textual discrepancies can often be the result of a secondary development or from doublets constructed from double sentences that have no equivalents in the Greek text or through corruption in the transmission of the text.

The Latin text of Sirach is sometimes so slavishly literal that it is at times unintelligible. There has been a tendency among scholars to impute ignorance of Latin and Greek to the Latin translators of the Septuagint.⁷ This writer is not of this opinion. Rather, it is my view that the numerous errors in the Latin were more often the work of bad copyists. The translators were not semi-illiterates or even second-rate translators. The Old Latin text is replete with devices such as chiasma, alliteration, assonance, rhythm etc. used by illustrious Latin authors. There are not a few sections of the Old Latin text that are the result of highly intelligent translators who succeeded brilliantly in clarifying and interpreting the source(s) of the different readings found in the text. There are sufficient indications that the Latin translators knew their Greek and that they were able to emend their texts easily. Often, when the Greek and Latin texts do not coincide perfectly, there is the tendency to search for some explanation of the discrepancies in some other *Vorlage*, as if the Latin text attained authenticity and *auctoritas* only in so far as it faithfully rendered the extant Greek text. The fact is that the *Vetus Latina* never had the authoritative stature of the Septuagint and its non-canonical status was one factor that contributed to the freedom with which the Latin text was altered. It must

⁶ J. Ziegler, *Iesu Filii Sirach, Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum*, (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1964).

⁷ For a balanced appraisal of the quality of the Latin versions of the Bible, see B. Kedar, "The Latin Translations," in *Mikra: Text, Translations, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (Martin Jan Mulder, ed. Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum, 299-338. Assen: Van Gorcum / Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988).

not be forgotten that the Latin translators of the Septuagint had at their disposal a rather superior textual tradition and that the different translations and/or versions (Greek I - Greek II) have left several vestiges in the *Vetus Latina*, despite the numerous enigmatic passages that resist a satisfactory explanation, which are perhaps due (regrettably) to copyists and/or interpolators, who did not fully understand the Greek text.

In this paper I would like to offer some observations on the Latin of certain texts of Ben Sirach 25-28. In the first section, I will first mention some of the peculiar elements of the Latin found in these chapters. These peculiarities of the Latin give evidence of a rather sophisticated Latin translator. In the second section, I give some examples of difficult readings in the Latin text that can be explained sometimes paleographically or through corruption; they seem to have nothing to do with their Greek *Vorlage*. Thirdly, in regard to places in the text where there seems to be an addition, I ask where the addition comes from. Very often I conclude that the Latin translator must have had a different Greek *Vorlage*. Following Thiele, I usually comment as follows: *interpres latinus reddisse videtur quod in textu suo graeco legerat; quomodo textus latinus intellegendus sit, non cognosco*. I also ask if some of the additions could be the result of the Latin translator's translation technique. In other words, could a Latin addition in the text not consist of a biblical text but rather a necessary addition imposed on the text in order to clarify a Greek biblical text that is not immediately comprehensible? Or, are some of the additions the translator's way of making explicit that which is implicit, of clarifying that which is not immediately comprehensible? Fourthly, what are we to make of the double readings in the Old Latin of Sirach? As in the case of the additions mentioned above, there is a tendency in the Old Latin version to introduce into the text certain material that comes from other sources. The end result is not always immediately apparent.

First, the particularities of the Latin (orthography and certain grammatical constructions) in the text of Sirach are sometimes surprising. Yet, they give evidence of a Latin translator that was far from being a clumsy ignoramus. Many of these particularities are well-attested in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. The translator demonstrates his ability to offer a variety of interpretations, always taking into consideration the context. At Vulg. 25.3, for example, the verb *adgravor*, in imitation of the Greek προσώχθισα, governs the dative *animae* (τῆ ψυχῆ) at LXX Sir 25.2. The verb προσοχθίζω is attested at

LXX Sir 6.26 (Vulg. 6.25) and at both LXX and Vulg. (Sir 38,4) in the same way: both the Greek and Latin verbs govern the dative. However, at Sir 50:25 (LXX) we read Ἐν δυσὶν ἔθνεσιν προσώχθισεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου and the Latin (Sir 50:27) renders the Greek simply as *duas gentes odit anima mea*, that is, a direct object in the accusative (*duas gentes*) as opposed to the use of a preposition with the dative (Ἐν δυσὶν ἔθνεσιν). Cf TLL 1,1315, 20-22.

We have an attestation at 25:7 of *intellectum* (variant of *intellectus*) used as a nominative: *quam speciosa veteranis sapientia et gloriosis intellectus (intellectum) et consilium*. Sirach LXX 25:5 reads ὡς ὠραία γερόντων σοφία καὶ δεδοξασμένοις διανόημα καὶ βουλή and the nominative *intellectum*, attested by several manuscripts, allows the translator to maintain the parallelism with the Greek text. My critical apparatus to this verse is thus formulated:

intellectus V; AM 118 Ps 13; SED-S misc intellectum Cm?Θ^{SH}θ^VBκ^V, Wien 1190*: *nominativus* cf Thesaurus Linguae Latinae 7.1, 2090,72 cogitatio 171: < Ⓞ

What is interesting is that διανόημα is interpreted as *intellectus/-um* only here (Vulg. Sir 25:7). Elsewhere the Latin translator of Sirach prefers *cogitatio* to translate διανόημα (LXX 22:16,18; 23:2; 24:29), *cogitatus* (Vulg./LXX 42:20) and *intellegentia* at Vulg. 32:22/LXX 35 (32):18.

Obductum at 25:20 is an accusative from *obductus*, *-ūs* (cf TLL 9.2,41,64-66). The Greek ἐπαγωγή (LXX 25:14) is only here interpreted with the fourth declension noun. Type J, on the other hand, renders ἐπαγωγή here with *oppressio*, attested elsewhere only at Vulg./LXX 40:9. *Restitutio* (J *inpressio*) are the Latin renderings of ἐπαγωγή at Vulg. 23.24 (LXX 23.11). The substantive *obductio* is preferred at Vulg./LXX 2:2 and at Vulg. 5:10 (LXX 5:8), while *abductio* is the interpretation of ἐπαγωγή at Vulg. 38:20 (LXX 38:19). At Vulg. 3:30 (LXX 3:28) the Latin interpreter translates ἐπαγωγή as *synagoga* and similarly as *conventus* at Vulg. 10:16 (LXX 10:13).

The genitive *colubri* is the reading for ὄφις not only here at Vulg. 25:22 (LXX 25:15) but also at Vulg./LXX 21:2. The variant reading *colubris* at 25:22, however, is a genitive of the third (and not second) declension < *coluber*, *-bris* (cf TLL 3,1729,4-7) and is attested in Agnellus.⁸

The attestation of the variant *luctum* – interpretation of πένθος (LXX 26:6) – as a nominative is found at Vulg. 26:8. *Luctum* as a nominative, found only in Ms κ^{V*}, is attested in the Thesaurus: cf TLL 7.2b, 1737, 46-52. All other occurrences of πένθος (LXX 22:6,12; 38:17; 41:11) are rendered as *luctus*, *-us*.

⁸ Agnellus 18 (166,40): non est caput nequius (nequus CV) super caput colubris (colubri CQT)

Another particularity of the Latin text of Sirach is the occasional usage of the form of a substantive that is rare. See Vulg. 28:29 and the accompanying apparatus for a comment of the ablative singular *ori* which is attested elsewhere:

ori V Φ^T(i ex ?); AM ep; 118 Ps; PS-AU spe; PEL: PAU-N ep 19; [PS-FAB; [PS-PONn; [PS-SIX III.; DEF (Var) cf *ori abl. sing.* in Thesaurus Linguae Latinae 9,2,1073,25-27

The forms *delinquerunt* (27:1) (cf TLL 5,1,458,83-459,4), *destruxit* (28:17) (cf TLL 5,1,773,54-55), and *labearis* (28:30) attested only in Ms L* (cf TLL 7,2,781,62), are all peculiar. *Delinquerunt* is the Latin translator's interpretation of the Greek ἤμαρτον (27:1). The variant *delinquerunt* is attested in Mss XALΓ^{MA}. My apparatus criticus explains the problem thus:

delinquerunt V: = Ⓞ delinquerunt XALΓ^{MA} delinquere KA A a derelinquerunt Σ^{O*}Δ^BΘ^{S*}κ^VΦ^{T*}Π^L derelinquerunt σ^{R*} derelinquere KA A a (Var.) dereliqui = derelinqui, cf Thesaurus Linguae Latinae 5,1, 458,83-459,4

At Sir 28:17 the Latin translator interpreted the Greek καθεῖλεν (27:14) as *destruxit*, which is more frequently rendered as *distruxit*. See my apparatus to *destruxit*⁹:

destruxit V Q (x ex ?); PS-AU spe; VAL h; [PS-FAB; [PS-PONn; [PS-SIX III.: = Ⓞ distruxit XTM*, Bern A. 9* (*corr. in scrib.?*); AU spe (Var) cf Thesaurus Linguae Latinae 5,1,773,54-55: (*saepius traditur in codd. dist-*)

Second, the Vetus Latina of Sirach is replete with material that seems to be in disagreement with the Greek text. Sometimes we can explain certain discrepancies between the Greek and Latin (and therefore almost recover the *Vorlage*) as the result of certain paleographical errors or corruption. It is the view of this writer that the errors that were made were most likely those of copyists and not of the Latin translator. In addition, there are sections of our text where there is seemingly no relation between the Greek and Latin versions. Some examples are as follows.

At Sir 25:17 V (25:12 LXX) we read *omnis plaga tristitia cordis*. There is no Greek *Vorlage* to Vulg. 25:17. The reading of Vulgate is *cordis*, while Ms

⁹ E. Forcellini, et al. *Lexicon Totius Latinitatis* (Padova 1828), 2.144: "Ceterum *distruo*, pro *destruo*, legitur in antiq. libris quibusdam eorum scriptorum, quos in DESTRUO et DESTRUCTUS attulimus."

Π^L reads *mortis*. Type **J** (Ms 171) does not include verse 17. There is perhaps a confusion between m and c as well as t and d. Whatever the case may be, *mortis* is an unlikely, though not impossible, reading. Verse 18 once again repeats *plagam cordis*, a correct translation of *πληγὴν καρδίας* (LXX 25:13). The double reading in the Latin text – *omnis plaga tristitia cordis est et omnis malitia nequitia mulieris* – is striking.

Sir 25:16-20 V (25:12-14 LXX)

	κολλήσεως		ἀποῦ.				
V	adglutinandum adglutinatum inglutinandum	est	ei	17			
						+ de nequitia mulieris (malae)	
						+ de mulieribus mala	
						+ de muliere mala	
						+ in muliere(m) mala(m)	
						+ nequitia(e) mulieris	
J	x	x	x				
V	omnis	plaga	tristitia tristitiaē	cordis mortis	est	et	
J	x	x	x	x	x	x	
						13	
						+ καὶ	
V	omnis	malitia x	nequitia	mulieris	est x	18	et
J	x	x	x	x	x		x
	Πᾶσαν	πληγὴν	καὶ	μὴ x	πληγὴν		καρδίας,
V	omnem omnis	plagam plaga	et x	non x	plagam x plaga	videbit ~ cordis videbitur vitabit	cordis videbit
J	»	»	»	»	»	x	»

		καὶ	πᾶσαν	πονηρίαν	καὶ	μὴ	πονηρίαν	γυναϊκός	14	
										+ καὶ
V	19	et	omnem	nequitiam	et	non	nequitiam	mulieris	20	et
					x	x	x			
							nequitia			
J		»	»	»	»	»	»	»		»

The same phenomenon appears at Vulg. 25:31 where we read *plaga mortis*. **D** (PS-AU spe) and **J** (Ms 171), however, read *plaga cordis*. The Greek Vorlage (LXX 25,23) to Vulg. 25,31 is πληγή καρδίας.

Sir 25,31 V (25,23 LXX)

		καὶ	πληγὴ	καρδίας	γυνή	πονηρά	
V		et	plaga	mortis	mulier	nequa	x
					x		
D		»	»	cordis	»	»	et
J		»	»	»	»	nequam	x

		+ ἀντιτασσομένη	τῷ	ἀνδρὶ	αὐτῆς
V		x	x	x	
D		contraria	viro	suo	
S		»	»	»	
J		x	x	x	

At 25:25 **V** (25:18 LXX) there is a confusion between πικρά and μ(ε)ικρά. The Greek ἀνεστέναξ πικρά is correctly interpreted by **J** (Ms 171), *ingemuit amare*, while the variant reading μικρά is rendered as *modicum*. Could this be a paleographical error due to iotacism or assonance or to the influence of μικρά in the next verse? Herkenne,¹⁰ offers this last suggestion as a solution: “Pro πικρά interpres latinus textu graeco continuo scripto propter sequens μικρά (v. 19) mendose legit μικρά («modicum»).”

¹⁰ H. Herkenne, *De Veteris Latinae Ecclesiastici Capitibus I—XLIII*. Una cum notis ex eiusdem libri translationibus Aethiopica, Armeniaca, Coptica, Latina altera, Syro-Hexaplati depromptis (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899) 199.

25:25 V (25:18 LXX)					
		καὶ	ἀκουσίως ακουσας	ἀνεστέναξεν αναστεναξει εστεναξεν	πικρά. μικρα πικρως
V	25	et	audiens exaudiens auditus est	+ quomodo * suspiravit suspocabit	modicum
D					
J		»	»	ingemuit	amare
	19		μικρά	πᾶσα	
V	26		brevis	* omnis	* omnis
D			breves	* omnes	
J			<pa>rva	est omnis	

The Latin text of **J** (Ms 171) at Sir 25:35 (25:26 LXX) is problematic. The phrase κατὰ χεῖρας (variant χεῖρα) is correctly interpreted by **V** as *manum tuam* while **J** (Ms 171) renders the text as *secundum animam tuam*. Could *animam* be a simple paleographical error for *manum*? In my critical apparatus I suggest that this is what we technically call a *confusio intralatina*:

manum **V** Ω^{M2}: χεῖρα *plures codd.* Johannes Damascenus p. 1321; cf Ziegler (246); cf Sacra Parallela (Wahl 115) manum manum Ω^{M*} animam 171; *fortasse confusio intralatina* ?

25:35 V (25:26 LXX)						
		26	εἰ μὴ	πορεύεται	κατὰ χεῖράς σου,	
	+ εξοδου				χεῖρα	
V	prodeundi	35	si non	ambulaverit	ad manum tuam	et
						+ et fuge illam *
J	x		s<ι> <n>on	»	secundum animam <tu>am	*

In the text which follows, one must ask where the variant *acuta*, a synonym of *sensata*, comes from.

26:18 V (26:14 LXX)

	γυνή	σιγηρά,		καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντάλλαγμα	πεπαιθεμένης
		+καὶ εὐνοῦς			
V 18	mulier	sensata	et tacita	× non est	inmutatio eruditae
	+ est		acuta + et	×	

The reading *acuta* is either an error (*tacita* copied poorly) or a simple translation of εὐνοῦς.¹¹ The chiasmus σιγηρά / tacita // sensata / εὐνοῦς is rather elegant. My apparatus criticus to this verse reads:

sensata et V: + καὶ εὐνοῦς L tacita V: = ☉ acuta AL

The readings μωρός and προσόχθισμα in the following verse are problematic:

27:14 V (27:13 LXX)

		ἐνδελέχιζε.	13	διήγησις	μωρῶν	προσόχθισμα,
V		adsiduus esto	14	narratio	peccantium	odiosa
	+ legem dei			fabula	peccatorum	otiosa
D		» »		»	»	»

	καὶ	ὁ γέλος	αὐτῶν	ἐν
V	et	risus	illorum	×
	+ dicit	tractatus	eorum	ex
			×	
D	»	»	»	in

The reading μωρός is attested throughout Sirach. The genitive plural μωρῶν, attested 3 times (20:13; 21:26 and 27:13), is twice rendered as *fatuorum* (20:13; 21:26) and once as *peccatorum* (27:13). See my critical apparatus to this verse:

peccantium] μωρῶν ☉ ^{S^P} cf *supra* 4,27 LXX μωρῶ, 4,31 × pro peccato
cf 15,7 stulti (αμαρτωλοὶ ☉)
peccantium V; AM; PS-AU spe: = ☉ peccatorum LIP^L

¹¹ Herkenne. 202: γυνή σιγηρά (codd. 70, 248 + καὶ εὐνοῦς). V.L. “mulier sensata et tacita”.

Usually μωρός is translated in Sirach as *fatuus* (and rarely as *stultus*: cf 16:23). Only here at 27:14 does the Latin translator render μωρῶν as *peccantium/peccatorum*.¹² Yet, could the correct reading be ἀμαρτωλῶν as in Sir 11:9 (V/LXX)? The Vulgate reads *peccantium* while *peccatorum* is read by AU spe (Var): cf Ps 1:1; cf Sir 16:7 V (16:6 LXX). The Vulgata reads *peccantium*; *potentium* is read by Ms B, probably derived from Ps 85:14: *synagoga potentium*; cf also Sir 21:10 V (21:9 LXX): *synagoga peccantium*, συναγωγή ἀνόμων (ἀμαρτωλῶν = Sacra Parallela). cf Sir 21:11 V (21:10 LXX): ἀμαρτωλῶν, rendered as *peccantium*.

A further difficulty in this verse is the rendering of προσόχθισμα. The Vulgate reads *odiosa* while *otiosa* is likewise attested. My apparatus reads:

odiosa V Y*σ^{R2}; AM; PS-AU spe: = Ⓞ otiosa G*C Y²σ^{R*}ΜΠ^H; AM (Var);
AU spe (Var)

The usual rendering of προσόχθισμα is “offense”, but Muraoka interprets προσόχθισμα in this verse as a “disgustingly boring experience”,¹³ If this is the case, then προσόχθισμα can be rendered as *otiosa*.

27:20 V (27:18 LXX)

	τὰ	μυσήρια	αὐτοῦ,	μὴ	καταδιώξης	ὀπίσω	αὐτοῦ.
		κρυφία			πορευθῆς		
V	abscosa	illius	non	persequeris	post	eum	
	abscondita	eius		sequeris	*	illum	
				persequaris			
				prosequaris			
				sequaris			
				Z eas			

	18	καθώς	γάρ	ἀπόλεσεν	ἄνθρωπος	
V	20	sicut	enim	homo	qui	perdit
			*		S *	perdet
						perdidit
						I extulit

¹² Herkenne, 205: μωρῶν, VL «peccantium»; cf ad 7,16 (p. 97).

¹³ T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Louvain/Paris/Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2009) 597.

	τὸν νεκρὸν	αὐτοῦ,	οὕτως		ἀπόλεσας ο απολεσας
V	amicum	suum	sic		qui perdit
I	mortuum	S ^x	x	+ enim + et	x x perdet
	τὴν φιλίαν	τοῦ πλησίον·		+ αὐτου	
V	amicitiam	proximi	sui		
	x	x	x		
		amici		+ proximi	

The Greek text καθὼς γὰρ ἀπόλεσεν ἄνθρωπος τὸν νεκρὸν αὐτοῦ (“for just as a person destroyed his corpse”) does not make much sense, and even though the Roman Vulgate notes that “homo qui extulit mortuum” is the *lectio difficilis*, is it not possible that *extulit* could be a rendering of some form of ἀποφέρειν? We could then translate as follows: “for just as a person carried out his (= someone else’s) corpse.”

Another possible solution is that repeated by Smend: “Schon Böttcher emendierte richtig κληρον. Gemeint ist das Erbteil oder Vermögen.”¹⁴ I would add that it is very possible that the text read ἐχθρὸν αὐτοῦ and that *amicum* could have turned into *inimicum* (ἐχθρόν). The pertinent elements of my apparatus are the following:

homo qui extulit mortuum] (*teste V^R*): *lectio difficilis est extulit fortasse ex forma vocis ἀποφέρειν ? amicum V S^(mg)σ^{R2}, Graz 167* : amicum < inimicum cf amicitiam infra mortuum XS^(txt)σ^{R*}, Graz 167² : = 157 ^S^P (mnt’ < mit’); τον ἐχθρον *rel. codd.* (cf Rahlfs *et* Ziegler) amicitiam proximi V : = 157; cf 25,1 LXX: φιλια των πλησιον **x 157**

On occasion one can resolve a problematic verse by reverting to the Hebrew. One example is as follows:

¹⁴ R. Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach* (Berlin: Verlag von Georg Reimer, 1906) 547.

25:12 V (25:9 LXX)

		ὁς	εὗρεν	φρόνησιν,		
	+ ανηρ					
K		qui	invenit	verum	amicum	
V		»	»	amicum	verum	
	+ vir				*	Z + ad animum suum + <u>VII</u>
	+ homo					+ ad animam suam
		*	*	*	*	+ ad amicum suum
J		»	»	prudencia<m>	*	

	καὶ	ὁ	διηγούμενος
K	et	qui	enarrat
V	»	»	» narrat praedicat loquitur
J	»	»	narrat

At 1:4 V/LXX as well as 19:19 V (19:22 LXX) φρόνησις is interpreted as *prudencia*, just as here – *prudencia<m>* - at 25:12, **J** (Ms 171), unlike Cyprian and the Vulgate, which read *verum amicum* and *amicum verum* respectively. The Latin interpreter renders φρόνησις as *sensus* at 19:21 V (19:24 LXX), as at 29:35 V (29:28 LXX). How do we get from φρόνησιν to *verum amicum*? Herkenne¹⁵ suggests that the confusion results from (ϣ77), φρόνησιν, and (ϣ77) *verum amicum*. He is probably correct.

An interesting example where the Greek and Latin texts do not correspond is found at Sir 27:11 (LXX) where we read διήγησις εὐσεβοῦς, while the Vulgate (Sir 27:12) reads *homo sanctus*. Among the many patristic witnesses, there is only one text from Ambrose [Ps 36,64,7 (123,17)] that translates literally our LXX text, διήγησις εὐσεβοῦς: *narratio iusti*. No other Latin patristic text or reading from a Vulgate manuscript contains a text that resembles our Greek text. For example, Klostermann's edition of Origen's Commentary on Matthew, [Mt 13:4 (190,5)], reads as follows: *sapiens sicut sol permanet, de inconstantia autem peccatoris ita: insipiens autem sicut luna inmutatur* (διηγησις ευσεβους δια παντος σοφια περι δε των αποδεδομενων ο δε αφρων ως σεληνη αλλοιουται). The Greek and Latin

¹⁵ Herkenne, 196.

texts, however, do not coincide. This is the only place in Sirach where διήγησις is not rendered as *narratio* but as *homo*. All of the six other attestations of *narratio* in Sirach, (6:35; 9:23; 22:6; 27:14; 38:26; 39:2), are translations of διήγησις. The schema and the *apparatus criticus* demonstrate and clarify the problem.

Sir 27:12 V; 27:11 (LXX)

	οὗτως	ἁμαρτία	ἐργαζομένους	ἄδικα.	11	διήγησις	εὐσεβοῦς
		αμαρτιαι	τοις εργαζομενοις	αδικιαν		ανθρωπος	ευσεβης
V	sic	peccata	operantibus	iniquitates	12	homo	sanctus
	+ et			iniquitatem		narratio	iusti
D						»	pius

homo **V**; PS-AU spe; PS-MEL P 3,22; V 3,5,5; 3,6,4; AN scrip; DEF; PS-EPH flor; SED-S misc: ανθρωπος Antonius Melissa (769A) Sacra Parallela (Wahl 119) narratio AM Ps 36: = ☉

sanctus **V**; PS-AU spe (Var); DEF; SED S misc 66 iusti AM Ps 36
cf PS-MEL P 3,14; V 3,5,5: = ☉ *cf versum 32 infra*: ευσεβης = iustus
 11,17,24; 12,2; 13,21; 27,32; 33,15 pius PS-AU spe; AN scrip (Var); PS-EPH flor: ευσεβης Antonius Melissa p. 769

A very bizarre reading in the following text is the Latin translation, *timor dei*, for the Septuagint's ἐντολαί.

28:8 V (28:7 LXX)

	7	μνήσθητι	ἐντολῶν	καὶ	μὴ	μηνιάσης	τῷ	πλησίον,	καὶ
							του	πλησιον	+ σου
V	8	memorare	timorem	dei	et	non	irascaris	proximo	9 memorare ×
		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	
		+ et	Z timoris	Z domini		irascaris	proximi		
D		»	»	»	»	»	»	»	» ×

The same phenomenon appears at (37:15 V/37:12 LXX). For the most part, the Latin interpreter renders ἐντολαί in the plural as *mandata*,¹⁶ and there are also some attestations of the plural *praecepta* for the same Greek word.¹⁷ It is

¹⁶ See 6:37 V/LXX; 10:23 V (10:19 LXX); 15:16 V (15:15 LXX); 23:37 V (23:27 LXX); 28:7 V (28:6 LXX); 28:8 V (28:7 LXX); 29:1 V/LXX; 29:12 V (29:9 LXX); 29:26 V (29:19 LXX); 35:2 V (32 (35):1 LXX); 32:27 V (35 (32):23 LXX); 32:28 V (35 (32):24 LXX); 37:15 V (37:12 LXX); 39:37 V (39:31 LXX).

¹⁷ See 29:14 V (29:11 LXX); 45:6 V (45:5 LXX); 45:21 V (45:17 LXX).

my view that the Latin translator had a different Greek text at hand that might have been influenced by some Hebrew *Vorlage*. Since the Hebrew version is lacking here, there is no way of determining whether there might be perhaps some theological basis for this particular interpretation. Both the Vulgate and type **D** (Pseudo-Augustinus) read *timorem dei*. A similar phenomenon occurs at 19:17b LXX. The Greek text – καὶ δὸς τόπον νόμῳ ὑψίστου – appears in the Vulgate (19,18) as *et da locum timori Altissimi*. There is no logical explanation for *timor* as the interpretation of νόμος. At 2:12 V/2:10 LXX the relationship between φοβῶ and *timore* (Cassiodorus) is clear but what remains perplexing is the variant reading ταῖς ἐντολαῖς (C Chrysostomus), rendered *in mandatis* by **K** and **D**.¹⁸

Third, in regard to places in the text where there seems to be an addition, one must ask where the addition comes from. Very often one can only conclude that the Latin translator must have had a different Greek *Vorlage* that is no longer extant. Following Thiele, I usually comment with one of the following phrases: *interpres latinus reddisse videtur quod in textu suo graeco legerat; quomodo textus latinus intellegendus sit, non cognosco; ex textu graeco interpretis latini ut mihi persuasum est*. I also ask if some of the additions could be the result of the Latin translator's translation technique. In other words, could a Latin addition in the text consist not of biblical material but rather be a necessary addition imposed on the text by the translator in order to clarify a Greek text that is not immediately comprehensible? The Vulgate text of Sirach, just as the text of Wisdom, resembles the language found in Cyprian but in a form that has clearly been re-worked. The text of Sirach, however, reveals a characteristic foreign to the Book of Wisdom, namely, the Vulgate text of Sirach is much longer than the preserved Greek text.

The third and fourth questions above about the longer elements in the Latin text of Sirach, called sometimes "additions" and sometimes called "doublets," that is, double translations of a given Greek phrase or sentence that have survived throughout the various stages of the Greek text tradition of Sirach, are of major importance and should be explained further. The reason is that the doubling is not the work of the same translator and thus we must distinguish between an earlier and a later translation of the "doublet."

¹⁸ Herkenne, 58; 207.

Donatien De Bruyne,¹⁹ entered into this problematic with the publication of his famous article. He argued that some of these doublings in the Latin text are “inaccurate” renderings of the Greek text and others are “more accurate” renderings. These “more accurate” renderings are for him without a doubt secondary. It is difficult not to be convinced by the stringency of his arguments, especially because his conclusions are always based on evidence from actual Latin tradition, either from the Fathers or from Vulgate manuscripts. The extracts from Sirach that De Bruyne uses foremost as a key to his thinking come from Pseudo-Augustine’s *Speculum* (PS-AU spe). These texts are for De Bruyne examples of an “old” translation because of their “incorrectness,” as opposed to the “newer” and “more accurate” renderings which account for the innumerable doublets in the Vulgate. In a word, what De Bruyne argues is that a doublet is an “inaccurate” (and therefore “old”) rendering plus an “accurate” (and therefore “newer”) translation. De Bruyne, the editors of the Roman Vulgate, and subsequently Ziegler, maintained that the doublets did not come from an earlier Latin translation and that they were not a part of the model Greek text. Rather, their view is that the doublets increased and expanded during the course of the transmission of the Latin text.

The problem formulated in this way cannot, however, be maintained because often the “inaccurate” element also provides a significant shift in contrast to the “accurate” section, and it is precisely this rather significant nuance as well as a new or secondary expression of a reading at hand that characterizes so many Greek variants and additions. It is probably more accurate to say that in the Latin text of Sirach we have true doublets that indicate authentic developments/extensions of meaning that the Latin translator found in his Greek Vorlage. That is, the great majority of the doublets go back to the earliest translation, namely to the Greek. It is precisely the Greek text that must be the primary focus of our attention. Wahl’s *Sacra Parallela*, a relatively late work attributed to John of Damascus, has brought to light many stichs lacking in Ziegler’s Göttingen edition.

A first example of an “addition”, namely the insertion of the word *videbit* in our text (and there is no equivalent in the LXX) in order to render the verse comprehensible is found at 25:18 V:

¹⁹ D. De Bruyne, “Etude sur le texte latin de l’Ecclesiastique,” *RBén* 40 (1928) 5-48.

Without the addition of *videbit* by either the translator or a later copyist, the accusatives would be problematic and the text would be unclear.

In the same way, at 25:22 **V**, the addition of *nequius* by the Latin translator gives greater clarity to the text. The LXX does not contain any equivalent for *nequius*, such as *πονηρότερον* at 31:15 LXX and at 39:40 LXX. The Greek text here at 25:15 can only be understood as “there is no head beyond a snake’s head.” The addition of *nequius* improves the text’s comprehensibility. Herkenne²⁰ made the following useful observation: “Item Arm. et Sah. in transferendo addunt notionem ‘malitiae’; quod factum est, quia textus vulgaris Graecus haud commode legi videbatur. Nepos auctoris Hebraici, id quod iam alii cognoverunt, mendum hic contraxit, cum *שׂר (=שׂר)* *vertere deberet ‘venenum’* (cf Deutn. 32,32 sq.)”.

25:22 V (25:15 LXX)

	καὶ	μὴ	ἐκδίκησιν	ἐχθρῶν.	15	οὐκ	ἔστιν
V	et	non	vindictam	inimicorum	22	non	est
	x	x	x	x			
				mulieris			
J	»	»	»	»		»	»

	κεφαλή		ὑπὲρ	κεφαλήν	ὄφρα,
V	caput	nequius	super	caput	colubri
J	»	x	»	»	serpentis

The addition of *sicut* at 27:5 has added clarity to the relationship between the two parts of the sentence. The Greek text that has come down to us is less clear:

27:4 V (27:3 LXX)

	ἐν τάχει	καταστραφήσεται	αὐτοῦ ὁ οἶκος.	4	Ἐν σείσματι	κοσκίνου
			~ ο οίκος αὐτου			
V	cito	subvertetur	domus tua	5	si in	pertusura
Z + et		subvertitur		sicut x	pertunsura	cribri
					percussura	cribi
D	»	»	»	»		
	~	subvertetur	cito			

²⁰ Herkenne, 197f.

	διαμένει	κοπρίνα,	οὔτως	σκύβαλα	ἀνθρώπου	ἐν λογισμῷ	αὐτοῦ.
V	remanebit	stercus	sic	aporia	hominis	in cogitatu	illius
	Z remanet	pulvis	sicut + et	~ hominis	aporia		
			*	Z confusio		Z cogitatione	Z ipsius
				S anxia			
					~ illius	hominis	in cogitatu
					~ in	cogitatu	hominis illius

The same phenomenon appears at 27:7 **V** (27:6 LXX) where, as above, the absence of οὔτως at the beginning of the verse is rendered as *sicut* by the Latin translator. The two elements of the verse are consequently more comprehensible.

The addition of *verbum* at 27:13 **V** – *in medio insensatorum serva verbum tempori* – seems to be a necessary addition. The Greek (27:12) reads εἰς μέσον ἀσυνέτων συντήρησον καιρόν, - “the midst of those who lack intelligence, watch closely for an occasion” - but the imperative *serva* requires a direct object and thus, can be translated as “in the midst of those who lack intelligence, keep the word for a time.” See the imperative with a direct object at 4:23 **V** (4:20 LXX): the Greek reads συντήρησον καιρόν and the Latin *conserva tempus*.

27:13 **V** (27:12 LXX)

	12	εἰς	μέσον	ἀσυνέτων	συντήρησον		καιρόν,
		εν	μεσω	συνετων			
V	13	in	medio	insensatorum	serva	verbum	tempori
				*		x	tempore
						verba	
D		»	»	sensatorum	»	»	temporis
		x	x				

One addition that also goes against the Greek and likewise helps clarify the text is found at 26:3 **V**: *viro pro factis bonis*. The Greek text (26:3) – γυνή ἀγαθὴ μερὶς ἀγαθῆ, ἐν μερίδι φοβουμένων κύριον δοθήσεται - lacks something. The question that is asked is: to whom will she be given? The answer that is supplied is: to the one who fears the Lord, and the Latin adds a further clarification: to the man who has done good deeds. This phrase in the Latin text - *viro pro factis bonis* - is not simply an addition inserted by the Latin translator or copyist. Rather, it is found in the Syriac and was most likely part

of the Vorlage no longer extant. According to Herkenne,²¹ the Latin rendering of the Peshitta is *mulier bona dabitur viro verenti Domini pro bonis operibus eius*.

Fourth, how are we to understand the double readings in the Old Latin of Sirach? Sometimes the doublets consist of the addition of a single word or a short phrase. We read at 26:8-9 **V** (26:6 LXX) the following: γυνή ἀντίζηλος ἐπὶ γυναίκε. The Vulgate reads (8) *mulier zelotypa* (9) *in muliere infideli* while Ms M (Amiens, Bibl. Mun. 12; 8th cent.) adds *zelotypa et: mulier zelotypa in muliere zelotypa et infideli*. Similarly, at 27:2-3 **V**, the doublet consists of *angustabitur peccatis* (2) and *conteretur delictum* (3). The phrase *et lingua testificans adducet mortem* (28:13 **V**) forms a doublet with part of the same verse that reads *et lingua testificans adducet mortem*. The second hand of codex Z (Metz, Bibl. Mun. 7; 8th cent.) produces a doublet, *quasi ignis exardecit ignis*, at 28:13 **V** where we read *quasi ignis exardebit*. A few verses below, at 28:20 **V**, we encounter *habebit amicum in quo requiescat* which forms a doublet with *nec habitabit cum requie*.

As in the case of the additions mentioned above, there is a tendency in the Vetus Latina to introduce into the text various elements that perhaps come from different sources. At 25:4 **V** (25:2 LXX) there seems to be a conflation of two different elements in both the Latin and Greek.

25:4 **V** (25:2 LXX)

	μου	καί	προσώχθισα	σφόδρα x	τῆ ζωῆ τῆ ψυχῆ	αὐτῶν
V	mea	et	adgravor adgravabor	valde x	animae anima S animis vitae	illorum eorum
J	»	»	ex<h>orruit	»	<vi>ta	»
	πτωχόν	ὑπερήφανον,	καί x	πλούσιον	ψεύστην,	
V 4	pauperem	superbum S fastidiosum fastiosum	et	divitem	mendacem	
J	»	superbum	»	»	menda<cem>	

²¹ Herkenne, 201.

		γέροντα	μοιχὸν		ἐλαττούμενον	συνέσει
	+ και		μωρον	+ και		
V	et	senem	fatuum	et	insensatum	
					S deficientem sensu	
J	*	»	adulterum	*	cui deficit intellectus	

The problem here is that the doublet μοιχὸν / μωρόν // *fatuum* / *adulterum* seems to be the result of both the translation and the transmission. My apparatus explains the difficulty in this way:

fatuum **V**; VAL; AN scrip; SED-S: μωρον **V** \mathfrak{S}^H : = \mathfrak{S}^P , (cf μωρον και μοιχον S^2): Doublette adulterum 171: = \mathfrak{G}

Note that the second hand of codex Sinaiticus (S^2) reads both μωρόν και μοιχὸν. Herkenne²² admits his perplexity at the double reading of μοιχὸν / μωρόν and adds: “Neque Graece ex μωρόν enatum esse μοιχὸν existimo, cum sit haec lectio multo difficilior.” Smend²³ simply considers μωρόν an “inner-griechischer Fehler, der dem Syr. schon vorlag und dem er in Wohlanständigkeit folge.”

A similar phenomenon appears at 25:30 **V** (25:22 LXX): *mulier si primum habeat contraria est* (Ms 171 **J** = *administret*) *viro suo* ... γυνή ἐὰν ἐπιχορηγῆ τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς.

25:30-31 **V** (Sir 25:22-23 LXX)

	ἀναίδεια	καὶ	αἰσχύνῃ	μεγάλῃ	γυνὴ ἐὰν	ἐπιχορηγῆ	
						ἐπιχορηγῆ	
V	inreverentia	et	confusio	magna	30	mulier si primum	habet *
	irreverentiam	*		Z + est		habet	
	inreverentiae	est					
D	»	»	»	»	»	»	» et *
			+ viri				
J	invrecundia	»	»	»	<m>ulier	»	* * *

²² Herkenne, 195.

²³ Smend, 225.

				τῷ ἀνδρὶ	αὐτῆς.	
	+ αντικείται					
V	contraria est			viro	suo	
D	administret contraria est			»	»	
		+ consilium				
J	»			»	»	

	23	καρδία	ταπεινή	καὶ	πρόσωπον	σκυθρωπὸν
V	31	cor	humile	et	facies	tristis
D		anima	humilis	»	»	»
J		cor	humile	»	»	<tri>stis

If Muraoka is correct that ἐπιχορηγέω means “to provide monetary needs for one’s spouse - wife for husband,”²⁴ the Latin translator seems not to have understood the text in this way. The Greek can be translated thus: “if a wife provides monetary needs for her husband, <the result is> wrath (ὀργή) and shamelessness and a great disgrace.” The Latin text, “should a woman have superiority, she is contrary to her husband”, seems to alter and transform the Greek narrative into one that is more stylistically attractive, but it is not an exact rendering of the Septuagint text. This often happens when the Latin translator comes up against a Greek passage that is not immediately clear. The end result is a often a longer, more meaningful text, that is rather different. We have a clear example of the double text. The Latin translator has attempted to resolve the difficulties of the original text which results in a new meaning.

Herkenne²⁵ attempts to understand this verse by offering a Latin translation of the Syriac: “quia servitus dura et ignominia mala mulier, quae peccat contra maritum suum.” He then repeats Edersheim’s question about the meaning of ἐπιχορηγέω: “How are we to account for the difference between the “sustaining” of the Greek and the “doing harm and lording” in the Syriac. Can it be that there was here a confusion of some form of טע (in the Greek) and טע (in the Syriac)?” Herkenne suggests that ἐπιχορηγέω be taken to

²⁴ T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Louvain/Paris/Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2009) 287.

²⁵ Herkenne, 199.

signify *imperandi* and that the grandson-translator of Sirach only knew the *forma simplex* χορηγέω (“to give liberally”).²⁶ Smend,²⁷ likewise, finds fault with the Syriac: “Syr. schlecht: ein Weib, das frevelt (טרחה) gegen ihren Ehemann.” The result is a double reading.

In the above pages, I have tried to demonstrate that the translator or translators of Ben Sirach undoubtedly had an abundance of material to work from that we simply lack. The manuscripts that we have at our disposal often fail to convey the richness of the textual tradition that constituted this great Book of the Bible. Be that as it may, the Latin text of Ecclesiasticus does give evidence of a certain sophistication and literary creativity by the choice of words and stylistic devices employed essentially to offer the reader a more elegant, intelligible, improved translation and text. Where the text lacks clarity and precision, this writer tends to impute any errors and/or intelligibility to some bad copyist.

The reality is that we often do not know what Greek Vorlage our Latin interpreter had at his disposal. The Latin text that we have is the result of translators trying to make explicit that which is not immediately comprehensible. The additions in the text are perhaps remnants of elements that no longer exist but at one time had an affinity to another Greek *Vorlage*.

It is thanks to the Old Latin translation of the Septuagint that the West became acquainted with the Bible. The Latin Bible, first the *Vetus Latina* and eventually the *Vulgate*, became the focus point of some of the most fundamental theological *disputationes* and its influence on Western thought remains unsurpassed.

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²⁶ Herkenne, 200: “Denique Siracidae nepotem voci ἐπιχορηγεῖν peculiarem significatum attribuisse vel inde probabile fit, quod suppeditandi notione alibi verbo simpliciter χορηγεῖν, nusquam vero composito ἐπιχορηγεῖν utitur.”

²⁷ Smend, 232.

Le texte de la Septante, l'édition de Göttingen et *La Bible d'Alexandrie**

REINHART CEULEMANS

Parmi les projets consacrés à la traduction de la Septante en langue moderne, l'entreprise francophone est celle qui prête le plus d'attention à la critique textuelle de la Septante : dans chacun des 19 volumes de *La Bible d'Alexandrie* (1986–...) qui ont paru jusqu'à présent, le commentaire continu qui accompagne la traduction renferme des notes qui signalent des différences entre les éditions du texte biblique, d'autres qui traitent de leçons variantes transmises dans les manuscrits, et d'autres encore qui expriment d'une façon ou d'une autre un intérêt de la part des traducteurs pour l'histoire du texte. Cette observation peut être formulée pour toute la collection – bien que la manière dont les traducteurs respectifs traitent de ce thème diffère d'un volume à l'autre¹ – et fait d'elle un instrument non dépourvu d'intérêt pour celui qui étudie la transmission de la Septante et sa critique textuelle.

Ce gain que nous apportent les volumes de *La Bible d'Alexandrie* contraste avec le silence relatif qui caractérise cette collection à propos de l'identité du texte qu'elle se propose de traduire. Voilà l'impression qu'a le chercheur qui veut examiner le rôle qu'a joué dans les volumes l'édition de Göttingen, préparée au Septuaginta-Unternehmen à Göttingen (*Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum*, 1931–...), qui est le seul but de cet article². On observe que depuis

* Cet article reprend en partie une conférence donnée à Paris le 31 mai 2013 à l'invitation de Gilles Dorival, Olivier Munnich et Cécile Dogniez où il s'agissait d'examiner comment *La Bible d'Alexandrie* prend en considération l'édition majeure de Göttingen. Nous remercions Aurélie Gribomont d'avoir corrigé le français de notre texte.

¹ La liberté que laisse le projet de *La Bible d'Alexandrie* à chaque (équipe de) traducteur(s) aboutit à une collection qui est plus hétérogène que celles des projets anglophone, allemand et espagnol.

² Voir la note préliminaire. C'est pour cette raison qu'ici nous nous intéressons seulement aux volumes de la *La Bible d'Alexandrie* (= *BdA*) qui se rapportent aux livres bibliques pour lesquels l'édition majeure de Göttingen était disponible.

le premier volume des Douze Prophètes, qui a paru en 1999³, tous les livres bibliques ont été traduits d'après l'édition majeure de Göttingen quand celle-ci était disponible, ce qui paraît normal pour une série comme *La Bible d'Alexandrie*. Plus remarquable est le fait que les quatre⁴ premiers volumes – la Genèse⁵, le Lévitique⁶, le Deutéronome⁷, et les Nombres⁸ – ont pris (au moins en théorie)⁹ l'édition mineure d'A. Rahlfs¹⁰ comme point de départ, bien que l'édition majeure du livre biblique en question fût bien publiée à Göttingen.

On se demande pourquoi la collection a changé son fusil d'épaule et surtout pourquoi elle a choisi le texte de Rahlfs pour ces premiers livres et non l'édition majeure, qui est pourtant plus satisfaisante pour le chercheur qui s'intéresse à l'histoire et à la transmission du texte biblique : la façon dont l'édition mineure informe ses lecteurs est à ce propos très limitée¹¹.

Aucun des volumes mentionnés plus haut ne s'exprime clairement sur ce sujet et ne nous informe des raisons du choix de l'une ou de l'autre édition¹².

³ M. Harl et al., *Joël, Abdiou, Jonas, Naoum, Ambakoum, Sophonie* (BdA 23.4–9 ; Paris : Cerf, 1999) 7.

⁴ Nous passons ici sur le volume sur l'Exode pour la raison mentionnée à la n. 2.

⁵ M. Harl et al., *La Genèse* (BdA 1 ; Paris : Cerf, 1986) 22–23.

⁶ P. Harlé et D. Pralon, *Le Lévitique* (BdA 3 ; Paris : Cerf, 1988) 11.

⁷ C. Dogniez et M. Harl, *Le Deutéronome* (BdA 5 ; Paris : Cerf, 1992) 100.

⁸ G. Dorival et al., *Les Nombres* (BdA 4 ; Paris : Cerf, 1994) 36–37.

⁹ Voir ce qui est dit plus loin (n. 33) sur le volume des Nombres.

¹⁰ A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes* (Stuttgart : Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1935, 2 vols.). Nous avons consulté la réimpression de 2004 en un volume.

¹¹ Souvent le lecteur de cette édition ignore les sources manuscrites du texte édité par Rahlfs, comme c'est le cas p. ex. pour Gen 14–16. Pour plusieurs versets de ces chapitres les trois onciaux B S A font défaut, mais comme l'apparat n'identifie pas clairement les sources qui ont été utilisées à leur place, on n'a aucune idée des témoins sur lesquels repose le texte de Rahlfs. Cet exemple montre que le niveau critique de l'édition mineure n'est pas très élevé, ce qui est trop souvent perdu de vue par ceux qui continuent à l'utiliser alors que celle de Göttingen est disponible. Rappelons dans ce cadre que le public pour lequel l'édition mineure a été produite est celui d'étudiants et de pasteurs : voir la préface à la p. XL de la réimpression de 2004.

¹² À plusieurs occasions, M. Harl a invoqué l'état inachevé de la collection de Göttingen comme motif pour avoir choisi l'édition mineure : voir M. Harl, « *La Bible d'Alexandrie* dans les débats actuels sur la Septante », dans *La double transmission du texte biblique. Études d'histoire du texte offertes en hommage à Adrian Schenker* (éd. Y. Goldman et Ch. Uehlinger ; OBO 179 ; Fribourg : Éditions Universitaires ; Göttingen : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001) 7 n. 2 ; Eadem, « *La Bible d'Alexandrie* », VC 47 (1993) 320 ; et Eadem, « Problèmes de traduction du Pentateuque de la Septante dans une langue moderne », *Annali di scienze religiose* 1 (1996) 36. Toutefois, il est difficile d'épouser ce

De la même manière, on constate que, tandis que dans chacune des introductions aux quatre volumes du Pentateuque les traducteurs ont annoncé que de temps en temps ils ont préféré une leçon de l'édition de Göttingen à celle de Rahlfs, dans aucune on ne reçoit d'information claire sur le *pourquoi* de cette décision.

Cet article se propose de trouver des réponses à ces questions, qui sont réductibles à celle du texte qu'envisage *La Bible d'Alexandrie*, et de saisir sa stratégie en ce qui concerne l'édition de Göttingen. En essayant de retrouver ces réponses, nous nous tournons d'abord vers le premier livre de la collection, dans lequel était prise la décision de traduire le texte de Rahlfs et non celui de l'édition majeure. Ensuite, nous discutons comment, après l'achèvement de ce volume, l'intérêt à l'édition majeure s'est accru. Enfin, nous présentons comme étude de cas quelques passages des Douze Prophètes pour montrer comment les volumes plus récents de *La Bible d'Alexandrie* se sont servis de l'édition majeure de Göttingen.

1. La Genèse : l'édition mineure comme édition de choix

1.1 Le but : quel texte veut-on traduire ?

Des arguments justifiant le choix de l'édition mineure de Rahlfs comme point de départ peuvent être trouvés dans la littérature secondaire produite par les directeurs de *La Bible d'Alexandrie* et consacrée spécifiquement à ses principes. Les arguments qu'on peut y trouver sont au nombre de deux. D'après le premier, le choix est justifié par des raisons pratiques : c'est parce que l'édition mineure est aisément disponible pour tous les utilisateurs des volumes de *La Bible d'Alexandrie* qu'elle a été retenue¹³. Une telle explication,

point de vue, car on voit que pour d'autres corpus bibliques l'état inachevé de l'édition majeure pour l'ensemble de ce corpus (comme le corpus maccabéen) n'a pas empêché *La Bible d'Alexandrie* de traduire cette édition-là dans le cas des livres pour lesquels elle est disponible. Dans ce cadre, voir aussi G. Dorival, « La Bible d'Alexandrie, Which Changes? », dans *Translating a Translation. The LXX and its Modern Translations in the Context of Early Judaism* (éd. H. Ausloos et al. ; BETL 213 ; Leuven : Peeters, 2008) 72. De la même façon, l'identification de l'édition de Rahlfs dans le premier volume de *La Bible d'Alexandrie* comme celle « qui est, pour l'ensemble de la Septante, l'édition de référence utilisée par les patrologues » (Harl et al., *La Genèse*, 22) n'est pas un argument convaincant.

¹³ Voir p. ex. Dorival, « La Bible d'Alexandrie », 71, ou, plus tôt, Harl, « *La Bible d'Alexandrie* dans les débats actuels », 7 n. 2 et O. Munnich, « Le texte du Pentateuque

bien qu'étant parfaitement compréhensible, n'est pas tout à fait convaincante, car elle est toujours donnée de manière rétrospective, après l'achèvement du Pentateuque (1994). Le deuxième argument, par contre, est formulé antérieurement à la parution du premier volume (1986) et concerne le contenu, à la différence du premier, et s'avère davantage pertinent pour notre thème.

L'article dans lequel figure cet argument se lit comme une sorte de manifeste pour le projet de *La Bible d'Alexandrie*, formulé par son initiatrice M. Harl¹⁴. Une des questions qui est abordée dans ce texte est celle du texte qu'elle veut traduire et, en rapport avec cela, de l'édition qu'elle doit utiliser¹⁵ :

Un de nos problèmes est de choisir le texte grec que nous traduirons. [...] Les éditeurs modernes s'efforcent, comme pour les textes classiques, d'atteindre à travers [la] grande diversité d'états textuels un texte primitif, [un] *Urtext* [...], une] proto-Septante [...]. Notre position est toute différente. Ce qui nous intéresse est la transmission de la Septante elle-même, ses états textuels liés à des moments de sa compréhension, l'histoire de ses lectures. Nous ne voulons pas traduire un texte épuré et reconstruit, même si la science moderne nous dit qu'il est «plus près de l'hébreu», parce que ce texte n'a peut-être jamais circulé ainsi. Nous voulons traduire un texte réel, celui qui a le plus largement vécu, qui a été lu et commenté. L'idéal serait de prendre *tel* état textuel lu dans *tel* milieu, mais le travail serait morcelé à l'infini. A défaut de cela, nous prenons ce que les savants considèrent comme une sorte de vulgate de la Septante, un texte mixte, le texte majoritaire au moment de sa plus grande diffusion, un texte souvent commun à Philon et aux Pères Grecs, celui que A. Rahlfs a établi de façon éclectique à l'aide des leçons de trois ou quatre plus anciens manuscrits. Nous reconnaissons volontiers ce que cette position a d'insatisfaisant, mais elle est la seule possible. Nous n'ignorons pas les principales corrections des éditions critiques de Göttingen, mais nous ne pouvons suivre ces éditions lorsqu'elles retiennent, contre l'ensemble de la tradition manuscrite, une leçon *isolée* supposée avoir mieux conservé le texte original, et surtout lorsqu'elles corrigent le grec, en le rendant conforme à l'hébreu contre la tradition manuscrite grecque unanime, en conjecturant une faute paléographique très ancienne [...]

Ce passage identifie l'édition mineure comme l'instrument qui est le plus apte à atteindre le but qu'envisage *La Bible d'Alexandrie*, à savoir : traduire un texte qui a été lu et utilisé dans l'Antiquité et qui n'est pas nécessairement

grec et son histoire », dans *Le Pentateuque d'Alexandrie : texte grec et traduction* (éd. C. Dogniez et M. Harl ; BdA ; Paris : Cerf, 2001) 59.

¹⁴ M. Harl, « Traduire la Septante en français : pourquoi et comment ? », article de 1984 repris dans M. Harl, *La Langue de Japhet. Quinze études sur la Septante et le grec des chrétiens* (Paris : Centre Lenain de Tillemont – Cerf, 1991) 33–42.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 36.

le plus primitif¹⁶. Ce but n'est pas du tout curieux¹⁷ et peut être certainement approuvé, étant donné l'objectif de la collection qui est d'approcher le texte grec comme un texte littéraire autonome¹⁸. Pourtant on peut se demander si l'édition mineure, qui est une édition éclectique fondée principalement sur des témoins qu'on pourrait caractériser comme exceptionnels, est en effet l'instrument qui convient le mieux à cet objectif.

La raison pour laquelle la critique textuelle de la Septante se tourne si souvent vers les onciaux sur lesquels Rahlfs s'est basé, est précisément le fait qu'ils ne nous offrent pas le texte qui a été utilisé intensivement dans la littérature chrétienne, mais plutôt un état textuel qui est plus proche de l'original : dans une large mesure, ces manuscrits sont « *nicht rezensionsgebunden* »¹⁹ et ne représentent donc aucune des recensions qui sont le produit par excellence de l'utilisation populaire chrétienne de la Septante²⁰. Par conséquent, si l'on souhaite traduire un texte « au moment de sa plus grande diffusion » et si l'on refuse de « traduire un texte épuré et reconstruit », l'édition mineure n'est pas le meilleur choix²¹.

La confirmation d'un tel scepticisme peut être retrouvée dans les trois exemples que Harl a cités dans le même article pour montrer que l'édition majeure de Göttingen n'est pas l'instrument apte à poursuivre le but envisagé parce qu'elle offre un texte souvent sans attestation dans les manuscrits²². Ces exemples confirment en effet que le texte qu'elle offre l'édition majeure n'est pas

¹⁶ Harl (ibid., 42 n. 20) s'est même référée à une suggestion de S. Brock, à savoir qu'il serait plus intéressant de traduire la recension lucianique que le texte primitif.

¹⁷ Il remet en mémoire le projet plus récent de la *Commentary Series on the Septuagint*, qui traduit et commente le texte d'un seul manuscrit pour les mêmes raisons : voir le c.r. du premier volume par A. Salvesen, *JTS* 57 (2006) 177–178. En réalité, ce principe n'est pas suivi de façon conséquente, comme le montrent les recensions de quelques volumes de cette série, comme celles de J. Lust, *ETL* 83 (2007) 484 ou de J. Joosten, *RBL* 2008 (voir http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/6302_6783.pdf).

¹⁸ Sur ce principe, voir p. ex. Harl, « Traduire la Septante », 33–35.

¹⁹ Le terme est repris à D. Fraenkel, « Der textkritische Apparat der Göttinger Septuaginta », dans *Die Göttinger Septuaginta. Ein editorisches Jahrhundertprojekt* (éd. R. G. Kratz et B. Neuschäfer ; AAWG, Neue Folge 22 = MSU 30 ; Berlin : de Gruyter, 2013) 63.

²⁰ Évidemment, on sait que p. ex. le *codex Vaticanus* est influencé par la recension hexaplaire dans plusieurs livres bibliques, mais il ne représente aucune recension de façon consistante. Voir P.-M. Bogaert, « Le *Vaticanus graecus* 1209 témoin du texte grec de l'Ancien Testament », dans *Le manuscrit B de la Bible (Vaticanus graecus 1209)* (éd. P. Andrist ; HTB 7 ; Lausanne : Zèbre, 2009) 61–74.

²¹ Ce problème est déjà évoqué par J.-M. Auwers, « La Bible d'Alexandrie. Note sur l'esprit d'une entreprise en cours », *RTL* 30 (1999) 76 n. 20.

²² Cf. Harl, « Traduire la Septante », 38.

souvent celui que *La Bible d'Alexandrie* cherche à traduire. Toutefois, ils ne constituent guère un argument en faveur de l'hypothèse que l'édition mineure offre bien ce texte : dans deux de ces trois cas (à savoir Gen 15,15 ταφεις et Ps 21,32 ὄτι)²³, cette édition manuelle est identique à celle de Göttingen²⁴ – alors que dans le troisième cas uniquement Rahlfs a donné à la différence de l'édition majeure un texte attesté dans les manuscrits (Is 26,18 : σου au lieu de οὐκ).

1.2 But irréaliste à cause de l'utilisation de l'édition mineure

On peut donc mettre en doute la décision prise au moment du lancement du projet de *La Bible d'Alexandrie* d'utiliser l'édition mineure afin de mettre la main sur un texte qui a vécu le plus largement dans l'Antiquité. En effet, dans le volume de la Genèse, on trouve plusieurs versets dont la traduction reflète un texte qui n'est pas réel mais artificiel : chacune de ces infractions à son objectif est causée par l'usage de l'édition mineure.

À titre d'exemples on peut se référer aux versets 28,19 et 36,39, où les noms propres « Oulamouz »²⁵ et « Maitebeël » reflètent des mots qui ne sont attestés dans aucun manuscrit grec, car ils sont tous corrigés par Rahlfs (d'après l'hébreu). Dans ces versets, il ne s'agit, il est vrai, que de différences très minces ; de plus, des translittérations comme les noms propres sont des cas plutôt à part. Toutefois, on peut aussi repérer des exemples plus significatifs²⁶ :

Gen 3,17 : tu as mangé du seul arbre dont je t'ai ordonné de ne pas manger
(ἐφαγες ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, οὗ ἐνετείλάμην σοι τοῦτου μόνου μὴ φαγεῖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ)
αυτου Gra.] + εφαγες A

Gen 49,31 : là j'ai enterré Leïa (ἐκεῖ ἔθαψα Λεϊαν)
εθαψα Gra.] -ψαν BA

Dans aucun de ces quatre cas (3,17 ; 28,19 ; 36,39 ; 49,31), le lecteur n'est

²³ Sur le premier de ces deux exemples, voir aussi O. Munnich, « Die Textüberlieferung der Septuaginta und die Editionsprinzipien der Göttinger Septuaginta-Ausgabe », dans *Die Göttinger Septuaginta* (éd. Kratz et Neuschäfer) 40–41.

²⁴ Dans ces deux cas, l'apparat de l'édition mineure montre ouvertement qu'il s'agit de conjectures : « ταφεις Gra.] τφαφεις A » (Gen 15,15) et « οτι Ra.] ον mss. » (Ps 21,32).

²⁵ Dans l'index des noms, les traducteurs ont écrit « Oulamouz » : Harl et al., *La Genèse*, 322.

²⁶ Pour ces deux exemples nous citons successivement la traduction de Harl et al., *La Genèse*, et le texte (mis entre parenthèses) ainsi que l'apparat de l'édition mineure de Rahlfs qui correspondent à cette section.

informé que le texte qui est traduit ici n'est attesté en grec nulle part²⁷. Ces exemples montrent comment l'utilisation de l'édition mineure a empêché les traducteurs de la Genèse d'atteindre le but formulé par Harl, qui n'est donc pas toujours mis en pratique.

1.3 But réalisé grâce à l'usage critique des éditions mineure et majeure

Cependant, il est clair que les mots de Harl cités plus haut ne sont pas des paroles en l'air n'ayant jamais été mises en pratique et qu'en règle générale c'est en effet le but développé dans son article que les traducteurs de la Genèse ont cherché à atteindre : les cas cités ci-dessus s'opposent à d'autres qui montrent que les traducteurs se sont en effet efforcés de dépasser le texte artificiel primitif et de traduire un texte réel dont on est sûr qu'il a été lu et commenté dans l'Antiquité.

Souvent, on doit l'admettre, ce texte se trouve en effet dans l'édition de Rahlfs et non dans celle de Göttingen (comme c'est le cas pour Is 26,18, verset nommé plus haut). À titre d'exemples on peut se référer à la traduction des versets 43,16 (« Benjamin, son frère, né de la même mère, et il dit [...] ») et 17,16 (« Je le bénirai [...] et des rois de nations sortiront de lui »). Dans ces deux cas, les traducteurs de *La Bible d'Alexandrie* ont indiqué dans une note²⁸ la différence qui existe entre l'édition de Göttingen et le texte de Rahlfs et ont expliqué leur décision de traduire ce dernier. Non seulement on doit applaudir une telle explication de leur procédé mais on comprend aussi parfaitement leur décision : c'est parce qu'ils s'intéressent au texte réel et non au plus ancien qu'ils ont traduit l'édition de Rahlfs. En effet, dans ce cas, c'est bien cette édition-là qui offre le texte et non celle de Göttingen (comme le montre bien l'apparat de cette dernière édition : celui de Rahlfs ne dit rien).

Dans plusieurs cas, les traducteurs étaient même tellement déterminés à traduire le texte réel de l'Antiquité qu'ils ont écarté l'édition de Rahlfs et qu'ils ont opté pour celle de Göttingen (qui dans ces cas donne un texte qui est moins artificiel que celui de Rahlfs). Il suffit d'illustrer cette observation à l'aide de deux exemples²⁹ :

²⁷ Dans chacun de ces quatre versets, l'apparat de l'édition de Göttingen (éd. J. W. Wevers adiu. U. Quast, 1974) montre encore plus ouvertement que ne le fait celui de l'édition mineure que la leçon manque de toute attestation dans les manuscrits.

²⁸ On ignore pourtant quels sont « les trois grands manuscrits » dont ils font mention dans la note sur Gen 43,16 (Harl et al., *La Genèse*, 284).

²⁹ Pour ces exemples, nous citons la traduction de Harl et al., *La Genèse*, que nous laissons suivre du texte grec correspondant, cité successivement d'après les éditions mineure

Gen 3,11 : Qui t'a annoncé que tu étais nu, sinon que tu as mangé du seul arbre [...] ?

Ra : Τίς ἀνήγγειλέν σοι ὅτι γυμνός εἶ; μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου [...] ἔφαγες; εἶ; μὴ Ra.] εἶ, εἰ μὴ A

Gö : Τίς ἀνήγγειλέν σοι ὅτι γυμνός εἶ, εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου [...] ἔφαγες; εἶ εἰ] εἶ Ra.

Gen 49,18 : [...] attendant le salut du Seigneur.

Ra : τὴν σωτηρίαν περιμένω κυρίου περιμενω Ra.] -ων BA

Gö : τὴν σωτηρίαν περιμένων κυρίου περιμένων] pr περιαν F*; -vō Ra La^O (sed hab La^E) = 𐤀; αναμενων 246; tr post κυρίου DialTA 91r

Dans les deux cas, l'apparat de Göttingen confirme celui de l'édition mineure : la leçon éditée par Rahlfs manque de toute attestation dans la tradition grecque manuscrite. On comprend donc pourquoi les traducteurs ont donné la préférence au texte de l'édition majeure. De plus, dans le volume en question, chacun de ces versets est accompagné d'une note qui donne toute l'information nécessaire et dans laquelle les traducteurs ont témoigné du détournement de leur texte de base.

Tout cela dénote une consultation critique et nuancée des éditions, non seulement de celle que les traducteurs ont choisie comme texte de base, mais aussi de celle de Göttingen. Dans ce cadre, des déviations par rapport à la stratégie développée par Harl (c'est-à-dire : la décision d'écarter l'édition de choix, comme dans les deux derniers exemples³⁰) peuvent s'offrir à la compréhension du lecteur. Toutefois, celui-ci doit en être informé, ce qui n'est pas toujours le cas, comme le montre l'exemple suivant :

Gen 1,30 : [...] qui a en lui une âme de vie, aussi toute herbe verte pour nourriture.

Ra : ὁ ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ ψυχὴν ζωῆς, πάντα χόρτον χλωρὸν εἰς βρῶσιν παντα Gra.] pr. και A

Gö : ὁ ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ ψυχὴν ζωῆς, και πάντα χόρτον χλωρὸν εἰς βρῶσιν και 4^o] > Gr. Ra. = 𐤀

Bien que les traducteurs aient consacré une note à la conjonction qui est le

(« Ra[hlf] ») et majeure (« Gö[ttingen] »), dont nous reproduisons aussi la section pertinente de leur apparat critique.

³⁰ Et dans le cas de Gen 15,15, un des exemples invoqués par Harl (voir plus haut). Pour ce verset, les traducteurs ont opté pour une leçon qui n'est éditée dans aucune des deux éditions, mais qui est citée comme variante dans leurs apparats. Ceci ne pose aucun problème, car la note donne toute l'information nécessaire.

point de divergence entre les deux éditions, ils n'ont pas informé le lecteur (ni dans cette note, ni dans l'introduction) que le texte qu'ils ont traduit n'est pas celui de l'édition de leur choix.

2. Les autres volumes du Pentateuque : modification graduelle des principes

Ainsi, une lecture du premier volume de *La Bible d'Alexandrie* nous apprend que, d'une part, les principes qui sont avancés par Harl dans l'article cité plus haut sont en effet mis en pratique et que les traducteurs se sont efforcés de traduire un texte réel qui a été utilisé par les juifs et les chrétiens grecs, même s'ils se sont vus obligés d'écarter parfois l'édition de leur choix pour préférer celle de Göttingen. D'autre part, l'édition de Rahlfs a parfois été suivie aveuglément, ce qui a mené à la traduction d'un texte qui est très distant de celui qui est envisagé par les traducteurs. À cause de cette dichotomie, l'attitude des auteurs de ce volume à propos du texte biblique traduit et commenté n'est pas très cohérente : le lecteur ignore parfois quel texte il a sous les yeux. En majeure partie, ces problèmes sont imputables à la discordance de l'édition mineure avec le but envisagé.

On ne peut se défaire de l'impression, suggérée par quelques-unes des notes qui accompagnent la traduction, que les traducteurs se sont rendu compte de cette dichotomie. En tout cas, on observe qu'après l'achèvement du premier volume la collection a un peu modifié ses principes, et qu'elle a ouvert de plus en plus les yeux sur le texte qui est reconstruit comme le plus ancien. Dans ce processus, l'importance de l'édition de Göttingen s'est accrue. On est incité à cette observation par la lecture de deux autres articles, dans lesquels Harl s'est interrogée une fois encore sur les principes de la collection, et par celle des introductions aux volumes du Lévitique, du Deutéronome et des Nombres.

Ces introductions font preuve d'un intérêt accru pour le texte le plus ancien. Non seulement celles au Lévitique et au Deutéronome nous informent que parfois l'édition majeure a été suivie au lieu de celle de Rahlfs (comme c'était déjà le cas pour la Genèse), mais encore elles progressent aussi d'un cran. Les traducteurs du Lévitique ont spécifié qu'« exceptionnellement, [ils ont] retenu telle conjecture de Wevers qui paraissait nettement préférable au texte de Rahlfs »³¹. Ceux du Deutéronome ont de leur côté prêté beaucoup

³¹ Harlé et Pralon, *Le Lévitique*, 11.

d'attention dans leur introduction aux papyrus anciens (qui jouent un rôle limité dans l'édition de Rahlfs mais qui sont assez importants dans celle de Göttingen) et aux conclusions que tire cette dernière édition à propos du texte primitif³². Dans le volume des Nombres, l'accent est mis de façon encore plus intensive sur l'édition majeure : bien que le traducteur ait pris l'édition de Rahlfs comme point de départ, il a suivi celle de Göttingen dans tous les cas où les deux diffèrent l'une de l'autre³³.

Deux articles de Harl (autres que celui dont nous avons traité plus haut) témoignent également d'un semblable intérêt accru pour l'édition majeure et pour son texte. Le premier d'entre eux est publié au moment où la traduction du Pentateuque était presque complète et contient la citation suivante³⁴ :

Nous avons donc une double tâche : nous attacher, comme les éditeurs de Göttingen, à rendre compte du texte le plus ancien de la Septante, – le texte tel qu'on le suppose sorti des mains du traducteur –, mais aussi préciser ses formes textuelles successives qui peuvent expliquer les variantes des citations, notamment dans le Nouveau Testament et les Pères. L'histoire du texte grec dans son devenir retient toute notre attention. [...] Ces deux exigences, – traduire le texte restitué dans son état le plus ancien et faire connaître le texte réellement lu par tel exégète –, sont parfois en contradiction [...]

Cette remarque est accompagnée de l'observation selon laquelle c'est précisément grâce à l'édition majeure qu'« il était [...] possible non seulement de traduire le texte reconstitué comme le plus ancien mais de prendre intérêt à l'histoire du texte dans ses états successifs »³⁵. Dans ce cadre, Harl s'est référée de nouveau à l'exemple d'Is 26,18 (voir plus haut). Maintenant son rejet du texte conjecturé par Ziegler est beaucoup moins fort, car elle songeait à la possibilité de le traduire³⁶.

Quelques années plus tard, à la suite de l'achèvement du Pentateuque, Harl est revenue encore une fois sur le texte qui doit être traduit³⁷ :

[...] une traduction de la Septante destinée à situer celle-ci non pas seulement dans l'histoire du texte biblique mais aussi dans celle de la réception chrétienne

³² Dogniez et Harl, *Le Deutéronome*, 35–37 et 100–103.

³³ Dorival et al., *Les Nombres*, 36–37. De fait, le texte qui est traduit est donc celui de l'édition majeure. C'est dans ce cadre qu'on doit interpréter ce qu'a écrit C. Dogniez, « La présente édition du Pentateuque d'Alexandrie », dans *Le Pentateuque d'Alexandrie* (éd. Dogniez et Harl) 13.

³⁴ Harl, « *La Bible d'Alexandrie* », 321.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 320.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 337 (n. 20).

³⁷ Voir Eadem, « Problèmes de traduction », 35–37 (la citation est prise à la p. 36).

de ce texte, doit-elle rendre compte du texte le plus ancien – reconstitué à partir de choix opérés dans la tradition manuscrite, parfois à l'aide de conjectures –, ou bien de telle forme historique du texte, celle qui a été lue et commentée à telle époque ou dans telle région et qui a la valeur d'un texte réel ? [...] Pour nous, la solution consiste à accompagner la traduction du texte critique supposé 'le plus ancien' de notes signalant les autres formes textuelles. Il nous arrive parfois, cependant, de donner la préférence au texte des manuscrits qui a servi de base à tous les commentaires, alors que l'éditeur la délaisse au profit d'une conjecture, douée de probabilité.

Ainsi, on voit que l'intention initiale de traduire le texte qui n'est pas nécessairement le plus ancien mais dont on est sûr qu'il a été utilisé dans l'Antiquité a évolué vers la décision de traduire le texte le plus primitif. Cela ne veut pas dire que l'intérêt pour le texte réel qui était vivant jadis a disparu, mais à la différence du premier volume, cet intérêt n'est plus projeté sur le choix du texte qui doit être traduit, mais est développé dans les notes : dans le commentaire accompagnant la traduction, les traducteurs formuleront des observations sur l'utilisation du texte dans l'Antiquité – et donc sur l'histoire du texte –, ce qui n'était pas un objectif dans le premier volume³⁸.

Tant pour cette nouvelle destination des notes que pour les nouvelles visées concernant le type de texte qu'on veut traduire, les matériaux sont offerts par l'édition majeure, respectivement dans son apparat et dans son texte. C'est dans cette optique qu'après l'achèvement du Pentateuque la collection de *La Bible d'Alexandrie* a décidé d'utiliser cette édition-là au lieu de celle de Rahlfs³⁹ :

Désormais, au moment où nous abordons la traduction en français des livres prophétiques, nous donnons la préférence au texte établi par J. Ziegler dans la collection de Göttingen et nous utilisons son double apparat pour situer le texte traduit au sein de l'histoire textuelle de la Septante, jusque dans ses prolongements chez les Pères.

³⁸ Comparer Harl et al., *La Genèse*, 23 : « notre ouvrage n'a pas pour objet de contribuer à l'histoire textuelle de la Genèse ».

³⁹ Harl, « Problèmes de traduction », 36.

3. Après le Pentateuque : l'édition majeure comme édition de choix

Le premier volume des Prophètes qui a suivi l'articulation de ces nouveaux principes de la collection est celui contenant Joël, Abdiou, Jonas, Naoum, Ambakoum et Sophonie (cf. n. 3). Depuis sa parution, trois autres volumes du Dodékapropheton ont été publiés⁴⁰, si bien qu'à l'heure actuelle la traduction française annotée de tous les Douze Prophètes est disponible, sauf celle d'Amos et de Michée. Ces quatre volumes ont tous pris l'édition majeure de J. Ziegler comme texte de base⁴¹, mais en même temps chacun propose ses propres inflexions.

Comme étude de cas, ces volumes nous offrent un regard intéressant sur la façon dont le nouvel objectif est mis en pratique, c'est-à-dire : la façon dont les notes situent le texte traduit au sein de son histoire textuelle et la façon dont l'édition majeure a été utilisée pour livrer ces informations.

3.1 Observations générales

Dans l'ensemble, les introductions au texte grec offertes dans les volumes en question répondent bien aux attentes de celui qui étudie l'histoire du texte et la critique textuelle. Les traducteurs ont synthétisé les conclusions de Ziegler en ce qui concerne les témoins textuels et leur groupement ; ils ont prêté attention au témoignage des manuscrits importants, comme le *codex Washingtonensis* ; ils ont donné une brève introduction à la version Barberini de la Prière d'Ambakoum ; ils ont formulé des observations pertinentes à propos de la division et de la ponctuation du texte ainsi que sur la façon dont Ziegler les a mises en place dans son édition, etc. En éclairant le lecteur sur ces sujets, les traducteurs ne se sont pas limités aux recherches de Ziegler : pour chaque Prophète dont des extraits étaient conservés dans le rouleau 8HevXIIgr (découvert après que l'édition de Ziegler fut achevée), ils ont expliqué de manière nuancée le rôle et l'importance de ce témoin. Aucun de ces thèmes n'est limité à l'introduction : ils reviennent souvent dans le commentaire, qui renferme aussi des renvois fréquents à la littérature secondaire

⁴⁰ E. Bons et al., *Osée* (BdA 23.1 ; Paris : Cerf, 2002) ; M. Casevitz et al., *Aggée, Zacharie* (BdA 23.10–11 ; Paris : Cerf, 2007) ; L. Vianès, *Malachie* (BdA 23.12 ; Paris : Cerf, 2011).

⁴¹ J. Ziegler, *Duodecim prophetae* (Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Göttingensis editum, 13 ; Göttingen : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ³1984). Observons que les traducteurs d'Osée n'ont nulle part dans leur introduction nommé cette édition comme leur source.

pertinente sur la critique textuelle du Dodécapropheton, aussi bien de la main de Ziegler que d'autres savants. Tout cela montre que les traducteurs se sont intéressés à l'histoire du texte et qu'ils ont utilisé l'édition de Ziegler de manière intensive.

Par conséquent, il n'y a pas lieu de s'inquiéter lorsque, pour l'un ou l'autre verset, ils refusent d'accepter le texte de Ziegler, comme ils le font par exemple pour Amb 2,5⁴² :

Mais l'homme *arrogant* et contempteur (ὁ δὲ κατοινωμένος καὶ καταφρονητῆς ἀνὴρ) [...]

κατοινωμένος scripsi cum Rahlfs: cf. Schleusner II 242] κατοιομενος (vel κατοιωμ.) codd. gr. (κατοιχωμ. 534)

Au premier mot hébreu correspond dans tous les manuscrits grecs *katoiómenos* (ici traduit par « arrogant ») (seule exception : *katoikiómenos* dans le manuscrit 534), un mot considéré comme absent de la langue grecque [...] et hapax de la LXX : ce mot a été corrigé par les éditeurs en *katoinóménos*, « ivre de vin », plus près du TM (ou *kai oinóménos* : voir la justification de cette conjecture par J. Ziegler [...]). Nous gardons cependant *katoiómenos*, reconnu comme un mot grec par les Pères commentateurs de ce verset, glosé par *oíēsis*, « orgueil », et attesté par Cyrille l'Alexandrie dans sa propre langue pour éclairer le sens de *phaulístria* de So 3,1.

On peut certainement faire preuve de compréhension vis-à-vis de cette correction du texte de Ziegler. C'est évident : ce n'est pas parce qu'on utilise une certaine édition qu'on doit être toujours d'accord avec elle⁴³. Par ailleurs, bien plus important que de déterminer qui a raison dans ce cas, est le fait que les traducteurs aient fait preuve d'une lecture correcte de l'apparat et des arguments de Ziegler. Il est aussi intéressant de noter qu'ils ont relevé un parallèle patristique inconnu de lui. Ainsi cette note répond aux exigences de la critique textuelle. La même observation vaut pour la liste avec laquelle se conclut l'introduction au volume de Malachie et dans laquelle les six cas pour lesquels l'édition de Ziegler n'a pas été suivie sont énumérés : pour chacun d'entre eux, la traductrice a argumenté solidement sa proposition⁴⁴.

⁴² Dans les exemples qui suivent, nous citons la traduction de *La Bible d'Alexandrie* et une partie de son commentaire (cf. n. 3 et 40). Dans la traduction, nous mettons en italiques les mots pertinents, pour lesquels nous donnons aussi le texte grec (entre parenthèses) et l'apparat (cité entre la traduction et la note) de l'édition majeure (cf. n. 41).

⁴³ Voir à cet égard aussi Casevitz et al., *Aggée, Zacharie*, 23 : « [...] en dépit des critiques que l'on pourrait formuler à l'égard de l'édition du Dodécapropheton établie à Göttingen ». La nature de ces critiques reste inexplicée.

⁴⁴ Les différences avec l'introduction à la Genèse sont apparentes pour tous. Comparer avec l'exemple de Gen 1,30 donné plus haut.

À ces contributions s'opposent quelques notes (toutefois beaucoup plus rares) qui ne sont pas correctes et qui résultent d'une fausse lecture de l'apparat de Göttingen. Mentionnons à titre d'exemple le cas de Na 1,11 : la note (« la leçon des manuscrits BSQLC ») caractérise la recension lucianique et le texte des chaînes erronément comme des manuscrits et donne l'impression fautive que la leçon en question (βουλευόμενος) est attestée seulement dans ces témoins-là, tandis qu'en réalité elle se lit aussi dans beaucoup d'autres manuscrits (parmi lesquels plusieurs témoins du texte alexandrin)⁴⁵.

Heureusement, de tels cas sont rares : en règle générale, l'information donnée dans les notes est correcte.

3.2 L'histoire du texte déduite de l'apparat de Göttingen

Quelques exemples finaux peuvent illustrer la façon dont l'apparat de l'édition majeure est utilisé pour documenter l'histoire textuelle des Douze Prophètes.

Quand les traducteurs citent cet apparat dans les notes, ils se limitent assez souvent à une référence générale à la tradition manuscrite. De telles remarques montrent qu'ils ont pris l'apparat de Ziegler en considération, mais ne disent pas grand-chose sur l'histoire du texte : des exemples se trouvent dans les notes sur Jon 2,10 (« Bon nombre de manuscrits, suivis par Rahlfs, donnent après *apodósō* le pronom *soi*, « à toi » [...] ») et Abd 10 (« [L']expression ambiguë de l'hébreu « la violence de ton frère Jacob » est éclairée en grec dans une partie de la tradition manuscrite par la préposition *eis*, « à l'égard de », tandis que d'autres manuscrits conservent le tour ambigu avec le génitif »).

D'autres notes ne se limitent pas à une citation du témoignage de 'plusieurs' ou de 'quelques' manuscrits, mais offrent plus d'information sur l'histoire du texte, en précisant s'il s'agit de la recension hexaplaire, du texte antiochien, de celui des chaînes etc.⁴⁶ : citons Na 3,11 (« [...] *ésēi hupereōramēnē* (A. Rahlfs, J. Ziegler) est une forme périphrastique, pour le

⁴⁵ Certes, une *Kopfleiste* (l'énumération entre le texte et l'apparat des témoins qui ont transmis le texte de la page en question, qui facilite, en comparaison avec l'apparat, l'identification des témoins du lemme) est absente de l'édition du Dodékapropheton (cette liste n'étant introduite que presque deux décennies plus tard, avec la parution de l'édition de *Sapientia Salomonis* par J. Ziegler en 1962). Toutefois, l'introduction et la feuille intercalaire permettent de déduire aisément quels manuscrits attestent le lemme.

⁴⁶ Cf. aussi Casevitz et al., *Aggée, Zacharie*, 120–121.

futur du parfait ; la tradition antiochienne et caténale donne plus souvent *pareōramēnē*, « négligée », « dédaignée ») et Soph 3,10 (« Les manuscrits grecs révisés ajoutent une traduction des mots hébreux : *'atāray* est compris tantôt comme « je recevrai », tantôt comme « mes suppliants » [...] »). De telles notes sont plus utiles, car elles extraient de l'apparat, qui peut être assez complexe, les informations importantes et les synthétisent en une remarque qui est facile à comprendre mais nous informe quand même sur l'histoire du texte.

Parfois les traducteurs, en s'efforçant d'arriver à de telles synthèses, ont identifié des traces d'une recension ou d'un type de texte, là où en réalité il n'y a pas lieu de le faire :

Zach 1,6 : *Recevez* mes paroles et mes règles (πλὴν τοῦς λόγους μου καὶ τὰ νόμιά μου δέχεσθε) [...]

δεξασθε 410

La forme *dékhesthe* peut être un indicatif ou un impératif ; le choix de l'impératif est confirmé par la tradition lucianique qui présente *déxasthe*.

Sans doute, l'identification du manuscrit 410 comme « la tradition lucianique » est inspirée par le fait que, dans l'édition de Göttingen, ce témoin est rangé parmi ceux qui sont parfois influencés par cette tradition, surtout à la fin du Dodécapropheton⁴⁷. Toutefois, comme la plupart du temps ce manuscrit nous donne un texte non antiochien mais égyptien⁴⁸ et comme dans ce cas-ci il n'est accompagné par aucun vrai témoin de la recension lucianique, on ne peut pas conclure que sa leçon est lucianique : il s'agit d'une variante de moindre importance.

Heureusement, de tels cas sont plutôt clairsemés. Le plupart des notes témoignent d'une compréhension excellente de l'apparat de Göttingen et en retirent de manière synthétique des renseignements utiles pour l'histoire du texte :

Abd 10 : [...] *et* la honte te couvrira (καὶ καλύπει σε αἰσχόνη) et tu seras enlevé à jamais.

καὶ 2° W] > B-S*-V O 22°-86° C'-68 La^S AchSaArm Hi. = ℣

La révision hexaplaire et les manuscrits qui ont été contaminés par elle ont supprimé le *καὶ* devant *kalúpsei*, « couvrira », ce qui permet de commencer le v. 10 avec les mots *dià tēn sphagēn* et de comprendre le début du verset comme la justification de la honte (c'est l'option de H. B. Swete qui édite le *Vaticanus*).

⁴⁷ Ziegler, *Duodecim prophetae*, 78–79.

⁴⁸ Ziegler l'a rangé en effet parmi les témoins de son groupe alexandrin : voir les p. 39–53 (et la feuille intercalaire) ainsi que les p. 32–34 de son édition.

Zach 8,19 : Voici ce que dit le Seigneur tout-puissant : *Le quatrième jeûne, le cinquième jeûne, le septième, le dixième jeûne* (Νηστεία ἢ τετράς καὶ νηστεία ἢ πέμπτη καὶ νηστεία ἢ ἑβδόμη καὶ νηστεία ἢ δεκάτη) seront pour la maison de Juda réjouissance [...]

App. I: τετράς ... πέμπτη ... ἑβδόμη ... δεκάτη Th.] του τεταρτου ... του πεμπτου ... του εβδομου ... του δεκατου (+ mensis Bo) Lⁿ⁻³⁶(86^{lxt}) Bo Th.↓

App. II: Νηστεία ἢ τετράς ... πέμπτη ... ἑβδόμη ... δεκάτη] α' σ' θ' (α' sec. 86) νηστεία (> Syh) η του τεταρτου και (> Syh) η του πεμπτου και (> Syh) η του εβδομου και η του δεκατου (om. και η τ. δεκ. Syh) 42 (apud Field) 86^{lxt} (superscr. quater α')-407 Syh Tht.

[...] les autres traducteurs et, à leur suite le texte antiochien, reviennent à l'hébreu et donnent « le jeûne du quatrième (*toû tetártou*) [...] le jeûne du dixième (*toû dekátoû*) »

Il faut se réjouir de la présence de telles notes, qui répondent à l'objectif de la collection tel qu'il était formulé après l'achèvement du Pentateuque : elles situent le texte au sein de son histoire. En faisant cela, elles traduisent l'apparat critique de l'édition majeure en une forme plus compréhensible.

4. Conclusions

Cet article part de l'observation selon laquelle dans les volumes de *La Bible d'Alexandrie* le lecteur trouve d'une part beaucoup plus d'informations au sujet de l'histoire du texte biblique que dans aucune autre traduction de la Septante, mais que d'autre part ces volumes ne l'instruisent pas du type de texte qui est traduit et commenté : les choix des éditions qui sont prises comme base et les écarts par rapport à ces décisions ne sont pas expliqués. Dans les pages précédentes, nous avons cherché à identifier la position de la collection par rapport à cette question du type de texte biblique et à comprendre la façon dont elle s'est servie de l'édition majeure de Göttingen en mettant cette attitude en pratique⁴⁹.

Les publications autour de la collection nous informent que le texte auquel elle s'est au fond toujours intéressée n'est pas celui qui a été construit comme le plus primitif mais le texte réel, qui a vraiment été utilisé par les juifs et les chrétiens de l'Antiquité. La manière dont elle s'est concentrée sur ce texte n'est toutefois pas toujours demeurée constante. C'est dans cette évolution que s'intègre le changement, signalé tout au début de cet article, dans les

⁴⁹ Dans les paragraphes qui suivent, comme dans tout cet article, nous parlons seulement des volumes de la *Bible d'Alexandrie* qui sont consacrés aux livres bibliques dont l'édition majeure a déjà paru (cf. notre n. 2).

choix de l'édition prise comme point de départ : la collection n'a pas toujours traduit le même type de texte septantique.

À l'aube de l'entreprise, l'intérêt par rapport au texte réel est complètement projeté sur le texte qu'on traduit : on a jugé possible d'atteindre et de traduire le texte qui a largement vécu dans l'Antiquité, et ceci à l'aide de l'édition mineure de Rahlfs. Cependant, cette édition ne constitue pas vraiment un instrument qui est approprié à un tel objectif ; c'est pourquoi les traducteurs ont été de temps en temps obligés d'écarter cette édition en faveur d'une autre. Par ailleurs, dans plusieurs autres cas où le texte de Rahlfs est discordant avec celui qu'ils envisagent, ils s'en sont quand même tenus à cette édition-là. Par conséquent, plusieurs réserves doivent être formulées à l'encontre de la traduction de la Genèse : les traducteurs n'ont pas réussi à traduire systématiquement le texte visé dans leur objectif mais ont traduit un texte hybride sur lequel le lecteur (qui n'est pas toujours mis au courant des décisions prises par les traducteurs) ne sait pas mettre le doigt.

Après l'achèvement du Pentateuque, la collection a abandonné l'intention de traduire le texte auquel elle s'intéresse et a articulé son attention pour ce texte réel d'une autre façon : tandis que le texte qui est traduit est maintenant celui qui est reconstruit comme le plus ancien, l'histoire textuelle postérieure de ce texte, et donc la manière dont il a vécu dans l'Antiquité, est située dans le commentaire qui accompagne la traduction. Ce changement de stratégie est accompagné par une modification dans le choix d'édition : aussi bien la traduction que le commentaire reposent sur l'édition de Göttingen, respectivement sur son texte et sur son appareil critique. Cette nouvelle stratégie constitue sans doute une amélioration : dans les volumes des Douze Prophètes – examinés dans cet article comme étude de cas –, les principes sont appliqués de façon réussie. Non seulement le lecteur sait toujours quel est le texte qui est traduit, mais aussi il est instruit de la transmission de ce texte et de son histoire. Ainsi l'intention de la collection, qui est de s'occuper du texte réel qui a été lu dans l'Antiquité, est mieux atteinte dans les volumes qui font usage de l'édition de Göttingen.

En effet, il ne faut pas sous-estimer la contribution qu'offrent ces volumes-là à la connaissance de l'histoire et de la critique textuelles de la Septante. Bien que quelques-unes demeurent perfectibles, les notes qui accompagnent la traduction réussissent en règle générale à traduire et à synthétiser les données pertinentes de l'apparat de Göttingen en des informations

claires et instructives. Ainsi, leur fonction didactique⁵⁰ les rend valables et c'est grâce à cette qualité-là que, parmi les projets de traduction contemporains, *La Bible d'Alexandrie* est la plus riche pour celui qui étudie l'histoire textuelle de la Septante et son importance dans l'Antiquité.

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⁵⁰ Comparer avec Munnich, « Die Textüberlieferung », 31–33.

A Reason to Celebrate: 25 Years of the Louvain Centre for Septuagint Studies and Textual Criticism.

BÉNÉDICTE LEMMELIJN

In October 1988, Johan Lust founded the *Centre for Septuagint Studies and Textual Criticism* at the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies of the Catholic University of Louvain. In doing so, he initiated pioneering work in a subdiscipline of Biblical Studies that enjoys great interest and attention today. His research group, under the direction of Hans Ausloos from 2003 until 2010, and of Bénédicte Lemmelijn from 2010 on, has grown into an internationally renowned research centre, producing important work in the domains of the lexicography of the Septuagint as well as the study of the translation technique used in the individual books of this ancient Greek translation.

25 years of serious research deserves to be celebrated. For that reason, a symposium, entitled ‘The Septuagint in Dialogue’ took place on October 25th, 2013. The afternoon started with a welcome by the vice-dean of the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies, Johan De Tavernier, and an introductory speech by the current director, Bénédicte Lemmelijn. Thereafter Hans Ausloos launched the symposium, sketching the research of the Louvain Centre during the past 25 years. Subsequently, Johan Lust moderated a session that placed the Septuagint at the crossroads of several subdisciplines within Biblical Studies. In this context, Pierre Van Hecke, Eibert Tigchelaar and Jos Verheyden illustrated the actual relevance of Septuagint Studies. After a short break, James Aitken gave the keynote lecture concerning the making of the Septuagint as a Jewish, Egyptian and Greek enterprise that challenges and enriches Biblical thinking even up to our days.

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Bible Software for Septuagint Studies: A Comparison of Accordance 10, BibleWorks 9, and Logos 5

ABRAM KIELSMEIER-JONES

Technological advances in recent years have enabled more universal access to important texts for Septuagint studies, as well as faster and more streamlined ways to search relevant textual data and utilize the results. The following review article evaluates computer software resources available to both the scholar and the student who is engaged in Septuagint studies.

The review assesses three major commercial Bible software programs (Accordance 10, BibleWorks 9, and Logos 5) as to their contributions to the field of Septuagint studies. First, there is an overview of available Septuagint texts and resources (lexicons, grammars, and monographs) in each software. Second, there is description of notable features in each program, including the sorts of searches and queries one can perform. After an analysis of each of the three programs, there is an evaluative comparison of the texts of the Göttingen Septuagint, as they appear in Accordance and in Logos. (BibleWorks does not have the Göttingen Septuagint.) “Platforms, Devices, and Cross-Functionality” offers a short overview of the electronic platforms and devices on which one can (and cannot) access the three programs. Finally, the concluding “Software Collections and Sources for Help” section gives brief attention to collections and packages available, as well as lists means of support (with Web urls) for Accordance, BibleWorks, and Logos.

1. Accordance 10

1.1 Available Texts and Resources in Accordance

English translations of the Septuagint include Brenton’s translation (with “apocryphal books”) and the New English Translation of the Septuagint (NETS). As for Greek Septuagint texts, Accordance has:

- The 2006 *Rahlfs-Hanhart* text, which is “tagged” morphologically and with lemmas, so that the user can hover over or click on a word to pull up more information about it (its parsing and lexical form). Accordance also offers the apparatus to this text.

In addition, Accordance has a morphologically tagged OT Syriac Peshitta, tagged Vulgate (with apparatus), tagged Targums, and tagged Samaritan Pentateuch. There is also an extensive collection of tagged biblical and non-biblical Dead Sea Scrolls documents, with translations and some images (all exceeding the scope of what's available in the other two programs). Accordance at present is the only one of the three programs with non-biblical, non-Qumran documents (its "Judean Desert Corpus" module). Philo and Josephus are also available in Greek and English, and tagged.

1.2 Notable Features in Accordance

There are multiple methods for finding information immediately – lexical, grammatical, and otherwise – in Accordance. In addition to its instant return of search results, of the three programs surveyed here, Accordance has the fastest program start-up time.

Accordance allows the user to "amplify" from any word, phrase, or verse reference. A user can select text or a reference and amplify to a selected resource from her library, via a drop-down Amplify menu at the top of the screen, or by right-clicking and selecting one of several search options. This permits the immediate look-up of a Greek word in multiple lexicons and grammars (even at the same time, if one sets it up correctly beforehand). Amplifying by reference takes one to a host of reference tools and biblical commentaries. (There are no LXX-specific commentaries as of yet). A simple right-click on a word or phrase brings up a menu which can look up its occurrences in the current text or any other text, displaying results which can then be customized and manipulated for additional use through Accordance's analytics functions.

The Instant Details panel in Accordance shows parsing and lexical information about words, as well as anything else Accordance is set up to hyperlink. A simple hover over a noun, for example, immediately shows its gender, number, and case, as well as the entry for the user's preferred lexicon.

Searching in Accordance is incredibly fast. One can search for a lemma, a given inflection, or even according to morphology. Inserting the @ symbol after a Greek word searches the word by its morphological tag. For example, to find all the times $\gamma\iota\nu\omega\sigma\kappa\omega$ occurs as an aorist infinitive, one simply types into the search entry bar:

$\gamma\iota\nu\omega\sigma\kappa\omega$ @ [VERB aorist infinitive]

To find all the nouns that an Accordance LXX text has tagged as feminine singular vocative, this search is used: [NOUN feminine singular vocative].

Syntax searches are also possible in Accordance in a more than halfway complete Hebrew Old Testament database and an in-progress Greek New Testament database. One can search word by its use as subject, predicate, complement, adjunct, and so on, but there is not yet a syntax database for the Septuagint. One can also take advantage of Accordance's intuitive Construct searches, which offer a visual interface for searches and can quickly show the user things like how many times a comparative adjective and a superlative adjective occur within five words of each other. Construct searches can be used for the LXX and are easily accessible via the File menu by selecting "New Construct."

Accordance also allows the user to easily search its MT-LXX database in multiple ways with different search fields, selectable from within the search entry box: Entry; Hebrew; Greek; Reconstructions; Symbols; Comments; MSS; Scripture. After selecting the appropriate search field(s), one enters the search term(s) and receives hit results back instantaneously.

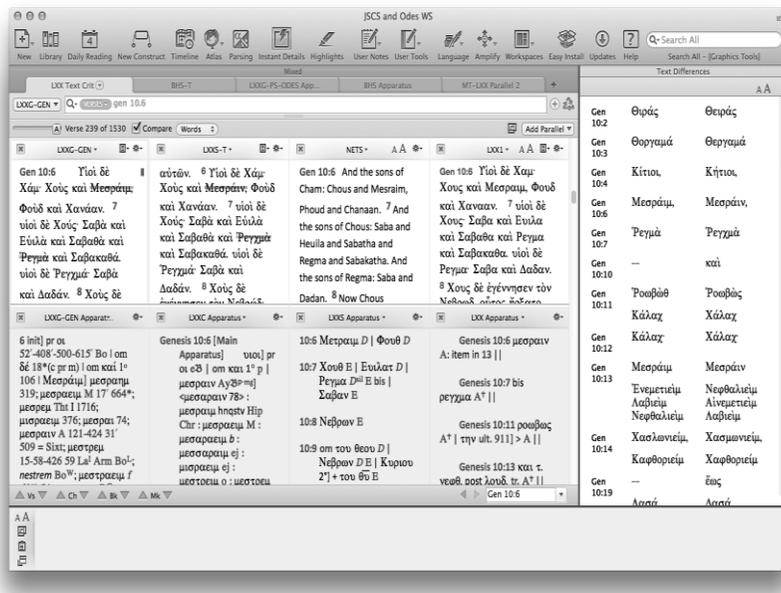


[Figure 2] A search using MT-LXX and MERGE command.
Instant Details pane at bottom

With the proper "workspace" set up, which can then be saved for future use, one can use the MT-LXX text in conjunction with a Hebrew text and Greek

text (and Accordance’s “MERGE” command, *Figure 2*) to see, for example, a list of how a given Hebrew word is translated throughout the Old Greek.

Another profitable use of Accordance is for textual criticism. Apart from the benefit of having a searchable BHS and critical apparatus at hand, one can also line up Accordance’s various Septuagint texts and apparatuses to see them on the same screen, in an Accordance workspace, as here (*Figure 3*):



[Figure 3] Accordance workspace for textual criticism

Using the “Compare” feature, Accordance in the above example marks within the texts themselves the orthographical differences in place names in Genesis 10 between Göttingen, Swete, and Rahlfs (*Figure 3*). This comparison feature itself is customizable: one can choose whether or not to have it be case-sensitive, to ignore accents, and so on.

Pictured on the right side of *Figure 3* above is a particularly useful “Text Differences” feature, by which one can instantaneously view a separate table of all textual differences between two texts – in this case, between Göttingen and Swete.

Accordance allows text export using Accordance’s own Greek and Hebrew fonts, or as Unicode. In the Preferences setting, one can choose whether to export Greek with or without accents and breathing marks, and whether to export Hebrew with or without vowel pointings and cantillation marks.

2. BibleWorks 9

2.1 Available Texts and Resources in BibleWorks

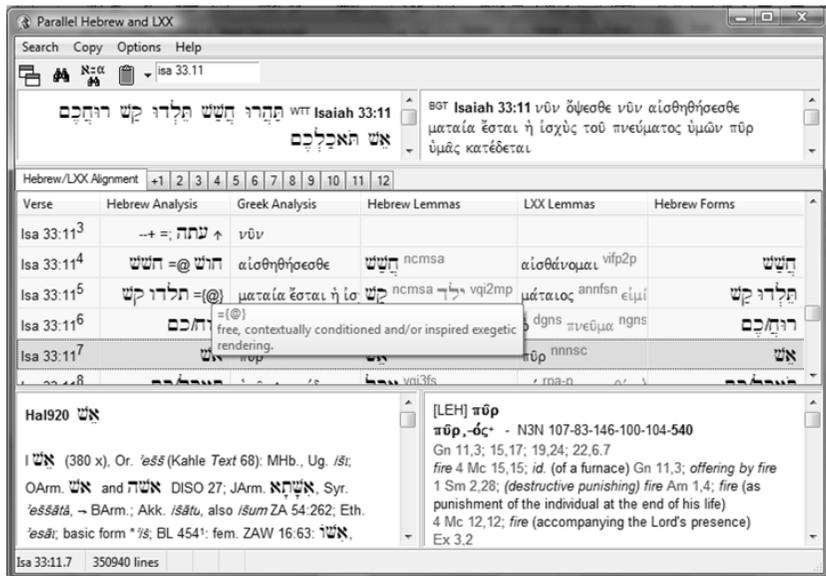
English translations of the Septuagint in BibleWorks are limited to just Brenton's translation, with deuterocanonical books. NETS is expected to be made available in BibleWorks in the near future.

As for *Greek Septuagint texts*, BibleWorks has the 2006 *Rahlfs-Hanhart* text. As in Accordance and Logos, it is tagged morphologically. An instant mouse hover or click on a word shows grammatical and lexical information about it in the Analysis Window. No LXX apparatus, however, is available in BibleWorks.

There are just a handful of Septuagint research tools in BibleWorks, none of which enable text-critical work, but which nonetheless facilitate analysis of the Rahlfs text:

- The *LEH* lexicon (second edition)
- *Conybeare and Stock's grammar*, without the selected readings
- *Tov and Polak's MT-LXX database* (revised edition).

Of the three Bible softwares' presentation of the database, BibleWorks has the most immediately intuitive, thorough, and useful display (*Figure 4*):



[Figure 4] MT-LXX Database in BibleWorks

The search function of the MT-LXX parallel in BibleWorks allows for: entry of a Greek word to see a table of Hebrew words it is supposed to translate, entry of a Hebrew word to see the various Greek words used for it, and entry of Greek and Hebrew words to see how many times a given correspondence occurs.

Other texts that would be useful for textual criticism are somewhat sparse in BibleWorks. There is no Syriac OT Peshitta, nor tagged Samaritan Pentateuch (an untagged SP is available online as user-created files). BibleWorks has two DSS-related add-ons: “Dead Sea Scrolls English Translation Bundle: Biblical and Sectarian Texts” and Qumran sectarian (non-biblical) manuscripts, but not the biblical DSS in Hebrew. Its base package also includes tagged Targums, an untagged Vulgate (without apparatus, and with some “word analysis”), tagged Philo, and tagged Josephus (with English translations).

2.2 Notable Features in BibleWorks

The interface of BibleWorks is less customizable than that of Accordance or Logos, though users still have options for setting up a workflow that is most useful to them. BibleWorks has a Search Window, Browse Window, and Analysis Window (which can be one window or split into two Analysis Windows).

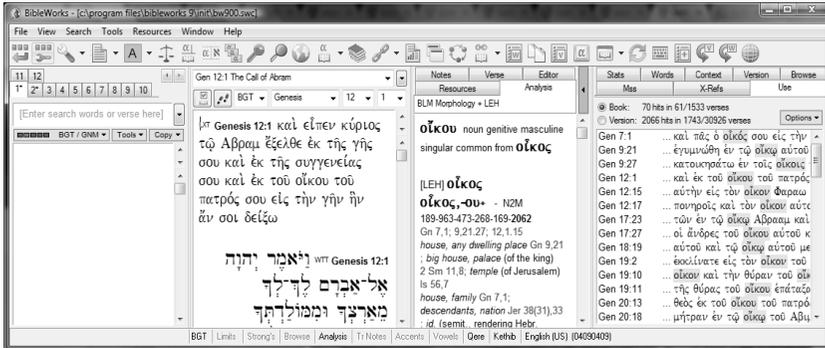
Searching is easy and very fast in BibleWorks. The command line in the Search Window is the place to begin, enabling a wide variety of word and phrase and more complex searches. As with Accordance and Logos, a morphological search is possible, using the @ symbol. The proper search string instantaneously can display verses where two given words occur together, or where just one of two words appears (among other possibilities). A “compound” search (using the / symbol) even allows one to show results for two searches at once.

The so-called search syntax in BibleWorks (how to string together a search command) takes some time to learn. To find all occurrences of an aorist passive subjunctive verb, for example, one searches the string

```
.*@vsap*
```

In Accordance, by comparison, the search string is the somewhat more intuitive **@[VERB aorist passive subjunctive]*, although BibleWorks has plenty of help features to help the user learn its logic. A search through the morphological codes in the help files lead the user to discover, for example, that a search of **@nvfs** returns results for all feminine vocative singular nouns in a morphologically tagged Greek text. More advanced users will be able to take advantage of the Graphical Search Engine, comparable in layout and

function to Accordance’s Construct search. . The BibleWorks help files and videos explain its use.



[Figure 5] BibleWorks layout with Use tab at far right

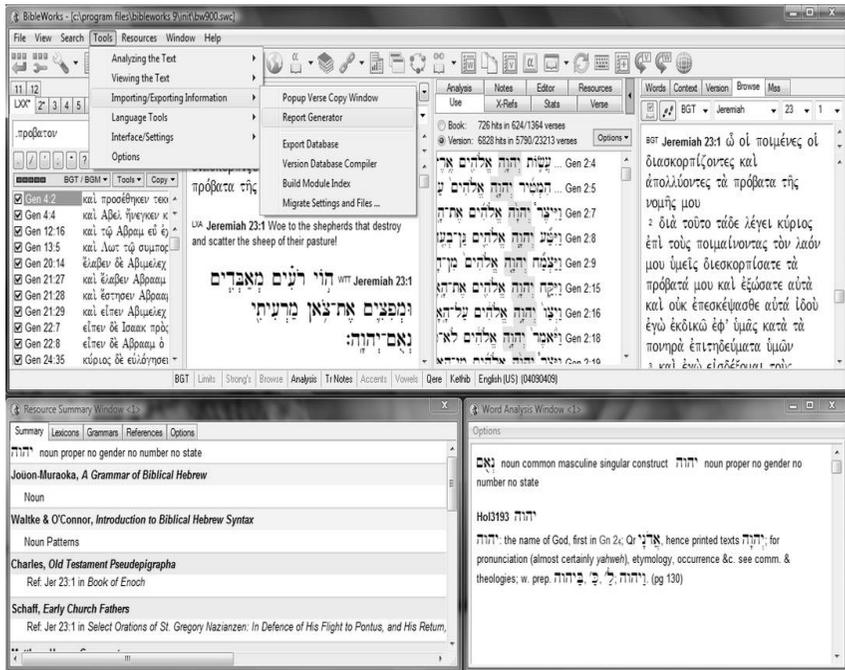
Two things immediately set BibleWorks apart in Septuagint studies, especially for scenarios where one might wish to also access the New Testament. First, BibleWorks alone has a combined Greek Bible: a single version that puts the Septuagint and Greek New Testament together (“BGT”). One can use an LXX text or GNT text alone, but the advantage to BibleWorks’s combined BGT is that searches turn up instantaneous results for a word or phrase in both corpuses at once.

The Use Tab (shown at far right of *Figure 5* above, in an Analysis Window) is nothing short of technologically astounding. Hovering with the cursor over a word in a biblical text almost immediately (in a matter of milliseconds) returns a display full of all the other verses where that word is used. One finds noted the number of hits in a given Book or “Version” (like the BGT, LXX, or GNT), as well as a list of each of those verses, available for further exploration. While a word search can still return similar information, not having to leave one’s Browse Window (where one is working through the text) and being able to see a word’s uses at a glance, throughout the larger book or corpus, is quite convenient.

As with Accordance and Logos, lexical and parsing information is immediately available for any word. Similarly, text comparison and highlight features show textual differences between versions, although the lack of another Greek LXX besides Rahlfs means the user cannot now take advantage of that feature for Septuagint studies.

BibleWorks’s export options make queries easily manipulable. Using the Report Generator, for example, one can build a “report” with selected text to

show all words used in that passage with their frequency counts and lexicon entries (Figure 6).



[Figure 6] A simple report using the Report Generator in BibleWorks

Like Accordance, BibleWorks allows text export using its own Greek and Hebrew fonts, or as Unicode. Hebrew can export with or without pointing, which can also be toggled off and on when viewing a Hebrew text. Exported Greek text retains its accents and breathing marks.

3. Logos 5

3.1 Available Texts and Resources in Logos

As for *English translations of the Septuagint*, Logos has made its own, new translation: The Lexham English Septuagint. It uses Swete's Greek text as its base. Brenton's English translation is available, though – surprisingly – NETS is not. For Greek Septuagint texts:

- Logos is the only Bible software program to offer all of the 23 published volumes of the *Göttingen Septuagint*. Logos also includes the 2004 Göttingen *Supplementum*³
- Logos offers *Swete's Greek OT* text with its basic apparatus, but the Larger Cambridge apparatus is not available
- The *Rahlfs-Hanhart* text with critical apparatus is available. There are several research tools in Logos:
 - The *LEH lexicon* (revised edition)
 - *Conybeare and Stock's grammar*, including the selected readings
 - *Tov and Polak's MT-LXX database*. This is less versatile than in Accordance or BibleWorks, and it is not the revised release that the other two programs have. Though the database's sigla are hyperlinked throughout, the MT-LXX only displays as a two-line interlinear, so that searches using the database are not possible. Using other texts and searches, however (like the Bible Word Study guide and the ANDEQUALS and NOTEQUALS commands with Greek and Hebrew lemma searches), one can still find out how the Greek does or doesn't translate a given Hebrew word. Logos's version of Rahlfs Septuagint has an interlinear option that also displays Hebrew, and a search on a Greek lemma pulls up corresponding Hebrew word(s).
- In partnership with the International Greek New Testament Project, Logos has a transcription of Codex Sinaiticus. A transcription of that codex (plus images) is available in Accordance and BibleWorks, but only in Logos does the transcription include the extant Septuagint portions. It is untagged, but can be used in parallel with a tagged Septuagint text.
- Although neither his full Septuagint lexicon nor his *Two-way Index* are available (in any platform) digitally, Logos alone carries T. Muraoka's *Hebrew/Aramaic Index to the Septuagint*.⁴ Even without Muraoka's *Index*, one can use Logos's Bible Word Study guide (*Figure 7*) to trace Greek-Hebrew equivalencies.

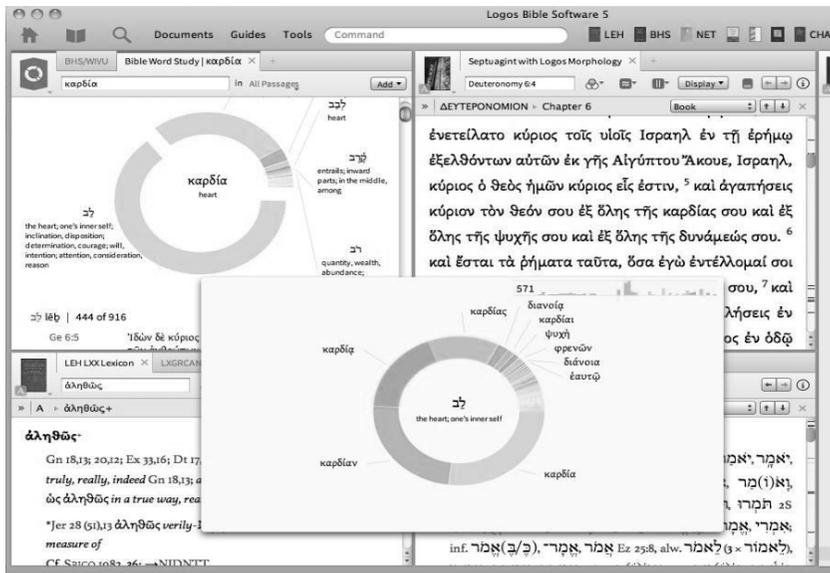
Logos has more monographs and collections of articles than any other platform (even including Amazon Kindle). Some examples are:

³ Alfred Rahlfs, ed. by Detlef Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments. Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004).

⁴ Takamitsu Muraoka, *Hebrew/Aramaic Index to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 1998).

- *The Septuagint*, by Jennifer Dines⁵
- *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible*, by Natalio Fernández Marcos⁶
- *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint*, by Emanuel Tov⁷
- *The Use of the Septuagint in New Testament Research*, by Timothy McLay⁸

The usefulness of each of these resources is greatly enhanced, compared to print, by the ability to search each book by word or phrase. Hyperlinked Scripture references (which can be set to link to a biblical text of choice, whether in Greek or any other language) allow the user to instantly (on click or hover) see the text of a verse mentioned as a reference. Footnotes are similarly hyperlinked.



[Figure 7] Graphically displayed results of a Bible Word Study in Logos

⁵ Jennifer Dines, *The Septuagint* (London/New York: T&T Clark, 2004).

⁶ Natalio Fernández Marcos, translated by Wilfred G. E. Watson, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

⁷ Emanuel Tov, *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999).

⁸ R. Timothy McLay, *The Use of the Septuagint in New Testament Research* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003).

As with Accordance and BibleWorks, Logos offers multiple kinds of searches. Its return of search results (especially on a Mac computer, but also on a PC) is noticeably slower than in Accordance and BibleWorks. A single-word search can take five or more seconds in Logos, whereas a search for the same word in Accordance and BibleWorks shows instantaneous results. Logos 5 has shown improvements from previous versions of Logos, but one hopes that future iterations of the program will have greater speed.

The slow search speed could be due, in part, to Logos's goal of functioning as a "universal digital library," but even with a small library, a user can encounter sluggish responsiveness in Logos (especially on a Mac), a long "preparing your library" message that delays program startup, and regular "indexing" that slows the rest of the computer's performance.

There are six primary search categories in Logos 5: Basic, Bible, Image, Clause, Morph, and Syntax. A "Basic" search combs through one's Logos library of articles, monographs, commentaries, and other resources. "Bible" narrows the search to biblical texts. "Image" returns results for maps, photographs, diagrams, and so on. Clause searching can take a search string like "subject: Jesus object: disciples" and show every time in the New Testament that Jesus is speaking to his disciples, even if "he" and "them" occur in the text with "Jesus" and "disciples" just as referents. Presently, however, clause searching can only be used with a Hebrew Bible (Logos's "Lexham Hebrew Bible") and a Greek New Testament (SBL edition).

A "morph" search gives results according to a specified inflection or part of speech. One can initiate a morphological search via a search bar, or one can right click on a word in an appropriately tagged text to do a search from a given word where it occurs in a text. For example, entering the command "lemma:βασιλεὺς@N[DG]S" in the search bar finds all the times that the noun βασιλεὺς occurs in the singular dative or singular genitive. There are several display options (Verses, Aligned, or Analysis).

Of the three software programs surveyed here, only Logos is fully Unicode already in its Greek and Hebrew texts. That is, there is no *export as Unicode* option because the texts already are Unicode and export as such.

4. The Göttingen Texts in Logos and Accordance, Compared

When Accordance initially released its Göttingen Isaiah volume, there were a number of typos and inaccuracies, compared against the print edition of that text, but those have since been corrected in an updated module that is now available. Perhaps inevitably, both softwares contain typos at various spots,

but for the texts I have examined, they were generally reliable when compared against the print text, with Logos having the edge on accuracy in the Göttingen Septuagint.

Given a choice, users will probably find Accordance easier to utilize with respect to the critical apparatuses, since it offers multiple search fields. One can search the apparatus using such fields as “Manuscripts,” “Greek Content,” “Latin Content,” “Scripture,” “Page Numbers,” and more. One can even search by multiple fields, to conduct, for example, a search for a given Greek variant in a single manuscript, throughout a Septuagint book. A simple command+F (Mac) or control+F (PC) in Logos allows one to find most of what one needs in the Logos apparatuses, but working with the search results in a meaningful way is more difficult. The Accordance method generally allows a user to drill down more quickly to what she or he is looking for.

The Pentateuch volumes of LXX-G in Accordance combine the dual apparatuses of those volumes into a single apparatus. The result is still searchable, but it can be difficult to do work within a single apparatus. The combined apparatus essentially mirrors the print page, but does not take advantage of all that a program could otherwise do. Search results for a given variant, for example, cannot be narrowed down to a single apparatus in Accordance’s Pentateuch volumes. In Isaiah, a newer release for Accordance, the two critical apparatuses come as separate tools and are more easily searchable, with the search results easy to interpret and manipulate.

In Logos, where two critical apparatuses exist in a Göttingen volume, they open as separate modules, which one can link together to scroll in tandem, as well as search and read separately. Logos does not include the *Kopfleiste* (manuscript Source List) for the Göttingen volumes that have one in print, but Accordance does include it. It is true that the *Kopfleiste* makes more sense on the print page, but a researcher of the Septuagint may still feel its absence in Logos (and appreciate its presence in Accordance).

Researchers will find features to facilitate study of LXX-G in both Accordance and Logos. In both, for example, a lexical entry in LEH for a word in the critical apparatus is just a click away (to be exact: a triple-click in Accordance; double-click in Logos).

In both programs one can mouse over blue hyperlinked abbreviations and verse references in the introduction and critical apparatuses to see what they stand for - a time-saver especially for those who are new to using the apparatus. The manuscripts listed in the apparatuses generally hyperlink to the information given about them in the introduction, so that one can get manu-

script information with a simple move of the cursor. Neither Logos nor Accordance (at the time of the writing of this article) offer a German-English dictionary to use for looking up the German of the LXX-G volumes, so knowledge of German is still needed to be able to read the volume introductions. (The reader may already know that that John William Wevers's English translations of his introductions to much of the Göttingen Pentateuch are available freely online.)

The Göttingen volumes are significantly more affordable in Logos (especially with an academic discount). Only Accordance, however, offers the ability to purchase individual volumes. Accordance has continued to produce new Göttingen volumes; two volumes (Psalms with Odes and Esther) released in the first half of 2014.

5. Platforms, Devices, and Cross-Functionality

To review the mobile offerings from Accordance and Logos would exceed the scope of this article. After all, for serious research one will probably require the full computing power of the desktop/laptop programs. However, a few words can be said about program availability on various devices, as well as syncing capability.

Accordance runs on Mac, Windows, and iOS (iPhone and iPad). There is at present no Android app for Accordance. Once a user owns a text or module in Accordance, she or he can access it anywhere. Using Dropbox, Accordance can sync across devices, though the syncing is not (at the time of writing this article) automatic yet, and not as integrated with Windows as it is with Mac and iOS.

Of the three programs explored here, only Logos is fully cross-platform. One can access one's library on Mac, Windows, iOS, and Android, as well as automatically sync across devices. A highlight or note one makes on an iPad, for example, automatically shows up when one returns to a computer. Logos even gives users Web-based access to purchased resources via www.biblia.com.

BibleWorks is a Windows program, though recently available on a Mac via CodeWeavers, which permits a Mac computer to run a Windows program. The Mac version does not retain 100% of the Windows functionality, but it's still quite useable and functional on a Mac. BibleWorks has no mobile presence.

6. Software Collections and Sources for Help

Accordance offers various “collections,” including an “Original Languages” one. LEH and the Rahlfs LXX are included, and additional texts and tools (Göttingen volumes, the MT-LXX Parallel tool, etc.) are available as separate add-ons. More information is at <http://www.accordancebible.com>. BibleWorks, rather than having multiple purchase options, comes with many texts and tools bundled together at one purchase level. More details, including a few additional add-on modules, are at <http://www.bibleworks.com>. Logos offers a wide array of packages, including a “Biblical Languages” option, with other items (additional lexicons, monographs, and so on) available for separate purchase. Their site is <http://www.logos.com>.

Accordance, Logos, and BibleWorks all have extensive sources of help and active user forums. Accordance offers various means of support at <http://www.accordancebible.com/support>. Theirs are the most extensive sources of support, including over 100 podcasts, interactive webinars (which are also recorded for later viewing), training seminars, thorough help files, and others.

BibleWorks has support available at <http://www.bibleworks.com/support>, as well as extensive help files at <http://www.bibleworks.com/bw9help/>. Purchasers of the program also have access to more than six hours of video tutorials.

At <https://www.logos.com/support>, Logos links to help files, videos, a blog, and more. (Logos is unique in offering *paid* advanced training, which can easily be gotten for free in Accordance and BibleWorks.)

More could be said about each of the programs. All three can do much more than has been noted in this space: user-created notes tied to specific verses, highlighting, creation of vocabulary lists, and so on.

As with any advanced computer software there is a learning curve for each. Depending on the scope of one’s study, using a combination of all three softwares may be advisable, though one’s specific research needs (as they relate to available texts, resources, and functionality) will finally dictate how and where one decides to engage with a Bible software program for Septuagint studies.

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Book Reviews

JOHANN COOK AND HERMANN-JOSEPH STIPP, eds., *Text-Critical and Hermeneutical Studies in the Septuagint*. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 157. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2012. Pp. XVII, 493. ISBN 978-90-04-24078-0 (hardback); 978-90-04-24173-2 (e-book).

A volume of collected essays such as this has its own underlying text history. In this case there was first a two-year bilateral research bearing the same title as this volume conducted by the two editors from 2009 to 2011 in connection with their respective institutions (Stellenbosch and Munich). This culminated in a conference at Stellenbosch Institute for Advanced Studies, held in cooperation with the new Association for the Study of the Septuagint in South Africa Aug. 31–Sept. 2, 2011, from which almost all of the included papers originated. Scholars attended from Germany, the Netherlands, Ireland, Belgium, France, Canada, the United States, as well as South Africa.

The twenty-three papers divide unevenly among four categories: History of the Septuagint in General (2), Translation Technique and Text History (10), Textual Criticism (4), and Reception (7). The front matter includes the preface by the editors, six pages of abbreviations, and the list of the 24 contributors (one essay has joint authorship), but no list of their respective institutions. The end matter has first a 27-page reference index of ancient sources and then a (limited) five-page subject index.

Part One: History of the Septuagint in General: ARIE VON DER KOOUJ: The Pentateuch in Greek and the Authorities of the Jews (3–20): At issue (as intimated in the Letter of Aristeas [LA]) is under whose auspices the LXX translation was made, and whether – and if so, to what extent – it involved Jerusalem, and the high priest as political leader. Since LA (128–169) is the only available source, he turns to the literature of the time for analogies, finding external support in Hecataeus of Abdera (c. 300 B.C.E.; but via Diodorus Siculus, 63 C.E.), and 1Q21; and internal support in Exod 19:6 (βασιλειον ιερατευμα); 23:21–23; 2 Macc 2:17. He concludes, “in view of his role as leader and prime interpreter of the Law it seems only natural that the Greek version was made on the authority of the high priest” (19). — HEINZ-JOSEF FABRY: The Biblical Canon and Beyond: Theological and Historical Context of the Codices of Alexandria (21–34): A significant byproduct of the adoption of the codex was the need to decide first the overall groupings, then the books to be included in each, and their individual order, since none of the early codices follow the Hebrew order

overall; what F. calls “interpretation by composition” (22). Of interest are B, α /S, and A, each studied under four rubrics: arrangement of books and structure, the NT books, the hermeneutical concept, and the church-historical background. He concludes, “Despite their imprecise dating, the codices seem to point to specific purposes and intentions, which plausibly reflect the prevailing historical controversies and originate from them. Writers and compilers were actually theologians who discussed the Christological and Trinitarian questions asked by dogmatically informed theologians, in a prudent and wise manner” (33).

Part Two: Translation Technique and Text History: MELVIN K.H. PETERS: Revisiting the Rock: Tsur as a Translation of Elohim in Deuteronomy and Beyond (37–51): LXX studies made great strides in the twentieth century in the light of support from such as the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Naḥal Ḥever Dodekapropheton. However, when it comes down to it, the last and closely-guarded bastion is the priority granted the Masoretic Text, which for practical purposes is the Leningrad Codex. Under consideration here is the presence of צור in Deuteronomy and beyond where the LXX consistently has θεός. Scholars such as McCarthy in BHQ Deuteronomy, and Wevers, Notes, accept the MT reading. However, P. argues forcefully – and convincingly – that this is not acceptable a priori in the light of the evidence: the clear chronological priority of the LXX Vorlage, and P.’s literary analysis of the Hebrew. — HANS AUSLOOS: Judges 3:12–30: An Analysis of the Greek Rendering of Hebrew Word Play (53–68): While the presence of paronomasia in Hebrew has long been recognized, formal study of it is relatively recent, beginning in the late nineteenth century. To A.’s surprise he found no studies of the crossover of wordplay—what he terms “content-related criteria”—from source language to target language in the Septuagint translations. The variety and nature of the examples in the selected passage from Judges 3 serve well to demonstrate the method and its results. At the same time, some will wonder aloud about boundaries, and whether such characteristics as the so-called cognate accusative are wordplay or vernacular speech. I for one will follow the developments with interest. — SIEGFRIED KREUZER: B or not B? The Place of Codex Vaticanus in Textual History and in Septuagint Research (69–96): From the 16th to the 20th century MS B held pride of place as the best witness to the OG, and so is the basis of most published LXX texts. However, this has been maintained in the face of contra evidence, especially the Antiochene (Ant.) text, and nowhere more so than in 1–4 Reigns where B alternates between the two different text types. Interestingly, K. need introduce no new evidence; rather he gathers the salient conclusions of key scholars such as Tov, Ulrich, Barthélemy, and Brock, but rearranges the evidence diachronically to show first that, while B is still overall an excellent witness to the OG, it is not uniformly so, and the text suffers from harmonizations; and second (by comparison with Josephus, NT, OL, and the Naḥal Ḥever text), that the Vorlage of Ant. clearly predates B’s Vorlage, and so in both the kaige and the non-kaige sections it is a significant witness to the OG (the two tables on p. 91 are helpful in showing how reordering Ant. and B

shows the intermediary role of B). — DIETER BÖHLER SJ: *Übersetzungstechnik und Textkritik in den Esdrasbüchern: Hendiadyoin, Doppelübersetzungen und Wiederholungsvariationen in 1 Esdr (97–125)*: B. begins by quoting Luther who advised potential translators of the need for an extensive vocabulary to be able to express meaning clearly. This stood in stark contrast to the approach of Buber and Rosenzweig who consistently used one standard word for each Hebrew word in their translation, and also retained the Hebrew word order to convey some feeling of the Hebrew. Both principles can already be found in the Septuagint, not the least in the two translations 1, 2 Esdras. B. gives a number of examples and discusses phenomena like hendiadys, double translation, double expressions, variants by repetition (Wiederholungsvarianten), etc. Further, he compares his observations with phenomena in the book of Daniel, where there are also two translations (Septuagint and Theodotion), and he draws important conclusions in regard to the text-critical relevance of the different phenomena. — ROBERT J.V. HIEBERT: *In Search of the Old Greek Text of Four Maccabees (127–143)*: It is good to see the progress being made in preparing new volumes for the Göttingen LXX. In this instance the reader is drawn into the rough edges of the painstaking process of evaluating variants in the creation of the critical text of 4 Maccabees. Those familiar only with textual criticism of the GNT will find similar steps, but with far fewer manuscripts. JOHANN COOK: *The Relationship between the LXX Versions of Proverbs and Job (145–155)*: Building on his earlier study, C. works through selected lexical items comparing their occurrences and frequencies in Job and Proverbs and the LXX as a whole as part of his study of the claim that the two books share a common translator. He concludes it is unlikely “that two translators who exhibit such divergent attitudes to their parent texts and to specific lexical items, could have belonged to the same circle of translators, nor could be deemed as one and the same translator” (155). — LAWRENCE LINCOLN: *An Analysis of the Use of Hebel as a Metaphorical and Symbolic Device as Interpreted in LXX Ecclesiastes (157–171)*: This paper is a synthesis of the ideas of various authors demonstrating on the one hand the literalness of the Greek translation, and on the other showing that the book “does not detract in any way from the essential Jewishness of its content, but it does appear to soften its tone slightly to convey a more ethical slant” (170). — PETER NAGEL: *The θεός and κύριος Terms in the Isaiah Text and their Impact on the New Testament: Some Observations (173–191)*: The “rule of thumb” for translating from Hebrew to Greek is: “the Hebrew deity ‘became’ θεός, was ‘named’ κύριος, while being ‘called’ δεσποτής” (174). While this is useful, there are numerous exceptions, and it is to these in LXX Isaiah that N. turns, addressing first the issues of Vorlagen and of Qere/Ketib, and then in turn κύριος and θεός, and their combinations. Finally the impact on the NT is noted first in the quotation of Isa 7:14 and 8:8 in Matt 1:23, and then Isa 10:22c–23 in Rom 9:27, 28. N. concludes in part that “the term θεός could be considered as the most suitable term not only as a Greek equivalent for יהוה, but as a term that represents the Hebrew deity in general” (191). — HARRY F. VAN ROOY: *Revisiting the Original Greek of Ezekiel 18 (193–205)*: When

Ziegler published Ezekiel in the Göttingen series in 1952 he relied heavily on B, and Pap 967 where it was available. Twenty years later the parts of 967 in Cologne and in Madrid were published (1971, 1972). At its heart this study is a detailed and careful reevaluation of Ziegler's text in the light of the later evidence, and six emendations are proposed. Ironically, a lacuna in the second sentence of the conclusion says the exact opposite of what was intended, but the last sentence clarifies the intent. — MARTIN RÖSEL: *Theology after the Crisis: The Septuagint Version of Daniel 8–12 (207–219)*: With the reference to Βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως in 1 Macc 1:54 from Dan 11:31 as the starting point, R. reads Dan 8–12 comparing the Hebrew with the Greek to ascertain whether Maccabean events may have impacted the latter. While for the most part the clues are subtle, nevertheless examples such as מֶלֶךְ הַגּוֹי clarified as βασιλεὺς Αἰγύτου, but הַצַּרְפָּרָזִי translated as βασιλεὺς Βορρᾶ left open the understanding of the latter as the Romans (211). In the building of his case he acknowledges dissenting voices, but in the end concludes that the frequency and the nature of the interpretations evidence influence from the events close to the time of translation.

Part Three: Textual Criticism: JAN JOOSTEN: *The Value of the Septuagint for Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible as Illustrated by the Oxford Hebrew Bible Edition of 1 Kings (223–236)*: This chapter dovetails well with the Kreuzer chapter above (69–96). While there is (inevitable) overlap, the former is extensively historical, while this one is application. There is no rush to judgment, but rather attention to detail within the difficult contexts of the GLXX and GL Vorlagen, and the establishing of the OG text of 3 Reigns in preparation for producing a critical text of 1 Kings for the new Oxford Hebrew Bible. The immediate context is 3 Rgn 1, 2 from which 3 case studies have been drawn to illustrate the approach and the results. — HERMANN-JOSEF STIPP: *Gottesbildfragen in den Lesartendifferenzen zwischen dem masoretischen und dem alexandrinischen Text des Jeremiabuches (237–274)*: S. once more takes up the discussion of the priority of Jer MT or the (Vorlage of) the LXX (called the Alexandrian Text = AIT), especially opposing the view of G. Fischer and A. Vonach. He discusses 45 verses with plusses in MT and analyzes the differences in their presentation of God, especially his dealing with Israel. S. sees the main point of the specifics of the MT text in the increased emphasis on God's sovereignty, which leads at some places even to an increased harshness of God's ruling. However, there are some instances where this phenomenon also occurred in the AIT. Although there was also some development in the pre-LXX text, the main development occurred in the pre-MT branch of the textual tradition. The translator did not intend to change the text but he faithfully translated it, at least in the way he understood his Hebrew Vorlage. —

GIDEON R. KOTZÉ: *Two Difficult Passages in the Hebrew Texts of Lamentations 5: Text-Critical Analyses of the Greek Translation (275–295)*: In its detailed examination of the two verses, Lam 5:10 and 5:13, this paper demonstrates a good grasp of the issues of textual criticism of the HB and the LXX (and other versions);

however, its belabored detailing of the general methodologies is not appropriate in a publication of this level. Section 2 is unnecessary, and its absence—along with some other material—would have sharpened the focus and shortened the paper. Also, the reliance on BDB throughout is surprising. — EBERHARD BONS: *Amos 5:26: Überlegungen zur Textkritik, Textgeschichte und Übersetzung eines schwierigen Bibelverses* (297–308): Although the text of Amos 5:26 today looks simple, there are differences in modern translations and especially in the ancient ones. B. at first discusses the Hebrew text of the MT as well as the two quotations in the Qumran text of the Damascus Document, and the Peshitta, which has influenced modern translations (300). The comparison with the LXX and the Vulgate leads to the observation that only one version of the Hebrew text is represented by the different witnesses, but that the LXX has a slightly different order of the words which makes the meaning of the text clearer and easier to understand. Whether this goes back to the Hebrew text cannot be determined. — MARTIN KARRER / JOHANNES DE VRIES: *Die Schriftzitate im ersten Christentum und die Textgeschichte der Septuaginta: Ein Wuppertaler Forschungsprojekt* (311–357): K. and de V. describe their research project on the textual transmission of LXX texts quoted in the NT. In particular, they explore the idea that readings which differ from the MT stem from NT influences, as is signaled in the critical editions by “ex ...” or “cf ...,” For instance, the most famous example in 13:3 where Rahlfs declared “ex Rom. 3 13–18, ubi Paulus haec uerba [...] cum Ps 13 3 iunxit” (312, fn. 5). They carefully compare text from different parts of the LXX (Deut, Reigs, Chron, Micah, Jer). Interestingly, the codices mark the text in the LXX as quotations, but they do not correct the differences. This observation led to the research project investigating the handling of the quotations, their designations, and their being marked with special signs like the marginal Diplé (or antilambda: >). The research project comprises the large ancient Vollbibeln (i.e., codices with OT and NT text). The material and the results can be found in the database. Its use, some examples, and the main consequences are presented in the paper. — BARBARA SCHMITZ: *Ioudith und Iudith: Überlegungen zum Verhältnis der Judit-Erzählung in der LXX und der Vulgata* (359–379): S. discusses the two versions of the book of Judith and the message of each, the question of the original source language, and the intended readers. In particular, she discusses Jerome’s preface to his translation of the book—the information it gives and the questions it raises—as well as Jerome’s specific understanding and his intentions, along with the light and guidance he provides for the reader. The observations are exemplified by Judith’s widowhood and chastity, and applied to Jerome’s mention of an Aramaic source text. — CILLIERS BREYTENBACH: *PsalmsLXX and the Christian Definition of Space: Examples Based on Inscriptions from Central Asia Minor* (381–394): This chapter details the use of the Septuagint in Christian inscriptions in Asia Minor (Antioch in Pisidia, Anazarbus, Kesmez and Laranda, and Savatra). The psalms are most frequently quoted, and the locations are widely varied: rock faces, gateways of working places, lintels of churches’ entrances, in churches, amulets, bracelets, and funerary inscriptions (393,

394). The intent of the paper is clear, but try as I may, I am unable to relate “Christian Definition of Space” with the content. — JESSIE ROGERS: *The Testament of Job as an Adaptation of LXX Job (395–408): Traditionally the first century B.C.E. to first century C.E. Testament of Job is seen as bearing little relationship to the biblical story of Job beyond the framework. In contradistinction R. argues for “adaptation” that “transposes the biblical story into a different genre, omits large sections and adds a considerable amount of new material to produce a different work” (396). In particular, the Testament is presented as a conscious adaptation of LXX Job directly, not via collective memory. This is readily apparent when it is noted that the four additions in the Greek translation are all found in the Testament. However, the latter at the same time tells its own story that is “about patient endurance under trial; it is not an explanation of unexplained suffering” (401); and the picture of God, Job, and Satan is “more in line with conventional piety” (408).* — JONATHAN MORE: *On Kingship in Philo and the Wisdom of Solomon (409–425):* While it would be possible to compare and contrast these two Jewish documents on the chosen topic in isolation, a comparable Hellenistic source would serve much better; and so it is to the (fragmentary) Hellenistic Pythagorean *περὶ Βασιλείας* tracts attributed to Ecphantus, Diotogenes, and Sthenidas that M. turns. Given the volume of the Philo corpus, the *Life of Moses* is selected because of the retelling of the Exodus story and Moses’ kingship, which story is also told in *Wisdom of Solomon*. The study is focused around four topics: 1) God as king; 2) The king’s imitation of God; 3) nature of the king; 4) imitation of the king. M. concludes that “Philo and the author of the *Book of Wisdom* have drawn on Jewish as well as Graeco-Roman traditions in their respective portrayals of Moses and Solomon as kings. These commonalities serve to highlight the link in Alexandria between Hellenistic Pythagorean philosophy, on the one hand, and Jewish thought on the other” (424). — GERT J. STEYN: *The Text Form of the Isaiah Quotations in the Sondergut Matthäus Compared to the Dead Sea Scrolls, Masoretic Text and Septuagint (427–446):* This chapter at the time was the latest instantiation in a long series of articles by S. researching NT quotations. In this case the chosen sample is from the Isaiah quotations in Matthew not found in Mark or Luke that are also extant in the DSS, in order to ascertain whether the quotations show closer affinities with a LXX version or with the Hebrew texts. The evidence of each of the six examples is carefully and thoroughly laid out, and summarized in detail, as well as commented on. Five conclusions are drawn, but they are appropriately cautious. The last is that “There seems to be a tendency that the text form of the Isaiah quotations in the SMt sections moves closer at a number of places to the Hebrew versions ... and to some of the early translations of the LXX ... as well as to the Egyptian Coptic translations” (445, 446). — WOLFGANG KRAUS: *Die Rezeption von Jer 38:31–34 (LXX) in Hebräer 8–10 und dessen Funktion in der Argumentation des Hebräerbriefes (447–462):* K. opens with the observation that—after already 7 chapters of argumentation—the author of Hebrews announces that he will now turn to the main point: the reference to the promise of a new covenant in Jer 38(LXX)/31(MT). K. discusses the understand-

ding of the text in MT and in LXX, concluding with Schenker and others that it indeed speaks about a new (and not only a renewed) covenant; LXX 1) deepens this point (“Mindestens von einer Zeit der faktischen Unwirksamkeit des Bundes wird man auszugehen haben. Das geht über die Aussage des MT hinaus.” 454) and 2) speaks not only about a new way of transmission of God’s will, but opens up for new content as well. In the next step K. analyses the understanding and import of the passage in Heb 8–10, for which esp. the combination with the quotation of Ps 109:4 is important. In an addendum K. briefly discusses F. Crüsemann’s criticism of Schenker’s (and other’s) understanding of Jer 38/31. Differing views may not be decided by accusations of anti-Semitism. Historical exegesis has to find out the meaning of the text in its time. Considerations about how to deal with a specific text (and its reception) after the Shoah is the task of hermeneutics.

Having read them all, and some more than once, some observations: 1) though the loci of the two institutions limited who would/could participate, this is a rich volume, and a model for other institutions; 2) no one has attempted to write a magnum opus; rather these are interim reports of work ongoing, so that methodology is very much to the fore; 3) in turn, scholars in the various fields will thereby be able to interact, and have their students react; 4) finally, the editors and the publisher have too much faith in their spellcheckers. I was struck by how many correctly-spelled words substitute for the right word, such as certainly for certainty. If a grammar checker was run, it is no substitute for a good proof reader.

A decade and a half into the twenty-first century I am greatly encouraged by the growth and vitality of LXX studies and the scribes who bring forth things both new and old.

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SIEGFRIED KREUZER, MARTIN MEISER and MARCUS SIGISMUND (eds.), *Die Septuaginta - Entstehung, Sprache, Geschichte. 3. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 22.-25. Juli 2010*; Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament (WUNT) I 286, Tübingen: Mohr 2012. XI, 757 pp., ISBN 978-3-16-151698-6.

The present volume is the documentation of the third international conference on Septuagint studies at the Protestant University Wuppertal. The order of the papers

roughly follows the tripartite title of the conference “origin, language, history” with history divided in history and reception history.¹

Part one: Entstehung und Eigenart: EMANUEL TOV, *The Qumran Hebrew Texts and the Septuagint – an Overview* (3-17). ET discusses the importance of these scrolls under the headings textual outlook, reconstructing the Vorlage of the LXX, the relation between the LXX and the other witnesses, scrolls closely related to the LXX, internal relation between scrolls showing affinity with the LXX, a Septuagintal text-type, the origin of the LXX, and parallels between the Hebrew and Greek scrolls found at Qumran. — SIEGFRIED KREUZER, *Textformen, Urtext und Bearbeitungen in der Septuaginta der Königsbücher* (18-37). SK provides an overview of scholarship and controversy surrounding the text of Reigns and recensional activity. An important question is the position occupied by the Antiochene Text in relation to non-kaige portions of Codex B, both of which are older text-forms close to the Old Greek. To be expected, they overlap in the main, but there are differences too which SK calls semi-kaige and ascribes to a light reworking of B that is more recent than L. —

MELVIN K.H. PETERS, , *The Use of Coptic Texts in Septuagint Research* (38-54). MP outlines some of the difficulties facing text-critics in the use of Coptic evidence and then poses the question: how should Coptic texts be used in LXX textual criticism and why should the daughter versions matter? He provides a critique of the so-called pyramid model according to which the Coptic versions are construed as sub-versions that have little bearing on the Hebrew text. Instead, he calls for a model more horizontal and less hierarchical in nature, something hinted at in the conclusions of the article immediately following. — JULIO TREBOLLE, *Textual Criticism and the Literary Structure and Composition of 1–2 Kings / 3–4 Reigns. The Different Sequence of Literary Units in MT and LXX* (55-78). JT argues for the necessity that textual criticism and the witness of the LXX be taken into account in the redaction history of the books of Kings. This is because the Greek and Hebrew texts display a different order of prominent sections and inevitably contain different wording where seams in the narrative were bridged. — RALPH BRUCKER, *Textgeschichtliche Probleme des Septuaginta-Psalters* (79-97). The problem with a Pss edition is not a dearth of mss but the sheer volume and variety with which one has to contend. RB sketches the text history of Pss editions from the Sixtine Edition to the monumental work of Rahlfs, the latter of which is treated in detail. He cites some criticisms of Rahlfs and lists the information that will be appearing

¹ There have been two earlier conferences (Wuppertal 2006, published by Martin Karrer, Wolfgang Kraus, and Martin Meiser, WUNT 219, 2008, 772 pp.; Wuppertal 2008, published by Wolfgang Kraus, Martin Karrer, and Martin Meiser, 2010, WUNT 252, cf. 750pp. [cf. JSCS 46 (2013), 119-122]. There was a fourth conference Wuppertal 2012, published by Siegfried Kreuzer, Wolfgang Kraus, Martin Meiser and Marcus Sigismund, June 2014, WUNT 325, 928pp. The next conference in the same format takes place in July 2014.

in a forthcoming updated edition of the Göttingen Pss edition. — FRANK UEBERSCHAER, *Die Septuaginta der Klagelieder. Überlegungen zu Entstehung und Textgeschichte* (98-111). FU notes that Lam, too easily classed as a slavish translation, nevertheless exhibits some freedom within a goal of quantitative equivalence. He takes seriously the proposal made by Kotzé, following Van der Louw, that in antiquity translation proceeded from reading to writing, which would provide a real context for Soisalon-Soininen's observation that the translators worked clause by clause in a forward direction. FU suggests that if we take seriously Kreuzer's designation of the Antiochene Text as older than kaige, it could also have fruitful implications for Lam studies, which in turn may bring to light further aspects of L itself. —

LUDGER SCHWIENHORST-SCHÖNBERGER, *Weisheit und Gottesfurcht. Ihr Verhältnis zueinander in den weisheitlichen Schriften nach MT und LXX* (112-134). LS aims to demonstrate that to drive a wedge between optimism and skepticism in wisdom by assigning them to different circles, is an over-simplification, since they are two sides of the same coin. The "fear of God" is a key element of both, that serves to bring them closer together. This mediation is brought into sharper focus by the differences observable between the Greek and Hebrew traditions. More practically: if in the development of (Hebrew) biblical wisdom traditions, wisdom as revelation becomes over time more strongly foregrounded than wisdom as experience, the Greek versions serve to intensify this process. — HELMUT ENGEL S.J., *Die Sapientia Salomonis als Buch. Die gedankliche Einheit im Buch der Weisheit* (135-143). In the first part HE provides an overview of scholarship pertaining to the book's unity. In part two he explores the writer's technique of transitioning from one section to the next, while in part three he decides between regarding SapSol as an exhortation to righteousness and viewing it as a document in praise of wisdom. —

EBERHARD BONS, *Beobachtungen zum anthropologischen Vokabular von Weish 7,1-6* (ἄνθρωπος ἄσποδος und ἔξοδος) (144-154). EB illustrates how a character like Solomon is said to think of himself as a Greek would, i.e. as a mortal, in contrast to a Hebrew designation such as 'a man of flesh'. This would have been of value to Jews familiar with Greek rhetoric and thought. The idiomatic terms "entering" and "exiting" life, however, are not found in Greek sources with any measure of certainty, and must be located squarely within Jewish thought. These twin observations modify the perspective that SapSol is dependent on Greek concepts alone. — JONG-HOON KIM, *Text und Übersetzung des griechischen Zephanjabuches* (155-166). Lexically, Greek Zeph is at home with the other books of the Twelve. Yet it demonstrates some individuality, which JK illustrates by means of deviations from MT, cases of textual corruption in the Vorlage, revocalization and deliberate changes by the translator. — JOHAN LUST, *Ezekiel in the Old Greek and in the Recentiores, with special emphasis on Symmachus*. (167-181) This article is a useful synopsis of the state of the question regarding the Greek text of Ezekiel. It opens with

evidence for a shorter Hebrew text witnessed by the OG, and treats matters of translation technique and multiple versions. Next JL describes the work of the revisers, who bring the Greek more in line with the MT and in so doing inadvertently help the modern lexicographer and text-critic. He cautions that the Symmachus material needs to be treated with caution since it mostly contains retroversions from the Syriac. Finally he demonstrates the value of a lexical concordance.

Part 2: Sprache: TAKAMITSU MURAOKA, *Syntax of the participle in the Septuagint books of Genesis and Isaiah (185-202)*. M's planned monumental LXX syntax will no doubt provide support for the well-established consensus within LXX language study, that the LXX is a bearer of standard Koine grammar, syntax and vocabulary, such as found in the papyri and inscriptions. Though M allows for the fact that the translated books of the LXX exhibit linguistic features of their original in varying degrees, it is likely that by reason of its intended approach his enterprise may be open to criticism. He is not taking as primary point of departure a translation-technical approach of individual books. Instead, he wishes for the LXX as 'running Greek text' to be a repository of Koine syntax, including such features that are unattested elsewhere. M. then expresses his disappointment about previous generations of grammarians (e.g. Mayser) for treating the LXX like the "Cinderella of Greek philology" (186 n.2) by not sufficiently taking into account its evidence. Let us consider as a test case one of his first examples, that of the indefinite nominal participles in G Isa, with a pace to BDF who do not refer to them (point 1.3, to which one could add the *gr/fontej* in Isa 10.1). A quick comparison with the Hebrew shows that all three Greek participles lacking the article match indefinite participles in the original. A check of all the definite Heb participles in Isa 1-10 that are also rendered by participles in Greek, shows that in each case the translator adds the article. This limited data-set is thus in the first instance a phenomenon of translation technique rather than straightforward evidence of Koine syntax: LXX Isa appears to be careful to represent faithfully the presence or absence of the Hebrew article with respect to participles. BDF were probably justified in not muddying the waters by mentioning these anarthrous participles. A systematic LXX syntax in my opinion would have to proceed book by book, or corpus by corpus, as in the case of Karl Huber's *Untersuchungen über den Sprachcharakter des griechischen Leviticus*, (Giessen, 1916), or Anwar Tjen's *On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch: A Study of Translation Syntax* (New York, 2010) in which each syntactic feature of the LXX is compared with contemporaneous usage and explanations for aberrations are first sought with reference to the Semitic original, after which cautious conclusions may be drawn. — MARTIN VAHRENHORST, *Die Übersetzung kultischer Begriffe am Beispiel der תנופה* (203-212). The Hebrew term usually translated by 'wave offering' is difficult enough to understand, so that a glimpse into the decisions made by ancient translators closer to the source would appear to be of use to the modern interpreter. One notices in the first place that the translators of Ex and Lev

did not make etymological choices, nor employed them rigidly, but described the cultic actions themselves by verbs such as “separate,” or elsewhere “remove,” or the portion by the nouns “firstfruits” or “addition” as the context demanded. MV wrestles with the apparent random variation but tries to distill some conscious effort of the translators to be precise. This matter is not easily settled, since precision here is so often matched by imprecision elsewhere. — ANSSI VOITILA, *The Use of Tenses in the L- and B-Texts in the Kaige-Section of 2 Reigns (213-237)*. This in-depth study makes valuable observations about the language of the Antiochene text (L) in relation to the kaige, and occasionally the non-kaige sections of Reigns, where AV notices a similar trend of light revision mentioned elsewhere in the volume. —

KATRIN HAUSPIE, *Further Literary Observations in Both Tobit Versions (238-248)*. KH wishes to supplement the observations made by Hanhart and provides a careful description of the *modus operandi* followed by the shorter version G1 to rework, abridge and improve the language of the longer version G2 in order to enhance the story for his readership. — PHILIPPE LE MOIGNE, *Le caractère hétérogène du grec de la LXX: l'exemple de 2M (249-272)*. Rather than comparing books to one another, LM explores the diversity within one book, in this case 2Macc, through a series of grammatical and stylistic vantage points. 2M is carefully chosen for its compositional status and its stylistic homogeneity. It is also unique in that it displays both language not found elsewhere in the LXX, language that is at home in extra-biblical Greek, as well as septuagintalsms. As a probe into one aspect of a study of the language of the LXX, he has successfully shown a balance between employment of non-biblical Greek, as well as usage inspired by the LXX. — HANS AUSLOS / BÉNÉDICTE LEMMELIJN / VALÉRIE KABERGS, *The Study of Aetiological Wordplay as a Content-Related Criterion in the Characterization of LXX Translation Technique (273-294)*. The authors seek to further work out their approach to LXX translation technique, which they call “content-related,” building on the double foundation of quantitative research and translation technique. Here they wish to focus on Greek renderings of etiological proper names for people and places. This answers a plea of Aejmelaeus for the discernment of as many criteria by which to judge translation technique, not as a deliberate working mode of translators but as a model that would account for what they did. Finding multiple attitudes and working procedures, they propose further possibilities for investigation that would benefit not only studies in translation technique but also provide some illumination of the fields to which it is closely related: textual and redaction criticism. —

CECILE DOGNEZ, *La version Barberini. Éléments pour une étude littéraire d'un autre texte grec d'Habacuc 3 (295-310)*. Apart from the number of whole books evincing multiple versions, Hab 3 merits special attention since it is the only example of a loose-standing chapter that has been singled out for retranslation, in the mode of Symmachus, probably in Asia Minor. D offers a valuable bird's eye view of the

reception history of the original. While there is evidence suggesting that the H chapter may have been an insertion, it is not certain whether a translation of such a free-standing Hebrew hymn is attested independent of Greek Hab. D's attention in this article is focussed mostly on the literary particularities so-called Barberini version of this chapter, especially the agreements and differences between it and the OG of Ziegler's edition. Omission of the word 'prophet' from the chapter's title, makes it more universally useful as a hymnic prayer. The Barberini version is coloured by stylistic variation, periphrasis, and theological ideas often in agreement with other traditions. It contains carefully chosen vocabulary seldom or never found elsewhere in the LXX. — MADELEINE WIEGER, Ἐὐσεβεία dans la Septante et dans les épîtres pastorales (311-334). While some Greek words are employed in Jewish and Christian writings in ways quite different from, or quite lacking in profane usage, εὐσεβεία is different. Its Jewish and Christian employment does not appear to be unique, and it is a widely used technical term in Greek religion, having to do with the relationship between humans and the divine, and in the classical period pertained to political piety. Since the Polis and its deities are inseparable, εὐσεβεία is the virtue by which the individual conforms to the norms of the Polis and whatever political order is desired by the deity. As such it bespeaks an anthropocentric and subjective piety, lacking the dimension of obedience to a personal deity whose objective revelation requires a response in a close relationship. W's intensive study spans the LXX and profane usage, the Pastoral Epistles and profane usage, and deals with the problem of reinterpretation by Jewish and Christian writings and their interpreters, of a Greek word's semantic content. This is an important methodological matter for lexicography.

Part three: Geschichte: WALTER AMELING, Seleukidische Religionspolitik in Koile-Syrien und Phönizien nach der neuen Inschrift von Maresha (337-359). An inscription found in Maresha is only the second letter of Seleucus IV that has come to light. In it he emphasizes that his rule will not be to further his supreme might but in personal initiative he will serve the common good, so that his citizens may live without fear. Various technical terms characterize the benefits of his administration and this terminology is treated in detail by WA. Of particular interest is the role that the Seleucid High Priest is to play in the ruler's concern for local sanctuaries, in this case the one just North of Maresha in Jerusalem. WA raises intriguing questions about the figures Simon and Heliodorus. — JOHANNES ENGELS, Herodot, die Lindische Tempelchronik (FGH 532), Eupolemus (FGH 723) und andere angebliche griechische Quellen für narrative Motive und geographische Angaben im Buch Judith (360-374). JE's contribution seeks to augment Kaizer's commentary to Judith by including an investigation of some extra-biblical material besides Hdt., in this case two works that are included in Jacoby's FGH, now in the process of being extensively reworked. JE suspects that the author of Jdt had more than an elementary knowledge of Greek historical and geographical-ethnographic writings. —

JOHANNES MAGLIANO TROMP, *The Reception of the Book of Esther by Egyptian Jewry (375-386)*. JM provides a rationale for suggesting that the colophon of Esther should not be read to confirm a top-down, or hierarchical model in which the Jerusalem priesthood kept watch on the Egyptian community and imposed their ideas on them. Instead, the Jews of Egypt looked to Jerusalem for guidance and information. — MICHAËL VAN DER MEER, *The Natural and Geographical Context of the Septuagint: Some Preliminary Observations (387-421)*. MvdM with encyclopedic thoroughness, treats the topic of place names in the Septuagint. He seeks to be methodologically rigorous which in LXX studies always begins with the unevenness of the evidence, followed by the influence of the original and corrections or distortions found in the transmission history. In spite of these difficulties he proposes to work comparatively with a variety of sources from the Greco-Roman world. He achieves a fine description of the Historical Geography of the LXX, which includes the country and its regions, 15 cities and the natural geography of Egypt.

Part four: Rezeptionsgeschichte: MARTIN MEISER, *Die Bedeutung der Rezeptionsgeschichte für die Septuagintaforchung (425-443)*. MM makes a case for reception-historical study as not simply the presentation of the fruit borne by this or that reading tradition but rather one that asks what kinds of hermeneutical guidelines, and which other texts may have generated specific instances of reception. He sets out to show that a knowledge of the reception history of the LXX may be of value for its interpretation. How this happens is richly illustrated from the realms of philology, the history of ideas and theology. Reception-historical study may illustrate points of convergence or divergence between the world of the translators and later readers, or demonstrate that because of the openness left us by the translators, later traditions may have missed entirely the original intention. It also confirms the fact that the translators were mainly concerned with faithfully rendering their original rather than being concerned with creating the kind of text that may be fruitful for later critical inquiry. — GERT J. STEYN, *Can we reconstruct an early text form of the LXX from the quotations of Philo of Alexandria and the New Testament? (444-464)*. GJ conducts a preliminary investigation that sets out to determine to what extent Philo's quotations of the LXX, in relation to NT quotations of the same passages, may be a witness to early text forms. Though this is possibly demonstrable in his opinion, he is careful to list the difficulties and pitfalls encountered by such a comparison. These are, among others, the paucity of evidence, Philo's improvement of LXX grammar (e.g. in Gen 28.15 the change of the relative's case from gen. to dat.), his tendency to paraphrase and conflate and the unevenness of his quotations from work to work. — MOGENS MÜLLER, *Die Lukasschriften und die Septuaginta (465-479)*. In his double work, Luke makes use of known LXX traditions, but also composes in a kind of LXX-Greek style. This may be attributable to the fact that, unlike the Peshier-tradition found elsewhere in the Synoptics, Lk resorts to citing Scripture in order to back up his assertions. MM explores the relation between this

‘sacred’ style and Lk’s elevated Greek. Next he pays attention to recent scholarship on the explicit Lukan citations, and the question of whether he employed the LXX for its proof value in contrast to sources closer to the Hebrew or a Hebrew text itself. — FLORIAN WILK, *Jesajanische Prophetie im Spiegel exegetischer Tradition. Zu Hintergrund und Sinngehalt des Schriftzitats in 1Kor 2,9 (480-504)*. Since the Early Church, there has been uncertainty as to origin of this citation. FW produces a complex answer by examining the scriptural foundations, the parallels in antiquity, as well as the Jewish scribal and exegetical horizons. And the answer is that Paul is citing a version of LXX Isa 64.4[3] that has been brought closer to a Hebrew original. In line with Jewish exegetical tradition, Paul reads Isaiah as referring to the eschatological assets in store for the people of God: righteousness, sanctification and redemption. — PATRICK T. EGAN, *Did Peter Change Scripture? The Manuscript Tradition of Greek Psalms 33–34 and 1 Peter 3:10–12 (505-528)*. PE aims to challenge scholarly consensus about Peter’s use of Scripture by taking his exploration to the manuscript level. This will demonstrate that Peter does not rework texts as much as reflecting developments in the textual tradition of the Greek Scriptures. PE calls for a deepening of scholarship on this subject to include a wider scope as well a scrutiny of the manuscripts themselves, rather than readings in critical editions. — MICHAEL LABAHN, *Griechische Textformen in der Schriftrezeption der Johannesoffenbarung? (529-560)*. Since the LXX is the textual Vorlage of the NT authors, a number of questions arise. Among the most intriguing and of concern for the Wuppertal project, is the relationship that exists between variants in the receptor-texts and the textual history of the LXX itself as well as that of its daughter versions. ML outlines and evaluates the contribution of Rev, a book that offers mixed evidence in this regard. This he does by way of selected citations from Ezekiel. — JOHN GRANGER COOK, *Porphyry’s Critique of the Jewish Scriptures: Three New Fragments (561-581)*. JC discusses three fragments containing alleged Porphyrian objections to the Eden narrative: its ‘evil’ tree and God’s envy in denying Adam access to knowledge. Why allusion to these objections crop up in Jewish, Christian and Gnostic Christian sources is due to a number of possible factors that could count for or against their being genuinely Porphyrian. But JC feels that if genuine, they derive from the *Contra Christianos*. It served Porphyry’s interests to attack Christianity by finding logical and philosophical errors in the Jewish Scriptures, as Eusebius deplored. —

HEINZ-JOSEF FABRY, *Der Beitrag der Septuaginta-Codizes zur Kanonfrage. Kanontheologische Überlegungen zu Einheit und Vielfalt biblischer Theologie (582-599)*. HF aims to discover the traditions behind the current ordering of the books, why in the course of history this order was altered, and what possible implications this holds for Jewish-Christian dialogue. He reminds us that there has not been a sustained effort in Christian theology to articulate a “genesis of togetherness” of the OT and NT and observes what should be self-evident, but hardly taken seriously, that the order of OT books decided upon at Trent and reflected in the Vul and Rahlfs, has no ancient

precedent, even though it presents a storyline that builds a tidy bridge to the NT. By reviewing the contents and order of the three main Codices and MT he asks the question whether MT possibly represents a later textual tradition than that of the Codices, since in Jewish circles the only avenue left for interpretation was to reorder the position of books because altering their content was impossible. Thus MT does not preserve any of the ‘synapses’ to the NT evident in the Codices. This is a valuable essay that allows the reader to become aware of the complexities surrounding the emergence of the Jewish and Christian bibles. — MARTIN KARRER, *The New Leaves of Sinaiticus Judges (600-617)*. MK discusses the relation between Codices B and S (who belong to the kaige-group) on the one hand and a corrector of S (ca) who may have drawn upon Codex A (the older, unrevised text). He does so with the help of some intriguing examples from Judges, set out in table form. A connection to some of the ideas of the previous article is his observation that Christianity preserved and made use of a variety of text-forms including Jewish ones. The newly discovered folia of S contribute to the urgent need for the production of a critical edition of Judges. — MARIACHIARA FINCATI, *New Testament Quotations and the Text of the Ambrosian Hexateuch (618-625)*. MF produces a useful history of Codex F from the 5th Century, through the Middle Ages to the 11th Century. Included is a list of agreements between it and Pauline quotations, and she argues that these similarities in the Codex are not attributable to Christian influence, as medieval annotations generally are not connected to NT quotations. — MARCUS SIGISMUND, *Der Codex Lugdunensis als textkritischer Indikator für die Old Greek des Buches JosuaLXX (626-634)*. MS laments the fact that in spite of its antiquity, the OL is given so little weight and therefore value as a witness to the early text-form of the LXX. His study seeks to make a contribution towards rectifying this by arguing not for the OL as supporting witness but as a more foundational bearer of evidence. He conducts an examination of the OL text of Jos 1.1-9 which includes notes to the Latin text, and text-critical observations from which the following conclusions can be drawn: the OL serves as a counterpart to the OG, Cod. Lug. draws attention to significant variants that have been neglected by critical editions and lastly, that Cod. Lug. contains unique readings that inter alia elevate the status of Joshua the successor to Moses. — WALTER BERSCHIN, *Der Septuagintapsalter in abendländischen Bibliotheken des Mittelalters (635-648)*. Though hardly anyone in the Latin Occident had the ability to read a Greek text in the original, Greek nevertheless persisted in various contexts, e.g. the Liturgy, and of all LXX texts, it is the book of Pss that is given the greatest prominence. Its presence in Medieval libraries is significant, and of these WB provides a catalogue and description. — IOAN CHIRILĂ, *Septuaginta – Quelle der rumänischen Ausgaben der Bibel: Anhaltspunkte über das Werk der Bibelübersetzung auf Rumänisch (649-661)*. The Greek language and the LXX were used from early on in Romanian Christianity, so that translation into modern languages depended to a great extent on a Greek original. IC treats in detail a number of translations into Romanian and what is characteristic of, and unique to them. —

WOLFGANG KRAUS, *Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D) – Rückblick und Ausblick* (662-676). WK begins by noting some reasons for the scholarly neglect of the LXX in spite of its value, most of whom are unfortunate. From the outset, the LXX.D project sought to increase the worth of the LXX in areas of Religious Studies where previously only the MT dominated. In addition it took seriously Hanhart's call that a translation ought to be accompanied by commentary although its proponents do not share his pessimism over the scientific value of translations. In the rest of the article WK explains what is found in the commentary volumes, outlines a third project which is to be a handbook, and proposes a threefold rationale for LXX studies as a discipline in its own right.

This is valuable collection of highly technical articles that will be of great usefulness to the important field of Septuagint Studies. Copious indices facilitate access to their rich and widespread content.

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MYRTO THEOCHARUS, *Lexical Dependence and Intertextual Allusion in the Septuagint of the Twelve Prophets: Studies in Hosea, Amos and Micah*. Library of Hebrew Bible / Old Testament Studies 570. New York/London : T & T Clark International, 2012. xvi + 292 pp. ISBN: 978-0-567-10564-6.

Les études sur la traduction grecque des Douze Petits Prophètes connaissent ces dernières années un regain d'intérêt. La taille raisonnable du corpus qui permet de s'y mouvoir aisément, l'homogénéité de celui-ci depuis que la thèse de l'unité du traducteur fait désormais consensus et, enfin, la découverte du rouleau grec de ces douze petits livres dans le désert de Naḥal Hever, publié de façon définitive par E. Tov, sont sans doute à l'origine de ces nouvelles recherches.

L'ouvrage de M. Theocharus qui porte plus particulièrement sur les livres d'Osée, Amos et Michée - le « trio » qui ouvre le corpus dans la Septante selon un ordre différent de celui du texte massorétique -, s'inscrit dans cette lignée. Il s'agit d'une thèse de doctorat soutenue à l'Université de Cambridge sous la direction du Professeur Robert Gordon et qui se propose d'étudier la dépendance lexicale et l'intertextualité à l'œuvre dans les Douze.

Le premier chapitre qui constitue l'Introduction de l'ouvrage commence par définir ce que l'on entend par « intertextualité » - un concept souvent utilisé dans les

études bibliques, mais également en rapport avec la traduction, en l'occurrence ici celle des Septante. Sont ensuite rappelées un certain nombre de données sur le traducteur des Douze, sur la *Vorlage* hébraïque dont il disposait, sur sa « technique de traduction », sur l'existence ou non d'une tradition de lecture et, enfin, sur le milieu judéo-hellénistique. Suivent 4 chapitres consacrés proprement au sujet.

Dans le chapitre 2 intitulé *Lexical sourcing*, l'auteur se propose de revenir sur la thèse d'E. Tov selon laquelle la traduction du Pentateuque grec aurait servi de lexique aux autres traducteurs. Au terme d'un examen très minutieux d'environ une quarantaine de mots présents à la fois dans le texte grec des Douze et dans celui du Pentateuque, et classés selon quatre rubriques (néologismes proprement dits, néologismes sémantiques, traductions étymologisantes et équivalents grecs déjà disponibles en milieu hellénistique), M. Theocharus en conclut que, pour la grande majorité de ce lexique, le traducteur des Douze est totalement indépendant du Pentateuque grec et qu'il utilise un vocabulaire qui est tout simplement celui de la koinè de l'époque, comme J. Lee l'avait montré.

Le chapitre 3 traite de l'emploi des traductions « standard », c'est-à-dire ces expressions qui font partie du jargon religieux du traducteur grec et qui trouvent leur origine dans un texte autre que celui qui est traduit (p. 66). Les exemples choisis sont tirés d'Osée 4, 13, d'Osée 5, 11 et de Michée 1, 6 et 3, 12 et, à chaque fois, le traducteur grec des Douze s'écarte de sa *Vorlage* hébraïque. L'expression utilisée par le traducteur grec des Douze figure généralement plusieurs fois ailleurs dans la Bible et il paraît souvent difficile, affirme l'auteur, de savoir dans quel sens s'est fait l'emprunt. Et même lorsque l'on peut préciser l'origine de l'expression, on ne peut en rien affirmer avec certitude que notre traducteur l'a bien empruntée à cette source; il est tout à fait possible qu'il ait eu recours à une autre source ou qu'il s'agisse d'un emploi oral très courant. L'exemple tout à fait intéressant sur lequel s'attarde particulièrement M. Theocharus est celui du mot *ὄπωροφυλάκιον* (p. 94-106), un néologisme probablement forgé par les Septante selon J. Dines ou, au contraire, un mot de la vie courante dans les vignes égyptiennes selon M. van der Meer. Présent en Mi 1, 6 et 3, 12 mais également en Ps 78 (TM 79), 1, en Is 1, 8 ; 24, 20 et dans une variante en Jer 33 (TM 26), 18, ce terme n'a cessé d'intriguer les chercheurs qui ont essayé de savoir quel est celui des traducteurs qui a influencé les autres. Pour M. Theocharus, il est fort probable qu'il s'agisse d'un « cliché euphémistique » présent à l'origine dans la traduction d'Isaïe qui aurait fortement marqué les autres traducteurs.

Le chapitre 4, le plus long de l'ouvrage (p. 107-195), porte sur les liens par mot accroche. L'intertextualité repose dans ce cas sur les échos verbaux : un passage évoque un ou plusieurs autres passages bibliques, en raison de la présence de un ou plusieurs mots identiques. Ce mode de lecture rappelle la technique exégétique rabbinique de la *gezerah shavah* ou intertextualité scripturaire. M. Theocharus choisit ses exemples uniquement en Amos et en Osée et les répartit en deux catégories : dans une première partie, sont minutieusement étudiés trois passages, Am 1, 3 ; 1,11 et 6, 6,

dans lesquels les mots ou les phrases accroches sont délibérément utilisés par le traducteur des Douze pour évoquer d'autres passages bibliques, respectivement 1 Ch 20, 3 ; Gen 38, 9 et Is 25, 6 (p. 109-148) ; dans une seconde partie, l'auteur examine quatre textes, Os 4, 9 ; 12, 4-5 ; Am 1, 15 et 4, 2, dont les liens intertextuels avec d'autres lieux bibliques sont apparents et souvent attribués au traducteur par les commentateurs, alors que les choix de traduction, en réalité, peuvent se justifier autrement, selon M. Theocharus, soit par une exégèse de type contextuelle en Os 4, 9, soit par une influence de l'hébreu post-biblique ou araméen en Os 12, 4-5, soit par une *Vorlage* hébraïque différente en Am 1, 15, soit par l'emploi d'une image grecque plus appropriée en Am 4, 2 (p. 148-195).

Le chapitre 5 porte sur l'intertextualité qui repose sur l'allusion à un récit, un événement ou un personnage biblique bien précis. Il n'est plus question dès lors de mot-accroche mais de l'influence d'un « intertexte » suffisamment important pour qu'il conduise le traducteur à « manipuler » sa *Vorlage* hébraïque, au point d'introduire dans sa traduction des marques de ce texte. Nous retiendrons en particulier le passage de Gen 34, 26 sur le meurtre de Sychem qui a dû influencer Os 6, 9 ou encore la vision des sauterelles en Am 7, 1 tributaire à la fois de la tradition sur Gog présente en Ezéchiel et de la description des sauterelles de Joël.

De façon un peu surprenante, l'ouvrage ne comporte pas de conclusion mais le chapitre 5 s'achève sur un résumé des différents chapitres, suivi d'observations générales : au terme de son étude, M. Theocharus constate ainsi que le traducteur des Douze respecte le texte consonnantique qu'il a sous les yeux ainsi que l'ordre même des mots, mais qu'il fait preuve néanmoins d'une certaine liberté, manifeste des tendances proto-midrashiques ou targoumiques, soucieux avant tout de rendre accessible au public de son temps le plein sens du texte.

Un tel ouvrage dont l'examen très minutieux des différents passages étudiés est mené avec compétence et exigence, sans rigidité aucune et sans cesse en dialogue avec les autres recherches, montre en particulier que l'étude de l'intertextualité, même limitée à certains livres, offre un nouvel angle d'approche pour expliquer les divergences de la Septante dans son ensemble. A ce titre, la lecture du livre de M. Theocharus n'est nullement réservée à ceux qui travaillent sur les Douze Prophètes mais sera du plus grand intérêt pour tout Septantiste s'intéressant à la technique de traduction de tel ou tel livre de la Septante.

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MICHAEL F. BIRD, *1 Esdras: Introduction and Commentary on the Greek Text in Codex Vaticanus* (Septuagint Commentary Series), Leiden-Boston: Brill. 2012, XIV + 317 pp., ISBN 978-90-04-23030-9.

Birds Kommentar zum 1 Esdras ist seit langem (Coggins 1979, Pohlmann 1980, Sacchi 1981) der erste zu diesem apokryphen oder deuterokanonischen Buch des Alten Testaments. Die meisten Vorgänger fassten sich kürzer und wurden nur bei dem „Sondergut“ der Pagenerzählung (1 Esdr 3-4) ausführlicher, da ja der Rest von 1 Esdr mit 2 Chr 35-36 + Esr 1-10 + Neh 8 übereinstimmt. Demgegenüber hat Birds Zugang den großen Vorzug, dass er 1 Esdr als zwar kompilierte, aber dennoch zusammenhängende Erzählung interpretiert. Die früher gern verhandelte Frage, ob 1 Esdr nicht nur ein zufälliges Fragment des Chronistischen Geschichtswerks sei, weist er zurück und schließt sich zu Recht den Untersuchungen von der Kooij zu Anfang und Ende des 1 Esdr an.

Der Text, den Bird seiner Kommentierung zu Grunde legt, ist nicht die kritische Göttinger Ausgabe, sondern ein diplomatischer: der Text des Codex Vaticanus. Der Kommentar besteht aus drei Hauptteilen: Einführung (S. 1-34), Text und Übersetzung (S. 35-105) und Kommentar (S. 107-283). Bibliographie und Indizes schließen den Band ab.

Die Einführung behandelt klassische Einleitungsfragen wie Zeit und Ort der Entstehung, Gattung, Quellen, Absicht und Rezeptionsgeschichte.

Text und Übersetzung werden praktischerweise auf je gegenüberliegenden Seiten geboten. Dem griechischen Text des Vaticanus ist am Seitenende ein erster textkritischer Apparat angefügt, der ausschließlich die Abweichungen von Rahlfs (Ausgabe 2006) notiert, nicht aber die von Hanhart (z. B. 1 Esdr 1,10). Der Text des Vaticanus wird exakt abgedruckt, einschließlich der Abkürzung der nomina sacra. Die Verszählung folgt Rahlfs.

Die Textkommentierung erfolgt abschnittsweise. Literarische Analyse und Anmerkungen zu historischen Hintergründen werden zusammengenommen. Bird diskutiert vor allem mit den englischsprachigen Kommentaren von Myers (1974) und Coggins (1979) sowie dem textkritischen Kommentar von Talshir (2001). Literatur in anderen Sprachen zieht er punktuell heran. Am Schluss eines jeden Kommentarabschnitts steht jeweils im Kleindruck ein textkritischer Abschnitt, in dem wichtige Varianten anderer Handschriften sowie der Hanhartausgabe diskutiert werden.

Zu den Vorteilen dieses Kommentars darf man vielleicht schon die Tatsache zählen, dass seine Textgrundlage ein konkretes Manuskript ist, eben der Vaticanus. So hat dieser Kommentar von vornherein eine etwas andere Ausrichtung als der vom Rezensenten gleichzeitig (2012) geschriebene Kommentar in der Reihe IECOT/IEKAT (erscheint 2014), der den kritischen Text der Göttinger Ausgabe zu Grunde legt.

Stärken und Schwächen von Birds Kommentar hängen weitgehend mit seiner Eigenschaft als Neutestamentler zusammen. Der Kommentar ist stark darin, den (griechischen) Text von 1 Esdr in die antike Gräzität einzubinden. So werden immer wieder Querverbindungen zu Herodot, Xenophon und Philo hergestellt, zu Josephus, der 1 Esdr in Ant. XI benutzt, sowieso. Griechischen Wortbedeutungen oder Stilfiguren wie Synkrisis (S. 156) und Beobachtungen zum Wechsel zwischen Präsens und Aorist (S. 251f) wird breiter Raum gegeben. Besonders stark ist die Einbettung der Vokabeln und Formulierungen des griechischen 1 Esdr in die übrige Septuaginta. Dazu kommen die Berührungen, die sich zwischen dem griechischen 1 Esdr und dem Neuen Testament ergeben, etwa die Kombination von „Wurzel“ und „Stern“ in 1 Esdr 8,75f und Offb 22,16 (S. 263), die Erwägungen über 1 Esdr als „Christian Scripture“ oder die ausdrückliche Zurückweisung von „Legalismus“ bei Esra, der die Tora zur Krönung der Befreiung des Volkes macht, nicht zur Bedingung (S. 233).

Bird kennt und berücksichtigt neuere Veröffentlichungen und lässt damit manche veralteten einleitungswissenschaftlichen Auffassungen hinter sich. In diesem Feld aber zeigen sich auch die deutlichsten Schwächen des Kommentars. Der Neutestamentler „with much interest but no real training in Ezra-Nehemiah and Septuagint studies“ (p. XI) ist nur begrenzt vertraut mit Esra-Studien und textkritischen Grundsatzfragen (Vorlagen, Übersetzungstechnik). So äußert er auf S. 9 die gewagte Vermutung, die semitische Vorlage von 1 Esdr^{gr} sei eine aramäische rewrites Bible (aus Chr und Esr), „so that the Greek version is a translation of an Aramaic version“. Er nimmt daher immer wieder eine aramäische Vorlage an (S. 232; S. 229: für 1 Esdr 7,11 // Esr 6,20 hebr.), ja schreibt sogar auf S. 126 Talshirs Text Critical Commentary (für 1 Esdr 1,55 // 2 Chr 36,21) die Annahme eines aramäischen Nomens in der Vorlage zu, wo Talshir ein hebräisches Verb behandelt. Mit dem Postulat einer verlorenen aramäischen Vorlage wird jeder Blick auf diese obsolet. Auf der anderen Seite erklärt Bird (S. 267) zwei alternative griechische Übersetzungen in den Handschriften mit der Doppeldeutigkeit von *mqwh* (Versammlung/Hoffnung). Aramäisch ist das nicht. Bird hätte Talshirs gründlichen Untersuchungen zu Vorlage und Übersetzungstechnik des 1 Esdr mehr vertrauen sollen: Die semitische Vorlage war kein verschollener aramäischer, sondern ein dem MT trotz vieler Varianten ähnlicher Text, wie er hebräisch in 2 Chr 35-36, Esr 1-10 und Neh 8 vorliegt, aramäisch in Esr 4-6 und 7. Die Pagenerzählung war aramäisch. An dieser Stelle mag dem Rezensenten der Hinweis gestattet sein, dass Bird (S. 14f) meine Auffassung, sowohl 1 Esdr als auch Esr-Neh seien aus 1 Esdr (ohne Pagenerzählung) entstanden, insofern grob missverstanden hat, als ich natürlich vom hebräisch-aramäischen Text von 1 Esdr 2.5-9, nicht etwa der griechischen Übersetzung, die dann für Esr-Neh ins Hebräische rückübersetzt worden wäre, ausgehe. Auch bei anderen einleitungswissenschaftlichen Fragen zu 1 Esdr und Esr-Neh hätten viele Alttestamentler anders optiert. So kann man Esra 1-6 nach den Untersuchungen Schwiderskis zum nordwestsemitischen Briefformular (BZAW 295; Berlin 2000)

nicht mehr in die vorhellenistische Zeit datieren (S. 14). Die Kompilation Esr-Neh wird damit der Kompilation 1 Esdr (hebr.-aram.), die Bird völlig zu Recht ins 2. Jh. v. Chr. ansetzt, zeitgenössisch.

Ganz richtig hält Bird die Pagenerzählung für eine jüdische Komposition (mit Zügen eines griechischen Symposions). Seine Annahme aber, die ursprüngliche Reihenfolge der Themen sei König-Wein-Frauen gewesen (gegen 1 Esdr 4,37) und Serubbabels Wahrheitsrede sei noch später hinzugekommen (S. 145) baut noch zu sehr auf veraltete Thesen. Vor allem die Wahrheitsrede hätte nicht nur mit Philo, Hermas, Clemens von Alexandrien (S. 147), sondern heutzutage auch mit der qumranischen Rede von „Wahrheit“ verbunden werden müssen. Ein Neutestamentler blickt eben aus einer anderen Richtung auf 1 Esdr.

Birds Kommentar hat das Verdienst, “1 Esdras, though underappreciated as a literary work and theological exhortation” (S. 282) als literarisches und theologisches Werk gewürdigt zu haben. Die literarische Inklusion durch Joschijas Pascha und Esras Torafeier (S. 282) lässt auch eine theologische Konzeption in 1 Esdr erkennen (Tora, Tempel und Fest: S. 276). Der zeitgenössischen Verankerung und Aussageabsicht im 2. Jh. v. Chr. hätte ein Alttestamentler mehr Gewicht eingeräumt, aber die Einbettung in die damalige griechische Welt, heidnisch, jüdisch und christlich, ist ein wichtiges Verdienst dieses lesenswerten Kommentars.

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GEORG WALSER, *Jeremiah: A Commentary Based on Ieremias in Codex Vaticanus*. Septuagint Commentary Series Leiden: Brill 2012, Pp. XI + 496. ISBN 978-9004223868.

Georg A. Walser's “A commentary based on Ieremias in Codex Vaticanus”, which appeared in the Brill Septuagint Commentary Series, is based on W.'s thesis in the field of Classical Greek. The Septuagint Commentary Series is based on a specific manuscript rather than on the reconstructed text of the scholarly editions, and its concept is therefore clearly distinct from that of other commentary projects on the LXX, such as La Bible d'Alexandrie, the annotated volumes of the Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), and the IOSCS's Commentary on the Septuagint (SBL Commentary). The commentary on Jeremiah pursues a double objective: it seeks to provide a discussion of the Greek text of the Codex Vaticanus as the best

preserved manuscript in its own right, and it seeks to do this from a perspective that is strictly reader oriented.

After an introduction presenting a detailed description of the text base and general remarks concerning the translation and the commentary, the main body of the commentary is divided into the Greek text of the Vaticanus presented alongside its English translation and the commentary itself. The book closes with an extensive bibliography.

The printed Greek text is a reproduction of Rahlfs's text, which has been adapted to the Vaticanus. Some alternative phrase divisions have been made (cf. Jer. 9:18). Paragraph division follows that of the manuscript, while chapters and verses correspond to the Göttingen edition. English titles facilitate the modern reader's orientation. The English translation's stated objective of "a similar impression on the reader of the English translation today as the Greek translation had on an ancient reader" (5-6) is pursued by choosing (un)idiomatic English to represent (un)idiomatic Greek.

The commentary itself does not aim at a coherent reading of the text, but focuses on distinctive linguistic features. Connections between single observations are only drawn to indicate linguistic features which are characteristic of the text as a whole. Different interpretations are presented as alternatives. Decisions between alternative interpretations are only made with reference to the (thoroughly discussed) English translation. Other Greek versions besides the Vaticanus are regularly taken into account. The commentary does not keep strictly to its stated limitation to a reader-oriented perspective that takes into account only the Greek text. Frequent comments on translation technique touch the assumed Hebrew original as well as the translator's assumed intentions. W.'s use of quotations from early commentaries to verify the reading community's reading of the Greek demonstrate that a reader-oriented approach would not necessarily have required a limitation to the Greek text. The ancient commentaries he cites tend to be aware of commenting on a translation and, e.g. Origen, even occasionally refer to the Hebrew text. W. largely abides by his restriction to the text's linguistic characteristics, most noticeably for passages where the Greek version of the text has been widely discussed (cf. Jer 38:31-37). Numerous references to relevant literature partly, though not wholly, compensate for this restriction. An interesting subchapter of the introduction deals with quotations of the book of Jeremiah in the NT (17-24).

As W. rightly criticizes, the Greek version of the book of Jeremiah has mostly been dealt with from a text critical perspective in order to establish a better understanding of the MT. A commentary that comments on the LXX (and more precisely on one of its manuscripts) in its own right therefore fills a gap. A more careful discussion of the accompanying presuppositions as well as their methodological and hermeneutical implications however might have been wished for.

Opportunities and difficulties of a translation that aims at "a similar impression on the reader of the English translation today as the Greek translation had on an ancient

reader” (5-6) can easily be demonstrated by the example of the translation of *καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου*, the LXX’s usual representation of יהוה דבר יהוה, with “And a word of LORD came to him”. A reader of the English translation will immediately notice the unusual construction which abstains from using the article, which is unusual in Greek as well. But did the first readers stumble over this formulation to the same degree as a modern reader of the English text surely will? Or did he simply consider it a “biblical” rendering?

More precisely the methodological and hermeneutic implications of the linguistic commentary’s strict limitation to a reader-oriented perspective which takes into account only the Greek text, a limitation that the commentary itself does not strictly abide by, might have been more thoroughly discussed. If the reader that the commentary is interested in is not the implicit reader of the Vaticanus, what characterizes the actual first reading community of the Greek translation of Jeremiah? (The representation of the first reading community by ancient commentaries is questionable as those commentaries cover four centuries and as some of them were written by authors which – in contrast to what W. assumes for the first reading community – were acquainted with the Hebrew text.)

Some information that has no direct bearing on the commentary’s argumentation (e.g. the recapitulation of major differences between the MT and the LXX) can be accepted as concessions to the commentary’s (modern) readers, who in contrast to the assumed first readers might be more acquainted with the Hebrew than with the Greek text.

The commentary does not present a coherent reading of the book, rather, it proceeds from detail to detail and presupposes knowledge of the broader context. For someone who is basically acquainted with the book of Jeremiah and has the frequently cited literature at hand, the commentary can function as a useful reference. Its style is characterized by repetitiveness, extended quotations from ancient commentaries, and references to relevant literature, which at times make for laborious reading. This repetitiveness is of no great disadvantage, however, if the commentary is used as a reference book.

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JANNES SMITH, *Translated Hallelujas: A Linguistic and Exegetical Commentary on Select Septuagint Psalms*. Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 56. Leuven / Paris / Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2011. XVI+302 pp., ISBN 978-90-429-2384-3.

Among the one hundred and fifty one Septuagint Psalms only five have been selected by the author as a sample to show some of the problems derived from the art of translating and, at the same time, many of the questions inherent to lexical and critical approaches to the text of the Greek Bible. They are five Hallelouia Psalms, out of twelve bearing that superscription in the Septuagint.

Two general discussions take place in chapter 1: a) The quest for the original text, either Hebrew or Greek, is based on the multiple hints emerging from the transmission of both texts and on scholarly interpretations. b) The question of meaning, i.e. which meaning is most relevant, the meaning conveyed by the original Hebrew or the meaning conveyed by the Greek translation. The various possibilities are always discussed in connection with the source text. Smith cites the secondary witnesses, NT, and patristic literature, only "for comparative and illustrative purposes", as being a re-interpretation of the Septuagint translation. He therefore focuses his work on the interpretation assumed by the translator and not on how the reader interprets the translation. In short, he explains the meaning of the Greek text by giving priority to the Hebrew *Vorlage* of Psalms (i.e. he exactly follows the basic assumption of the so-called interlinear paradigm).

Under the title *LXX Psalms as Translation Literature*, the author analyses the different ways of approaching the translation, focussing on the views of Thackeray, thus emphasising the style of the translator, through to the views of M. Flashar, thus noting the scarce knowledge of Hebrew that led the translator to follow a technique that reproduces Hebrew expressions and words more or less one by one, which often led to unintelligible results. The analysis of H. Gzella's approach to the nature of the Septuagint translation begins by detecting in the Greek the particular sound of the Hebrew original, preserving the holy Word, and moves towards the conclusion that "while the Psalter translation is generally to be classified as literal, sections within it are said to belie that label". In turn, Smith refers to F. Austerman, who, leaving aside the terms "literal" and "free" to categorise the translation, adopted A. Aejmalaeus' distinction between quantitative and qualitative aspects of translation technique, and concluded that there is a "much higher degree of target-orientedness on the qualitative than on the quantitative plane". For his own conclusions Smith has recourse to G. Toury's concepts of acceptability and adequacy: the norms in translation should be adequate for the source language and acceptable for the target culture. The correctives provided via Toury to Gzella's description of Psalms are a little confusing; it is not clear if they refer to the role of the holiness of the text or the prestige of the language.

The following section, *Implications for Exegeting LXX Psalms*, deals with the main translation problems; on the one hand the amount of coupled pairs in the translator's mind, and on the other, to what extent the translator produces his own inter-

pretation even though while he has in mind the corresponding Hebrew text. The level of initiative in the Greek translator seems to be low, tending to use standard equivalents that apparently deviate from the meaning of the source language. Smith reasons that an adequate interpretation of LXX Psalms must take into consideration that, although being an isomorphic translation, producing a Greek "somewhat disjointed", it is "a new entity, comprised of Greek morphemes knit together syntactically". Thus, one has to discern in every psalm if the decisions of the translator are somehow mechanical or deliberate, if the inadequacy comes from the ambiguity of some Hebrew words or if the translator modifies the source text with additions, omissions or other deviations; consequently, one has to ask about the impact of the translator's decisions on the meaning of the word, phrase, or psalm.

Within the introductory chapter Smith touches other topics. Besides "The unity of LXX Psalms", which "is not in serious dispute", he discusses "The Vorlage of the Greek Psalter" and how it related to the Masoretic Text, outlining the discrepancies that come from a Hebrew text that had not yet been vocalised. The author demands that interpreters must ascertain in what text, source-text, or target-text, the disagreements originated, being conscious that one "cannot always arrive at complete certainty".

A "Summary of methodological principles" collects the general ideas put forth in the Introduction, namely: original text, original meaning, parent text as arbiter for meaning, translator's intent, and linguistic parsimony, i. e., words should be considered normal only if they are found in non-translation Greek writings. The chapter ends with a short presentation of "Corpus and format".

Chapter 2 begins with a selected bibliography aiming to clarify the word Ἀλληλοῦῖα. Smith discusses the origin of this word in the Greek Psalter: is it a transcription *ex novo*, or was it already used by Greek-speaking Jews? After having briefly analysed each of the constituent parts of the word in Hebrew, he presents the use of Ἀλληλοῦῖα in both Testaments, outside the translation literature, integrated into the living language, and used as interjection. He accepts as most probable that the word was merely transcribed because in many of its uses it had lost the sense of an imperatival clause. Smith also discusses the presence and the place of the word in Hebrew and Greek Psalms. In this chapter, as in some other parts of the book, the material is not arranged in well-framed sections; the ideas flow from one to another, while the reader struggles to make the connections between them.

Chapters 3 to 7 are the philological-critical commentary of each Psalm chosen for this research. Each chapter is preceded by a synopsis of the psalm, followed by a general presentation of "The Psalm as a whole" and a specific bibliography relating to it. The study is done verse by verse, headed by the Hebrew and the Greek texts with a select critical apparatus when required, and the *New English Translation of the Septuagint* (NETS) joined to them.

These five chapters contain much information about the use of words in the Bible. Grammar, meaning and construction are woven together in order to give an answer to the problems involved in exegetical interpretation. The approach to the real meaning

of Psalms is not easy: one needs to accept the limitations in understanding — with today's mind and heart — the vital feelings and religious emotions of ancient Israel, the people of God. Their history gave sense to words that hardly could be reproduced in other linguistic patterns as distant from each other as are the Semitic and the Indo-European languages. Moreover, the poetic nature of Psalms, their rhythm and brightly coloured images, cannot be set aside. The translator perceived the inherent poetry of the text, transforming occasionally a plain Hebrew expression into a literary figure. In Psalm 136 (MT 137):8, for instance, there is an alliteration using three words with the same root: the verb, the internal accusative, and a relative clause, μακάριος ὃς ἀνταποδώσει σοι τὸ ἀνταπόδομά σου, ὃ ἀνταπέδωκε ἡμῖν "happy shall he be who will requite you with the requital with which you requited us!" (NETS), which strengthens the Hebrew's simple statement that is free of linguistic embellishment having three different roots. This example, however, requires a critical explanation, since BH4 (= BHS) notes that the last two thirds of the sentence are a gloss that should be deleted. But still the example is valid to show the literary value of the Septuagint, while questioning its actual Vorlage.

Smith selected five "Hallelujah" Psalms out of twenty bearing that word in Septuagint superscriptions, explaining his reasons in chapter 8: "Summary and Conclusions". On this matter, one would expect that those reasons would apply to these five Psalms only and not the whole Septuagint Psalter; thus, one concludes that they were selected to show more easily, as a sample, the methodology for studying the text as produced rather than the text as received, being controlled by the principle of "the source text as arbiter of meaning".

However, this principle is to be nuanced since we do not yet know exactly what the source text was. There is a need to explore the versions to derive the meaning intended by the authors, because the translators were part of the same Jewish tradition, influenced by currents of thought and local trends.

In translated texts we may find three levels of approaching the source text: a) a simple mechanical transmission, b) an effort to interpret the meaning intended by the authors, by means of small variations, and c) a rearrangement of the words to adapt the meaning to a new expression. In all three degrees the translator intends to reflect what is said in the source texts. This is why translations, when diverging from the texts that we think are the originals, must be treated as independent texts, because, in general, they undoubtedly remain faithful to their sources.

Translations, ancient or modern, are literary, creative works, despite adhering to an established source text. In general, translators, being responsible for their decisions and style orientation, are consequently also responsible for their errors and wise choices, without guilt upon them. Why, then, concerning the Hebrew text versus the Greek text, do we easily tend to evaluate one superior over the other, when both deserve a respectful treatment?

Smith has been honest in his work, his sound analyses bring objective results. The final bibliography and an index of Greek words make it a useful book for scholars, with extensive information on the complex network of Biblical philology.

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THOMAS SCOTT CAULLEY and HERMANN LICHTENBERGER (eds.), *Die Septuaginta und das frühe Christentum - The Septuagint and Christian Origins*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament (WUNT) 277, Pp IX, 451, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2011, ISBN 978-3-16-150561-4.

In dem vorzustellenden Band werden die Vorträge eines Symposions über das frühe Christentum publiziert, das 2009 in Tübingen stattfand. Alle Artikel bieten mit einer ausführlichen Bibliographie gute Voraussetzungen für weitere Forschungen. Darüber hinaus wird der Band durch eine Einleitung, ein Autorenverzeichnis und sowohl ein Stellen- als auch ein Sachregister vervollständigt. Die einzelnen Beiträge sind vier Themengruppen zugeordnet, die sich jedoch nicht so scharf abgrenzen lassen, wie es durch diese Einteilung erscheinen mag.

Teil I: Die Septuaginta als Übersetzung: EMANUEL TOV, *The Septuagint between Judaism and Christianity* (3-25): T. stellt dar, welche Entwicklungen und Veränderungen der LXX sich durch die Übernahme des Textes durch die Christen ergaben und welche nicht. — STEFAN KRAUTER, *Die Pentateuch-Septuaginta als Übersetzung in der Literaturgeschichte der Antike* (26-46): K. überprüft die unterschiedlichen Hypothesen, die zur Entstehung der LXX entwickelt wurden, und kommt zu dem Ergebnis, dass eine sichere Beurteilung nicht möglich ist. — ARMIN LANGE, *Textpluralität und Textqualität im ägyptischen Judentum* (47-65): Es kann gezeigt werden, dass über das 3. Jh. v. Chr. hinaus eine Textpluralität sowohl im hebräischen Text als auch in der LXX bestand. L. stellt dies im Kontext der gleichzeitigen Homerüberlieferung dar. — FOLKER SIEGERT, *Kanonischer oder rekonstruierter Text? Zur Handhabung der Konjekturen in der Septuaginta deutsch* (66-84): S. weist auf die Bedeutung der tatsächlichen handschriftlichen Überlieferung gegenüber den Konjekturen der Herausgeber der kritischen Editionen für das Textverständnis hin.

Teil II.: Die Septuaginta als Interpretation des biblischen Textes: J. CORNELIS DE VOS, Das Land Israel in der Sicht der Septuaginta. Beispiele aus Exodus, Josua und Jesaja (87-105): Tendenzen in der Übersetzung der LXX stellen Gott in seiner universalen Macht als Herrscher der ganzen Erde dar. So ist Gott als Gott seines Volkes auch für die in der Diaspora lebenden Juden anwesend und kann dort angerufen werden. — HEINZ-DIETER NEEF, Das Hoseabuch im Spiegel der Septuaginta - Aspekte der Deutung (106-118): Der Langtext der LXX begründet sich in einer theologischen Interpretation, in der Gott als Schöpfer hervorgehoben wird. — HERMANN SPIECKERMANN, Vom „Herrn der Heerscharen“ zum „Allmächtigen“. Die Septuaginta als Wegbereiterin einer christlichen Gotteslehre I. Der alttestamentliche Befund (119-139) und REINHARD FELDMAYER, Vom „Herrn der Heerscharen“ zum „Allmächtigen“. Die Septuaginta als Wegbereiterin einer christlichen Gotteslehre II. Der neutestamentliche Befund (140-152): Sich gegenseitig ergänzend, stellen S. und F. den theologischen Hintergrund für die bekannte Übertragung des hebräischen Yhwh Šēbā’ōt als „Allherrscher“ im Griechischen dar. Dabei zeigt sich für das AT eine Fokussierung auf die Person, nicht auf den Begriff der Allmacht. Im NT sind der Begriff des Allherrschers und sein semantisches Umfeld christologisch ausgerichtet. — WOLFGANG KRAUS, Hab 2,3-4 in der hebräischen und griechischen Texttradition mit einem Ausblick auf das Neue Testament (153-173): Aufgrund einer ausführlichen textkritischen Analyse kann K. zeigen, dass der Text erst bei seiner Verwendung im NT messianisch verstanden und christologisch gedeutet wird. Paulus betont durch eine Modifizierung des Textes den Aspekt des Vertrauens auf die Zusage Gottes.

Teil III.: Die Septuaginta in den Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen: LOREN T. STUCKENBRUCK, Apocrypha and the Septuagint. Exploring the Christian Canon (177-201): S. beleuchtet die Stellung der nicht im MT überlieferten Bücher aus dem Umfeld der Bibel in den unterschiedlichen Kanontraditionen und präzisiert den Begriff der Apokrypha.

TEIL IV.: DIE SEPTUAGINTA IM NEUEN TESTAMENT: EBERHARD BONS, Beobachtungen zu den Schöpfungskonzepten der griechischen Bibel und zu ihrem Einfluss auf das Neue Testament und die Schriften des Urchristentums (205-216): B. zeigt an der Bedeutungsentwicklung des Verbuns κτίζω, wie die Sprache der LXX spätere christliche Texte prägt. — ULRIKE MITTMANN, Jes 53 LXX - ein umstrittener urchristlicher Referenztext. Zum traditions- und rezeptionsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund der Einsetzungsworte (217-232): M. zeigt, dass die Einsetzungsworte theologisch auf der hebräischen Version des vierten Gottesknechtsliedes beruhen, das Verbindungsglied zu anderen alttestamentlichen Texten ist, sie philologisch jedoch auf der griechischen Übersetzung des Textes beruhen. — CARL R. HOLLADAY, Luke’s Use of the LXX in Acts. A Review of the Debate and a Look at Acts 1:15-26 (233-300): H. hebt den starken Einfluss der LXX auf den Text der Apostelgeschichte heraus und zeigt an dem Beispiel der Episode über die Wahl des Matthias

die intertextuellen Bezüge auf. In einem langen Appendix stellt er die Septuagintazitate in der Apostelgeschichte zusammen. — ANNA MARIA SCHWEMER, Lukas als Kenner der Septuaginta und die Rede des Stephanus (Apg 7,2-53) (301-328): In der Rede des Stephanus hat Lukas diverse alttestamentliche Elemente in der Version der LXX zusammengestellt, wie S. zeigt. — DAVID P. MOESSNER, „Abraham Saw My Day“. Making Greater Sense of John 8:48-59 from the LXX Version than the MT Genesis 22 (329-338): M. zeigt, dass Johannes das AT als die autoritative Schrift der Christen im Blick auf Jesus liest. — ATHANASIUS DESPOTIS, Die Übersetzungsmethode der Septuaginta und die Textstrategie des Paulus in Röm 9-11. Eine Untersuchung zum Schriftgebrauch des Paulus in der Interpretation der frühen Kirche (339-358): D. zeigt, wie Paulus durch Gebrauch der LXX die Verheißung des AT in Christus als erfüllt darstellt und wie die Texte der frühen Kirche darauf reagieren. — GUDRUN HOLTZ, Pentateuchrezeption im Hebräerbrief (359-381): Im Hebr., der die LXX stark rezipiert, wird nur ein kleiner Teil der Stellen ausdrücklich als Zitat gekennzeichnet, darunter keine Texte, die das Kult- und Heilsgeschehen betreffen. Diese werden nicht historisch verstanden, sondern aktualisiert. — HERMANN LICHTENBERGER, Die Schrift in der Offenbarung des Johannes (382-390): Es lässt sich nicht entscheiden, ob sich Johannes bei seinen Anspielungen auf einen hebräischen oder einen griechischen Text bezieht.

Teil V.: Die Septuaginta im frühen Christentum: RONALD E. HEINE, Origen and the Eternal Boundaries (393-409): H. argumentiert, dass Origenes trotz aller Schwierigkeiten die Texte der LXX ohne hebräische Vorlage als Heilige Schrift anerkannte. — THOMAS SCOTT CAULLEY, Observations on the Septuagint in the Bodmer Codex (410-431): C. zeigt thematische Gemeinsamkeiten und Übereinstimmungen in der Verwendung der LXX in den unterschiedlichen Texten des sogenannten „Bodmer miscellaneous codex“ (Siehe dazu T. Wasserman, Papyrus 72 and the Bodmer Miscellaneous Codex, NTS 51 (2005) 137-154.) auf und schließt daraus, dass die Zusammenstellung des Textes nicht zufällig erfolgte.

Die Tagung bringt einen interessanten Aspekt der Septuaginta-Forschung in den Blick, der mit der vorliegenden Publikation zu weiterer Forschung anregt.

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PAUL MAGDALINO and ROBERT S. NELSON (eds.), *The Old Testament in Byzantium*. Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposia and Colloquia, Dumbarton Oaks: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection 2010. Pp. viii + 333. ISBN: 978-0-88402-148-7 (cloth)/978-0-88402-399-9 (paperback).

Der Band enthält einige der Beiträge eines 2006 abgehaltenen byzantinistischen Symposions in Dumbarton Oaks und bietet multiperspektivische Zugänge zur Rezeption des Alten Testaments in byzantinischer Kultur. Mit Rücksicht auf den Leserkreis dieses Journals kann die Rezension kurz ausfallen, da der Band kaum (Ausnahme: N. de Lange, s.u.) textgeschichtliche Fragen berührt.

In der Einleitung führen die Herausgeber vor Augen, wie sehr byzantinische Ideologie Byzanz als das neue Israel verstand und wie auch Einzelheiten byzantinischer Geschichte in Analogie zu alttestamentlich bezeugten Geschehnissen aufgefasst wurden (z.B. wurden die Eroberung Konstantinopels 1204 mit der Exilierung Israels in Parallele gesehen).

Textgeschichtliche Fragen werden in dem Beitrag von NICHOLAS DE LANGE berührt: Ihm zufolge wird innerhalb des byzantinischen wie des westlichen Judentums erst ab 800 das griechische Alte Testament, zumeist präsent in der Übersetzung Aquilas, durch das hebräische verdrängt; Justinians Novelle 146 von 553 bezieht sich auf einen frühen Versuch seitens jüdischer Kreise, nur noch das Hebräische für die Schriftlesungen im Gottesdienst zuzulassen (43).

Das Alte Testament ist in Byzanz hauptsächlich in Prophetologien (Lektionare mit ausschließlich alttestamentlichen Texten) und Psalterhandschriften präsent (James Miller); diese erweisen sich, auch durch beigegebene Gebetstexte und Illustrationen, als Herzstück monastischer Frömmigkeit (Georgi R. Parpulov; für private Frömmigkeit war der Psalter noch wichtiger als für die Liturgie, S. 81). Der Einfluss alttestamentlicher Texte auf chronologische Konstruktionen wie auf – angeregt durch Eusebius von Caesarea – die Herrscherideologie in Panegyrik und Paränese wird von ELIZABETH JEFFREY bzw. CLAUDIA RAPP untersucht. DEREK KRUEGER zeigt, wie alttestamentliche Gestalten unter Absehung des narrativen Kontextes als Modell für einzelne Tugenden für das byzantinische Mönchtum in Apophthegmenttradition und Hagiographie wirksam wurden. Allgemeine Tempelsymbolik ist, so der Architekturhistoriker Robert Ousterhout, seit Eusebius von Caesareas Ansprache zur Einweihung der Kathedrale in Tyros für byzantinischen Kirchenbau wichtig geworden; die einzelnen Architekturformen des Tempels hat man indessen selten nachgeahmt (239; zu einer Ausnahme vgl. S. 243f.: St. Polyuktos in Byzanz ist an Ez 41 orientiert).

IVAN BILIARSKY zufolge war das Alte Testament im frühmittelalterlichen christlichen Bulgarien in dreierlei Weise präsent: Neben den Prophetologien ist die „Liste der Namen der bulgarischen Prinzen (Khans)“ zu nennen, die die bulgarischen Tsaren als direkte Nachfolger der Könige von Israel und Juda verstand, sowie die „Apokryphe Chronik“, die, auf einer u.a. aus Jes 5,13ff. und

Jes 2,3 gespeisten „Vision des Jeasja“ basierend, die Bulgaren als das neue auserwählte Volk begriff. Das von Eusebius von Caesarea stammende Modell, den jeweiligen Herrscher als den „neuen Mose“ zu kennzeichnen, wird auch in bulgarischer Literatur wirksam (267).

JANE DAMMEN MCAULIFFE veranschaulicht an Beispielen, wie biblische Traditionen in ihrer frühjüdischen und frühchristlichen Adaption für den Koran wirksam wurden – und von dort aus wiederum in jüdische und christliche Traditionsbildung eindringen (284), zumeist in der Funktion einer Vorausankündigung Mohammeds.

Hinsichtlich Traditionsgeschichte wie Hermeneutik zeigen sich mehrere, sich durchhaltende Ergebnisse: Neben den biblisch gewordenen Texten sind häufig auch nicht-biblische Texte (vom Jubiläenbuch über „Jannes und Jambres“ bis zu Kosmas Indikopleustes) für die Neuformulierung von Traditionen von Belang. Hermeneutisch gesehen ist nicht nur die christologische Perspektive von Bedeutung; alttestamentliche Texte behalten ihr Eigengewicht für private Frömmigkeit (Psalmen; Oktateuch) wie für (auch chronologische) Geschichts- und Identitätskonstruktion (vor allem die Erzählungen über Mose und die Könige Israels) in Byzanz ebenso wie im mittelalterlichen Bulgarien, während im Qurʾān prophetische Hermeneutik wiederum dominiert.

Ein ausführliches Namens- und Sachregister ist beigegeben, ein Bibelstellenregister fehlt.

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MARGUERITE HARL, *Voix de louange. Les cantiques bibliques dans la liturgie chrétienne*, avec la collaboration de BRUNO MEYNADIER et ANTOINE PIETROBELLI, Anagôgê 8, Paris: Les belles lettres 2014, Pp. 358. ISBN: 978-2-251-42117-9.

“Voices of praise” – This volume on the Odes is the fruit of a long term interest and long term research by Marguerite Harl, *la grande dame* of Septuagint research and translation in France, and the initiator and main editor of “La Bible d’Alexandrie”.

Besides the bibliography (341-354) and the table of contents (355-358) the book consists of four main parts with 19 chapters and a conclusion. As the 14 Odes for the first time appear in Codex Alexandrinus, besides the Odes and their history, interest focusses also on the Codex and its history (these parts being written by A. Pietrobelli: “Le *codex Alexandrinus* et son psautier”; 19-30, and “La postérité de l’*Alexandrinus* et la question de son origine”; 313-325).

The first part of the book consists of the “presentation of the 14 Odes connected with the *Alexandrinus*” (19-106), but also contains a detailed and informative introduction to the codex *Alexandrinus* and its history, down to its present place in the British Library. Pietrobelli votes for a provenance of the codex from Constantinople (27-30; see also 323-325). The observation that the text of the Odes partly diverges from the corresponding texts in the codex confirms that the composition of the Odes is traditional (25). Ode 14, the morning hymn, also found in the Apostolic Constitutions (compiled around 380, probably at Antioch) confirms a date of the codex after the end of the 4th cent. (27). Pages 44-103 present the Greek text (following the text of A. Rahlfs, with some preceding remarks on the manuscripts; 39f.; however, Rahlfs decided to join the Odes to Psalms in 1931, not in 1967; 31) and a new translation into French (together with Cécile Dogniez and Michel Casevitz), although based on the translations in *La Bible d’Alexandrie* (e.g. Deut 32; 1Reigns 2). This first part ends with a note on four illustrations of the odes in codex Parisinus, probably made in Constantinople in the 2nd half of the 10th cent. (105f.; with color photos after page 132).

The second part „Description des quatorze cantiques“ (107-173) basically presents a history of Jewish and Christian worship, starting with its designation as ‘abōdâh and λειτουργία, and the description in Chronicles, and going on through the ages. For this interesting overview on the development of liturgy and esp. psalmody, Harl draws on the works of many historians of liturgy and also on some of her own studies. This overview that gives the background for the collection and use of the Odes, is preceded by what is effectively an exegetical study: In ch. 4 “Les chants insérés dans la Bible” (109-121) Bruno Meynadier discusses the insertion and the relation of the different Psalms in their specific context (e.g. Deut 32 in Deuteronomy).

There follows a discussion of the different designations of the two “odes”, ten “prayers”, and two “hymns”, and the relevant Hebrew and Greek terms, including remarks on specific expressions that may allow for conclusions on actual liturgical use of the texts. A brief look at the persons connected with the prayers shows how in

Jewish and Christian tradition they had become models and witnesses for believing in the God of the Hebrews (“Les personnages bibliques, modèles de vie et témoins de la foi dans le Dieu des Hébreux”; 155-162). This line was continued in the Christian tradition by adding the tree hymns from the New Testament, whereby Mary, Zechariah, and Simeon become witnesses for the salvation in Christ. Yet, by combining the texts, the Odes also became strong means of maintaining the relationship to the Old Testament and the continuity of salvation history.

Part three “Enquête archéologique sur la composition du recueil” (175-123) tries to trace the development of the collection: It starts with two rabbinic lists (Mekhilta on Exodus and Targum on Song of Songs) that mention several songs of praise for God rescuing his people. Their common core refers to Ex15:1; Num 21:17; Deut 32:24, Josh 10:12; Judg 5, and there are a number of other texts mentioned in this sense. Although differing from the collection of the Odes, all these texts illustrate God’s rescue and redemption of his people, and there is the conviction that singing those songs precedes God’s salvific intervention (180). This tradition is taken up by Origen. Also in connection with the Song of Songs (First Homily on Song of Songs) he gives a list of six songs which bring to mind the stages of Israel’s history, beginning with the Exodus. His list is close to the rabbinic list, only leaving aside Josh 10:12 because it is a request and not an ode, but adding 2Reigns 22 and Is 5 (181). – These observations indeed present a strong argument for an early Jewish origin of such a collection of “odes”. Harl goes on to trace different lists of such compositions of hymns and prayers and the texts that have been mentioned and used.

Part four “Vers l’achèvement d’une liste liturgique complète” (225-325) describes the further development. Important steps are the sermon of Niketus from Remesiana, who (at the end of the 4th cent., in his homily on psalm prayer) presents a list of nine odes (ch. 15; 251-278) and the closure of the list by the addition of the Morning Hymn (ch. 18, 295-312 by B. Menadier).

In „Conclusion et prolongements“ (327-340) M. Harl summarizes the results of the investigations and makes some statements on the importance of this Eastern (Greek) tradition, compared with the Western (Gregorian) tradition.

Marguerite Harl is to be congratulated to this interesting and important study on the Odes.

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