

Wilson de Angelo Cunha /

Michaël N. van der Meer /

Martin Rösel (eds)

The Hebrew Bible/Old Testament and Scribal Scholarship in Antiquity

**Studies in Honor of Arie van der Kooij
on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday**

PEETERS

**THE HEBREW BIBLE/OLD TESTAMENT
AND SCRIBAL SCHOLARSHIP IN ANTIQUITY**

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PREFACE AND INTRODUCTION

Wilson DE ANGELO CUNHA, Michaël N. VAN DER MEER, Martin RÖSEL

In his numerous publications on the oldest manuscripts and translations of the books of the Hebrew Bible, Arie van der Kooij has stressed the scholarly setting of the scribal activity in Antiquity. The people responsible for transmitting and interpreting the authoritative traditions were highly trained scholars with a keen eye for political interests and developments. These scribes were the carriers of cultural traditions and responsible for the transmission and translation of the ancestral scribal heritage. In contrast to modern paradigms for interpreting the ancient versions of the Hebrew Bible that stress the difficulties and lacunae the ancient scribes and translators faced when passing on the biblical text to the next generations and new communities that would inevitably lead to a considerable number of errors, misinterpretations and unintelligible renderings, Van der Kooij has continually stressed the inner logic, coherence, and ideology of the newly created versions. Ancient translations of the biblical books in Greek, Aramaic, Syriac, and Latin should therefore be regarded as compositions in their own right, rather than imperfect faint echoes of the original that would permanently be hindered by interference of a poorly understood Hebrew original.

Of course, it is not difficult to recognize the figure of Van der Kooij himself behind the erudition of these ancient scholarly scribes. Like his colleagues from Antiquity, Van der Kooij received a first-rate higher education and excelled at an early age in linguistic skills. As the oldest son of a minister in the Dutch Reformed church he literally grew up with biblical studies and as a student of theology at Utrecht University he developed his skills and expertise in all aspects of the study of the Hebrew Bible and its ancient versions. The position as lecturer of Hebrew and Old Testament studies at Utrecht University from 1969 until 1989, later from 1989 until 2010 as full professor of Old Testament, Exegesis and Textual Criticism at Leiden University placed him at top positions in the field of Hebrew Bible studies, such as the role of secretary and president of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament for more than twenty-five years (1989-2015), the board of the Biblia Hebraica Quinta project, the Leiden-Amsterdam Peshitta project, the Septuagint Deutsch project and the Hexapla project, to mention only a few of the numerous activities he employed during these years.

With his retirement in 2010 friends, colleagues and students honored his work with a Festschrift entitled *Isaiah in Context. Studies in Honour of Arie van der Kooij on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. by Michaël N. van der Meer, Percy van Keulen, Wido van Peursen and Bas ter Haar Romeny; VTSup 138

(Leiden, Brill, 2010) with an academic biography of his work in the Introduction and a list of publications. Yet, that moment of retirement merely marked the end of the administrative obligations that come with the function of full professor and heralded a period of uninterrupted devotion to the long-standing research in which he had been involved. This pertains particularly to his work on the critical edition of the book of Isaiah for the *Biblia Hebraica Quinta*, but also to the annotation of the German translation of the Septuagint version of that biblical book.

He published several co-edited volumes and a large number of peer-reviewed academic articles, and important contributions to major reference tools for the study of the Hebrew Bible and its versions including the *Textual History of the Bible* (ed. Emanuel Tov and Armin Lange; Leiden: Brill, 2017), the *Historical and Theological Lexicon of the Septuagint* (ed. Eberhard Bons; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020), the *Handbook of the Septuagint (Septuaginta Deutsch. Handbuch)*, ed. Siegfried Kreuzer; Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 2016), and explanatory notes to the German translation of the Septuagint (*Septuaginta Deutsch Erläuterungen*, ed. Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011).

During this period Van der Kooij also supervised three PhD projects on the Septuagint of Isaiah, i.e. those of Mirjam van der Vorm-Croughs, Wilson de Angelo Cunha and Ben Austin, and coached many other biblical scholars in the field. In this respect he remained a much-valued mentor to many of his former students and colleagues, including the scholars who had to find a position outside the academic world and tried to pursue their scientific biblical studies on top of other professional obligations. As a true gentleman and nestor he gave feedback on innumerable articles. He kept peer reviewing papers and manuscripts for publication, e.g., for the *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* and *Septuagint and Cognate Studies* series.

Hence, it is only fitting to celebrate his eightieth birthday with a second volume of essays written by his colleagues, friends and students. The present volume aims to highlight Van der Kooij's specific contribution to the field by uncovering the scribal scholarship of the biblical tradition's authors, redactors, scribes and translators of the biblical tradition. The contributors have focused on various aspects of the scholarly scribal activity in Antiquity in the production of biblical compositions such as the book of Amos (Wilson de Angelo Cunha), Chronicles (Louis C. Jonker), the letters of Paul (Florian Wilk) and the letter to the Hebrews (Wolfgang Kraus). Others have paid particular attention to the specific cultural contexts in which translations of the Hebrew Scriptures in Greek (Benjamin Austin, Johann Cook, Percy van Keulen, Michaël N. van der Meer, Martin Rösel, and Mirjam van der Vorm-Croughs), but also in Syriac (Craig E. Morrison) and Latin (Matthijs J. de Jong) came into being. Other scholarly scribes have taken a wider perspective on the process of transmission and re-edition of the Torah (Emanuel Tov), the Prophets (Takamitsu Muraoka) and the Psalter (Innocent

Himbaza). All essays are presented here in alphabetical order of the last name of the authors.

In this collection of papers Wilson de Angelo Cunha examines the role of the hymnic doxologies in Amos 4:13; 5:8–9; 9:5–6 in the process of formation and interpretation of the book of Amos. He argues that the theme of creation is not subordinate to the prophecies of doom of Amos, but integral and important part of them. The ancient scribe responsible for juxtaposing these themes paved the way for later Jewish authors.

Benjamin M. Austin examines the phenomenon of etymology in Hellenistic scholarship as context for etymological renderings in the Septuagint. He points out that in Antiquity etymology along with analogy had a distinctive character and function and formed part of the repertoire of the *γραμματική τέχνη* that formed the ancient counterpart of our modern concept of scribal scholarship. It was a scholarly technique to uncover the true (*ἔτυμος*) meaning of concepts, regardless of their historical background. Austin applies these insights to many examples from Greek translations of Hebrew Scriptures.

Johann Cook examines another issue of possible Hellenistic Greek influence on the formation and interpretation of Hebrew Scriptures but cautions against overstating this issue. He reacts in particular to the recent theories formulated by Russell Gmirkin who dates the composition of Hebrew biblical books to the Hellenistic period. Cook specifically addresses the point of perceived Panplatonism, i.e., the idea that Platonic cosmology already pervades the Greek translation of Genesis.

Innocent Himbaza focuses on the two versions of the part in the Psalter known in the Greek version as one psalm (113) and presented as two distinct psalms (114–115) in the Masoretic tradition. A careful examination of the small variants between the Hebrew and Greek versions reveals evidence of re-editing biblical texts already on the Hebrew level. Both the Masoretic version and that reflected by the Septuagint derive from the same *Vorlage* and attest to scholarly activities that anticipate in some respects rabbinic discussions.

Matthijs J. de Jong explores the hitherto somewhat neglected biblical scholarship of Church Father Jerome in his Latin version of the Hebrew Bible (*iuxta Hebraeos*), that of the book of Job in particular. Theological themes in that book dealing with the righteousness of Job as well as God are handled by Jerome in a sensitive manner. The idea that Job blames God for his misery has subtly been attenuated by this Latin scholar. De Jong places this scholarly scribal activity in the context of early fifth-century CE controversies around the British theologian Pelagius who denied the concept of original sin and advocated the free and righteous nature of man over against the theology of Augustine. The exegesis of the person and book of Job played a crucial role in this debate. Jerome did not transform the book of Job into an outspoken partisan of one of the two poles but rather

subtly navigated through these positions by highlighting Job's patience, righteousness and repentance.

Louis C. Jonker contributes to the discussion of scribal scholarship in Antiquity and the Hebrew Bible and its ancient versions by uncovering how the author of Chronicles adopted and adapted earlier Hebrew literary traditions. Whereas most work in this field concentrates typically on a comparison between Chronicles and its presumed source in Samuel-Kings, the story of Hezekiah's illness provides an opportunity to examine the Chronicler's use of the material in the book of Isaiah as well. In discussion with some recent studies in this field, Jonker is able to distill some of the key aspects of the Chronicler's dealing with the Hezekiah material in Kings and Isaiah. This king is presented as the ideal culmination of both the David and Solomon traditions and is therefore hardly hampered by the illness described in the older source material.

Taking up the role of scribal scholar Percy van Keulen unravels an intriguing detail in the codex Vaticanus Greek version of 1 Kgs (3 Kgdms) 16:8–28, where the reign of Omri's predecessor Zimri is extended into unusually long proportions. The solution lies in a small but significant textual intervention.

By portraying the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews as scribal scholar Wolfgang Kraus not only explores some of the exegetical and rhetorical techniques employed by the author of that New Testament document, but also his religious political agenda. Kraus demonstrates this by discussing the theme of the wilderness generation in Hebr 3:7–11, the portrayal of the Holy of holiest in Heb 9:1–6, and the themes of covenant and testament in Heb 9:15–18.

Michaël N. van der Meer looks for a contextual setting of Septuagint hermeneutics by exploring the relatively recently published wealth of data from Graeco-Roman temple libraries in the Fayum oasis (Tebtunis and Soknopaiou nesos). After a presentation of this material as example of scholarly scribal centers in Antiquity, he pays particular attention to terms related to sacerdotal functions and interests in the Old Greek version of Isaiah. Such a contextual scholarly scribal approach may help clarify hitherto ill-understood decisions and concerns of the Greek version of this important Hebrew sacerdotal literature.

A somewhat different strand of scribal scholarship in Antiquity, viz. that of the Syriac Peshitta Bible translations, is explored by Craig E. Morrison. As part of the preparation of a new critical edition of the book of Samuel for the *BHQ* Morrison explores the character of the oldest Peshitta manuscripts for that biblical book in an attempt to recover the early textual history of the Peshitta beyond the stage of the basic *textus receptus* edited in the Leiden Peshitta edition by one of Van der Kooij's predecessors at Leiden University, Piet de Boer.

Takamitsu Muraoka offers a philological commentary to the Hebrew and Greek versions of what is arguably the best known chapter of the book of Isaiah, i.e. the song of the suffering servant in Isaiah 53. In a verse-by-verse commentary

Muraoka explores the syntactical and semantic problems related to these versions, including the Qumran manuscripts of Isaiah (1QIsa^a, 1QIsa^b, 4QIsa^b, 4QIsa^c, and 4QIsa^d) with the help of recently published tools in the field of the scholarly examination of these Hebrew and Greek versions.

Martin Rösel takes up the still much disputed problem of the varying chronological schemes in the Hebrew and Greek versions of the book of Daniel and—in particular—the book of Genesis (chapters 5 and 11). Rösel demonstrates how these versions (Masoretic Tradition, Samaritan Pentateuch, and Septuagint) each reflect an inner coherence and logic of their own and thus demonstrate the activity of scholarly scribes at work in their calculations of past periods in order to determine their own present situation. The underlying aim of these different chronological schemes was to align Hebrew history with data provided by the Egyptian-Hellenistic scholar and priest Manetho and to highlight the years of the building of the first and second temple in Jerusalem as turning points in world history.

Emanuel Tov ventures into “the dark ages of the textual transmission of the Torah,” i.e. the process when the formation of Pentateuch had reached its final stages, but still before the stage attested by extant manuscripts of these writings. Tov discusses two plausible scenarios for the transmission of the Torah in the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods and concludes that a text like MT was most probably the dominant text tradition. The diverging texts, attested for instance by the Samaritan Pentateuch are then seen as later offshoots of this tradition. Tov suggests that the dominant proto-MT tradition reflects a single text kept at the temple of Jerusalem. The (Babylonian) diaspora could then have been the setting for the diverging traditions.

In her work for the *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* edition of the final chapters (56–66) of the book of Isaiah, Mirjam van der Vorm-Croughs came across a puzzling variant between the Masoretic and Old Greek versions of Isa 66:17b where the text scorns apostates who eat the flesh of swine *in porches*. Van der Vorm-Croughs points to the phenomena of intertextual borrowing by the Greek translator of Isaiah from parallel passages in the Hebrew Bible (e.g. Gen 11:3–4 in LXX Isa 9:9[10]; Gen 1:30 in LXX Isa 18:6; Deut 32:14 in LXX Isa 34:6). Here Ezekiel 8 may have served as a pre-text for LXX Isa 66:17b resulting into a creative reading of בתוך in Isa 66:17 into בפתח.

Florian Wilk, finally, examined the Scriptural references in the Pauline epistles. As apostle to the gentiles Paul proves himself to be a competent scholarly scribe, exegete in the line of the Qumran *pesharim*, as well as heir to Israel’s prophetic tradition, particularly in instances that form affirm the faith in Christ.

The volume thus covers a wide range of scribal and biblical scholarship both in Antiquity and Modernity. It reflects the insights of leading scholars in the field of biblical studies in the fields of textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible, Classical Hebrew philology, Septuagint, Peshitta, Vulgate, and New Testament studies. The

essays chronicle the insights and interests of Jewish scholars and their Greek and Egyptian colleagues in their endeavors to preserve, transmit, and translate the authoritative traditions in the light of contemporary political constellations.

It is our pleasant duty to thank Jennifer McCormick-Bridgewater, a Ph.D. candidate at Calvin Theological Seminary, for her support in the process of revising and editing the papers for this volume. We are also grateful to professors Christoph Uehlinger and Innocent Himbaza for accepting the present volume for the series *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis*, in the Institut Dominique Barthélemy subseries. It was in the *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* series that Van der Kooij published a revised version of his doctoral dissertation (number 35), after long sessions with Dominique Barthélemy and other Old Testament textual criticism scholars working on the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Text Project for the United Bible Societies. Hence, the publication of these essays congratulating the honoree in this renowned series completes the circle.

CREATION FAITH IN THE PROPHETS:
THE USE OF ANCIENT ISRAELITE DOXOLOGIES
(AMOS 4:13; 5:8–9; 9:5–6) IN AMOS

Wilson DE ANGELO CUNHA¹

This article discusses the use of creation theology in Amos, attempting to elucidate the hermeneutical logic that allowed an ancient scribe to incorporate creation faith in Amos. Accordingly, it addresses Amos 4:13; 5:8–9; 9:5–6. Against previous claims that creation theology played an “ancillary” role in the prophets, the present article argues that creation theology was essential to Amos’ message of doom. Additionally, the article argues that Amos 5:9 is not part of the original hymn, but its first reception.

In “The Theological Problem of the Old Testament Doctrine of Creation,” Gerhard von Rad argued that the doctrine of creation had an “ancillary function” in the proclamation of the Psalms and prophets.² These texts “absorbed” the creation doctrine “... into the complex of soteriological belief...” and “... swallowed up” the doctrine of creation. Contrary to von Rad’s view of creation belief’s role in Israel’s faith, others argued that belief in creation played a fundamental role in the proclamation of the prophets, especially in Isa 40–66 and Jeremiah.³ However, scholars have paid little attention to the role of creation faith in Amos. In his brief treatment, von Rad argued that creation faith, which occurs in the doxologies of Amos (Amos 4:13; 5:8–9; 9:5–6), plays a subsidiary role.⁴ In the context of von Rad’s claim, the present article explores the role the doxologies play in the message of Amos.

In comparison with creation faith in Isa 40–66, which uses creation faith as a foundation for the proclamation of salvation, the article will show that Amos used creation to support its message of doom. The article will discuss the date and origin, meaning, and use of the doxologies in Amos. The analysis will end with a discussion of the hermeneutical logic that allowed an early scribe to incorporate one of Israel’s ancient pieces of tradition in Amos.

¹ With this article, I congratulate Arie for his eightieth birthday and his remarkable career. I also thank him for his kind guidance and friendship throughout the years, starting with my time as his PhD student at Leiden University.

² Von Rad 1984.

³ See discussion of further literature in Anderson 1994, 75–96.

⁴ Von Rad 1984, 56.

1. THE DATE AND ORIGIN OF AMOS 4:13; 5:8–[9]; 9:5–6

Literary clues suggest Amos 4:13; 5:8–9; 9:5–6 existed as literary fragments independently from their current literary contexts.⁵ While Amos 4:13 refers to Yhwh, Yhwh is the speaker in Amos 4:6–12b. The address to those who disregard “justice” in Amos 5:8, 10–13 brackets the doxology in Amos 5:8–9.⁶ Finally, Amos 9:5–6, referring to Yhwh, is at the center of Amos 9:1–4, 7–10, where Yhwh speaks in the first person.⁷

The form and content of Amos 4:13; 5:8, [9]; 9:5–6 further indicate they were fragments of an ancient Israelite hymn before their inclusion in Amos.⁸ The concluding formula “Yhwh is his name” (יהוה שמו) appears at the end of each verse (Amos 4:13f [expanded]; 5:8f; 9:6e), providing structural closure.⁹ All three hymns feature participial clauses describing Yhwh, a hallmark of Israelite and ancient Near Eastern hymns.¹⁰ While the participles in Amos 4:13 lack a definite article, those in Amos 5:8; 9:5–6 are definite, except Amos 5:8a–b. The expression “who calls the waters of the sea and pours them on the face of the earth” (הקורא למי־הים וישפכם על־פני הארץ) occurs in Amos 5:8; 9:6, though not in Amos 4:13. The poetic lines in Amos 5:8; 9:5–6 display the form of a grammatical ABCCBA chiasmus. Whereas the first line contains a participle + modifier + direct object, the second has direct object + modifier + a *qatal* verb, resulting in the mirroring of the direct objects at the chiasmus’ center (see table on p. 3).

Finally, all three hymnic fragments portray Yhwh as the world’s creator and intervener in the created order.¹¹ Amos 4:13a–b speaks of the creation of “mountains” (הרים) and “wind” (רוח); Amos 5:8a–c talks about the creation of stars and the maintenance of the created order; Amos 9:6a–b refers to the creation of the universe. Contrarily, Amos 4:13d–e; 9:5 speaks of Yhwh’s intervention in the creation order.¹² Amos 5:8d–e//9:6c–d are ambiguous. These elements suggest

⁵ See the discussion already in Horst 1929, 45–46.

⁶ Some commentators either treat Amos 5:8, 9 before or after Amos 5:7, 10ff. For those who treat it before, see, e.g., Harper 1905, 115–118; Wolff 1969, 289. For those who handle it after Amos 5:7, 10ff., see Mays 1974, 90.

⁷ See Ben-Dov 2021, 696.

⁸ The most recent scholarly consensus is that Amos 4:13; 5:8, [9]; 9:5–6 were ancient Israelite fragments that found their way into the book of Amos. See, e.g., Cox 2013, 81–108; Ben-Dov 2021, 694–695. Interestingly, early in the scholarly discussion, some argued, on the basis of content and prophetic style, that Amos 4:13; 5:8, [9]; 9:5–6 originated with Amos himself. See, e.g., Smith 1895, 400. More recently, see McComiskey 1987, 139–157. However, others viewed the verses in question as secondary additions to Amos, for which see e.g., Eissfeldt 1964, 540.

⁹ See Cox 2013, 91; Paas 1995, 207. For a discussion of structural and thematic closures in poems, see Watson 1986, 64–65.

¹⁰ See discussion already in Gunkel / Begrich 2020, § 2.21; Paas 1995, 129–130.

¹¹ See de Waard 1984, 39–40; Paas 1995, 129; Paas 2003, 207.

¹² See the discussion of Budde’s views on Amos 4:13; 5:8, 9; 9:5–6 in Berg 1974, 55–56.

	Participle	Modifier	D.O.	D.O.	Modifier	Qatal verb
Amos 5:8bc	Who turns (והפך)	into morning (לבקר)	Darkness (צלמות)	And day (ויום)	into night (לילה)	he darkens (החשך)
Amos 9:6ab	Who builds (הבונה)	in heavens (בשמים)	upper room (עליתו*) ¹³	And his firmament (ואגדתו)	on earth (על־ארץ)	he founds it (יסדה)

Amos 4:13; 5:8–[9]; 9:5–6 were fragments of a single hymn,¹⁴ though one cannot ascertain their number of strophes and whether they followed the order in which they appear in Amos.¹⁵

Though some believe the hymnic fragments originated in the exilic or post-exilic period,¹⁶ they likely existed in the Israelite cult before Amos started his prophetic proclamation.¹⁷ The use of participles as deity descriptors is a feature in ancient Near Eastern and biblical sources from at least pre-exilic times (e.g., Jer 27:5; 31:35).¹⁸ Creation motifs and locutions evocative of the Amos-doxologies occur in ancient texts (see, e.g., Jer 27:5; 31:35).¹⁹ The *Baal Cycle of Myths* in Ugarit mentions the “Dark One” that “has obscured the day.”²⁰ In Mesopotamia, *Šamaš* controls the temporal aspects of creation: “Illuminator, dispeller of darkness of the *vault* of the heavens, who sets aglow the *beard* of light, the corn

¹³ Words with an asterisk represent a reconstructed form.

¹⁴ See, e.g., Gaster 1935, 23–26 and, more recently, Cox 2013, 83. Differently, Carny 1977, 149–157 denied that Amos 4:13; 5:8; 9:5–6 were hymnic fragments, instead arguing they were a “prophecy of destruction.” But his view has not found broader acceptance.

¹⁵ See Mowinckel 2004, 81 n. 1a. Additionally, scholars disagree on the existence of strophes or how many there were: Budde did not think the hymn had any strophes, forming a single composition; Horst saw two strophes, Schmid three without a refrain, Gaster three with a refrain plus a fragment of a fourth strophe (Amos 5:9), and Maag saw four strophes. For a review of earlier scholarship, see Berg 1974, 51–68.

¹⁶ See, e.g., Duhm 1875, 119 n. 1, who believed Job had influenced Amos 4:13; 5:8–9; 9:5–6. In general, HB/OT scholarship for much of the twentieth-century held that creation belief was a later development in Israel, for which see discussion in Schmid 1973, 2.

¹⁷ See de Waard 1984, 37. For the cultic background of the hymnic fragments in Amos and creation theology in general, see Paas 2003, 222–230; Anderson 1994, 1–18.

¹⁸ For an extended discussion, see already Gunkel / Begrich 2020, § 2.22: “We may conclude from the frequency of this type of speech in Hebrew hymns, and from their particular meaning that appears within them, that they belonged to the oldest components of this poetry... This manner of praising the gods arose in Babylon and Egypt long before Israel, and from there penetrated even to this point.”

¹⁹ See McComiskey 1987, 147–149. Jer 31:35 shares stylistic and thematic affinities with the hymnic fragments in Amos: (a) both sources speak of Yhwh as creator; (b) both contain the title “Yhwh of Hosts is his name;” and (c) both use participle clauses to speak of Yhwh as creator. See Paas 1995, 128; McComiskey 1987, 149.

²⁰ For this translation, see Wyatt 2002. The texts come from KTU 1.4.vii:55–56//1.8:6. “The Baal Cycle of Myths” likely dates to the fourteenth century B.C., while its broad ideas may be earlier. See discussion in Wyatt 2002, under “part I.”

field, the life of the land... Brightener of gloom, illuminator of darkness, dispeller of darkness, illuminator of the broad earth... who yet shortens the days and lengthens the nights, [who causes] cold, frost, ice, and snow...".²¹ In the Epic of Gilgamesh, Adad "... turned to blackness all that had been light...".²² The hymnic fragments in Amos also echo ideas found in ancient cosmogonies, especially the claim that Yhwh "forms mountains and creates the wind" (Amos 4:13ab). Though "the one who forms mountains" is a unique expression in the HB/ OT,²³ the creation of mountains figure in the *Enuma Eliš* when it depicts Marduk as creating mountains from Tiamat's udder: "he heaped up high-peaked mo[unt]ains from(?) her dug[s]."²⁴ The *Atra-ḥasis* claims the Igigi-gods "[... heaped up] all the mountains." In Ancient Near Eastern cosmology, mountains were one of the first elements of creation or older "... than creation itself..." (see Ps 90:1; Prov 8:25).²⁵ Similarly, Amos 4:13b speaks of the creation of "wind," an early element in creation texts. The *Phoenician History* depicts the beginning of the world as "dark and mist," a "blast of dark mist," and "turbid, watery chaos."²⁶ In Egyptian cosmogony, the creation of the atmospheric elements Shu and Tefnut preceded all other elements of creation. In fact, Shu ("wind, air") is the "Father of the gods" given his role in creation.²⁷ Moreover, the revelation of a deity's will (see Amos 4:13c) can also be an ancient motif. The *Šamaš Hymn* praises the sun god for giving revelations to humans: "You grant revelations, *Šamaš*, to the families of men; your harsh *face* and fierce light you give to them."²⁸ And, finally, scholars have traced the use of "Yhwh is his name" to at least the early monarchic period or before.²⁹ Accordingly, it is highly probable that Amos 4:13; 5:8, [9]; 9:5–6 are fragments of an ancient Israelite hymn that had their own life in the Israelite cult. If correct, a straightforward picture emerges concerning the hymnic fragments and the composition of Amos: (a) a multi-strophe hymn existed before the

²¹ See Lambert 1996, 135 (lines 149–150) and 137 (lines 176–177, 180–181) (italics his). According to Lambert, "The *Šamaš Hymn*" likely dates before the Mesopotamian Cassite period (1500–1200 B.C.).

²² See Speiser 1969, 94.

²³ The direct objects of "to form" (יצר) are (a) human body parts: heart/ear (see Ps 33:15; 94:9); (b) historical events (see Isa 22:11); (c) the chosen people of Yhwh: Jacob/Israel (see Isa 27:11; 43:1; 44:2, 24; 45:11; 64:7); (d) favorable/unfavorable conditions (see Isa 45:7; Jer 18:11); (e) the world: earth (see Isa 45:18; Jer 33:11), all things (Jer 10:16; 51:9); (f) his chosen servant (see Isa 49:5); (g) creaturely things: locusts (Amos 7:1); and (h) human spirit (Zech 12:1).

²⁴ See tablet V, line 57 in Foster 1997, 399. Grayson 1969, 501–503, sees a reference to "mountains" in the previous line as well: "He formed at her udder the lofty m[ountain]s," whereas Foster 1997, 390–402, does not include "mountains:" "He sat down her head and piled [] upon it."

²⁵ See Pardee / Xella 1999, 604–605. See also Gunkel / Begrich 2020, § 2.50, on the creation of "mountains" as part of an older "creation narrative."

²⁶ See Baumgarten 1981, 96. For the Greek text, see Attridge / Oden 1981.

²⁷ E.g., see Allen 1997, 13 (Coffin Texts Spell 80), 10 (Coffin Texts Spell 76).

²⁸ See Lambert 1996, 135 (lines 149–150) (italics his). The immediate context indicates "revelations" means giving omens, see Lambert 1996, 135 (lines 151–152).

²⁹ See discussion in Paas 2003, 226–230.

composition of Amos; (b) fragments of this purported hymn were deployed in several locations in Amos during its composition; and (c) the final redaction of Amos inserted several additional elements.³⁰ Having established the doxologies' existence prior to Amos, the essay now discusses their original meaning.

2. CREATION AND THEOPHANY IN THE HYMNIC FRAGMENTS

4:13a	Because here ³¹ is the one who forms mountains ³²	יוצר הרים
4:13b	and who creates wind ³³	וברא רוח
4:13c	and who reveals His thoughts ³⁴ to man	ומגיד לאדם מה-שחור
4:13d	the maker of dawn ³⁵ into darkness ³⁶	עשה שחר עיפה

³⁰ See de Waard 1984, 37. De Waard included the hymnic fragment in Amos 1:2b as one of the latest insertions in the book. Klaus Koch also took Amos 1:2 as a hymnic fragment, see Koch 1974, 504–537; Koch 1976. For Koch, Amos 9:5–6 originally ended the book of Amos.

³¹ These two words are taken as cases of *anacrusis*, see e.g. Berg 1974, 94 n. 8. On *anacrusis*, see Watson 1986, 110–111. See also Watts 1956, 34 n. 12. Additionally, they likely did not belong to the original composition, but to the author of Amos. See discussion in Paas 1995, 130. More recently, Cox 2013, 90, takes “because here” as original to the hymn, following McComiskey 1987, 147. Cox’s position results from his desire to take Amos 7:4–5 as a “hymnic fragment” which also contains “here/ behold.” However, the novel observation that Amos 7:4–5 is hymnic has the following issues: first, the frequent use of הנה + participle in the Hebrew Bible precludes seeing “co-dependency” between Amos 7:4–5 and the hymnic fragments in Amos 4:13; 5:8[9]; 9:5–6. Second, though “the Lord Yhwh” appears in Amos 7:4; 9:5, many view that locution is secondary in Amos 9:5. Third, “who calls for judgment by fire” in Amos 7:4 differs from “who calls the waters of the sea” in Amos 9:6. Fourth, “great deep” cannot parallel “beneath the earth’s foundation” in Amos 9:6 because there the Hebrew reads “on the earth” not “beneath it.” Fifth, “consumed its portion” in Amos 7:4 is at best only remotely linked with “it melted” in Amos 9:5b. Finally, Amos 7:5 does not appear to contain any hymnic features.

³² LXX reads “thunder” (βροντή), while the Targ. (טוריא), Pesh. (ⲁⲗⲁ) and Vulg. (*montes*) align with MT. The reading “thunder” in the LXX parallels “wind” in the next line, explaining its insertion in place of “mountains” in MT. See Wolff 1969, 249; Paas 2003, 200.

³³ Perhaps, רוח is a collective singular, “winds,” in parallel with “mountains.” See suggestion in de Waard / Smalley 1979, 93.

³⁴ LXX read מה-שחור as משיחו: τὸν χριστὸν αὐτοῦ “his anointed one.” The Pesh. reads “his praise, glory” (ⲁⲛⲉⲃⲉⲃⲁⲛⲁ) and Vulg. “word/speech” (*eloquium*). Targ. has “to declare to man his work” reading מעשורו “his deed” for מה-שחור, see Wolff 1969, 249.

³⁵ For the mythological background of שחר in Ugaritic, Akkadian, and Hittite texts, see Parker 1999, 754–755. It is impossible to determine if Amos 4:13d would have evoked any mythological overtones in Amos’s audience.

³⁶ GKC § 116 g n. 3 explains עיפה as the “accusative of the product:” “makes the morning into darkness.” See also Koehler / Baumgartner / Stamm 1994–1999. The LXX has “dawn and mist” (ἄρθρον καὶ ὄμιχλη). The conjunction “and” likely originated with the LXX scribe who strived to produce a translation that for him expressed a more complete conceptual parallelism: just like “thunder” and “wind” go hand in hand (see LXX Amos 4:13ab), so does “morning” and “mist.” Regarding “and,” it is worth noting that the Vulg. aligns with MT: *faciens matutinam nebulam* “making the morning mist.” LXX also read עיפה as “mist, fog,” which the Vulg. followed. Contrarily, Symmachus “evening” (ἑσπέρα), the Pesh. (ⲁⲛⲉⲃⲁ) and Targ. (חשוד) align with MT.

4:13e	and who treads upon the high places of the earth	וּדְרַךְ עַל בְּמֵתֵי אֶרֶץ
4:13f	Yhwh, the God of Hosts, is his name	יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי־צְבָאוֹת שְׁמוֹ
5:8a	The one who makes Pleiades and Orion	עָשָׂה כִּימָה וּכְסִיל
5:8b	and who turns into morning darkness	וְהִפְךָ לְבֹקֵר צְלֻמוֹת
5:8c	and day [into] night he darkens	וַיּוֹם לַיְלָה הַחֲשִׁיד
5:8d	who calls the waters of the sea	הַקּוֹרָא לְמֵי־הַיָּם
5:8e	and throws them on the face of the earth	וַיִּשְׁפֹּכֶם עַל־פְּנֵי הָאָרֶץ
5:8f	Yhwh is his name	יְהוָה שְׁמוֹ
9:5a	But the Lord is Yhwh of hosts	וְאֲדָנִי יְהוָה הַצְּבָאוֹת
9:5bc	who touches the earth and it wavers	הַנֹּגֵעַ בָּאָרֶץ וְתִמּוֹג
9:5d	and all its inhabitants mourn	וְאֵבְלוּ כָּל־יְוֹשְׁבֵי בָהּ
9:5e	and it goes up, all of it, like the river	וְעֹלְתָה כִּי־אֵר כָּלָהּ
9:5f	and it sinks like the river of Egypt	וְשִׁקְעָה כִּי־אֵר מִצְרַיִם
9:6a	who builds in the heavens his upper room ³⁷	הַבּוֹנֵה בַשְּׁמַיִם מַעְלוֹתָו
9:6b	and his firmament ³⁸ on earth he lays its foundation ³⁹	וְאִגְדָּתוֹ עַל־אֶרֶץ יִסְדָּהּ
9:6c	who calls the waters of the sea	הַקּוֹרָא לְמֵי־הַיָּם
9:6d	and pours them on the face of the earth	וַיִּשְׁפֹּכֶם עַל־פְּנֵי הָאָרֶץ
9:6e	Yhwh is his name	יְהוָה שְׁמוֹ

³⁷ With Gaster 1935, 23–26, I read עליה “upper room, throne of God” for MT’s מעלה “step,” which likely resulted from confusion with the previous word ending in *mem* (see Koehler / Baumgartner / Stamm 1994–1999; *BHS*). For a similar locution, see Ps 104:3. See also *ANEP*, picture 529 for an iconography of a deity’s throne on the heavenly waters. More recently, Cox 2013, 89 retains MT’s מעלותו “his steps,” seeing an allusion to steps used to measure the rise of the Nile. Accordingly, Amos 9:6 depicts a flood “... ascending to the heavens...” on which Yhwh would sit enthroned.

³⁸ See Koehler / Baumgartner / Stamm 1994–1999. “Vaults” forms a neat parallel with “upper room” in the previous line. Taking אגדה as sharing its root with “to grow up, become great” (גדל), Cox 2013, 89, translates אגדה as “plumes” detecting use of “volcanic plume imagery.” However, the purported root relationship between אגדה/גדל is unclear.

³⁹ “Heavens” (masc.) and “earth” (fem.) are an example of gender-matched parallelism whose function is to tie Amos 9:6a–b. For “gender-match” parallelism, see Watson 1986, 123–127. Moreover, note the chiasmus in Amos 9:6a–b:

- | | |
|----|-------------------------|
| A | “who builds (בנה)” |
| B | “in the heavens (שמים)” |
| C | “his upper room (עליה)” |
| C’ | “his vaults (אגדה)” |
| B’ | “on earth (ארץ)” |
| A’ | “he founded (יסד)” |

The meaning of the hymnic fragments is debatable. Partial knowledge of their original setting, the terseness of its poetic lines, and complex words contribute to the ongoing discussion. The doxologies portray Yhwh as the creator (see discussion above). However, do they also depict Yhwh as an intervener in the created order's typical pattern?⁴⁰ A brief analysis of each fragment will help elucidate the doxologies' general portrayal of Yhwh in relation to creation.

The deployment of the *vav*-conjunction signals Amos 4:13 has two primary literary sections. Amos 4:13a starts with a non-*vav*-initial clause (יוצר הרים), leading to two *vav*-initial clauses in Amos 4:13b-c (וברא רוח/ומגיד לאדם מה-שחון). Similarly, the second section starts with a non-*vav*-initial clause in Amos 4:13d (עשה שחר עיפה), heading the *vav*-initial clause in Amos 4:13e (ודרך על-במתי).⁴¹ Moreover, prosody yields a 2 + 2 + 3 tricola in Amos 4:13a-c, as opposed to a 3 + 3 bicola in Amos 4:13d-e,⁴² concluding with a 3 + 3 refrain in Amos 4:13f. Thematically, "mountains" (הרים) and "wind[s]" (רוח) (Amos 4:13a-b) overlap either as the first elements of creation or simply phenomenologically as strong winds typically gust at mountain tops (see Isa 17:13).⁴³ The first section of Amos 4:13a-b depicts Yhwh as creator.

Similarly, Amos 4:13d-e also intersect. The locution עשה שחר עיפה presents semantic and syntactical problems. In the Hebrew Bible, עיפה means "darkness" as it parallels צלמות אפל "darkness of darkness" (= completely dark)⁴⁴ in Job 10:22 and מעוף "darkness" in Isa 8:22.⁴⁵ Syntactically, עיפה functions as "the accusative of the product" of "dawn" (שחר): "who makes the morning (שחר) into darkness (עיפה)" (*italics mine*).⁴⁶ Thus, Amos 4:13d does not speak of Yhwh's maintenance of creation but of his intervention. Whereas one expects increased light after "dawn," the opposite happens: Yhwh turns "dawn" into darkness.⁴⁷

⁴⁰ For "intervener," see Paas 1995, 127.

⁴¹ See Berg 1974, 96; Carny 1977.

⁴² Different from Berg 1974, 95, I count two instead of three syllables in במתי (Amos 4:13e).

⁴³ See Berg 1974, 96, who takes Amos 4:13a-b, d-e as parallel lines.

⁴⁴ Koehler / Baumgartner / Stamm 1994-1999 relate עיפה to II עף "to set," "to cover," and adj. "clouded."

⁴⁵ See the discussion in Williamson 2018, 343. Other proposals attempt to relate עיפה to יפע "brightness, glimmer" via metathesis of the consonant -ע or to עוף "to fly" whose referent would be the "winged sun disk" prevalent in ANE sources. See respectively, Paul 1991, 155; Whitley 2015, 127-138.

⁴⁶ See GKC § 116 g n. 3; Henderson 1860, 148. Some object the preposition *lamed* typically precedes the accusative of the product. See, e.g., Ridderbos 1952, 208 n. 1. However, Biblical Hebrew does not consistently use the *lamed* in this manner: compare Hos 2:10 with 8:4 and Amos 5:8b with 5:8c. See further discussion in Joüon and Muraoka 2006 § 125w and n. 58; Waltke and O'Connor 1990 § 10.2.3c and n. 22. For elsewhere without the *lamed*, see Exod 30:25; Ps 104:4. For these biblical passages, see Berg 1974, 95 n. 10.

⁴⁷ Others explain the relationship of שחר and עיפה differently. Options include (a) "dawn" and "darkness" are related through asyndeton: "who makes day and night. See Ridderbos 1952, 208; (b) עיפה is the accusative of the product but it means "daybreak" while שחר means "blackness:" "he who turns blackness

Consequently, Amos 4:13d–e changes the tone concerning its first section as it moves from proclaiming Yhwh as the creator to portraying his activity of disrupting the workings of the created order. The change in mood continues in Amos 4:13e. The imagery of Yhwh “treading” (דָּרַךְ) is reminiscent of his coming to judge the nations or his chosen people in theophanic contexts.⁴⁸ Yhwh “stepped (צָעַד) on Earth” (Hab 3:12a; see also Judg 5:4–5), “trampled (דָּוַשׁ) the nations” (Hab 3:12b), “struck (מָחַץ) the leader of the wicked’s house” (Hab 3:13b), “pierced (נָבַק) the head of its warriors” (Hab 3:14a), and “treaded (דָּרַךְ) on the seas” with his horses (3:15a). Above all, Yhwh “went out to rescue” his people (Hab 3:13). Similarly, Yhwh’s theophany against his people includes departing from his place, “treading on the backs of Earth,”⁴⁹ and the mountains’ dissolving (see Micah 1:3–4). Thus, the Yhwh-treading imagery in Amos 4:13e initially proclaimed Yhwh’s coming to defeat Israel’s enemies. The theophanic context of Amos 4:13e suggests Amos 4:13d–e are parallel lines. Whereas Amos 4:13d presages Yhwh’s coming in the atypical change of “dawn into darkness,” Amos 4:13e announces his arrival.⁵⁰

The upshot of the discussion so far is that Amos 4:13 is a well-balanced poem with two parallel lines in each of its main sections (Amos 4:13a–b, d–e), leaving Amos 4:13c at its center. Amos 4:13c fits the theophanic tradition in that the revelation of Yhwh’s will “... is a crucial part of the theophanies of Yahweh as king...”.⁵¹ Thus, Amos 4:13c suggests that Yhwh reveals his will in the cosmic created order (Amos 4:12a–b) and cosmic reversals of that order (Amos 4:13d–e). Accordingly, Amos 4:13c does double duty in the poem’s overall flow, linking its first and second sections. While the first section addresses cosmic order, the second focuses on cosmic disorder.⁵²

The juxtaposition of “creation” and “theophany” in Amos 4:13 occurs elsewhere. In an insightful study of the locution “he who stretches out the heavens”

into daybreak.” See Paul 1991, 155; and (c) עִיפָה is the direct object, but it means “winged disk,” and “dawn” is “an adverbial accusative with temporal force:” “the one who makes at dawn the winged disk.” See Whitley 2015, 135. All these proposals see Amos 4:13d as pointing to the typical maintenance of the world, not its disturbance.

⁴⁸ See Paul 1991, 155 n. 158: “... When the Deity is the subject, the context is that of the theophanic tradition of the covenant lawsuit...”.

⁴⁹ Andersen and Freedman 2006, 165, note the absence of the definite article in “earth” renders it “poetic, archaic, mythic” and, for that reason, they translate it as “Earth.”

⁵⁰ One finds a similar picture in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, where the arrival of Adad in the form of a flood starts with the formation of a “black cloud” at “dawn,” then the gods Shullat and Hanish move over “hills,” and Adad turns “light” into “darkness.” See Speiser 1969, 94.

⁵¹ See Hiebert 1992, 510. I take the referent of “his” in “his thought” to be Yhwh.

⁵² Amos 4:13 has additional elements that could point to a theophanic background. Powerful “winds,” accompanying thunderstorms, often signal Yhwh’s advent (see e.g. Ps 104:3–4) and the “mountains” are the typical location of Yhwh’s manifestation. See Hiebert 1992.

(see 2 Sam 22:10//Ps 18:10; Job 9:8; Ps 104:2; 144:5; Isa 40:22; 42:5; 44:24; 45:12; 51:13; Jer 10:12; 51:15; Zech 12:1), Norman C. Habel argued that creation's purpose was to provide a place for Yhwh to reign: "... the stretching out of the heavens has the very purpose of providing Yahweh with his cosmic abode for reigning over the earth..."⁵³ Creation prepares for Yhwh's "... advent as king of the universe."⁵⁴ Furthermore, Yhwh's creation and continuing revelation are related concepts: "... the 'pitching' of the heavens by Yahweh is not merely viewed as a past primordial cosmic event, but also as a *revelatio continua* which is part of his *creatio continua* and his saving intervention through cult or history."⁵⁵ Habel's view on the relationship of creation to continuing revelation provides a helpful framework for interpreting Amos 4:13, which, as discussed above, also brings the themes of creation and theophany together. In its original cultic setting,⁵⁶ the doxology likely celebrated Yhwh's coming in victory against Israel's enemies, which is evident from the concluding lines "Yhwh is his name" (Amos 4:13f; 5:8f; 9:5e). In the Hebrew Bible, Yhwh's self-identifying formula emphasizes his "redeeming power" (see, e.g., Exod 15:3) and judgment against Israel's oppressors (see, e.g., Jer 46:18; 48:15; 51:57).⁵⁷ Thus, the doxologies join the themes of creation and judgment, finding its matrix in the theophanic tradition celebrated in Israel's cult.⁵⁸

The relationship between creation and theophany appears clearly in the doxology of Amos 9:5–6. It begins with Yhwh as judge (Amos 9:5), then moves to Yhwh as creator (Amos 9:6), and possibly ends with Yhwh as a judge again (Amos 9:6cd).⁵⁹ Because Amos 9:6 mentions Yhwh's "upper room" (*עליה), which refers to Yhwh's throne room "... in the heavenly flood-water,"⁶⁰ in proximity to "calling the waters of the sea and pouring them on earth," it stands to reason that the "sea" in question is the heavenly cosmic sea that ancient cosmology held to exist above the sky. If so, the picture in Amos 5:8d–e is likely hostile, denoting destructive cosmic waters. More than the previous doxologies (Amos 4:13; 5:8), Amos 9:5–6 is primarily concerned with the impact of Yhwh's theophany on the earth. Thus, "earth" (ארץ) demarcates the outer boundaries of

⁵³ Habel 1972, 421.

⁵⁴ See Habel 1972.

⁵⁵ Habel 1972, 430 (italics his).

⁵⁶ For the cultic background of "Yhwh is his name," see Berg 1974, 179–180.

⁵⁷ See an excellent discussion in Berg 1974, 174–178, who identifies three primary theological functions for Yhwh's self-identifying formula "Yhwh is his name:" (a) Yhwh's redeeming power; (b) Judgment against Israel's oppressors; and (c) Yhwh's power in comparison with the powerless gods.

⁵⁸ See Hadjiev 2009, 126: "... Thematically the hymnic passages are unified by the common idea of judgment manifested in the disruption of the natural order..."

⁵⁹ Similarly, Story 1980, 76, sees Amos 9:5 depicting Yhwh as judge and Amos 9:6 as creator.

⁶⁰ See Koehler / Baumgartner / Stamm 1994–1999.

the doxology (Amos 9:5b, 6d), is the primary grammatical participant in the quatrain in Amos 9:5,⁶¹ and the foundation for Yhwh's "vaults" (Amos 9:6b). As Yhwh touches the earth, it suffers an earthquake, causing it to swell and recede like the waters of the Nile (Amos 9:5).⁶²

Though Amos 4:13; 9:5–6 juxtaposes two seemingly contradictory depictions of Yhwh, the picture in Amos 5:8 is far more ambiguous.⁶³ "The maker of the Pleiades and Orion" (עֹשֶׂה כִּימָה וּכְסִיל) (Amos 5:8a) depicts Yhwh as the creator.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, Amos 5:8b–d is more susceptible to ambiguity.⁶⁵ To turn "darkness into morning" (לְבַקֵּר צְלֻמוֹת) and to darken "the day into night" (וְיוֹם לַיְלָה) communicates Yhwh's "natural work of providence," by which he oversees the daily temporal pattern of the created order.⁶⁶ However, ambiguities abound. First, "to turn" (הִפְךָ) has positive and negative connotations (see, e.g., Deut 23:6; Amos 8:10). Second, a day's darkening is often an unfavorable sign (see, e.g., Exod 10:22; Is 5:30; Joel 2:2; 3:4; Micah 3:6; Zeph 1:15) as is "deep darkness" (צְלֻמוֹת).⁶⁷ Moreover, Amos 5:8d–e may have a negative connotation. While some interpret these lines positively as depicting Yhwh's care over creation with rain,⁶⁸ "waters of the sea" (מֵי־הַיָּם) is not the typical expression for rain.⁶⁹ Accordingly, others believe Amos 5:8d–e speaks of destructive earth-flooding waters (see Job 12:15; Isa 51:15).⁷⁰ Thus, the potential for ambiguity exists, leaving readers to wonder if "... the hymn is one of deliverance or of destruction, creation or calamity."⁷¹

In sum, the creation motif and theophany as its corollary are primary themes in Amos 4:13; 5:8; 9:5–6, though their distribution in the hymns is uneven. The creation motif appears clearly in Amos 4:13a–b; 5:8a–c; 9:6a–b. Yhwh's theophany and its impact on earth are evident in Amos 4:13d–e; 9:5. Amos 5:8b–c, d–e; 9:6c–d hold the potential for ambiguity and may hint at Yhwh's work as an intervener.

⁶¹ For other quatrains in Amos, see Amos 1:13–14, cited in Watson 1986, 162.

⁶² See Harper 1905, 179–180; Cripps 1969, 246; Mays 1969, 145.

⁶³ Wolff 1969, 283, considered Amos 5:8a as a secondary addition.

⁶⁴ See van Gelderen 1933, 116. The plural of "Orion" appears in Isa 13:10 but there the term must be understood as "constellations" as it parallels "stars."

⁶⁵ Against Ridderbos 1952, 214 n. 1, who denied Amos 5:8b–d has a negative connotation.

⁶⁶ See, e.g., van Gelderen 1933, 116; Story 1980; Adu 2022, 3–16; Ben-Dov 2021.

⁶⁷ See Ben-Dov 2021, 697.

⁶⁸ See, e.g., Ridderbos 1952, 214; Mays 1969, 95–96. Ridderbos cites Isa 55:10, but that verse speaks of "rain... from the heavens (מְזֶה־שָׁמַיִם)."

⁶⁹ See already van Gelderen 1933, 116–117.

⁷⁰ See Henderson 1860, 152; van Gelderen 1933, 116–117; Harper 1905, 116; Cripps 1969, 186.

⁷¹ See Ben-Dov, "World Order," 2:697.

3. THE DOXOLOGIES IN AMOS

The section will study textual and thematic affinities between the doxologies and other sections of Amos, hoping to discern the hermeneutical strategies behind their inclusion in Amos.⁷² The approach in this section will be primarily synchronic.

Amos 4:13 displays clear links with Amos 4:1–12. “Mountains” (הרים) in Amos 4:13a creates an *inclusio* with “in the mountain of Samaria” (בהר שמרון) in Amos 4:1, marking the outer literary boundaries of Amos 4:1–13.⁷³ The call “O Israel, prepare to meet your God” (הכון לקראת אלהיך ישראל) (Amos 4:12) suggests Yhwh’s coming, an idea also appearing in “the one who treads upon the heights of the earth” (Amos 4:13e).⁷⁴ The locution “he makes the dawn darkness” (Amos 4:13) evokes the community’s experience of the harsh disasters in Amos 4:6–11.⁷⁵ Consequently, Amos 4:13 functions as Amos 4:6–12’s climax: because plagues have not led Israel to repentance, it must prepare to meet with Yhwh.

Regarding textual and thematic affinities, the word במה occurs in Amos 4:13e; 7:9: “The high places (במה) of Isaac will be made desolate, and the sacred places of Israel will dry up; and I will rise against the house of Jeroboam with the sword.” After the third vision’s ominous conclusion in Amos 7:7–8, Amos 7:9 announces the desolation of Israel’s sacred places (במות). Regarding Amos 4:13; 7:9, the one “who treads on the high places of the earth” will target Israel’s high places.⁷⁶ The destruction of Israel’s high places and the lexeme “sword,” which also occurs in Amos 4:6–11, further support reading Amos 4:13; 7:9 together.

Some claim Amos 5:8–9 does not fit thematically in the context of Amos 5:1–17.⁷⁷ The address to those who disregard justice ends with a *qatal* verb (הניחו) in Amos 5:7b, which continues with the *qatal* שנאו in Amos 5:10a. Moreover, both sections share the concept of “justice” (משפט/צדיק) (see Amos 5:7, 12). However, indications exist that an ancient scribe aptly used Amos 5:8, 9 at the center of the chiasmus in Amos 5:1–17 (see p. 12). The chiasmus in Amos 5:1–17 has internal logic. First, “to turn, change” (הפך) (see 5:7a; 5:8b) formally links the doxology with the preceding section. Moreover, Amos 5:7, 8 share a thematic connection: whereas Amos 5:7 addresses the question of social disorder, Amos 5:8 speaks of

⁷² A third question concerns the doxologies’ role in the book’s composition. For some, the doxologies appear at important literary junctions, while others do not believe they play any significant role, except for the macro level *inclusio* between Amos 1:2; 9:5 around the “mourning” concept. See discussion in de Waard 1984, 35–42; Paas 1995, 124–139, and more recently, Hadjiev 2009, 124–139.

⁷³ See Paul 1991, 154 n. 146.

⁷⁴ See Story 1980, 69.

⁷⁵ See Story 1980, 69.

⁷⁶ Similarly, see Paas 2003, 248.

⁷⁷ See Hadjiev 2009, 130–131.

- A 5:1–3: Lament (קינה) against the house of Israel
 B 5:4–6: A call to seek Yhwh and live (דרשו...והיו)
 C 5:7: Address to those who turn (הפך) righteousness (משפט) into wormwood
 D 5:8–[9]: Doxology about Yhwh, who turns (הפך) day into night
 C' 5:10–13: Address to those who oppress the righteous (צדיק)
 B' 5:14–15: Call to seek good and live (דרשו...תחיו)
 A' 5:16–17: Lament (אבל) in the streets of Israel⁷⁸

cosmic order and disorder.⁷⁹ Second, whereas Amos 5:8, 9 speak of Yhwh's destructive actions on the cosmic and historical levels, Amos 5:10 condemns the destructive actions of the wicked on the social realm.⁸⁰ Cosmic order, as established at creation, is a concept that encompasses order in the cosmic, political, and social realms.⁸¹ The social disorder of Amos 5:1–17 triggers the appeal to Yhwh in Amos 5:8 as he can establish and disrupt order.⁸² The cosmic order displayed in Amos 5:8 counters the situation of social disorder in Amos 5:7, 10. Thus, in Amos 5:1–17, Amos 5:8 functions as a stark threat: Yhwh, who upholds cosmic order, can disrupt it against the sponsors of social disorder (Amos 5:7, 10–13).⁸³ Thus, they should uphold social order (5:4–6, 14–15) because there is a chance that Yhwh will relent (5:15). The laments at the extremities of the poem (5:1–3, 16–17) picture the outcome should Israel not listen. The use of “to call” (קרא) links Amos 5:8, 16: the destructive picture implied in “who calls the waters of the sea and pours them on the face of the earth” (Amos 5:8d–e) will concretize when Israel “calls” (קרא) a farmer to participate in mourning rituals (Amos 5:16). Echoing the Exodus tradition, Amos proclaims that Yhwh will pass in Israel's midst, not for redemption, but for damnation (Amos 5:17). That is so because Yhwh can “darken the day into night” (Amos 5:8c). Thus, the doxology displays thematic affinities with the message of Amos 5:1–17, 18–27. These affinities suggest an ancient scribe inserted Amos 5:8–[9] into an already fixed composition in Amos 5:1–7, 10–17, 18–27.⁸⁴

⁷⁸ That קינה and אבל are related terms in Amos is clear from Amos 8:10: “I will turn your feasts into mourning (אבל) and all your songs into a dirge (קינה).”

⁷⁹ Similarly, van Gelderen 1933, 119, speaks of the moral corruption of the house of Joseph (Amos 5:1–7) and Yhwh's ethical majesty (Amos 5:8, 9).

⁸⁰ Similarly, see van Gelderen 1933, 119.

⁸¹ See Schmid 1973, 4: “Unter dem Begriff der ‘Schöpfung’ finden somit im altorientalischen Raum... die kosmische, die politische und die soziale Ordnung ihre Einheit.”

⁸² See Schmid 1973, 4: “... ein Vergehen im Bereich des Rechts ganz selbstverständlich seine Folgen auch im Raume der Natur (Dürre, Hungersnot) oder der Politik (Feindbedrohung) zeitigen kann: Recht, Natur und Politik sind nur Aspekte der einen, umfassenden Schöpfungsordnung.” The threat of drought and hunger occur in Amos 4.

⁸³ See Ridderbos 1952, 213.

⁸⁴ See Hadjiev 2009, 131: “... If these connections are not purely coincidental they would suggest that the redactor who inserted 5:8–9 had before him not only the ring composition in 5:1–17 but the whole text of 5:1–24 already assembled in its present form.”

Amos 5:9 provides the first concrete clue as to how an ancient scribe read the ancient Israelite doxologies under discussion. The status of Amos 5:9 as part of the original hymn has been a contested issue.⁸⁵ This article argues that Amos 5:9 is not original to the hymnic fragment but is the first concrete application of the hymn's message to Amos's audience. The poetic lines in Amos 5:8b–c; 9:6a–b start with participles and end with *qatal* or *wayyiqtol* verbs. Contrarily, though Amos 5:9a starts with a participle (המבליג), the parallel clause in Amos 5:9b ends with a *yiqtol* verb (יבוא).⁸⁶ The *yiqtol* instead of a *qatal* verb indicates Amos 5:9 had a different origin than Amos 5:8. Though “destruction” (שד) often appears in the Hebrew Bible (see, e.g., Is 13:6; 16:4; 22:4; 51:19; 59:7; Jer 6:7; Joel 1:15; Hab 1:3; 2:17), Amos 5:9 associates closely with Hosea's message of Ephraim's destruction (see Hos 7:13; 9:6) because “destruction” (שד) and “fortress” (מבצר) occur only in Amos 5:9; Hos 10:14. Like Hosea, Amos sees destruction looming for Samaria (see Amos 3:6, 9, 12; 4:1; 6:1; 7:17; 8:14).⁸⁷ The placement of Amos 5:9 immediately after Amos 5:8 shows an ancient scribe saw the judgment in Amos 5:9 as flowing naturally from Amos 5:8. The locutions “he darkens day into night” (Amos 5:8c) and “he calls the waters of the sea and pours them on the face of the earth” (Amos 5:8d–e) likely offered the ancient scribe the potential for applying the doxology negatively, especially if that scribe knew the doxologies as part of a single hymn. In this case, the clear links between creation and judgment in Amos 4:13; 9:5–6 provided the scribe with a general interpretive framework to detect judgment in the word of Amos 5:8. And, finally, the concluding refrain “Yhwh is his name” in Amos 5:8 already suggested Yhwh's rule over “creation and history.”⁸⁸ If so, the scribe who inserted Amos 5:9 drew the logical implications of Yhwh's rule over creation (Amos 5:8) to history (Amos 5:9): Yhwh, who controls creation, can also bring disaster upon Israel in the realm of history.

Other links between Amos 5:8 and Amos 5:18–20; 8:9–10 give further support for the view that an ancient scribe saw an ominous message in Amos 5:8. Amos 5:8; 5:18–20 share “day” (יום), the roots חשך “dark/darkness,” “light” (see “light” [אור]) and the luminaries “Pleiades and Orion”), and “Yhwh... is his name” (יהוה שמו) (Amos 5:8, 27). While Amos's audience expected Yhwh's redemption on the day of his coming, Amos 5:18–20 turns it into a day of “darkness” (חשך). Similarly, Amos 8:9–10 clearly associates with Amos 5:8.⁸⁹ The darkening of the sun and day (Amos 8:9b–c) recalls linguistically and conceptually Amos 4:13d; 5:8c (see “to darken” [חשך] and “day” (יום)). Moreover, Amos 8:10 uses the verb

⁸⁵ See a helpful discussion of earlier scholarship in Berg 1974, 51–75; Story 1980, 73 n. 18.

⁸⁶ Similarly, but not identically to Story 1980, I take שד in Amos 5:9b as an accusative of manner and Yhwh as the implied subject of יבוא: “He comes with destruction on the fortress.”

⁸⁷ See Story 1980.

⁸⁸ See Paas 2003, 241.

⁸⁹ See also Cox 2013, 104.

“to turn” (הפך), referring to the turning of Israel’s feasts into “mourning.” Accordingly, the echo in Amos 8:10 concretizes the implied meaning of Amos 5:8. Corroborating a link between Amos 5:8; 8:9–10 are further textual affinities: (a) thematically, the picture of mourning figures in both passages, see Amos 5:1–2, 16–17; 8:3, 8; (b) both places mention Beersheba as a negative place: Amos 5:5; 8:14; (c) both use the terminology “to fall, not to rise again” (see Amos 5:2 [נפלה קום ללא תוסיף קום]; 8:14 [ונפלו ולא יקומו עוד]). While Amos 5:3 applies the imagery to “virgin Israel,” Amos 8:14 reserves it for those “who swear by the guilt of Samaria.”

Amos 9:5–6 is at the center of Amos 9:1–10. “I will kill the last of them with the sword (חרב)” in Amos 9:1 echoes “all the sinners of my people will die by the sword (חרב)” in Amos 9:10, marking the boundaries of the rhetorical unit. Whereas Yhwh is the speaker in Amos 9:1–4, 7–10, Amos 9:5–6 refers to him. Additionally, “I will set my eyes (עיני) on them for bad and not for good” in Amos 9:4 forms an *inclusio* with “the eyes (עיני) of the Lord God are on the sinful kingdom” in Amos 9:8. However, the doxology in Amos 9:5–6 integrates well with its surrounding context. Unlike Amos 4:13; 5:8, Amos 9:5–6 moves from judgment (Amos 9:5) to creation (Amos 9:6a–b). Likewise, while Amos 9:1–4 has judgment in view, the theme of creation fits the claim that Yhwh exercises ownership over other nations (Amos 9:7). Additionally, echoing Amos 9:2–3, the hymn demonstrates the futility of an attempted escape to the world’s remotest parts. First, the “heavens” is the place from which Yhwh rules (Amos 9:6). And, second, because Yhwh executes judgment by using the “waters of the sea” (Amos 9:6), it is impossible to escape to its remotest depths (Amos 9:3). Therefore, Amos 9:5–6 fits well in its context.

Amos 9:5 has several echoes in the book. “Its inhabitants will mourn” (ואבלו) appears in Amos 8:8: “and its inhabitants [coll. sing.] will mourn [coll. sing.]” (ואבל כל־יֹשֵׁב בָּהּ). As discussed above, Amos 8:9–10 already contains echoes of Amos 5:8. It is no surprise that Amos 8:8 also shares textual affinities with Amos 9:5. The melting of the earth in Amos 9:5 resembles its trembling in Amos 8:8. For the “mourning” theme, note that it also appears in the context of Amos 5:8 (see Amos 5:16). Finally, “mourning” appears also in Amos 1:2. As a result of Yhwh’s “roaring” from Zion, the pastures of the shepherd and the top of Carmel mourn and dry up. When set in the context of the book, Amos 1:2; 9:5–6 depict Yhwh’s coming not to redeem but to judge. In the context of Amos, the doxologies are in tune with Amos’ primary message of doom.

4. CONCLUSION: CREATION THEOLOGY AND ANCIENT SCRIBAL HERMENEUTICS

What is the internal logic behind using the ancient doxologies in Amos? First, the relationship between creation and theophany paved the way for including the doxologies in Amos. The ancient scribe read the doxologies as pointing to Yhwh's imminent appearance in history. Second, the doxologies' literary and thematic affinities with the message of Amos made it possible to incorporate the doxologies in Amos' proclamation of doom against Israel. Third, the doxologies' portrayal of Yhwh as not only the creator but also the disruptor of the created order, along with the inherent ambiguity in the terminology of Amos 5:8 (see discussion above), indicated to the ancient scribe that they proclaimed doom for Israel. Thus, the ancient scribe's take on the meaning of the doxology is akin to their interpretation in later Jewish sources.⁹⁰ And, fourth, the ancient scribe saw no dichotomy between social, political, and cosmic disorder. Social disorder in the historical realm affects cosmic order and will attract cosmic disorder as a form of corrective punishment. The comprehensiveness of the concept of the created order facilitated reading the doxologies as threats to Amos' audience. Thus, the pieces of Israelite liturgy reflected in the hymnic fragments acquire a new dimension in Amos. Instead of being proclamations of Yhwh's fight against Israel's enemies, they now become proclamations of judgment and threat against Israel.⁹¹ The doxologies challenged Israel's false confidence.⁹² If the analysis above is correct, it indicates that creation theology was not peripheral to Amos' message. Rather, it played a substantial role in Amos' overall proclamation.

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⁹⁰ For example, Abravanel (1437–1508) took Amos 5:8 as ominous, seeing in Amos 5:8 a reference to Sennacherib's coming to destroy Israel: "... If God... has such power regarding his stars and the movement of the globe and he changes morning into darkness and the light into night... how will he not prepare and arrange the most elevated stars to destroy you and convert your light into darkness...". He also interpreted "who calls the waters of the sea and pours them on the face of the earth" as a reference to a destructive flood whose intent is to punish the wicked, see Ruiz 1984, 133 (translation mine).

⁹¹ For a similar use, see Micah 1:3–4.

⁹² See Paas 1995, 137–138.

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ἙΤΥΜΟΛΟΓΙΑ: SCHOLARLY HELLENISTIC INTERPRETATIONS IN THE SEPTUAGINT

Benjamin M. AUSTIN

This paper argues that instances of *etymologia* in the LXX should be distinguished from other phenomena and understood as rhetorical discourse that would have been recognized as such by the ancient translators. First, it summarizes how LXX scholarship uses the term etymology. Second it describes ancient learned etymologies. Third, in light of the historical context, it categorizes several ways LXX translators rendered etymologies to demonstrate how LXX translators took care to render some etymologies. The significance of seeing LXX renderings of etymologies in the historical context includes recognizing the hermeneutical function of etymologies and allows for a broader understanding of what techniques could be employed to represent the connection between the word and the context. In addition etymological constructions can serve to elevate the literary register of a text and the authority of the text's producer.

One of Arie van der Kooij's great contributions to scholarship is the attention he has brought to the historical context of the Old Greek translators of the Hebrew Bible. This includes both the political events of their times as well as the scholarly milieu of these ancient expert scribes. This paper will expand upon one such observation of van der Kooij, namely his distinction between two Hellenistic era scholarly techniques (γραμματική τέχνη): *analogia* and *etymologia*.¹ It will argue that instances of *etymologia* in the LXX should be distinguished from other phenomena and understood as rhetorical discourse that would have been recognized as such by the ancient translators. First, it will look at how LXX scholarship uses the term etymology. Second it will describe ancient learned etymologies. Third, in light of the historical context, it will categorize several ways LXX translators rendered etymologies to demonstrate how LXX translators took care to render some etymologies.

¹ Van der Kooij 2009, 148. See also his call to understanding exegetical methods contemporary with the LXX translators in Van der Kooij 1986.

1. LXX SCHOLARSHIP

Often in secondary literature *analogia* and *etymologia*² (as well as other phenomena) are conflated under the category of “etymological exegesis.” Emanuel Tov defines etymological exegesis as “exegesis based on the translator’s understanding of the structure of Hebrew words,” an understanding that differs from the modern understanding of linguistics.³ He includes in this category rendering a homonym, reading a word as from a different root than we read it, vocalizations that are different from what are found in the MT, conjectural renderings of difficult words, word analysis (often of a weak verb or a word which may have been thought to derive from the same bi-lateral root), and popular etymologies (which would be *etymologia*).⁴

Ronald Troxel discussed the Alexandrian scholarly technique *analogia* and the Alexandrian interest in etymologies of names, and placed the LXX Isaiah translator within this Alexandrian scholarly milieu.⁵ When he turns to LXX Isaiah he speaks of “analogical reasoning” and “etymological reasoning” in the translation. By “analogical reasoning” he includes both using similar phrases in other passages to interpret the oracles of Isaiah, and also word analysis similar to Alexandrian *analogia*, which he refers to as an etymological theory.⁶ By “etymological reasoning” he includes both what should properly be *adagium* as well as phenomena closer to *etymologia*.⁷ Van der Kooij, in his review of the book, says that really three Alexandrian scholarly techniques should here be distinguished: *adagium* (interpreting “Homer from Homer”), *analogia*, and *etymologia*.⁸

More recently Ausloos and Lemmelijn distinguish several types of etymological exegesis and provide many examples.⁹ Two distinctions worth note are their categories of “Popular’ Root-Linked Etymology” and “Intentional Etymologizing in Unproblematic Lexical situations.”¹⁰ These categories lead to their concluding observation that etymological renderings should be distinguished from etologies, which is essentially a distinction of *analogia* and *etymologia* without

² *Analogia* was a principle of grammatical analysis which applied mathematical proportions to language in order to discover regular patterns of declensions and inflections by comparing forms, Fraser 1972, 463; Anttila 2013. *Etymologia* was a “tool for thinking” that looked for philosophical truth and literary appropriateness, not lexical origins and derivations, Sluiter 2015, 896–921.

³ Tov 1997, 172.

⁴ Tov 1997, 172–77.

⁵ Troxel 2008, 29–30, 111.

⁶ Troxel 2008, 15, 151, for etymological theory see pages 107–108, 111–112.

⁷ Troxel 2008, 110–111.

⁸ Van der Kooij 2009, 148.

⁹ Ausloos / Lemmelijn 2016; Ausloos 2008; Ausloos / Lemmelijn / Kabergs 2012.

¹⁰ Ausloos / Lemmelijn 2016, 199–200.

taking the historical context fully into account.¹¹ Ausloos had earlier compared the rendering of etiologies in the A and B texts of Judges, showing how they attempted to offer good renderings of the names and explanations.¹² While the distinction is helpful, really most etymologies in the Hebrew Bible are not etiologies.¹³ This is a different ancient rhetorical term, *αἰτιολογία*,¹⁴ which involves asking and then answering a question (used repeatedly in Malachi, e.g. Mal 1:2), not explaining the reason for a name, as the term is now used.

One challenge to using precise historically informed terminology, apart from further confusing the various ways these terms are being used, is that *analogia* and *etymologia* do not capture all of the phenomena typically included by the term “etymological exegesis.” But isolating examples that reflect the historical context can help us better understand the translators’ thought processes. Before turning to what ancient scholarly etymology involved, it should be noted that both David Weissert and Jean Koenig have shown that LXX translators appear to use Alexandrian theories of *analogia* in their analysis of Hebrew roots.¹⁵ This is significant, in that if they learned this from the Greek intellectual world, it shows a significant amount of learning in contemporary cutting-edge grammatical theory and practice. According to Criboire, grammatical theory only entered standard school curriculum in the first century CE,¹⁶ so it is unlikely the LXX translators would have been exposed to these techniques in a standard or basic Greek education. *Etymologia*, on the other hand, was something they would have practiced in school under the guidance of the grammarian.¹⁷

2. ETYMOLOGY AND ἘΤΥΜΟΛΟΓΙΑ

The modern linguistic sense of etymology involves explaining the origin and development of words over time through linguistic relationships discernible through regular phonological transformations that take place as languages diverge. The etymology of a word tells us its history and development, but may not tell us its current meaning. Since the ancients didn’t utilize modern scientific linguistic principles, their etymologies have often been dismissed by modern

¹¹ Ausloos / Lemmelijn 2016, 200–201. The category “etymological exegesis/rendering” includes things that strictly speaking are not *analogia*.

¹² Ausloos 2008, see also Ausloos 2012. Further studies on LXX renderings of names will be discussed below.

¹³ Contra Grabbe 1988, 51.

¹⁴ Anderson 2000, 14.

¹⁵ Weissert 1973; Koenig 1983; see also Van der Kooij 1986.

¹⁶ Criboire 2001, 210.

¹⁷ Criboire 2001, 209–210.

scholars as fanciful and absurd “folk etymologies.”¹⁸ But ancient etymology was not about discovering the linguistic history of words, it was, as Ineke Sluiter says, a “tool for thinking.”¹⁹ Ancient etymology was speculative and based on inconsistent principles,²⁰ but was nevertheless a type of ancient scholarly discourse. In fact, it was a wide-spread pre-critical methodology of learned scribes from Greece to India, including Babylonian and Hebrew scribes.²¹

Etymology was a part of Greek literature already in Homer and Hesiod. For example, Autolycus names his grandson Odysseus because he himself had been *ὀδυσσάμενος*, or “angry,” with many.²² Greek poets would give etymologies to create focal points in their narrative to shape how the audience read and understood the story’s meaning.²³ What is unique about the etymology in ancient Greece is that they deliberately discussed etymology as a subject and developed how to use it hermeneutically and in rhetoric.²⁴ The term *ἐτυμολογία* was coined in the third century BCE by the Stoic Chrysippus, and was first used in existing documents in Plutarch.²⁵ The ancient Greek grammarians define it as “the unfolding of words, through which their true meanings (literally ‘that which is true’) is made plain.”²⁶ The issue of truth is not the true linguistic derivation of a word, but the true meaning or significance of a word in the view of the one making an etymology. Ancient etymology as a tool for thinking was about synchronous relationships between words or ideas created by asserting the relationship is what motivated the selection of the word by “the name-givers.”²⁷ For the ancients, etymology, like mythology and genealogy, is used to “create points of reference and orientation in past and present;” that is, it has an anchoring function.²⁸ Etymology for the ancients was not about the history of words but about justifying or exploring the contemporary meaning of a word.²⁹ While families would name

¹⁸ Visigalli 2018, 984.

¹⁹ Sluiter 2015, 896–921. For the distinction between modern and ancient etymology, see also Most 2016, 65–66. For etymologies as an instrument for organizing thoughts and aiding learning, see Fernández Marcos 1977, 251.

²⁰ Folker Siegert lists it among allegorical interpretive methods, defining it as “giving account of the truth” based on exploiting assonances of all kinds. He says allegory’s only rule was consistency within a system of knowledge, Siegert 1996, 139.

²¹ Visigalli 2018; Lambert 1999; Frahm 2011, 61–62, 70–76. For etymology as an organizing and philosophical principle, see van de Mierop 2016. For etymologies of names see Hallo 1995; Gelb 1994; Cooley 2019.

²² *Od.* 19.406. For more examples, see Sluiter 2015, 901–902. For the various plays on his name, see Dimock 1962, 106–21.

²³ Peraki-Kyriakidou 2002, 489.

²⁴ For various Greek philosophies of language, see Sandys 2011, 91–92.

²⁵ Sluiter 2015, 907, n. 28.

²⁶ Matthews 2019, 10–11; he cites *Grammatici Graeci* 1.3: 14, ll. 23–4.

²⁷ Sluiter 2015, 898–899; Peraki-Kyriakidou 2002, 480.

²⁸ Sluiter 2015, 900.

²⁹ Sluiter 2015, 898–899.

children based on the meaning of the name, etymology was not just “folk etymology” but was a serious ancient scholarly practice and is better characterized as learned etymology.³⁰

There were no set rules for learned etymology, and there were a variety of constructions and formulas for exploring an etymology or signaling that it was etymological discourse.³¹ A few ways Plato uses etymology in *Cratylus* are informative of how they were used generally in Greek scholarship. First, etymologies were not mutually exclusive, so Plato can offer four different etymologies of the name Apollo, which each show one aspect of the god. They are not four options for the source of the name, but four simultaneously true insights into the god’s nature.³² Second, etymologies can be used to constitute a narrative or contribute to creating allegories (this is important for Stoic commentators on Homer).³³ Third, etymologies can be offered polemically, or the etymologies of others can be argued against.³⁴ Finally, there are several linguistic operations that show an etymology is at work, these are: semantic bridging (by connecting synonyms or analogous concepts), using linguistic principles such as differences in dialect or grammatical principles of analogy, and the avoidance of homonymy to avoid a problem (when you want to disassociate your word from a word that sounds similar). In addition, the four types of changes Aristotle presented are also used by Plato for phonetic bridging, namely by the addition, subtraction, transposition of letters, or substituting the letters of a word with other letters that keep the same force of meaning.³⁵ Greek etymology was very loosely grounded, perhaps only in the skill of the etymologizer. The linguistic operations mentioned above could be used to connect nearly any word to any other word, and so was duly criticized already in antiquity, for example, by Cicero.³⁶ Plato’s *Cratylus* refutes and refines older views of etymology, yet at the same time Plato provides a theory and example that was carried forward by scholars for over two millennia.³⁷

Greek scholars used etymologies in education, grammar, rhetoric, and hermeneutics. Greek Grammarians would offer etymologies for difficult words encountered when students read texts.³⁸ This had several functions, such as to explore meanings and open interpretive possibilities, or to serve as a mnemonic aid for

³⁰ For naming, see Hallo 1995, 767. That it is more than folk etymology, see Cooley 2019, 206.

³¹ Peraki-Kyriakidou 2002, 487.

³² Sluiter 2015, 902–903.

³³ Sluiter 2015, 913.

³⁴ Sluiter 2015, 913–914.

³⁵ Sluiter 2015, 915–916; Criboire 2001, 210.

³⁶ Sluiter 2015, 916–917; Cicero, *Nat.d.*, 3.24.62–63.

³⁷ Driscoll 2018, 119. Plato himself, however, eventually would be etymologized. Diogenes Laertius 3.4 explains: διὰ τὴν πλατύτητα τῆς ἐρμηνείας οὕτως ὀνομασθῆναι, ἢ ὅτι πλατὺς ἦν τὸ μέτωπον.

³⁸ Criboire 2001, 209–210.

students, or just to show off linguistic learning.³⁹ The goal was to discover the truthful meaning of a word, by the addition, subtraction, interchange, and change of letters to find a desired meaning.⁴⁰ Sometimes more obscure etymologies would be used to create a difficulty, to challenge students and filter out those unsuitable for higher learning.⁴¹ One way to do this was to offer an etymology that does not provide the connected word, but a synonym, leaving it to the student or reader to make the connection and find the hidden etymologically related word. For example, in the fifth century CE, Orion gives the etymology for head, *κάρα*, saying *ἀπὸ τοῦ τετριχῶσθαι*, leaving it to the reader to connect the synonym *κέρας*.⁴²

Etymology was also an important part of grammatical theory. Dionysius of Thrax in the second century BCE included “finding etymologies” as one of the six parts of Grammar, and so it became a *topos* of invention.⁴³ Scholars would use etymologies heuristically to settle questions of a word’s meaning or orthography.⁴⁴ For example, an etymology could be used to decide whether a name should have a rough or smooth breathing, since the spelling in antiquity didn’t include breathing marks.⁴⁵

Etymology also played an important role in hermeneutics, particularly in commentaries on Homer. Scholars would provide etymologies to bind the meaning of a word into clusters of other meanings in order to shape a reader’s understanding of a passage around the interpreter’s understanding.⁴⁶ This was done to the greatest extent by the Stoics, who used etymology in their allegorical interpretations to legitimate their philosophy by arguing that the myths and Homer were actually teaching Stoic doctrines, hidden by Homer behind allegories.⁴⁷ Etymology served to draw the connection between the myth and Stoic ideas; for example, they held that the struggle between the gods in the Iliad are allegories for the interactions between cosmic forces, *Ζεύς* is the force of life (*ζῆν*), and *Ηέρα* the force of the upper air (*ἀήρ*).⁴⁸ The Stoic Cornutus wrote a manual of etymology

³⁹ Peraki-Kyriakidou 2002, 480–481; Sluiter 2015, 918–22; Cribiore 2001, 210.

⁴⁰ Cribiore 2001, 210.

⁴¹ Peraki-Kyriakidou 2002, 490.

⁴² Peraki-Kyriakidou 2002, 482–483.

⁴³ Swiggers / Wouters 1998, §1; Cribiore 2001, 185; Sluiter 2015, 920–921. It is similar to *συνζυγία*, an argument based on cognate words; Aristotle, *Rhet.* 2.23.2; Anderson 2000, 111.

⁴⁴ Sluiter 2015, 919–20.

⁴⁵ See Herodian, *De ll. prosod.*, GG 3.2.30 in Sluiter 2015, 919–920. Here it comes closest to *analogy* and *adagium*.

⁴⁶ Peraki-Kyriakidou 2002, 492; Sluiter 2015, 918–919.

⁴⁷ Peraki-Kyriakidou 2002, 481–482; Philo of Alexandria had a similar idea of names, that Moses carefully chose them to encode philosophical truths, Grabbe 1988, 19–20, 23.

⁴⁸ Siegert 1996, 134.

to help readers through this hermeneutical process; he wrote it not to teach philology or linguistics, but, as he says, to introduce young men to piety.⁴⁹

As we have seen, in ancient Greek culture, etymology was used in a variety of literature to anchor meaning, organize thoughts, and interpret texts. It was used by philosophers, poets, rhetors, and school teachers.

3. THE SEPTUAGINT'S LEARNED ETYMOLOGIES

The Letter of Aristeas 121–122 portrays the LXX translators as highly learned in Greek literature, suggesting to Honigman that they are being compared to Homeric Scholars, and suggesting to van der Kooij, that they are being depicted as philosophers.⁵⁰ But even if we were only to grant them an average Greek education, they would have been exposed to etymologies in the Greek literature they studied, and their teachers would have commented on etymologies and made them practice inventing etymologies, as we have seen.⁵¹ Likewise, etymology is an important narrative feature in the Hebrew Bible, so it should be no surprise that the LXX translator was familiar with etymologies, their interpretative importance, and their use.⁵² This does not mean, however, that we should expect them to make scholarly decisions each time they encounter an etymology. They were primarily working on creating a translation, and only occasionally or opportunistically made rhetorical and literary flourishes, as Wright says, to signal the “Greekness of the translations.”⁵³ Aitken has observed similar occasional shows of scholarly literary ability in Ptolemaic bureaucratic documents.⁵⁴

Learned etymologies occur in a variety of Greek literature and so can take a variety of forms. Greek literature and Biblical Hebrew share some conventions for signaling an etymology. Somewhat unavoidably, both use terms for naming (in the Greek, forms related to *ὄνομα* and *καλέω*,⁵⁵ in the Hebrew often the phrase *קרא שם*). Second, both involve showing a motivation or causal relationship between the name and the meaning.⁵⁶ In the Hebrew Bible the motivation or reason for the name is introduced by *כי* (Gen 3:20) or by giving a quote explaining

⁴⁹ Snyder 2000, 7.

⁵⁰ Honigman 2003, particularly ch. 3; Van der Kooij 2011, 506. Wright 2019, 504, believes Aristeas is trying to emphasize the literary value and authority of the Greek LXX text.

⁵¹ Criboire 2001, 209–210. For a survey of etymology in Greek literature, see Garcea 2013. For an example of the interpretive significance of etymologies in Homer, see Dimock 1962. For discussion of the LXX translators' Greek schooling, see Aitken 2011, 508.

⁵² See Cooley 2019; Marks 1995; Gordis 1986.

⁵³ Wright 2019, 509.

⁵⁴ Aitken 2011, 520.

⁵⁵ Sluiter 2015, 912.

⁵⁶ Sluiter 2015, 903–904.

the motivation for the name (Gen 4:1). A third form they share is commenting on the appropriateness or truth of a name.⁵⁷ For example, in Gen 27:36a Esau comments on Jacobs name: ויאמר הכי קרא שמו יעקב ויעקבני זה פעמים את־ברתי לקח והנה עתה לקח ברתי. The LXX renders הכי with *δικαίως*, a term often found in Greek etymological discussions of the appropriateness or truth of a name or word.⁵⁸

Since the genres of the Hebrew Bible are narrative and poetic, and not commentary or treatise, the etymologies are usually of proper names. Natalio Fernández Marcos and Larry Perkins each described several Septuagint strategies for rendering proper names.⁵⁹ Yet, given the importance of etymology in Hebrew and Greek literature, the likelihood that the LXX translators were explicitly taught about them in school, and the similarity in form and function in Hebrew and Greek literature, it is reasonable to suppose the translator, at times, attempted to translate not just the individual name but the entire etymological construction.⁶⁰ In fact, as mentioned above, Ausloos' study of etiology in the A and B texts of Judges concluded that despite the slavish translation technique, both translators, particularly B, appear to have attempted to render the constructions meaningfully and in inventive ways.⁶¹ Ausloos et al. have described three strategies of rendering etymological constructions: 1) transliterate the name and translate the explanation; 2) transliterate both; 3) translate both.⁶² As we will see, there were several more possible translation strategies available that did not necessitate straying far from the typical Septuagint word-for-word translation technique.

3.1 *Transliterate the Name and Translate the Etymology*

The translator could either transliterate names fully, or alter the ending so that it can inflect in Greek.⁶³ It produces what would appear to the Greek reader to be an etymology, with signals of naming and motivation for the name, but makes no sense, in that the explanation of the etymology has no clear connection to the transliterated Hebrew word.⁶⁴ While this approach might be considered the

⁵⁷ Sluiter 2015, 906–909.

⁵⁸ Sluiter 2015, 906–909. In n. 29 she gives examples from Aesch. *Sept.* 400ff, where it occurs with synonyms, and Soph. *OT* 1282f.

⁵⁹ Fernández Marcos 1977, 239–259. He added a strategy in Fernández Marcos 2001. See further Perkins, 2010, 444–448: 1) Use existing transcription (Ααρών אהרן); 2) Create a new transcription (Γηρσάμ (גרשם)); 3) Use a Greek equivalent (Φονεύει (כנען נאלען)); 4) Translate the name (Πικρία (מרר)).

⁶⁰ This seems to be assumed in Fernández Marcos 1977, 251–259; and Perkins 2010, 462–463.

⁶¹ Ausloos 2008, 70–71.

⁶² Ausloos / Lemmelijn / Kabergs 2012, 292–293.

⁶³ Most transcribed Hebrew names in the Papyri are inflected, according to Fernández Marcos 1977, 243. See also Perkins 2010, 448–452.

⁶⁴ Where Polyhistor paraphrases Artapanus using this technique, he explicitly says that it is a translation, Holladay 1983, 204–205.

default of LXX translating generally, it has two important effects. First, it signals that the text is a translation by showing that the name has a meaning in a different language that is not discernible in Greek without the explanation.⁶⁵ Readers of Gen 30:13 may have been surprised by the transcription Ἀσὴρ since there was a popular Greek name Μακάριος, though the construction may have signaled to them that the names were synonymous.⁶⁶ On the other hand, a scribe felt this was unclear and added the gloss ο εστι(ν) πλουτος, found in some manuscripts.

Second, it allows for the attentive reader to see the relationship of the meaning of the name to the other events in the passage.⁶⁷ In Gen 25 the etymology of Esau is marked with the term ἐπονομάζω (25:25), which suggests the story related of Esau's birth is significant for his name.⁶⁸ Readers should realize the significance of Esau being hairy (27:11) later in the story. The translator used the less common translation equivalent δασύς to provide a phonetic link to Ἡσαύ; the term appears twice more in Gen 27:11, 23 where Jacob takes on Esau's identity.⁶⁹ The significance of Jacob grasping the heel is explained in the Greek of 27:36, using Greek etymological terminology, as we have seen. In the Hebrew there is a play on words between the noun כָּעַל (heel) and the verb כָּעַל (to follow at the heel, or idiomatically "to go behind the back"⁷⁰); Esau is reinterpreting Jacob's name. The LXX translator, rather than rendering the meaning of the idiom or the plain meaning, uses the Greek verbal cognate to the Greek for heel, περνίζω, to preserve the etymological connection to Jacob's birth and name.⁷¹ This verb meant "to strike with the heel," but as Muraoka shows, later LXX translators and Philo, based on the events of these passages, extend the meaning of περνίζω to mean to cheat or defraud.⁷²

⁶⁵ That this reminds the reader of the original setting, see Kedar-Kopfstein 1973, 56–57. He also notes that since names identify individual people or places, they don't need to be translated, Kedar-Kopfstein 1973, 57–58.

⁶⁶ Fernández Marcos 1977, 255.

⁶⁷ Kedar-Kopfstein 1973, 62, says that transliterating names in the context of etymologies is a negative interpretation, in that it obscures the connection between the meaning of the name and the narrative. However, the etymological construction should signal to the reader the meaning of the name, which may allow the connection to the narrative to be maintained.

⁶⁸ See Sluiter 2015, 905, where she lists ἐπώνυμον οὐνεκα as a typical phrase pointing to an etymology, not that LXX uses this exact phrase. Often we also find καλέω...ἔτι, as in Gen 16:11 where Ishmael's name is transliterated and the etymology translated.

⁶⁹ See Fernández Marcos 1977, 256. That even endings can be parts of an etymology, see Peraki-Kyriakidou 2002, 483.

⁷⁰ Caird 1969, 31–32.

⁷¹ Muraoka 1987, 266–267, suggests the Hebrew meaning may have been lost on the translator, "who may have instead taken delight in skillfully reproducing in his translation the typically Hebraic aetiological folk-etymology."

⁷² Muraoka 2009, s.v. "περνίζω," 1.; Muraoka 1987, 265. For the extended meaning of περνίζω, see Muraoka 2009, s.v. "περνίζω," 2.; Muraoka 1987, 266–268.

It is also the case that transliterating the name and translating the etymology may not make clear that there is an etymology. In Gen 21 it is not obvious in Greek that there is a relationship between Isaac's name and laughter, since there is no clear motivation clause.⁷³

3.2 *Translate the Name to Match the Etymology*

A bolder strategy is to translate the meaning of the name into Greek so that it matches the translated etymology. This approach produces a more coherent Greek text for the Greek reader, at the expense of preserving the Hebrew name and creating a sometimes strange Greek name.⁷⁴ This approach may have seemed natural to bilingual people who used Greek translations of Hebrew names (for example, Theodotus for Mattathias or Justus for Zadoq).⁷⁵ This technique shows the translator's concern for etymologies, and his recognition that the meaning of the name is more significant than the sound of the name. One danger of translating proper names is that they can become generic nouns when translated.⁷⁶

A well-known example of this is Gen 3:20, where Adam names his wife Ζωή, ὅτι αὕτη μήτηρ πάντων τῶν ζώντων. Here the meaning of the name is significant, given the context of promised death from eating from the tree, being removed from the tree of life, and the reprieve from death in the promise of a seed. This translation does not make clear that Ευαν, which she is called a few verses later in 4:1, means "life." It seems to sit as a second name for her;⁷⁷ in Genesis as well as in Homeric literature many people have multiple names.

Another example is Gen 35:18, where Rachel, in her fatal childbirth, calls her son רַחֵלָה, translated Ἰίδος ὀδύνης μου. Here too, the sound of this name is less important than its meaning (related to her exceptionally bad birth pains and resulting death),⁷⁸ since this name is not used again but immediately rejected by the father.

⁷³ Abraham names the child in Gen 21:3 but Sarah gives the motivation in her speech several verses later in 21:6, without mentioning naming or the child's name.

⁷⁴ Kedar-Kopfstein 1973, 63, notes that translating the name "deprives it of its character as a proper name."

⁷⁵ Tcherikover 1970, 346–347. See also Tcherikover 1957 (*CPJ*, 1:27–30), where he discusses the names of Jews found in the Papyri. He notes examples of Greek translations of Hebrew names and Jews who went by Hebrew as well as Greek names, though he says there is no evidence for anyone going by equivalent names in both languages.

⁷⁶ Fernández Marcos 1977, 247.

⁷⁷ That this rendering disrupts coherence, see Prestel / Schorch 2011, 162. It should be obvious that in both passages the same wife is meant, not only by the use of articles but the logic of the one being the mother of all living and the other giving birth.

⁷⁸ For the translator's depiction of this difficult childbirth, see Muraoka 2014, 67.

Place names are also sometimes translated, when the event the place is named for is more important than the location itself.⁷⁹ In Gen 10:10 בבל is transliterated as Βαβυλών, but the continuity of this with the next chapter is disrupted (unlike Gen 3–4 where the reader should connect the two names of Eve to one wife). In Gen 11:9a the etymology for Babel is translated as well as the name Babel: διὰ τοῦτο ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς Σύγγχυσις, ὅτι ἐκεῖ συνέχεεν κύριος τὰ χεῖλη πάσης τῆς γῆς.⁸⁰ Yet in 11:2 the plain בארץ שׁנער is partially transliterated ἐν γῆ Σεννααρ, perhaps because no etymology is offered for this name, there was no point attempting to translate it.⁸¹

The case of בית-אל is demanding on the reader. It is transliterated in Gen 12:8 and 13:3, but when it is given the name by Jacob in Gen 28:19, the translation is given: Οἶκος θεοῦ. The reader then must link this translation with the name Βαιθῆλ in 35:1, when God tells him to return to where God appeared to him and dwell there, καὶ οἴκει ἐκεῖ (ושב-שם).⁸²

3.3 Transliterate the Name and Change the Etymology

This category includes the sorts of changes seen everywhere in the LXX as well as deliberate interpretive decisions, since they can be impossible to decisively distinguish. For example, in Gen 5:29 נח is named because ינחמנו ממעשׁו. The LXX renders ינחמנו with διαναπαύσει (used only here in the LXX) as though it were from נוח.⁸³ This may be a matter of misreading,⁸⁴ though it could be an attempt to tersely interpret what is meant by having consolation from labor, while preventing the reader from supposing Νωε is νωθῆς or νωθρός, or that the work will continue νωλεμές. The polemic rejection of possible etymologies was a part

⁷⁹ Given the various renderings of מסה ומריבה where they occur, this rule is not absolute. For examples of updated place names, see Fernández Marcos 1977, 244–246. Why some place names are translated, others transliterated, and others updated to the current name for them is worthy of further study in light of Alexandrian scholarship and their interest in etymology as well as geography.

⁸⁰ Brayford 2007, 287, says the LXX can't duplicate the wordplay. But the similarity in sounds between Σύγγχυσις and συνέχεεν creates a new wordplay.

⁸¹ We can only speculate whether the phonological similarities between Σεννααρ and Σύγγχυσις were deliberate, or whether Σεννααρ was meant to invoke συνήγορος. This is an example of a compound name being partially translated and partially transliterated. Often this is done when part of the name is a geographic feature, as noted by Fernández Marcos 1977, 248–249. In Gen 2:8 a compound place name has both elements translated.

⁸² The plus τὸν τόπον in 35:1 may be to further connect to Gen 28:16, 17, 19, where this word is repeated, see Wevers 1993, 575.

⁸³ Ausloos / Lemmelijn 2016, 197.

⁸⁴ Wevers calls it a correct etymology, since it is closer to how modern linguists would analyze the name than what the Hebrew text provided, see Wevers 1993, 73–74.

of ancient rhetorical practice, as Sluiter shows from Plato's *Cratylus*.⁸⁵ Speculation aside, the etymology is changed from the Hebrew.

Another example is Gen 32:29, where Jacob is given a new name:

וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא יֵעֲקֹב יֵאמָר עוֹד שְׁמִךְ כִּי אִם־יִשְׂרָאֵל כִּי־שָׂרִית עַם־אֱלֹהִים וְעַם־אֲנָשִׁים
 ותוכל
 εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ Οὐ κληθήσεται ἔτι τὸ ὄνομά σου Ἰακώβ, ἀλλὰ Ἰσραὴλ ἔσται
 τὸ ὄνομά σου, ὅτι ἐνίσχυσας μετὰ θεοῦ καὶ μετὰ ἀνθρώπων δυνατός.

The translator has rearranged the word order, added several elements, and changed some elements. The most significant change for our purposes is the rendering of שרית with ἐνίσχυσας, an equivalent that occurs only here and Hos 12:3–4 which refers to this story. Fernández Marcos suggests the word was chosen because two letters linked it phonetically to the name,⁸⁶ which provides enough of a resemblance by ancient standards. Jacob's name change is no longer because he struggled and prevailed (לְתוֹכֵל ... שָׂרִית), but because he prevailed as a powerful man (ἐνίσχυσας ... δυνατός).⁸⁷ This is a similar meaning, but significant in that it makes his name about his victorious deeds instead of his persistent character.⁸⁸

In Gen 38:29b the translator is more clearly deliberately adjusting the translation of the etymology to link phonetically with the name:

וַתֹּאמֶר מַה־פְּרָצַץ עֲלֶיךָ פֶּרֶץ וַיִּקְרָא שְׁמוֹ פֶּרֶץ
 ἡ δὲ εἶπεν Τί διεκόπη διὰ σέ φραγμός; καὶ ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Φάρες.⁸⁹

A similar phenomenon can be found in Philo, *Vita Mos* I.17, where he explains Moses' name as coming from the Egyptian word for water (rather than the Hebrew word for drawing, as Exodus suggests).⁹⁰

⁸⁵ Sluiter 2015, 913–914; Plato, *Cra.* 405e. Here Socrates says the second λ in Ἄπολλον is so that it doesn't sound of disaster (implying ἀπώλεια).

⁸⁶ Fernández Marcos 1977, 256.

⁸⁷ See Muraoka 2016, §61.b The Targum, Peshitta, and Vulgate agree with the Greek ἐνίσχυσας, according to Wevers 1993, 543.

⁸⁸ We can only speculate whether ἐνίσχυσας was meant to make us think of ἰσχυρός, which has a few more sounds in common with the name Ἰσραὴλ. See Sluiter 2015, 914–915, for the use of bridge words to establish etymologies.

⁸⁹ Fernández Marcos 1977, 256–257; Brayford 2007, 402.

⁹⁰ Grabbe 1988, 188–189. Josephus should know better, but repeats this etymology in *Ant* 2.9.6. Today it is thought Moses' name is derived from the Egyptian word for child.

3.4 *Change the Name and Change the etymology*

A change to the name and the etymology could in theory be the result of mistranslating the name and other errors in translating the etymology. But it is also possible that a translator with an understanding of learned etymology would desire to create a coherent etymology in the translation. This appears to be what happened in Gen 32:31.

ויקרא יעקב שם המקום פניאל כי־ראיתי אלהים פנים אל־פנים ותנצל נפשי
 και ἐκάλεσεν Ιακώβ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ τόπου ἐκεῖνου Εἶδος θεοῦ· εἶδον γὰρ θεὸν
 πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον, και ἐσώθη μου ἡ ψυχή.

The translator has translated the etymology, but rendered the name so as to match a different element of the etymology.

3.5. *Transliterate and Translate the Name and Translate the Etymology*

Double translations are used in various ways in the Septuagint.⁹¹ They are rare in etymological constructions perhaps because the etymology already explains the name. They are used, however in 1 Sam 7:12, where אבן העזר is given a double rendering Αβενεζερ, Λίθος τοῦ βοηθοῦ.⁹² We have already seen that some manuscripts do this in Gen 30:13 because of an explanatory gloss.

3.6 *Transliterate the Name and Transliterate the Etymology*

This seemingly unhelpful strategy was used in 1 Chron 4:9b:

ואמו קראה שמו יעבץ לאמר כי ילדתי בעצב
 και ἡ μήτηρ ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ιγαβης λέγουσα Ἔτεκον ὡς γαβης.

The transliteration alters the word by metathesis to match the name, a legitimate method of ancient etymology.⁹³ This strategy could serve to reinforce to the reader the foreignness of the text.⁹⁴ If the transcribed word were known to the audience, it could be an effective method, but here it is unclear what word the audience would think of, given the transliteration, unless it was garbled in transmission and the audience understood the Aramaic עצב. It could also be that the translator was

⁹¹ For its use in LXX Isaiah, see van der Vorm-Croughs 2014, chapter 6.

⁹² Fernández Marcos 2001, 13, 18–19. He is dealing primarily with the Antiochene text.

⁹³ Sluiter 2015, 916.

⁹⁴ Labahn 2011, 1058.

at a loss of how to render; the wordplay with **עצב** is rendered in the next verse with **ταπείνω**, which could be a rendering or a contextual guess.⁹⁵

3.7 *Transliterate the Name and Give a Greek Etymology for the Transliteration*

This strategy is well-known from Philo of Alexandria. Philo uses etymology as a part of his allegorical method, and so is more sophisticated than typical learned etymologies. While he usually provides Hebrew etymologies for Greek transcriptions of names,⁹⁶ he also will give Greek etymologies of transcribed names. For example, in his interpretation of the four rivers of Eden in Gen 2 (*Leg. Al.* 1.66), he interprets the river **Φισων** as deriving from **φείδομαι**.⁹⁷

3.8 *Bias the Transliteration to Suite a Desired Etymology*

While most of the Septuagint transliterates **ירושלים** as **Ἱερουσαλήμ**, it became popular to sometimes spell the city's name **Ἱεροσόλυμα**.⁹⁸ This spelling is seen in Ezra, the apocrypha, and the New Testament, appearing as early as 300 BCE in Hekataios of Adbera, as well as later in the Zenon Papyri.⁹⁹ Frederick Brenk's analysis of the name showed that it formed very unusually, yet he thinks the rough breathing form occurred by analogy to other *Hier-* cities in the Hellenistic world.¹⁰⁰ Hengel suggests the spelling may be from Hellenistic Jews "connected with the Homeric tradition" who were deliberately applying a Greek meaning to the name, connecting Jerusalem to other temple cities, and connecting the people to the Solymians mentioned in *Iliad* 6.184 and *Od.* 5.283.¹⁰¹ While the motivation for the spelling change is impossible to establish, there were ancients making this connection based on the name, as Hengel shows.¹⁰² Eupolemus attempted to clarify the etymology: *προσαγορευθῆναι δὲ τὸ ἀνάκτορον πρῶτον μὲν ἱερὸν Σολομῶνος, ὕστερον δὲ παρεφθαρμένως τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ Ἱερουσαλήμ ὀνομασθῆναι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων φερωνύμως Ἱεροσόλυμα λέγεσθαι*.¹⁰³

A second possible example comes from Theodotus. Ahuvia Kahne suggests that he changed the spelling of Jacob's daughter Dinah's name from the LXX's

⁹⁵ For more discussion, see Ausloos / Lemmelijn / Kabergs 2012, 286–289.

⁹⁶ Grabbe 1988, 4.

⁹⁷ Grabbe 1988, 24–26.

⁹⁸ Other variations of these spellings also occur.

⁹⁹ Brenk 2011, 20.

¹⁰⁰ Brenk 2011, 15–16, 18.

¹⁰¹ Hengel 1980, 119–20.

¹⁰² Hengel 1980, 120.

¹⁰³ Holladay 1983, 128–29.

Δινα to Δεινα to suggest the Greek etymology “terrible, mighty, frightful,” which would match the events she experiences.¹⁰⁴

4. CONCLUSION

The translators of the LXX likely did not worry over every etymology they came across, but on occasion or where they saw a promising opportunity, they thoughtfully and skillfully rendered learned etymologies.¹⁰⁵ Seeing this phenomena in its historical context, as a rhetorical device the translators were trained to recognize and use, has several important ramifications.

First, in the Hebrew as well as Greek literary tradition it is not merely word-play. It functions rhetorically to highlight aspects of the thing named that are significant for how we think about the events described more broadly in the narrative. Wordplay is simply a means of connecting the name to relevant ideas about the thing or person named. This means etymologies are not merely poetic or ornamental but serve a hermeneutical purpose, elevating the importance of their translation.

Second, since it is not a grammatical or lexical exercise but rhetorical, root relations, phonological similarity, synonymy, and even graphical similarity are all legitimate means (by ancient standards) to draw a connection, giving greater flexibility to the translator. For instance, Gen 21:31 says:

על־כן קרא למקום ההוא באר שבע כי שם נשבעו שניהם
διὰ τοῦτο ἐπωνόμασεν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ τόπου ἐκεῖνου Φρέαρ ὄργισμοῦ, ὅτι ἐκεῖ
ᾤμωσαν ἀμφότεροι.

This is not a lost opportunity to render an etymology, since it doesn’t connect the name and the explanation by root relation or phonologically.¹⁰⁶ Rather it is a skillful translation, using techniques and practices of Hellenistic scholars, namely synonyms.¹⁰⁷ While we shouldn’t propose outlandish suggestions of deliberate etymologies (such as my Νωε etymology above), we also must recognize that ancient etymologies were often wildly outlandish.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ Kahane 2010, 95–97. This spelling can also be seen in the fragments of Demetrius, Holladay 1983, 64–66.

¹⁰⁵ Ausloos 2008, 48–49, argues LXX-Num deliberately translated etiologies of toponyms in order to highlight the connection between name and event.

¹⁰⁶ Fernández Marcos 1977, 255. See also Num 20:13 and the reaction of Ausloos 2012, 46.

¹⁰⁷ Peraki-Kyriakidou 2002, 482–483.

¹⁰⁸ For ὄργυσαν being from ὄρέγω and γυῖον, see sch. QV Od. 9.325 in Peraki-Kyriakidou 2002, 485.

Third, learned etymology is not simply a translation challenge of individual words, but a purposeful rhetorical construction to be translated as a whole in relation to the narrative. It presents the translator with an opportunity to elevate the literary quality of the text¹⁰⁹ and to signal their skill as a translator. Even seemingly nonsensical etymologies that create difficulty in the text can serve to enhance the authority of translator¹¹⁰ by reminding the reader of the foreignness of the text and suggesting the knowledge and authority of the translator who retains the source text's meaning.

Further research along these lines is warranted, not only comparing different books of the LXX but the different approaches of the Old Greek, Symmachus, and Theodotion. In addition further work is needed to better understand the LXX's rendering of other figures and constructions typical of Hellenistic education and rhetorical discourse, including *adagium*, *etiology*, and *analogia*.

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¹⁰⁹ Cf. Ezekiel's use of etymology to imitate Greek literary standards in Wright 2019, 513.

¹¹⁰ For the performative element of etymologies, see Sluiter 2015, 918–919. For Homeric scholia leaving it to the reader to figure out an etymology, see Peraki-Kyriakidou, 2002, 483–84.

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JUDAISM VERSUS HELLENISM: “PANPLATONISM” AS A CASE IN POINT?¹

Johann COOK

Instead of following the traditional mode of dating biblical texts a novel way of placing textual material was suggested by Niels Pieter Lemche. It entails that scholars deem these texts to be second temple texts. This opened the way to involve the Greek philosopher, Plato, as primary agent in the creation of the Hebrew Bible. Gmirkin follows Lemche and employs a novel methodology. He firstly applies comparative studies and in the process takes Greek culture seriously. Secondly, the role of the Bibliotheca Alexandrinus is discussed and finally he deals with Plato and Genesis 1. He concludes that Plato had a decisive impact on Genesis 1. I experience problems with some of Gmirkin’s arguments that in fact led him to a Panplatonistic approach to Judaism *vis-à-vis* Platonism. In this paper I will argue that a certain amount of Platonic thinking can be traced in the Old Greek version of Genesis 1, but that it is unlikely that the Hebrew version of Genesis already depends on Plato’s works.

1. INTRODUCTION

A novel approach to the understanding of the subject matter of texts was recently suggested by scholars. Instead of following the traditional dating of biblical texts, Gmirkin takes his lead from Lemche² that Hebrew biblical texts should be dated as second temple texts.³ It stands to reason that an appropriate methodology is a *sine qua non* for the study undertaken here. Gmirkin⁴ has formulated novel methodological perspectives. He utilizes comparative studies; Firstly, Classical Greece proved to be a novelty in this context, since these two cultures (Judaism and Hellenism) are usually dealt with as separate entities.⁵ Secondly, according to Gmirkin,⁶ there was a growing awareness among scholars in the late twentieth

¹ It is an honour to dedicate this contribution to Prof. Arie van der Kooij, colleague, mentor, academic partner and friend. I spent many an hour in Leiden in academic discussions with him. I acknowledge the financial and other assistance that I received from the SANRF and the University of Stellenbosch for this research. I am solely responsible for the findings of this research. I thank Prof. Edwin Hees for improving my English.

² Lemche 1993; Gmirkin 2006, 25; Gmirkin 2022, 33.

³ Lemche 1993.

⁴ Gmirkin 2006, 1; Lemche 1993. I remind the reader that the word “Bible” is a historically loaded term. It came into use only after the advent of the printing press.

⁵ Cook 2020a, 58.

⁶ Gmirkin 2020, 7.

century of Greek legal and literary influences on the Pentateuch. Two influential studies in this regard by John van Seters have appeared: *In Search of History* (1983), which identified Greek historiographical elements in the Primordial History, and *Prologue to History* (1992), which detected further such elements in Genesis, including the use of genealogies as a chronological framework, the frequent appearance of eponymous ancestors for ancient peoples and nations, aetiologies, and stories about inventors.⁷ Several authors have pointed out various Greek parallels to biblical myths and stories, including parallels between Pandora and Eve (Genesis 3).⁸ Homeric parallels to stories in Genesis, Judges⁹ and 1 and 2 Samuel have also been commonly adduced.¹⁰ A problem common with all in these detections of classical Greek influences on the biblical text was how to explain the penetration of Greek scientific, legal, mythical and historiographical traditions during the Classical Greek Era (600–330 BCE) when such traditions circulated in the Greek world, but when Jews and Greeks had no direct intellectual contact.¹¹

1.1 *The Dating of Texts*

A new development in this field is understanding the Bible as a Hellenistic text as formulated in a 1993 article (“The Old Testament—A Hellenistic Book?”) by Niels Peter Lemche.¹² According to Gmirkin,¹³ this inaugurated the modern study of the Pentateuch as a Hellenistic era composition, noting that external evidence for the biblical text in the form of preserved manuscript fragments or references in extra-biblical texts of known date appear only in the third century BCE and later. In the light of this, Lemche¹⁴ questioned whether common assumptions about the antiquity of the biblical text were correct and posited that the Hebrew Bible might have been composed in the Hellenistic era, after the conquests of Alexander the Great and the penetration of Greek culture into the east. Such a late date, according to Gmirkin,¹⁵ implied a definitive rejection of historical criticism in which the Pentateuch evolved over time with phases of the biblical text dated by means of an acceptance of biblical stories whose historical value and significance had never been independently established. Instead of imagining the creation of the biblical text as taking place during the biblical period itself, according to

⁷ Gmirkin 2006, 15.

⁸ Gmirkin 2006, 16.

⁹ Spronk 2019.

¹⁰ Gmirkin 2006, 16.

¹¹ Gmirkin 2022, 29.

¹² Gmirkin 2006, 16.

¹³ Gmirkin 2006, 9.

¹⁴ Lemche 1993, 189.

¹⁵ Gmirkin 2006, 9.

Gmirkin,¹⁶ this new model posited that most of the Hebrew Bible, although conceivably preserving some ancient sources and traditions, was written centuries after the fact (*ex eventu*), in the third century BCE or later.¹⁷ A problem posed by this new research paradigm was determining how ancient Judaeans, Samaritan and Mesopotamian traditions came to be transmitted down to Hellenistic times to become part of the biblical text. Lemche¹⁸ suggested that Hellenistic Babylonia might have provided an intellectual climate where Jews/Judaeans¹⁹ exposed to both Greek and Mesopotamian culture could have written the Pentateuch.

The result of this is that Gmirkin has found evidence that Genesis 1–11 drew directly from Plato’s *Timaeus* and the *Critias*. According to Gmirkin,²⁰ this evidence has been misused by applying it culturally only to the Ancient Near East. Gmirkin also finds space for the LXX as the first significant source for the biblical studies under discussion. One should be cautious with some of his interpretations. One of my main criticisms concerns his view on the Alexandrian library²¹ by the seventy/seventy-two persons mentioned in the Aristeas Letter.²² There is no historical evidence to substantiate some of his claims.²³ However, this should not prevent us from endeavouring retroverting these artefacts/texts. Arie van der Kooij has made useful suggestions in this regard. His focus on the learned activity of scribes in translations, etc. is well known.²⁴ He imagines that the work of translation could only have been done by scholars imported from Jerusalem for the sole purpose of placing it in the Library, because “[i]t was only natural to make the Greek version of the Pentateuch available in the library.” For this view there is also no proof even though the probability is high.

1.2 *The Role of the Alexandrian library*

The Great Library of Alexandria in Egypt was one of the best equipped and significant libraries in the ancient world.²⁵ It was part of a larger research institution,²⁶ the Museion dedicated to the Muses, the nine goddesses of the fine arts. It was probably constructed by one of the Ptolemies, namely Ptolemy II Philadelphus. According to legend, the Septuagint were construed during his reign. The

¹⁶ Gmirkin 2022, 34.

¹⁷ Gmirkin 2022, 33.

¹⁸ Lemche 1993, 166.

¹⁹ The term ‘Jews’ is another difficult one. It applies to the post-exilic era.

²⁰ Gmirkin 2006, 3.

²¹ Gmirkin 2022, 36.

²² Wright 2015, 9.

²³ Cook 2022, 60.

²⁴ Van der Kooij 1998.

²⁵ MacLeod 2000, 2.

²⁶ Fraser 1972, 316.

library was a formidable structure and housed between 40,000 and 400,000 scrolls at its peak. Unfortunately, this monument of international knowledge came to a sad end.²⁷ Unfortunately, no ancient sources describe the Library's demise, which, as with its origins, remains a mystery. Scholars have proposed numerous scenarios for a cataclysmic destruction—from Julius Caesar in 48 BCE to later Roman emperors to Christians in the fourth century CE to Muslims in the seventh century—but it is just as likely that the Library's holdings deteriorated from a lack of upkeep as that it was destroyed in some cataclysmic event or deterioration by nature. This is a catastrophic outcome, since we have no original artefacts at all.²⁸ We just don't know what the library looked like and how it functioned.

According to Gmirkin²⁹ texts from this library had an impact on the Septuagint as well as on the Hebrew Bible. He accepts that the Pentateuch was written ca. 270 BCE drawing on a variety of sources written in Greek and housed in the Library of Alexandria. This in turn led to the conclusion that the authors of the Pentateuch were the same group of seventy/seventy-two aristocratic, Greek-educated Jewish scholars that ancient tradition credited with having translated the Pentateuch into Greek at Alexandria at almost exactly the same time (ca. 273–269 BCE). I have demonstrated already that I fail to understand how this could have happened.³⁰ The main problem remains the lack of available sources. Unfortunately, we have no reliable extant sources. Even though it is possible that the library could have housed between 40,000 to 400,000 scrolls at one time,³¹ this can not be used as decisive proof that the Greek and Hebrew Bibles came into being in this library. The original artefacts simply no longer exist. For this reason the inferences by Gmirkin about the Alexandrian Library should be treated with caution. This is true of his proposition that the Pentateuch and the Hebrew Bible as a whole collection derive from the writings of Plato found at the Great Library of Alexandria. This hypothesis is explored along two lines of argument: that the Pentateuch's law collections, despite containing a few laws of Ancient Near Eastern origin, are in large part based on Athenian law and on Plato's *Laws* (chapters 2–5), and that the Hebrew Bible as a literary collection was based on instructions found in Plato's *Laws* for creating a national literature (chapter 6).³²

According to Gmirkin, the first reliable external evidence for the composition of the Pentateuch is the Septuagint translation at Alexandria ca. 270 BCE,³³ i.e. well into the Hellenistic era. Gmirkin therefore adopts the position that com-

²⁷ Fraser 1972, 326.

²⁸ The *Bibliotheca Alexandrina* is a modern commemoration of the ancient library in Alexandria that was lost in antiquity.

²⁹ Gmirkin 2006, 3.

³⁰ Cook 2022, 75.

³¹ MacLeod 2000, 2.

³² Gmirkin 2017, 1.

³³ Gmirkin 2006, 34–88.

parative methods used to illuminate the biblical text should include Greek literature and acknowledgement of the cultural institutions of the Classical and early Hellenistic eras alongside those of the Ancient Near East.³⁴ In chapters 2–5 he makes a systematic comparison between biblical, Greek and Ancient Near Eastern legal traditions.³⁵ Parallels have been shown to exist between biblical and Greek constitutional and social institutions (chapter 2), laws (chapter 3), law collections (chapter 4) and legal narratives (chapter 5) that are for the most part absent from Ancient Near Eastern legal tradition.³⁶ During the last ten years, according to Gmirkin,³⁷ several studies appeared that have illuminated Deuteronomistic constitutional elements by comparison with Greek legal materials and institutions.

The extensive corpus of Greek legal writings at the Library of Alexandria in the early Hellenistic era, according to Gmirkin,³⁸ raises the possibility that Jewish knowledge of Athenian legal institutions was mediated by Jewish access to Greek skills, drawing on the two stages of creation in Plato's *Timaeus*.

It must be said that the possible influence of Platonism on the Greek translators of the Septuagint remains a complicated issue. I have expressed my scepticism on this issue at various forums.³⁹ In a paper entitled "The Greek Translators of the Pentateuch and the Epicureans," Van der Meer argues that Platonic influence on Jewish thinkers in Alexandria is visible only from Aristobulus in the second century BCE onwards. He also thinks that Platonism became popular in Egypt only from the Roman period onwards (Philo), but hardly played any role in the Hellenistic milieu of Ptolemaic Egypt. During this period (third-last centuries BCE) popular Hellenistic philosophies such as cynicism, hedonism and Epicureanism enjoyed far more popularity. If this should be true, Gmirkin has to prove that Platonism was known and popular in Alexandria in the early third century.

On this issue scholars again differ in opinion. Rösel finds traces of Platonic influence in LXX Genesis 1 and 2.⁴⁰ In a recent article, Hiebert agrees with Rösel on this issue regarding Gen 1:2: "Another possible explanation for the choice of ἀόρατος as counterpart for תהוהו is that it constitutes a reflection of Platonic ideas and cosmological terminology."⁴¹ Van der Horst again finds it "rather far-fetched."⁴² David Runia has a similar view, as can be gleaned from the following comment: "Rösel has recently revived the idea that the LXX translators of Genesis

³⁴ Gmirkin 2006, 1.

³⁵ Gmirkin 2017, 1.

³⁶ Gmirkin 2006, 3.

³⁷ Gmirkin 2017, 3. The collection by Kartveit / Knoppers 2018, is a relevant example.

³⁸ Gmirkin 2017, 3.

³⁹ I made use of the information of my previous research, inter alia Cook 2022. One example of a contribution hosting anti-Hellenistic ideas appears in Cook 1994; see also Cook 2020b.

⁴⁰ Rösel 1994, 42.

⁴¹ Hiebert 2013, 27.

⁴² Van der Horst 2015.

themselves were influenced by Plato's *Timaeus*, but in this case the hypothesis lacks all plausibility. *It is Philo who sees the connection*" (my italics).⁴³ To Van der Horst, this nuance fits in with the second adjective, *ἀκατασκεύαστος*, which means "unorganized, in a state of disorder, unsightly or hideous," and has nothing to do with Platonism.⁴⁴ Hiebert differs from the interpretation of Van der Horst. He puts forward various philological and theological arguments, in the process, he again quotes from Plato's *Tim.* 50c–d and 51a–b.⁴⁵ He focuses on two issues as far as *ἀκατασκεύαστος* is concerned. Firstly, what does it mean, and secondly, did the translator employ this lexeme under the influence of Platonic thinking? As to the second, he argues that there are signs that the translators were not unwilling to make use of mythological concepts in LXX Genesis 1–11. The examples he quotes are the fact that they use *γίγαντες* as equivalent for both *נפלים* and *גברים* in order to describe the children of the sons of God and daughters of humans in Gen 6:4. *Γίγαντες* is used to depict the giants, a term that functions prominently in Greek mythology. The crux of his argument is that this translator(s) did not follow Platonic thinking wholesale, but that it was part of the cultural and literary matrix of the context in which they, as cultivated scribes, lived. In his opinion, Platonic thinking therefore probably had a role to play in the depiction of creation in Genesis 1 and 2.

It is clear that the final word has not been spoken about this issue, as is shown by the final example which is found in the article by Michaël N. van der Meer.⁴⁶ In this contribution he argues that there are no Platonic ideas to be found in the Greek versions of Gen 2 verse 7. Hence, the idea that the Greek version of Genesis reflects Platonic influence is disputed and requires further investigation. The same applies to the question of Platonic impact already on the Hebrew version of Genesis. The discussion centers specifically around the understanding of the first chapter of Genesis.

2. PLATO AND GENESIS 1

Greek cosmogonies all sought to identify the source of the motion that acted on the primordial chaos to separate, stratify and organize the original matter into the present *kosmos*.⁴⁷ The kinetic mechanism for the formation of the early universe was a common scientific theme in Greek cosmogonies. All of them addressed the question of an original divine intelligence and the extent of its involvement as

⁴³ Runia 1996, 39. See also Runia 1996, 68.

⁴⁴ Van der Horst 2015, 7.

⁴⁵ Hiebert 2013, 27.

⁴⁶ Van der Meer 2016.

⁴⁷ Gmirkin 2020, 54.

initiator of motion in the primordial chaos and as the active steering principle that guided the organization of the *kosmos*. According to Gmirkin,⁴⁸ Greek cosmogonies all tried to give a geometrical description of the *kosmos* and of the way that geometry and motion arranged the visible elements within it. All tried to explain how the basic structures of the present *kosmos* came to be, such as the earth, sky, the celestial bodies, dry land and seas. All endeavoured to explain how life originated and how some creatures were endowed with intelligence.⁴⁹

The passages Gen 1:1–2:3 were concerned with the same questions addressed by both Greek scientific cosmogonies and Plato’s scientific-philosophical cosmogony:⁵⁰ the material cause or *arche* of the universe, the geometric arrangement of the universe, the physical and kinetic processes by which the visible features of the present cosmos emerged from the primordial chaos, the origins of animal and human life, and the extent to which the process of organizing the *kosmos* was guided by a divine intelligence.⁵¹ The biblical cosmogony’s central preoccupation with the origins of the physical phenomena of the world shows a familiarity with the Greek genre of scientific cosmogony, as does the unadorned literary style and absence of dramatic story elements usual in mythical cosmogonies.⁵² At the same time, there is a relatively subdued storyline with strong theological overtones in which God actively guided the creation of the present universe, a narrative layer that shows a strong affinity with Platonic philosophical theories of divine purpose shaping the universe.⁵³ According to Gmirkin, it is in order to classify Gen. 1:1–2:3 as a scientific-mythological or scientific-theological cosmogony of a type closely related to that found in Plato’s *Timaeus*.⁵⁴

2.1 *Genesis 1 as Theology*

Gmirkin⁵⁵ shows that, based on comparisons with Greek and Ancient Near Eastern cosmogonies, the biblical account in Genesis 1 belongs to the category of hybrid scientific-theological cosmogonies, a genre Plato invented in the *Timaeus*. According to Gmirkin, this opens up the possibility that the cosmogony in Genesis 1 drew directly on Plato’s *Timaeus*, a hypothesis whose plausibility is enhanced by the extensive use of Plato’s *Laws* elsewhere in the Pentateuch.⁵⁶ Various lines of evidence are examined by Gmirkin which indicate that Genesis 1 did in fact

⁴⁸ Gmirkin 2020, 54.

⁴⁹ Gmirkin 2020, 54.

⁵⁰ Gmirkin 2020, 54.

⁵¹ Gmirkin 2020, 54.

⁵² Gmirkin 2020, 50.

⁵³ Gmirkin 2020, 54.

⁵⁴ Gmirkin 2020, 54.

⁵⁵ Gmirkin 2020, 22.

⁵⁶ Gmirkin 2017, 1.

draw on the *Timaeus*, including a similar sequence of creational events. According to him there are many strikingly similar details in the two accounts, such as a closely comparable theological presentation of the role of the Creator in fashioning the present universe; several uniquely Platonic philosophical concepts and themes that appear prominently in Genesis 1; the recognized use of the *Timaeus* in the LXX translation of Genesis 1⁵⁷ and the current consensus among scholars that the LXX was a literal translation from its non-MT *Vorlage*.⁵⁸ These considerations, according to Gmirkin, individually and collectively indicate that the *Timaeus* had fundamental influence on the cosmogony of Genesis 1 in both its Hebrew and Greek versions, and suggest the usefulness of the LXX translation for understanding the underlying Hebrew.⁵⁹

2.2 *Genesis 1 and Plato's Timaeus*

Gmirkin finds three categories⁶⁰ of direct evidence of the influence of the *Timaeus* on the LXX and Hebrew versions of Genesis. These, firstly, entail the LXX both in unusual translations of Hebrew terms, various deviations from the MT, and in additional passages found in the LXX but not the MT that reflect Platonic themes.

Second, several scholars think the LXX reflects a non-MT *Vorlage*,⁶¹ which raises the possibility that the Hebrew original also drew on the *Timaeus*.

Third, the *Timaeus*, the MT and the LXX all share significant parallels in sequence and structure, suggesting that the Greek LXX translation of the biblical account and the Hebrew original behind LXX were both influenced by the *Timaeus*. That the *Timaeus* might have influenced both Hebrew and Greek versions of Genesis is consistent with the compositional model Gmirkin⁶² has argued prevails elsewhere⁶³ in which the Pentateuch was authored in Hebrew at Alexandria ca. 270 BCE by the same team of Jewish and Samaritan educated elites who produced the LXX translation for the Great Library. This seems speculative to me. Although this seems to be a possibility we have no first hand proof that this in fact took place.

The use of Plato's *Timaeus* in the LXX was first systematically studied by Martin Rösel. Rösel pointed out a number of translated terms and expressions in the LXX that resonate with the *Timaeus*. A number of translational choices are within the range of conventional translations, according to Gmirkin; these are the

⁵⁷ Gmirkin 2020, 54.

⁵⁸ Cook 2000.

⁵⁹ Gmirkin 2020, 60.

⁶⁰ Gmirkin 2020, 58.

⁶¹ Cook 2000, 319.

⁶² Gmirkin 2006, 253–256.

⁶³ Gmirkin 2017, 261–269; Cook 2000, 315.

corresponding Hebrew terms, especially with respect to such Platonic themes as the goodness of God as reflected in his creation and the fashioning of a beautiful *kosmos* in the image and likeness of divine prototypes. Further, some word choices are, according to Gmirkin, strikingly Platonic, such as the translation of *tohu wabohu* (without form and void) as *ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος* (invisible and unfashioned) at Gen. 1:2, which has elicited extensive commentary,⁶⁴ and can, according to Gmirkin, at least, hardly be explained other than as reflecting the language of *Timaeus*.⁶⁵

The cumulative effect of these correspondences between the vocabulary of Genesis 1–2 (LXX) and Plato’s *Timaeus* is, according to Gmirkin, to render it virtually certain that the translator had been exposed to that particular dialogue, either first- or second-hand. On this issue, I beg to differ.⁶⁶ For example, the lexemes, *ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος* (invisible and unfashioned) at Gen 1:2 are practically *hapax legomenae*. Moreover, the phrase under discussion does not appear in the *Timaeus*. According to the thesis put forward by Rösel,⁶⁷ the differences between the LXX and the MT can be attributed to the translators, who exercised considerable freedom in changing and adapting a MT *Vorlage* to conform to the cosmogony in Plato’s *Timaeus*, which Rösel believed was known to and approved of by the Hellenistic Jewish community at Alexandria.⁶⁸ Rösel accepted that MT reflected an ancient and authoritative textual tradition that long predated the LXX translation⁶⁹ or indeed the *Timaeus*. Although Rösel noted a number of parallels in the sequence of creative acts in the *Timaeus* and Genesis 1–2 (in both Hebrew and Greek versions), he assumed that MT was an ancient product of local Jewish cultural traditions and that its structural parallels with *Timaeus* were a matter of mere coincidence. Rösel⁷⁰ accepts that the LXX was created to serve the needs of the Alexandrian Jewish community, who were largely unfamiliar with Hebrew. He posited that learned members of this Hellenized Jewish community would have been familiar with the *Timaeus*, given the popularity of that text in educated circles, and would have been struck by the parallels in the *Timaeus* and the biblical account. Inspired by the striking parallels in the two texts, the translator of Genesis effectively harmonized the biblical cosmogony with that of *Timaeus*, according to Rösel’s well-reasoned proposition.⁷¹ According to the model first proposed in Gmirkin,⁷² ruling class elites who cre-

⁶⁴ Rösel 1994, 42, 48–49.

⁶⁵ Van der Meer 2016, 42.

⁶⁶ Cook 2022, 68.

⁶⁷ Rösel 1994, 29.

⁶⁸ Gmirkin 2020, 34.

⁶⁹ Gmirkin 2020, 34.

⁷⁰ Rösel 1994, 77.

⁷¹ Gmirkin 2020, 57.

⁷² Gmirkin 2006, 240–256.

ated the Pentateuch in ca. 270 BCE drew on Greek historiographical, legal and literary writings found at the Great Library of Alexandria, including the writings of Plato (see also Gmirkin).⁷³ These Jewish and Samaritan educated elites both authored the Pentateuch in its Hebrew original and translated it into Greek (the Septuagint). Gmirkin⁷⁴ extensively documented the use of Plato's *Laws* as a key source for the Laws of Moses. Gmirkin⁷⁵ argues that Plato's *Timaeus* is a key source for Genesis 1–11 as a whole and for the cosmogony of Genesis 1 in particular. According to Gmirkin,⁷⁶ the proposed circumstances of authorship at the Museum and Great Library of Alexandria provide a context in which Jewish scholars knowledgeable in both Greek and Hebrew could reasonably have had access to Plato's *Timaeus* and other Greek scientific writings. Under this model, according to Gmirkin, Jewish and Samaritan scholars at Alexandria created the original Hebrew text, translated it into Greek, and brought back the Hebrew text to Judah and Samaria. This explains, according to Gmirkin, why the *Vorlage* for the Septuagint translation at Alexandria was the proto-LXX rather than MT: according to Gmirkin,⁷⁷ the proto-LXX Hebrew text was the original text of the Pentateuch created ca. 270 BCE, while the MT family of texts was a later textual phenomenon, first documented in Qumran fragments⁷⁸ of ca. 200 BCE or later and not standardized to conform to an authoritative temple version until the first century CE.

If, as proposed by Gmirkin, the authors of Genesis 1–2 also supervised its translation, and if that translation shows systematic dependence on Plato's *Timaeus*, this, according to Gmirkin, points to the likelihood that the Hebrew parent text composed at Alexandria was also informed by *Timaeus*. Although the authors were bilingual, according to Gmirkin,⁷⁹ one may infer from their decision to compose the text in Hebrew and then translate it into Greek that Hebrew was their primary language. (In this respect they resembled Josephus, who composed the *Wars of the Jews* in Hebrew or Aramaic before producing a second edition in Greek; cf. *War* 1.1).⁸⁰ In the final analysis, even though Gmirkin brought new perspectives with his research, there are too many uncertainties in these positions for it to be accepted whole sale as yet.

⁷³ Gmirkin 2017, 1.

⁷⁴ Gmirkin 2017, 3.

⁷⁵ Gmirkin 2017, 1.

⁷⁶ Gmirkin 2020, 1.

⁷⁷ Gmirkin 2020, 57.

⁷⁸ See Kartveit and Knoppers 2018, 2.

⁷⁹ Gmirkin 2020, 56.

⁸⁰ Gmirkin 2020, 56.

3. CONCLUSIONS

Some progress has been made as far as possible Platonic influence in the creation stories in the book of Genesis are concerned. For example, I had to adapt my point of view⁸¹ by accepting that the translators of the opening chapters in the Septuagint of Genesis in fact consulted the works of Plato and there are signs that these authors utilized some of the Greek philosophical ideas in the opening verses of Genesis.⁸² Gmirkin finally demonstrated that Plato had an impact on the Hebrew Bible. However, having said that, I remain sceptical about the rather unproblematic and even speculative way the author tries to address the problem.

My conclusion as to the question I posed in the title of a previous article as though “whether they have met” must be that the statement referring to the past, can not be true. The two have indeed met⁸³ and it is incorrect to argue that Plato had no influence on Judaism. The flipside of the coin is also true. I think Gmirkin has overstated his case as to the extent to which Platonism impacted on the Hebrew Bible. He indeed has a pan-Platonic approach towards the Bibles. He tends to speculate in this regard without sufficient historical bases.

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⁸¹ Cook 2000, 326.

⁸² Hiebert 2013, 27.

⁸³ Cook 2022, 68.

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READING PSALM 114–115(M) AND 113(G) AS
TWO DISTINCT EDITIONS DERIVED FROM ONE *VORLAGE**

Innocent HIMBAZA

This contribution explores the distinct literary trajectories taken by M and G in Ps 114–115(M) // 113(G). While a comparison of the two textual witnesses points to a shared Hebrew *Vorlage*, qualitative differences, particularly in verb tense, reveal two divergent literary directions. In Ps 114, M recounts YHWH’s historical interventions, presenting a retrospective focus. However, Ps 115 shifts its emphasis, calling to hope in the Lord. Here, the psalmist reassures the community of YHWH’s future blessings. In contrast, G’s version concentrates on extolling God’s past deeds and celebrating the blessings already experienced by the present generation. These distinctions suggest that M and G in Ps 114–115(M) // 113(G) evolved into two distinct editions, each reflecting unique theological and literary aims.

The textual relationship between the Masoretic Text (M) of the Psalms and the Septuagint (G) is so close that it raises the intriguing possibility that we might be approaching their archetype. The remarkable similarity in textual content, order, and sequence of the psalms suggests that they hold a rare position within the Hebrew Bible. Based on these observations, Dominique Barthélemy posed the following question: “Might this be an indication that it is the official Psalter of the Temple, as it was established and then translated into Greek, after the schism of the Qumran community had been completed?”¹ More recently, Emanuel Tov has similarly raised the following question: “If the textual tradition of the Psalter is unified, can we make a next step and claim that we have the original written text of the Psalms in our hands?”²

In this study, however, I propose to shift the focus downstream, and use Ps 114–115(M) // 113(G) as a reference to examine the distinct literary paths M and G have chosen. The comparison between M and G suggests a shared Hebrew *Vorlage*. The slight quantitative discrepancies may stem from attempts to improve style or clarify implicit meanings. Nonetheless, significant qualitative differences, particularly in verb tense, result in two distinct literary directions. The current

* It is an honor to offer this contribution to Arie van der Kooij, an esteemed colleague with whom I collaborate on the *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* committee.

¹ “N’aurions-nous pas là un indice qu’il s’agit du Psautier officiel du Temple, tel qu’il a été fixé, puis traduit en grec, après que le schisme de la communauté de Qumran eut été consommé ?” (Barthélemy 2005, xxiv).

² Tov 2024, 88.

reading of M and G in Ps 114–115(M) // 113(G) strongly resembles two different editions, whether the scribes, translators, and editors were aware of this fact or not.

1. TEXT

Beyond the Hebrew editions such as BHS for M and the Göttingen edition for G, M is based on Tiberian manuscripts, such as Aleppo Codex (M^A) and Leningrad B 19a Codex (M^L), while G is based on uncials such as Sinaiticus (G^S) and Alexandrinus (G^A). The ancient form of Vaticanus (G^B) in Ps 105:27–137:6 has been lost and replaced by an unknown cursive text in the 15th century.³

Differences highlighted in *italics and bold* identify the fundamental elements of a distinct edition. Other differences in *italics* represent either variants known in some Qumran manuscripts or stylistic glosses and harmonizations specific to G, while still aligning with the overall framework of M.

Ps 114–115(M)	Psalm 113(G)
----- ¹	¹ <i>Ἀλληλουια.</i>
בְּצֵאת יִשְׂרָאֵל מִמִּצְרַיִם בֵּית יַעֲקֹב מֵעַם לְעֹז: הֵיטָה יְהוָה יְהוּדָה לְקִדְשׁוֹ ² יִשְׂרָאֵל מִמְשֻׁלֹּתָיו ³ :	Ἐν ἐξόδῳ Ἰσραὴλ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, οἴκου Ἰακωβ ἐκ λαοῦ βαρβάρου ² ἐγενήθη Ἰουδαία ἀγίασμα αὐτοῦ, Ἰσραὴλ ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ.
³ הַיַּם רָאָה וַיָּנֹס הֵי־רִדּוֹן יָסַב לְאַחֲזֹר: הַהָרִים רָקְדוּ כְּאֵילִים ⁴ גְּבַעוֹת כְּבְנֵי-צֹאן: מִה־לֶּדֶךָ הַיַּם כִּי תִנּוֹס ⁵ הֵי־רִדּוֹן תִּסָּב לְאַחֲזֹר: הַהָרִים תִּרְקְדוּ כְּאֵילִים ⁶ גְּבַעוֹת כְּבְנֵי-צֹאן: מִלִּפְנֵי אֲדוֹן תְּהִלַּי אֲרָץ ⁷ מִלִּפְנֵי אֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב: הַהֶפְכִי הַצּוּר אֲגַם-מַיִם ⁸ חֲלִמִישׁ לְמַעַנְיֹתֵימִים:	³ ἡ θάλασσα εἶδεν καὶ ἔφυγεν, ὁ Ἰορδάνης ἐστράφη εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω· ⁴ τὰ ὄρη ἐσκίρτησαν ὡσεὶ κριοὶ καὶ οἱ βουνοὶ ὡς ἀρνία προβάτων. ⁵ τί σοὶ ἐστίν, θάλασσα, ὅτι ἔφυγες, καὶ σοί, Ἰορδάνη, ὅτι ἀνεχώρησας εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω; ⁶ τὰ ὄρη, ὅτι ἐσκίρτησατε ὡσεὶ κριοί, καὶ οἱ βουνοὶ ὡς ἀρνία προβάτων; ⁷ ἀπὸ προσώπου κυρίου <i>ἐσαλεύθη ἡ γῆ,</i> ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰακωβ ⁸ τοῦ στρέψαντος τὴν πέτραν εἰς λίμνας ὑδάτων καὶ τὴν ἀκρότομον εἰς πηγὰς ὑδάτων.

³ Bogaert 2009, 67–68.

Ps 115 -----

לֹא לָנוּ יְהוָה לֹא לָנוּ ¹	⁹ μὴ ἡμῖν, κύριε, μὴ ἡμῖν,
כִּי־לְשִׁמְךָ תָּנוּ כַּבֹּד	ἀλλ' ἢ τῷ ὀνόματί σου δὸς δόξαν
עַל־חַסְדֶּךָ עַל־אַמְתֶּךָ :	ἐπὶ τῷ ἐλέει σου καὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ σου,
לְמַךָ יֵאמְרוּ הַגּוֹיִם ²	¹⁰ μήποτε εἶπωσιν τὰ ἔθνη
אִי־הָיָא ⁴ אֱלֹהֵיהֶם :	Ποῦ ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν;
----- ³ וְאֱלֹהֵינוּ בְּשָׁמַיִם	¹¹ ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω
-----	ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐν τῇ γῆ
כֹּל אֲשֶׁר־חָפַץ עָשָׂה :	πάντα, ὅσα ἠθέλησεν, ἐποίησεν.
⁴ עַצְבֵיהֶם ⁵ בְּסֹף וְהַב	¹² τὰ εἰδῶλα τῶν ἔθνῶν ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον,
מַעֲשֵׂה יְדֵי אָדָם :	ἔργα χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων·
⁵ פֶּה־לָהֶם וְלֹא יִדְבְּרוּ	¹³ στόμα ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐ λαλήσουσιν,
עַיִנַיִם לָהֶם וְלֹא יִרְאוּ :	ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐκ ὄψονται,
⁶ אַזְנוֹתֵיהֶם לֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ	¹⁴ ὠτα ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐκ ἀκούσονται,
אָף לָהֶם וְלֹא יִרְחִיזוּ :	ῥίνας ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐκ ὀσφρανθήσονται,
⁷ יְדֵיהֶם וְלֹא יַמְשִׁיחוּ	¹⁵ χεῖρας ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐ ψηλαφήσουσιν,
רַגְלֵיהֶם וְלֹא יַחֲלִיכוּ	πόδας ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐ περιπατήσουσιν,
לֹא־יָהִי בְגֵרוֹתָם :	οὐ φωνήσουσιν ἐν τῷ λάρυγγι αὐτῶν.
⁸ כַּמוֹתֵיהֶם יִהְיוּ עֲשִׂיהֶם	¹⁶ ὅμοιοι αὐτοῖς γένοιτο οἱ ποιοῦντες αὐτὰ
כְּלֹאֲשֶׁר־בָּטְחוּ בָהֶם :	καὶ πάντες οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ' αὐτοῖς.
⁹ יִשְׂרָאֵל בָּטַח בַּיהוָה	¹⁷ οἶκος Ἰσραὴל ἠλπισεν ἐπὶ κύριον·
עָזַר וּמָגַנּוּ הוּא :	βοηθὸς αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπερασπιστὴς αὐτῶν ἐστιν.
¹⁰ בֵּית אֶהְרֹן בָּטְחוּ בַיהוָה	¹⁸ οἶκος Ααρων ἠλπισεν ἐπὶ κύριον·
עָזַר וּמָגַנּוּ הוּא :	βοηθὸς αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπερασπιστὴς αὐτῶν ἐστιν.
¹¹ יִרְאֵי יְהוָה בָּטְחוּ בַיהוָה	¹⁹ οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν κύριον ἠλπισαν ἐπὶ κύριον·
עָזַר וּמָגַנּוּ הוּא :	βοηθὸς αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπερασπιστὴς αὐτῶν ἐστιν.
¹² יְהוָה יִכְרַנּוּ יִכְרַךְ	²⁰ κύριος ἐμνήσθη ἡμῶν καὶ εὐλόγησεν ἡμᾶς,
יִכְרַךְ אֶת־בַּיִת יִשְׂרָאֵל	εὐλόγησεν τὸν οἶκον Ἰσραὴλ,
יִכְרַךְ אֶת־בַּיִת אֶהְרֹן :	εὐλόγησεν τὸν οἶκον Ααρων,
יִכְרַךְ יִרְאֵי יְהוָה ¹³	²¹ εὐλόγησεν τοὺς φοβουμένους τὸν κύριον,
הַקְטַנִּים עַם־הַגְּדֹלִים :	τοὺς μικροὺς μετὰ τῶν μεγάλων.

⁴ The particle אָנּ ("pray") is not attested in 4QPs^b (4Q84), in agreement with G.

⁵ Manuscript 4QPs^b (4Q96) reads [עצבי הַגוֹיִם] ("idols of the nations"), in agreement with G. Perhaps such a reading resulted from an ancient assimilation to Ps 135:15.

יִסְרָיִל יְהוָה עֲלֵיכֶם ¹⁴	²² προσθείη κύριος ἐφ' ὑμᾶς,
וְעַל־בְּנֵיכֶם:	ἐφ' ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς ὑμῶν·
בְּרוּכִים אַתֶּם לַיהוָה ¹⁵	²³ εὐλογημένοι ὑμεῖς τῷ κυρίῳ
עֲשֵׂה שְׂמִים וְאַרְץ:	τῷ ποιήσαντι τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.
לַיהוָה	²⁴ ὁ οὐρανὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ,
וְהָאָרֶץ נָתַן לַבְּנֵי־אָדָם:	τὴν δὲ γῆν ἔδωκεν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων.
לֹא הִמָּתִים יְהִלְלוּ־יָי ¹⁷	²⁵ οὐχ οἱ νεκροὶ αἰνέσουσίν σε, κύριε,
וְלֹא כָל־יִרְדֵי דוּמָה:	οὐδὲ πάντες οἱ καταβαίνοντες εἰς ἄδου,
וְנִבְרָא יָי ¹⁸ וְאַנְחָנוּ	²⁶ ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες εὐλογήσομεν τὸν κύριον
מֵעַד־עוֹלָם	ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος.
קְלָלָהּ יָי:	-----

The translations used in this analysis are the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV) for M and the New English Translation of the Septuagint (NETS) for G.⁶

Ps 114–115(M)

¹ -----

When Israel went out from Egypt,
the house of Jacob from a people of
strange language,

² Judah became God's sanctuary,
Israel his dominion.

³ The sea looked and fled;
Jordan turned back.

⁴ The mountains skipped like rams,
the hills like lambs.

⁵ Why is it, O sea, that you flee?
O Jordan, that you turn back?

⁶ O mountains, that you skip like rams?

O hills, like lambs?

⁷ **Tremble, O earth**, at the presence of
the LORD,

at the presence of the God of Jacob,

⁸ who turns the rock into a pool of water,
the flint into a spring of water.

Ps 113(G)

¹ **Hallelouia.**

At Israel's exodus from Egypt,
of Iakob's house from a barbarian people

² Judea became his holy precinct,
Israel his seat of authority.

³ The sea saw it and fled;
Jordan was turned backwards.

⁴ The mountains skipped like rams,
and the hills like lambs of sheep.

⁵ Why was it, O sea, that you fled?
And why was it, O Jordan, that you
withdrew backwards?

⁶ O mountains, that you skipped like
rams?

O hills, like lambs of sheep?

⁷ From before the Lord, **the earth was
shaken**,

from before the God of Iakob,

⁸ who turned the rock into pools of water
and the flint into springs of water.

⁶ The two translations are close. See the note "To the Reader of NETS: NETS as modified NRSV," Pietersma / Wright 2007, xv–xvi.

Ps 115

¹ Not to us, O LORD, not to us, but to your name give glory, for the sake of your steadfast love and your faithfulness.

² **Why should** the nations say, “Where is their God?”

³ Our God is in the heavens -----;

he does whatever he pleases.

⁴ *Their idols* are silver and gold,

the work of human hands.

⁵ They have mouths, but do not speak; eyes, but do not see.

⁶ They have ears, but do not hear; noses, but do not smell.

⁷ They have hands, but do not feel; feet, but do not walk; they make no sound in their throats.

⁸ Those who make them are like them;

so are all who trust in them.

⁹ **O Israel, trust** in the LORD!

He is their help and their shield.

¹⁰ **O house of Aaron, trust** in the LORD!

He is their help and their shield.

¹¹ **You who fear the LORD, trust** in the LORD!

He is their help and their *shield*.

¹² The LORD has been mindful of us; **he will bless us**⁷;

he will bless the house of Israel;

he will bless the house of Aaron;

¹³ **he will bless** those who fear the LORD,

both small and great.

¹⁴ May the LORD give you increase, both you and your children.

¹⁵ May you be blessed by the LORD, who made heaven and earth.

¹⁶ *The heavens are the LORD heavens,* but the earth he has given to human beings.

⁹ Not to us, O Lord, not to us, rather to your name give glory, for your mercy and your truth,

¹⁰ **lest** the nations say, “Where is their God?”

¹¹ But our God is in the sky [*above, in the heavens and on the earth*]; whatever he wanted he did.

¹² *The idols of the nations* are silver and gold,

works of human hands.

¹³ A mouth they have and will not speak;

eyes they have and will not see.

¹⁴ Ears they have and will not hear; nostrils they have and will not smell.

¹⁵ Hands they have and will not feel; feet they have and will not walk about; they will not articulate in their throats.

¹⁶ May those who make them become like them,

and all who trust in them!

¹⁷ **Israel’s house hoped** in the Lord.

Their helper and their protector is he.

¹⁸ **Aaron’s house hoped** in the Lord.

Their helper and their protector is he.

¹⁹ **Those who fear the Lord hoped** in the Lord.

Their helper and their *protector* is he.

²⁰ The Lord was mindful of us **and blessed us**;

he blessed the house of Israel;

he blessed the house of Aaron;

²¹ **he blessed** those who fear the Lord,

the small with the great.

²² May the Lord add to you, to you and your sons.

²³ Blessed are you to the Lord, who made the sky and the earth.

²⁴ *The sky of the sky belongs to the Lord,* but the earth he gave to the sons of men.

⁷ This pronoun does not appear in Hebrew.

¹⁷ The dead do not praise *the LORD*,
nor do any that go down *into silence*.

¹⁸ But we ----- will bless the LORD

from this time on and forevermore.

Praise the LORD!

²⁵ The dead will not praise *you, O Lord*,
nor will all who go down *to Hades*.

²⁶ But we *that are alive* will bless the
Lord,

from now on and forevermore.

According to Ps 114(M), God has intervened in history to deliver his people, while Ps 115 reflects circumstances where the absence of God may explain Israel's oppression. That's why Israel is called to trust God, who reigns from the heavens unlike idols. When read together, like in the Leningrad Codex (M^L), the two psalms describe God's action in history as a guarantee of his future blessing⁸.

In Ps 114–115(M) // 113(G), M and G contain quite a few textual and stylistic differences. In the context of this contribution, these differences will be highlighted in different ways. Indeed, some textual and stylistic differences do not imply a different literary orientation from what we read in M.⁹ Other differences, in contrast, are part of an overall vision suggesting that each of the two witnesses has its own literary trajectory. The differences in the latter category will be the focus of this study.

2. PS 114–115(M) AND PS 113(G) READ AS DIFFERENT EDITIONS

In another publication, I suggested that intentional modifications made by scribes and translators can be considered editorial, even if they are not extensive in quantity, provided they hold literary significance¹⁰. What matters is not the number of changes, but the literary quality of the resulting work.

In the case of Ps 114–115(M) // 113(G), however, the literary nature of G does not stem from the translator's desire to deviate from his source. Instead, he selected one plausible interpretation of the Hebrew *Vorlage*, which he considered most fitting. Similarly, the tradition that evolved into M made its own interpretive choices. Both M and G represent deliberate literary orientations, as it will be observed in the following lines. Nevertheless, this aspect is more easily discernible in G than in M, as even the vocalized text in M often remains open to various interpretations.

A key distinction lies in the verb tenses, which shape our understanding of the relationship between YHWH and his people. M and G offer distinct interpre-

⁸ Kraus 1966, 778–779, 785; Allen 2002, 139–140, 145–147; Hossfeld / Zenger 2008, 258–261; Sander 2020, 132–133.

⁹ For a study of these differences, see in particular Lohfink 1986, 201–202; Zenger 2001, 249.

¹⁰ Himbaza 2024, 441–442.

tations of this history. In M, the focus is on a troubled present and a hopeful future, while G emphasizes praise for God's past actions and his already realized intervention. This divergence is a central observation of the two different editions that M and G have produced.

Although the *Vorlage* of M and G is virtually the same, the differences in how Ps 113(G) // 114–115(M) are perceived by readers of each language are striking. The literary distinctions are so pronounced that it is appropriate to speak of these texts as different editions. These editions can be explained by the literary divergences that are well-documented in ancient Jewish discussions. The Mishnah and the Babylonian Talmud, for instance, reflect the differing views of the schools of Hillel and Shammai, as well as debates among rabbis from the first centuries of the common era (Mishna *Pesaḥim* 10:6; Babylonian Talmud, *Pesaḥim* 117a–b). Notably, there is a strong correlation between these historical debates and the various reading options found in the Dead Sea Scrolls on the one hand, and in M and G on the other hand.

2.1 Reading Ps 114–115(M) // 113(G) together or separately

The debate over whether Ps 114–115(M) // 113(G) should be read as a single poem or as two distinct pieces has been ongoing for some time. This question finds early evidence in the Hebrew manuscripts from Qumran. Thus, the discrepancies in whether Ps 114 and 115 are combined or separated can be traced back to the late 1st century BCE and early 1st century CE.

The manuscript 4QPs^o (4Q96), which dates from the early Herodian period, around the end of the 1st century BCE, presents these psalms as a single unit. The first of the two fragments in this manuscript clearly supports this, as the words *וּמִלְפְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים* (“... and¹¹ from before the God of”) in Ps 114:7 and the words *לָנוּ יְהוָה וְלֹא* (“...to us, YHWH and¹² not”) in Ps 115:1 are found on consecutive lines. The reconstruction of the gaps between these lines leaves little room for alternative interpretations¹³.

[אדון חולי אר]ֶץ [וּמִלְפְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים] [עַקְוָה] וּבִהְיוֹתֵךְ הַצֹּר אֶגֶם מִים חֲלֵמִישׁ לְמַעֲיָנוּ
[מִים 115:1] לָנוּ יְהוָה וְלֹא [לָנוּ כִּי אֵל לְשִׁמְכָה תֵן כְּבוֹד עַל חֲסִדְכָה עַל]

A second manuscript took a different direction. Indeed, the reconstruction of the gaps in manuscript 4QPs^b (4Q84), which dates from the late Herodian period in the early 1st century CE, indicates that the two psalms were separated by a blank

¹¹ This conjunction is not attested in M and G.

¹² This conjunction is not attested in M and G.

¹³ For details of this fragment, see Ulrich 2000, 139–141, Plate XVIII, frg 1; Flint 1997, 254, 260.

line¹⁴. Unlike the scribe of manuscript 4Q96, who wrote in prose, the scribe of 4Q84 used a sticho-graphic layout, placing each hemistich on a separate line. This resulted in very narrow columns. Such a layout is crucial for reconstructing the missing sections of the text (seventeen lines).

Separating Ps 114 and 115 is attested in a liturgical tradition from the school of Hillel, which divided the Egyptian Hallel into two parts. Indeed, Ps 113 and 114 were recited before the Passover seder, while Ps 115–118 were recited after the meal. Manuscript 4Q96 demonstrates that Ps 114 and 115 were read as a single text before the disputes between the schools of Hillel and Shammai¹⁵. To align the dating of the manuscript with the timing of these disputes, one would have to consider it younger than traditionally believed. The history of the division of this psalm in both rabbinic Judaism and Christianity reflects the divergences already present at Qumran. Thus, considering Ps 114 and 115 as a single text is probably not an innovation of G.¹⁶

In various ancient and medieval manuscript traditions, Ps 114 and 115 are often treated as a single unit. This is evident in several key texts. For instance, the Peshitta and the main Vulgate manuscripts, including *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos* (Hbrs) and *Psalterium Gallicanum* (Ga), combine Ps 114 and 115 into a single block. This division is also reflected in the Talmud Yerushalmi, *Shabbat* 16:1, 15c.¹⁷

Combining Ps 114 and 115 was still the prevailing practice before the 13th century, as evidenced by classical Tiberian Masoretic manuscripts¹⁸. Indeed, most classical Tiberian manuscripts from the 10th and 11th centuries, such as the Aleppo Codex (M^A), Leningrad Codex B 19a (M^L), and Sassoon Codex 1053 (M^{S1}), maintain this tradition by combining Ps 114 and 115. In the 12th century, the British Library manuscript Add 21161 (also known as Kennicott 201), which originates from a slightly different textual tradition, continues this practice of combining Ps 114 and 115.¹⁹ Kennicott and De Rossi, in their respective catalogues, document over 70 manuscripts dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries that adhere to this same tradition.²⁰ These manuscripts would share identical psalm numbering had it been explicitly noted. For instance, in manuscript

¹⁴ Ulrich 2000, 43–44, Plate V, Column XXIX, Frg 26–27.

¹⁵ Finkelstein 1950–1951, 319–338.

¹⁶ According to Gillingham 2021, 352, Ps 114 and 115 have been joined together “either following or anticipating the tradition of the Septuagint”.

¹⁷ See Barthélemy 2005, xxiv–xli; Himbaza 2023, 124–126.

¹⁸ For developments subsequent to the Qumran manuscripts, see Barthélemy 2005, xxix–xxxiii; Prinsloo, 2003, 668–689; Zakovitch 2010, 223–226. For a literary interpretation of Ps 114 and 115 and the literary options between M and G, see Zenger 2001, 245–248.

¹⁹ The Cambridge Add 1753 manuscript (M^Y), from the 14–15th century, but very close to the classical Tiberian manuscripts, also combines Ps 114 and 115. For the manuscripts referred to in this study, see Schenker 2004, XVIII–XXV.

²⁰ Kennicott 1776–1780, 410; De Rossi, 1784–1785, 74. See also Millard 1994, 13–14.

M^L, this combined text appears on folio 390r (page 791) and is designated as Ps 114 (דקד).²¹

The separation of the two psalms attested in manuscript 4Q84 is also well documented. On the one hand, the Bodmer Papyrus 24 from the 3rd century and the Sahidic translation from the 4th century mark the beginning of a new psalm at v. 12 (Ps 115:3M), with the phrase “The idols of the nations...”. This new psalm is numbered 114 and, like the others, begins with the title “Hallelujah.”²² In the third century, Origen was familiar with both the separation and the merging of the two psalms.²³ Augustine in the fourth to fifth century also placed the start of a new psalm here. Yet, for Augustine, the two psalms are really united as one.²⁴ On the other hand, starting a new psalm with “Not for us, Lord, not for us.” at Ps 113:9(G) // 115:1(M), corresponds to a Hebrew tradition, which separates these two psalms at this point. In the early 13th century, Rabbi David Kimḥi (Radak, 1160–1235) also recognized this separation, noting that “there are manuscripts in which this verse (Ps 115:1) does not begin a new psalm.”²⁵ This suggests that, by his time, the separation of Ps 114 and 115 had become more prevalent than keeping them together.

The Madrid manuscript (M^{M1}), dating from AD 1280, also reflects this tradition by separating the two psalms with an open section (*petuḥa*). The separation of Ps 114 and 115 became increasingly common in Hebrew manuscripts from the 13th century onwards, particularly in Ashkenazic manuscripts. This separation was later adopted in printed editions of the Psalms in the 15th and 16th centuries. The second Rabbinic Bible edited by Ya‘akov Ben Ḥayyim (1524-1525) follows this division, numbering the psalms as 114 and 115, a practice that the Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia (BHS) also adheres to.

2.2 Ps 114:1(M) // 113:1(G)

Ps 114:1(M)	Ps 113:1(G)
-----	Αλληλουια.
-----	Hallelouia

G places the word “Hallelujah” as the title of Ps 113 (114–115M), setting the tone for the entire psalm by orienting it towards praising the Lord for His deeds. To fully appreciate the literary significance of this distinction, it is essential to consider the wider context of the surrounding psalms.

²¹ Manuscript M^{SS} bears the same number on its p. 674.

²² See Kasser / Testuz 1967, 225, plate 92.

²³ Barthélemy 1978; Barthélemy 2005, 757, xxxi.

²⁴ Rahlfs 1967, 51 (Prolegomena § 5,20), 281; Chrétien 2007, 690.

²⁵ See editions of Miqra’ot Gedolot, such as Cohen 2003, 149.

In M, “Hallelujah” is placed at the beginning of Ps 111, 112, and 113, and appears at the end of Ps 113, 115, 116, and 117, while Ps. 114, 118, and 119 (M) do not contain it at all. Rabbinic tradition offers differing opinions on this matter, as noted in the Babylonian Talmud, *Pesaḥim* 117a–b. According to Rabbi Ḥisda, the expression “Hallelujah” is placed at the end of Ps 113 (M), while Rabba ben Rabbi Huna maintains that this expression is placed at the beginning of Ps 114 (M).

In G, as represented by the Sinaiticus and Alexandrinus manuscripts, the term “Hallelujah” consistently appears at the beginning of Ps 110, 111, 112,²⁶ 113, 114, 115 (Ps 116:10–19M), 116, 117, and 118. However, “Hallelujah” is not placed at the end of any of these psalms. This editorial choice suggests that G views Ps 110–118(G) // Ps 111–119(M) as a unified collection, all sharing the same title.²⁷ In this way, G extends the traditional Egyptian Hallel (Ps 112–117G // 113–118M, mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud *Berakhot* 56a²⁸) by incorporating the acrostic psalms that bookend it, Ps 110–111 (111–112M) on one side and Ps 118 (119M) on the other.²⁹

Scholars have noted that if only the consonantal text of the classical Tiberian manuscripts was considered, the “Hallelujah” phrases might very well be interpreted as titles for the psalms of the Egyptian Hallel (Ps 113–118). In manuscripts such as M^A and M^L, for instance, all occurrences of “Hallelujah” are positioned at the right-hand margin, each on its own line, resembling titles.³⁰ This reading aligns with an alternative tradition that G seems to have followed. In this case, G’s unique contribution could be the addition of “Hallelujah” at the beginning of the “great acrostic” (Ps 118G // 119M).

In this editorial approach, G intertwines the themes of gratitude for the exodus from Egypt (Ps 112–117 G // 113–118M) and gratitude for the gift of the commandments (Ps 110–111 and 118G // Ps 111–112 and 119M), merging them into a singular subject of praise, or “Hallel”.³¹ This deliberate literary choice reflects the distinctive editorial vision associated with G.

²⁶ The Bodmer Papyrus 24 does not appear to have a “Hallelujah” at the beginning of Ps 112(G). See Kasser / Testuz 1967, 224, plate 91.

²⁷ On the secondary nature of the occurrences of “Hallelujah” in G compared to M, see Willgren 2016, 187–190; Gillingham 2021, 351–352.

²⁸ The Mishna *Pesaḥim* 5,7 simply calls them the “Hallel”.

²⁹ Zakovitch suggests rather that Ps 111–112 and 119, were separated to facilitate the integration of the Egyptian Hallel (Ps 113–118) into the Psalter. See Zakovitch 2010, 220–223.

³⁰ Prinsloo 2003a; Gillingham 2021, 351–352.

³¹ See the Sinaiticus and Alexandrinus manuscripts. Goulder 1998, 209, believes that Ps 105–118 formed a set of psalms recited during Passover celebrations.

2.3 Ps 114:7a(M) // 113:7a(G)

Ps 114:7a(M)	Ps 113:7a(G)
מִלִּפְנֵי אֲדוֹן יְהוָה אֲרָץ	ἀπὸ προσώπου κυρίου <i>ἐσαλεύθη ἡ γῆ</i> ,
<i>Tremble, O earth</i> , at the presence of the LORD.	From before the Lord, <i>the earth was shaken</i> .

In M, the verb used is an imperative *qal*, addressed directly to the earth: “tremble!” Meanwhile, G employs an aorist indicative: “she trembled”. The assumed consonantal form behind the G reading is חלתה, while M reads חולי. This divergence does not seem to arise from a misreading. The imperative חולי in M exhorts the earth to adopt a particular attitude, while the aorist indicative ἐσαλεύθη in G suggests that the earth has already assumed this attitude.

This distinction becomes literarily significant when we compare the verb modes and tenses in Ps 115 (M) // 113:9–26 (G). However, it remains unclear which of the two texts introduced the literary harmonization. Interestingly, the verb tenses in both M and G correspond closely to the patterns observed in Ps 115:9–11 (M) // 113:17–19 (G), where the imperatives and jussives in M parallel the aorists in G. These two versions reflect distinct editions, though it is uncertain which is chronologically later.

2.4 Ps 115:2–3(M) // 113:10–11(G)

Ps 115:2–3(M)	Ps 113:10–11(G)
לָמָּה יִאֲמְרוּ הַגּוֹיִם אֵי-הָאֱלֹהִים: ----- אֱלֹהֵינוּ בַשָּׁמַיִם. ³ ----- כֹּל אֲשֶׁר-חָפֵץ עָשָׂה:	¹⁰ <i>μήποτε</i> εἴπωσιν τὰ ἔθνη Ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν; ¹¹ ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω· <i>ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐν τῇ γῆ</i> <i>πάντα, ὅσα ἠθέλησεν, ἐποίησεν.</i>
² <i>Why should</i> the nations say, “Where is their God?”	¹⁰ <i>lest</i> the nations say, “Where is their God?”
³ Our God is in the heavens -----; ----- he does whatever he pleases.	¹¹ But our God is in the sky [<i>above, in the heavens and on the earth</i>]; whatever he wanted he did. ³²

For a comparative analysis, at least four distinct elements require careful consideration:

³² In the Bodmer Papyrus 24, this verse concludes Ps 113. The number 114 and the title “Hallelujah” (ριδ αλληλουι[α]) are marked prior to the text, which begins with “The idols of the nations.”

a) The first observation is that the Hebrew word למה is translated into Greek as μήποτε. The Hebrew למה is an interrogative pronoun meaning “why?”, whereas the Greek μήποτε is a subordinating conjunction implying a sense of negative finality, meaning “lest”. Are these two terms equivalent? Philological studies suggest an evolution in the Hebrew language, where the interrogative pronoun למה was eventually used in place of the particle פן, which conveys a negative purpose, meaning “lest.” This usage is notably attested in later books of the Hebrew Bible, such as Qoh 5:5; 7:16–17. It also appears in passages like 1 Sam 19:17 and 2 Sam 2:22. Beyond the Hebrew Bible, this usage occurs seven more times in Ben Sira and five times in 4QInstruction.³³ However, in the Psalms, both למה and פן are so frequently used that it is difficult to definitively prove that למה was employed in the sense of פן. While the Hebrew could be interpreted as either “why” or “lest”, the Greek translator chose the “lest” interpretation. This decision significantly influences the overall literary orientation of Ps 113(G).

b) The question posed by the nations in Ps 115:2(M) // 113:10(G), “Where is their God?” also appears in Joel 2:17 and Ps 79:10(M) // 78:10(G). The Hebrew can be translated either as, “Why do the nations say, ‘Where is their God?’” or, “Why should the nations say, ‘Where is their God?’” Although the verb יאמרו is in the *yiqtol* form, the question likely pertains to the present. The Hebrew construction למה + *yiqtol* can be rendered as “why + future tense” or “why + subjunctive mode,” as seen in Gen 27:45 and Exod 32:12. In these cases, G uses the subordinating conjunction μήποτε.

The same question can also refer to a past event and, therefore, to the present situation. In such cases, the construction למה + present tense appears in Gen 24:31; 32:30; 42:1; 44:7; Exod 2:13; 5:4; and Isa 40:27, where G uses ἴνα τί.

In M, the psalmist is concerned about the high probability that the nations will ask this mocking question, indeed, they may already have done so. This is evident in passages such as Mic 7:10 and Ps 42:4, 11. Whether the question is potential or real, it reveals the psalmist’s deep anxiety about the scorn of the nations, who ridicule God’s people and, by extension, God Himself.³⁴ In a liturgical context, however, such a question would be entirely rhetorical.

This interpretation stands in contrast to what G expresses in Ps 113:10(G). The subordinating conjunction μήποτε (“lest”), which here translates the Hebrew למה (“why”), is typically used to render פן “lest”. Examples of this usage appear in passages such as Ps 2:12; 7:3; 12(G):4–5; 27(G):1; 37(G):17; 49(G):22; 58(G):12; and 90(G):12. When μήποτε is used to translate למה, as in Gen 27:45, Exod 32:12, Ps 79:10 (MT) // 78:10(G), 115:2 (MT) // 113:10(G), Song 1:7, and Qoh 7:16, it suggests that the situation or action described is not realized. G, therefore, reflects

³³ Rey 2008, 164–168.

³⁴ In his commentary, Radak notes that the nations’ statement is blasphemy.

an interpretation shaped by the evolution of the Hebrew language, since by the time the Psalms were translated, למה had also acquired the meaning conveyed by פ.

In the context of Ps 113:10(G), the use of μήποτε maintains the focus on praise: the nations neither ask nor will ask the question.³⁵ Elsewhere, G frequently renders the Hebrew למה as ἵνα τί, which translates the Hebrew למה “why?” more literally, as seen in Ps 2:1, 10:1, 22:2, 42:10, 49:6, 68:17, etc. Thus, for the Greek translator, the nations do not and will not ask, “Where is their God?” since God is present, both in heaven and on earth. His majesty is emphasized accordingly.³⁶

c) In v. 3(M) // 11(G), the G version includes additional text³⁷. Indeed, the adverb ἄνω, meaning “above,” adds specificity regarding the location of the heaven. The Hebrew phrase בשמים ממעל, translated as “in heaven above,” is found in other passages such as Exod 20:4, Deut 4:39 and 5:8, Josh 2:11, and 1 Kgs 8:23. G contains two additional occurrences of this phrase, in Deut 30:12 and Ps 113:11 // 115:3(M). Did the reading in G result from assimilation to the parallel passages?

From a textual criticism perspective, this “plus” in G can be interpreted in several ways. According to Barthélemy, there are two glosses in this addition. The first is the word ἄνω (“above”), which may originally have been a dittography of the last three letters (ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω). The second is the phrase ἐν τῇ γῆ (“on earth”), which the Sahidic glosses, likely due to assimilation to Ps 113:6.

However, Barthélemy does not address the repetition of “heaven” in G. It is, in fact, the entire expression ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐν τῇ γῆ (“in heaven and on earth”) that is distinctive in G.

In my opinion, the expression ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐν τῇ γῆ (“in heaven and on earth”) may originate from a double reading of the same Hebrew text בשמים within the Greek tradition. It is worth noting that G appears somewhat isolated, as all other witnesses, including the Gallican Psalter (Ga), align with M.³⁸ The first Greek reading might have rendered the Hebrew בשמים as ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐν τῇ γῆ (“in heaven and on earth”), drawing from an assimilation to Ps 134:6 (G)

³⁵ Contrary to Sander’s assertion, the G reading does not indicate that Israel is currently suffering oppression at the hands of other nations. See Sander 2020, 143. In my view, this shifts two key aspects. First, the lack of any reference to present oppression focuses G exclusively on praise. Second, it alters the understanding of the context in which G was produced, at least in the case of Ps 113(G). If the context of a translation influences its content, one might conclude that Ps 113(G) was rendered in a time of peace.

This study does not address the complex issue of dating the translation of the Psalms in G. A. van der Kooij contributed to this discussion, see Van der Kooij 1983; Van der Kooij 2001. For a majority view, Williams 2001; Aitken 2023, 107. For divergent opinions in the recent scholarship, see Pavan 2021.

³⁶ Lohfink 1986, 201–202; Zenger 2001, 248–253.

³⁷ Some Greek manuscripts do not contain the ‘plus’. See the critical apparatus in Alfred Rahlfs 1967, 281.

³⁸ For the two versions of the Latin Psalter (Hebr and Ga), see Beriger / Ehlers / Fieger 2018, 606–607. The Roman Psalter follows G, see Weber 1953, 285.

// (135:6 M) or to a typical common expression. The second reading, more closely aligned with M, would have noted ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ [ἄνω] (“in heaven [above]”). This practice of double readings is well known, particularly in the works of Origen, as seen in his Hexapla³⁹.

The likelihood of a double reading is further supported by the grammatical shift: “heaven” appears in the singular in the first phrase, whereas it is in the plural in the second. Thus, the two phrases, ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ [ἄνω] (“in heaven [above]”) and ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐν τῇ γῆ (“in the heavens and on earth”), seem to have originated from distinct sources. Over time, these variations were deemed sufficiently different to be preserved together, resulting in a double Greek rendering of the same Hebrew text. The word ἄνω (“above”), absent from the Vulgate, both Hbrs and Ga traditions, may have been introduced to distinguish between the singular “heaven” in the first phrase and the plural “heavens” in the second.⁴⁰ On this point, G is indeed responsible of the current state of the text. However, this divergence is likely due to a later correction (recension), rather than the original translator.⁴¹

From a literary perspective, the additional text in G, ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐν τῇ γῆ (“in heaven and on earth”), serves to emphasize God’s omnipresence. It underscores that God is not confined to heaven alone. For G, God is also present on earth, thus remaining with his people. This presence not only enhances his majesty but also affirms his power. The formula echoes confessions found in Deut 4:39, Josh 2:11, and 1 Kgs 8:23, which affirm that God is both in heaven above and on earth (cf. Am 9:6; Ps 113:6; 135:6; 1 Chr 29:11; 2 Chr 6:14). These passages suggest that no other god exists and that the God of Israel stands apart from the idols of the nations, as depicted in v. 4-7(M) // 12-15(G).

d) The final sentence of v. 3(M) // 11(G) can be understood in different ways, depending on the literary perspectives of M and G. M suggests that the perilous situation facing the people is a result of God’s will, implying that it is a matter of internal concern regarding the relationship between God and His people. From

³⁹ Manuscripts of G in Ps 113:11 may then have merged what Kreuzer 2024, 72–73, calls the two authoritative phases in the development of the Septuagint.

⁴⁰ Lohfink, followed by Zenger, even concluded that, unlike M, which envisions the cosmos in three stages: heaven, earth, and sheol, G presents a fourfold cosmic structure: heaven of heavens, heaven, earth, and hades. For further details, see Lohfink 1986, 202; Zenger 2001, 252–253. Although this interpretation seems supported by the expression “heaven of heavens” found in Ps 113:24 (G), it is not unique to G, since it appears in the Peshitta and the Targum, though not in the Vulgate (Hbr and Ga). Additionally, the differentiation between “heaven” and “heaven of heavens” is attested in various passages in M (e.g., Dt 10:14; 1 Kgs 8:27; Ps 148:4; 2 Chr 2:5; 6:18; Neh 9:6) and in Ben Sira 16:18. Therefore, in Ps 113:24, G may have simply harmonized elements found in these other texts.

⁴¹ Moreover, the Greek manuscript tradition is far from uniform. For instance, the Bodmer Papyrus 24 renders the opening phrase as “ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἀνω” (“in the heavens above”), but it does not contain the subsequent phrase, see Kasser / Testuz 1967, 225, plate 92. The variations within the Greek manuscript tradition explain why the NETS translation places this sentence in brackets.

this viewpoint, other nations have no right to interfere, assuming that the current crisis is due to God's absence or inability to help his people. On the other hand however, G implies that there is no crisis at all, as God has done good things for his people, demonstrating both his capability and willingness to act.

2.5 Ps 115:9–11(M) //113:17–19(G)

<p>Ps 114:9–11(M)</p> <p>יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּטַח בִּיהוָה⁹ עֲזָרָם וּמִגֹּבָם הוּא: בֵּית אֲהֲרֹן בְּטַח בִּיהוָה¹⁰ עֲזָרָם וּמִגֹּבָם הוּא: יְרֵאֵי יְהוָה בְּטַח בִּיהוָה¹¹ עֲזָרָם וּמִגֹּבָם הוּא:</p>	<p>Ps 113:17–19(G)</p> <p>¹⁷ οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ ἤλπισεν ἐπὶ κύριον· βοηθὸς αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπερασπιστῆς αὐτῶν ἐστίν. ¹⁸ οἶκος Ἀαρων ἤλπισεν ἐπὶ κύριον· βοηθὸς αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπερασπιστῆς αὐτῶν ἐστίν. ¹⁹ οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν κύριον ἤλπισαν ἐπὶ κύριον· βοηθὸς αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπερασπιστῆς αὐτῶν ἐστίν.</p>
<p>⁹ <i>O Israel, trust</i> in the LORD! He is their help <i>and their shield</i>.</p> <p>¹⁰ <i>O house of Aaron, trust</i> in the LORD! He is their help <i>and their shield</i>.</p> <p>¹¹ <i>You who fear the LORD, trust</i> in the LORD! He is their help <i>and their shield</i>.</p>	<p>¹⁷ <i>Israel's house hoped</i> in the Lord. Their helper <i>and their protector</i> is he.</p> <p>¹⁸ <i>Aaron's house hoped</i> in the Lord. Their helper <i>and their protector</i> is he.</p> <p>¹⁹ <i>Those who fear the Lord hoped</i> in the Lord. Their helper <i>and their protector</i> is he.</p>

The imperative form in M calls on Israel, the house of Aaron, and those who fear YHWH to place their trust in YHWH. In contrast, G, using the aorist indicative, observes that the house of Israel, the house of Aaron, and those who fear the Lord have already placed their hope in the Lord.⁴² The verb tense in G corresponds to the Hebrew *qatal*. However, unlike the situation in Ps 114:7(M) // 113:7(G), where the underlying Hebrew text may differ, here the consonantal text in M and the presumed *Vorlage* of G is identical (בטח and בטחו). M, with its vocalization preserved by the Masoretes בְּטַח and בְּטָחוּ, and G, reflecting the vocalization חֲטַפְּ and חֲטָחוּ, therefore represent two distinct traditions of reading the same text. These traditions offer markedly different literary perspectives.

⁴² For Barthélemy 2005, 757, the imperatives and jussives of M, also found in Ps 118:2-4; 135:19-20, “serve as calls from the choir leaders to the different groups of worship participants, while the affirmations are the expected responses from each of them.” This liturgical interpretation applies equally to M and G.

In M, the repeated call to trust in YHWH suggests a context of doubt or confusion among the people. In contrast, in G, the declaration that the people have already hoped in the Lord conveys a sense of assurance and fulfillment, leaning toward praise. These differences may reflect ancient Jewish debates over how this psalm should be understood. According to the Babylonian Talmud, *Pesahim* 117a, 118a, some rabbis interpreted Ps 115:1 as a cry for help during times of national distress, while others saw it as a song of thanksgiving for Israel's deliverance. M aligns with the former interpretation, while G aligns with the latter. Importantly, the sages in *Pesahim 117a* affirmed that both readings of the psalm are valid.

Thus, the divergent renderings in M and G reflect distinct literary orientations. G intentionally conveys a different message: the people have already placed their hope in the Lord. This choice is part of what can be seen as a different edition of the text, though it is not merely a creative innovation by the translator.

In these verses, the recurring Hebrew term מגן (“shield”) is translated as ὑπερασπιστής (“defender”) in G.⁴³ This translation technique, which interprets Hebrew metaphors into Greek, does not, however, contribute to the difference in literary orientation observed in the verb tenses. From this perspective, it is not a defining feature of a distinct edition.

2.6 Ps 115:12–13(M) // Ps 113:20–21(G)

Ps 115:12–13(M)

יְהוָה זָכָרְנוּ יְבָרֵךְ¹²

יְבָרֵךְ אֶת־בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל

יְבָרֵךְ אֶת־בֵּית אַהֲרֹן:

יְבָרֵךְ יְרֵאֵי יְהוָה¹³

הַקְטָנִים עַם־הַגְּדֹלִים:

¹² The LORD has been mindful of us;
*he will bless us;*⁴⁴

he will bless the house of Israel;

he will bless the house of Aaron;

¹³ *he will bless* those who fear the LORD,

both small and great.

Ps 113:20–21(G)

²⁰ κύριος ἐμνήσθη ἡμῶν *καὶ εὐλόγησεν ἡμᾶς,*

εὐλόγησεν τὸν οἶκον Ἰσραὴλ,

εὐλόγησεν τὸν οἶκον Ἀαρων,

²¹ *εὐλόγησεν* τοὺς φοβουμένους τὸν κύριον,

τοὺς μικροὺς μετὰ τῶν μεγάλων.

²⁰ The Lord was mindful of us
and blessed us;

he blessed the house of Israel;

he blessed the house of Aaron;

²¹ *he blessed* those who fear the Lord,

the small with the great.

⁴³ Some divine titles in G were discussed in recent publications by James K. Aitken, see Aitken 2021; Aitken 2023, 123–126.

⁴⁴ Note that this pronoun is not in the Hebrew.

These verses contain two types of differences between M and the G:

a) Textual difference: In M, the verb *יברך* (*yiqtol* form) is rendered as “he will bless” without a complement, which, although rare, does not necessitate emendation. This construction is also attested elsewhere, such as in Num 23:20. However, G reads *καὶ εὐλόγησεν ἡμᾶς*, which reflects the Hebrew *וַיְבָרֶכְנוּ*, “and he blessed us,” a *wayyiqtol* form followed by a first-person pronoun in plural. The conjunction and personal pronoun in G have no equivalent in M. These differences could arise from either a different formulation in the *Vorlage* or from stylistic enhancements introduced by the translator of G.

b) Verb form difference: The form of the verb “to bless” in the subsequent verses also differs between M and G. While M uses the *yiqtol* form, G employs the aorist. This divergence does not seem to stem from a different verb form in the original Hebrew but can be explained philologically. In poetic texts, such as the Psalms, verb tenses are fluid. For instance, Ps 81:6 reads *שפת לא ידעתי אשמע*, which translators consistently render as “a language I did not know, I heard,” despite the first verb being in *qatal* and the second in *yiqtol*. This demonstrates that a Hebrew *yiqtol*, often understood as future tense, can also be interpreted as a past tense. G interprets the sentence in Ps 81:6 as referring to past actions, using the aorist twice (*γλῶσσαν, ἣν οὐκ ἔγνων, ἤκουσεν*).⁴⁵ The two phrases in Ps 81:6 and Ps 115:12 are formulated in the same way. Thus, Ps 115:12(M) *יהוה זכרנו יברך* also could be translated as “YHWH has remembered us, he blessed.” This interpretation is reflected in G (*κύριος ἐμνήσθη ἡμῶν καὶ εὐλόγησεν ἡμᾶς*), which adds stylistic precision by specifying “he blessed *us*” instead of “he blessed” found in M.

The text of Ps 115:12–13(M) // 113:20–21(G) serves as a logical continuation of the preceding verses. In M, the call to Israel to trust in YHWH culminates in the affirmation that YHWH will bless them, encouraging the people to remain steadfast in their faith as they anticipate his blessing. In contrast, G shifts the focus, presenting a hymn of praise that acknowledges the people have already entrusted themselves to the Lord and have already received his blessing. Thus, both M and G are internally coherent, each reflecting its own literary and theological orientation. These differing perspectives represent distinct editorial approaches to the psalm.

⁴⁵ Other cases are often discussed. For instance, in Ps 3:6 *אני שכבתי ואישנה* is typically translated as “I lay down and fell asleep.” However, interpretations differ: some view the second verb as a *weqatal*, indicating a future action, while others argue that its past tense arises naturally from the context. Similarly, in Ps 39:10 (38:10G) *נאלמתי לא אפתח פי כי אתה עשית* is often translated as “I became silent, I did not open my mouth, for you have done it”. However, the second verb is also sometimes rendered as either past or future, “I will not open my mouth.”

2.7 Ps 115:17–18(M) // Ps 113:25–26(G)

Ps 115:17–18(M) אֲלֹהֵי הַמָּוֹת יִהְיֶה לֵילֵיהֶם וְלֹא כָּל־יִרְדְּדוּמָה: וְאֶנְחֵנוּ ----- נְבָרְךָ יְיָ מְעַתָּה וְעַד־עוֹלָם הַלְּלוּ־יְיָ: 	Ps 113:25–26(G) 25 οὐχ οἱ νεκροὶ αἰνέσουσίν σε, κύριε, οὐδὲ πάντες οἱ καταβαίνοντες εἰς ᾄδου, 26 ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες εὐλογήσομεν τὸν κύριον ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος. -----
--	--

¹⁷ The dead do not praise *the LORD*,
nor do any that go down *into silence*.

¹⁸ But we ----- will bless the LORD
from this time on and forevermore.
Praise the LORD!

²⁵ The dead will not praise *you, O Lord*,
nor will all who go down *to Hades*.

²⁶ But we *that are alive* will bless the
Lord,
from now on and forevermore.

These verses exhibit two types of textual differences between M and G. The variants in italics only are stylistic glosses or interpretive expansions in G, that, while deviating slightly in wording, remain within the same literary framework as M. These differences do not indicate the existence of a distinct edition represented by G. In contrast, the absence of “Hallelujah” at the end of the psalm in G reflects an editorial approach applied to Ps 110–118(G) // 111–119(M) as a whole. In G, all these psalms bear the title “Hallelujah,” whereas M presents a less harmonized structure, as observed in the analysis at the beginning of Ps 113(G).⁴⁶

3. Ps 114–115(M) AND Ps 113(G) READ AS TWO DISTINCT EDITIONS: AN OVERVIEW

The textual form of Ps 114–115 in M can be categorized among the didactic psalms, which recount YHWH’s deeds to inspire trust and confidence in Israel. Its primary theme is hope. In contrast, G centers exclusively on gratitude and praise, underscoring the different thematic focuses of these two editions.

In G, Ps 113 expresses gratitude for the Lord’s intervention in history on behalf of his people. It recounts how he brought them out of Egypt, guided them through the desert, and caused the earth to tremble. The entire nation placed their hope in the Lord, and in return, he blessed them abundantly. This psalm is filled with thanksgiving and praise for all the blessings the Lord has already bestowed. The

⁴⁶ See also Willgren 2016, 188–189, 283.

emphasis is on perpetuating the praise of God's past deeds and celebrating the blessings already received by the current generation.

In contrast, M edition, whether Ps 114 and 115 are read together (4Q96, M^A, M^L) or separately (4Q84, M^{M1}, Radak, and generally printed editions), also recounts YHWH's intervention in history, specifically the Exodus and the journey through the desert. However, unlike in G, the focus here shifts to a call for hope in the Lord. The psalmist reassures the people that YHWH will bless them in the future. The narrative unfolds in three distinct stages: first, YHWH's past actions reveal his power and glory; second, the present moment is marked by uncertainty and discouragement, as the people face mockery from other nations, leading them to question the apparent absence and inaction of their God; third, the psalmist exhorts the people to remain steadfast in their trust in YHWH and to look toward the future with confidence.

The textual witnesses that combine Ps 114 and 115 reinforce the significance of the past as a guarantee of future blessings. In M edition, the psalmist is positioned between the memory of YHWH's past intervention and the anticipated blessings yet to come. Because YHWH has already delivered Israel from Egypt and guided them through the desert, Israel is urged to trust in him for the future, even amid the present difficulties.

According to G, the narrative takes place well after God's intervention for salvation, and after the fulfillment of blessings and hope for the people. Everything has already been accomplished. As a result, the psalmist's praise is even more profound, reflecting a sense of total fulfillment.

The responsibility for both versions lies in the choice of interpretation and the harmonization of literary details. In M, the call for the earth to tremble before YHWH (Ps 114:7) parallels the call for the people to place their trust in YHWH (Ps 115:9–11). Meanwhile, in G, the observation that the earth has already trembled (Ps 113:7) aligns with the statement that the people have already placed their hope in the Lord (Ps 113:17–19). Where M anticipates a future blessing for the people (Ps 115:12–13), G presents the blessing as already realized (Ps 113:20–21). Hermann Gunkel would certainly not classify Ps 114–115(M) and Ps 113(G) in the same category.⁴⁷

Though both versions stem from the same original text, they now represent two distinct interpretations with different literary significance. These editions will be read in different contexts, reflecting divergent perspectives within the communities that produced them.

⁴⁷ Gunkel 1933.

4. CONCLUSION

The original aim of this study was twofold. First, it sought to demonstrate that Ps 114–115(M) and Ps 113(G) could be identified as two distinct editions derived from the same *Vorlage*. Second, it aimed to show that G resulted from a later literarily development compared to M, suggesting that G represented a new edition. This hypothesis was based on a preliminary examination of the textual forms in these witnesses and the prevailing views in current scholarship.

By the end of the study, I remain steadfast in my position on the first point, but my perspective on the second has changed. I now believe that G indeed became a different edition compared to M, but it is not a “new” edition created by the translator or recensions of G. Instead, G represents a distinct variant that was already part of the existing Hebrew literary tradition. In essence, both M and G stem from the diverse textual understandings present before the advent of the common era.

The assignment of the title “Hallelujah” to Ps 113(G), which corresponds to Ps 114–115 in M, was not the innovation of the translator of G. Likewise, the concept of treating this text as a single psalm was not introduced by the translator. The notion that the people’s destiny, as envisioned in M, has already been fulfilled was not a new idea but rather one present in the Hebrew tradition. Observing that the people have already placed their trust in the Lord and that God has already blessed them aligns with interpretations that existed in Hebrew. The consonantal text, which informs both the M and G readings, remains consistent. The differences in interpretation between M and G reflect the diverse perspectives found in ancient rabbinic discussions.

The G’s focus is predominantly on praise, emphasizing a retrospective satisfaction and gratitude rather than acknowledging the people’s vulnerability, the potential mockery from other nations, or urging trust in YHWH. This perspective reflects the G’s literary and editorial choice. In contrast, M’s approach highlights perplexity and a call to trust in YHWH, illustrating its distinct literary and editorial stance.

It is crucial to recall that both Ps 114–115(M) and Ps 113(G) originate from the same Hebrew *Vorlage*. The Dead Sea Scrolls and ancient rabbinic discussions help us understanding how M and G represent two divergent literary approaches inherent in their common source. Today, they reflect two different versions with distinct literary, contextual, and theological orientations. Consequently, they have evolved into separate editions with unique interpretations and meanings.

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EARLY CHRISTIAN SCHOLARSHIP AND THE LATIN JOB:
HOW JEROME DRESSED THE FIGURE OF JOB IN THE
THEOLOGY OF SIN AND REPENTANCE

Matthijs J. DE JONG

Jerome's translation of the Book of Job from Hebrew was a remarkable achievement, intended to provide an accurate rendering of the Hebrew text and to correct the losses and corruptions found in the Greek versions. At the same time, Jerome imposed his own theological interpretation on the Book of Job. A clear example of this is the way in which his Latin translation presents the figure of Job through the lens of sin and repentance. In the Hebrew text, Job blames God for his misery, but in Jerome's *iuxta Hebraeos*, Job blames his own sins. Various passages, such as 1:1, 6:2–3, 7:20–21, 9:20–21, 9:28–29, 10:13–16, 14:4, 31:35–37, 42:6, and 42:10, reveal that Job's case in the *iuxta Hebraeos* has been subtly yet decisively altered. The issue shifts from whether Job is righteous (his view) or sinful (his friends' view) to the recognition that Job is both righteous and a sinner, as he acknowledges from the beginning (6:2–3 *iuxta Hebraeos*). Consequently, to reconcile with God, he must repent (42:6, 42:10 *iuxta Hebraeos*). Jerome probably did not consciously and self-willingly change the text to align it with his theological agenda. Rather, he naturally read the text through his own theological lens, and in his translation he made explicit what he believed the text implied.

Jerome made two translations of the book of Job: one from the Septuagint (*iuxta Graecos*) between 389 and 392, and the other from the Hebrew text (*iuxta Hebraeos*) completed by 393.¹ The translation of Job *iuxta Hebraeos*, which diverged significantly from his earlier Septuagint-based translation, was a remarkable achievement. In her book *The Monk and the Book*, Megan Hale Williams shows that Jerome's embrace of the Hebrew Bible—*Hebraica veritas* as he called it—delineated his identity as an early Christian scholar. To the outer world, Jerome depicted his scholarship regarding the Hebrew as asceticism and self-denial, but at the same time he asserted authority over the Biblical texts in their various versions. To this end, he employed a new philological method, which drew on a combination of the Hebrew text, the Septuagint, the revisions by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, as well as rabbinic sources. Additionally, he sought guidance from a Jewish teacher for insights into the Hebrew language and exegesis. As Williams makes clear, Jerome extensively utilized the LXX and the Greek revisions to elucidate obscure Hebrew passages, but he followed them for

¹ Seow 2023, 239–240; Williams 2006, 65–66, 282–283; Vicchio 2006a, 5.

individual words or phrases, not for entire sentences. Instead, he selectively drew from available renderings and interpretations what aligned with his own understanding of the Hebrew.²

In this article, I explore Jerome's translation of Job *iuxta Hebraeos*, focusing on his reshaping of the character of Job. Generally speaking, *Job iuxta Hebraeos* closely aligns with the Masoretic text. Some scholars have interpreted this as evidence that Jerome avoided imposing his own theological views onto the text. According to Stephen Vicchio, Jerome predominantly allowed the Hebrew text to speak for itself, albeit with two notable exceptions.³ Firstly, in Job 1:1, Jerome translates the Hebrew term חַיִּים, "blameless," as *simplex*, "simple," presumably, says Vicchio, to reconcile Job's character with the concept of original sin. This example will be discussed below. Secondly, in 19:25–26, Jerome portrays Job as prophesying the eschatological resurrection of the body, a passage that was to become one of the most influential of *Job iuxta Hebraeos*.⁴ Is Vicchio right that, apart from these two exceptions, *Job iuxta Hebraeos* is free from Jerome's preconceptions?⁵ This seems most unlikely considering the pervasive influence of Christian theology on early interpretations of Job.⁶ In this article, I aim to demonstrate how Jerome's theological perspective on sin and repentance influenced his translation, diverging from the Hebrew original by portraying Job's suffering as a lesson in the necessity of repentance for reconciliation with God.

1. THE HEBREW, GREEK, AND LATIN JOB

In the MT of Job, Job not only voices his complaints and laments his situation, but also accuses God of unjustly treating him as an enemy. Though Job acknowledges that as a mortal being he cannot judge God, he cannot shake the belief that his suffering is caused by God. Confident in his innocence, he strongly feels that his suffering is undeserved, which forces him to conclude that God is treating him unfairly. Despite refuting Job's accusations in his speeches, God does not accuse Job of any sin. Instead, God brings Job to a deeper understanding: Job's innocence and God's reliability as the sustainer of order are not mutually exclusive.⁷

In the OG, the character of Job undergoes a transformation: his fierce accusations against God are often adapted, toned down, or omitted altogether.⁸ Whether

² Williams 2006, 85–86.

³ Vicchio 2006a, 12–15, exceptions mentioned on p. 14.

⁴ Seow 2023, 241.

⁵ Vicchio 2006a, 15.

⁶ Larrimore 2013, 30.

⁷ Many contemporary scholars argue that Job according to the Hebrew book rightly hold to his innocence. This interpretation is defended by, e.g., Clines 1989; Clines 2006; Clines 2011; Fokkelman 2012.

⁸ Seow 2023, 33–49; Kwon 2019; Vicchio 2006, 95–116.

this alteration was the work of the Greek translator or part of the *Vorlage* is uncertain, but the disparity between the two depictions of Job is evident. In the speeches, the OG Job exhibits much greater patience and saintliness than his Hebrew counterpart, and his accusations of God's injustice are brushed away.⁹ Additionally, God's role in Job's ruination in Job 1–2 is less explicit in the OG compared to the MT.¹⁰ In the OG, Job's righteousness is tested, and ultimately, God reveals that the vindication of Job's righteousness was always part of the divine plan: "Do you think that I have dealt with you in any other way than that you might appear to be right?" (Job 40:8, NETS).¹¹ In early Christianity, Job was viewed through the lens of the Greek tradition, portraying him as a saintly figure endowed with exceptional patience. In this tradition, God's righteousness remained unquestioned. With the incorporation of the concept of resurrection into the Greek Job tradition, evident in the *Testament of Job*, the post-scriptum of Job LXX, and the Christian interpretation of Job 19:25–26, the transformation was complete: Job now embodied the virtue of perseverance amid earthly suffering and hardship, eagerly anticipating eternal life.

Jerome's translation of Job *iuxta Hebraeos* presented an opportunity to restore the Hebrew Job, yet this is not what happened. While Job *iuxta Hebraeos*, in comparison to the OG, more closely aligns with the MT, there are subtle yet unmistakable differences. In the Vulgate, Job still expresses his complaints and laments, but his accusations against God lose their bitterness and sarcasm. God's position as a righteous supreme judge remains unquestioned. Moreover, Job is depicted as both a sinner and a righteous person. In contrast to the Hebrew Job, who perceives God as the source of his troubles, the Latin Job from the outset recognizes his own sins as the root cause. Consequently, in Job *iuxta Hebraeos*, Job's repentance precedes his restoration: the only path to reconciliation with God is through repentance.

2. JOB'S SIN AND REPENTANCE

Early Christian interpreters saw Job as a moral example of righteousness and patience, as well as a foreshadowing of Christ in his suffering. Jerome, embracing this interpretation, also maintained that only Christ was truly blameless and perfect, whereas Job, despite his righteousness, was a sinner like the rest of us. In this

⁹ Seow 2023, 39–41, gives some clear illustrations, among them 9:22–24 and 10:13, which will be dealt with in our analysis below.

¹⁰ Seow 2023, 38–39.

¹¹ οἶει δέ με ἄλλως σοι κεχρηματικέναι ἢ ἵνα ἀναφανῆς δίκαιος; see Seow 2023, 49.

section I will deal with nine passages from the book of Job in which Jerome has inscribed this sin-and-repentance interpretation into the text.¹²

2.1 *The simple Job*

In the Hebrew text, Job is depicted as **טת**, “blameless,” by the narrator (1:1), by God (1:8, 2:3a), and by Job himself (9:20–22). Additionally, Job’s **המת**, “blamelessness,” is mentioned by God (2:3b), Job’s wife (2:9) and Job himself (27:5, 31:6).¹³ In these contexts, the Hebrew term likely conveys the meaning of “without sin” or “without guilt.” The LXX mostly translates **טת** as *ἄμεμπτος*, “perfect,” “blameless” (1:1, 1:8, 2:3a, 9:20), and **המת** as *ἀκακία*, “innocence” (2:3b, 27:5, 31:6). While in his translation *iuxta Graecos*, Jerome rendered *ἄμεμπτος* with *sine crimine*, “without guilt,” in reference to Job (1:1, 1:8, 9:21, 12:4), in *iuxta Hebraeos* the term *sine crimine* no longer appears. Instead, Job is described as *simplex*, “simple,” (1:1, 1:8, 2:3a, 9:21) and his *simplicitas*, “simplicity,” is mentioned by his wife (2:9), and Job himself (12:4, 31:6).¹⁴ As Tobias Häner notes, the use of *simplex/simplicitas* for Job was not invented by Jerome, but prepared for by “the three.” Aquila uses *ἀπλοῦς*, “simple” in 1:1, and *ἀπλότης*, “simplicity,” in 4:6, and the LXX includes *ἀπλοσύνη*, “simplicity,” in 21:23, an addition from Theodotion (not in OG).¹⁵ However, Jerome developed a strategy out of this, as Häner demonstrates. In *iuxta Hebraeos* the terms *simplex* and *simplicitas* now completely replace Job’s *sine crimine* (1:1, 1:8, 9:21, 12:4) and reduce the occurrences of *innocens/innocentia* relating to Job (2:3a, 31:6). Häner points out that while Job in *iuxta Hebraeos* maintains his innocence in 9:20, 9:22 and 27:5, this assertion is now mainly Job’s self-presentation. Only once in *iuxta Hebraeos* does God refer to Job’s innocence (“and still he [Job] holds to his innocence,” *et adhuc retinens innocentiam*, 2:3) which, as Häner suggests, can also be interpreted as referring to Job’s *claim* of innocence.

Job undergoes a transformation in *iuxta Hebraeos*. In the Hebrew, the LXX, and Jerome’s *iuxta Graecos*, Job’s perfection is highlighted, while in *iuxta Hebraeos*, Job is portrayed as a sinner, albeit a righteous one. From an exceptional figure, Job becomes an everyman. According to Häner, this reframing of Job in *iuxta Hebraeos* likely reflects a deliberate decision by Jerome.¹⁶ As we will see

¹² The concept of an interpretation as “inscribed” in the text by translation, I adopt from Venuti 2013, e.g. 16–20, 96–99.

¹³ Häner 2023.

¹⁴ For an overview, see Häner 2023, 131.

¹⁵ Häner 2023, 122–123, 131; see pp. 127–129 for Jerome’s deliberate strategy. This subsection is based on Häner’s study.

¹⁶ Häner 2023, 127–129. I disagree with Häner’s suggestion (pp. 129–130) that Jerome changed his views on Job due to the controversy with Pelagius; see the final sections of this paper.

below, this is just the beginning of Job's transformation into a sinner in need of repentance.

2.2 *Job's sins, 6:2–3*

לו שקול ישקול כעשי *והיתי במאזנים ישאו־יחד:
 פי־עתה מחול ימים יכבד על־כן דברי לְעו:

*Utinam adpenderentur peccata mea quibus iram merui et calamitas
 quam patior in statera.
 Quasi harena maris haec gravior appareret; unde et verba mea dolore
 sunt plena.*

Translation of the MT (NRSV updated edition)

² O that my vexation were weighed and all my calamity¹⁷ laid in the balances!

³ For then it would be heavier than the sand of the sea; therefore my words have been rash.

*Translation of Job iuxta Hebraeos*¹⁸

² O that my sins, for which I deserve wrath, and the calamity that I suffer, were weighted out on a balance!

³ As the sand of the sea this¹⁹ would appear heavier; therefore, my words are full of sorrow.

This passage marks a pivotal moment in the book's narrative, as Job speaks here for the first time in response to his friends, defining his stance in the discussion. In the Hebrew text, Job highlights his immense suffering, likening it to the weight of the sands of the sea, to excuse himself for his uncontrolled words, the bitter words he spoke in chapter 3. In contrast, the Latin Job compares his sins to his suffering, asserting that the latter far exceeds the former. While acknowledging his status as a sinner deserving of God's wrath, Job contends that his suffering is disproportionately severe. Therefore, he explains, his words are full of sorrow. In the MT, as well as in the Greek versions,²⁰ verses 2a and 2b are roughly synony-

¹⁷ Instead of והיתי read והותי, "what has befallen me," "my misfortune," "my calamity"; Clines 1989, 158.

¹⁸ The translation makes use of the English translations on vulgate.org and sacredbible.org.

¹⁹ Latin *haec*, "this," likely refers to Job's calamity in verse 2.

²⁰ In LXX Job's anger (*μου τῆν ὀργήν*) and his sorrows (*δδύνας μου*) are to be put in a balance together, outweighing the sand of the sea. For *τῆν ὀργήν* also *τῆν ἀθυμίαν*, "discouragement," is attested. Symmachus in verse 2a gives a more literal rendering of the first three words, see Woods 2009, 138.

mous: Job's vexation or anger, and his calamity or sorrows, are *collectively* compared to the sands of the sea. In *iuxta Hebraeos*, however, Job's sins in 2a and his suffering in 2b are *contrasted* with each other, with verse 3a concluding that "this one" (*haec*), presumably referring to *calamitas*, Job's suffering, outweighs the other, akin to the sands of the sea.

How did Jerome come to this translation? In 6:2a MT, Job refers to כעשי, "my vexation," "my anguish," "my anger," as his own emotion. The term כעש is also used in 17:7 by Job in the same way, "my eye has grown dim from grief/irritation." Slightly different, but also referring to human emotion, is the use of כעש by Eli-phaz in 5:2, "vexation kills the fool." Only in 10:17 Job uses this same word as referring to God's anger, "you (God) increase your anger (כעשך) against me." Of these four instances, Jerome renders 5:2 (*iracundia*) and 17:7 (*indignatio*) as referring to human emotion, but he translates 6:2 as if it aligns with 10:7, denoting God's anger (*ira*). In 6:2 the Hebrew כעשי is rendered as a full phrase, *peccata mea quibus iram merui*, "my sins for which I deserve wrath."²¹ Jerome's leap from כעשי, "my vexation/anger," to "God's anger kindled against me," cannot be explained from the LXX or from the extant fragments of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. The conclusion seems unescapable that the attribution of the anger to God and the addition of Job's sins in 6:2 reflect Jerome's theological framework. This decisively alters the portrayal of Job, positioning him as a sinner.

In 6:3 (MT) Job acknowledges his words as לעע, "uncontrolled," "rash." In the LXX, Job describes his words as φαῦλα, "careless, worthless." In the late Greek tradition, this was amended to "very bitter" (Symmachus: *κατάπικροί*) and "wearied" (Theodotion: *ἔγχοποι*).²² Jerome follows suit: *verba mea dolore sunt plena*, "my words are full of sorrow." In *iuxta Hebraeos*, Job conveys deep sadness but maintains control over himself. Here, the contours of the Latin Job begin to emerge: righteous but not blameless, deserving God's wrath yet suffering more than he deserves, extremely sad but in control of himself.

2.3 *The root of the problem, 7:20–21*

חֲטָאתִי מָה אֶפְעַל לְךָ נֹצֵר הָאָדָם לְמָה שְׁמַתְנִי לְמַפְגֵּעַ לְךָ וְאֵהִיָּה עָלַי לְמִשָּׂא:
וּמָה לֹא־תִשָּׂא פְשָׁעִי וְתַעֲבִיר אֶת־עוֹנִי כִי־עַתָּה לְעַפְרָא אֲשֶׁכֶב וְשִׁחַרְתִּנִּי וְאִינְנִי:

*Peccavi; quid faciam tibi, o custos hominum? quare posuisti me
contrarium tibi, et factus sum mihimet ipsi gravis?*

²¹ Whereas כעש occurs only in the book of Job, the related word כעס occurs 21 times in other books of the Hebrew Bible. Vg renders it regularly as *ira*, but note Vg *aerumna*, "misery," for כעס in Eccl 2:23.

²² Woods 2009, 139.

*Cur non tollis peccatum meum, et quare non auferes iniquitatem meam?
ecce nunc in pulvere dormiam, et si mane me quaesieris, non subsistam.*

Translation of MT (NRSVue)

²⁰ If I sin, what do I do to you, you watcher of humanity?

Why have you made me your target? Why have I become a burden to you?

²¹ Why do you not pardon my transgression and take away my iniquity?

For now I shall lie in the earth; you will seek me, but I shall not be.

Translation of Job iuxta Hebraeos

²⁰ I have sinned, what can I do for you, you keeper of humanity?

Why have you set me against you, so that I have become burdensome to myself?

²¹ Why do you not take away my sin, and why do you not remove my iniquity?

See, now I will sleep in the dust, and if you seek me in the morning, I will not remain.

The NRSVue interprets Hebrew מִתְּחִלָּה as a conditional clause, “if I sin,” which is a plausible rendering.²³ Similarly, the LXX begins the verse with εἰ ἐγὼ ἥμαρτον, “if I sin.” David Clines supports this interpretation of the Hebrew: Job does not confess guilt but speaks hypothetically of his sins, those he assumes exist in the eyes of God. His plea is not for forgiveness, as he does not acknowledge any sin, but for lenience. Given his imminent death, why does God not leave him alone?²⁴ Jerome diverges from the LXX and translates factually, *peccavi*, “I have sinned.” For him, Job’s sins are a given and become the central issue of this passage, as is evident from four other modifications in Vg:

(1) While the second clause in verse 20, מִה אֶפְעַל לָךְ, seems accurately rendered as *quid faciam tibi*, the respective contexts support divergent interpretations. In Hebrew, Job cries out: “even if I sin, what does it matter to you, how can it harm you?” In other words: “why don’t you leave me alone?” The Latin phrase in context, however, conveys: “I have sinned, how can I resolve it?”

(2) The depiction of God as “watcher of humanity” in the Hebrew text is not intended positively by Job. It serves as an oblique accusation, urging God to leave him alone. In the Latin rendering, *custos hominum* carries a positive connotation, turning the accusation into an appeal to God.

(3) The Hebrew phrase לָמָּה שָׂמַתְנִי לְמִטְרָה לְךָ, “why have you made me your target?” portrays God actively as the attacker and Job passively as the sufferer. In

²³ Cf. Joüon / Muraoka 1996, §167 a.1. referring, i.a., to Prov 18:22.

²⁴ Clines 1989, 193–195.

the Latin rendering, God remains the actor, but the relationship is no longer one of assaulter and victim: *posuisti me contrarium tibi*, “you have set me against you.”

(4) The final phrase in verse 20 in the LXX, εἰμι δὲ ἐπὶ σοὶ φορτίον; “(and why) am I a burden on you?,” suggests that the Hebrew text originally included עלֶיךָ “to you,” instead of עָלַי “to me.”²⁵ This would create a better parallel with the preceding clause: Job has become God’s target, and God considers him a burden. In the Latin version, Job describes himself as a burden to himself. In both versions, Job complains about his situation, but in the Hebrew, this complaint is coupled with an accusation against God, whereas in Latin, it is accompanied by an appeal to God.

The Hebrew Job identifies God as the source of his problems: God takes him and his alleged sins far too seriously. Job protests that God treats him as if he were a formidable opponent threatening God. The Latin Job, by contrast, attributes the root of the problem to his own sins. He complains that God’s response to his sins has resulted in a dire situation, placing him in direct opposition to God. Seeking a resolution, Job appeals to God.

Verse 21, in both versions, appears as an entreaty from Job. However, in the Hebrew text, it can also be read as an indirect accusation: God fails to act as Job believes he should. In the final clause, Job clarifies why God should stop treating Job as a serious adversary: the next time God seeks him out, Job will be dead. The Latin version, although closely translated from the Hebrew, likely follows a different line of reasoning. Here, Job proposes a solution to his predicament: if God would overlook his sins, their strained relationship can be restored. The Latin phrase *in pulvere dormiam*, “I will sleep in the dust,” likely hints at the concept of resurrection.²⁶

2.4 *Who is to blame, 9:20–21*

אִם-אֶצְדָּק פִּי יִרְשִׁיעַנִי תָם-אֲנִי וַיִּעַקְשׁנִי:
תָם-אֲנִי לֹא-אֶדְעֵנָּה נִפְשִׁי אִמָּאס חַיִּי:

Si iustificare me voluero, os meum condemnabit me; si innocentem ostendere, pravum me comprobabit.

Etiam si simplex fuero, hoc ipsum ignorabit anima mea, et taedebit me vitae meae.

²⁵ Clines 1989, 166, MT עלֶיךָ is generally considered as one of the *tiqqune sopherim*, “corrections of the scribes.”

²⁶ The rendering “you will seek me in the morning” (*mane me quaesieris*) combines two Greek translations: the Hebrew שָׁחַר, “to seek,” is rendered in LXX as ἀρβριζῶ, “arise early in the morning” (cf. Hebrew שָׁחַר, “dawn”), and by Symmachus as “seeking.”

Translation of MT (NRSVue)

²⁰ Though I am innocent, my own mouth would condemn me; though I am blameless, he would prove me perverse.

²¹ I am blameless; I do not know myself; I loathe my life.

Translation of Job iuxta Hebraeos

²⁰ If I wanted to justify myself, my own mouth will condemn me. If I would reveal my innocence, he will prove me vicious.

²¹ Even if I were simple, my soul will be ignorant of this, and I will be weary of my life.

The Hebrew Job states that in a lawsuit against God, he will be overwhelmed by God's power, and even though innocent, he will stand guilty. This is not to confess sin, but to emphasize the futility of seeking justice when God is the adversary.²⁷ The opening phrase in 9:20 MT, אֲנִי צַדִּיק אֲמַן, can be understood as a concessive clause, "Even though I am innocent." The Latin translation alters this to an *irrealis* by adding *voluero*, "I wanted." Furthermore, Jerome translates צַדִּיק *qal* as *iustificare me*, "to justify oneself." Although this is among Jerome's favorite renderings of this Hebrew verb, there is a distinction between צַדִּיק *qal*, "to be right, to be just, to be innocent," and Jerome's rendering "to justify oneself." The Hebrew Job maintains his innocence and deplores his inability to prevail against God, while the Latin Job acknowledges his sins and realizes that any attempt to justify himself will fail.

In the MT, Job refers to his own mouth (פִּי) in verse 20a. Overwhelmed by God's power, even Job's own mouth will incriminate him. Edward Greenstein argues that פִּי, "my mouth," is a scribal correction intended to "sanitize" the (presumed) original reading פִּי, "his (i.e. God's) mouth."²⁸ Greenstein is right that the phrase "his mouth would condemn me" makes a fine parallel with verse 20b. So, perhaps we have here a similar case as in 7:20, where MT "a burden to myself" probably overlays the earlier reading "a burden to you." In any case, in 9:20 Job protests against the accusation imposed on him against his will.

Verse 22 MT begins with the clause תָּם אֲנִי, "I am blameless," "I have no guilt." Vg renders this as *etiam si simplex fuero*, "even if I were simple/straightforward," making it hypothetical. The enigmatic phrase "I do not know my life" (לֹא אֲדַע נַפְשִׁי) is in the Vg connected with the preceding clause "even if I were *simplex*, my soul will be ignorant of this." In both versions, Job is weary of his own life, but the Hebrew Job blames God, whereas the Latin Job recognizes that he himself is the root of the problem.

²⁷ Clines 1989, 235–236.

²⁸ Greenstein 2019, 41.

In the Hebrew text, the verses that follow (9:22–24) present one of Job’s fiercest outbursts against God. Job asserts that God “destroys both the blameless and the wicked” (verse 22), that God “mocks at the calamity of the innocent” (verse 23), and that by God’s doing “the earth is given into the hand of the wicked” (verse 24). In the OG, Job’s criticism towards God was completely removed: verse 22 is altered to “anger destroys the great and powerful,” verses 23–24a are rephrased as passive sentences in which God is not mentioned, and the rest of verse 24 is omitted altogether. This aligns with the tendency of OG-Job to soften Job’s voice, transforming his criticism of God into a more general lament about earthly life. Job *iuxta Hebraeos* stays much closer to the Hebrew text in this regard. Nevertheless, Jerome tempered Job’s portrayal of God’s cruelty in verse 23: *et non de pænis innocentum rideat*, “and (let him) not laugh at the punishment of the innocent.” Here, God remains a respectable supreme ruler even from the perspective of Job.²⁹

2.5 Job’s fear, 9:28–29

יִגְרָתִי כָּל-עֲצָבֹתַי יִדְעֵתִי כִּי-לֹא תִנְקֶנִּי:
אֲנֹכִי אֶרְשָׁע לְמַה-זֶּה הַבָּל אֵינֶנִּי:

*Verebar omnia opera mea, sciens quod non parceres delinquenti.
Si autem et sic impius sum, quare frustra laboravi?*

Translation of MT (NRSVue)

²⁸ I become afraid of all my suffering, for I know you will not hold me innocent.

²⁹ I shall be condemned; why then do I labor in vain?

Translation of Job iuxta Hebraeos

²⁸ I feared all my works, knowing that you did not spare the offender.

²⁹ Yet, if I am also just as wicked, why have I labored in vain?

In 9:28a MT, Job fears his suffering (עֲצָבֹתַי, “my pains”). As in 6:2, Jerome transforms this to Job’s deeds, *omnia opera mea*, “all my works,” implying that among these deeds there are also sins. Since Jerome never translates עֲצָבֹת in this way, it can be taken as a contextual rendering slightly altering the portrayal of Job. The Hebrew Job fears his pains, realizing that God considers him guilty and treats him

²⁹ Soenksen, 198–201, refers in this respect to Job 24:12, where MT, similar to 9:22–24, presents God as leaving injustice unpunished (“but God does not regard it as unseemliness”), but Job *iuxta Hebraeos* depicts a God of justice (“God does not permit it to go unavenged”).

harshly. The Latin Job is aware of his sins, recognizing that God does not spare the wrongdoer. In 9:28b תִּנְקֵנִי לֹא “you will not hold me innocent,” “you will not leave me unpunished,” is rendered by Jerome as *non parceres delinquenti*, “you will not spare the offender.” This is a one-time rendering of נִקְהָ *piel*,³⁰ which further reinforces the factuality of Job’s sins.

In 9:29a, the Hebrew Job exclaims אֲנֹכִי אֲרָשָׁע, “I am guilty,” “I will be condemned.” This is not a self-incrimination, but how he sees himself as if through God’s eyes. His condemnation is inevitable regardless of his actions.³¹ In Job *iuxta Hebraeos*, Job comes to the insight that he is “also just as impious” (*et sic impius sum*). He has strived to be completely righteous, but in vain. He is a sinner and is treated as such by God.

2.6 God’s secret intention, 10:13–16

וְאֵלֶּה צִפְנֹתַי בְּלִבִּי יִדְעֵתִי כִּי־זֹאת עִמָּךְ:
 אִם־חָטָאתִי וְשִׁמְרֹתַי וּמַעֲוֹנֵי לֹא תִנְקֵנִי:
 אִם־רָשַׁעְתִּי אֵלָּלִי לִי וְצִדְקָתִי לֹא־אֲשָׂא רֹאשִׁי שְׂבַע קָלוֹן וְרָאָה עֵינָי:
 וַיִּגָּאֵה כִּשְׁחַל תִּצְוֹדֵנִי וְתִשָּׁב תִּתְפַּלֵּא־בִּי:

Licet haec celes in corde tuo, tamen scio quia universorum memineras.

Si peccavi, et ad horam pepercisti mihi, cur ab iniquitate mea mundum me esse non pateris?

Et si impius fuero, vae mihi est; et si iustus, non levabo caput, saturatus afflictione et miseria.

Et propter superbiam quasi leaenam capies me, reversusque mirabiliter me crucias.

Translation of MT (NRSVue)

¹³ Yet these things you hid in your heart; I know that this was your purpose.

¹⁴ If I sin, you watch me and do not acquit me of my iniquity.

¹⁵ If I am wicked, woe to me! If I am righteous, I cannot lift up my head, for I am filled with disgrace and look upon my affliction.

¹⁶ *If it (sc. my head) rises up,*³² as a lion you hunt me; you repeat your exploits against me.

³⁰ Cf. only to some extent Jer 46:28 וְנִקְהָ לֹא אֲנִי, *nec quasi innocenti parcam tibi*.

³¹ Clines 1989, 219, 241.

³² For this clause, I follow Greenstein 2019, 45. MT וַיִּגָּאֵה “it rises up (with pride)” may take “my head” from verse 15 as its subject. NRSVue, “Bold as a lion you hunt me.”

Translation of Job iuxta Hebraeos

¹³ Though you may conceal this in your heart, yet I know that you remember everything.

¹⁴ If I have sinned, and you have spared me for an hour, why do you not endure me to be clean from my iniquity?

¹⁵ And if I should be wicked, woe to me, and if I should be just, I will not lift up my head, being filled with affliction and misery.

¹⁶ And because of pride, you will seize me like a lioness, and having returned, you torment me extraordinarily.

In the Hebrew text, verse 12 depicts God as the giver and sustainer of Job's life, after which verse 13 adds contrastively that God had a hidden agenda. Job bitterly accuses God of his hidden intention to closely monitor him, to detect his sins and condemn him (verse 14). Therefore, it no longer matters whether Job is righteous, as he believes himself to be, or not: God is on the hunt for him, taking him as a sinner (verse 15). If Job raises his head as a sign of innocence and confidence, God will swiftly seize him and punish him even more severely (verse 16). Jerome alters Job's portrayal in three ways:

(1) Verse 13 no longer serves as an accusation against God. In *iuxta Hebraeos*, Job does not accuse God of harboring a hidden agenda, but emphasizes that God remembers everything. This "everything" also includes Job's sins.

(2) Verse 14 MT cynically portrays God as closely observing Job, waiting for him to sin so that he can punish him. In *iuxta Hebraeos*, Job poses a question to God instead: since God has spared him for some time despite his sins, why can't God allow him to be completely cleansed? Hebrew שמר, "watch," "guard," intended negatively by Job, was taken by Jerome positively as *parco*, "spare," with the addition *ad horam*, "for an hour." The initial stage "You have spared me for an hour" then functions as the step-stone for the decisive stage, "endure me to be clean from my iniquity" (*mundum me esse pateris*), as a rendering of Hebrew נקה *piel*, "acquit (me)."³³ The Latin Job bargains with God, asking him to condone his sins. From Jerome's theological perspective, God's purpose of sparing the sinner for some time, is to give him the opportunity to repent. Job is thus portrayed as someone who knows he has sinned, but who has yet to learn to repent.

(3) In verse 16a, the Hebrew portrays God as a lion hunting Job, his prey. As soon as Job publicly asserts his innocence by raising his head, God will attack him. In *iuxta Hebraeos*, Job becomes the lioness, and his fault is his pride,

³³ Jerome more often rendered this Hebrew verb with *mundus*; e.g. Ps 19:12, Nah 1:3. For Job 10:14 he was perhaps inspired by Symmachus' clause οὐ καθαρῶσεις με, "you do not purify me"; Woods 2009, 201.

superbia, for which God seizes him.³⁴ *Superbia*, “pride,” is often viewed as the primary human sin against God, and apparently, it is also Job’s sin. Until he learns to repent, his pride obstructs a solution to his situation.

2.7 Human incapacity or sinfulness, 14:4

In this case, instead of comparing translations of MT and *iuxta Hebraeos*, I present a comparative table in which also LXX, Aquila and *iuxta Graecos* are included, in order to show how Jerome in *iuxta Hebraeos* combined various traditions.

MT	מי יתן טהור מטמא לא אחד	Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? No one can.
LXX	τίς γὰρ καθαρὸς ἔσται ἀπὸ ρύπου; ἀλλ’ οὐθεὶς. (ἐὰν καὶ μία ἡμέρα ὁ βίος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς) ³⁵	For who can be pure from filth? None, not one. (Even if his life on the earth be but one day.)
Aquila ³⁶	τίς δώσει καθαρὸν ἀπὸ μεμιασμένου	Who can bring something pure from something disgusting
<i>Iuxta Graecos</i>	<i>Quis enim erit mundus a sorte? ne unus quidem</i>	For who can be pure from filth? None, not one.
<i>Iuxta Hebraeos</i>	<i>Quis potest facere mundum de immundo conceptum semine? nonne tu qui solus es?</i>	Who can make him clean who is conceived of unclean seed? Are you not the only one who can?

In the Hebrew, Job 14:4 is an enigmatic statement within a context emphasizing the ephemeral nature of human life. Human life is brief and troubled, unworthy of God’s attention. Why, then, has God brought Job to trial? If human days are set, why doesn’t God leave Job alone to live out the few miserable moments of his existence? Verse 4 can be understood from this perspective of human frailty and futility. Humans cannot alter the course of life or intervene in any meaningful way. The underlying notion may be that purity sustains life, imparting strength and protection (cf. Job 17:9, “they that have clean hands grow stronger and stronger”), while impurity weakens and threatens life. Although humans may

³⁴ Jerome’s choice for *superbia*, “pride” in 16a may have been induced by the Hebrew verb נָחַם related to the noun נִחְמָה, “pride.” Note furthermore that Theodotion renders Hebrew נָחַם, “shame,” as pride (ὑβρις). Woods 2009, 211–212.

³⁵ I have added verse 5a between brackets here, because LXX 14:4–5a was often taken as a unit.

³⁶ Woods 2009, 265.

strive for purity, they are utterly incapable of transforming impurity into purity and thereby manipulating life.

Whereas Aquila produces a literal rendering of the first part of the verse, in the LXX the focus shifts from human insignificance to human impurity. LXX 14:4–5a was frequently cited among early Christian theologians, in support of the notion that no human being, not even a newborn child, is pure and without sin. One of the first Christian authors to appeal to Job 14:4–5a for the concept of original sin was Clement of Alexandria in the early third century CE.³⁷ Others followed suit, and Job 14:4–5a became the most frequently quoted verse from the Book of Job.³⁸ By the time Jerome made his translations, the concept of original sin had firmly taken root in Christian theology, with Job 14:4–5 and Psalm 51:7 (LXX 50:7) as the primary proof texts. These two texts were often cited together, and Jerome’s translation of Job 14:4 in *iuxta Hebraeos* may be influenced by language from Ps 51:7. The word *conceptum*, “who is conceived,” which appears unexpectedly in Job 14:4, resembles Ps 51:7 [50:7], *conceptus sum*, “I was conceived.”

Interestingly, Jerome in *iuxta Hebraeos* combines the human incapacity from the Hebrew and Aquila, with the human impurity from the LXX. Humans are necessarily impure and unable to change it. The final clause in Hebrew, לֹא אֶחָד, “no one (can),” may already imply “no *human being* can.” Jerome makes this notion explicit, by giving the opposite rendering: “Are you (sc. God) not the only one who can?” For Jerome, human sinfulness and powerlessness go hand in hand; only God can resolve the dire human state.

2.8 Final plea, 31:35–37

מִי יִתְּנֶה לִי שִׁמְעָה לִי הַיְהוָה שִׁדֵי יַעֲנֵנִי וְסִפֵּר כְּתָב אִישׁ רִיבִי:
אִם-לֹא עַל-שִׁכְמִי אֲשַׁאֲנֶנּוּ אֶעֱנֶדְנֶנּוּ עֲטָרוֹת לִי:
מִסִּפֵּר צְעָדִי אֲגִידְנֶנּוּ כְמוֹ-נִגִיד אֶקְרָבֶנּוּ:

*Quis mihi tribuat auditorem, ut desiderium meum Omnipotens audiat, et
librum scribat ipse qui iudicat,
ut in umero meo portem illum, et circumdem illum quasi coronam mihi?
Per singulos gradus meos pronuntiabo illum, et quasi principi offeram
eum.*

Translation of MT (NRSVue)

³⁵ O that I had one to hear me! (Here is my signature! Let the Almighty answer me!)

³⁷ Seow 2023, 171.

³⁸ Ziegler 1985.

O that I had the indictment written by my adversary!

³⁶ Surely I would carry it on my shoulder; I would bind it on me like a crown;

³⁷ I would give him an account of all my steps; like a prince I would approach him.

Translation of Job iuxta Hebraeos

³⁵ Who would grant me a hearer, that the Almighty may hear my desire, and that he who judges would himself write a book,

³⁶ that I may carry it on my shoulder, and wrap around me like a crown?

³⁷ At every step of mine I would pronounce it, and offer it as to a prince.

Job's final speech (c. 29–31) is an impassioned plea for God to respond. The passage quoted here, 31:35–37, is the first part of Job's concluding statement. In verse 35 MT, Job refers to God as his אִישׁ רִיבִי, his adversary or opponent. The סֵפֶר, the written document Job desperately wants to have handed over to him, is the indictment.³⁹ Job believes this indictment will not incriminate him but instead exonerate him, serving as a testimony to his honor and innocence. He envisions confidently walking around with it, publicly displaying it.⁴⁰ Job expects the indictment either to be empty or to contain charges so baseless that their dismissal would be obvious. He confidently asserts that if God would only reveal his (non-existent or futile) charges against him, justice would prevail, and he would reclaim his dignity. Instead of approaching God in desperation, Job envisions himself as a prince, assured and dignified. It's not merely that Job believes he can justify his actions; he *desires* to do so directly to God, convinced of his righteousness.

In the Latin version of verse 35, God is portrayed not as Job's adversary but as the judge (*qui iudicat*; cf. also Job 10:2, 13:19). Job wishes for God to produce a book, presumably detailing his case, so that he could publicly walk around with it and pronounce its contents. A further transformation occurs in verse 37: Job is no longer the prince himself. The prince to whom Job will offer the book is possibly God. The fundamentally adversarial relationship (from Job's perception) between God and Job, which is central in the Hebrew text, is absent in the Latin translation.

2.9 Job's repentance, 42:6 and 42:10

In Jerome's rendition of Job 42:6, Job at last repents:

³⁹ Clines 2006, 1034.

⁴⁰ Clines 2006, 1035.

Idcirco ipse me reprehendo et ago paenitentiam in favilla et cinere.

Therefore I condemn myself and repent in dust and ashes.

The significance of his repentance as the turning point in his situation is underscored by Job 42:10:

Dominus quoque conversus est ad paenitentiam Iob, cum oraret ille pro amicis suis. Et addidit Dominus omnia quaecumque fuerant Iob, duplicia.

Likewise, the Lord was moved by the repentance of Job, when he prayed for his friends. And the Lord gave to Job twice as much as he had before.

Job's restoration hinges on his repentance. Although it took considerable time for Job to reach this moment of soul-searching, once he arrives, his fortunes swiftly improve. Job's repentance has been anticipated in the Latin text. It is part of the sin-and-punishment framework that Jerome applied to Job. As a righteous person par excellence, Job is not characterized by his sinlessness, but by the humility to repent. Earlier in the text, *paenitentia* is referred to in 24:23. Here, Job describes how God deals with the wicked. The MT can be rendered as "He gives them security (בטח), and they are supported," but, as Job continues in the next verse, this security won't last long and God's punishment will soon follow. Jerome's translation of verse 23 deviates from the Hebrew: "God has given him a place for repentance (*locum paenitentiae*), and he abuses it with arrogance (*superbia*)." This translation, once more, reveals Jerome's theology: God delays judgement on the wicked to give them an opportunity to repent, but the wicked squanders this chance, displaying arrogance, *superbia*. For Jerome, *superbia* and *paenitentia* represent opposing attitudes. The wicked are marked by their *superbia*, the refusal to repent, while the righteous are characterized by their humble repentance.⁴¹ In 10:16 the Latin Job refers to his *superbia*. As to wholly align himself with the righteous side, Job must go over to *paenitentia*. From Jerome's perspective, Job's repentance in the final chapter of the book is crucial.

How does this relate to the Hebrew Job? Was repentance part of his portrayal? With regard to 42:10, we can be brief. The phrase ויהוה שב את שבות איוב, taken by Jerome as denoting Job's repentance, is now commonly interpreted as "then YHWH restored Job's fortunes."⁴² The only remaining text is Job 42:6b, ונחמתי על עפר ואפר, traditionally translated as "I repent in dust and ashes." The traditional rendering indicates the enduring influence of the Vulgate. Many scholars over the past four decades however have argued that the Hebrew phrase is to be read as

⁴¹ In Job *iuxta Hebraeos* the terms *superbia* and *superbere* are brought in several times where these are not directly expected from the Hebrew, see Job 11:12, 15:20, 20:6, 26:12.

⁴² Babut 1995, 190–235.

“I am comforted for dust and ashes.”⁴³ Strong arguments have been adduced in support of this, but instead of rehearsing them, I will add an aspect that so far has been underexposed in this debate.

Our analysis revealed that Job’s repentance in *iuxta Hebraeos* is situated within an overarching framework present in the text. In *iuxta Hebraeos*, Job’s repentance is coherent: it is anticipated and serves as a vital link in the sequence of events. In the Hebrew text, by contrast, it seems incongruous, since Job maintains his innocence until the end (31:35–37). And there is more to this. The Hebrew Job seeks for comfort. The root נחם functions as a motif throughout the book (2:11, 6:10, 7:13, 15:11, 16:2, 21:2, 21:34, 29:25, 42:6, 42:11). Job’s friends have come to comfort him, but they fail. Job complains that he looks for comfort everywhere, but cannot find it. Ultimately, it is God who brings comfort to Job. Jerome did not leave this thematic line intact: both in 21:2 and 42:6 he rendered it with *ago paenitentiam*, “to repent.” The Hebrew text of Job is structured by the pattern of mourning and comforting. Jerome in *iuxta Hebraeos* imposed a new pattern on the text, the pattern of sin and repentance.⁴⁴

3. JOB THE SAINT, JOB THE SINNER

Stephen Vicchio observed a significant transformation in Jerome’s preaching on Job: “Jerome as the early homilist saw Job as a blameless and upright man, a patient and steadfast saint, while the latter homilist found in Job, not a patient and moral man, but rather a flawed and sinful Everyman, a sufferer from original sin.”⁴⁵ Vicchio suggests that this shift stemmed from Jerome’s engagement with Pelagius and his teachings. Häner builds on this idea, proposing that Job’s portrayal in *iuxta Hebraeos* may have also been influenced by the Pelagian controversy. Although Job *iuxta Hebraeos* was completed some decades before the controversy peaked, Jerome, says Häner, may have already felt the urge to modify Job.⁴⁶

Häner’s study focuses on Job’s change from “blameless” to “simple” (see 2.1). Our examination has shown this is just the tip of the iceberg, of Jerome imposing his framework of sin and repentance on the figure of Job. Did he do this deliberately, modifying Job to make him incompatible with Pelagius’ beliefs?

Pelagius rejected the concept of original sin, asserting that humans could achieve true righteousness by abstaining from sinning. Job, recognized by God as

⁴³ Krüger 2007, 225–226; Fokkelman 2012, 317; Yan 2015; de Jong 2022.

⁴⁴ The early Greek and Aramaic translations of Job 42:6 do not refer to Job’s repentance, see Shepherd 2020.

⁴⁵ Vicchio 2006a, 17.

⁴⁶ Häner 2023, 129.

being righteous and blameless, was a shining example of this. Pelagius initially preached his views in Rome during the early fifth century without arousing much attention. After the sack of Rome in 410, when Pelagius had taken refuge to North Africa, his ideas led to controversy, prompting him to move to Palestine in 411.⁴⁷ Jerome refrained from publicly addressing Pelagius' teachings until 414, when his views began to gain traction in official councils in the East. In his letter to Ctesiphon (414) and his work *Dialogue against the Pelagians* (415), Jerome opposed Pelagius' doctrines. Consequently, he became the principal adversary of the Pelagians in the Eastern Church, facing their vehement opposition. In 417, Pope Innocent I condemned Pelagius' teachings and excommunicated him.

In *Dialogue against the Pelagians*, Jerome frequently refers to Job.⁴⁸ He portrays Critobulus, representing Pelagius' stance, as asserting that Job is without sin. However, Atticus, representing Jerome's viewpoint, counters with passages from the Book of Job, demonstrating the sinful nature of humanity, including Job. This position aligns very closely with the theological framework that Jerome imposed on the book of Job in his *iuxta Hebraeos*. Was his Job *iuxta Hebraeos* intended to counter Pelagius, as Häner suggests? Most probably not. First of all, Jerome completed Job *iuxta Hebraeos* in 393, while Pelagius gained fame only after 410. Besides, Jerome was not keen to enter the controversy. More importantly, in his *Dialogue*, Jerome did not capitalize on his Latin translation from the Hebrew. The quotations from Job are generally closer to the Greek version.⁴⁹ Jerome had both Job *iuxta Graecos* and *iuxta Hebraeos* at his disposal. From our perspective, *iuxta Hebraeos* would have been the ideal text for him to refute Pelagius once and for all. Yet, he did not explicitly use it. Although Jerome in his *Dialogue* refers to many passages from the book of Job, he does not make use of the modifications in Job's portrayal as a sinner as outlined in our analysis.

What does this tell us about Jerome and his translations? Firstly, it shows that Jerome's translation of Job *iuxta Hebraeos* should not be viewed as a deliberate manipulation of the text for theological reasons. Jerome did not intentionally alter the text to suit his theological agenda. Instead, he incorporated an existing interpretation of Job into the text. The interpretation itself was not new, but Jerome anchored it in the text of Job in a new manner. Secondly, Jerome did not need Job *iuxta Hebraeos* to confront the Pelagians. Armed with his fixed interpretation of Job, any version of the book would do, so he opted for the most authoritative version, based on the Greek text. The same holds for Augustine, another staunch opponent of the Pelagians, who also worked with a Job-version based on the

⁴⁷ Williams 2006, 294.

⁴⁸ See "The Dialogue against the Pelagians," in Hritz 1965, 221–378.

⁴⁹ Vicchio 2006a, 16.

Greek text and who presented Job similarly, as a righteous sinner in need of repentance.

The two images of Job, the saint and the sinner, were not mutually exclusive. Jerome had always believed in original sin. When he praises Job's righteousness and steadfastness in his early homilies and characterizes him as *sine crimine* in *iuxta Graecos*, Jerome does not see Job as literally without sin: human sinfulness was a given. However, in conformity with the early Christian interpretation, Jerome highlighted Job's patience and righteousness. This changed in the controversy with Pelagius, who considered Job the prime example of a human without sins. To counter this, Jerome began to emphasize Job's sinfulness. Jerome's Job *iuxta Hebraeos* encompasses both aspects of Job's character: his righteousness and his sins. The circumstances determined which aspect of Job was emphasized in Jerome's preaching and polemics.

4. CONCLUSION

While Jerome approached the Hebrew text of Job with reverence and philological precision, his theological framework undeniably influenced his choices. He did not take the book of Job on its own merit but as part of the Christian Bible and as an expression of divine truth. Consequently, his theological perspective prompted various adaptations in the text, several of which we have highlighted. To Jerome, these adjustments likely served merely to articulate what he perceived as the meaning of the text. To us, however, it appears as a substantial transformation.

Jerome's translation choices explicitly depicting Job as a sinner in need of repentance, as discussed in this article, have largely disappeared from modern Bible translations, with the exception of Job 42:6b, "I repent in dust and ashes," which has endured as the standard rendition to this day. Interestingly, this single vestige of Jerome's portrayal of Job has sufficed to perpetuate the accompanying interpretation of Job as a righteous sinner. The recent discussion of נחם in Job 42:6b, whether signifying repentance or consolation, has been conducted primarily from a linguistic and philological angle. The question of the origin of Job's repentance has remained underexplored. As outlined in this article, Job's repentance is intrinsic to the Christian interpretation of Job and was introduced into the book through Jerome's translation *iuxta Hebraeos*, as part of a comprehensive theological makeover. By contrast, Job's repentance does not fit the Hebrew book of Job.

Our analysis also demonstrates that Vicchio's assertion that Job *iuxta Hebraeos* "for the most part remains uncluttered with preconceptions"⁵⁰ cannot

⁵⁰ Vicchio 2006a, 15.

be upheld. To the contrary, Jerome's preconceptions have permeated his translation throughout. It may be helpful here to point to an insight from recent translation theory, articulated by Lawrence Venuti and others, that a translator's preconceptions are inevitably intertwined with the translation process.⁵¹ Translations can be deemed accurate to a greater or lesser extent, but in any case, they are bound to reflect their translator's perspectives. A translator can meticulously adhere to the source text while still infusing it with interpretations divergent from the original intent. It is therefore of utmost importance in the study of translations to learn to perceive translations from a hermeneutical perspective, recognizing them as expressions of particular interpretations. In this regard, Arie has been a pioneering figure, illustrating numerous examples throughout his extensive career. It is hoped that he appreciates this examination of Job *iuxta Hebraeos* as another insightful example.

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⁵¹ Venuti 2019.

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HEZEKIAH'S ILLNESS: THE RECEPTION OF THE HEZEKIAH NARRATIVE IN DIFFERENT SOCIO-POLITICAL SCRIBAL CONTEXTS IN ANTIQUITY

Louis C. JONKER

It is a well-known benefit of studying the biblical book Chronicles that the sources used by the writer¹ are known to us—mainly through other biblical literature. Chronicles scholars are therefore in the privileged position to trace very accurately which sources were used, and how they were used. The dynamic interplay among earlier and later texts does not only provide exegetes the opportunity to analyse Chronicles text-critically and literary-critically (in the German sense of *Literarkritik*), but it also provides glimpses into how processes of reception functioned in antiquity. This essay intends to illustrate these processes of scribal reception and textual production from the book Chronicles, particularly through a discussion of parts of the Hezekiah narrative where earlier texts from both the Deuteronomistic history and the prophetic book Isaiah were reinterpreted. Methodologically, it is emphasised that scribes in antiquity did not write and compose their texts in a socio-historical vacuum (of course, the same applies today), but that their scribal activities were determined by these circumstances.

1. INTRODUCTION²

Arie van der Kooij is well-known for his work on ancient texts. Many of his publications witness to this fact. However, his engagement with texts is never simply for linguistic or text-critical reasons. His working with ancient texts aims at exposing the scribal activity of the learned elite who wrote and composed the texts, and at understanding where the texts fit into the theological discourses of

¹ In this essay, the masculine singular form will be used to refer to the authorship of Chronicles. The authorship most likely was a group of literati from the Jerusalem temple in the late Persian period. Since the writers of the book were most likely male, and since they were embedded in the same ideological and cultural framework, masculine singular pronouns are used to refer to these writers.

² With this contribution I honour an esteemed colleague, biblical scholar, and co-promoter of my PhD dissertation who has also become a good friend over many years. He was almost a father figure for me in the early 1990s when I was doing research for my dissertation in Utrecht and Leiden – a real *Doktorvater*. He guided me through the often-confusing landscape of Hebrew Bible / Old Testament scholarship with sensitivity and patience, and he acted as an excellent sounding board for my ideas on exegetical methodology. Arie has remained a good friend through more than three decades. It was also an honour to serve on the *Vetus Testamentum* Editorial Board together with him. I also remember dearly how he supported the team in Stellenbosch when the XXII Congress of the International Organisation for the Study of the Old Testament took place on the African continent for the first time.

antiquity. Textual growth is for him not simply a textual process, but a process of continuous reception of older texts and constant reinterpretation of those texts in new and changed socio-historic circumstances. By studying these processes of reception and reinterpretation, one gets a glimpse of the theological discourses of the time when the textual growth took place. Texts were never written or composed simply as literary exercises. As van der Kooij has illustrated clearly in his own work (particularly on the Septuagint [LXX]), ancient texts intended to exercise influence and power in their contemporary circumstances.³

Processes of reception and reinterpretation can indeed be observed in the Hebrew Bible (HB). It is a well-known benefit of studying the biblical book Chronicles (my own specialty) that the sources used by the writer are known to us—mainly through other biblical literature. Chronicles scholars are therefore in the privileged position to trace very accurately which sources were used, and how they were used. It can be seen clearly where the Chronicler omitted or emended some material from the *Vorlagen* (mainly Samuel-Kings, but also smaller parts from the Pentateuch, Psalms, and some prophetic writings). It can also be traced accurately which textual material was added to the source texts—either by the Chronicler, or by later redactors.⁴ The dynamic interplay among earlier and later texts does not only provide exegetes the opportunity to analyse Chronicles text-critically and literary-critically (in the German sense of *Literarkritik*), but it also provides glimpses into how processes of reception functioned in antiquity. Scribes contributed to the learned theological debates of their own time by reinterpreting earlier witnesses (whether oral or textual)⁵ in their own contemporary discourses.

The question that this essay intends answering is: What can we learn from Chronicles about scribal activity in antiquity? In line with the overall theme of this celebratory volume, and to illustrate the scribal tendencies in Chronicles, one prominent example from the book will be discussed in depth here, namely some excerpts from the Hezekiah narrative in 2 Chronicles 29–32. The Chronicler not only used Samuel-Kings as *Vorlage*, but there are clear signs that another source was used in the Chronicler's composition, namely the Hezekiah narrative of the prophetic book Isaiah. In this example, we observe the very interesting interplay among texts from the Deuteronomistic history and from a book belonging to the latter prophets. It will also become clear that the Chronicler—like all scribes in

³ The understanding of some biblical scholars of the term 'inner-biblical interpretation' borders on what is described here. However, van der Kooij's understanding of the process is never restricted to biblical literature per se. He places the scribal activity within the wider ancient Near Eastern world. As example, see Van der Kooij 2006.

⁴ Kratz 2000, 14–53, e.g., distinguishes between '*Sondergut*' and '*Sekundäre Sondergut*' in Chronicles.

⁵ For discussions on the oral tradition processes that often occurred simultaneously with written traditions in antiquity, see Carr 2005; Carr 2011; Schmid 2014.

antiquity—did not write and compose his texts in a socio-historical vacuum, but that his scribal activities were determined by their specific circumstances.

2. THE CHRONICLER'S HEZEKIAH NARRATIVE

The narrative about Hezekiah is one of the longest in Chronicles (apart from the David and Solomon accounts). It stretches over four chapters (2 Chr 29–32) and it plays a pivotal role in the macro-structure of the book. The Chronicler composed an almost completely new narrative compared to the Deuteronomistic *Vorlage* in 2 Kings 18–20. The king is therefore presented in a totally different fashion compared to the *Vorlage*.

The Chronicler's very selective use of earlier textual material already starts with the omission of one of the major events that is described in full by the Deuteronomist (in the chapter directly before the Hezekiah narrative, 2 Kgs 17), namely the fall of Samaria and the northern kingdom Israel, to the Assyrian army in 722 BCE (i.e., during king Hezekiah's reign over Judah). This introduced a new phase in Judah's history, and it saw the influx of people from the destroyed Northern Kingdom to Judah in the south and to Jerusalem.⁶ Some scholars are of the opinion that the post-722 BCE era sparked off aspirations in Judah to become a united kingdom, that is, a unity between the northern and southern territories.⁷

The Chronicler also made very eclectic and limited use of the Deuteronomistic version of king Hezekiah's reign. The introduction to the king's reign in 2 Chronicles 29:1–2 is adapted from 2 Kings 18:1–3. The writer furthermore inserts into his account huge portions of narrative—that is absent in Kings—about the cleansing and rededication of the temple (2 Chr 29:3–36), as well as about the celebration of the Passover (2 Chr 30:1–27). The Chronicler rejoins the Kings source text in his description of Hezekiah's reform measures in 31:1–21 (a section that adapts and expands 2 Kgs 18:4–7). The most extensive use of source materials occurs in 2 Chronicles 32:1–33, where the Chronicler uses 2 Kings 18:13, 17–37; 19:35–37; 20:1–21 selectively again.

In his use of source materials, the Chronicler recasts and restructures his narrative to shift its focus. The temporal organization of the Chronicler's narrative, as well as the constellations of acting subjects and indirect objects, shift the narrative focus from the Deuteronomist's emphasis on political events to the Chronicler's emphasis on cultic matters. Furthermore, the temporal focus in Chronicles is on year one of Hezekiah's reign, established by an elaborate and almost slow-motion description of the temple cleansing, Passover celebrations, and organiza-

⁶ Finkelstein / Silberman 2006.

⁷ See e.g. Finkelstein / Silberman 2006; Frevel 2018.

tion of the Levites and priests (29:3–31:21). This description (apart from one verse in 2 Kgs 18:4) is not in the Deuteronomistic version but belongs to the *Sondergut* of Chronicles (that is, the unique material in Chronicles that had not been taken over from a source text). What is mentioned in the last chapter of the Chronicler's Hezekiah account (2 Chr 32:1–33) is actually the main focus in the Deuteronomistic account (which even structures those events with precise temporal indications).⁸

There is also a huge overlap between the narrative about Hezekiah offered in the prophetic book Isaiah (Isa 36–39) and the version presented in the Deuteronomistic text. The eighth century BCE prophet was a contemporary of king Hezekiah of Judah. Scholars are not in agreement on whether the Chronicler also made use of this text.

The following table provides a synoptic overview of the textual references:

<i>2 Kings</i>	<i>Isaiah</i>	<i>2 Chronicles</i>
18:1	---	---
18:2–3	---	29:1–2
---	---	29:3–31:21
18:4–8	---	---
18:9–12	---	---
18:13	36:1	---
18:14–16	---	---
---	---	32:1–8
18:17–18	36:2–3	32:9
18:19	36:4	32:10
18:20–21	36:5–6	---
18:22	36:7	32:11–12
18:23–32	36:8–17	---
18:33	36:18	32:13
18:34	36:19	---
18:35	36:20	32:14
---	---	32:15–19
18:36–37	36:21–22	---
19:1–13	37:1–13	---
19:14	37:14	32:20
19:15–34	37:16–35	---
19:35–38	37:36–37	32:21
---	---	32:22–23
20:1 (10–11)	38:1 (8)	32:24

⁸ Jonker 2003.

20:2–9	38:2–7	---
---	38:9–20	---
---	---	32:25–30
20:12	39:1	32:31
20:13–19	39:2–8	---
20:20	---	32:32
20:21	---	32:33

As one can see from the above synoptic overview, the interrelationship between the 2 Kings and Isaiah texts, as well as between the 2 Chronicles text and the other two, is complex. Several questions are prompted by such an overview: In what chronological order did these texts originate? Relating to the dating of the texts, what was the direction of influence? What were the socio-historic contexts, and what specific rhetorical thrust did each of the texts convey in their contexts? Answering these questions will highlight the nature of the scribal activities that were involved at each stage of the textual development.

To keep the discussion to a manageable length for the purpose of this volume, the further discussion (in section 4) will focus specifically on the section about Hezekiah's illness. That discussion will thus serve as a case study of how the scribal activities functioned in these different textual corpora.

However, before proceeding to the case study, it is prudent to take notice of some studies on the Hezekiah narrative that had appeared in the past two decades. Some of these works grapple specifically with how the scribal activities played out in antiquity to produce these texts on Hezekiah.

3. OVERVIEW OF RECENT SCHOLARSHIP ON THE HEZEKIAH NARRATIVE

Apart from the new commentaries on Chronicles that appeared in the last decade and a half,⁹ a substantial number of book chapters and articles also dealt with aspects of the Hezekiah history in the biblical witnesses. Some of these studies specifically look at the marked differences between the three accounts in 2 Kings 18–20, Isaiah 36–39, and 2 Chronicles 29–32. In the past, the Chronicler's usage of the earlier texts had been described as Midrash,¹⁰ that is, that Chronicles not only wanted to reinterpret the earlier narratives about Hezekiah in a new socio-historic context, but that it also intended to clarify some enigmas of the earlier accounts. The selected recent works discussed here, offer enlightening per-

⁹ Among the newer technical commentaries count the following: Boda 2010; Klein 2012; Jonker 2013; Levin 2017.

¹⁰ See e.g. Williamson 1982.

spectives on the scribal activities and methods that brought the Isaiah, Kings, and Chronicles texts on Hezekiah together. This discussion serves the purpose of giving more relief to the more general trends, before the next section focuses on one specific example text.

In a dissertation that was submitted at the University of St. Andrews in 2011, Amber Warhurst describes the Chronicler's integration (through "Merging and Diverging") of material from Kings, Isaiah, and Jeremiah in the narratives of Hezekiah and the fall of Judah.¹¹ She points out that almost all scholarly energy traditionally went into investigating Chronicles' relationship with Samuel-Kings (and some parts of the Pentateuch), to the extent that its relationship with the Latter Prophets was often neglected.¹² She states as the unique feature of her study that it "extends the contributions of redaction-critical, literary-critical, and text-critical studies examining the narratives in 2 Kings 18–20//Isaiah 36–39 and 2 Kings 24:18–25:30//Jeremiah 52 and emphasizes their subsequent reception in Chronicles. In addition, this investigation advances the discussion of the Chronicler's reliance upon and method of incorporating material from the Latter Prophets."¹³ Warhurst categorizes—in line with some recent theoretical work on the topic—the interrelationships between texts as the result of 'influence' or of 'intertextuality.' She explains:

The former type of literary affinity focuses on the transmission of concepts, structure, and language from one written text to another. It therefore asks diachronic questions to identify the source text(s) used by a later author, to determine the direction of influence between two parallel texts, to evaluate the impact of an earlier text on a subsequent text, and to discern the ways in which a later text deliberately employs prior material. At the heart of this type of analysis is the premise that direct literary influence is responsible for the similarities between texts.¹⁴

Intertextuality, however, is constituted as follows:

In contrast, analysis of thematic, stylistic, and verbal affinity between texts which results perhaps unintentionally as a result of the continuous exchange of ideas within culture can be described as intertextuality. This type of analysis explores both the conscious and unconscious web of relations between texts in which a text is broadly defined to include, in addition to written material, social conventions, underlying ideologies, and established codes of communication. Intertextuality is primarily synchronic in that it reads two texts against each other without regard for historical priority or authorial intention. Emphasis is

¹¹ Warhurst 2011, <https://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/handle/10023/1916>.

¹² See, however, Jonker 2011.

¹³ Warhurst 2011, iii.

¹⁴ Warhurst 2011, 27.

instead placed on the effect upon the reader of reading one text in light of another.¹⁵

This helpful distinction guides her in her analysis of the Hezekiah narrative in Chronicles in relationship to the texts in Kings and Isaiah. In terms of the diachronic relationship between these textual corpora Warhurst agrees with some older views that the Hezekiah narrative in Isaiah was created specifically for inclusion in the prophetic book, and that the 2 Kings version shows some additions that can only be explained by referring to influence from the book of Isaiah. Although each of these narratives in Isaiah and 2 Kings was composed for very specific circumstances, the direction of influence flows from Isaiah to 2 Kings. According to her analysis, the Chronicler's version deliberately linked up with both these versions.

Warhurst thus concludes her study on the interrelationship between the three versions of the Hezekiah narrative as follows:

It is the conclusion of this thesis that the Chronicler was familiar with the versions of the Hezekiah narrative and the account of the fall of Judah in both 2 Kings and the Latter Prophets. His method of handling these alternative accounts reflects both direct quotation (particularly in the case of 2 Kings) and indirect allusion to themes and idioms (with regard to the Latter Prophets). The result is a re-telling of Judah's history which is infused with hope for restoration as articulated by the Latter Prophets. By portraying an idealized account of Israel's past history which corresponds to prophetic descriptions of the nation's restoration, Chronicles illustrates the accessible, utopic potential held out to every generation of faithful Israel.¹⁶

What is important to notice in Warhurst's conclusion is that she sees interrelationships in Chronicles of both the 2 Kings and Isaiah versions of Hezekiah's narrative. However, whereas the connection to the 2 Kings narrative can be observed very clearly due to direct quotations from the written source (thus a relationship of influence), the connection with the Isaiah narrative is more subtle through indirect allusions and idioms (thus, a relationship of intertextuality). The presence of the two source texts in Chronicles are thus constituted in two different ways. Importantly, this insight warns against a too mechanical and linear perspective on the interrelationship between ancient texts.

Two similar studies that deal with the interrelationship between the Hezekiah narrative in different textual formations are that of Lida Panov¹⁷ and Benjamin

¹⁵ Warhurst 2011, 27–28.

¹⁶ Warhurst 2011, iii.

¹⁷ Panov 2021, see also Panov 2019.

Giffone.¹⁸ None of them deals with the Chronicler's narration of Hezekiah's kingship, but they rather try to establish the theological motivations behind the scribal activities of the different versions of the Hezekiah narrative. Panov—more so than Giffone—focuses on the diachronic relationship between the textual formations, both in the Masoretic tradition, and in the Qumran and Septuagint texts. She establishes three so-called “Hezekiah-Isaiah” narratives in both the 2 Kings and Isaiah texts (namely, first, the threat and salvation of Jerusalem from the Assyrians; second, the story about Hezekiah's illness and recovery; and third, the visit of the representatives of Babylon). Panov observes similar narratological patterns in these stories in which king Hezekiah receives advice from the prophet Isaiah. She indicates:

In the beginning of the 19th century, scholars believed that the Hezekiah-Isaiah narratives were combined directly with the prophet Isaiah and that the narratives were written by the prophet himself. Fifty years later, scholars started to deliberate on how the narratives were inserted into the book of Isaiah and in the books of Kings. The question of which book first contained the narratives or for which book they were written has represented a pivotal issue in the history of research. In the further history of research it was discovered that the first narrative must contain several sections with different phases of literary growths. Later, scholars focused on either identifying historical elements within the Hezekiah-Isaiah narratives, or they examined their political background, or they discussed their history of literature.¹⁹

Panov indicates that the first of these stories fits very well into the context of both the 2 Kings version and the Isaiah version of the Hezekiah narrative, although it was not written for either of the two textual contexts. In Isaiah it connects with the theme of Zion theology, while its connection in 2 Kings is via the sequence of narratives about the various kings. She positions the story about the escape of Jerusalem from the Assyrians in the second half of the seventh century BCE—that is, after 701 BCE (the escape of Jerusalem) and before 587/6 BCE (the fall of Jerusalem). On account of the contents of the third story (about the Babylonian envoy) she dates it after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians, while she is of the opinion that the second story about Hezekiah's illness and recovery was specifically written for the Kings literary context, and that it was only later taken over in the Isaiah text. Both the second and third stories were composed based on the first story. The common theological substance of the three stories is the development of a salvation-theological ideal from older Isaiah materials where the misery of the people stands central.

¹⁸ Giffone 2023.

¹⁹ Panov 2021, 313.

Panov is therefore not primarily distinguishing between the three versions of the Hezekiah narrative in 2 Kings, Isaiah, and Chronicles, but is rather trying to identify the thematic material that shows coherence, in order to establish how these three basic thematic stories were used in the three biblical books. She states that the first of these thematic stories originated independently from Kings, Isaiah, and Chronicles materials, and that it was integrated in different ways in the Hezekiah narratives of these three biblical versions. The second of these stories was—according to Panov—written for the literary context of 2 Kings, from where it exercised influence in different ways on the other two text complexes, Isaiah and Chronicles.

Panov's view again underlines that one should not have a too mechanical and linear perspective on the interrelationships between the texts on Hezekiah. A much more differentiated view of the scribal activity should be considered.

Giffone's study is focused on the structure of the book of Isaiah and on the theological line that can be identified in the final version of the book. The different parts of the book contribute to the reader's evolving perception of the figure of Hezekiah. Those who composed the book Isaiah initially exalted the figure of Hezekiah to such an extent that the naïve reader might be led to hope that Hezekiah was the idealised Davidic ruler described in Isaiah 1–12. Hezekiah's failure in Isaiah 39 and the resultant exile therefore stand in stark contrast to the initial expectations about Hezekiah and it leads the reader towards utter disappointment. According to Giffone, this inner development in the book Isaiah comes into relief when it is compared to the Hezekiah narratives in Kings and Chronicles. For him, there is clear evidence that the Isaiah version about Hezekiah was built on the version present in the book 2 Kings. He furthermore assumes that the writer of Chronicles had access to both these traditions, and that the Chronicler's presentation deliberately interacts with the previous narratives to create a theological message for the postexilic era. Giffone summarises his view as follows:

[T]he Chronicler seems to be aware of the received Hezekiah traditions in both Kings and Isaiah but chooses a different presentation of Hezekiah based on his own priorities and emphases. Nevertheless, the Chronicler is aware of the key themes of Isaiah, including those pertaining to the royal figure and he has allowed the book (not just Isa 36–39) to influence his portrayal of Hezekiah. Thus, the Chronicler may be seen as continuing in some sense the tendency of Isa 36–38 to “whitewash” Hezekiah's record. The Chronicler has handled the shocking conclusion of the Hezekiah material (the Babylonian Emissary) differently than does the book of Isaiah, due to the post-exilic focus of his work.²⁰

²⁰ Giffone 2023, 485.

Giffone's study therefore emphasises—more than the previous two authors discussed above—that the Isaiah scribes used the initial version of the Hezekiah narrative (2 Kings, with some subtractions and some additions) to reform the image of the king more positively, according to the theological needs of the time. A similar tendency can be observed in Chronicles where the theological attention is shifted to focus on cultic matters such as the Passover, Temple restoration, and the role of the priests and Levites. Giffone therefore does not merely describe the literary processes of the scribal activity, but he also highlights the theological intentions behind these activities. Although Giffone is not providing specific information about the different socio-historical contexts that prompted these theological reinterpretations of the initial Hezekiah narrative, he does see these textual formations as progressive processes.

Further recent studies on the Hezekiah narrative in the different versions have highlighted various important themes, such as the significance of the cultic reformation measures of Hezekiah, particularly in its expanded fashion in Chronicles (Edelman and Glatt-Gilad),²¹ the role of the Sennacherib story within the Hezekiah presentation (Evans),²² reflections in the Hezekiah narrative of how the ideal of a united kingdom started emerging within Judah (Finkelstein and Silberman),²³ or on further receptions of the Hezekiah narrative in later second-temple and early Jewish literature (Cielontko and Pajunen).²⁴ Without going into detailed descriptions of these recent studies, one could summarize that all of these studies illustrate clearly how later receptions of earlier versions of the Hezekiah narrative reveal the dynamic nature of scribal activity in antiquity. Instead of a detailed description of all these studies, it is rather important at this point to discuss a specific example from the Hezekiah narratives in more depth.

4. HEZEKIAH'S ILLNESS IN THREE TEXTS

Second Chronicles 32:24–26 deal with king Hezekiah's illness. The only verbal quotation from the other biblical sources occurs in 32:24a–ba, quoting from 2 Kings 20:1a and Isaiah 38:1a. Although there are some motives in the rest of the narration about Hezekiah's illness that could also be traced to the two source texts, the connections are not established through direct quotation, but rather through subtle allusions. Second Chronicles 32:24b–26 can thus be *Sondergut*. However, Sarah Japhet remarks the following in her commentary on the Hezekiah narrative:

²¹ Edelman 2008; Jonker 2008; Glatt-Gilad 2015.

²² Evans 2013.

²³ Finkelstein / Silberman 2006.

²⁴ Pajunen 2017; Cielontko 2019.

The Deuteronomistic material has undergone a drastic abbreviation ... but, ... most of the issues presented in 2 Kings 18–20 are also included in the Chronicler's version, and their original order is carefully followed.²⁵

With reference to the pericope on Hezekiah's illness, the textual overlap is much greater between the 2 Kings and Isaiah texts, and one could safely assume verbal quotation there. When 2 Chronicles 32 is compared to those two texts, it becomes clear that the Chronicler did not simply want to repeat the story, but rather wanted to provide an interpretation of the earlier narratives.

Some commentators treat 2 Chronicles 32:27–31 as part of the same pericope,²⁶ while others see it as an additional unit of the illness episode.²⁷ This subsection also consists of *Sondergut*, except 32:31 where there might be some allusions to 2 Kings 20:12 and Isaiah 39:1.

A recent study that specifically looks at the complexities of the illness episode is that of Gregory Goswell.²⁸ According to Goswell, the brevity of the Chronicler's account of Hezekiah's illness poses many problems to interpreters of the text. The responses of king Hezekiah to his illness (2 Chr 32:24–26) as well as to the visit of the delegation from Babylon (2 Chr 32:31), seem strange and difficult to fit into the broader picture of the king in Chronicles. For Goswell, it is particularly the motif of "royal pride" that we find in 2 Chronicles 32:25–26 that causes interpretational problems. He says: "... [A]s in the case of Isa 39, it is hard to know whether to condemn or exonerate Hezekiah."²⁹ Hezekiah's pride is mentioned in 32:25–26, but also that the king humbled himself before Yahweh. Another enigma is the fact that 32:31 mentions that God left him to himself, in order to test him [with a *piel* infinitive construct of נָסָה]. The outcome of the testing is however not mentioned, and the narrative simply continues to its conclusion in 32:32–33. These are the only texts where king Hezekiah is evaluated negatively in Chronicles. In the rest of the narrative (up to 32:23), the writer is glowingly positive about the king.

Goswell rightly sees some parallels in the Chronicler's depictions of king Uzziah and king Hezekiah. In both cases, the king falls sick after becoming proud. In the case of Uzziah, Yahweh punished him with leprosy and he remained leprous and an outcast until his death. In the case of Hezekiah, however, it is unclear what the illness was (at least in the Chronicler's version) and he is healed only after humbling himself (expressed with one of the Chronicler's stock terms, כָּנַע).

²⁵ Japhet 1993, 976.

²⁶ In my earlier commentary on Chronicles, I suggested that 32:24–31 belong together, see Jonker 2013, 277. Boda 2010, 403, suggests a similar division. He sees 32:24 as the account of Hezekiah's illness, with 32:25–31 offering an evaluation of the illness and a description of the consequences.

²⁷ See e.g. Japhet 1993, 992; Klein 2012, 467.

²⁸ Goswell 2023.

²⁹ Goswell 2023, 568–569.

Goswell remarks the following about the vagueness in the Chronicler's Hezekiah account:

What was Hezekiah's act of pride mentioned in 32:25 ("for his heart was proud")? What is being referred to when this verse states that "Hezekiah did not make return according to the benefit (למל) done to him"? What was the benefit given by God to which Hezekiah did not properly respond? Was the benefit his healing or his deliverance from the Assyrians? It is not easy to decide between these alternatives.³⁰

Goswell continues to discuss four options for interpreting the Chronicler's portrayal of king Hezekiah, particularly the unexpected negative evaluation at the end. First, the king's illness (vs. 24) and his pride (vs. 25) are directly linked to one another. Like in Isaiah 38:7–8, the king asks for a sign that he will be healed. Unlike in the 2 Kings and Isaiah versions, neither the illness, nor the sign, are described in 2 Chronicles 32:24. The suggestion of Chronicles could be that he became proud after he has received the sign from Yahweh. However, when he humbled himself, he was healed. One should note that the king's illness is not a punishment for some transgression. It is rather introduced here to create the narratological opportunity to turn king Hezekiah into an ethical example, as a monarch who humbled himself before Yahweh, and who then recovered from his illness to prosper in his further reign (see 32:27–30). This option provides a logical explanation of 32:24–26, but still leaves the link with the military threat unclear.

A second option is to link the king's illness to the military threat (see vs. 25). The haughtiness of the king could then be seen as the king's response to the fact that Jerusalem escaped the Assyrian onslaught. Again, the humbling of the king indicates that he has passed the test (vs. 31) set by Yahweh, and that he could still be evaluated positively. The problem with this option is that it does not follow the order of events as indicated in the text.

The third possibility links 32:24 closely with the preceding text (32:1–23). Jerusalem's escape from the Assyrian onslaught and Hezekiah's healing from his illness stand in parallel then, and both serve as the precedent for the king's pride. In both these accounts the following elements occur: (i) the threat (of military onslaught or illness); (ii) royal prayer; and (iii) divine rescue.

A fourth scenario would see the king's illness as an event that preceded the Assyrian threat under Sennacherib. Although the account of 32:1–23 already narrates that military episode, 32:26 mentions "the wrath of Yahweh" again. The order would then be that the king fell ill, that he humbled himself before Yahweh, and that he and Jerusalem therefore could escape the Assyrian onslaught. Like in

³⁰ Goswell 2023, 570.

the second option, the logical order of events becomes unclear in this interpretation.

Although all four these scenarios maintain a positive evaluation of the king, Goswell does not find any of them satisfactory. He therefore argues further that the insertion of the element of the king's pride in Chronicles is closely linked to the version of the narrative in Isaiah.³¹ He indicates:

[I]t is not easy to determine the exact connection between the Assyrian attack, the king's illness (32:24), and the disclosure of Hezekiah's pride. However, "the benefit" to which the king did not properly respond (32:25) appears to include Hezekiah's rescue from both threats. The source of the motif of pride is the Chronicler's reading of the psalm of Hezekiah (Isa 38). Noticing the admission of fault on the part of the sick king in Isa 38, the Chronicler depicts Hezekiah coming to the godly recognition that he was not worthy of the benefit received from God and humbling himself before God. In so doing, Hezekiah models for readers the Chronicist ethic of repentance as the way of averting divinely threatened judgment.³²

What Goswell succeeds in doing is to expose the scribal strategy involved in the Chronicler's use of his sources for the composition of the Hezekiah narrative in 2 Chr 29–32. Although there is minimal direct quotation of the *Vorlagen* in the Chronicler's version of Hezekiah's illness (only from 2 Kgs 20:1a || Isa 38:1a), it does not mean that these source texts were ignored almost in total. It seems that the writer of Chronicles assumed that his readership would know the source texts, and that some allusions in his own text would explain sufficiently what the connection to the *Vorlage* texts was. Some keywords and themes in Chronicles serve an iconic function whereby the full texts of the *Vorlagen* could be recalled into the interpretative space by some key terms. Goswell may therefore be right that the motif of the king's humbling in Chronicles might relate to Isa 38:9–20, which is a unique element to the Isaiah account, while absent in 2 Kings.³³

Goswell has illustrated well that the Chronicler's aim was not to repeat the earlier traditions about Hezekiah, but rather to reinterpret them. That reinterpretation process did not function only on a (inter-)textual level or in a historical

³¹ Wilson de Angelo Cunha, 2022, 120, elaborates on Isaiah's explanation of the king's pride. He concludes that misplaced trust in human agents (in Hezekiah's case, Merodach-Baladan of Babylon with whom the king wanted an alliance—see Isa 39) constituted the king's pride. He sees a literary link between Isa 39 and earlier texts in First Isa (chs. 2 and 30–31), through the motif of the triad "silver, gold, and treasures." Cunha states: "The distribution of 'silver, gold, and treasures' in First Isaiah is meaningful because it occurs at the beginning and end of the political critique in Isa 2–39. Moreover, in Isaiah and the Hebrew Bible, the triad figures in oracles condemning political alliances with foreign nations because they ultimately lead Israel to misplace its trust in human power".

³² Goswell 2023, 579.

³³ For a discussion on how prayer functions in Chronicles, see Jonker 2023.

vacuum. The Chronicler's strategy of reinterpreting earlier sources was prompted by his own socio-historic context. This aspect is fully absent in Goswell's article, however. What was the socio-historic context that would have prompted this reinterpretation process? The following subsection deals with this aspect as an attempt to complement Goswell's study of the Chronicler's Hezekiah narrative.

5. POSSIBLE HISTORICAL CONTEXTS AND RHETORICAL INTENTIONS

There is a fair amount of consensus among scholars that the book Chronicles was composed in the final years of the Achaemenid-Persian period, or even into the early Hellenistic phase (ca. 350–300 BCE). Although there are some attempts to investigate whether there were some late redactional activity involved in the book (some parts of the *Sondergut*), one may assume that the bulk of the literature in the book was composed in the mentioned timeframe.

The book Chronicles strongly built upon the earlier version of Israel's history as attested in Samuel-Kings. However, it is very clear from the numerous *Sondergut* sections, as well as the omissions and adaptations, that the book was never meant as a repetition of the earlier history, but that it wanted to serve as a re-orientation in a new socio-political dispensation.³⁴ It stood between the times³⁵—between the authoritative sources of the past, and the new needs and contexts of the Chronicler's present—and as such contributed strongly towards a multileveled process of identity negotiation.

In earlier work,³⁶ I have made a distinction between four levels of socio-historic existence during the mentioned period: first, the overarching imperial level; second, the level of provincial co-existence; third, the level of memories about the tribal existence of the past; and fourth, the level of the cultic conditions in Jerusalem. Through its complex presentation of a “second national epic”,³⁷ Chronicles took part in the identity negotiation processes on all four of these levels.

There are various theories about why the Chronicler opted to cast his narrative in the form of historiography. Earlier studies still advanced the theory that it was an update on the information contained in Samuel-Kings, to give a more accurate version of the past.³⁸ This interest in the historicity of the book is no longer dominant in Chronicles scholarship, though. Others think that Chronicles is presenting a utopia for a society who wanted to escape from the present reality to an

³⁴ Jonker 2016.

³⁵ Japhet 1989, 403.

³⁶ Jonker 2016, chap. 3.

³⁷ Knoppers 2003.

³⁸ Japhet 1985; Peltonen 1996.

imagined (better) reality,³⁹ or that it was an attempt to shape the community's memory of the past.⁴⁰ One further perspective that could enlighten our understanding about the book as a whole, and the Hezekiah narrative in particular, is that the book had a rhetorical function in the mentioned socio-political dispensation. When seen in this way, one could plausibly explain that many aspects of the book (including the Hezekiah narrative) had a polemic role vis-à-vis the Persian overlords.

Hezekiah is a pivotal figure in the Chronicler's description of the ancient past. He is portrayed as a second Solomon, but also as a second David.⁴¹ It seems that the Hezekiah narrative plays an important role in constructing two overarching thematic lines in the book. The theme of temple-building is developed through the connection of the David-Solomon narratives. David made the preparations, but Solomon is revered for having built the temple in Jerusalem. Likewise, Hezekiah starts a process of reinstating the Passover, while the narrative about Josiah brings that development to fulfilment with the perfect celebration of Passover. Hezekiah is thus a macro-structural element in the portrayal of Israel's past.

These model kings are not mentioned and highlighted in Chronicles for the purpose of rekindling some expectation of a resurrection of the Davidic line of kingship. This is a feature that might have been present in the early Persian period, but not in the late period. We know from historical studies and archaeology that the Persian imperial rulers became a bigger reality in Yehud and Jerusalem towards the end of the fifth century BCE when Persia lost control over Egypt. Whereas Yehud was for quite a long time simply a fringe phenomenon of the Persian empire, it then became strategically important for the empire because it now formed the southern border of the empire, together with Edom. The religious-political leadership interaction between the empire and the province became more intense.

It is within this socio-political context that a reinterpretation of earlier sources was made by the Chronicler to portray a specific royal image towards the imperial masters. It is not only through the Chronicler's adaptations of earlier materials and his new additions that the Chronicler's rhetoric becomes apparent; it is also through what the writer omitted from the *Vorlagen*. Although some omissions might only be a practical method of abridging the earlier texts into a new text, some of the omissions certainly carry rhetorical and theological value. Dillard has given a good description of the value of the Chronicler's omissions:

His omissions are instructive; though many should be attributed to an apparent desire to abridge the earlier accounts, some are related to his own *Tendenz*.

³⁹ Schweitzer 2007.

⁴⁰ Ben Zvi 2014.

⁴¹ Jonker 2003; Throntveit 2003.

Hezekiah in Chronicles is portrayed in the image of David and Solomon and consequently idealized in a similar way. He omits reference to 2 Kgs 18:14–16, not because it was not in his source, but because the spoliation of the temple and the defeat it implies would be out of accord with the faithful acts of Hezekiah. He omits most of 2 Kgs 18:17b–34 // Isa 36:2b–19: for the Chronicler, trust in foreign alliances was always wrong since it implied a distrust in Yahweh . . . , and it would be out of accord with his portrayal of Hezekiah to suggest such dependence. He also omits most of 2 Kgs 18:36–19:34 // Isa 36:21–37:35: this omission downplays the role of Hezekiah’s ministers, reduces the suggestion of fear on the part of the king and his government, and eliminates the mediatorial role played by Isaiah in receiving the oracle of deliverance; for the Chronicler Hezekiah is unafraid and is himself the recipient of direct revelation, again in the image of David and Solomon.⁴²

Dillard’s description helps us to identify the subtle anti-imperial tones of the Chronicler’s Hezekiah narrative. During the fourth century BCE in Yehud, when the Persian imperial presence was at its zenith in this remote part of the empire, the Chronicler accentuates that one of Israel-Judah’s great kings of the past, was somebody who escaped imperial onslaughts and withstood clever negotiations from the side of the Babylonian imperial center. Even illness could not overpower him. This is not due to his political achievements, but due to his reliance on Yahweh. Although Hezekiah sometimes acted proudly, he eventually humbled himself before Yahweh. He thus serves as a prime example of the ethical values that should drive kingship, also the imperial kingship of the Chronicler’s time.

6. CONCLUSION

The process of reception and reinterpretation of the earlier Hezekiah narratives in the Deuteronomistic history and in the prophetic book Isaiah did of course not terminate with the Chronicler’s work. Scholars indicate that the idealized figure of Hezekiah was also prompting renewed processes of reception and reinterpretation in even later literature.⁴³ Space does not allow to discuss those further receptions in depth here. However, the short excerpt from the long reception history about Hezekiah that was presented in this essay suffices to illustrate how creative these processes of reinterpretation were. It also emphasizes sufficiently that these processes of further reception and reinterpretation were not simply textual processes but were rather rhetorical exercises embedded in very specific socio-political and socio-religious environments. This type of investigation can therefore not be done merely with methods such as textual criticism and literary criti-

⁴² Dillard 1987, 255–256.

⁴³ See e.g. Pajunen 2017; Cielontko 2019.

cism; it should also include methods that can situate the biblical literature under discussion within the political and theological discourses of their time.

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THE LONG REIGN OF ZIMRI (ZAMBRI)
ACCORDING TO VATICANUS (B) 3 KGDMS 16:8–28

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In the majority text of 3 Kingdoms 16, Omri, king of Israel, bears the name of his predecessor Zimri. Because Omri is no longer distinguished from Zimri, vv. 8–28 give the impression of being a continuous regnal account about Zimri. However, this account is bizarre, incoherent and logically inconsistent. In the text of codex Vaticanus (B) the most blatant inconsistencies are solved by minimal textual intervention. This makes it possible, even though it requires the necessary exegetical effort, to read the story of Zimri (Zambri) in B as a unity.

In the Septuagint of 1 Kings 16 (= 3 Kingdoms 16) a most remarkable phenomenon occurs: where the Masoretic Text (hereafter: MT) mentions Omri, the Greek text has either a transcription of the name of Zimri¹ or a minus.² Only a few Greek manuscripts agree with MT in writing Omri's name. Among these, most important are those attesting the Lucianic recension or 'Antiochene text.'³

In MT, the story of Zimri is told in 1 Kgs 16: 8–13, 15–20; the story of Omri in 1 Kgs 16:16–18, 21–28. Zimri is Omri's predecessor as king of Israel. By giving Omri Zimri's name, the Greek majority text blurs the distinction between the two. Identity of name does not necessarily imply identity of person, but the text makes no attempt to distinguish one person from another, for example, by adding, if only once, "son of x" versus "son of y." The reader is therefore driven to read 'Zimri' in 3 Kingdoms 16 as the name of one and the same person.

Reading Zimri in that way, however, results in a bizarre, incoherent narrative. The most serious logical inconsistency occurs in vv. 18–21. The text of codex N is chosen here as a representative of the majority text. Verses 18–21 read as follows:

¹⁸καὶ ἐγενήθη ὡς εἶδεν Ζαμρί ὅτι προκατελιμπται αὐτοῦ ἡ πόλις, καὶ εἰσπορεύεται εἰς ἄντρον τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ἐνεπύρισε ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν οἶκον τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ἀπέθανεν. ¹⁹ὕπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτοῦ ὧν ἐποίησεν τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιον Κυρίου, πορευθῆναι ἐν ὁδῷ Ἱεροβαὰμ υἱοῦ Ναβαὰτ

¹ 3 Kgdms 16:16, 17, 21, 22 (2×), 23, 25, 27, 28, 29 (1st).

² 3 Kgdms 16:29 (2nd), 30.

³ In the Antiochene MSS 93 127, 'Omri' is represented in all instances (not counting 3 Kgdms 16:29 [2nd], 30); in 19 108 in most instances; in 82 partly. Transcriptions of 'Omri' are also found in MSS 56 123 (as corrections?), and in the daughter translations Vetus Latina and the Armenian translation.

καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις αὐτοῦ, ὅς ἐξήμαρτεν τὸν Ἰσραήλ. ²⁰καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ζαμρί καὶ τὰς συνάψεις αὐτοῦ ἅς συνῆψεν, οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐν βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμετέρων τῶν βασιλέων Ἰσραήλ ; ²¹Τότε μερίζεται ὁ λαὸς Ἰσραήλ· ἡμισυ τοῦ λαοῦ γίνεται ὀπίσω Θαμνὴ υἱοῦ Γονᾶθ τοῦ βασιλεῦσαι αὐτόν, καὶ τὸ ἡμισυ τοῦ λαοῦ γίνεται ὀπίσω Ζαμρί.

¹⁸And it happened, when Zamri saw that his city had been taken, that he went into the cave of the house of the king and burned down the house of the king over himself with fire, and he died ¹⁹because of his sins that he did, to do what is evil before the Lord, to go in the way of Ieroboam son of Nabat and in his sins, who made Israel sin. ²⁰And the rest of the histories of Zamri and his conspiracies which he plotted, behold, are these things not written in the book of the histories of our kings of Israel? ²¹Then the people of Israel divided; half of the people were behind Thamne son of Gonath to make him king, and half of the people were behind Zamri.⁴

In v. 18 Zamri's suicide is related, but according to v. 21 and subsequent verses he lives on. It is interesting to note that this glaring contradiction is not present in the text of codex B (hereafter: B):

¹⁸καὶ ἐγενήθη ὡς εἶδεν Ζαμβρεὶ ὅτι προκατεἰλημπτὰ αὐτοῦ ἡ πόλις, καὶ πορεύονται εἰς ἄντρον τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ἐνεπύρισεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν οἶκον τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ἀπέθανεν.

¹⁸And it happened, when Zambri saw that his city had been taken, that they went into the cave of the house of the king and the king burned down the house of the king over himself with fire, and he died...⁵

In B, it is not Zambri who commits suicide, but “the king.” The identity of this king will be discussed below. For now, it is important to note that due to the fact that Zambri's death is not explicitly stated in vv. 18–20, his story can be continued in v. 21. The presence of the variant in B thus solves one grave inconsistency that exists in the majority text. Therefore, “the king” should be explained as an addition, a secondary reading. The addition betrays an attempt to present the story of Zambri as a narrative unity. This naturally raises the question of whether the minimal intervention is sufficient to read the story in B in this way. I am inclined to answer this question in the affirmative, although such a reading requires quite a

⁴ All translations are by the author.

⁵ The text follows the edition of Brooke / McLean / Thackeray 1930. The edition departs from the manuscript in reading καὶ ἐνεπυρισεν ὁ βασιλεὺς, ‘and the king burned down’, for ΚΑΙΕΝΕΠΥΡΙΣΕΝΟΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΚΑΙΕΝΕΠΥΡΙΣΕΝ, ‘and the king burned down and he burned down’. The second ΚΑΙΕΝΕΠΥΡΙΣΕΝ is probably a scribal error.

bit of exegetical acrobatics. Below we will go through the text and discuss the most important narrative incongruities. Where “Zambri” takes the place of “Omri” in MT, his name is underscored.

⁸Καὶ Ἡλὰ υἱὸς Βαασά ἐβασίλευσεν ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ δύο ἔτη ἐν Θερσά. ⁹καὶ συνέστρεψεν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν Ζαμβρεὶ ὁ ἄρχων τῆς ἡμίσεως τῆς ἵππου, καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ἐν Θερσά πίνων μεθύων ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ Ὡσὰ τοῦ οἰκονόμου ἐν Θερσά. ¹⁰καὶ εἰσῆλθεν Ζαμβρεὶ καὶ ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐθανάτωσεν αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ. ¹¹καὶ ἐγενήθη ἐν τῷ βασιλεῦσαι αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ καθίσει αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπάταξεν ὅλον τὸν οἶκον Βαασά.

⁸And Ela son of Baasa reigned over Israel two years in Thersa. ⁹And Zambri, commander of half his cavalry, conspired against him, and he was at Thersa drinking himself drunk in the house of Osa the steward at Thersa, ¹⁰and Zambri came in and struck him down and killed him, and he reigned instead of him. ¹¹And it happened, when he began to reign, when he sat on his throne, that he smote the whole house of Baasa.

What follows in vv. 12–14 are a note stating the fulfillment of an earlier prophecy concerning Ela and a source citation to conclude the regnal formulae of that king. After this interruption, v. 15a continues with a chronological note. In v. 15b, however, the narrative seems to go back to a previous state of affairs (flash-back):⁶

¹⁵Καὶ Ζαμβρεὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἑπτὰ ἔτη ἐν Θερσά· καὶ ἡ παρεμβολὴ Ἰσραὴλ ἐπὶ Γαβαὼν τὴν τῶν ἀλλοφύλων. ¹⁶καὶ ἤκουσεν ὁ λαὸς ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ λεγόντων Συνεστράφη Ζαμβρεὶ καὶ ἔπαισεν τὸν βασιλέα· καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν ἐν Ἰσραὴλ τὸν Ζαμβρεὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον τῆς στρατείας ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ.

¹⁵And Zambri reigned seven years in Thersa. And the camp of Israel was against Gabaon which belonged to the Philistines, ¹⁶and the people in the camp heard, saying, ‘Zambri conspired and struck the king’, and in Israel they made Zambri, the commander of the army, king over Israel on that day in the camp.

The king who was struck by Zambri can be none other than Ela. The narrative returns to the time immediately after Zambri’s murder of Ela and focuses on events in the camp of Israel. While v. 10 limits itself to stating that Zambri became king instead of Ela, v. 16 tells how Zambri acquired kingship after killing Ela.

⁶ The episode through vv. 15–16 cannot be read as a chronological sequel to vv. 8–11 because Zambri’s rise to kingship is told again in v. 16.

Zambri is called here “commander of the army,” while in v. 9 he was referred to as “commander of half his [that is, Ela’s] cavalry.” The difference does not constitute an irreconcilable contradiction, although it is strange that Zambri is presented again in v. 16. The next verse connects narratively and chronologically with v. 16:

¹⁷καὶ ἀνέβη Ζαμβρεὶ καὶ πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἐν Γαβαθὼν καὶ περιεκάθισαν ἐπὶ Θερσά.

¹⁷And Zambri went up in Gabathon,⁷ and all Israel with him, and they laid siege to Thersa.

The report of the siege of Thersa is curious, because it is Thersa where Zambri quite recently had taken over Ela’s power.

¹⁸καὶ ἐγένηθη ὡς εἶδεν Ζαμβρεὶ ὅτι προκατείλημπται αὐτοῦ ἡ πόλις, καὶ πορεύονται εἰς ἄντρον τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ἐνεπύρισεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπ’ αὐτὸν τὸν οἶκον τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ἀπέθανεν.

¹⁸And it happened, when Zambri saw that his city had been taken, that they went⁸ into the cave of the house of the king and the king burned down the house of the king over himself with fire, and he died...

Zambri’s bond with Thersa is expressed by “his city.” From the narrative we must infer that a new king had installed himself in Thersa during the period when Zambri was besieging Gabathon.

However, there is an alternative way to understand vv. 17–18. The reference to Thersa and its king reminds of the situation described in v. 8. V. 18, then, might be understood as a flash-back: the narrative returns to Zambri’s seizure of power in Thersa, but the report of events is quite different from what is told in vv. 9–10: While Ela is killed by Zambri according to v. 10, he commits suicide according to v. 18. The reports in vv. 9–10 and v. 18, then, exclude each other: they represent alternative versions.⁹

⁷ “Gabathon” in v. 17 probably refers to the same city as “Gabaon” in v. 15. Variation in the spelling of (uncommon) names can be found elsewhere in B 3 Kingdoms (see for instance Σεμηρ-Σαμηρ and Σεμερων-Σαεμηρων in 3 Kgdms 16:24). The issue has no consequences for the narrative in B.

⁸ Whereas B and A have “they went,” all other MSS read “he went.” In B, the change of subject from “Zambri (saw)” to “they (went)” may be related to the addition of “the king”: both changes make it clear that it is not Zambri who went into the cave under the palace and burned the palace over him. In A, however, “they went...” is followed by “and they burned down the house of the king.”

⁹ Such alternative versions are not anomalous in 3 Kingdoms: see for instance the so-called Alternative Story of Jeroboam in 3 Kgdms 12:24a–z.

Interpreting v. 18 as a flash-back faces two problems. First, it makes the chronological position of v. 17 within the story ambivalent and confusing. The verse cannot be both a continuation of the preceding narrative and a flash-back at the same time. Second, it remains unclear why Thersa is called “his [that is, Zambri’s] city” before Zambri established himself there. Still, in light of the next verse, the interpretation of v. 18 as a flash-back is the most likely one. V. 19 is a motivation of divine punishment for cultic sins:

¹⁹ὕπερ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτοῦ ὧν ἐποίησεν τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιον Κυρίου, πορευθῆναι ἐν ὁδῷ Ἰεροβοὰμ υἱοῦ Ναβὰτ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἐξῆμαρτεν τὸν Ἰσραήλ.

¹⁹because of his sins that he did, to do what was evil before the Lord, to go in the way of Ieroboam son of Nabat and in his sins that he made Israel sin.

In Kings, such judgment is only pronounced against Israelite kings who are mentioned by name, not against local rulers. If this verse indeed refers to Ela, it partially repeats the judgment on him in v. 7 and v. 13.

The subsequent source citation does not mention the name of the deceased king, as one might expect,¹⁰ but the name of Zambri, whose death has not been mentioned at all.

²⁰καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ζαμβρεὶ καὶ τὰς συνάψεις αὐτοῦ ἃς συνῆψεν, οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐν βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν βασιλέων Ἰσραήλ ;

²⁰And the rest of the histories of Zambri and his conspiracies which he plotted, behold, are these things not written in the book of the histories of the days of the kings of Israel?

There is another source citation for Zambri in v. 27. There, the citation forms part of the usual concluding regnal formulae for the kings of Israel, in the expected position immediately before the notes on Zambri’s death and burial. The occurrence of two source citations for one king is highly unusual. Moreover, the first source citation in v. 20 seems out of place in the middle of the ongoing Zambri story. However, when one looks at the whole story, the source citation in v. 20 may be structurally functional. In v. 23, the synchronistic notice marks Zambri’s kingship over all Israel following his victory over his rival to the throne Thamni

¹⁰ In Kings, the source citations conclude the regnal accounts of the kings of Israel and Judah and are always positioned close to reports about the death of a king.

(vv. 21–22).¹¹ The source citation in v. 20, then, is a formal conclusion of the episode about Zambri’s rise to kingship over part of Israel (vv. 8–19). The note at the end of v. 22, ‘and Zambri became king after Thamni’, either means that, following the conflict with Thamni, Zambri became king over all Israel, as is explicitly stated in v. 23, or that he succeeded Thamni as king over that part of Israel where Thamni had previously installed himself as king.

From 3 Kgdms 16:24 onward, the text of B occasionally differs from the majority text, but these deviations do not cause narrative incongruities.

One aspect that deserves special attention is the chronology of the Zambri story. It contains two chronological notes relating to Zambri:

¹⁵Καὶ Ζαμβρεὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἑπτὰ ἔτη ἐν Θερσά.

¹⁵And Zambri reigned seven years in Thersa.

²³ἐν τῷ ἔτει τῷ τριακοστῷ καὶ πρώτῳ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀσά βασιλεύει Ζαμβρεὶ ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ δώδεκα ἔτη· ἐν Θερσά βασιλεύει ἕξ ἔτη.

²³In the thirty-first year of king Asa, Zambri began to reign over Israel for twelve years. He reigned six years in Thersa.

In v. 15, B, a² and the Ethiopic deviate from all other Septuagint manuscripts in having “seven years” instead of “seven days.” “Seven days” is incompatible with the six years that v. 23 indicates for Zambri’s residence in Thersa. In B, this time gap is largely bridged. It is therefore tempting to interpret “seven years” in v. 15 as an adjustment to bring more coherence to the Zambri narrative. Such an adjustment would be quite in line with the addition of “the king” in v. 18.

Still, the remaining difference of one year weakens this interpretation. It is difficult to find a satisfactory answer to the question of why the note in v. 15 was not brought into perfect conformity with v. 18. Moreover, the reading “seven years” in v. 15 is also attested in a² and the Ethiopic, whereas the addition of “the king” in v. 18 is not. This argues against linking these variants in B. Although

¹¹ According to B’s chronological scheme, the period of conflict between Zambri and Thamni may have lasted two or three years. The scheme, calculated from 3 Kgdms 16:6, is as follows:

Zambri acceded in 22 Asa: Ela = 20 Asa (16:6) + two years for Ela’s reign (16:8).

Zambri reigned seven years in Thersa (16:15).

After Thamni’s death, Zambri became sole ruler over Israel in 31 Asa. He reigned twelve years; these years include six years in Thersa (16:22-23).

Between 22 Asa and 31 Asa Zambri resided six or seven years in Thersa. It is not stated where Zambri stayed during the remaining three or two years. This may be the period of Zambri’s conflict with Thamni, during which Zambri was on campaign with the army.

both variants in concert make it easier to read the *Zambri* narrative as a unity, the variant in v. 15 may derive from a different, probably earlier, textual stage.¹²

To sum up, the majority of Septuagint manuscripts offer in 3 Kgdms 16:8–28 a bizarre and internally contradictory regnal account about *Zambri*. In the text of B, the most glaring inconsistency has been resolved by minimal textual intervention. Provided one is prepared to interpret a few episodes as flash-backs and alternative versions of events, it is possible to read vv. 8–28 in B as a continuous narrative about one main character, *Zambri*. This possibility, however, is excluded for the majority text.

For that reason, it is understandable that commentators have interpreted the substitution of the name *Zimri* for that of *Omri* from 3 Kgdms 16:16 onward as an error.¹³ J. Böseneker speaks of a “fast durchgängige Verschreibung”, a nearly continuous error in writing.¹⁴ The question arises of whether this is an adequate interpretation. In manuscripts, the only difference between transcriptions of the names of *Zimri* and *Omri* (*Ζαμβρι* – *Αμβρι*, *Ζαμβρει* – *Αμβρει*, *Ζαμρι* – *Αμρι*) is the presence of the *Zeta* in the former. A copyist may have consistently and consciously added *Zeta* as initial letter where he thought it was missing. After encountering *Ζαμβρι*/*Ζαμβρει*/*Ζαμρι* repeatedly in vv. 9–16a, he would have considered the form *Αμβρι*/*Αμβρει*/*Αμρι* in v. 16b and following verses an error that needed to be corrected. It goes without saying that only a copyist working in a mindless, mechanical fashion could have made this kind of hypercorrection.

Theoretically, it is not impossible that the majority text reflects a Hebrew Vorlage which only contained the name of *Zimri*. The Hebrew names of *Zimri* and *Omri* both consist of four consonants, and the initial letters *Zayin* and *Ayin* might have been confused. However, these letters are not similar in shape, neither in Paleo-Hebrew script nor in square script, so it is quite improbable that either a copyist of the Hebrew text or the Greek translator confused them.

A third possible explanation is that in 3 Kingdoms 16 the name of *Omri* was consciously replaced with that of *Zimri* for ideological reasons, regardless of the narrative consequences. Anti-Samaritan tendencies could have prompted a scribe to delete the name of the founder of Samaria systematically from 3 Kingdoms 16 by replacing it with the name of the ignominious *Zimri*.

¹² This difference between “seven years” and “seven days” has no consequence for the chronological scheme in the Septuagint because both time periods fall within the twelve years of *Zambri*’s kingship indicated in 3 Kgdms 16:23. However, if one assigns the twelve years in v. 23 to *Ambri* instead of *Zambri*, as Gooding 1970, 124–125, does, the seven years of *Zambri*’s reign in v. 15 add up to the twelve years of *Ambri*’s reign and cause a major shift in the chronological system. In Gooding’s view, this is the main cause for the considerable differences between the chronological systems of 3 Kingdoms and 1 Kings.

¹³ Montgomery / Gehman 1951, 290, and Gooding 1970, 124, speak of “confusion”. According to Rahlfs 1911, 285, *Ambri* has been lumped together (“zusammengeworfen”) with his predecessor *Zambri*. Most commentaries are silent on the issue.

¹⁴ Böseneker 2011, 933.

In my view, pedantic hypercorrection by a mindless copyist during the transmission of the Greek text is the most likely explanation for the deletion of Omri from 3 Kingdoms 16.

At what stage in the transmission of the Greek text of 3 Kingdoms 16 Omri's name was replaced with Zimri's is hard to establish. In 4 Kgdms 8:26, B has retained Omri's name (Αμβρει). Since this verse lies within the γδ-section that represents the text of the Kaige recension, it is possible that at this place Αμβρει is a revision of Ζαμβρει. If the unrevised Greek text contained Ζαμβρει in 3 Kingdoms 16 and 4 Kingdoms 8, substitution of Ζαμβρει for Αμβρει may have occurred in the course of the transmission of the Old Greek text. However, in 4 Kgdms 8:26, N, various minuscules and corrections in B (and indirectly, the Ethiopic) all have Ζαμβρει, a reading that must be later than the Kaige recension. There are two ways to appraise this reading: either as an assimilation to 'Zambri' in 3 Kingdoms 16 or as part of a substitution of Ζαμβρει for Αμβρει in all Kingdoms (that is, including 3 Kingdoms 16) in a stage of textual transmission subsequent to the Kaige recension. In that case, Αμβρει in B 4 Kgdms 8:26 should be explained as an even later correction or as a Hexaplaric reading that crept into the text.¹⁵

The Antiochene text retains Αμβρει in 3 Kingdoms 16, but it has Αχααβ, 'Ahab', in 4 Kgdms 8:26 and in the Lucianic doublet 4 Kgdms 10:38.¹⁶ Mainly based on the Antiochene text, Rahlfs considered Αμβρει to be the original reading in 3 Kingdoms 16.¹⁷ It is possible that in this chapter Αμβρει reflects the proto-Lucianic substratum. If the substitution of Ζαμβρει for Αμβρει is placed in the course of the transmission of the Old Greek—which, as was explained above, is not certain—then the presence of Ζαμβρει in the majority text versus that of Αμβρει in the Antiochene text may suggest an early split in the transmission and development of the Old Greek of Kingdoms.

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¹⁵ It should be noted that the "Origenian" codex A (and MS 56) likewise reads Αμβρει in 4 Kgdms 8:26. On the presence of Origenian readings in 3–4 Kingdoms, see Wevers 1952.

¹⁶ These readings are clearly secondary: they represent Lucianic inferences from 4 Kgdms 8:18 and 11:1.

¹⁷ Rahlfs 1911, 285. See also Rahlfs 1935.

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DER AUTOR DES HEBRÄERBRIEFES ALS SCHRIFTGELEHRTER*

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Nach Arie van der Kooij waren die antiken Übersetzer der biblischen Schriften keine Übersetzer im heutigen Sinn, sondern führende Gelehrte, die durch ihre Arbeit mit der biblischen Überlieferung theologisch Einfluss zu nehmen suchten, man könnte auch sagen: Politik betrieben. Dies wird an drei Beispielen aus dem Hebräerbrief exemplifiziert: 1. Am Beispiel der Wüstengeneration, Hebr 3,7-11 wird gezeigt, wie der Autor des Hebr mit seiner Vorlage aus Ps 94 (LXX) umgeht. 2. An der Einrichtung des Allerheiligsten, Hebr 9,1-6 wird gezeigt, wie der Autor des Hebr aufgrund seiner LXX-Vorlage bestimmte Akzente setzt, die vom MT aus nicht gesetzt werden könnten. 3. Am Verständnis von Bund und Testament, Hebr 9,15-18 wird gezeigt, wie der Autor des Hebr die semantische Bandbreite von *Diatheke* für seine theologische Argumentation nutzt. Am Hebräerbrief bestätigt sich Arie van der Kooijs Sicht der antiken Übersetzer.

Arie van der Kooij hat sich in seinen Publikationen sowohl mit der Hebräischen Bibel / dem Alten Testament als auch dessen Rezeption sowie mit den Übersetzungen in der Septuaginta und anderen Versionen beschäftigt und dabei die Forschung richtungweisend vorangebracht. Nach seiner Auffassung gehörten die damaligen Rezipienten und Übersetzer zur intellektuellen Elite ihrer Zeit. Die antiken Übersetzer waren keine Übersetzer im heutigen Sinn, sondern führende Gelehrte, die durch ihre Arbeit mit der biblischen Überlieferung theologisch Einfluss zu nehmen suchten, man könnte auch sagen: Politik betrieben.

Der Autor des Hebräerbriefes beklagt gegenüber seinen Adressaten deren theologische Unmündigkeit. In Hebr 5,12 lesen wir:

¹²καὶ γὰρ ὀφείλοντες εἶναι διδάσκαλοι διὰ τὸν χρόνον, πάλιν χρεῖαν ἔχετε τοῦ διδάσκειν ὑμᾶς τινὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ γεγόνατε χρεῖαν ἔχοντες γάλακτος [καὶ] οὐ στερεᾶς τροφῆς.

¹²Obwohl ihr längst Lehrer sein müsstet, habt ihr wieder jemanden nötig, der euch die Anfangsgründe der Worte Gottes buchstabieren lehrt, und ihr seid wieder solche geworden, die Milch brauchen statt fester Nahrung.¹

* Mit diesem Beitrag grüße ich Arie van der Kooij anlässlich seines 80. Geburtstages. Über die Arbeit an der Septuaginta haben wir uns kennen und schätzen gelernt. Ad multos annos! Oder besser: $\eta\delta\mu\ \tau\upsilon\ \delta\omicron\iota\psi\ \epsilon\upsilon\iota$.

¹ Übersetzung nach der Zürcher Bibel 2019.

Sie sollten längst fähig sein, andere zu unterrichten, aber sie brauchen erneut selber Unterweisung in den Grundlagen und sind für schwierigere Fragestellungen noch nicht ausreichend vorbereitet.²

In Hebr 4,14–5,10 ist das Hauptthema des Hebr erstmals ausdrücklich näher benannt worden (nachdem es in 2,17 nur anklang): Jesus, der große Hohepriester nach der Ordnung Melchisedeks (^{4,14}Ἐχοντες οὖν ἀρχιερέα μέγαν διεληλυθότα τοὺς οὐρανοῦς, Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, κρατῶμεν τῆς ὁμολογίας. ... ^{5,10}προσαγορευθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀρχιερεὺς κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισέδεκ).³

Darüber möchte der *Auctor ad Hebraeos* (künftig: AuctHebr) sprechen und zwar in einer anspruchsvollen, schwer vermittelbaren Rede (περὶ οὗ πολλὸς ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος καὶ δυσερμήνευτος λέγειν, 5,11a). Aber die Adressaten sind „hörfaul“ geworden (ἐπεὶ νωθροὶ γεγόνατε ταῖς ἀκοαῖς, 5,11b).⁴

Aus Hebr 6,1 wird dann allerdings deutlich, dass diese Schelte eine rhetorische Figur darstellt, die die Hörenden aufrütteln soll, denn was im Anschluss kommt, ist eben gerade die feste Speise und nicht die Rückkehr zu den Grundlagen:

¹Διὸ ἀφέντες τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγον ἐπὶ τὴν τελειότητα φερώμεθα, μὴ πάλιν θεμέλιον καταβαλλόμενοι μετανοίας ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἔργων καὶ πίστεως ἐπὶ θεόν, ²βαπτισμῶν διδαχῆς ἐπιθέσεώς τε χειρῶν, ἀναστάσεώς τε νεκρῶν καὶ κρίματος αἰωνίου. ³καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσομεν, ἐάνπερ ἐπιτρέπη ὁ θεός.

¹Nun, den Anfang der Christuslehre wollen wir übergehen und auf die Vollkommenheit eingehen, ohne noch einmal den Grund zu legen mit der Umkehr von den toten Werken und mit dem Glauben an Gott, ²mit der Lehre vom Taufen und mit dem Auflegen der Hände, mit der Auferstehung der Toten und dem ewigen Gericht. ³Ja, das wollen wir tun, sofern Gott es zulässt.⁵

Bevor der AuctHebr in Hebr 7,1–10,18 in einem zusammenhängenden Argumentationsgang sein Hauptthema eingehend erläutert, erfolgt noch eine weitere rhetorische Invektive in 6,4–8, wodurch er „metus“ erzeugen will, um dann in 6,9–12 zu versichern, dass er bei seinen Hörern vom Besseren überzeugt ist, wodurch er „spes“ vermittelt.⁶

⁴Ἀδύνατον γὰρ τοὺς ἅπαξ φωτισθέντας, γευσασμένους τε τῆς δωρεᾶς τῆς ἐπουρανίου καὶ μετόχους γενηθέντας πνεύματος ἁγίου ⁵καὶ καλὸν γευσασμένους θεοῦ

² Ich rechne damit, dass diese Anrede der Adressaten des Hebr wörtlich gemeint ist, dass es sich um künftige Lehrer und Lehrerinnen der Gemeinde handelt. S. Kraus 2017, 293.

³ Zum Argumentationsziel des Hebräerbriefes s. Kraus 2014.

⁴ Zur Übersetzung „hörfaul“ s. Backhaus 2009, 216.

⁵ Übersetzung nach der Zürcher Bibel 2019.

⁶ S. zur rhetorischen Funktion der Rede von der Unmöglichkeit einer zweiten Buße Backhaus 2009, 227–229, 242–244; Kraus 2022, 89f. Ich nehme hier einige Gedanken aus dem früheren Aufsatz auf.

ῥῆμα δυνάμεις τε μέλλοντος αἰῶνος ⁶καὶ παραπεσόντας, πάλιν ἀνακαινίζειν εἰς μετάνοιαν, ἀνασταυροῦντας ἑαυτοῖς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ παραδειγματίζοντας.

⁴Denn unmöglich ist es, zur Umkehr zu bringen, die einmal erleuchtet worden sind, himmlische Gabe geschmeckt und Anteil bekommen haben am heiligen Geist, ⁵die das gute Wort Gottes und die Kräfte der kommenden Welt geschmeckt haben ⁶und dann abgefallen sind – unmöglich ist es, diese zu einer erneuten Umkehr zu bewegen: Sie kreuzigen sich den Sohn Gottes noch einmal und stellen ihn an den Pranger.

Dem stellt er in den folgenden Versen dann die Hoffnung entgegen:

⁹Πεπεισμεθα δὲ περὶ ὑμῶν, ἀγαπητοί, τὰ κρείσσονα καὶ ἐχόμενα σωτηρίας, εἰ καὶ οὕτως λαλοῦμεν. ... ¹¹ἐπιθυμοῦμεν δὲ ἕκαστον ὑμῶν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐνδείκνυσθαι σπουδὴν πρὸς τὴν πληροφориάν τῆς ἐλπίδος ἄχρι τέλους, ¹²ἵνα μὴ νωθροὶ γένησθε, μιμηταὶ δὲ τῶν διὰ πίστεως καὶ μακροθυμίας κληρονομοῦντων τὰς ἐπαγγελίας.

⁹Im Blick auf euch, meine Geliebten, sind wir, auch wenn wir so reden, vom Besseren überzeugt, von dem, was Rettung bringt. ... ¹¹Wir wünschen aber sehnlichst, dass jeder von euch den gleichen Eifer für die Erfüllung der Hoffnung zeige, bis ans Ende, ¹²und dass ihr nicht träge werdet, sondern es denen leichtut, die durch Glauben und Geduld die Verheissungen erben.⁷

Nach Knut Backhaus dürfen die Verse 4–8 nicht isoliert werden. Trotz der harten Sätze in V.4–8 zielen diese auf den abschließenden Satz in V.11f. Mit V.9b nämlich verwerfe der Autor seine eigenen Ausführungen, weil er „von deren Gegenteil überzeugt“ sei.⁸ Der Anfang der Passage mit ἀδύνατον sei „Ausdruck beschwörender Leidenschaft, nicht theologische Schlussfolgerung“.⁹ Das ‚unmöglich‘ bezeichne „die Selbstwidersprüchlichkeit eines Glaubens, der den Glaubensabfall als heilbar ansieht. In diesem Sinn ist das Adjektiv so kategorisch zu nehmen, wie es sich gibt“.¹⁰ Auch wenn er von der Drohung selbst nichts zurücknehme, werde am Schluss deutlich, um was es eigentlich geht: „Gottes gnädiges Entgegenkommen“.¹¹

Schon aufgrund dieser wenigen Passagen wird klar, der AuctHebr ist rhetorisch geschult, er geht virtuos mit Stilmitteln der antiken Rhetorik um. Aber er ist nicht nur Rhetoriker, er ist auch Schriftgelehrter. Das soll an den folgenden Texten beispielhaft demonstriert werden.

⁷ Übersetzung nach der Zürcher Bibel 2019.

⁸ Backhaus 2009, 229.

⁹ Backhaus 2009, 229.

¹⁰ Backhaus 2009, 234.

¹¹ Backhaus 2009, 239; vgl. Backhaus 2009a, 132.

1. DAS BEISPIEL DER WÜSTENGENERATION, HEBR 3,7–11¹²

⁷Διό, καθὼς λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον·
 σήμερον ἐὰν τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε,
⁸μὴ σκληρύνητε τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν ὡς ἐν τῷ παραπικρασμῷ
 κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ πειρασμοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ,
⁹οὗ ἐπείρασαν οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ἐν δοκιμασίᾳ
 καὶ εἶδον τὰ ἔργα μου ¹⁰τεσσεράκοντα ἔτη·
 διὸ προσώχθισα τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ
 καὶ εἶπον· ἀεὶ πλανῶνται τῇ καρδίᾳ,
 αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὰς ὁδοὺς μου,
¹¹ὡς ὤμοσα ἐν τῇ ὀργῇ μου·
 εἰ εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσίν μου.

⁷Darum gilt, was der heilige Geist spricht:
 Heute, da ihr seine Stimme hört,
⁸verhärtet euer Herz nicht wie beim grossen Aufbegehren
 am Tag der Versuchung in der Wüste,
⁹wo eure Väter mich versuchten, mich auf die Probe stellen wollten –
 und sahen doch meine Werke ¹⁰vierzig Jahre lang!
 Darum zürnte ich diesem Geschlecht,
 und ich sprach: Immer wieder irren sie in ihrem Herzen,
 meine Wege haben sie nicht erkannt.
¹¹So habe ich geschworen in meinem Zorn:
 Sie werden nicht eingehen in meine Ruhe.¹³

Nach Hebr 3,12.19 konnte die Wüstengeneration aufgrund der ἀπιστία nicht in die Ruhe Gottes eingehen. Unglaube bedeutet Untreue gegenüber dem treuen Gott. Obwohl die Angehörigen der Wüstengeneration die Taten Gottes gesehen hatten, vierzig Jahre lang, verstockten sie ihre Herzen (3,8–10). Deshalb waren sie Gott zuwider, so dass er in seinem Zorn schwor, sie sollten nicht in die Ruhe eingehen (3,10–11).

In Hebr 3,7–11 wird nahezu wörtlich Ps 94,7–11 LXX zitiert. Den Hintergrund dieses Psalms bilden Texte der Exodus-Tradition. Hebr 3,8 blickt auf Ereignisse bei Meriba und Massa zurück. In Ps 95,7 MT werden beide Namen genannt. Dadurch ist die Beziehung zu Ex 17,1–7 (dort jedoch die umgekehrte Reihenfolge Massa und Meriba) und Num 20,2–14 (hier jedoch nur der Name Meriba) deutlich (vgl. Dtn 33,8, hier wieder die Reihenfolge Massa und Meriba). Sowohl in Ps 94,8 LXX als auch in Hebr 3,8 werden jedoch nicht mehr die Ortsnamen ‚Massa‘ und ‚Meriba‘ genannt. Mit der Formulierung ἐν τῷ παραπικρασμῷ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν

¹² Zu Hebr 3,7-11 im Kontext von 3,7-4,11 vgl. Kraus 2008; Kraus 2024), 205–237. Ich nehme im Folgenden einige Überlegungen aus dem früheren Aufsatz auf.

¹³ Übersetzung nach der Zürcher Bibel 2019.

τοῦ πειρασμοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ wird auf eine Haltung Israels hingewiesen: Verhärtete Herzen führten zu ‚Verbitterung‘ und ‚Versuchung‘. Die Väter Israels stellten Gott auf die Probe. Dies bezieht sich vermutlich auf Ex 17,7, wo es heißt, dass die Auszugsgeneration angesichts des Wassermangels die versucherische Frage stellte, ob denn Gott wirklich anwesend sei oder nicht.

Hebr 3,11 spricht wie Ps 94,11 LXX (auch Ps 95 MT) vom Zorneschwur Gottes: „niemals sollen sie zu meiner Ruhestätte gelangen“. Von einem Schwur wird in Ex 17 bzw. Num 20 nicht gesprochen. Der Vers nimmt vielmehr Bezug auf einen weiteren atl. Zusammenhang, die Kundschaftergeschichte in Num 13–14, insbes. Num 14,21–35 bzw. die Aufnahme von Num 13–14 in Num 32,7–13 (vgl. Dtn 1,19ff; 9,23; Ps 106 [105], 24–26). Die Kundschaftergeschichte wird in der Regel nicht mit der Versuchung Gottes in Verbindung gebracht.¹⁴ In Num 13f wird berichtet, das Volk habe sich aus Furcht vor den bevorstehenden Gefahren geweigert, in das Land hinüberzuziehen, weshalb Gott geschworen habe, die Wüstengeneration werde das Land niemals erreichen, sondern nur deren Nachkommen. Die gegenwärtige Generation werde vielmehr in der Wüste umkommen. V.21–23.30 und 34 enthalten Schwurformeln. Num 14 LXX hat gegenüber dem MT in V.23 eine erhebliche Erweiterung, wonach nur die nachfolgenden Generationen das Land erben sollen, nicht jedoch die Auszugsgeneration. Num 32,7–13 bezieht sich auf das in Num 13f berichtete Verhalten mangelnden Vertrauens und erinnert daran, dass Gott deswegen geschworen habe, alle über 20-Jährigen der Wüstengeneration werden das Land nicht sehen, sondern in der Wüste umkommen.

Abgesehen von einigen kleinen weniger bedeutenden Änderungen¹⁵ am Zitattext sind drei entscheidende Differenzen zwischen Hebr 3,7–11 und Ps 94,7–11 LXX zu verzeichnen:

1. die Einführung des Zitats als Wort des Hl. Geistes,
2. die Ersetzung des finiten Verbuns ἐδοκίμασαν in V.9a durch die Wendung ἐν δοκιμασίᾳ, die von ἐπείρασαν abhängig ist, und die Fortführung durch καὶ εἶδον τὰ ἔργα μου anstelle von καὶ εἶδσαν τὰ ἔργα μου,
3. der Bezug der 40 Jahre, der in Ps 94 LXX (wie in Ps 95 MT) den Zeitraum angibt, in dem Gott das Volk verachtete, in Hebr 3,10 jedoch die Zeit angibt, in der das Volk die Werke Gottes sah. Diese Änderung des Bezuges führt dazu, dass der Vers mit einem erneuten διό weitergeführt wird.

Zu 1: Die Einleitungsformel: „deshalb, wie der Hl. Geist spricht“ ist als Zitateinleitung auf den ersten Blick ungewöhnlich, wird jedoch auch in Hebr 9,8; 10,15 benutzt. In Hebr 4,3 wird das Schriftwort Ps 94,11 LXX als Gottesspruch

¹⁴ Gräßer 1990, 178 Anm. 32.

¹⁵ In V.10a wird τῇ γενεᾷ ἐκείνῃ durch τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ ersetzt; in V.10b wird (hellenistisches) εἶπα durch (attisches) εἶπον ersetzt; in V.10c wird das καὶ ausgelassen und durch ein nachgestelltes δέ ersetzt.

eingeführt, in 4,7 wird Ps 94,7 LXX als „bei David“ gesprochen eingeführt.¹⁶ Es handelt sich um aktuelles Reden Gottes bzw. des Hl. Geistes.¹⁷ Und insofern ermahnt AuctHebr aktuell die Adressaten, sich nicht wie Israel in der Wüste zu verhalten. Die Schrift ist hier nicht Zeugnis eines früheren Geschehens, das „typologisch“ für die Gegenwart gilt (vgl. etwa 1Kor 10,6), sondern gegenwärtiges lebendiges Wort. Der AuctHebr benutzt das Schema „Verheißung-Erfüllung“ so nicht.

Zu 2: Mit der Veränderung am Übergang von V.9 und 10 (Ersetzung des finiten Verbuns *ἐδοκίμασαν* in V.9a durch die Wendung *ἐν δοκιμασία*, die von *ἐπείρασαν* abhängig ist, und die Fortführung durch *καὶ εἶδον τὰ ἔργα μου*) bekommt das *καὶ* einen adversativen Sinn: „obwohl sie meine Werke 40 Jahre lang sahen“.¹⁸ Der Hebr kommt damit der Struktur des Satzes in Ps 95 MT im Unterschied zu 94 LXX wieder näher. Auch dort war der Anschluss adversativ. Die Wendung *ἐπείρασαν ... ἐν δοκιμασία*, ist am besten mit „(die Väter) stellten in (ihrem) Misstrauen auf die Probe“ wiederzugeben.¹⁹

Zu 3: Dass die Veränderung des Bezugs der 40 Jahre bewusst geschah und der AuctHebr den ursprünglichen Psalmtext kannte, lässt sich daran erkennen, dass die Zeitangabe 40 Jahre in Hebr 3,17 anders bezogen ist und dort analog zu Ps 94 LXX die vier Jahrzehnte dauernde Zornesperiode meint. Es geht also nicht nur um eine Änderung aus formalen oder stilistischen Gründen, sondern um eine mit theologischem Gewicht. Die Formulierung in Hebr 3 unterstreicht das ungeheuerliche Verhalten der Angehörigen der Wüstengeneration, die trotz 40 Jahren Erfahrung mit Gottes Heilstaten immer noch misstrauisch waren.²⁰

Dass es sich bei den Werken Gottes um Heilswerke handelt, wird neben dem Sprachgebrauch im Hebr selbst auch durch den Bezug auf Num 14 und dessen atl. und frühjüdische Rezeption unterstrichen, wo auf die Wunder während der Wüstenzeit hingewiesen wird (Num 14,22; Dtn 1,30; Ps 106 [105 LXX], 21f; LibAnt 15,5).²¹

Der AuctHebr hat somit die Psalmverse nicht nur zitiert, sondern ihnen zugleich eine neue Zuspitzung gegeben: es ist das gegenwärtig ergehende Wort des Geistes Gottes, das der Gemeinde zugesprochen wird. Obwohl es sich um einen Teil des Zitats handelt, bezieht sich die Wendung „eure Väter“ auf die Gemeindeglieder. Der AuctHebr kennt nur ein Volk Gottes. Die Gemeinde steht in der

¹⁶ Zur Diskussion um die Wendung *ἐν Δαυὶδ* s. Kraus / Lustig 2023, 173f Anm. 50.

¹⁷ Vgl. hierzu Theobald 1997, 759.

¹⁸ Vgl. BDR § 442,1. Zur Satzstruktur vgl. auch, Hofius 1970, 129. Anders Karrer 2002, 203, der die Bedeutung des *καὶ* betont, aber den Bezug zu den 40 Jahren nicht ändert.

¹⁹ Zur Übersetzung mit „Misstrauen“ s. Hofius 1970, 213, Anm. 797; Weiß 1991, 257 Anm. 15.

²⁰ Die „Werke“ beziehen sich auf Gottes Heilswirken, s. dazu Weiß 1991, 259f Anm. 25; Gräßer 1990, 180 (vgl. 179 Anm. 38).

²¹ Vgl. Hofius 1970, 130.

Geschichte dieses Volkes (vgl. Hebr 11).²² Sie sollen die Herzen nicht verhärten wie ihre Väter am Tag der Versuchung in der Wüste. Daher werden der Gemeinde die Heilstaten Gottes vor Augen gestellt, der sich 40 Jahre, d.h. eine Generation lang, als verlässlich erwiesen hat. Würde sie ebenfalls Misstrauen haben, würde sie gleichfalls nicht in die *κατάπαυσις* eingehen können. Das Fehlverhalten der Väter in Num 13–14 bestand darin, dass sie Zweifel am Eintreffen des von Gott Zugesagten hatten. Damit verloren sie das Ziel, nämlich das Eingehen in die Ruhe Gottes, aus den Augen.

Die Art des Umgangs mit dem Schriftzitat erweist den AuctHebr als Schriftgelehrten.

2. DIE EINRICHTUNG DES ALLERHEILIGSTEN, HEBR 9,1–6²³

¹Εἶχεν μὲν οὖν [καὶ] ἡ πρώτη δικαιοῦματα λατρείας τό τε ἅγιον κοσμικόν. ²σκηνὴ γὰρ κατεσκευάσθη ἡ πρώτη ἐν ἧ ἢ τε λυχνία καὶ ἡ τράπεζα καὶ ἡ πρόθεσις τῶν ἄρτων, ἣτις λέγεται Ἁγία. ³μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεύτερον καταπέτασμα σκηνὴ ἢ λεγομένη Ἁγία Ἀγίων, ⁴χρυσοῦν ἔχουσα θυμιατήριον καὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν τῆς διαθήκης περικεκαλυμμένην πάντοθεν χρυσίῳ, ἐν ἧ στάμνος χρυσῆ ἔχουσα τὸ μάννα καὶ ἡ ῥάβδος Ἀαρὼν ἢ βλαστήσασα καὶ αἱ πλάκες τῆς διαθήκης, ⁵ὑπεράνω δὲ αὐτῆς Χερουβὶν δόξης κατασκιάζοντα τὸ ἱλαστήριον· περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν νῦν λέγειν κατὰ μέρος. ⁶Τούτων δὲ οὕτως κατεσκευασμένων εἰς μὲν τὴν πρώτην σκηνὴν διὰ παντὸς εἰσίσαισι οἱ ἱερεῖς τὰς λατρείας ἐπιτελοῦντες.

¹Nun hatte ja auch der erste Bund seine Satzungen für den Gottesdienst und sein irdisches Heiligtum. ²Es wurde nämlich ein erstes Zelt eingerichtet, in dem sich der Leuchter und der Tisch mit den Schaubrotten befanden; es wird das <Heilige> genannt. ³Hinter dem zweiten Vorhang aber war das Zelt, welches das <Allerheiligste> genannt wird. ⁴Es enthielt den goldenen Räucheraltar und die Bundeslade, die ganz mit Gold überzogen war. In ihr waren der goldene Krug, der das Manna enthielt, der Stab Aarons, der wieder ausgeschlagen hatte, und die Tafeln des Bundes, ⁵und über ihr die Kerubim der Herrlichkeit, welche die Sühneplatte über der Bundeslade überschatteten. Doch davon soll jetzt nicht im Einzelnen die Rede sein. ⁶Seit dies so eingerichtet ist, betreten die Priester immer wieder das erste Zelt, um Gottesdienst zu feiern.²⁴

Die Aufzählung der Bestandteile des ersten und des zweiten Zeltes weist Besonderheiten auf: es sind zweimal drei Geräte, die für erstes und zweites Zelt genannt werden. Die Dreizahl entspricht der biblischen Überlieferung (Ex 25,23ff.30ff; 39,16f; 3Reg 7,34f LXX; 1Makk 4,50f; vgl. Philon, Her. 266). Brottisch und Auf-

²² Zur Frage nach dem einen Gottesvolk im Hebr s. Kraus 2013.

²³ Zur Einrichtung des Heiligtums in Hebr 9 vgl. Kraus 2016a, 105-107. Ich nehme einige Überlegungen aus dem früheren Aufsatz auf.

²⁴ Übersetzung nach Zürcher Bibel 2019.

lagen werden jedoch entgegen der Exodus-Vorlage unterschieden. Die Reihenfolge mit dem Leuchter zu Beginn, die ebenfalls Ex 25 widerspricht, lässt sich auch sonst in früh-jüdischer Tradition belegen (Philon, Her. 66 und Josephus, Bell. 6.388).

In der Lade befinden sich goldener Krug, Aaronsstab und Gesetzestafeln. Das steht so nicht im Buch Exodus. Hans-Friedrich Weiß hat vermutet, dass der Autor dies „als schriftgelehrte Folgerung aus Ex 16,33f und Num 17,18.25“ erschlossen hat, evtl. mit der Absicht, auch hier „die Dreizahl der Ausstattungstücke“ zu erreichen.²⁵ Am auffälligsten ist der Standort des Räucheraltars:²⁶ er wird im Allerheiligsten lokalisiert. Die Ausleger tun sich schwer, dies zu erklären.²⁷

Mir scheint, dass die Antwort in Ex 30,6 LXX zu finden ist. Dort heißt es von der Stellung des Räucheraltars:

καὶ θήσεις αὐτὸ ἀπέναντι τοῦ καταπετάσματος τοῦ ὄντος ἐπὶ τῆς κιβωτοῦ τῶν μαρτυρίων, ἐν οἷς γνωσθήσομαι σοι ἐκεῖθεν.

⁶Dann stelle ihn vor den Vorhang, der die Lade des Zeugnisses verdeckt, vor die Deckplatte, die auf dem Zeugnis liegt, wo ich dir bezeugen will.²⁸

Die gängige Übersetzung mit „vor den Vorhang“ ist m.E. nicht sachgemäß: ἀπέναντι τοῦ καταπετάσματος heißt „gegenüber dem Vorhang“. Das kann sowohl innerhalb als auch außerhalb des Vorhanges bedeuten.²⁹ Geht man davon aus, dass der AuctHebr ausschließlich aufgrund des Schrifttextes argumentiert, dann ist die Angabe des Standorts des Räucheraltars schriftgemäß und nicht zu kritisieren. Dann handelt es sich an dieser Stelle ebenfalls um eine schriftgelehrte Folgerung.

3. BUND UND TESTAMENT, HEBR 9,15–18

Der AuctHebr hat seinen Hauptteil Hebr 7,1–10,18, in dem es um das Thema ‚Jesus, der große Hohepriester nach der Ordnung Melchisedeks‘ geht, geschickt strukturiert und folgerichtig aufgebaut. In Hebr 7 wird in Kombination von Gen 14,18–20 und Ps 109,4 LXX und Anwendung auf Jesus, dessen Hohepriestertum

²⁵ Weiß 1991, 452.

²⁶ Der Hebr-Autor spricht nicht wie in der LXX sonst üblich vom *θυσιαστήριον* bzw. vom *θυσιαστήριον* (τοῦ) *θυμιάματος* (vgl. Ex 27,1; 30,1.27; Lev 4,7.18 u.ö.), sondern vom *θυματήριον*, vgl. dazu Kraus 1991, 238 Anm. 22.

²⁷ Vgl. die Kommentare z. St., s. auch Kraus 1991, 238 Anm. 22.

²⁸ Übersetzung nach der Zürcher Bibel 2019.

²⁹ Vgl. Karrer 2008, 144, im Anschluss an Gheorghita 2003. Belastbare Parallelen in der frühjüdischen Literatur zum Standort des Räucheraltars innerhalb des Allerheiligsten existieren – bis auf syrBar 6,7 – nicht (vgl. allerdings auch Apk 8,3f), vgl. Weiß, *Hebr*, 452 Anm.15.

beschrieben.³⁰ Aufgrund des Eidschwurs aus Ps 109,4 LXX und wegen der durch Abraham erfolgten Abgabe des Zehnten an Melchisedek (Gen 14,20) wird die Überlegenheit des Hohepriestertums Jesu gegenüber dem der aaronidischen Priesterschaft herausgestellt. Der Eidschwur steht dem *Nomos* entgegen. Aufgrund des Eidschwurs wurde der Sohn als Hohepriester eingesetzt. Damit wird die Bestimmung des *Nomos* in dieser Hinsicht aufgehoben (7,18), wie es schon vorher anklang (7,12). Die Zehntabgabe Abrahams an Melchisedek bringt dessen übergeordnete Stellung und damit die niedrigere Stellung Levis als Enkel Abrahams und Ahnherr der Priesterschaft zum Ausdruck.

Hebr 8 setzt dann mit einem rhetorischen Signal ein:

¹Κεφάλαιον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις, τοιοῦτον ἔχομεν ἀρχιερέα, ὃς ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θρόνου τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ²τῶν ἀγίων λειτουργὸς καὶ τῆς σκηνῆς τῆς ἀληθινῆς, ἣν ἔπηξεν ὁ κύριος, οὐκ ἄνθρωπος.

¹Die Hauptsache bei dem Gesagten aber ist: Wir haben einen Hohen Priester, der sich zur Rechten des Thrones der Majestät in den Himmeln gesetzt hat ²als ein Diener am Heiligtum und am wahren Zelt, das der Herr aufgeschlagen hat und nicht ein Mensch.

Κεφάλαιον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις lässt sich am besten als „die Pointe der ganzen Argumentation“ wiedergeben.³¹ In diesem Kapitel wird durch Zitat der Verheißung einer neuen *Diatheke* aus Jer 38 LXX die Schriftbasis eingeführt, aufgrund derer dann argumentiert wird, dass Jesus Hohepriester sei. Es handelt sich um einen Schriftbeleg, der beweisen soll, warum es nach der Schrift überhaupt möglich ist, dass Jesus Hohepriester sein kann. Er kann es, weil Gott durch Jeremia eine neue *Diatheke* ankündigen ließ, die jetzt in Jesus zum Vollzug kommt.

Die inhaltliche Explikation des Handelns Jesu als Hohepriester, der zur Rechten Gottes für die Seinen am himmlischen Heiligtum agiert, erfolgt dann in Hebr 9,1–10,18 unter (antitypischer) Auswertung weiterer zentraler biblischer Kontexte (insbes. Lev 16; Ex 24; Num 19). Der AuctHebr kombiniert somit mehrere Schriftstellen: Ps 109,1 LXX (es handelt sich um ein Leitmotiv, das mehrfach wiederkehrt: 1,3; 1,13; 8,1; 10,12; 12,2), Ps 109,4 LXX, Gen 14,18–20 und Jer 38,31–34 LXX. Aufgrund von Ps 109,1 LXX kann er von Jesu Erhöhung zur Rechten der Majestät sprechen. Mit Ps 109,4 LXX kommt er zu seiner Aussage über Jesus als Hohepriester nach der Ordnung Melchisedeks. Mit Jer 38,31–34 LXX hat er den Schriftbeleg eingebracht, aufgrund dessen er von einer neuen *Diatheke* sprechen kann, die durch Jesus inauguriert wird.

³⁰ S. hierzu im Detail: Kraus 2014a.

³¹ Gäbel 2006, 240.

Hebr 9,15–18 kommt in diesem Zusammenhang die Rolle zu, die Umstände der Einsetzung der neuen *Diatheke* durch Jesus zu explizieren. Nachdem es V.14 hieß, dass „das Blut Jesu, der sich durch ewigen Geist Gott als makelloses Opfer darbrachte, das Gewissen von den Sünden reinigt“ (τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς διὰ πνεύματος αἰωνίου ἑαυτὸν προσήνεγκεν ἄμωμον τῷ θεῷ, καθαρῶς τὴν συνείδησιν ἡμῶν ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἔργων),³² führen die Verse 15–18 aus, wie diese neue *Diatheke* in Kraft gesetzt wurde. Blut und Tod werden dabei in V.14 in eins gesetzt.³³ Auf dieser Basis heißt es dann in V.15–18:

¹⁵Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο διαθήκης καινῆς μεσίτης ἐστίν, ὅπως θανάτου γενομένου εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διαθήκῃ παραβάσεων τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν λάβωσιν οἱ κεκλημένοι τῆς αἰωνίου κληρονομίας. ¹⁶Ὅπου γὰρ διαθήκη, θάνατον ἀνάγκη φέρεσθαι τοῦ διαθεμένου. ¹⁷διαθήκη γὰρ ἐπὶ νεκροῖς βεβαία, ἐπεὶ μήποτε ἰσχύει ὅτε ζῆ ὁ διαθέμενος. ¹⁸ὅθεν οὐδὲ ἡ πρώτη χωρὶς αἵματος ἐγκεκαίνισται.

¹⁵Darum ist er Mittler eines neuen Bundes: Sein Tod sollte geschehen zur Befreiung von den Übertretungen aus der Zeit des ersten Bundes, damit die Berufenen die Verheissung des ewigen Erbes empfangen. ¹⁶Wo es nämlich um ein Testament geht, muss der Tod dessen nachgewiesen werden, der es aufgesetzt hat. ¹⁷Ein Testament wird erst im Todesfall wirksam; es tritt niemals in Kraft, solange der Verfasser noch lebt. ¹⁸Darum ist auch der erste Bund nicht ohne Blut besiegelt worden.³⁴

Der Begriff *μεσίτης* kann hier nicht ausführlich diskutiert werden.³⁵ Er begegnet dreimal im Hebr in Verbindung mit *Diatheke*: 8,6; 9,15; 12,24. In Hebr 7,22 wird Jesus als ‚Bürge‘ einer besseren *Diatheke* bezeichnet:

²²κατὰ τοσοῦτο [καί] κρείττονος διαθήκης γέγονεν ἔγγυος Ἰησοῦς.

²²So ist Jesus Bürge eines besseren Bundes geworden.³⁶

Der Begriff ‚Bürge‘ (*ἔγγυος*) wird hier gleichbedeutend wie *μεσίτης* gebraucht. Das Verbum *μεσιτεύω* (im NT ein hap.leg.) ist in Hebr 6,17 belegt: Gott „verbürgt sich durch einen Eid“. Es ist aufgrund dieser Beleglage nicht zu empfehlen, *μεσίτης* durch ‚Mittler‘ wiederzugeben. Jesus ist nicht Mittler, sondern Bürge, der eine Rechtsverpflichtung auf sich nimmt: er ist Garant derselben, aber nicht Garant eines Verhältnisses. Jesus ist aber nicht nur Garant oder Bürge, er ist auch derjenige, der die neue *Diatheke* in Kraft setzt, also deren Inaugurator. Darum geht es in Hebr 9,15–18.

³² Nähere Argumentation zu diesem Vers bei Lustig 2023, 166-173.

³³ S. hierzu Lustig 2023, 167f-193.

³⁴ Übersetzung nach der Zürcher Bibel 2019.

³⁵ Vgl. dazu ausführlich Kraus 2016.

³⁶ Übersetzung nach der Zürcher Bibel 2019.

Der Begriff *διαθήκη* taucht im Hebr 17mal explizit auf (Hebr 7,22; 8,6.8.9 [bis].10; 9,4 [bis].15 [bis].16.17.20; 10,16.29; 12,24; 13,20), an vier Stellen, nämlich in 8,7.13; 9,1.18, ist er implizit zu ergänzen. Damit wäre eine Gesamtzahl von 21 erreicht. Die Mehrzahl der Belege findet sich in den zentralen Kapiteln 8,1–10,18.³⁷

Die Funktion der Einführung einer neuen *Diatheke* lässt sich so verstehen:³⁸ Sie dient (1.) der Begründung des Hohepriestertums Jesu in Überbietung der aaronidischen Priesterschaft, sie dient (2.) der inhaltlichen Füllung der Befreiung von den Sünden als zentrales Kennzeichen dessen, was aufgrund des Todes Jesu erfolgt. (3.) Um Ps 109,4 LXX in seiner Anwendung auf Jesus zu stützen, wird Jer 38(31) als Schriftbeweis eingeführt, und um die soteriologische Qualität des Hohepriestertums Jesu zu belegen, wird postuliert: er ist es, der die durch Jer angekündigte Verheißung in Kraft setzt.

Der Begriff *διαθήκη* bedeutet im Profangriechischen „Verfügung“, „Festsetzung“, „letztwillige Verfügung = Testament“.³⁹ Die Aktion der Verfügung geht dabei von einer Seite aus. Es geht nicht um ein zweiseitiges Abkommen. Für eine zweiseitige Vereinbarung würde der Begriff *συσθήκη* verwendet. In der LXX stellt *διαθήκη* weitgehend die Übersetzung von hebr. ברית dar, weshalb sich ein Verständnis i.S. von „Bund“ nahelegen könnte. Allerdings wird in der LXX mit *διαθήκη* nicht nur ברית übersetzt, sondern auch עדות (Satzung, Verordnung), תורה (Torah, Gesetz), דבר (Wort, Sache), כתוב (Geschriebenes) und חוק (Bestimmtes, Festgesetztes).⁴⁰ In Jesus Sirach findet sich der auffällige Befund, dass für die 23 Belege von *διαθήκη* innerhalb eines Buches ganz unterschiedliche Bedeutungsinhalte anzutreffen sind.⁴¹

Die Auslegung von Hebr 9,15–18 ist notorisch umstritten. Das hängt mit der Verwendung von *Diatheke* zusammen. Für die deutsche Forschung lässt sich von einem weitgehenden Konsens sprechen: Meist wird *Diatheke* in V.15 im Sinn von Bund verstanden, in V.16f im Sinn von letztwilliger Verfügung / Testament und in V.18ff wieder im Sinn von Bund. Christian Lustig bemerkt zu Recht, dass ein solcher Denotationswechsel innerhalb weniger Verse Schwierigkeiten bereitet.⁴²

Dass er dennoch möglich ist, belegen Paulus und Philon. In Gal 3,1ff geht es um den Abrahambund (Gen 12,1–3, das Stichwort *Diatheke* fällt hier nicht) und in Gal 4,24 steht der biblische Bezug im Hintergrund, also die ‚Bundesschlüsse‘ mit Abraham und derjenige vom Sinai. In Gal 3,15.17 bedeutet *διαθήκη* jedoch

³⁷ Zur Frage des Verständnisses von *Diatheke* im Detail s. Kraus 2023.

³⁸ S. dazu Kraus 2012.

³⁹ S. dazu Kraus 2023a. Ich übernehme einige Überlegung aus diesem Beitrag.

⁴⁰ Zur Forschungsgeschichte, zur Semantik und zum Verständnis in den biblischen und parabiblichen Texten s. den Anm. 37 genannten Band *Covenant* (Eberhart / Kraus 2023).

⁴¹ Vgl. hierzu Fabry 2011; Gesche 2023.

⁴² Lustig 2023, 170. Lustig 2023, 168–203 bestreitet mit gewichtigen Argumenten die erbrechtliche Deutung. Ich kann mich jedoch seiner Argumentation nicht anschließen.

wie im Profangriechischen üblich: „letztwillige Verfügung = Testament“. Auch Philon wechselt ohne speziellen Hinweis zwischen beiden Bedeutungsinhalten hin und her: Mut 51–53 (vgl. Her 313).⁴³

Nach V.15 ist Jesus *Mesites* einer neuen *Diatheke*, denn sein Tod hat die Befreiung von den unter der ersten *Diatheke* geschehen Übertretungen bewirkt (vgl. Röm 3,25f). Erste und neue *Diatheke* stehen hier in Opposition. Was mit der *ersten Diatheke* gemeint ist, wird aus 9,1–10 deutlich: es ist die levitische Kultordnung. Der wird die durch Jesus inaugurierte Kultordnung entgegengesetzt, die „nach der Ordnung Melchisedeks“ eingesetzt ist (Hebr 7,1–28). *Diatheke* meint also hier weder „Bund“, noch bloß „Verfügung“, auch nicht „Testament“, sondern „Kultordnung“ bzw. „Heilsordnung“.⁴⁴ V.15 spricht davon, dass durch das Eintreten Jesu die Erwählten die Verheißung eines ewigen Erbes erhalten sollen. Mit dem Stichwort *κληρονομία* (Erbe/Erbschaft) befinden wir uns in einem erbrechtlichen Zusammenhang. Dies könnte den Impuls gegeben haben, die Verse 16–17 zu formulieren.

Denn wie es scheint, nutzt der AuctHebr die semantische Möglichkeit des Oszillierens von *Diatheke* zwischen ‚letztwilliger Verfügung / Testament‘ und ‚Bund‘ bzw. ‚Kultordnung / Heilsordnung‘ um in V.16f eine „rechtsmetaphorische“ Begründung der Stiftung der neuen *Diatheke* durch Jesus einzuführen.⁴⁵ Damit ein in einem Testament festgelegtes Erbe angetreten werden kann, muss der Tod des verfügenden Erblassers (*διαθέμενος*) eingetreten sein.

Mit dem „Verfügenden“ (*διαθέμενος*) kann hier nur Jesus gemeint sein, denn Gott kann nicht sterben. Ausgangspunkt der Überlegung ist daher Jesus und sein Tod. Sieht man V.16f als Einschub an, der aufgrund des Stichworts *κληρονομία* (Erbe/Erbschaft) in V.15 formuliert wurde, dann wird damit noch einmal (nach V.15) zum Ausdruck gebracht, dass Jesus nicht nur der Bürge und Garant, sondern der Inaugurator der neuen *Diatheke* ist.

Der schriftgelehrte AuctHebr macht sich also die semantische Breite des Begriffes *Diatheke* zunutze und argumentiert ausgehend von Jesu Tod, dass mit diesem Ereignis die jeremianische Verheißung verwirklicht wurde.

⁴³ Es trifft zu, dass Paulus in Gal 3,15 ausdrücklich hervorhebt, „auf menschliche Weise“ zu sprechen, bevor er *Diatheke* im Sinn von ‚Testament‘ einführt (so Lustig 2023, 170 Anm. 383). Das gilt jedoch nicht für Philon.

⁴⁴ S. hierzu Weiß 1991, 411–415.

⁴⁵ Backhaus 2009, 329.

4. FAZIT

Die Argumentationsfiguren im Hebräerbrief erweisen seinen Autor⁴⁶ als sprachlich kompetent, in den Schriften Israels fest verankert und als virtuos im Umgang mit seinen Vorlagen. Er zitiert nicht nur, sondern argumentiert, indem er im Text vorhandene Potentiale erspürt und seinem Ziel dienstbar macht. Er gehört wohl zu jener intellektuellen Elite seiner Zeit, die Arie van der Kooij als Rezipienten und Ausleger der Schriften Israels benannt hat, ein Gelehrter durch und durch.

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⁴⁶ Aufgrund des maskulinen Partizips in Hebr 11,32 ist eine Autorin unwahrscheinlich – wenngleich nicht völlig auszuschließen, s. dazu Karrer 2008, 293. Zur Diskussion s. auch Gräßer 1997, 189f Anm. 24.

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THE PONTIFEX IN HIS HABITAT: SACERDOTAL SEMANTICS IN THE SEPTUAGINT OF ISAIAH AND THEIR *SITZ IM LEBEN* IN THE CONTEXT OF GRAECO-ROMAN TEMPLE LIBRARIES IN EGYPT

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The relatively free character of the Greek translation of Isaiah has led scholars to look for a plausible historical and cultural setting of its text and author. The *honoree* of this volume has pleaded for a scribal-scholarly setting for the Greek Isaiah and synthesized the ideas of Joseph Ziegler and Isac Seeligmann about an Egyptian, priestly *Sitz im Leben* of the book as product of the circle around high priest Onias IV in the cultic context of a Jewish temple at Leontopolis. This paper explores the insights gained from recent excavations and publications of the scholarly papyri deposited from the Greco-Roman Egyptian temple libraries at Tebtunis and Soknopaiou Nesos. These data help us to correct current misunderstandings about priestly functions as portrayed in the Old Greek of Isaiah. Special attention is given to terms in the semantic domain of priestly functions, such as the role of the *prophetes*, the *stochastes* and the *akroates*.

1. INTRODUCTION

Throughout his prolific academic career Arie van der Kooij has stressed the scholarly character of the scribes and translators involved in transmitting, translating and interpreting biblical literature, the book of Isaiah in particular. In his view these scribes were not just simple dragomans unaware of the contents and context of the material they were passing on, but highly trained scholars with a keen eye on both the ancestral tradition and contemporary events that would validate the prophetic potential embedded in these venerated texts.¹ Particularly in those cases where the biblical texts have been copied or translated in a relatively free manner it is possible to detect this scribal-scholarly approach.² Already in his earliest publications Van der Kooij has shown how both ancient copies of the book of Isaiah, such as manuscript 1QIsaiah^a, but also the ancient Greek, Aramaic, Syriac and Latin translations of that biblical book reflect a specific kind of hermeneutics that combined thorough study of the authoritative writings with creative reinterpretation.

¹ Van der Kooij 1998.

² For the relatively free character of the Greek version of Isaiah, see, e.g. Thackeray 1909, 13; Ziegler 1934, 1-46; Seeligmann 1948, 39-69: "The Technique Employed in the Translation and Its Relation to the Hebrew Text"; Ngunga / Schaper 2015.

tation of these texts with an eye on the prophetic potential embedded in the ancient oracles.³

The actual interpretation not only required competence of respected scribes proficient in both classical Hebrew and Greek culture and literature, but also the authority of the sacerdotal authorities for its authorization and promulgation. In the case of the Greek Pentateuch this was the high priest in Jerusalem, as the Letter of Aristeas makes abundantly clear.⁴ According to Van der Kooij, Isac Seeligmann, Wilhelm Gesenius, and others, one should assume the context of circles around the exiled high priest Onias IV as place or origin for the Old Greek version of Isaiah.⁵ According to 2 Maccabees 3-4, Josephus, *B.J.* 7.421–436, *A.J.* 13.62–73, this high priest had fled to Ptolemaic Egypt after his father, high priest Onias III had been murdered near Antioch on the instigation of the Menelaus, who had bought the high priesthood from Antiochus IV Epiphanes.⁶ Onias IV found a safe haven at the Ptolemaic court and received permission to establish a cult for Yhwh in an abandoned temple in Leontopolis, previously dedicated to the cat goddess Bastet. It is even possible that a letter from the Ptolemaic court to Onias IV has been preserved up until today (UPZ I 110 = *CPJ* 1.132).⁷

Read against this background a lot of the otherwise curious deviations of the Greek translation from the Hebrew text as attested both by MT and the Qumran manuscripts make sense as “Septuagint hermeneutics” inspired and authorized by this pontifical entourage.⁸ This includes the actualization of many toponyms, such as Philistines into (Hellenistic) Greeks (Isa 9:11[12]), Tarshish into Carthage (Isa 23:1, 6, 10, 14 *vis-à-vis* Tarsis in 60:9 and 66:19), and Aram into (Seleucid) Syria (Isa 9:11[12] cf. 17:3).⁹ It would also put the interest in Jews in Egypt (Isa 11:16) and the legitimate altar (*θυσιαστήριον*) for Yhwh in Egypt in a city of righteousness (*πόλις-ασεδεκ*, Isa 19:18-21) in perspective. This type of actualizing rendering could then also account for the numerous small deviations in sections that

³ Van der Kooij 1981. This type of hermeneutics presupposes a procedure in which reading out aloud the text (*ἀνάγνωσις*, *Let.Aris.* 305; *Sir.Prologue* 10, 17, *Theod-Dan* 5:15) and its interpretation (*διασάφησις*, *Let.Aris.* 305) are two distinct phases in the interpretation (*ἔξις*, *Let.Aris.* 121; *ἔξηγησις*, cf. *LXX-Gen* 41:8, 24) of the text before a translation (*ἐρμηνεία*, *Let.Aris.* 3, 32; *Artap.* 3:6) was made.

⁴ *Let.Aris.* 121: ἐπιλέξας γὰρ (sc. *Ελεάζαρος ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερεὺς*) τοὺς ἀρίστους ἀνδρας καὶ παιδεία διαφέροντας, ἅτε δὴ γονέων τετελευτότας ἐνδόξων, οἵτινες οὐ μόνον τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν γραμμάτων ἔξιν περιποίησαν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐφρόντισαν οὐ παρέργως κατασκευῆς. See van der Kooij 2012.

⁵ Gesenius 1821, 62; Frankel 1841; Seeligmann 1948, 70-94: “Date and Historical Background of the Translation”; Van der Kooij 1981, 33–65, 71–73.

⁶ See e.g. the recent full monograph devoted to these issues: Piotrkowski 2019.

⁷ The letter (UPZ I 110 = *CPJ* 1.132) opens as follows: Ἡρώδης Ὀνί[αι] χαίρειν. The reconstruction “to Oni[as]” is highly probable, but not beyond dispute. See further Van der Meer 2010, 107–133. Piotrkowski 2019, 198-201, argued that the reference must have been to Onias III.

⁸ See e.g. Van der Kooij 2012a; Van der Kooij 2008; Van der Kooij 2016.

⁹ See Hanhart 1983; Van der Kooij 1998a.

came to be seen as messianic passages (Isa 9:1-9; 49:1-6; 52:13-53:12), but actually reflect the application of images of ancient royal imagery and collective identity to the exiled high priest Onias IV and his group of followers.¹⁰

2. THE SCRIBAL SETTING OF THE SEPTUAGINT OF ISAIAH

Hence, there is every reason to study the Septuagint of Isaiah not only in linguistic terms on the basis of alleged timeless translation universals, but also try to understand them against the background of their historical and cultural contexts. German Old Testament scholarship coined the term “Sitz im Leben” for this kind of research, i.e. the search for the earliest attainable social context in which the text must have functioned. Whereas previous scholarship on the Hebrew Bible focused mainly on cult and court as primary “Sitz im Leben” of the original core of ancient Israelite religious literature, the wealth of data provided by the Dead Sea Scrolls have changed this paradigm into what Karel van der Toorn has coined “scribal culture.”¹¹ Much of the literature that has eventually become the Hebrew Bible was never originally intended for mass production, but rather the work of a small scribal elite who worked within the setting of temple libraries. These scribes copied, expanded and condensed older documents for a variety of reasons,¹² often rather practical and political.

This scribal paradigm fits the understanding of ancient Greek and Aramaic translations of the same corpus rather well, as Van der Kooij has demonstrated.¹³ Particularly for the Old Greek version of Isaiah this paradigm would help to contextualize the numerous deviations of the Greek text from the Hebrew *Vorlage* that can not only be explained away as scribal corruption or lack of understanding of the Hebrew by the Greek translators as used to be the approach by Richard Ottley and other Septuagint scholars a century ago.¹⁴ In order to better understand the choices the translator made, it would be helpful to know more about his scribal horizon, which in all likelihood would be a library, presumably attached to a temple.¹⁵

¹⁰ See Arie van der Kooij 1997; Van der Kooij 2002; Van der Kooij 2014. For Isaiah 53, see Hengel / Bailey 2004.

¹¹ Van der Toorn 2007.

¹² Whereas many scholars seem to presuppose that a scribal model basically implies a model of literary growth, parallels from the transmission of the Egyptian book of the dead, the Gilgamesh epics or the adaptation of material from Samuel-Kings by the Chronicler makes clear that scribal literary involvement was just as much a process of selection of older material as it was that of boundless accretion of new material, see Ziemer 2019.

¹³ Van der Kooij 2010.

¹⁴ Ottley 1906-1909, 35-45: “Methods of Rendering.”

¹⁵ The Letter of Aristeas of course portrays cooperation between Ptolemaic court and library on

There is also another reason why the presumed scribal setting of the Septuagint of Isaiah within the context of an alleged temple library at Leontopolis is of importance for the study of the Old Greek of Isaiah. The only other comprehensive attempt to situate the Old Greek of Isaiah was made by Joseph Ziegler who pointed to a wealth of agreements between the lexemes of Septuagint of Isaiah and the specific Greek vocabulary found in the documentary papyri from Ptolemaic Egypt.¹⁶ Ziegler examined the Hellenistic Egyptian background for semantic fields with terms related to fauna and flora,¹⁷ the traditional Egyptian division of the country into districts,¹⁸ and Ptolemaic functionaries.¹⁹

Yet, Ziegler did not explore the Ptolemaic background of the vocabulary of the Greek Isaiah in an exhaustive or systematic way. Furthermore, he relied much on the dictionary of Preisigke that had appeared a few years before he completed his monograph,²⁰ which, in turn, was based on only a fraction of the documentary papyri available today.²¹ Particularly problematic for our search for the setting of the Greek Isaiah is that he did not discuss terms related to temples, priests, cults and libraries and just assumed an Alexandrian-Hellenistic background of the Greek Isaiah without discussing the question whether that background pertained to the Ptolemaic court and library in Alexandria or the Onias temple at Leontopolis.

3. SCRIBAL CENTERS IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

It would therefore be of great importance for the interpretation of the Old Greek version of Isaiah to know more about these libraries in the ancient world. We can

the one hand and Jewish priesthood, see e.g. Honigman 2003. Yet, the narrative also elegantly placed the actual translation work at Pharos, away from that library and the cosmopolitan city life of Alexandria, see Van der Meer 2017. Troxel 2008, 20-72, applied Honigman's ideas about the Septuagint as a product of cultural polemics and prestige to the Septuagint of Isaiah. Although Troxel is sceptical about the idea that the Old Greek of Isaiah contains contemporizing allusions, he nevertheless argued that the phrase *ποῦ εἰσιν οἱ γραμματικοί* in LXX-Isa 33:18 contains a historical allusion to the expulsion of the scholars from the Museion at Alexandria by Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II in 145 BCE. Such a concern for Hellenistic librarians is without parallel in the Greek of Isaiah or other writings from that period.

¹⁶ Ziegler 1934, 175-212: „Der alexandrinisch-ägyptische Hintergrund der Js-LXX“. See also the recent study of the legal vocabulary in Septuagint Isaiah 58 in the light of Ptolemaic papyri by Settembrini 2018.

¹⁷ E.g. *ἔλος*, “swamp,” and *πάπυρος*, “papyrus,” in 19:6 for Hebrew קִנְיָה וְסוּף, “stalk and reed.”

¹⁸ Egyptian *sepat*, Greek *νομός*, a term that occurs almost exclusively in the Greek Isaiah (19:2 for Hebrew מַמְלָכָה, “kingdom,” see Ziegler 1934, 192; Passoni Dell'Acqua 1982, 173-177.

¹⁹ E.g. *ὑπομνηματογράφος*, “memoranda writer” for Hebrew מְזַכֵּיר, “recorder,” in 36:3, 22; see Ziegler 1934, 201; Wilcken 1912, 6.

²⁰ Preisigke 1925.

²¹ See Lee 1983, 1-10. His overview of Septuagint and papyrological lexicography is also already half a century old.

infer from a wealth of data that both the First and Second Temple in Jerusalem must have had such a temple library, see e.g. 2 Macc 2:13, which mentions the “records and memoirs” and “books about the kings, the prophets, the writings of David and letters of kings about offerings collected in a library” first by Nehemia and later by Judas Maccabeus.²² We can only speculate about the impact this library must have had on the formation of the canon of the Hebrew Bible,²³ since this library was lost with the destruction of the Second Temple during the First Jewish Revolt (70 CE).

Perhaps the writings found in the caves at Qumran preserve part of this collection,²⁴ or otherwise reflect a mirror of such a collection in a rival sectarian collection.²⁵ Unfortunately, what has remained of this collection is often no more than a collection of tiny scraps of what once must have been an impressive collection of lengthy book rolls. What remains of the temple at Leontopolis—assuming an identification of this temple and the remains at *Tell el-Yehudieh*—are some Jewish funerary epitaphs and remnants of a structure that could have been the lost Bastet-Oniad temple.²⁶ The temple and its library may have been the primary setting for Hellenistic writings such as the Third Book of the Sibylline Oracles, as argued by John Collins,²⁷ or the story of Joseph and Aseneth, as suggested by Gideon Bohak,²⁸ perhaps even more Hellenistic Jewish writings;²⁹ yet, the truth is we can only make estimated guesses.

The most famous library of all Antiquity, that of Alexandria, fared no better, as did the libraries of Athens, Pergamum, ancient Rome, and Ephesus.³⁰ They must have been impressive collections of universal knowledge once, but were destroyed or looted already in Antiquity. Even if we would know more about their contents apart from the scanty references in classical literature and the few archaeological remains, they would have provided more information about secular political ambitions than priestly concerns and interests.

On the other hand, several temple libraries from the ancient Near East have been preserved because the texts were written on clay tablets. Surveys of this rich

²² ἐξηγοῦντο δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνηματισμοῖς τοῖς κατὰ τὸν Νεεμῖαν τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡς καταβαλλόμενος βιβλιοθήκην ἐπισυνήγαγεν τὰ περὶ τῶν βασιλέων βιβλία καὶ προφητῶν καὶ τὰ τοῦ Δαυὶδ καὶ ἐπιστολὰς βασιλέων περὶ ἀναθεμάτων.

²³ See already Lemaire 1981; Van der Kooij 1998b; Van der Kooij 2003; Van der Toorn 2007, 236-244; du Toit 2011.

²⁴ Thus Golb 1995.

²⁵ See the discussion of this topic by White Crawford 2016, 109-131, and other essays in the same volume.

²⁶ Naville 1890; see the discussion by Piotrowski 2019, 162-197.

²⁷ Collins 1974. See also Van der Kooij 2018.

²⁸ Bohak 1996.

²⁹ See the discussion of 3 Maccabees and Pseudo-Hecataeus, *On the Jews*, by Piotrkowski 2019, 209-322.

³⁰ Casson 2001.

field of ancient libraries are offered by Olof Pedersén,³¹ Klaas Veenhof,³² and recently in a very rich and helpful overview of all ancient ‘Libraries before Alexandria’ by Kim Ryholt, Gojko Barjamovic, and associates.³³ Examples of such temple libraries (*edubba/bīt tuppim*, “tablet house,” or *gerginakku* in Akkadian) are provided by the Akkadian archive of the Ebabbar temple of Shamash at Sippar,³⁴ as well as the collection of mainly Ugaritic and Akkadian tablets in the house of the high priest (*rb khnm*) and the house of Urtēnu in Ugarit,³⁵ and the Akkadian, Hittite and Hurrian texts from ‘Temple’ M₁ at Emar.³⁶ Most of these collections, however, mainly consist of archival documents that were kept for economic purposes or prognostication (e.g. astrology and hepatoscopy),³⁷ and originated in time and place far from that of the Greek translations of Hebrew Scriptures in Hellenistic Egypt and Palestine. For that reason they have proven to be more useful as comparative material for the development of Hebrew writings and collections in the pre-Hellenistic period than later periods in which cuneiform culture gradually died out.³⁸

4. EGYPTIAN TEMPLE LIBRARIES FROM THE GRECO-ROMAN PERIOD

By contrast, the collections of documents found in the vicinity of Egyptian temples in the Fayum oasis and Saqqara provide a wealth of information that has hardly been taken into account in the study of the cultural context of Septuagint scribal-scholarly hermeneutics. Well-known are the Demotic and Greek documents of the Macedonian recluse (*κάτοχος*) Ptolemaios and the priest Ḳor of Sebennyti from the middle of the second century BCE that were found in the precincts of the Serapeum at Memphis.³⁹ In an earlier contribution I explored the relevance of these and other Demotic and Greek documents for the phenomenon

³¹ Pedersén 1985. See also Pedersén 1998.

³² Veenhof 1985.

³³ Ryholt / Barjamovic 2019).

³⁴ Bongenaar 1997; Spar / Jursa 2014. See further Van der Toorn 2007, 51-73; Robson / Stevens 2019.

³⁵ Rutz 2012; Bordreuil / Pardee 2012.

³⁶ Arnaud 1985-1987.

³⁷ I follow the scholarly convention to apply the term “archive” for a collection of usually unique non-literary administrative, economical, or juridical documents that are stored for incidental verification and validation purposes as opposed to a “library” which stores literary documents that serve religious, scientific or cultural purposes and are usually reproduced in multiple copies, see e.g. Ryholt / Barjamovic 2019, 7-9.

³⁸ Besides the works mentioned in the previous notes see, e.g., the essays collected in Radner / Robson 2011.

³⁹ See the still unsurpassed authoritative introduction to the Serapeum and edition of the documents found there and now scattered over libraries in Paris, London, and Leiden by Wilcken 1927. For the Hor archive, see Ray 1976.

of fulfilment prophecies, particularly those concerning the disruptive campaigns of Antiochus IV Epiphanes in Ptolemaic Egypt (170-168 BCE) and Judah (167 BCE) and their aftermath (such as the Demotic Oracle of the Lamb and its Greek counterpart the Oracle of the Potter, the Greek Dream of Nectanebo and its Demotic counterparts from the Carlsberg papyri, and the Demotic oracles of Hor).⁴⁰ Here I want to explore the potential for comparative studies offered by the material found—often relatively recently—and published—even more recently—as deposits from the libraries from the Sobek temples of Soknebtunis in Tebtunis (modern Tell Umm el-Baragat) and Soknopaios at Soknopaiou Nesos (modern Dimeh es-Seba) in the Fayum dating from the late Ptolemaic and early Roman periods.⁴¹

To my mind, the literary papyri found at these sites provide close parallels to the Jewish temple libraries that must have existed at Jerusalem and in all likelihood in Leontopolis as well during the Greco-Roman period. A better understanding of the Egyptian temple libraries may thus assist in a better understanding of the scribal horizon of the Septuagint translators. The large number of literary as well as documentary papyri written in Hieratic, Demotic and Greek found in the vicinity of the Sobek temples in the Fayum may offer fascinating insights in the manners and mindset of priests in temples close in time and space to the Jewish temples during the Hellenistic and early Roman periods, even if they have no direct bearing on Jewish writings of the time. The process of analyzing and editing these papyri will still occupy several years to come. The same holds true for archeological excavations at the sites.

The temple at Tebtunis (Τεβτῦνις or Τεπτῦνις in Greek papyri) dedicated to the crocodile god Sobek, Greek Σοῦχος, was probably founded around 300 BCE,⁴² and has yielded some 400 literary papyri in Demotic and Hieratic that were deposited in two genizah-like repositories south-east of the main temple building against the enclosure wall.⁴³

The Sobek temple at Soknopaiou Nesos (Σοκνοπαίου Νῆσος) was situated more or less at the other (north-west) end of the Fayum oasis, north of lake Qarun and was probably also built around 300 BCE. The village around the temple must have

⁴⁰ Van der Meer 2010a.

⁴¹ The documents are now housed primarily in the collections of Copenhagen (Carsten Niebuhr Papyri), Berlin and Florence (in the collection of Papiri della Società Italiana [PSI] founded by Girolamo Vitelli); see the overview by Ryholt 2019. See also the collection of articles on the archaeological and papyrological findings at the two sites: Lippert / Schentuleit 2005. Helpful are also the introductions by Quack 2009, and Hoffmann / Quack 2007.

⁴² See e.g. Rondot 2004.

⁴³ Ryholt 2019, 393-398; and Ryholt 2005. Since a considerable number of the Tebtunis literary papyri became part of the Carsten Niebuhr institute collection at Copenhagen and have been published by that institute there in the series Carlsberg papyri (Museum Tusulanum press), it is worthwhile to refer to the overview of the Carlsberg papyri published online: <https://pcarlsberg.ku.dk/publishedtexts/>

housed some 1000 inhabitants at its heyday in the second century CE.⁴⁴ Its remote location between desert and a hypersaline lake reminds one of the Qumran site with an equally predominantly priestly inhabitation. Numerous literary papyri in Demotic and Greek have been unearthed at the site and have found their way to various papyrus collections.⁴⁵

Among the literary papyri found at both sites are narratives that can be linked to the resistance of prince Inaros I of Athribis (c. 665 BCE), grandson of prince Petese of Athribis, against the Assyrian invasion under Esarhaddon (671-669 BCE). His resistance became a model for inspiration of native Egyptian resistance against Persian rulership (Inaros II, c. 460 BCE) and later Greco-Roman domination.⁴⁶ These stories do not only offer an fascinating parallel to the Hezekiah-Sanherib narratives found in Isaiah 36-39 (and 2 Kings 18-20), but also to the phenomenon of reapplication of such stories of resistance against imperial threats to new rulers from the east (Babylon, see Isaiah 13-14, 43, 46-47, 52, Persia in the Inaros cycle). Kim Ryholt estimates that some 20-25 fragmentary Demotic literary papyri from the Tebtunis temple archive belong to this cycle.⁴⁷ Some better preserved parallels have been found at Dime, e.g. the story of the Struggle for Inaros' Armor, a theme reminiscent of the Illias.⁴⁸

Interesting parallels to the prophecies and oracles in the book of Isaiah as well as its Greek adaptation are the so-called "Egyptian prophetic texts" both in Demotic and Greek renderings.⁴⁹ The Demotic "Oracle of the Lamb" that allegedly prophesized during the reign of pharaoh Bokchoris (725-720 or 717-712 BCE?) predicted the two-year occupation of a (as)Syrian ruler (apparently a reference to Esarhaddon's rule over Egypt from 671-669 BCE) and the glorious native king (Psammetich I) who would rule for 55 years (c. 664-610 BCE).⁵⁰ This prophecy

⁴⁴ Clarysse 2005, 22.

⁴⁵ See e.g. Stadler 2017.

⁴⁶ Since the resistance against foreign rulership from the east was connected with the reigns of pharaoh Petubastis II (seventh century BCE) and Petubastis III (around 522-520 BCE) the cycle of related Demotic narratives is also known as "The Petubastis cycle"; see Spiegelberg 1910. See also the description of the Inaros-Petubastis-cycle in Quack 2009, 50-70, and the anthology of Inaros-Petubastis texts in Hoffmann / Quack 2007, 55-117.

⁴⁷ Ryholt 2005, 163. Among these papyri is the story of a humiliating castration that in all likelihood belongs to the same cycle published by Sérida 2016.

⁴⁸ Hoffmann 1996; see also Spiegelberg 1910, 43-80. Parallels from the Tebtunis library have been published by Ryholt 2012. A related fragment from the second century CE Tebtunis Temple Library deposit is Demotic narrative about the contest for Inaros' Lance and diadem, published by Kim Ryholt in the same volume, 89-102. This volume also includes the publication of fragments of related narrative resistance literature, such as "A Story about the Living Prince Inaros" (pp. 23-34), "A Story featuring King Necho Merneith" (Necho I, 672-664 BCE), and a Demotic story about "Pharaoh and Persians," (pp. 143-156).

⁴⁹ Quack 2009, 181-193; Blasius / Schipper 2002; see also Van der Meer 2010a.

⁵⁰ Col. ii, line 5: [pa-t²-2.t nty bn iw] p^hy=n in p^hy pa-t² 55 p² nty iw p^hy=n [pa-t t²-shny.t].

was cited directly in the so-called Greek oracles of the potter.⁵¹ Although Egyptian priesthood usually tended to accept foreign rulership in exchange for support, tax exemption and political influence,⁵² the priests in these temples apparently fostered nationalistic ambitions and applied anti-Assyrian *vaticinia ex eventu* to later foreign rulers, just as the authors and redactors of the prophecies of Isaiah did.

Important for our understanding of the process of oracles and communication between humans and their god(s) are the numerous oracle questions found among the Tebtunis⁵³ and Soknopaiou Nesos⁵⁴ temple libraries deposits.⁵⁵ They contain questions to the god Sobek about very concrete and practical matters (travel, marriage, juridical issues) comparable perhaps to the kind of questions Isaiah, Achaz, and Hezekiah pose to the God of Israel (Isaiah 6-8, 37-38). Although almost all these texts are written in Demotic, a single oracle question from the Tebtunis temple library was written in Greek.⁵⁶ It is also important to note in this respect that in the context of Egyptian-Greek theology prophecy and receiving oracles are quite distinct: in the Egyptian priestly hierarchy a *προφήτης* is not the person receiving oracles, but the leading priest (usually the *ἀρχιερεύς* or *ἐπιστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ*) with the divine authority to interpret (as *ἐξηγητής*) these oracles and speak (*φημί*) on behalf of (*πρό*) the deity.⁵⁷ Hence we also have some ancient Demotic handbooks on the interpretation of dreams.⁵⁸

Probably the most important contribution to the study of social, i.e., sacerdotal setting of the Septuagint of Isaiah and related documents is offered by the various priestly handbooks and manuals that were found in considerable numbers among the Tebtunis temple library deposits and those of the Sobek temple at Soknopaiou Nesos. Particularly telling are the Hieratic handbooks or encyclopaedia's with compendia of terms of realia and priestly functions a priest should know, headed

⁵¹ Koenen 2002, 139-187; P₃ col. i-ii, lines 31-34: ὁ δὲ δύο οὐκ ἦν ἡμέτερος· ὁ δὲ τὰ πεντήκοντα πέντε ἔτη {κοντα πέντη ἔτη} ἡμέτερος ὑπάρχων τοῖς Ἑλλησι <1 τελ>εἰ τὰ κακά, ἃ Βαχάρι ἀπήγγειλεν ὁ ἀμ{μ}νός).

⁵² See e.g. Zivie-Coche / Dunand 2013, 103-110.

⁵³ Erichsen 1942; Bresciani 1965, 195-199.

⁵⁴ Bresciani 1975.

⁵⁵ See the overview and publication of new Demotic oracle questions from the Tebtunis temple library by Zauzich 2000.

⁵⁶ P.Carlsberg 24: ἸΚύριος Ἀρψινῆσι ἄξιούμεν σε· ἴει μὲν ἀποθά-⁴νι, ἐξένικον ἡμῖν τοῦτον ⁶καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ⁷ἀσχόλησαι, "Lord Harpsensesis, we beg you, if he (is to) die, bring out this (piece) and work on our side." See Bülow-Jacobsen 1984.

⁵⁷ See already Otto 1905, 42-43, 75-84, esp. 82: "Vor allen Dingen ist dann noch zu beachten, daß man sich nicht durch den griechischen Titel *προφήτης* verleiten lassen darf, sie in nähere Beziehung zu Orakeln und Orakelsprechen zu bringen." See further the classical study on the topic by Flascher 1927.

⁵⁸ Volten 1942. See also the archives of Ḫor from Sebennytyos and the *κάτοχος* Ptolemaios from Memphis, mentioned above.

by the instruction: *rh rn.w n nⁱ*, “to know the names of.”⁵⁹ One of them (P.Carlsberg 180) has a considerable number of glosses in Old Coptic, which shows that the ancient Hieratic text was studied and linguistically updated during the Greco-Roman period. The items to be learnt include scribal topics (e.g. hymns), geography (lands, toponyms), calendar (festivals, meteorology), illnesses, objects made from wood or wickerwork, animals, sacred places, buildings, animals, and times. In addition a whole series of *materia sacra* should be learned by the pupil studying on this compendium, e.g. the inventory of temples including the sacred utensils, sacred trees, and minerals. These compendia offer first-hand insights into the intellectual world and curriculum of learned priests in the context of temple libraries from the Greco-Roman period.

Of prime importance is probably also the “Book of the Temple” (*inter alia* P.Carlsberg 313) of which some twenty copies in Hieratic, Demotic and even partially in Greek (P.Carlsberg 312) exist.⁶⁰ Unfortunately these papyri have not been published, hence we have to rely on a preliminary description of the content.⁶¹ This composition describes in great detail the lay-out of Egyptian temples, the rationale behind it and particularly all the personnel needed to uphold the household of a deity, from “overseer over the prophets” (*hⁱ.tⁱ-‘.w imⁱ-r’ hm.w-ntr*) to “scribes of the divine book” (*shⁱ.w mdⁱ.t-ntr*), schoolmaster (*imⁱ-rⁱ sbⁱ.w*) of the children of the prophets instructing them the word of the god(s) (*mtw- ntr*). It identifies a “house (or room) of life” (*pr-‘nh*) that must have functioned as a scribal centre as well a “house (or room) of books” (*pr-m mdⁱ.t*), that would seem to approximate the modern concept of a library.⁶²

Jürgen Osing and Kim Ryholt have drawn a parallel between this description in the book of the Temple and the temple library deposits on the one hand and the description of the Egyptian priesthood by Clement of Alexandria in his *Stromateis* (6.4.35.3-37.3) on the other.⁶³ Based on information provided by the Egyptian priest Chaeremon, Clement identified within the Egyptian priestly hierarchy a singer of hymns (ὁ ᾠδός) who is supposed to know two books of Hermes by heart, one with hymns to the gods, the other with instructions for the king. The second place is taken by the astrologer (ὁ ὠροσκόπος) who is supposed to have four books of astrology on his lips. The next in line, the sacred scribe (ὁ ἱερογραμματεὺς) is supposed to be knowledgeable in all matters of cosmography and geography (τῆς κοσμογραφίας καὶ γεωγραφίας) and equipment of the priests (περὶ τε τῆς καταγρα-

⁵⁹ Osing 1998.

⁶⁰ Quack 1997. The Greek papyri are P.Wash.Univ. inv. 138 and P.Oslo I 2; they have been (re)edited by Totti 1985, numbers 9-10 (pages 21-24).

⁶¹ Quack 2000. In this article Quack mentions some forty copies altogether.

⁶² See also the short overview of Egyptian scribes in Van der Toorn 2007, 67-71.

⁶³ Osing 1999; Ryholt 2005, 157-161. For the text and translation of Clement, see e.g. Descourtiex 1999, 130-135.

φῆς σκευῆς τῶν ἱερῶν). The role of the stolistes (ὁ στολιστής) is not confined to the wardrobe of the (statues of the) gods, but pertains to education and sacrifice. The prophet (ὁ προφήτης), then, is governor of the temple (προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ). He should know no less than ten Hieratic books by heart (τὰ ἱερατικά καλούμενα δέκα βιβλία ἐκμανθάνει) related to matters divine, legal and pedagogical. He is also in charge of the collection and distribution of the revenues (ὁ γάρ τοι προφήτης παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ τῆς διανομῆς τῶν προσόδων ἐπιστάτης ἐστίν). Finally, the *pastophoroi* (οἱ παστοφόροι) are not simply the bearers of the cult-image only, but are also physicians and are trained in human anatomy, diseases, medical instruments, ophthalmology and gynaecology. These six types of priestly officials should dispose of forty-two books of encyclopaedic knowledge derived from the god Thoth-Hermes (δύο μὲν οὖν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα αἱ πάνυ ἀναγκαῖαι τῷ Ἐρμῆ γεγόνασι βίβλοι). The Greek description of the Egyptian priestly hierarchy annex library seems to fit broadly the Egyptian-Hieratic material from the (fragmentary) copies of the “Book of the Temple.”

The numerous literary papyri from the Tebtunis and Soknopaiou Nesos temple libraries seem to correspond also with the categories mentioned above. One of these Tebtunis temple library papyri contains another sacerdotal encyclopaedia related astronomy, metrology and topography.⁶⁴ The famous “Book of the Fayum” was extant in multiple copies and must have been an important tool for understanding the sacred landscape of the Fayum oasis.⁶⁵ The handbook for astronomy, previously known as the “Book of Nut,” now known by its original title as “The Basics of the Course of the Stars” also known as the “Book of (the sky goddess) Nut,”⁶⁶ likewise circulated in several copies. “The Book of Thoth” may have initiated students into the higher scribal knowledge about the aspects of the gods and the afterlife.⁶⁷ Other handbooks include a Hieroglyphic-Hieratic dictionary, explicitly aimed to assist in explaining difficult passages,⁶⁸ a book with Demotic names listed in alphabetical order,⁶⁹ word-lists of ritual key-terms,⁷⁰ wisdom texts, including a Demotic wisdom book,⁷¹ the Teachings of ‘Onch-Sheshonqy,⁷² and the instruction for king Merikare,⁷³ further manuals for the rituals for Sobek,⁷⁴ the lamentations over Osiris by his twin sisters Isis and Neph-

⁶⁴ Osing / Rosati 1998, 19-54; see also Quack 2004.

⁶⁵ Beinlich 1991; see also Beinlich 1988.

⁶⁶ von Lieven 2007.

⁶⁷ Jasnow / Zauzich 2021. See also Zauzich / Jasnow 2022.

⁶⁸ P.Carlsberg 7, see Iversen 1958. A republication including new fragments from the Copenhagen, Berlin (P.Berlin P 29006) and Florence (PSI inv. I 10) collections appeared as Quack 2020.

⁶⁹ Zauzich 2020.

⁷⁰ Tait 2000.

⁷¹ Volten 1941.

⁷² Ryholt 2000.

⁷³ Helck 1977.

⁷⁴ Stadler 2022.

thys,⁷⁵ the resurrection of Osiris,⁷⁶ the rituals for Sakhmet,⁷⁷ Sothis,⁷⁸ and Sokar,⁷⁹ the ritual of opening the mouth,⁸⁰ handbooks on medicine,⁸¹ herbs,⁸² law,⁸³ and mathematics,⁸⁴ including Greek counterparts of such scientific works among the Tebtunis papyri and a copy of Homer's *Iliad*. Just as indicative for the scholarly character of the temple libraries and schools are the various scribal exercises.

The hundreds of literary papyri from the Sobek temples in the Fayum thus offer a unique glimpse into the intellectual, social, and political world of the priestly elite, the habitat of a pontifex, so to speak. Temples like these not only played a vital role in the religion, economy and society of Egypt from pharaonic times deep into the Greco-Roman period, but were, apparently, also important centres for higher education, hence a "Ptolemaic Princeton," a "Fayum Vatican library," or a "Qarun Qumran collection"? Of course, such modern analogies are far from adequate, but perhaps it is not too far-fetched to see in the collections of the Sobek temples at Tebtunis and Soknopaiou Nesos the closest parallel for comparable sacerdotal institutes in Jerusalem, Leontopolis, and Qumran.

5. SACERDOTAL SEMANTICS IN THE SEPTUAGINT OF ISAIAH

But do these parallels really have any bearing on the study of the Septuagint of Isaiah? After all, the idea that this Jewish translation originated in the circle around the high priest Onias IV at Leontopolis is only a hypothesis. Furthermore, what we do know about Jews and Egyptians in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman periods is that they were usually not on very friendly terms with one another. The conflicts between the Jews and the priests of Khnum on Elephantine in the middle of the fifth century BCE bear witness to this antagonism.⁸⁵ Likewise the anti-Jewish propaganda of Egyptian priests and scholars, such as Manetho,

⁷⁵ Kucharek / Coenen 2021.

⁷⁶ Widmer 2015.

⁷⁷ Osing / Rosati 1998, 189-215.

⁷⁸ Töpfer 2015. As the title of the publication indicates, this ritual was at home in Oxyrhynchus, but nevertheless ended up in the temple library deposits of Tebtunis. The presence of this somewhat "exotic" manuscript in the Fayum attests to the scientific outlook of the Tebtunis temple library and its priesthood.

⁷⁹ Quack 2006.

⁸⁰ Quack 2006a.

⁸¹ Iversen 1939.

⁸² Tait 1991.

⁸³ Tait 1991a.

⁸⁴ Parker 1972.

⁸⁵ See the Aramaic documents from the Jedaniah communal archive (419-407 BCE) (TADAE A4.1-10) in Porten / Yardeni 1988, 53-80.

Mnasaëas, Apion, and Chaeremon,⁸⁶ show the contempt prominent Egyptian high priests held for Jews and Judaism. We even have papyrological evidence for the disgust a priest of Tebtunis had for Jews,⁸⁷ while Jews, in turn, held little respect for Egyptian animal cults, see, e.g. Philo, *Decal.* 77-80.

And yet, Jews and Egyptians alike were forced to coexist in a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society enforced upon them by the Ptolemaic and Roman empires. Both groups had to employ the imperial language, Koine Greek, in order to communicate with the highest authorities in their countries, but also to document all their official correspondence (contracts, petitions, tax receipts, letters, wills, etc.). Hence the Greek language shared by both Egyptian and Jewish priests and high officials alike forms the basis for comparing their priestly and scholarly world-views. This, in turn, is helpful to better understand the choices the Greek translator of Isaiah made. Since this translation was considerably less bound by the ideals of idiosyncrasy later translations tried to achieve, it is worthwhile to study the choices the Greek translator of Isaiah made within the semantic domain the lexemes are part of.⁸⁸

Here I want to fill the lacuna left by Ziegler by exploring parallels for specific sacerdotal functions in the Old Greek Isaiah against the background of their use in the papyri from Greco-Roman Egypt. The survey of the Tebtunis and Soknopaiou Nesos temple libraries can help to determine the semantic fields related to the topics of sacerdotal sciences and officials. It is my aim to enrich Septuagint research by pointing out hitherto unnoticed parallels by exploring the habitat of the presumed pontifex responsible for the creation of the Greek Isaiah.

5.1. *Priestly hierarchy*

As mentioned above, in Egyptian Greco-Roman parlance the title *προφήτης* was reserved for the upper echelon of the priesthood of a major temple. The person endowed with the authority to speak on behalf of the deity, just as the pope in Rome is presumed to be the mouthpiece of God when he speaks “*ex cathedra*,” could also be called *ἀρχιερεύς*, “high priest,” or *ἐπιστάτης*, “overseer,” of a temple (Egyptian *ntj-jw šn r hwt-ntr*).⁸⁹ Although the latter two Greek terms are not uncommon in the Septuagint, they do not occur in the Septuagint of Isaiah. Other terms for high officials in Hellenistic temples, such as a *στολιστής*, “vestment bearer,” are either rare (4 Reg 10:22) or absent (such as e.g. the term for vice-

⁸⁶ Stern 1974, 62-86, 97-101, 389-421; Méléze Modrzejewski 1995, 21-44; Bar-Kochva 2010.

⁸⁷ P.IFAO 104 = CPJ I 141, οἴδας ὃ γὰρ ὅτι βδελύς <σ>ονται Ἰουδαίους.

⁸⁸ Louw / Nida 1988. See also the useful collections of articles on *Biblical Greek Languages and Lexicography*, eds. Taylor / Lee / Burton / Whitaker 2004.

⁸⁹ See e.g. BGU IV 1194 [27 BCE]: ³Πτολεμαῖος ὁ παρ' Ὀρου ⁴προφήτου καὶ ἐπιστάτου ⁵ἱερῶν; see further Otto 1905, 79-83; Schentuleit 2015.

presider over the priestly collegium, the *λεσώνης*, Egyptian *pⁱ mr-šn*,⁹⁰ or that of the chief prophet, *ἀρχιπροφήτης*).⁹¹ The Canopus and Rosetta decrees placed the high priests, prophets and vestment bearers at the most prominent places of Egyptian priesthood: *οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ προφῆται καὶ οἱ εἰς τὸ ἄδyton εἰσπορευόμενοι πρὸς τὸν στολισμὸν τῶν θεῶν*. The *Gnomon of the idios logos*, a set of rules for the private account of the Roman emperor (initially Augustus), BGU V 1210 (second century CE),⁹² allowed *stolistai* to act as *prophets* (¹⁹³τοὺς προφήτας στολισταὶ διαδέχονται), but clearly forbids *pastophoroi* to act as priests (¹⁹⁵παστο[φόρ]οις οὐκ ἔξδν ὡς ἱερεῦσι χρηματίζειν) while anyone involved in the burial of the sacred animals is forbidden to *prophesy*, i.e. assuming the privileges of a high priest, or take part in processions (²¹¹τοῖς θάπτουσι τὰ ἱερά ζῶ[ια] οὐκ [ἔξ]δν προφητεύειν οὐδὲ ναὸν ²¹²κωμάζειν ο[ὐ]δὲ τρέφειν ἱερά [ζ]ῶ[ι]α).

It is interesting to note that the term *προφήτης* occurs in the Greek Isaiah only as title for the historical prophet Isaiah in the Hezekiah narratives of Isaiah 36-39 (i.e. LXX-Isa 37:2; 38:1; 39:3), or as derogation for corrupt prophets in the prophetic sections of the (first part of the) book (3:2; 9:14; 28:7; 29:10; 30:10). Here the prophet is equated with a mighty person (*ισχύων*, Isa 3:1-2), a person teaching unlawful things (*διδάσκων ἄνομα*, Isa 9:14), a drunken priest (*ἐπλανήθεν* [...] *διὰ σίκερα ἱερεῦς*, 28:7), unable to see (Isa 29:10) or declare truth (30:10). Although the choice for this Greek term was undoubtedly determined by the corresponding word *נְבִיָּא* in the Hebrew text, it is important to note that the translator introduced the Greek word in 30:10, where the Hebrew has *רְאִים*, “seers,” whereas the rendering *οἱ ἰδόντες* (Isa. 14:16, cf. 61:9) would have been more literal. In light of the polemic against priestly extortion (see below), I suggest the Greek translator was polemicizing against high priests Jason and Menelaos, who in his view were illegitimate and corrupt high priests at Jerusalem.

This view may help to clarify a hitherto unknown Greek word in Isa 3:2, i.e. *στοχάστης*. The word is not only unique in the Greek Bible, but also absent from Greek literary and documentary texts before the Byzantine period. In Isaiah 3:1-3 the word occurs in a list of officials that will be displaced by God:

MT כי הנה האדון יהוה צבאות מסיר מירושלם ומיהודה משען ומשענה כל משען לחם
 וכל משען מים גבור ואיש מלחמה שופט ונביא וקסם וזקן שר חמשים ונשוא פנים
 ויועץ וחכם חרשים ונבון לחש

⁹⁰ See e.g. CPR XV 29, first half of the first century CE, from Soknopiou Nesos: ¹²λεσ[ῶ]ν(ις) θεοῦ Σονοπαίου(υ), see further Otto 1905, 39, 49-51, and recently Chaufray 2023. Perhaps the deputy mentioned after the high priest (בוהן הראש ומשנהו) in the War Scroll, 1QM II, 1-4, held a similar position.

⁹¹ See Nelson 1983, 23-27.

⁹² Schubart 1919.

- NRSV For now the Sovereign, the Lord of hosts, is taking away from Jerusalem and from Judah support and staff—all support of bread, and all support of water—warrior and soldier, judge and prophet, diviner and elder, captain of 50 and dignitary, counselor and skillful magician and expert enchanter.
- LXX Ἰδοὺ δὴ ὁ δεσπότης κύριος σαβαωθ ἀφελεῖ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλημ ἰσχύοντα καὶ ἰσχύουσιν, ἰσχύον ἄρτου καὶ ἰσχύον ὕδατος, γίγαντα καὶ ἰσχύοντα καὶ ἄνθρωπον πολεμιστὴν καὶ δικαστὴν καὶ προφήτην καὶ στοχαστὴν καὶ πρεσβύτερον καὶ πεντηκόνταρχον καὶ θαυμαστὸν σύμβουλον καὶ σοφὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα καὶ συνετὸν ἀκροατὴν·
- NETS Behold now the Sovereign, the Lord Sabaoth, will take away from Judea and from Ierousalem a strong man and a strong woman, strength of bread and strength of water, a mighty one and strong one and soldier, both judge and prophet, and *stochastes* and elder, both officer of fifty and wonderful counselor, both skillful builder and intelligent listener.

The Greek word *στοχάστης* seems to match Hebrew *מַסַּךְ*, which is normally understood to be a “diviner.” The younger Greek translators, Theodotion, Aquila, and Symmachus substituted the Greek word for *μάντις*, an interpretation adopted since by almost all scholars, including Ziegler.⁹³ The question then arises why the Greek translator of Isaiah had not chosen this Greek word, especially since the translators of the Pentateuch had already opted for this equation (Num 22:7; Deut 18:10, 14). The Greek vocabulary for both cultic personnel and diviners in Egyptian-Greek documents as well as the Septuagint is very rich and variegated, but there does not seem to be an equivalent for this term. The corresponding verb *στοχάζομαι*, however, is widely attested in these corpora. It has a broad range of meanings, including “to guess,” “to take care of,” but also “to make probability calculations,”⁹⁴ thus already LXX-Deut 19:3.

This word occurs also in the letter to Onias mentioned above (UPZ I 110) where the *dioiketes* Herodes urged his subordinates Onias and Theon, *sub-dioiketes* of the Saite nome, to make the proper estimations about the employability of farmers in order to secure both optimal yield without overstressing those incapable of hard labour.⁹⁵ Hence, the corresponding noun may also indicate a financial functionary responsible for making the proper forecasts. If that is the

⁹³ Ziegler 1934, 200: “In unserem Zusammenhang wird *στοχάστης* ebenfalls eine Berufsklasse bedeuten, die zu den Priestern zählt und die Aufgabe hat, die Zukunft (aus den Opfern?) zu erforschen.” See further Baltzer / Kabiersch / Koenen / van der Kooij / Wilk 2011, 2512.

⁹⁴ LSJ 1650b; Preisigke 1925 II 491, often in the instruction of a superior to a subordinate “to take care not to neglect ...” e.g. P.Oxy. IX 1188 (13 CE): *στοχα(σάμενος) τοῦ μηδ(έν) ἀγνοη(θῆναι)*; LEH 571b, GELS 638b.

⁹⁵ UPZ I 110: *ὅπως τούτου μάλισ-75τα τοῦ μέρους <σ>τοχα[σ]άμενοι μηθὲν ἴτε μέγισ-τον μήτε ἀναγκαιότατον ἡγήσησθε.*

case, the juxtaposition of *προφήτης* and *στοχάστης* may have fiscal overtones and turn soothsayers into fiscal analysts. This aligns with the insight that in ancient Israel and elsewhere the high priests not only held the authority to speak on behalf of the deity, but also to collect taxes for the deity as well.

Already in 1981 Van der Kooij has pointed to the priestly polemics and fiscal nuances introduced by the Greek translator's rendering of Isa 22:15-25:⁹⁶ the confrontation between Isaiah and Sebna is placed in a *παστοφόριον*, originally a term for a side-chamber in a sanctuary intended as storeroom for cultic objects to be carried around by *pastophoroi* during religious processions,⁹⁷ and Sebna is transformed into treasurer (*ταμίας*) instead of finance minister at the royal court (*οἰκονόμος*) when rendering the Hebrew designation "master of the household" (אשר על הבית) in Isa 22:15. Where the Hebrew text of Isa 22:17-18 simply announces the demise of Sebna, the Greek translator explicitly introduced the marks of the high priest, i.e. a stole and glorious crown (καὶ ἀφελεῖ τὴν στολήν σου καὶ τὸν στέφανόν σου τὸν ἔνδοξον).

Ron Troxel, too, has pointed out the importance of the theme of fiscal oppression in the Old Greek Isaiah:⁹⁸ in Isa 3:12 the infants and women who will become oppressors of the people of Israel (עמי נגשו מעולל ונשים משלבו) have become tax-farmers and debt-collectors who will fleece the people (*λαός μου οἱ πράκτορες ὑμῶν καλαμώνται ὑμᾶς καὶ οἱ ἀπαιτοῦντες κυριεύουσιν ὑμῶν*).⁹⁹ Likewise, what was an Assyrian stick meant to subdue Israel in Isa 9:4(3) (שבט הגנש) has become a tally-stick of the same tax-farmers that eventually will be broken by the Lord (τὴν γὰρ ῥάβδον τῶν ἀπαιτούντων διεσκέδασεν κύριος). In Isa 14:4 the tax-farmer is identified with the king of Babylon, which in the world of the Greek Isaiah might well refer to Antiochus IV Epiphanes, who plundered many temple treasuries in his kingdom in order to pay his debts to the Romans.¹⁰⁰ The Greek word used in the same verse (14:4), *ἐπισπουδαστής*, "person in charge of speeding up the work,"¹⁰¹ is, again, unique in the Greek Bible, but well-known from the documentary papyri.¹⁰²

⁹⁶ Van der Kooij 1983, 56-60.

⁹⁷ See Ziegler 1934, 201: "Unbekümmert um den heidnischen Gebrauch des Ausdruckes *παστοφόριον* von den Zellen des Serapeums in Memphis verwendet der Js-Übers. diesen Ausdruck 22,15." The term occurs several times in the Greek Bible, see 1 Par 9:26; 23:28; 26:16; 28:12; 2 Par 31:11; 1 Esd 8:58; 9:1; 1 Macc 4:38, 57; Jer 42(35):4; Ezek. 40:17, 38. The corresponding noun *παστοφόρος* is not attested in the Greek Bible, although the idea of carrying cult objects or vessels can be found in LXX-Isa 52:11 *οἱ φέροντες τὰ σκεύη κυρίου* or throughout the historical books in the phrase *οἱ ἱερεῖς οἱ αἴρωντες τὴν κιβωτὸν τῆς διαθήκης* (e.g. Josh 3:15).

⁹⁸ Troxel 2002; Troxel 2008, 201-209.

⁹⁹ See also Ziegler 1934, 200.

¹⁰⁰ Van der Kooij 1981, 39-42 vs. Troxel 2008, 209-223.

¹⁰¹ LSJ 658b; LEH 234b; GELS 281a. The Hebrew text has מדהבה, "boisterous behaviour."

¹⁰² Preisigke 1925 I, 572, see, e.g., P.Köln VIII 346 (250-200 BCE), line 5: *ἑτοῖς ἐπισπουδασταῖς*

These fiscal and financial dimensions introduced by the Greek translator of Isaiah may not be very indicative of his priestly, scribal and scholarly setting: no one escapes death or taxes. Yet, the terms related to excessive tax collecting, i.e. “greed” (πλεονεξία, in 28:8 without clear Hebrew counterpart) and “impoverishment” (ταλαιπωρία in [16:4?]; 47:11; 59:7; 60:18, and ταλαίπωρος 33:1) tie the Greek Isaiah’s denouncement of a corrupt προφήτης (Isa 28:7, see above) in with both statements about high priest Menelaus in 2 Maccabees (4:50) and several documentary papyri related to both the Oniad temple at Leontopolis (UPZ I 110) and the Sobek temple at Tebtunis (P.Tebt. I 27). The author of 2 Maccabees 4:50 ascribed Menelaus unlawful position as high priest to the greed of those in power (ὁ δὲ Μενέλαος διὰ τὰς τῶν κρατούντων πλεονεξίας ἔμενεν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ). The author of UPZ I 110, the διοικητής Herodes, sought to prevent another revolt in the Ptolemaic empire because of over-imposing taxes by urging his deputies to spare the suffering people and warriors.¹⁰³ For the Greek translator of Isaiah, πλεονεξία motivated the wrong counsel of erring priests (28:2).¹⁰⁴ Impoverishment, ταλαιπωρία, then, is the fate of Babylon (47:11) and shall be absent from Jerusalem in days to come (60:18). The Greek word has been used as equivalent for the Hebrew words for disaster (הַיָּהָה, Isa 47:10) or devastation and destruction (שָׂדֶה וְשָׂרָף). In Isa 47:11 impoverishment leads to impurity.¹⁰⁵

The insights from priestly hierarchy as documented by the remains from the Hellenistic Egyptian temple libraries and other sources help us to understand the rationale behind the transformations in the Greek version of Isaiah: for the Greek translator of Isaiah, as well as his Hellenistic contemporaries, Jewish, Egyptian, or Greek, a prophet was not a lower class diviner such as the παστοφόρος Hor or the κάτοχος Ptolemaios in the Serapeum at Memphis, but rather the leader of a large cultic company with a considerable budget. Such a high position required both physical and financial purity, something several high officials, including high priests Menelaus and Jason in Jerusalem, were unable to uphold.

⁶[τῶν περισπασθέντων ἑπταγώνων ἐν Βερενικίδι (δραχμαὶ) ἰδ, “for the speed deliverers of the products in Berenike 14 drachmas.” See further SB XVI 12287 (216 BCE), line 2; P.Tebt. III/2 1083 (200-101 BCE), line 10; P.Coll.Youtie I 16 (109 BCE), line 25; P.Ryl. II 183 (16 CE), line 2. In light of these papyrological data, the idea that the word is a neologism coined by the Greek translators, thus LEH 234b, should be discarded.

¹⁰³ UPZ I 110: (col. iv, lines 131-133: τῶν με[v] ¹³²ταλαιπώρων λαῶν καὶ τῶν μαχίμων καὶ τῶν ἀλλ[λων] ¹³³τῶν ἀδυνατούντων φείσασθε. A similar warning is given to Hermias, probably from Tebtynis, by *dioiketes* Eirenaios, a few decades later (114-113 BCE; Chrest. Wilck. 331 = P.Tebt. I 27). See further Van der Meer 2010, 125-133, and *TLNT* 3:369-371.

¹⁰⁴ Isa 28:8 ἀρὰ ἔδεται ταύτην τὴν βουλήν αὕτη γὰρ ἡ βουλή ἔνεκεν πλεονεξίας, “a curse will devour this counsel, for this counsel is for the sake of greed” [NETS] for MT כִּי כָל שִׁלְמוֹתַי וְכִי כָל מִקְרָאֵי בְּלִי מְקַצֵּי, “all tables are covered with filthy vomit; no place is clean” [NRSV].

¹⁰⁵ Isa 47:11 καὶ ἤξει ἐπὶ σὲ ταλαιπωρία καὶ οὐ μὴ δυνήσῃ καθαρὰ γενέσθαι, “and poverty will come to you and you will not be able to become pure,” for MT וְתָפַל עֲלֶיךָ הוֹה לֹא תוּכְלִי כַפְרָהּ, “disaster shall fall upon you, which you will not be able to ward off” [NRSV].

5.2. Divination

Conversely, the role traditionally assigned to a Hebrew prophet (נָבִי), seer (חֵזֶן), or a *muhhûm*, *āpilum* or *raggimu* in the Old Babylonian (Mari) or Neo-Assyrian contexts,¹⁰⁶ do not seem to have such a clear counterpart in the Egyptian priestly hierarchy. According to Diodorus Siculus (1.73.4) all priests in Egypt were supposed to communicate the divine will and foretell future events with the aid of their divine books.¹⁰⁷ It is logical to connect the books mentioned here with the contents of the temple libraries discussed above, even though the remark by Diodorus is too short to bear the burden of proof.

Yet, as shown above, there are some interesting counterparts to Hebrew and Mesopotamian prophetic texts and the process of adaptation of ancient oracles to new political situations,¹⁰⁸ in the Demotic Oracle of the Lamb and its Greek adaptation, the Oracle of the Potter, as well as several dream visions from Memphis (Ptolemaios and Ḳor). The Greek word used for such dream oracle is ἐνύπνιον, which can also simply mean “dream,” but is somewhat distinct from the other Greek words for “dream,” i.e. ὕπνος and ὄνειρος. In the Serapeum archive we find several letters about ominous dreams (UPZ I 68-70) and records of such dreams (UPZ I 77-81).¹⁰⁹ In a similar vein the Asclepieion at Epidarus kept record of fabulous dreams.¹¹⁰ Likewise, the παστοφόρος and scribe Ḳor from Sebennytos recorded his dreams, in his case in Demotic.¹¹¹ These dreams only gained divine status when superiors decided so. In the case of the Greek Serapeum papyri we even find a term for this position: ἐνυπνιοκρίτης (UPZ I 84). Among the Carlsberg papyri fragments of a Demotic “dream-book,” i.e. a book with paradigmatic dreams and their explanation, was found (P.Carlsberg XIII-XIV).¹¹² Already the ancients were aware of the ambiguous and unreliable character of dreams, as the harsh reproach of Apollonios to his brother Ptolemaios, the Serapeum recluse, makes clear (UPZ I 70, 152 BCE): ²⁷καὶ ἀποπεπτώκαμεν ²⁸πλανόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν

¹⁰⁶ See e.g. Nissinen / Seow / Ritner 2003.

¹⁰⁷ Diodorus 1.73.4 διὰ μὲν τῆς ἀστρολογίας καὶ τῆς ἱεροσκοπίας τὰ μέλλοντα προσημαίνοντες, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ἀναγεγραμμένων πράξεων τὰς ὠφελῆσαι δυναμένας παραναγινώσκοντες.

¹⁰⁸ See for a comparison between the collection and redaction of the oracles of Neo-Assyrian prophets and those ascribed to Isaiah ben Amoz: De Jong 2007.

¹⁰⁹ Thus, e.g., UPZ I 79: ¹³τὸ ἐνύπνιον, ὃ εἶδεν Νεκ-¹⁴τομβῆς περὶ τῆς κατοχῆς τῶν διδυμῶν καὶ ἐμ αὐτοῦ, “the dream that Nektombes saw about the *katoche* of the twins and about me.”

¹¹⁰ See e.g. LiDonnici 1995. See Van der Meer 2019, 186-189.

¹¹¹ Thus, e.g., O.dem. Hor 1: ¹n-drt Ḳr p³ sh² rmt dmi-(n)-st nbt tph³ t¹ nrt¹ t n p³ T¹b-ntr⁴ t¹ rswt (i)dd w¹ n i¹ (n) p³ wgd³ (n) R¹-kd, “From Ḳor the scribe “a man of the town of Isis, lady of the cavern, ³the great goddess, in the nome (of) Sebennytos. ⁴The dream which was told to me of the safety of Alexandria.”

¹¹² In Greek literature the second century CE treatise on dream interpretation (Ὀνειροκριτικά) compiled by Artemidorus of Daldis eclipsed all previous dream books and remained the standard until Freud published his own interpretation of dreams.

²⁹θεῶν καὶ πιστεύοντες ³⁰τὰ ἐνύπνια, “we have been deluded, led astray by the gods while trusting the dreams.”

In the Greek Isaiah we find a similar ambivalent attitude towards dreams. In Isa 29:8 the translator made explicit that the dream of thirsty or hungry person is futile: καὶ ἔσονται ὡς οἱ ἐν ὑπνῷ πίνοντες καὶ ἔσθοντες καὶ ἐξαναστάντων μάταιον αὐτῶν τὸ ἐνύπνιον for והיה כאשר יחלם הרעב והנה אוכל והקיץ וריקה נפשו וכאשר יהיה חלם הצמא. In the criticism of the stubborn Israelite people the author of Isa 65:4 scorned the people who sit inside tombs or spend the night at sacred places (הישבים בקברים ובנצורים ילינו). The Greek translator apparently understood this practice as a form of incubation procedures and rendered the clauses with καὶ ἐν τοῖς μνήμασιν καὶ ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις κοιμῶνται δι’ ἐνύπνια, “and they fall asleep in the tombs and in the caves for the sake of dreams” (NETS).

Semantically related is the word φάσμα, “phantom vision.” The Greek translator of Job treated the words ἐνύπνιον, “dream,” and φάσμα, “phantom,” as synonyms in his rendering of Job 20:8, where it is said of the short-lived joy of the wicked (20:5 רננת רשעים – εὐφροσύνη ἀσεβῶν) that “they will fly away like a dream, and not be found; they will be chased away like a vision of the night” (כחלום יעוף ולא ימצאוהו וידד כחזיון לילה) – ὡσπερ ἐνύπνιον ἐκπετασθὲν οὐ μὴ εὐρεθῆῃ ἔπτῃ δὲ ὡσπερ φάσμα νυκτερινόν, “like a dream that has taken to flight, he shall not be found, but he has flown away like a nocturnal apparition” (NETS). Whereas the equation חלום – ἐνύπνιον for dream is very common,¹¹³ the use of φάσμα instead of ὄρασις or ὄραμα for Hebrew חזיון, “vision,” is unique, although contextually fitting. The Greek translator of Isaiah employed the same Greek word φάσμα for Hebrew פְּלִילִיָּה, “verdict,” in order to characterize the delusions of drunken priests.¹¹⁴ Just as Apollonios’ reproach to his older brother Ptolemaios the visions are called “erroneous” (UPZ I 70, 28 πλανόμενοι), but in the Greek Isaiah this verdict applies to priest and prophetes in general (ἱερεὺς καὶ προφήτης).

The Greek translator of Isaiah voiced a similar negative view on other forms of divination. In this respect he did not differ much from the Hebrew parent text, but employed relatively free renderings in order to apply terms known from his cultural context. Although the prophetic books of the Hebrew Bible contain several polemics against astrology and divination, only the Greek Isaiah employs the word ἀστρολόγος (Isa 47:13).¹¹⁵

¹¹³ According to a rough count based on HRCS 481b-482a some 80 times out of the 90 times in the Greek translations of Hebrew Scripture.

¹¹⁴ Isa 28:7 οὗτοι γὰρ οἴνω πεπλανημένοι εἰσὶν ἐπλανήθησαν διὰ τὸ σικερα ἱερεὺς καὶ προφήτης ἐξέστησαν διὰ τὸν οἶνον ἐσείσθησαν ἀπὸ τῆς μέθης τοῦ σικερα ἐπλανήθησαν τοῦτ’ ἐστὶ φάσμα, “or these have gone astray with wine; they went astray because of sikera; the priest and the prophet lost their senses because of wine; they were shaken up as a result of the drunkenness of strong drink; they went astray; this is a phasma” (NETS).

¹¹⁵ In Ptolemaic documentary sources we find the word attested in, for instance, an early Greek

In Isa 47:13 the prophet taunts the astrologers of Babylon: *στήτωσαν και σωσάτωσάν σε οί αστρολόγοι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ οί ὀράωντες τοὺς ἀστέρας ἀναγγειλάτωσάν σοι τί μέλλει ἐπὶ σέ ἔρχεσθαι*, “let the astrologers of heaven stand up and save you, those who look at the stars; let them declare to you what is about to come upon you” (NETS), an idiomatic rendering of the Hebrew clauses *נא וישיעך עילך יבאו מאשר יבא עילך* [הַבְּרִי] (וְהַבְּרִי).¹¹⁶ Interesting for our semantic inquiry is the fact that this verb occurs in parallelism with the Hebrew verb *הִזָּח*, that is used often in the sense of “having visions.”

Unlike the documents from the Greco-Roman sanctuaries in Egypt related to divine-human communication the Old Greek Isaiah not only displays a rich vocabulary of terms related to “seeing” divine signs, but also to that of “hearing.” The following expressions can be reckoned to this semantic field: *ἀκροατής*, “hearer” (Isa 3:3), *ἐγγαστρίμυθος*, “ventriloquist” (Isa 8:19; 19:3; 44:25), *ἐπαοιδός*, “enchanter” (Isa 47:9) and *ἐπαοιδή*, “enchantment” (Isa 47:12) as well as *οί ἐκ τῆς γῆς φωνοῦντες*, “those who speak out of the earth” (Isa 19:3; 29:4) and *οί ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας φωνοῦσιν* (Isa 8:19). Some of these words such as *ἐγγαστρίμυθος* and *ἐπαοιδός* are most likely taken over from the Greek Pentateuch where they render Hebrew words such as *רוּחַ*, “spirit of the dead,” and *נְבִיִּים*, “soothsayer,” e.g. Isa 8:19 and 19:3. Both the laws in the Pentateuch (Lev 19:31; 20:6, 27; Deut 18:11) and the story of the witch of Endor (1 Samuel 28, 1 Chr 10:13) condemn necromantic practices categorically.¹¹⁷

Parallels for these expressions are very sparse in contemporary Greek documents. Hippocrates mentioned the biological phenomenon of speaking from the belly in his *Epidemics* 5.63 and Aristophanes (*Vespae* 1019-1025) mentioned a certain Eurycles who performed this trick as a form of entertainment.¹¹⁸ Although Greco-Roman Egypt has yielded a wealth of magical documents, the expression *ἐπαοιδός* is attested in Greek papyri and inscriptions only in an apotropaic procedure in a second or third century CE magical papyrus, P.Bingen 13: ¹³*τελέσατέ μοι τε[λέαν ἐπαοιδήν]*.

Hence, there is reason to reconsider the idea that the term *ἀκροατής* in Isa 3:3 (see above) had anything to do with “listening to the sounds of mystic charms [...]

papyrus from Tebtunis (P.Tebt. I 27, 301-240 BCE): ⁴¹*χρῶντ[αι]*⁴²*ταῖς κατὰ σελήνη[ν]* ⁴³*ἡμέραις αἱ ἀστρολό[γοι] και οί ἀστρολό[γοι]* ⁴⁴*και οί ιερογραμματε[ῖς]* ⁴⁵*πρὸς τὰς δόσεις και ἀ[να-]*⁴⁶*τολὰς τῶν ἀστρω[ν]*, “the astronomers and sacred scribes use the lunar days for the settings and risings of the stars,” and a first century BCE ostracron in the Strassburg collection (O.Strab. I 787), where a *παστοφόρος* of Isis has a transaction of some kind with a priestly astrologer: ¹*Ψενγερῆς παστοφό-²ρος τοῦ Εἰσιήου* ³*Καλλία τῶι ὑπηρέτῃ* ⁴*τῶν ἰππέων* ⁵*τῶ ἱερεῖ ἀστρολόγωι*. Compare Babylonian (*tupšar*), and Egyptian (*jmj-wnwt*) titles.

¹¹⁶ The Hebrew text has a perfect (*ketiv*) or participial (*qere*) form of the Hebrew verb *הִבַּח*, another *hapax* that is usually derived from Arabic *هَبَّ*, “to cut into pieces or slices,” hence divide the sky in celestial spheres” thus HALOT 237a-b.

¹¹⁷ See Dogniez 2010.

¹¹⁸ LSJ 467a; see also the discussion of the word *ἐγγαστρίμυθος* by Grillet / Lestienne 1997, 395.

or to secret initiation into mysteries” as Ottley conjectured in his commentary on the Greek Isaiah.¹¹⁹ The Hebrew expression לְהַגִּיד בְּחֵן undoubtedly refers to an “expert enchanter” as it does in Ps 58(57):6 ($\text{מַלְחָשִׁים קוֹל} - \text{φωνῆ ἐπαδόντων}$), Qoh 10:11 ($\text{לְחַשׁ} - \text{ἐπασιδός}$), Jer 8:17 ($\text{לְחַשׁ} - \text{ἐπάδω}$), but also the fragmentary Aramaic-Egyptian narrative preserved among the Elephantine papyri.¹²⁰ By contrast, the Greek word *ἀκροατής* occurs outside Isa 3:3 only in the context of people attentively and obediently listening to a master, a speech, a performance or to people in dispute. In Sirach 3:29 the ideal pupil is portrayed as “the hearer’s ear” that is “the desire of the wise man” ($\text{οὓς ἀκροατοῦ ἐπιθυμία σοφοῦ} - \text{ואזן מקשבת לחכמה}$ (תשמח)).¹²¹ Preisigke found a few references to an *ἀκροατής* in Byzantine papyri, where the term seems to refer to someone listening to a dispute, which led Ziegler and others to the assumption that the Greek word refers to the function of some kind of “arbiter.”¹²²

It seems, however, that both Ottley and Ziegler were transferring the Hebrew context into that of the Greek. In Isa 3:3 (see above) several of the functions designating obscure mantic counsellors have been transformed into prominent secular high ranking positions. We have already seen that a diviner (קסם) was transformed into a fiscal analyst (*στοχαστής*). Likewise, the skilful magician (חכם חרשים) was transformed into a skilful architect (*σοφὸς ἀρχιτέκτων*) by the Greek translator of this passage. Hence, there is no reason to assume that the Greek translation *συνετὸς ἀκροατής* should be interpreted on the basis of the meaning of the corresponding Hebrew text and context. The parallels from the Egyptian temple libraries in Greco-Roman Egypt provide no parallel for a specific function of “auditor,” nor do we have any indication that there was a special position or role assigned to such a listener or arbiter in the context of Jewish writings in the same period. The numerous documentary papyri and Greek inscriptions found and published after Preisigke compiled his lexicon a century ago have hardly yielded other attestations for the resumed function of an “arbiter.” In fact, all papyrological and

¹¹⁹ Ottley 1906–1909, 115

¹²⁰ TADAE C1.2: ש על ארפי מלכא ב[ר פון] חור ולחש חור, “and Ḥor s[on of Pune]sh pronounced a spell over the boats of the king.”

¹²¹ A similar idea is found in, e.g., Aristotle *Pol.* 2.147a, where “Lycurgus and Zaleucus” are presented as “pupils of Thales” ($\text{Θάλητος δ' ἀκροατὴν Λυκοῦργον καὶ Ζάλευκον}$). An *ἀκροατής* can also be the person reading (aloud) the histories of Polybius (9.1.2), or the audience of a speech, for instance by Pericles (Thucydides 2.35.2).

¹²² Preisigke 1925 I 49: “Anhörer, Mittler, Schiedsrichter. Form (SPP) 402,3 [VI] ἄ. τῆς ὑποθέσεως. Lond 1708,151 [VI].” Ziegler 1934, 200: “*Ἀκροατής* 3,3 entspricht dem hebr. לְחַשׁ (נכו) = Zauber(kundig); *ἀκροατής* kommt noch Eccli 3,29 vor und im NT Röm 2,13; Jac 1,23 und bedeutet hier: Hörer (des Wortes). Bei Js dagegen scheint *ἀκροατής* ein Berufsname zu sein, wie die vorausgehenden Begriffe nahelegen, und bezeichnet viell. das Amt irgend eines Mittlers oder Schiedsrichters; in dieser Bedeutung kommt es allerdings erst in späterer Zeit vor, vgl. Preis., Wb. I 49.”

epigraphical data align with the general meaning of ἀκροατής as “hearer,” “audience,” or “pupil.”¹²³

In light of the assumed context of priestly polemics of the group around Onias IV in Leontopolis against the high priest at Jerusalem and his court of supporters, I suggest that the phrase συνετός ἀκροατής in fact scrutinized those officials in Jerusalem who remained silent and listening (ἀκροατής) or only murmuring (Hebrew שחל) out of well-considered (συνετός) self-interest: meek sheep, so to speak. According to the Greek translator of Isaiah these silent listeners should have protested against the abuse of the powerful (γίγαντα καὶ ἰσχύοντα), who derived their power from military strength (πεντηκόνταρχος), political cunning (θαυμαστος σύμβολος) or monumental Hellenistic buildings (σοφὸς ἀρχιτέκτων, cf. 1 Macc 1:14-15, 33-35). The peshet of Habakkuk (1QpHab col. v, lines 9-12) voices a similar complaint:¹²⁴

פִּשְׁרוֹ עַל בֵּית אַבְשָׁלוֹם⁹ וְאֲנָשֵׁי עֲצָתָם אֲשֶׁר נִדְמוּ בְּתוֹכָהּ מוֹרָה הַצַּדִּיק וְלוֹא עֲזָרוּהוּ
עַל אִישׁ הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר מָאָס הַתּוֹרָה בְּתוֹךְ כּוֹל [עֲצָתָם]

⁹Its interpretation concerns the House of Absalom and ¹⁰the members of their council, who kept silent when the Teacher of Righteousness was rebuked, ¹¹and did not help him against the Man of Lie, *Blank* who rejected the ¹²Law in the midst of their whole [Council]. (1QpHab col. v)

Here, too, we find an interpretation of an ancient Judahite oracle from the Assyrian-Babylonian periods transformed into a priestly polemic during the Hellenistic period. Since not only Menelaus and Jason but later also the Hasmonean high priests indulged themselves into the luxuries and corruption of all Hellenistic monarchs, there is no compelling reason to relate both the Greek Isaiah and the Habakkuk peshet to the same persons and events. What is at stake here is the parallel between both more or less contemporaneous texts in their reproach of colleagues who kept silent when they should have protested against injustice.

¹²³ In P.Col. X 285 (315 CE), line 14: ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀκροατής, the word refers to the fact that the *strategos* had listened to the case brought to his attention. In P.Lond. V 1708 (567-568 CE), line 151: ¹⁵⁰νόμισμα, περὶ δὲ βεστίο(υ) οὐκ' ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ ¹⁵¹παρ' ἐμοῦ \(\tau\omicron\upsilon\ ἀκροατοῦ\), the word refers to the person recording the case at hand. This seems to apply to SPP III 402 (VI CE), line 3 as well. The few epigraphical attestations do not provide much context, thus IG IV², 1 67 (Asclepium at Epidaurus, I AD = Peek 1969, 18 [no. 22] and FdXanthos VII 86, frg. C [= Balland 1981, 261]).

¹²⁴ Text and translation: García Martínez / Tigchelaar 1999, 14-15.

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The last example makes clear that it remains difficult to really pinpoint the Greek translation of Isaiah or other contemporary Jewish writing to a specific time, place, and social context, but also that the wealth of contemporary documents from Greco-Roman Egypt do provide enough information to contextualize the Septuagint. Parallels from Egyptian temple libraries from the Fayum oasis offer a very detailed picture of the various functions of scribes, priests, prophets, and diviners, their training and semi-scientific manual they had at their disposal. This information can be of much help when trying to understand the choices the Greek translator of Isaiah made.

As we have seen above, the translator used the term *προφήτης* in an ambivalent way: either in a neutral sense when applied to the historical person of Isaiah ben Amoz in the narrative middle of the book (Isa 36-39) or, otherwise, in a negative way to scrutinize the prophets in Jerusalem. The hypothesis that the Greek translation not only reflects a relatively faithful rendering of his source text, but also applied the ancient oracles to criticize the Hellenizing, corrupt priesthood in Jerusalem still offers a valuable heuristic model in this sense.

That applies all the more for the interpretation of two otherwise rare Greek words *στοχαστής* and *ἀχροατής* in the list of officials in Isa 3:3 who will ultimately be removed by the Lord according to Isa 3:3. Unlike their counterparts these Greek titles have little to do with divination, but rather with financial calculations and strategic cunning.

Although the size of this paper might suggest otherwise, these semantic explorations are only a tip of the iceberg of a much larger set of terms related to sacerdotal sciences and scholarship in the Septuagint of Isaiah. In terms of semantic fields for sacrifice, biology, geography, and astronomy much more research is needed to do justice to the Greek translation of Isaiah and the insights new papyrological and epigraphic evidence can offer. Nevertheless I hope these small elucidations will do justice to my *Doktorvater* Arie van der Kooij, whom I have always considered as a pontifex of biblical studies and who further initiated me into the *Umwelt* of the Hebrew Bible and its ancient versions.

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THE CHARACTER OF THE OLDEST PESHITTA MANUSCRIPTS FOR FIRST SAMUEL AND THEIR NOTATION IN THE APPARATUS OF THE *BHQ*

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The Leiden Edition of the Peshitta Old Testament is an essential tool for the *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* and other critical editions of the Hebrew Bible. Because this edition, a modified diplomatic edition, presents the Codex Ambrosianus (7a1 in the Leiden Edition) as the base text, the apparatus of the Leiden Edition must be consulted to decide on the earliest Peshitta reading. But how should the reader interpret the apparatus? Arie van der Kooij has written on the nature of particular Peshitta manuscripts, such as 9a1 and 5b1, to assist users who consult the apparatus of the Leiden Edition. In line with his research, this article considers the earliest witnesses to the Books of Samuel, MSS 6h1, 6h4 and 6h19, in order to describe the nature of these manuscripts and their value for arriving at the earliest Peshitta text. This research should assist users of the *BHQ* to interpret the Peshitta citations in the *BHQ* apparatus.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Peshitta and its witnesses receive special prominence in the *BHQ* edition because, unlike the *BHS*, the readings from the Leiden Peshitta edition must be cited for each entry. Sometimes variant readings from the Peshitta textual tradition divide among different biblical versions with the result that S and S^{Mss} appear in the apparatus (*BHQ* uses the abbreviation “S” for the Peshitta).¹ This allows the users of the *BHQ* to perceive how the Peshitta textual tradition witnesses to the development of what is sometimes called the proto-Masoretic Text.²

This paper will focus on the nature of the earliest Peshitta manuscripts (6h1, 6h4 and 6h19³) that present diverse readings from the lemma of the Peshitta in First Samuel (“lemma” then refers to the text of the Leiden Edition). The purpose is two-fold: What do these earliest manuscripts reveal about the translation and transmission of the Peshitta text of Samuel? Then a few examples will be given, based upon this evidence, to assist users of the *BHQ* in assessing the entries in the

¹ Textual critics need to consult the apparatus of the Peshitta Leiden Edition, since it is a diplomatic edition that follows the Codex Ambrosianus (7a1) except in well-defined cases. See Dirksen 1990.

² Some of the ideas presented here have emerged from my collaboration with Claudio Balzaretto and Leonardo Pessoa da Silva Pinto in our preparation of the *BHQ* edition of 1 Samuel.

³ Nina Pigulevskaya dates 6h1 (Leningrad, State Public Library) to the end of the 5th century at the latest. See Pigulevskaya 1937, 85. The MS itself is undated.

apparatus where the Peshitta MSS offer different variant readings. Arie van der Kooij has been among the leading scholars on the Peshitta version and its witnesses. It is my hope that this paper in his honour extends the research for which he has laid some of the groundwork.

2. THE EARLY PESHITTA MANUSCRIPTS

Marinus D. Koster's important work on the Peshitta MSS of Exodus resulted in his three-stage development of the Peshitta version.⁴ For Exodus, Peshitta 5b1 represents the earliest stage. Sebastian Brock's study of the earliest MS of Peshitta Isaiah (5ph1) confirmed the research of Koster and Hayman:⁵ the earlier Peshitta MSS are closer to the Hebrew text, "with a gradual move away from the Hebrew towards a more idiomatic and fluent Syriac text"⁶ in the younger MSS, but Brock issues a proviso that even the earlier MSS (5ph1 and 9a1) "are full of idiosyncrasies which often represent secondary developments."⁷ Van der Kooij studied Peshitta MS 5b1 for Genesis and focused on a lexical difference in Gen 13:2 (ܐܘܪܘܟܐ in the Leiden Edition and ܐܘܪܘܟܐ in 5b1) from the point of view of translation technique. Koster considered ܐܘܪܘܟܐ in 5b1 to be an older reading because it is a Hebraism, but van der Kooij demonstrated that this lexical difference "fits quite well in with the style of the translation."⁸ For this reason, differences in lexical choices were not considered in my study (see, for example, 1 Sam 17:49 where 6h1.4.19 read ܐܘܪܘܟܐ for the Leiden Edition reading ܐܘܪܘܟܐ) since these variants cannot reveal which of the two readings is the earlier one. Van der Kooij's careful study of Peshitta MS 9a1 questions the principle that 9a1 readings that agree with the MT are the older Peshitta readings.⁹ He deduced several examples to show that the situation is much more complex and that, for some Peshitta readings, the agreement with the LXX needs to be taken into consideration.

How the Peshitta version was transmitted is markedly different from how the Greek translation was transmitted. Greek revisors, such as Origen or Lucian, compared their Greek text with the Hebrew and brought their Greek translations closer to their Hebrew text. The scribes (likely Christian) transmitting the Peshitta likely had no contact with a Hebrew text.¹⁰ Thus, during transmission the Peshitta text moved away from the developing proto-Masoretic text as Syriac scribes made

⁴ Koster 1977.

⁵ Hayman 1980.

⁶ Brock 1988, 78.

⁷ Brock 1988, 50.

⁸ Van der Kooij 1988, 197

⁹ Van der Kooij 2006.

¹⁰ This was the opinion of Vööbus 1958, 115. He is followed by Koster 1977, 194.

adjustments to the Peshitta for clarity and for good Syriac grammar, and they added particular interpretations (see for example the plus in 1 Sam 2:12 in the Peshitta¹¹) without reference to the Hebrew. This assumption is supported by the fact that for Hebrew place names that are *hapax legomena* and contain a *daleth* or a *resh*, the distinguishing dot for the *daleth* and *resh* was added to the Syriac translation without reference to a Hebrew text with the result that these *hapax* place names in Syriac often differ from the Hebrew text with regard to the *daleth* or *resh*.¹² The Syriac scribes adding the dot just guessed.¹³

I am not aware of any studies on the Peshitta MSS of Samuel that consider the readings in these early witnesses.¹⁴ This brief article relies on the apparatus of the Leiden Edition for the readings in 6h1, 6h4 and 6h19¹⁵ and my focus was limited to the major variants. Minor variants such as orthographic differences, transpositions, the presence or absence of the *waw*, the addition or absence of the pronoun suffix (see, for example 1 Sam 8:8), and, in most cases, variants in prepositions were not considered. The addition or omission of the independent personal pronoun or a pronoun suffix was also not considered. The addition or omission of the *seyame* and minor syntactic variations, such as the choice between *daleth* + imperfect or the *lamed* + infinitive (see 15:15) were also not considered. A reliable conclusion must be based upon a number of significant variant readings.

The instances where the early Peshitta manuscripts, 6h1, 6h4 and 6h19, differ from the lemma are categorized below. This includes examples from the future *BHQ* of 1-2 Samuel where the Peshitta manuscripts are divided in their support for the Hebrew text or a particular biblical version.

3. READINGS WHERE 6H1, 6H4 OR 6H19 AGREE WITH THE HEBREW AGAINST THE PESHITTA LEMMA

The following examples present the readings where early Peshitta MSS agree with the Hebrew text against younger Peshitta manuscripts.

1:9

The lemma of the Leiden Edition in 1 Sam 1:9 adds ܠܠܗܘܐ ܠܠܗܘܐ ܠܠܗܘܐ, “and she [Hannah] went up to the sanctuary of the Lord,” after the Hebrew phrase ַוַּאֲחֶרֶי

¹¹ The Peshitta adds ܠܠܗܘܐ ܠܠܗܘܐ ܠܠܗܘܐ, “they made for themselves a three pronged-fork,” a reading that appears in all the Peshitta witnesses but finds no support in the other versions.

¹² Morrison 2019, xxvii.

¹³ See the discussion in Kiraz 2015.

¹⁴ See the thorough study of the Peshitta MSS of Judges: Dirksen 1972. For the Books of Kings, see Walter, 2008.

¹⁵ De Boer 1978.

שתה, “after drinking.” The addition of ܠܫܝܒܐ ܠܚܝܠܐ ܕܗܝܘܐ does not appear in 6h1 and in several other Peshitta MSS,¹⁶ and it was added to resolve a problem that begins with the Hebrew text. Hannah’s location is not explicit when the narrator provides background information about Hannah’s suffering. In verse 9 Hannah rises after eating and the scene shifts to Eli the priest in preparation for his confrontation with Hannah. But Hannah does not explicitly move to the sanctuary. Thus, some Peshitta manuscripts reflect the addition ܠܫܝܒܐ ܠܚܝܠܐ ܕܗܝܘܐ that locates Hannah in the sanctuary for her encounter with Eli. 6h1 does not contain this plus in agreement with the Hebrew text (and the Targum and Vulgate) and this is likely the original translation of the Peshitta.

This reading in the Peshitta also illuminates the LXX reading. For Hebrew וְאַחֲרַי שְׁתָּה the LXX reads καὶ κατέστυ ἐνώπιον κυρίου, “she was present before the Lord.” The LXX avoids the image of Hannah “drinking” and then relocates Hannah so that, like the Peshitta, she is in position to encounter Eli. But the Peshitta reading does not agree with the LXX, though both share the same motivation. Thus, I would consider both the LXX and the Peshitta to reflect a later development, while 6h1 reflects an earlier version of the Peshitta and likely the Peshitta’s Hebrew *Vorlage*.

7:10

MT נגשו למלחמה בישראל

Leiden Edition: ܡܝܚܘܢ ܠܡܠܚܡܐ ܒܝܝܫܪܐܝܠ

6h1: ܡܝܚܘܢ ܠܡܠܚܡܐ ܒܝܝܫܪܐܝܠ

The addition of ܝܢ in the lemma is likely a spontaneous scribal plus added during transmission.

15:3

MT: וְהַכִּיתָה אֶת־עַמְלֵק

Leiden Edition: ܡܝܚܘܢ ܠܫܝܒܐ ܠܚܝܠܐ ܕܗܝܘܐ

6h1.4^c: ܡܝܚܘܢ ܠܫܝܒܐ

The story of the divine decree to annihilate the Amalekites has disturbed readers for centuries. The lemma of the Leiden Edition makes a significant adjustment to the opening of this scene by harmonizing this verse with 15:18. According to the Hebrew of 15:3, Saul should attack the Amalekites. The harmonization in the Peshitta lemma introduces at the beginning of the scene the reason for the attack: Saul should destroy *the sin* of the Amalekites.¹⁷ In 15:2 the crime of the Amalekites is not explicit: God will punish the Amalekites *for what they did* (אַתְּ אֲשֶׁר- ܡܝܚܘܢ ܠܫܝܒܐ ܠܚܝܠܐ ܕܗܝܘܐ). The harmonization in the younger Peshitta MSS introduces some

¹⁶ 8a1^c 9c1^c 10c1 11c1 and 12a1^{fam}.

¹⁷ The sin of the Amalekites is also noted in Ginzberg 1909, 4:67.

justification for the coming violence as the scene opens. This reading is unique to the Peshitta text and MSS 6h1.4^C, which do not have this harmonization, reflect an earlier Peshitta reading and the Peshitta's Hebrew *Vorlage*.

15:14

MT: ויאמר שמואל

Leiden Edition: ܐܪܘܘ ܫܡܘܥܝܠ ܠܥܐܠܡ

6h1: ܐܪܘܘ ܫܡܘܥܝܠ

The expression of the addressee in the Leiden Edition is an expected later development.

22:7

MT: לכלכם ישים שרי אלפים ושרי מאות

Leiden Edition: ܠܠܚܡܝܢ ܫܪܝ ܕܝܘܟܢ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܫܪܝ ܡܘܬܝܢ

7a1: ܠܠܚܡܝܢ ܫܪܝ ܕܝܘܟܢ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܫܪܝ ܡܘܬܝܢ

6h4.19: ܠܠܚܡܝܢ ܫܪܝ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܫܪܝ ܡܘܬܝܢ

The majority of Peshitta MSS reflect an abbreviated text and appear to be a later development. The reading in 7a1, ܕܝܘܟܢ, is more distant from the Hebrew than MSS 6h4.19, which reflect the repetition of שרי in the Hebrew and this is likely an earlier Peshitta reading that also reflects its Hebrew *Vorlage*.

17:9

MT: אם-יוכל להלחם אתי

Leiden Edition: ܐܝܢ ܕܝܘܚܠ ܠܠܚܡܝܢ ܥܝܢܝܢ

6h4: ܐܝܢ ܕܝܘܚܠ ܠܠܚܡܝܢ ܥܝܢܝܢ

6h4 reflects the Hebrew imperfect and is the earlier reading.

23:26

MT: ושאל ואנשיו עטרים אל-דוד

Leiden Edition: ܘܫܥܠ ܘܥܬܪܝܢܝܗܘܢ ܥܬܪܝܢ ܥܠ ܕܘܕ

6h1: ܘܫܥܠ ܘܥܬܪܝܢܝܗܘܢ ܥܬܪܝܢ ܥܠ ܕܘܕ

6h1 reads with the Hebrew whereas the lemma reflects a later development.

4. THE VARIATION BETWEEN THE SINGULAR AND PLURAL

The variation between sg. and pl. in the Peshitta MSS is usually not significant. In cases where ܘܫܥܠ is the subject, the Syriac verb can be either sg. or pl. regardless of what is in the Hebrew.¹⁸ When there are two subjects in Hebrew, the

¹⁸ See Nöldeke 1880 §318.

Hebrew verb can agree with the first subject,¹⁹ while the Peshitta will often read a plural verb or the Peshitta witnesses will be divided as we see in 18:27.²⁰ So these variations cannot tell us much about the relationship between 6h1, 6h4 and 6h19 to the younger Peshitta MSS. However, the variation between sg. and pl. can be significant when the other versions support some Peshitta MSS against others.

In 1 Sam 9:25 the Peshitta MSS are divided on the readings in the MT and the versions regarding the sg. and the pl. The future *BHQ* apparatus will appear as:

וַיִּרְדֹּד V T S^{Mss} | sg G S •

The reading in the earliest Peshitta MS 6h1²¹ (אגגא) is instructive for *BHQ* users. It is likely that the original translation of the Peshitta read the plural with the MT and that later Peshitta MSS were adjusted to maintain the focus on Saul in this scene. The preceding verb is singular with Saul as the subject (וַיִּאֲכַל שְׂאוֹל אֶרְבֵּי אֶמְעָא). Thus, the pl. verb in the Hebrew text at the beginning of 9:25 (וַיִּרְדֹּד), probably with Saul and Samuel as its subject, becomes sg. in the Leiden Edition, referring only to Saul and harmonizing with the context. The agreement between the LXX and the Leiden Edition suggests that the Greek translator did the same. It is easy to imagine that, since all the verbs in the lemma of the Peshitta in 9:25-26 are singular, during the transmission of the Peshitta the original translation אגגא was harmonized with the other verbs resulting in אגא, and these changes were made without reference to a Hebrew text.

We see a similar situation in 1 Sam 10:11. The *BHQ* apparatus will signal the division among Peshitta MSS:

וַיִּבְרָךְ G T S^{Mss} | pl G^L V S T^{Mss} •

The Peshitta MS 6h1²² reads the sg. with the Hebrew whereas the younger mss reflect the pl. (the subject is הָעָם / אַחַד), a change made during transmission of the Peshitta without reference to the Hebrew. 6h1 reflects an earlier Peshitta text and the Peshitta's Hebrew *Vorlage*.

Another example appears in 11:11 where 6h1 (אגא) reads with the Hebrew. The *BHQ* apparatus will read:

וַיִּבְרָךְ G S^{Mss} T | sg G^{Mss} La¹¹⁵ V S

¹⁹ GKC §146f.

²⁰ MT: וַיִּלֶךְ הוּא וְאַנְשֵׁיוֹ; Leiden edition: אַחַד אֶמְעָא אֶרְבֵּי אֶמְעָא; 6h19: אַחַד אֶמְעָא אֶרְבֵּי אֶמְעָא.

²¹ S^{Mss} indicates that the pl. appears in 6h1 and 11c1, whereas "S" indicates the reading in the Leiden Edition.

²² S^{Mss} indicates that the sg. appears in 6h1, 9l2 and 11c1.

The implied subject in the Peshitta is again **ܘܥܡ** and, as expected with **ܘܥܡ**, the Peshitta witnesses are not in agreement. Again, 6h1 reads the pl. with the Hebrew while the lemma reads the sg., a later development.

In contrast with these examples where 6h1 agrees with the Hebrew, 6h1 has also undergone developments that distance it from the Hebrew. When Saul with his servant search for his father's donkeys, the Hebrew verbs shift between sg. and pl. and are sometimes not well coordinated with the subject. In 10:14 Saul's uncle is speaking to Saul and his servant, but only Saul, it seems, responds according to the Hebrew (ויאמר²). Peshitta MS 7a1 and other MSS read the sg. with the MT, but 6h1 reads with the pl., adapting the verb to this context. Thus, the same developments that we see more prominently in the younger MSS also occur in 6h1.

For users of the *BHQ*, when the Peshitta MSS vary on the number of a verb, some agreeing with the MT and others agreeing with one of the biblical versions, it is likely that those witnesses that agree with the Hebrew reflect the earliest Peshitta reading and, in turn, support the reading of the MT.

5. SCRIBAL ERRORS IN 6H1

There are only two scribal errors in Peshitta MS 6h1:

17:28

When, at his father's behest, David appears with fresh supplies for the Israelites engaged in battle with the Philistines, his elder brother Eliab interrogates him. He demands to know with whom David has left his flock. Eliab says that he knows the arrogance and wickedness of David's heart. The Leiden Edition reads with the MT:

MT: אַנִּי יָדַעְתִּי אֶת־זִדְדֹנְךָ וְאֵת רָע לִבְבְּךָ

Leiden Edition: אֲרִי גַב אֲרִי הוֹשְׁתִּיחַ חֲסִיחֹת לִבְךָ

6h1: אֲרִי גַב הוֹשְׁתִּיחַ חֲסִיחֹת לִבְךָ

For **ܘܥܡ** 6h1 reads **ܘܥܡ** “the hardness [of your heart]” (a reading that finds no support in the versions). This reading, likely a scribal error (a misreading of **ב**, as **ܘ**), significantly changes the meaning of Eliab's accusation against David.²³ The only other place where a similar Hebrew expression appears is in Ps 28:3: וְרָעָה בַלְבָבָם (“wickedness in their heart”) to describe the wicked (רָשָׁעִים) and those who act with iniquity (פְּעֻלֵי אִוֶּן). This is a strong accusation against David in his first

²³ The Greek witnesses (*κακίαν*) read with the MT as does the Vulgate (*nequitiam cordis tui*) and the Targum (ויית בישות לבך).

appearance on the public stage. The reading in 6h1, *מעשה לכה*, appears only here and in the Peshitta of Baruch 2:33:

*טלמכסַן חַן מעשה לבסוֹר. סגַן חַבְתַּסוֹר סַעֲרַן. חַלְלֵן דַּטְלוֹחַרֵן אַחַזְטַר
 דַּאֲכַסְסוֹר. אַלְלַן דַּסְלַן סוֹגַן סוֹר*

Let them turn away from the hardness of their hearts and from their wicked deeds, for they should remember the way of their ancestors, those who sinned against the Lord.

The language of Baruch along with this reading in 6h1 (the verb *מעל* with *לכה*) recalls the events of Exodus when God hardens Pharaoh's heart (Exod 7:3; 8:15 and elsewhere).²⁴ Even if the reading in 6h1 is an unconscious transmission error, it attenuates Eliab's charge: David is stubborn rather than wicked.

23:24

וּאָנֹשִׁיוּ בַּמִּדְבָּר מֵעוֹן בְּעֵרְבָה אֶל יְמִין הַיְשִׁימוֹן

Leiden Edition *אֶלְבְּתַּסְסוֹן, סַכּוֹכַר דַּחַסְסַן סַכּוֹכַר אֶל לַב אַעְסַסְסַן*

6h1: *אֶלְבְּתַּסְסוֹן, סַכּוֹכַר דַּחַסְסַן סַכּוֹכַר אֶל לַב אַעְסַסְסַן*

This place name Arabah is well known in the Bible and the Peshitta normally follows the Hebrew. 6h1 translates “in the Arabah” with “in the forest” and this reading appears to be a scribal error during the Peshitta’s transmission. In the end, the scribal errors unique to 6h1 are merely two.

6. THE EARLY PESHITTA MSS 6H1.4.19 REFLECT LATER DEVELOPMENTS

6.1 *Harmonizations*

2:28: 6h4 alone adds *חַסְרַן* (“my people”) after *אֶשְׁמַלְטַן* which is a harmonization with the following verse.

3:5: after *מַלְטַן* 6h1 adds *כַּרְדַּן*, an inner Syriac harmonization with 3:6.

4:3: 6h1 alone reads *סַחְלַתְכַסְסַן* for *פַּלְעַלְטַן*, a harmonization with the last word in the verse (*סַחְלַתְכַסְסַן*; *אֵיבַיְנוּ*).

7:2: the MT reads *כָּל־בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל*, the Leiden Edition reads *חַלְסַסְסַן וְכֹסֶל אֶשְׁמַלְטַן*, but 6h1 reads *חַלְסַסְסַן כַּתְנַן אֶשְׁמַלְטַן*. This is a harmonization with 7:4, *וַיִּסְיְרוּ בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל*, *אֶשְׁמַלְטַן כַּתְנַן אַחַבְטוֹ*.

²⁴ The expression appears in Prov 28:14 and 2 Chr 36:13.

16:23: the MT reads וְרוּחַ לְשָׂאוֹל, the Leiden Edition reads אֶלְעָמֵד מְזַמֵּם לְעָמֵד but 6h4.19 read אֶלְעָמֵד חַלְעָמֵד, an inner Syriac harmonization with the phrase אֶלְעָמֵד earlier in this verse.

17:55: the MT reads אֶמְרָא אֶל־אֲבִנֵּי שֶׁר הַצְּבָא, the Leiden Edition reads אֶמְרָא לְרַחֲבֵי אֶמְרָא but 6h1 reads אֶמְרָא לְרַחֲבֵי כִּי נִי זִכְרָא שְׁלָמָא, which is a harmonization with 1 Sam 14:50; 26:5 and elsewhere where Abner's full name is given.

18:1: the MT reads וַיְהִי כִּכְלֹתוֹ לְדַבֵּר אֶל־שָׂאוֹל, the Leiden Edition reads מְבַר עֲלֵמָא מְבַר עֲלֵמָא לְעָמֵד לְעָמֵד לְעָמֵד, but 6h4¹ reads מְבַר עֲלֵמָא לְעָמֵד לְעָמֵד חַלְעָמָא חַלְעָמָא. The plus, חַלְעָמָא חַלְעָמָא, is a harmonization with 1 Sam 24:17: מְבַר חַלְעָמָא לְעָמֵד חַלְעָמָא חַלְעָמָא. This reading also indicates that a corrector of 6h4¹ (indicated by the superscript "1" in the Leiden edition) did not make corrections on the basis of the Hebrew text. There is nothing in the Hebrew textual tradition, the Greek, the Vulgate or the Targum to support this correction.²⁵

20:28: the MT reads: עַד־בַּיִת לַחַם, the Leiden Edition reads חֲדַחְדָּא לְחַמְלָא לְסַר, but 6h1 reads חֲדַחְדָּא לְחַמְלָא לְסַר מְזַמֵּם, which is a harmonization with the next verse (חֲפַזְמֵלָא בַעִיר).

22:18: the MT reads: וַיֹּאמֶר הַמֶּלֶךְ לְדֹוִיג, the Leiden Edition reads מְאָרְכָא חַלְעָמָא, but 6h1.4 read מְאָרְכָא לְחַמְלָא לְחַמְלָא, which is a harmonization with 1 Sam 21:7.9.

6.2 Clarifications

2:24: the MT reads אֲנֹכִי שָׁמַע, the Leiden Edition reads אֲנֹכִי אֲנֹכִי, but 6h4¹ reads אֲנֹכִי אֲנֹכִי חַלְעָמָא. The addition of חַלְעָמָא is a clarification.

3:5: the MT reads קִרְאָת, the Leiden Edition reads מְזַמֵּם, but 6h4 reads מְזַמֵּם אֲנֹכִי, a minor clarification.

13:2: the MT reads שְׁלֹשַׁת אֲלָפִים, the Leiden Edition reads אֲלָפִים אֲלָפִים, but 6h1 adds חַבְתֵּי, a minor clarification.

14:25: the MT reads וְכָל־הָאָרֶץ בָּאוּ בִיעָר, the Leiden Edition reads אֲרֹאֲמָא חַלְעָמָא, but 6h1 adds חַכָּא after חַלְעָמָא, a minor clarification.

²⁵ The General Preface to the Leiden Edition notes that readings in the MSS with the superscript ¹ are "corrections by the original scribe or a (nearly) contemporary corrector" (De Boer 1972, x). Perhaps the use of the term "correction" is too specific and it might be better to describe them as notes by a later hand. In this case, the plus seems to be a harmonization, not a correction.

14:40: the MT reads *וַיֹּאמֶר*, the Leiden Edition reads *ܘܝܐܡܪ*, but 6h4* (and 7a1) adds *ܘܥܠܡܐ*. The explication of the subject of the verb is a common development in the versions.

15:2: the MT reads *אֵת אֲשֶׁר-עָשָׂה*, the Leiden Edition reads *ܘܥܡܪܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ*, but 6h4* reads *ܘܥܡܪܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ*, a minor expansion.

6.3 *The Preference for the Name of the Lord*

As De Boer noted, the Peshitta of the Books of Samuel “has no preference for *ܘܝܗܘܐ* as Tg has for the tetragrammaton.”²⁶ However, the Peshitta does prefer *ܘܝܗܘܐ* when adding a divine title.²⁷ On three occasions (4:21; 5:11; 10:10) where the Hebrew has *האלהים* followed by the lemma of the Peshitta (*ܘܥܠܡܐ*), 6h1 (along with a few other MSS) reads *ܘܝܗܘܐ*. Given the slight preference in the Peshitta for *ܘܝܗܘܐ*, I would consider these readings in 6h1 to be later developments.

6.4 *Omissions*

Omissions are divided between those MSS that agree with the Hebrew and those that do not. Those that agree with the Hebrew likely reflect an earlier Peshitta text and reflect the Peshitta’s Hebrew *Vorlage*.

6.5 *Omissions in Agreement with the Hebrew*

In the following cases, the older Peshitta MSS have an omission that is against the Leiden Edition and agrees with the Hebrew: in 12:10 6h1 omits *ܘܥܠܡܐ*; in 14:16 6h1.4^c omit *ܘܕܥܠܡܐ*; in 16:4: 6h4^c omits *ܘܕܥܠܡܐ*; and in 26:21 6h4^c omits *ܘܕܥܠܡܐ*.

6.6 *Omissions against the Hebrew*

In 6:3 6h1 omits *ܘܕܥܠܡܐ*; in 14:1 6h1 omits *ܘܕܥܠܡܐ*. In 15:5 the Leiden Edition reads *ܘܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ* for Hebrew *עַד-עֵינַי*. 6h1 omits *ܘܕܥܠܡܐ* which suggests a later development where the scribe considered the lamed on *ܘܕܥܠܡܐ* to be sufficient for good Syriac grammar. In 20:30 the MT reads *וַיַּחַדְּרֵנִי שְׂאוֹל בִּיהוֹנָתָן*, the Leiden Edition reads *ܘܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܘܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ*, but 6h1.4^c.16 read *ܘܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ*. The phrase *ܘܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ* has been omitted against the Hebrew. There is no support from the biblical versions for this omission nor does there seem to

²⁶ De Boer 1938, 24.

²⁷ Morrison 2001, 56.

be a haplographic explanation. In 20:41, 6h1 omits ܠܟܝܢ ܠܟܝܢ ܠܟܝܢ and in 23:14 6h1 has omitted ܠܟܝܢ.²⁸

Overall, the omissions in the early Peshitta MSS that agree with the Hebrew are a mere five and those that disagree with the Hebrew are just six. This indicates the good quality of these MSS. While those omissions that agree with the Hebrew likely reflect the earlier Peshitta text and reflect its Hebrew *Vorlage*, the almost equal number that disagree indicates that these early MSS also reflect later developments that distance them from the Hebrew.

7. CONCLUSION

This initial study of the major divergent readings in 6h1, 6h4 and 6h19 confirms that in Peshitta 1 Samuel, like Genesis and Isaiah, the readings in the oldest Peshitta MSS that are closer to the Hebrew likely reflect the earliest Peshitta translation and its Hebrew *Vorlage*. But they also present what Brock called idiosyncratic readings that reflect later textual developments. Thus, the evidence does not suggest that these earlier MSS always present older readings of the Peshitta version, since they also exhibit harmonizations, clarifications, scribal errors and other textual developments. Each Peshitta reading must be treated on a case-by-case basis. But when these early MSS depart from the lemma of the Leiden Edition and agree with the Hebrew against later Peshitta MSS, these readings should be given careful consideration as they likely reflect the Peshitta's Hebrew *Vorlage*. The omissions in these early MSS are also indicative: when they agree with the MT against other versions, it is likely that the shorter reading in the MT is the earlier Peshitta reading and was the reading in the Peshitta's Hebrew *Vorlage*.

A FINAL WORD

This article is intended to contribute to the study of the Peshitta version of 1 Samuel and to assist users of the apparatus of the *BHQ*. But what cannot be lost in this technical discussion is that the clarifications and exegetical readings that appear in both the older and younger MSS indicate that the Peshitta was a living text for a religious community. The ancient Syriac scribes were dedicated to offering to their Syriac speaking community a lucid Bible translation. Arie van der Kooij has dedicated his life to ensuring that the biblical text is comprehensible in our own time and culture. In this he participates in the mission of the Syriac scribes who centuries ago transmitted the Bible for their own community.

²⁸ An error in the apparatus of the printed edition (it reads ܠܟܝܢ instead of ܠܟܝܢ) has been corrected in the online edition of the Leiden Edition.

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ISAIAH 53 IN HEBREW AND GREEK¹

Takamitsu MURAOKA

How does one of the most important chapters of the Old Testament look like in the Septuagint and in its Qumran versions?² Some of the translators may have consulted one or more of the ancient versions. Even if they did not, how do they differ among themselves? Any translation, whether written or oral, presupposes an interpretation followed by a translator or interpreter. Hence each of the four ancient translations represents and has preserved ancient interpretation of the Hebrew text. Of course the Vorlage of each translator may have differed from our traditional Masoretic text (H), as we shall see in the light of the complete Isaiah Scroll from Qumran (1QIsa^a), the fragmentary ones (1QIsa^b, 4QIsa^b, 4QIsa^c, 4QIsa^d) which preserve Isaiah 53, and from the eventual edition of our esteemed colleague.

The present writer has spent several decades on studying and researching the original languages of the Bible, their cognate languages, and ancient translations of the Bible. He has also published reference works on these research areas. As he wrote them, he of course studied the underlying original texts. We would like to see how results of those researches as presented in the reference works could relate to concrete details of this one chapter of the Bible.

53:1

H	: מִי הָאָמִין לְשִׁמְעַתְּנֻ וְזָרָע יְהוּהַ עַל־מִי נִגְלָתָהּ:
1QIsa ^a	מִי הָאָמִין לְשִׁמְעַתְּנֻ וְזָרָע יְהוּהַ אֵל מִי נִגְלָתָהּ ³
1QIsa ^b	מִי הָאָמִין לְשִׁמְעַתְּנֻ וְזָרָע יְהוּהַ אֵל מִי נִגְלָתָהּ
4QIsa ^c	[מִי הָאָמִין] לְשִׁמְעַתְּנֻ נֻ
G	κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσε τῆ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν; καὶ ὁ βραχίων κυρίου τίνοι ἀπεκαλύφθη;

¹ Prof. Dr. Arie van der Kooij has been one of my most respected colleagues. Having become an octogenarian he is still marvellously active as an Old Testament scholar, what he has to be in order to complete the book of Isaiah for *Biblia Hebraica Quinta*. I wish him good health, both physical and mental. I also take this opportunity for cordially thanking one of his distinguished students, Dr. Michaël van der Meer, for his very kind bibliographical assistance.

² The editions we have consulted are: Thomas 1968 for H (= Masoretic Hebrew text), Ziegler 1967 for G (= Septuagint), Brock 1987 for S (= Peshitta), Sperber 1962 for T (= Targum Jonathan), and Fischer / Gribomont / Sparks / Thiele / Weber 1969 for L (= Vulgata). We have also looked at five Qumran versions: 1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b, both of which are to be found in Ulrich / Flint 2010; and three 4Q versions, i.e. 4QIsa^b, 4QIsa^c, and 4QIsa^d respectively, which can be consulted in Ulrich 1997. The Peshitta is quoted in the Hebrew alphabet with Tiberian vowel signs, and the Targum is provided also with the Tiberian vowel signs, not supralinear signs. The extraordinary significance attached to this chapter is evident in the length of the bibliography concerned with it: Hüllstrung / Feine / Bailey 2004.

³ Of course 1QIsa^a is unvocalised.

Oh Lord, who has believed in our tidings? And the arm of the Lord, to whom has it been revealed?

With its *κύριε*, which is missing in H, G is unique in making the very first clause of the chapter a personal, direct address to God.⁴ In the rest of the chapter there is not a single verb or pronoun in the second person masculine singular.

According to *GELS* s.v. *ἀκοή* the word in G can mean either “what one hears or heard, *report*” as in *ἀκοήν ἤκουσα παρὰ κυρίου* Obad 1 or “what one conveys, communicates, *message*” for which our lemma here is the only instance adduced in *GELS*. *SL* also mentions these two senses for *שְׁמָעַן* in *שְׁמָעַן*, and for the second, “prediction, prophecy,” adduces our instance as the sole attestation. BDB cites our case s.v. *שְׁמוּעָה* 1 with a rendering “*the report that reached us.*” We are then having to do with “what we heard and are communicating,” a combination of two senses. The same could hold for T *בְּסוֹרְתָא* as used here. Our text here was quoted by Jesus verbatim in John 12:38, who was disappointed at the non-belief of his audience in the divine message he strove to convey. Jerome also quotes verbatim his version of Isa 53:1. Jerome must be using *auditus* in the sense of “message conveyed.”

τίς] Both 1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b read *אל* for H *על*. The *niphal* verb *נִגְלָה* in the sense of “to become revealed, reveal oneself” is normally governed with either *אֶל* or *לְ*, and the combination with *על* is not attested anywhere else.⁵ E.g. *שָׁם נִגְלוּ* הנסתרת ליהוה אלהינו והנגלת לנו ולבנינו עד עולם לעשות Gen 35:7 and *את כל דברי התורה הזאת* Deut 29:28. The same situation prevails in other Qumran Hebrew documents, e.g. *לכול הגולה ממנה לבני צדוק הכוהנים* 1QS 5.9. Hence this is likely to be reflecting a phonetic fluctuation between *א* and *ע*.⁶

Unlike *τίς* in the first clause, this interrogative is not up front, following H. In LXX, however, we find a case in which the interrogative is not fronted irrespective of H, in a free rendering: *αὐτὸς δὲ εἰ δὲ τί τοῦτω ἐπισκοπήσῃ οὐ πεποιήται;* “however, why didn’t he pay a visit to them?” Job 24:12. Cf. *SSG* § 76 h, p. 637.

53:2

H וַיַּעַל כִּיּוֹנָק לְפָנָיו וַכְּשׂוֹרֶשׁ מֵאַרְצָ צִיָּה לֹא־תֵאָדָר לוֹ וְלֹא הִדָּר וְנִרְאָהוּ וְלֹא־מֵרֶאָה וְנִחְמְדָהּוּ:

1QIsa^a ויעלון {כיונן לפניו וכשורש מארץ ציאה לוא תאור לו ולוא הדר לו ונראנו ולוא מראה ונחמדנו

⁴ There is no G manuscript which lacks this lemma.

⁵ Kutscher 1974, 404 mentions as the sole exception *עליו ערוךך* Exod 20:26, where, however, *עליו* means “on the steps to the altar.”

⁶ Our G text is quoted precisely in an identical form in John 12:38. Hermisson 2017, 356f. insists that *מי* and *מִי* mean two different things, namely “wem” as against “über wem / an wem.” He ignores this contemporary phonetic development.

1QIsa^{b7} [ויעל כי] ונק לפניו וכשרש מארץ ציה לא תאר לו ולא הדר ונרא[הו] לא מראה
ונחמדהו

G ἀνέτειλε μὲν ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ ὡς παιδίον, ὡς ῥίζα ἐν γῆ διψώσῃ, οὐκ ἔστιν εἶδος αὐτῷ οὐδὲ δόξα· καὶ εἶδομεν αὐτόν, καὶ οὐκ εἶχεν εἶδος οὐδὲ κάλλος·
He arose before Him like a child, like a root in a thirsty land, he had no attractive look nor splendour, and we saw him, but he had no attractive look nor beauty.

ἀνέτειλε] a reading offered by Ziegler with his authoritative *scripsi* as against all G MSS ἀνηγγειλामεν “we have reported.”⁸ The three ancient revisers offer a form of ἀναβάνω for a form of הלָע. This rare H/G equation may be attested once only in πάντες οἱ ἀνατέλλοντες ὡσπερ ἄκανθα “all those who sprout like thorny plants”] 2 Kgdms 23:6L, where we (*Index* s.v. ἀνατέλλω) propose כּל יעלה, i.e. כּל הלָע in lieu of H בּלִיעַל.

1QIsa^a ונחמדנו ולוא מראה ונראנו accords with the standard BH grammar, in which the bare object suffixes without an energetic *Nun* as in H are used with the *wayyiqtol*, see JM § 61 f. 1Qb agrees here with H in this regard.⁹ With the use of the preterite tense forms, Aorist εἶδομεν and Imperfect εἶχεν, G manifestly saw in H here the inversive forms, ונראהו ונחמדו, what accords with the initial ויעל and may have been meant by the prophet, but the Masoretes may have been misled by the two atemporal nominal clauses intervening. S wisely inserts a time-marker: לה לית הוּא לה. L is inconsistent: *non est species .. non erat aspectus*.

1QIsa^a repeats לו, what is more elegant.

As regards the interpretation of H כּיִנֶק, G and S ילִוּדָא agree with each other. By contrast, T’s צדיקִיא “the righteous” is absolutely unique. Besides, it is going its own way in an extensive manner as its considerable length also shows. His commentary reads something like this: “and the righteous will grow before him, behold, like growing blooms and like a tree that spreads its roots beside streams of water. So will increase the offspring of holiness in the land which needed him. His appearance is not a look of the secular, and what makes him scary is not that of a man in the street, and his countenance shall be sacred so that all who see him shall watch him well.” This paraphrastic, exegetical expansion of T is not confined to this verse.

יִנֶק applied to a plant in its early stage of growth occurs only here in BH, whereas its fem. sg. equivalent, יִנֶקָה, is more common, e.g. הוּא לִפְנֵי־שִׁמְשׁוּט רִטְבּ הוּא Job 8:16. In LXX this second variety is never rendered with παιδίον, but with βλαστός, κλάδος, παραφυάς, and ῥάδαμνος, all having to do with

⁷ The data for 1QIsa^b are based on comparison between it and H = MT.

⁸ Ekblad 1999, 199f. is against Ziegler’s proposal, but “We announced before him like a little servant” (Ekblad) does not make much sense in the context.

⁹ The restoration of the second verb as [הו]נרא is sensible, given the parallel ונחמדו.

plants. The selection of *παιδίον* here facilitates the interpretation of this pericope as Messianic. Arie van der Kooij and Florian Wilk discuss the selection of the diminutive, *παιδίον*, and not *παῖς*.¹⁰ However, *GELS* s.v. *παιδίον*, it could be applied to a teenager (Gen 30:26), a girl old enough to marry (Tob 7:11 G¹), and a newlywed son-in-law (Tob 8:21 G¹¹). Our translator may have wanted to avoid confusion, since *παῖς* is often used as synonymous with *δοῦλος*, which latter is used to refer to the principal figure in our passage. Cf. a discussion on *δοῦλος* and *παῖς* by Euler.¹¹

לְפָנָיו is appropriately rendered with *ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ*. However, in the immediate proximity there is nothing that could be referred to through *αὐτοῦ*, what again indicates that this chapter is a direct sequence to the last paragraph of the preceding chapter, in which we find יהוה κύριος in 52:11–12.

לְאֵלֵי־אֲחָרָא לֹא a nominal clause with its predicate as a prepositional phrase (cf. JM § 154 ff; *SQH* § 33 **ada** and **fa**).¹² The same applies to 1QIsa^a לֹא הָדָר לֹא.

וְנִגְמָהּ הָיָה לֹא אֵלֶּיךָ אֲנִי וְנִגְמָהּ הָיָה לֹא אֵלֶּיךָ אֲנִי] a rather free translation. It could have been possible to say οὐδὲ ἐνθυμηθήμεν αὐτοῦ, cf. ἐνθυμηθεὶς αὐτῶν Josh 7:21. However, οὐδὲ κάλλος is beautifully coordinate with οὐκ εἶχεν εἶδος. Besides, H as it stands may have been felt to be incomplete with nothing comparable to וְלֹא־מִרְאָה following.

53:3

H נְבֻזָה וְחָדַל אִישִׁים אִישׁ מְכַאֲבוֹת וַיְדוּעַ חָלִי וְכִמְסַתֵּר פָּנִים מִמֶּנּוּ נְבֻזָה וְלֹא חֲשַׁבְנָהּ:
1QIsa^a נְבֻזָה וְחָדַל אִישִׁים וְאִישׁ מְכַאֲבוֹת וַיְדוּעַ חוּלִי וְכִמְסַתֵּר פָּנִים מִמֶּנּוּ וְנִבְזָה וְלֹא חֲשַׁבְנָהּ

1QIsa^b נְבֻזָה וְחָדַל אִישִׁים אִישׁ מְכַאֲבוֹת וַיְדוּעַ חָלִי וְכִמְסַתֵּר פָּנִים מִמֶּנּוּ וְנִבְזָה וְלֹא חֲשַׁבְנָהּ
G ἀλλὰ τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἀτιμον ἐκλείπον παρὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ἄνθρωπος ἐν πληγῇ ὧν καὶ εἰδὼς φέρειν μαλακίαν, ὅτι ἀπέστραπται τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, ἡτιμάσθη καὶ οὐκ ἐλογίσθη.

But his look was not respectable, non-attractive more than anybody('s), a person with wounds and having learned to bear infirmity, for his face had been rejected, he was dishonoured and ignored.

τὸ εἶδος] supplied from the preceding verse, though the subject of נְבֻזָה is not so much “his look” as “the servant,” as shown by what follows.

חָדַל ἐκλείπον] an equation not occurring anywhere else in LXX. The Hebrew phrase must be referring to social isolation, whether the servant avoided contacts with others or he was avoided by others.

¹⁰ Cf. Van der Kooij / Wilk 2011, 2639.

¹¹ Cf. Euler 1934, 85–91.

¹² Cf. also Muraoka 1991.

Joseph Ziegler views this whole phrase as an insertion of *ῥαῖος κάλλει παρά τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων* Ps 44:3.¹³ However, there is no internal link between this psalm and our Isaiah passage, and the degree of attraction between the two persons concerned is mutually quite different. Though the mode of expression with *παρά τινα* is cognate, this does not appear to be a case of deliberate, conscious insertion.

יודע] *καὶ εἰδὼς*] According to the G translator the servant of the Lord had already learned frailties of the mankind and that knowledge was still with him, hence his selection of the pf. pt., and not *γινώσκων* or suchlike.¹⁴ On this use of the Hebrew passive pt., see JM § 121 *o, q* and Muraoka 2020 § 17 *g*, where among many examples we find *בעול בכל סוד אנשים* “having mastered every secret of humans” CD 14:9–10. The ptc. is formally passive, but active in meaning. The scribe of 1QIsa^a may have been uncomfortable with this construction, hence changing it to its active counterpart, *יודע*, though he must have known that the two do not mean exactly the same thing. But this usage was still current in Qumran Hebrew as shown in the above-quoted example.¹⁵

φέρειν] This insertion is understandable in view of *נָשָׂא הוּא הַלְיָנוּ* in the following verse rendered *ὁὗτος τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν φέρει*.

ִטַּי] Did the Vorlage of G read *כי* instead of MT *וי*?

מִסְתַּר] a hapax in BH. Diverse interpretations proposed for MT *מִסְתַּר פָּנִים* *מִמֶּנּוּ* are mentioned in *DCH* s.v. *מִסְתַּר*: “1) ‘like a hiding of face from us, or, from him,’ 2) ‘he was like one who must hide his face from us’ or (3) like one from whom we must hide our faces.” We see that the phrase presents orthographic ambiguities: 1) does *מִמֶּנּוּ* mean “from him” or “from us”? and 2) is 1QIsa^a *מסתיר* a *hiphil* pt. spelled *plene* or a substantive *מִסְתַּר* spelled *plene*?

We could think of an alternative translation of G: “his face had been turned away” either he had been told to do so or of his own will out of a sense of shame.

“בזוהו” 1QIsa^a] This represents a synonymous root *בוז*.¹⁶ G *ἡτιμάσθη* represents *נִבְזָה*, not H *נִבְזָה*. G is consistent in describing the reception accorded to *עֲבָד יְהוָה* by means of three passive verbs — *ἀπέστραπται τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, ἡτιμάσθη καὶ οὐκ ἐλογίσθη*.

¹³ Cf. Ziegler 1934, 77.

¹⁴ Cf. a discussion by Kutscher 1974, 350.

¹⁵ Barr 1968, 19–23, argued that the verb here is not the usual one that has to do with “knowledge,” but represents a different root attested in Arabic, *wadaʿa*, which, if applied to our case, might mean, according to Barr, “humbled, afflicted (by sickness).” One who might hope to find support in that direction in an Arabic translation of Isa 53:3 is only disappointed on reading *muḥtabiru ḥuzni* “acquainted with grief.” Among contemporary BH lexicons *DCH* is supportive of Barr, listing *ידע* II 110f., where “submission” is taken to be its basic meaning. Hermisson 2017, 364f., after a survey of past studies on this question, comes to the decision to stay with the normal meaning of *ידע* “to know.” The above-mentioned, important study by Barr is missing from Hermisson’s survey.

¹⁶ Cf. Qimron 2018, 356.

οὐκ ἐλογίσθη] “he was not taken into account,” there was no column for him in an accountant’s logbook.

53:4

H : אָכַן חֲלִינּוּ הוּא נֶשָׂא וּמְכַאֲבֵינוּ סְבֻלִים וְאַנְחָנוּ חֲשִׁבְנָהוּ נִגּוּעַ מִכָּה אֱלֹהִים וּמַעֲנָה
 1QIsa^a אכן חולינו הוא נשא ומכאובינו סבלם ואנחנו חשבנוהו נגוע ומכה אלוהים ומעונה

1QIsa^b אכן חלינו הוא נשא ומכאבינו סבלם [ו]אנחנו חשבנוהו נגוע מכה אלהים ומענה
 G οὗτος τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν φέρει καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ὀδυνᾶται, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐλογισάμεθα αὐτὸν εἶναι ἐν πόνῳ καὶ ἐν πληγῇ καὶ ἐν κακῶσει.
 This one was bearing our sins and agonising over us, but we thought him to be under suffering and under injury and under maltreatment.

אָכַן is missing from G; no MS attests to it, though Symmachus has ὄντως, cf. S שְׂרִירָאִית and L *vere*.¹⁷

חֲלִינּוּ] This is the sole instance in LXX of the equation חֲלִי / ἀμαρτία. Thus not a physical, but ethical, religious ailment. This uniqueness of equations holds for other words derivationally affiliated to חֲלִי and Greek words such as ἀσθένεια, ἀσθενέω, ἀσθενής, νόσος.

חֲלִינּוּ הוּא נֶשָׂא וּמְכַאֲבֵינוּ סְבֻלִים] In both of the two clauses their respective object is fronted and highlighted: “It was our infirmity that he bore and our pains that he carried.” The vicarious role he played is underlined by the addition of הוּא, the equivalent of which, οὗτος, is fronted in G. This has been captured by the translator of S, who has added the pronoun הוּא to the second verb as well — וְכַאֲבֵן הוּא סְבֻלִים. Likewise L *ipse tulit .. ipse portavit*. Both וְאַנְחָנוּ and ἡμεῖς, which head the following clause, stress the grave nature of *our* failure to recognise the vicarious pain borne by him on our behalf.¹⁸ Note our discussion on the function of the personal pronouns here, הוּא .. וְאַנְחָנוּ, in SSG p. 48, n. 4.¹⁹

נֶשָׂא וּמְכַאֲבֵינוּ] נֶשָׂא could have been read as נֶשָׂא. The translator, however, could have written ἔφερε or ἤνεγκε. In Matthew’s quotation the present in G is shifted to the aorist in line with H: ὅπως πληρωθῆ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος· αὐτὸς τὰς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν ἔλαβεν καὶ τὰς νόσους ἐβάστασεν Matt 8:17, where the evangelist saw in Jesus the modern day יהוה עֲבָד as His predecessor.²⁰

¹⁷ T כִּבֵּן looks graphically close to H אָכַן, but the latter means “thus, therefore.”

¹⁸ Rosenbaum 1997, 82f. discusses the question out of the perspective of focus change.

¹⁹ Goldingay / Payne 2006, 304, label these pronouns as “unnecessary,” though they know well, as shown through the addition of single quotation marks, that they are anything other than unnecessary. Their use adds abundantly to the core of the message of this chapter.

²⁰ Cf. Janowski / Stuhlman 2004, 157f. Matthew’s version is quite distinct from G and also from the subsequent recensions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. One wonders whether he is presenting his own translation. However, this is not Matthew’s consistent policy as we see at Matt 15:8f., where Isa 29:13 is quoted in a form very close to G, which is rather distinct from H.

It is also interesting to note that Matthew, observing Jesus miraculously curing severe psychiatric patients (δαιμονιζόμενοι), confirmed that these activities by Jesus were a fulfilment of the ancient prophecy — ἐθεράπευσεν· ὅπως πληρωθῆ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφῆτου λέγοντος· Αὐτὸς τὰς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν ἔλαβεν καὶ τὰς νόσους ἐβάστασεν. Matthew may have been conscious of what we have pointed out above about ונלח.

Our translator may have preferred ἔφερε over ἤνεγκε, just as he wrote pres. φέρειν in vs. 3, and not aor. ἐνέγκαι in order to underline the lasting process.

1QIsa^a] an Aramaising form for the anticipated ונשבבנח.²¹

ἐλογισάμεθα αὐτὸν εἶναι ..] More examples of λογίζομαι complemented with an infinitival clause are mentioned in *SSG* § 30 **bf** and 69 **ba**.

ἐν πληγῇ] ייחיהם is missing. Did the translator think it better to highlight the three passive participles applied to יהוה עבד or was he uncomfortable with the notion of introducing God as a cause of this horrendous suffering? Some MSS do add υπο θεου. So in Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus.

53:5

H :והוא מחלל מפשעינו מדכא מעונותינו מוסר שלומנו עליו ובחברתו נרפא לנו:

1QIsa^a והוא מחולל מפשעינו ומדוכא מעונותינו ומוסר שלומנו עליו ובחבורתו נרפא לנו

1QIsa^b והוא מחלל מפשעינו ומדכא מעונותינו מוסר שלמנו עליו ובחברתו נרפא לנו

G αὐτὸς δὲ ἐτραυματίσθη διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν καὶ μεμαλάκισται διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν· παιδεία εἰρήνης ἡμῶν ἐπ' αὐτόν, τῷ μῶλωπι αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς ἰάθημεν.

But he was wounded on account of our unlawful deeds and has fallen ill on account of our sins. Penalty for our wellbeing is on him, through his bruise we were healed.

αὐτὸς .. ἡμεῖς] Our translator is still conscious of the binary relationship; the nominative ἡμεῖς is, strictly speaking, unnecessary, and it is in the same case as αὐτός. See above at vs. 4.

ἐτραυματίσθη .. καὶ μεμαλάκισται] Sadly we have not made any progress from what we wrote seven years ago: “one is hard put to see why the two vicarious sufferings need be expressed in the two different tenses. Does the immediately following nominal clause, παιδεία εἰρήνης ἡμῶν ἐπ' αὐτόν, imply that the situation indicated still obtained when the prophet uttered the verse? What is one to make of the next sentence, τῷ μῶλωπι αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς ἰάθημεν? When did the healing take place or had taken place?”, *SSG* p. 280.

²¹ For more details, cf. Qimron, 2018, 277f.

τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν] The plural number is possibly a harmonisation with the following עֲוֹנוֹתֵינוּ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν or the G's Vorlage read as 1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b פשעינו.

שְׁלוֹמֵנו מוֹסֵר פַּיִדָּה עִירָהּ הַיְהוּדִים] Both the cst. phrase (H) and the genitive phrase (G) can be understood to indicate a purpose; see *SQH* § 21 (xvi) and *SSG* § 22 (xiv) respectively. One wonders if it is possible to revocalise the text: מוֹסֵר שְׁלוֹמֵנו עָלָיו “our requital is transposed on to him.”²²

לְהַפְּרִיטֵנוּ הָיִינוּ] H exemplifies a well-established impersonal use of the passive voice²³ as in לוֹ וְכִפֶּר עָלָיו הַכֹּהֵן מִחֲטָאתוֹ וְנִסְלַח לוֹ Lev 4:26, where it is ambiguous in G ἐξιλάσεται περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμαρτίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ as to whether or not the subject of ἀφεθήσεται is ἡ ἀμαρτία αὐτοῦ. Cf. *JM* § 152 *fa*. In LXX a 3rd sg. verb in the passive voice is often used impersonally, e.g. προσετάγη τῷ κήτει “a command was issued to the giant fish” Jonah 2:11 (H וַיֵּאמֶר יְהוָה לְדָג, cf. *SSG* § 87 a).

53.6

H כָּלְנוּ כַצֶּאֱן תְעִינוּ אִישׁ לְדַרְכּוֹ פָּנֵינוּ וַיְהוּהַ הַפְּגִיעַ בּוֹ אֶת עֵוֹן כָּלְנוּ:

1QIsa^a כולנו כצואן תעינו איש לדרכו פנינו ויהוה הפגיע בו את עון כולנו

1QIsa^b [כלנו] כצאן תעינו איש לדרכו פנינו ויהוה הפגיע בו את עון [כלנו]

4QIsa^c [יהוה] הפגיע

G πάντες ὡς πρόβατα ἐπλανήθημεν, ἄνθρωπος τῆ ὁδῷ αὐτοῦ ἐπλανήθη· καὶ κύριος παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις ἡμῶν.

We all strayed like sheep, each person strayed to his path, and the Lord handed him over to our sins.

ἐπλανήθη] The selection of the same verb as ἐπλανήθημεν is a case of harmonisation; a distinct verb such as κλίνω should have been possible as in ἔκλιναν (H וַיִּפְּנוּ) ἐνώπιον ἀνδρὸς Ἰσραηλ εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς ἐρήμου Judg 20:42A (likewise *L*, though with ἔκλινεν). Cf. Theodotion's ἐξεκλιναμεν, which Harald Hegermann considers more accurate than G's ἐπλανήθημεν.²⁴

The verb in G is found in the singular due to אִישׁ ἄνθρωπος in spite of the plural פָּנֵינוּ just as in וְעָבְרוּ תְעִי אִישׁ ἄνθρωπος καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπλανήθη Isa 47:15 referred to by Ziegler.²⁵ No rigid rule is applied here when אִישׁ with distributive value, “each,” is present. Hence καὶ φάγεσθε ἕκαστος τὴν ἄμπελον αὐτοῦ וַיִּפְּנוּ אִישׁ לְדַרְכּוֹ Isa 36.16, and cp. וַיֵּאמֶר יְהוָה אִישׁ לְדַרְכּוֹ Gen 37:19 > εἶπαν δὲ ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν

²² We note that Luzzatto 1855, 358, preceded us, suggesting this as an alternative interpretation.

²³ Given the immediately following וְנִסְלַח לוֹ, Ekblad's suggestion (Ekblad 1999, 222) of נִפְּלוּ *niphal*, impf. 1 pl. makes no sense.

²⁴ Cf. Hegermann 1954, 48.

²⁵ Ziegler 1934, 158.

ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ with καὶ εἶπεν ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ *ibid.* 42:21. See *SSG* § 77 **bb**.

Πλανᾶω is being used as a transitive verb in Ἐπικατάρματος ὁ πλανῶν τυφλὸν ἐν ὁδῷ “Accursed is he who misleads a blind person off the right road” Deut 27:18. Both of its forms in ἐπλανήθημεν .. ἐπλανήθη are passive in form, but are not genuine passive forms. In other words it is not the case that we were misled by someone else. It is well known that it is only in the fut. and aor. that the three voices are clearly distinguished from each other, e.g. λύσω, λύσομαι, λυθήσομαι. Even then, however, we come across instances in which a passive form is passive in form only and actually middle in meaning. E.g. ἄνθρωπος καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἐπλανήθη “each went astray, being by himself” Isa 47:15, where no third party was involved, but it was a self-propelling action.²⁶ This analysis can be applied to our two cases here.

עֲשֵׂה הַיְהוָה הַפְּגִיעַ The non-use of the inversive form, הַיְהוָה עֲשֵׂה, is because the clause provides a piece of supplementary information along with the preceding clauses, and יהוה is fronted to indicate what the עבד יהוה did was not an execution of his own design, but a realisation of Yahweh’s plan.

פָּגַע בּוֹ עוֹן כָּלֵנוּ is a causative transform of עוֹן כָּלֵנוּ “all our iniquity affected him, landed on him.” This would be comparable to אֲלֵי פְגַעֲוֹ בְּשָׂדֶךְ אַחֵר “they would not harm you in another field” Ruth 2.22. More examples of <פָּגַע ב> “to assault” are mentioned in BDB s.v. פָּגַע 1 Qal 3. In all these Qal examples the subject of the verb is always personal, once God, אֵלֵינוּ יִפְגְּעוּנוּ בְּדָבָר אֶחָד Exod 5:3, where the G translator seems to have felt uneasy about making God an attacker, hence μήποτε συναντήσῃ ἡμῖν θάνατος ἢ φόβος “in case death or murder might assault us.” Here, however, the grammatical subject is the guilt of us all, which, however, being impersonal, cannot be an actor, but an occasion or, shall we say, an agent; the true actor is God, as is manifest in G. This vicarious feature is well expressed through the verb chosen, παραδίδομι. By contrast, in all the *qal* examples being discussed here G uses verbs meaning “to assault” such as συναντάω Josh 2:16, ἀπαντάω Judg 8:21+, ἀναιρέω 3 Kgdms 2:25+. Note Symmachus in our passage: κυριος δε καταντησαι εποισησεν αυτον την ανομιαν παντων ημων.²⁷

53:7

H נָגַשׁ וְהוּא נִעְנָה וְלֹא יִפְתַּח-פִּי כִּשְׁהָ לְטַבַּח יוֹבֵל וְכִרְחֵל לְפָנַי גְּזוּיָה נִאֲלָמָה וְלֹא יִפְתַּח-פִּי:

²⁶ On this grammatical feature, see Muraoka 2016 § 27 *cc*.

²⁷ Biblical Greek proffers no example of καταντάω in the sense of “to assault,” whilst we find such in εἰς ἑαυτοὺς κατήγησαν, “they turned on each other,” Polybius 30.11.3. Cf. a discussion on the text of Symmachus in Hegermann 1954, 59.

- 1QIsa^a נגש והואה נגעה ולוא יפתח פיהו כשה לטבוה יובל כרחל לפני גוזיה נאלמה ולוא פתח פיהו
- 1QIsa^b [נגש ו]הוא נגעה ולוא [יפ]תח פיהו כשה לטבוה יובל וכו[חל לפני גוזיה נאלמה ולא יפתח פי]הו
- G καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ τὸ κεκακῶσθαι οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα· ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγῆν ἤχθη καὶ ὡς ἄμνος ἐναντίον τοῦ κείροντος αὐτὸν ἄφωνος οὕτως οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ.
But he, having been maltreated, would not open his mouth none the less. Like a sheep he was led to be slaughtered and like a lamb silently facing one who shears it, so he would not open his mouth.

αὐτὸς] another instance of αὐτός contrasted with ἡμεῖς, on which see at vv. 4 and 5 above. It is made to us clear how he reacted to the treatment he was subjected to, as he endured his vicarious deeds.

τὸ κεκακῶσθαι] Though we cannot say with certainty, which of the two verbs *κακῶω* is rendering nor whether its Hebrew equivalent was parsed by our translator as pf. נגש (MT) and נענה respectively or pt. נגש and נענה (MT) respectively, the pf. inf. in G indicates that, even some time after the torture, the victim was still in his pain, whether bodily or mentally.

נגש] a rare *niphāl* verb meaning “to be hard-pressed, or treated harshly,” which is rather close to another *niphāl* verb, נענה. The synonymity of these two verbs occurring next to each other here makes it difficult to decide which has been rendered with *κεκακῶσθαι*. The root נגש occurs a total of 23 times in BH, and 6 times in Isaiah, and its Greek equivalents are as many or five if we leave our current instance out of account: ἀπαιτέω 14:4, ἐπίσκοπος 60:17, κυριεύω 14:2, συμπίπτω 3:5, ὑπονύσσω 58:3.

Of the four finite verbs in this verse this fronted one is the only one vocalised as preterite. It indicates and sums up the general theme of the suffering the servant encountered, and the following three verbs describe its details.

1QIsa^{a,b} [לטבוה] cf. יובל לטבוה Jer 11:19, which is an example of the active infinitive which is equivalent to a passive one, cf. G ἐγὼ δὲ ὡς ἀρνίον ἀκακὸν ἀγόμενον τοῦ θύεσθαι οὐκ ἔργων.²⁸

[כרחל] Unlike the parallel כשה the substantive, רחל, is anarthrous, thus not כרחל, which means רחל is not standing on its own as an adverbial modifier, but modified by the following prepositional phrase. לפני גוזיה נאלמה is an asyndetic relative clause with רחל as its antecedent.²⁹ This is grammatically important, for

²⁸ More BH examples are cited in JM § 124 *t*. On the variation in Isa 53:7 between H and 1QIsa^{a,b}, see a discussion in Kutschler 1974, 316, where נתנם לטבוה is mentioned, and 1QIsa^a again reads לטבוה with the *waw* added above the word and G παραδοῦναι αὐτοὺς εἰς σφαγῆν is to be noted.

²⁹ On this syntactic question, see JM § 137 *i*. On this ground we prefer “wie ein Lamm, das .. stumm ist, so ..” (SD) to “as a lamb is silent ..., so he ..” (NETS).

ἄφωτος, which can be either masc. or fem., could have αὐτὸς as its subject, whereas that is impossible with נְאֻלָּמָה, clearly marked as fem. and agreeing with רַחֵל, a fem. noun. Our translator could have used ἀμνάς, which refers specifically to “female lamb.”

[יפתח.. יובל.. יפתח] The three imperfects are rendered with two tenses: ἀνοίγει .. ἤχθη .. ἀνοίγει. This is a very sensible variation. The pulling to the slaughter house was a one-off action, whereas he remained silent during the whole process of torture. There is no good reason for changing the second יפתח alone to פתח as in 1QIsa^a.³⁰

53:8

H מַעְצָר וּמִמְשַׁפֵּט לְקַח וְאֶת־דֹּרוֹ מִי יְשׁוּחַח כִּי נִגְזַר מֵאַרְץ חַיִּים מִפֶּשַׁע עָמִי נִגַּע לָמוֹ׃
I QIsa^a מעוצר וממשפט לוקח ואת דורו מיא ישוחח כיא נגזר מארץ חיים מפשע עמו נוגע למו

I QIsa^b מַעְצָר מִמְשַׁפֵּט לְקַח וְאֶת־דֹּרוֹ מִי יְשׁוּחַח כִּי נִגְזַר מֵאַרְץ חַיִּים מִפֶּשַׁע עָמִי נִגַּע לָמוֹ׃
G ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῦ ἤρθη. τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγῆσεται; ὅτι αἴρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνομιῶν τοῦ λαοῦ μου ἤχθη εἰς θάνατον.

Through the humiliation a court proceeding was withheld from him. Who could tell about his generation? For his life was being taken away from the earth, by the unlawful among my people he was led away into death.

[ταπεινώσει] the sole instance in LXX of this equation, ταπείνωσις / עֲצָר. Ziegler mentions καὶ ἀνῶρθωσεν αὐτὸν ἐκ ταπεινώσεως αὐτοῦ “and He lifted him out of his depression” Sir 11:12, which is a somewhat free rendering of וינעריהו וינעריהו “and He lifted him up out of smelly dust.”³¹

[ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῦ] = מִשְׁפָּטוֹ, one way of overcoming the difficult initial adverbial phrase. The difficulty arises from the fact that the preposition מִן repeated twice seems to mean two different things, the first being causal and the second ablative. S appears to be content with a verbatim rendering: מִן חֲבוּשִׂיא וּמִן דִּינָא אֶתְדַבֵּר “from capture and from judgement he was taken away.”

[אֶת־דֹּרוֹ] The verb root שיח, whether *qal* or *polet*, marks the topic of oral communication by means of a direct object or through בִּי. E.g. וְדַבְרֵי נִפְלְאוֹתֶיךָ אֲשִׁיחָה. Ps 145:5 // וּבַעֲלִילוֹתֶיךָ אֲשִׁיחָה ibid. 77:13, also in QH as in וּנְפִלְאוֹתָא אֲשִׁיחָה 4Q381 1.1 // אֲשִׁיחַ בְּנִפְלְאוֹתֶיךָ ib. 31.2.

[ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ] The G translator did not identify a construct phrase in אֶרֶץ חַיִּים, so that he was forced to read חַיִּי, i.e. חַיִּי. Cf. L *de terra viventium* and S אֶרְעָא דְחַיָּא.

³⁰ 1QIsa^b is fragmentary in this regard.

³¹ Cf. Ziegler 1934, 128.

εἰς θάνατον] = לְמוֹת in lieu of H לָמוּ? Cf. S לָה = L *eum*.

וַיִּתְּנוּ אֶת רְשָׁעִים קְבָרָוּ וְאֶת עֲשִׂיר בְּמִתְיוּ עַל לֹא חָמַס עָשָׂה וְלֹא מָרְמָה בְּפִיו: 1QIsa^a וַיִּתְּנוּ אֶת רְשָׁעִים קְבָרוּ וְעַמִּי עֲשִׂירִים {ים} בּוֹמְתוֹ עַל לֹא חָמַס עָשָׂה וְלֹא מָרְמָה בְּפִיהוּ
1QIsa^b וַיִּתְּנוּ אֶת רְשָׁעִים קְבָרוּ וְאֶת עֲשִׂיר בְּמִתְיוּ עַל לֹא חָמַס עָשָׂה וְלֹא מָרְמָה בְּפִיו
4QIsa^d [חמ] עָשָׂה וְלֹא מָרְמָה בְּפִיהוּ]

53:9

H וַיִּתְּנוּ אֶת רְשָׁעִים קְבָרוּ וְאֶת עֲשִׂיר בְּמִתְיוּ עַל לֹא חָמַס עָשָׂה וְלֹא מָרְמָה בְּפִיו:
1QIsa^a וַיִּתְּנוּ אֶת רְשָׁעִים קְבָרוּ וְעַמִּי עֲשִׂירִים {ים} בּוֹמְתוֹ עַל לֹא חָמַס עָשָׂה וְלֹא מָרְמָה בְּפִיהוּ
1QIsa^b וַיִּתְּנוּ אֶת רְשָׁעִים קְבָרוּ וְאֶת עֲשִׂיר בְּמִתְיוּ עַל לֹא חָמַס עָשָׂה וְלֹא מָרְמָה בְּפִיו
4QIsa^d [חמ] עָשָׂה וְלֹא מָרְמָה בְּפִיהוּ]

G καὶ δώσω τοὺς πονηροὺς ἀντὶ τῆς ταφῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους ἀντὶ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἀνομίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ εὐρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ.

And I shall give away the wicked for his grave and the rich for his death, for he committed no transgression at all nor was found any deception at all in his mouth.

δώσω] God is speaking, whereas in H the prophet is and the subject of the verb is the servant.³² Furthermore, in G we have a fut. verb form as against the preterite in H according to the vocalised form.

The scribe of 1QIsa^a may have recognised an impersonal 3ms in H וַיִּתְּנוּ, which he has altered to וַיִּתְּנוּ, thinking 3mpl. more natural. The *s* would be the bereaved family or the community.

There is another significant difference between H and G. In the former the particle **אֶת** can be nothing but the preposition in the sense of “together with,” whereas G took it both times as the direct object marker in spite of what follows lacks the definite article, hence “some wicked people” and “a rich person.”

The scribe of 1QIsa^a wrote the second preposition initially עַם, then tried to correct it to אֶת by writing a ת above the מ, what demonstrates that אֶת as a preposition was still alive unlike in Rabbinic Hebrew, which would replace it with עִם. In Qumran Hebrew אֶת “with” is still very much alive.³³

τοὺς πλουσίους] The pl. for עֲשִׂיר is a harmonisation with the parallel pl. τοὺς πονηροὺς for רְשָׁעִים.³⁴ Similarly T רְשָׁעִים .. עֲשִׂירִים נְכִסִּים “the wicked .. the rich in possessions.” Note a different kind of harmonisation in S רְשָׁעִים .. עֲשִׂירִים “a wicked person .. a rich person,” both sg.

ἀντὶ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ] = בְּמִתְיוּ. Likewise S בְּמוֹתָהּ and L *pro morte sua*.

³² In 1QIsa^a וַיִּתְּנוּ other people, whether in accordance with the victim’s advance instruction or by their own initiative, took care of his burial.

³³ In the concordance of Dead Sea Scrolls by Abegg 2003, 118f., we see nearly 70 occurrences of it. In Modern Hebrew, especially in speech, it is very much alive when suffixed with personal pronouns.

³⁴ So Ekblad 1999, 239.

על לא חָמַס .. ולא מְרַמָּה [לֹא־חָמַס] ἀνομίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ εὐρέθη δόλος. In both Hebrew and Greek an anarthrous sg. substantive in a negative clause indicates categorical, absolute negation, cf. JM § 160 *oa*, Muraoka *SQH* § 40 *g*, and *SSG* § 83 *f*.³⁵

על לא חָמַס עָשָׂה] For על in lieu of על אֶשְׂרַךְ “despite the fact,” see על לא חָמַס בְּכַפְּי “although there is no injustice in my hands” Job 16:17. על in lieu of אֶשְׂרַךְ can also mark a reason or a ground as in פְּלִגְי־מַיִם יָרְדוּ עֵינַי עַל לֹא־שָׁמְרוּ תוֹרַתְךָ “streams of water flew down from my eyes because I have not observed Your law” Ps 119:136. G’s ὅτι here represents the second alternative, which accords better with G’s principal clause beginning with και δώσω.

עָשָׂה] added as parallel to a preterite verb in the preceding verbal clause, εὐρέθη ἐποίησεν.

53:10

H ויהיה חפץ דכאו ויחללהו אם תשים אשם נפשו יראה זרע יאריך ימים וחפץ יהיה בידו יצלח:

1QIsa^a ויהוה חפץ דכאו ויחללהו אם תשים אשם נפשו יראה זרע ויארך ימים וחפץ יהוה בידו יצלח

1QIsa^b [ויהוה חפץ דכאו ויחללהו] אם תשים אשם נפשו יראה זרע יאריך ימים וחפץ יהוה בידו יצלח

4QIsa^d [ויהוה חפץ דכאו ויחללהו] אם תשים אשם נפשו [י]ראה זרע והאריך ימים וחפץ יהוה בידו יצלח

G και κύριος βούλεται καθαρίσαι αὐτὸν τῆς πληγῆς· ἐὰν δῶτε περὶ ἁμαρτίας, ἢ ψυχῇ ὑμῶν ὄψεται σπέρμα μακρόβιον· και βούλεται κύριος ἀφελεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ πόνου τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ,

And the Lord desires to purge him of the blow. Should you give an offering over sins, your soul will see long-living offspring, and the Lord desires to take away from the pain of his soul,

καθαρίσαι αὐτὸν τῆς πληγῆς] contradictory to H “to crush him, He made him ill,” a contradiction that can be partly overcome by reading חפץ as preterite, which accords with חללה. Then βούλεται, however, need be altered to ἐβουλήθη (aor.) as done by Aquila³⁶ or ἠβούλετο (impf.).

In our *Index* s.v. καθαρίζω we suggested that its Hebrew equivalent is דכא *piel*, an Aramaising phenomenon, as can be seen in T here, דְּכָא “to cleanse.” Note ויבזו רַחֲצוּ Isa 1:16 (> G λούσασθε, καθαροὶ γένεσθε).

1QIsa^a יחללהו “he wounded him” is closer in meaning to the standard sense of דְּכָא “to crush him.”

³⁵ “he did non-violence and non-deceit ...” (Goldingay / Payne 2006, 318) has little to do with H.

³⁶ Likewise Symmachus with ἠβελήσεν.

The genitive case of τῆς πληγῆς is ablative in value, “away from,” see *SSG* § 22 **qa**. And in that case G must represent מחלי, i.e. מַחְלִי. G’s exegesis of חלי is not consistent: *μαλακία* (3) and *ἀμαρτία* (4). The noun occurs twice more in our book, translated with *πόνος* 1:5 and *μαλακία* 38:9.

δῶτε] The use of the 2 pl. here is striking. Unlike in English, Greek does not use this category for impersonal expressions, cf. *SSG* § 87.

ἢ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν ὀψεται] The translator must have been aware that נַפְשׁוֹ as the subject would require תִּרְאֶה, i.e. תִּרְאָה. He may have found נַפְשׁוֹ as the subject of יִפְשֶׁת difficult, which he rendered somewhat freely.

ὀψεται σπέρμα μακρόβιον] Our translator saw here an asyndetic relative clause. יִפְשֶׁת מַרְרִיךְ יָמֶיךָ is acceptable as an *o* complement in יִפְשֶׁת מַרְרִיךְ יָמֶיךָ > G *έώρακα τὸν Αβεσσαλωμ κρεμάμενον ἐν τῇ δρυὶ* 2 Sam 18:10, but an object clause without a subordinating conjunction such as כִּי or אֲשֶׁר with תִּרְאֶה is unknown. The only remaining option is to analyse יִפְשֶׁת יָמֶיךָ as a self-standing clause with “he” or עַד as its *s*. So S יִפְשֶׁת וְנָגַד יוֹמֶיךָ וְנָגַד יוֹמֶיךָ. Cf. T יִרְכּוּן יוֹמֶיךָ וְנָגַד יוֹמֶיךָ “sons and daughters will multiply and they will live long.”

βούλεται κύριος²] Though repeated, כּוֹפֵךְ is vocalised differently; in this latter case it is a substantive in st. cst. As a consequence we find a message rather different from H, “what the Lord desires would go ahead well through him.” The message of the verse as a whole is consistent in H, the vicarious deeds of the servant. G is consistent in its way, only that God emerges as sympathetic towards His servant.³⁷ This consistency is achieved through a rather free translation displayed in the last clause of the verse.

53:11

H	:מַעְמַל נַפְשׁוֹ יִרְאֶה יֵשׁ בְּעַד עֲבֹדֶי לְרַבִּים וְעוֹנֹתָם הוּא יְסַבֵּל
1QIsa ^a	מעמל נפשו יראה אור וישבע ובדעתו יצדיק עבדו לרבים ועוונותם הוא יסבול
1QIsa ^b	מעמל נפשו יראה אור יש[בע בדעתו יצדיק עבדו לרבים] ועונתם הוא יסבול
4QIsa ^d	מעמל נפשו יראה אור[ישבע בדעתו יצדיק עבדו לרבים] ועונתם הוא יסבול
G	δείξει αὐτῷ φῶς καὶ πλάσαι τῇ συνέσει, δικαιῶσαι δίκαιον εὖ δουλεύοντα πολλοῖς, καὶ τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν αὐτὸς ἀνοίσει. to show him light and mould (him) with intelligence, to justify a righteous who serves many well, and he will carry their sins.

³⁷ Readers of the early church may have seen here a figure of Jesus hanging on the cross symbolising two faces of God, love and justice, cf. וְנֶפֶשׁוֹ נֶפְשׁוֹ יִצְדֵק וְיִשְׁלֹם נֶפְשׁוֹ Ps 85.11 (> G ἔλεος καὶ ἀλήθεια συνήνησαν, δικαιοσύνη καὶ εἰρήνη κατεφίλησαν).

H [מַעֲמַל נִפְשׁוֹ] totally absent in G.

δείξαι] = הָרָהּ.

φῶς] Clearly represented in both 1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b through אור, and most plausibly also in 4QIsa^d. In *BHS* Winton Thomas does not appear to accept this Qumran reading as original, viewing הָרָהּ as corrupted from ירוה, which accords better with the following עֲבָדְיָ.

πλάσαι] totally unrelated to עֲבָדְיָ. Though unsupported even by the Three, one wonders whether an emendation to πλῆσαι “to fill, sate” is possible. Though the genitive is the norm, some verbs that denote filling are governed by a substantive in the dative. E.g. πνεύματι συνέσεως ἐμπλησθήσεται “he would be filled with a spirit of understanding” Sir 39:6, ὀργῆ βαρεία γεμίσας δυσσεβῆ φρένα “having been filled his ungodly mind with violent rage” 3 Macc 5:47, and χαρᾶ πεπληρωμένος “having filled up with joy” 3 Macc 4:16. Whether we read πλάσαι or πλῆσαι, the translator linked the verb with the following בְּדַעְתּוֹ. Then H עֲבָדְיָ had better be vocalised as עֲבִידְיָ.³⁸

τῆ συνέσει] “für die Einsicht (zu gestalten)” (*SD*). We are doubtful that a dative can mark a purpose. See *SSG* § 22 *w-wt*.

עֲבָדְיָ] The absence of this cardinal word in both G and S obscures the fact that, from this point on, the message conveyed by God Himself concerns the עֲבַד יְהוָה. Accordingly, in vs. 12 we find κληρονομήσει, not κληρονομήσω, for H אַחְלַקְלֹלוֹ, though S reads אֶפְלִגְלוֹהִי.

ἀνοίσει] cf. *GELS* s.v. ἀναφέρω 6 “to carry that which one is not obligated to.” The vicarious character of the task is also indicated through αὐτός. Ekblad emphasises the link of the verb to its use in a description of offerings of animal sacrifices in the Pentateuch, what we consider irrelevant here, since those poor animals were not deliberately slaughtering themselves.³⁹ Our servant is compared to such sacrificial animals in vs. 7, when they did not know what was about to happen to them, so that they did not baa.

עֲוֹנֹתָם הוּא יִסְבֵּל] The non-standard word order with a fronted *o* and the addition of הוּא highlight yet again the vicarious nature of the servant’s actions. It was *their* iniquities that he bore on their behalf.

53:12

H לָכֵן אַחְלַקְלֹלוֹ בְּרַבִּים וְאֶת־עֲצוּמִים יַחְלַק שְׁלָל־תַּחַת אֲשֶׁר הָעֵרָה לְמוֹת נַפְשׁוֹ וְאֶת־פְּשָׁעִים נִמְנָה וְהוּא חֲטָא־רַבִּים נָשָׂא וְלַפְשָׁעִים יִפְגַּע:

1QIsa^a לכן אחלק לו ברבים ואת עצומים יחלק שלל תחת אשר הערה למוות נפשו ואת פושעים נמנה והוא חטאי רבים נשא ולפשעים יפגע

³⁸ Muraoka 2010 needs be corrected: delete s.v. πίμπλημι p. 96a 3) *c hi. and p. 352b, עֲבָדְיָ hi.

³⁹ Cf. Ekblad 1999, 260.

- 1QIsa^b לכן אה[לק לו ברבים ואת] יח[יח] קלל תחת אשר הערה למות נפשו] ואת פשעים [נמנה] והוא חטאי רבים נשא ולפשעיהם יפגיה
- 4QIsa^d ל[כ] אהלך לו ברבים ואת עצמים יחלק שלל תחת אש[ר] הערה למות] נפשו ואת פשעים נמנה והוא חטאי רבים נשא ולפשעיהם [ם] יפגיע
- G διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸς κληρονομήσει πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν μεριεῖ σκυῖλα, ἀνθ' ὧν παρεδόθη εἰς θάνατον ἢ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνόμοις ἐλογίσθη· καὶ αὐτὸς ἀμαρτίας πολλῶν ἀνήνεγκε καὶ διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν παρεδόθη.
Therefore he will inherit many and divide gains of the mighty, because his life was delivered to death, and he was counted to be one of the unlawful, and it was he that carried sins of many and was given up because of their sins.

אהלך] The prophet introduces God Himself on to the stage, what the translator may have found it unbearable: “Therefore I shall confer his share in the presence of many and he will share his gains with the mighty.” Though he performed his task alone, his sacrificial contribution should be recognised and appreciated by many.

רבים] On the ground of the parallel עצומים Luzzatto assigns to this adjective an Aramaising connotation, “great, eminent,”⁴⁰ but even S and T prefer its standard Hebrew meaning: אסגיא “many” and אגיא respectively. Without any comment Ekblad translates the word with “the great.”⁴¹

μεριεῖ] “*der Mächtigen Beute als Teil erhalten*” (SD). Eventually he may get a share, but the Greek verb on its own does not mean “share” or “receive part.”

ἀνθ' ὧν] The relative pronoun does not necessarily refer to the preceding σκυῖλα as its antecedent, but it serves as a compound subordinating conjunction “introducing a clause the verb of which is in the past and specifies a commendable or (mostly) punishable deed, and such a clause usually follows the main clause” (GELS s.v. ἀντί 3 b). Among many examples cited there we find ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου ..., ἀνθ' ὧν ὑπήκουσας τῆς ἐμῆς φωνῆς Gen 22:18.

αὐτὸς¹ .. αὐτὸς²] The vicarious character of the mission performed by the servant continues to be underlined, what is elaborated by the addition of the possessive pronoun “their” in 1QIsa^a פשעיהמה and 1QIsa^b פשעיהם.⁴²

παρεδόθη .. ἐλογίσθη .. παρεδόθη] Earlier in vs. 6 ויהיה הפגיע בו את עון כלנו we see that the whole undertaking was God’s initiative and the servant obediently and willingly submitted himself to it. There the active voice is used: καὶ κύριος παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις ἡμῶν. The same verb has now been shifted to the passive voice (παρεδόθη) along with the other (ἐλογίσθη). This is all the more

⁴⁰ Cf. Luzzatto 1855, 363.

⁴¹ Cf. Ekblad 1999, 261.

⁴² In BHS Winton Thomas suggests אפגיה, but the plural form is more plausible as in the two Qumran texts.

striking because *παρεδόθη*⁴³ corresponds to the active voice in H נָפְשׁוֹ לְמִוְתָּהּ הָעֵרָה with the servant as the subject of the verb.

רַבִּים [ἀμαρτίας πολλῶν] 1QIsa^a, 1QIsa^b, and 4QIsa^d all read the first noun in the pl. So S חֲטָאֵהּ, and T חוֹבֵיָן.⁴³ In a similar context in עָוֹן בְּלָנוּ עָוֹן vs. 6 and פָּשַׁע עָמִי vs. 8 both S and T use a pl. form: חֲטָאֵהּ, עוֹלָא, and חוֹבֵיָן, חוֹבֵיָן respectively. Likewise G ἀμαρτίαις, ἀνομιῶν. However, no Q text reads a pl. form, making the situation in vs. 12 unique. The selection of the pl. form may be due to the presence of רַבִּים. Whilst both בְּלָנוּ (vs. 6) and עָמִי (vs. 8) as a respective nomen regens is notionally plural, the use of a singular form in conjunction with רַבִּים may have been felt to be a shade too odd.

נָשָׂא] On the ground of the affiliated message conveyed by the last two clauses Luzzatto argues that this verb means “to forgive.”⁴⁴ But with ἀνῆγγεχε the translator of G and with שָׁקַל that of S interpreted it differently.

The verb פָּגַע is used in both vs. 6 and here against the same background. The last clause here is problematic. Though פָּגַע is used as in vs. 6, there the subject is God, what cannot apply here. Hence “he made intercession for the transgressors” or the like is the standard translation. 1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b are likely to mean “he was pleased over their faults,” regarding 1QIsa^a יִפְגַּע as a graphic variant on 1QIsa^b יִפְגִּיעַ.

In 1QIsa^a פִּשְׁעֵיהֶמהּ (similarly 1QIsa^b) the noun can be only the pl. of פָּשַׁע, hence פִּשְׁעֵיהֶמהּ. S’s עוֹלָא “infidels” accords with H.

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⁴³ On the situation in L cf. Van der Kooij 1981, 309.

⁴⁴ Luzzatto 1855, 364.

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RECHNENDE SCHREIBER:
DIE CHRONOLOGIEN IN GENESIS 5 UND 11 (LXX)¹

Martin RÖSEL

The genealogies in Genesis 5 and 11 provide information for each patriarch about his lifespan and the age at which he fathered his first son. This makes it possible to calculate an absolute, full chronology beginning with creation. The article gives an introduction into the complex text-critical situation of these chapters, in which the three main witnesses (MT, Smr and LXX) differ considerably. In a second step, more recent proposals to solve these problems are presented. It is discussed whether the textual differences can be explained as referring to a specific date, e.g. the foundation of the sanctuary on Mt Garizim in Smr or the Maccabean revolt in MT. It is argued that the long chronology of the LXX refers to the dedication of the second temple in the year 5000 anno mundi.

Schon in seiner Dissertation über „die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches“ aus dem Jahre 1981 hat Arie van der Kooij deutlich gemacht, dass der Übersetzer des Jesajabuches ins Griechische als Schriftgelehrter zu verstehen ist, der nicht nur das konkret zu übersetzende Buch sehr gut kannte, sondern in seiner Übersetzung auch Beeinflussungen durch andere Texte erkennen ließ.² Diese Einschätzung hat er auch auf andere, stärker am Ausgangstext orientierte Übersetzer wie den der Psalmen angewendet.³ Das bedeutet, dass „man von vorneherein auch mit Formen von Exegese ... rechnen muss“,⁴ die dann aber durchaus unterschiedlich ausfallen kann, je nachdem welche Übersetzungsweise konkret vorliegt; in den Psalmen ist also anderes zu erwarten als im Jesajabuch. In meiner eigenen Forschung zur Septuaginta und vor allem zu ihrem eigenständigen theologischen Profil hat sich dieses Schriftgelehrten-Modell als sehr ertragreich erwiesen, wobei natürlich weitere methodische Klärungen nötig sind, wie solche Interpretationsleistungen zu erkennen und einzuordnen sind.⁵

Im vorliegenden Beitrag soll es um einen Sonderfall der Schriftgelehrsamkeit gehen: den Umgang mit Zahlen, genauer gesagt, mit chronologischen Angaben.

¹ Meine Bekanntschaft mit Arie van der Kooij geht auf eine Tagung zu theologischen Problemen der Septuaginta zurück, die im Frühjahr 1993 stattfand (vgl. Reventlow 1997). Über die gemeinsame Arbeit an der *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* stehen wir seitdem im freundschaftlichen Austausch, für den ich sehr dankbar bin.

² Van der Kooij 1981, 62–65.

³ Van der Kooij 2000, 377–379.

⁴ A.a.O., 377.

⁵ Vgl. dazu meine Überlegungen in Rösel 2018, 273–290.

Hier sind oft auffällige Differenzen zwischen den Versionen festzustellen, die möglicherweise die Angaben der Vorlage aktualisieren sollen. Dabei ist die Deutung der Abweichungen oft strittig, wie etwa in Dan 9,25–27 zu sehen ist. Dort spricht der hebräische Text von „sieben Wochen und 62 Wochen“ (שָׁבַע עָשָׂר וָשִׁנָּה וְשִׁבְעִים וָשָׁבַע), was in der *Old Greek* mit ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑξήκοντα δύο „77 und 62“ wiedergegeben wird. Das lässt sich einfach als Verlesung von שָׁבַע als „siebzig“ statt „Wochen“ erklären⁶ oder als bewusste Veränderung zu 139 Jahren. Diese Angabe würde dann auf Antiochus IV. Epiphanes zielen, dessen Herrschaft im Jahr 137 nach seleukidischer Zeitrechnung begonnen hatte, so dass mit dem Verweis auf die Salbung, die laut V. 26 entfernt wurde, der Mord an Onias III gemeint sein müsse.⁷ Es ist nicht klar, worauf die Zeitangaben im hebräischen Text zielen, da nicht einmal eindeutig erkennbar ist, welches Ereignis als Startpunkt der Wochenrechnung gedacht war. Angesichts dessen ist es durchaus möglich, dass der Übersetzer eine eigene Deutung hat einfließen lassen, wie dies auch an anderen Stellen in Dan 8–12 geschehen ist.⁸ Die Theodotion-Version dieses Textes hat ihrerseits eine kleine Differenz zum hebräischen Text, da hier ebenfalls die Zahlen 7 und 62 addiert und nicht in zwei Perioden aufgeteilt wurden. So konnte der Gesalbte in V. 25 mit dem in V. 26 identifiziert werden, was zur Grundlage späterer messianischer Interpretation wurde;⁹ der Text bekam daher eine bedeutende Wirkungsgeschichte in Judentum und Christentum als Grundlage für die Berechnung des Eschaton.¹⁰

Gewissermaßen am anderen Ende der Chronologien stehen die Texte, um die es im Folgenden gehen soll, die Genealogien in Gen 5 und 11. Sie bildeten die Grundlage zur Errechnung des Alters der Welt und damit auch zur Spekulation über bestimmte Periodisierungen, die z.B. Klaus Koch als „Sabbatstruktur der Geschichte“ bezeichnet hat.¹¹ Die genealogischen Angaben dieser Kapitel, besonders die Angaben, in welchem Jahr Nachkommen gezeugt wurden, erlauben es, von Adam an die Zeit bis Noah (und damit bis zur Sintflut) und dann bis zur Geburt Abrahams zu berechnen. Diese beiden Abschnitte sind jeweils in 10 (Gen 5) bzw. 9 (Gen 11) Generationen aufgegliedert. Kombiniert man diese Angaben mit weiteren Datierungen der biblischen Überlieferung, lassen sich auch z.B. der Exodus oder der Bau des Tempels datieren. Einschränkend ist aber zu sagen, dass dieses Aufsummieren der Zahlen aus Gen 5+11 innerhalb der Bibel nicht explizit geschieht, sondern ein später – z.B. bei hellenistischen Chronographen – belegtes

⁶ Jeansonne 1988, 128. Ähnlich Neef 2011, 3036, die Angabe bleibe unverständlich.

⁷ Bruce 1972, 44, ähnlich, ohne erkennbaren Bezug auf Bruce, Beckwith 1996, 263.

⁸ Dazu Rösel 2012.

⁹ Collins 1993, 355.

¹⁰ Vgl. zur Auslegung des hebräischen Textes und zur Wirkungsgeschichte Newsom / Breed 2014, 299–320.

¹¹ Koch 1983.

Phänomen ist.¹² Besonders bei der Flut-Chronologie des Samaritanus wird sich aber zeigen, dass die jeweiligen Schreiber die Zahlen durchaus aufgerechnet haben.

Bedeutsam wurden diese Genealogien, weil sie die Grundlage für alle späteren Versuche bildeten, das biblische Alter der Welt zu errechnen. Dessen bekanntester und wirksamster war der des Erzbischofs von Armagh, James Ussher, der die Erschaffung der Welt auf das Jahr 4004 v. Chr. datierte.¹³ Auf ihn stützen sich bis heute evangelikale Kreise. Die Abweichung des nach dem gleichen Prinzip erstellten, heute gebräuchlichen jüdischen Kalenders um ca. 246 Jahre beruht darauf, dass die persische Zeit nur schematisch und damit deutlich kürzer berechnet wurde.¹⁴

Mit den biblischen Basistexten für diese Berechnungen in Gen 5 und 11 verbinden sich zwei Problemkreise, die in der exegetischen Forschung diskutiert werden: Der erste besteht darin, dass die alten Textzeugen Masoretischer Text, Septuaginta und Samaritanus deutlich voneinander abweichen, so dass beispielsweise die Datierung der Flut um bis zu 935 Jahren voneinander abweicht (Smr: 1307; LXX 2242). Die zweite strittige Frage ist, ob diese Differenzen nur als lokale Textprobleme der Ur-geschichte zu erklären sind oder Teil einer umfassenderen Chronologie sind, etwa einer Epochenberechnung. Im zweiten Fall müssten die Daten aus Gen 5 und 11 mit weiteren chronologischen Angaben der biblischen Überlieferung kombiniert werden. Im Folgenden werde ich mich vor allem auf die griechische Version der Genealogien konzentrieren, da hier die Problemlage besonders unübersichtlich ist. Da ich mich in meiner Dissertation ausführlich mit den fraglichen Texten beschäftigt habe,¹⁵ soll es hier vor allem darum gehen, neuere Beiträge zum Thema zu sichten und ihre Positionen zu überprüfen.

1. MT, SAMARITANUS UND SEPTUAGINTA IN GENESIS 5

Die grundlegenden Probleme dieser Texte wurden schon öfter dargestellt, daher mag hier eine knappe Zusammenfassung ausreichen.¹⁶ Grundsätzlich sind die Angaben zu den einzelnen Patriarchen in Gen 5,2–32 so angelegt, dass als erste Zahl das Jahr genannt wird, in dem er seinen (ersten) Sohn zeugt, als zweite Zahl seine restliche

¹² So schon Green 1890, 297, der zu dem Ergebnis kommt, dass die biblischen Chronologien keine verlässliche Rechengrundlage für die Datierung der Flut oder der Schöpfung liefern können (S. 303).

¹³ S. dazu den interessanten Aufsatz von Barr 1985 und die Tabellen zu den wichtigsten Daten von Usshers Chronologie bei Finegan 1998, 404-405.

¹⁴ Barr 1985, 580.

¹⁵ Rösel 1994, 122-144.

¹⁶ Vgl. z.B. Tov 2015; Gertz 2015; Larsson 1983.

Lebensdauer und als dritte seine Gesamtlebensdauer. Die Reihe beginnt mit Adam, so dass davon auszugehen ist, dass sie im Weltalter (*anno mundi = a.m.*) 0 beginnt. Addiert man nun die Zeugungsjahre, lässt sich fortlaufend das Alter der Welt berechnen. Adam zeugt demnach Seth in seinem 130. Jahr, Seth wiederum den Enosch in seinem 105. Jahr, so dass Enosch das Licht der Welt im Jahr 235 *a.m.* erblickt.¹⁷ Da nach Gen 7,6.11 die Flut im 600. Jahr Noahs kam, lässt sich nach diesem System die Flut auf das Jahr 1656 *a.m.* datieren (alle Zahlen nach MT).

Interessanterweise weichen die alten Textzeugen vor allem beim Zeugungsalter voneinander ab, und zwar auf so charakteristische Weise, dass mit gestalterischer Absicht und nicht mit Abschreibfehlern oder ähnlichem zu rechnen ist.¹⁸ Der Samaritanus stimmt bis zu Mahalalel mit den Angaben des MT überein, hat danach aber durchgängig niedrigere Jahreszahlen. So entsteht eine „kürzere“ Chronologie, nach der die Flut im Jahr 1307 *a.m.* stattgefunden hätte (vgl. die Übersicht). Dem MT zufolge stirbt nur Metuschelach im Jahr 1656, also wohl in der Flut (vgl. die Notiz in Gen 7,21, wonach alle Menschen durch die Flut sterben). Dem Smr zufolge sterben aber zusätzlich auch Jared und Lamech im Jahr der Flut; dies wird dadurch erreicht, dass die Angaben zur Restlebenszeit so verändert wurden, dass sie auf das Jahr 1307 weisen. Auffällig ist zudem, dass im Smr das Zeugungsalter der Patriarchen kontinuierlich zurückgeht, von 130 bei Adam bis 53 bei Lamech. Im MT gilt das nur für die ersten fünf Generationen, bei Jared ist das Zeugungsalter 100 Jahre, bei Metuschelach 120 Jahre und bei Lamech 129 Jahre höher als im Smr. Das wird wohl darauf hinweisen, dass die Abfolge des Smr ursprünglicher ist. Ein weiteres Argument in diese Richtung ist die Beobachtung, dass nach den Jahresangaben des Smr Noah Henoch noch gekannt haben kann; beide Gestalten sind im Text durch die Aussage hervorgehoben und miteinander verbunden, dass sie „mit Gott wandelten“ (5,24; 6,9).¹⁹

Im Gegensatz zum Smr hat die LXX eine deutlich „längere“ Chronologie. Das wird dadurch erreicht, dass das Zeugungsalter von Adam bis Henoch durchgängig um je 100 Jahre erhöht wird. Analog dazu wird die Restlebenszeit verkürzt, so dass die Angabe der Gesamtlebensdauer gleich bleibt. Bei Metuschelach verzeichnet LXX die Zeugung in seinem 167. Jahr, was einer schematischen Er-

¹⁷ Gegen diese schematische Rechenweise hat Ziemer 2009, 3, Einspruch erhoben, aufgrund von Texten wie Gen 17,21; 21,5 müsse je Generation ein zusätzliches Jahr für die Schwangerschaft addiert werden. So wird das Jahr 1666 *a.m.* zum Jahr der Sintflut. Allerdings gibt es für diese Rechnung in den Genealogien selbst keinen Anhalt, wie Ziemer S. 4, Anm. 17 für Smr und LXX auch konstatiert. Tov 2015, 38, Anm. 3, überlegt, ob das verwendete Verbum הוליד nicht auf die Zeugung, sondern auf die Geburt zu beziehen ist, so dass Ziemers Einwand damit geklärt wäre, so auch unabhängig davon Fischer 2018, 337, mit der interessanten Überlegung, dass die an sich nicht notwendige Angabe von Restlebensdauer und Gesamtlebensdauer sichern soll, dass kein zusätzliches Jahr einzuberechnen ist (S. 338).

¹⁸ Mit Tov 2015, 38, Anm. 2.

¹⁹ S. Gertz 2018, 190.

höhung der Smr-Angabe um 100 entspricht; MT bietet demgegenüber das Jahr 187. Bei Lamech hat LXX das 188. Jahr, was nicht von den anderen Zeugen abgeleitet werden kann. Auffällig ist die Gesamtlebenszeit Lamechs im MT, da sie dort 777 Jahre beträgt. Das weist sicher auf die 77-fache Rache Lamechs nach Gen 4,24 zurück und ist folglich als sekundär einzustufen. Insgesamt kommt LXX auf das Jahr 2242 *a.m.* als das Datum der Flut. Dabei ist auffällig, dass Metuschelach nach der LXX erst im Jahr 2256 *a.m.* stirbt, die Flut also um 16 Jahre überlebt hat. Daraus lässt sich schließen, dass das Interesse der LXX bei der Erhöhung der Lebensalterdaten lag, nicht aber bei der inneren Stimmigkeit der Überlieferung. Im Gegensatz dazu hatte der Smr Wert darauf gelegt, dass außer Noah und seiner Familie niemand die Flut überlebt.

Die folgende Tabelle gibt als erste Zahl das Alter an, in dem der Nachkomme gezeugt wurde, die zweite Zahl (*kursiv*) ist das errechnete Weltalter *a.m.*²⁰

	MT	Smr	LXX
Adam	130/130	130/130	230/230
Seth	105/235	105/235	205/435
Enosch	90/325	90/325	190/625
Kenan	70/395	70/395	170/795
Mahalalel	65/460	65/460	165/960
Jered	162/622	62/522	162/1122
Henoch	65/687	65/587	165/1287
Metuschelach	187/874	67/654	167/1454
Lamech	182/1056	53/707	188/1642
Noah	500/1556	500/1207	500/2142
<i>Flut</i>	<i>1656</i>	<i>1307</i>	<i>2242</i>

Interessanterweise sind diese Differenzen inzwischen auch Teil einer intensiven Diskussion in der evangelikalischen Bibelforschung geworden. Angesichts der eindeutigen archäologischen und chronologischen Befundlage in Mesopotamien und Ägypten ist deutlich, dass die Chronologie Usshers und anderer, die auf den Angaben des hebräischen Textes beruht, zu kurz ist. Daher werden die Angaben des MT als textkritisch sekundär gegenüber denen der LXX bewertet, so dass man mit den ursprünglicheren Zahlen der griechischen Tradition eine frühere Welterschöpfung errechnen kann und so Konflikte mit den Texten aus der Umwelt vermeidet.²¹

²⁰ Ausführlichere Tabellen finden sich bei Rösler 1994, 131+133; vgl. auch Hendel 2012, 463; Tov 2015, 39–43.

²¹ Vgl. dazu beispielhaft die Auseinandersetzung zwischen Smith 2018; und Sexton 2015 einerseits (pro LXX) und Sanders/Carter 2018 andererseits. Eine weitere Option um zu einer längeren Chronologie zu kommen ist die Annahme, dass in Gen 5 und 11 mehrere Genealogien fehlen, vgl. Steinmann 2017.

2. MT, SAMARITANUS UND SEPTUAGINTA IN GENESIS 11

In Gen 11,10 beginnen die *Toledot Sems* mit der etwas überraschenden Datierung, dass Sem seinen Sohn Arpachschad im zweiten Jahr nach der Flut gezeugt habe, als er selbst 100 Jahre alt war. Damit entsteht eine Diskrepanz zu den chronologischen Angaben innerhalb der Fluterzählung, denn nach Gen 7,6.11 kam die Flut im 600. Jahr Noahs über die Erde. Seine Söhne waren nach Gen 5,32 zu diesem Zeitpunkt 100 Jahre alt.²² Diese Diskrepanz spricht dafür, dass die Genealogien in Gen 5 und 11 eine eigene Chronologie verfolgen bzw. dass die Zahlen aus unterschiedlichen Quellen stammen. Das kann auch für die Notiz in 9,28 gelten, wonach Noah nach der Flut noch 350 Jahre gelebt hat. Er wäre dann *a.m.* 2007 gestorben, hätte also bei der Geburt Abrahams noch gelebt.²³ Dies gilt allerdings auch für die anderen Nachkommen Sems, von denen die meisten nach der Chronologie des MT Abrahams Aufbruch noch erlebt hätten.²⁴

Möglicherweise sollte in Smr und LXX dieses Problem so behoben werden, dass von Sem bis Nahor ein deutlich höheres Alter vorausgesetzt wird, in dem der jeweilige Patriarch seinen Nachfolger zeugt. Offenbar wurden die Zahlen des MT systematisch um 100 oder 50 erhöht. Das führt in der LXX zu einer weiteren Verlängerung der absoluten Chronologie. Im Smr tritt im Vergleich mit Gen 5 ein gegenteiliger Effekt ein: Während im Smr die Flut ca. 350 Jahre vor dem MT stattfand, wird Abra(ha)m nun ca. 300 Jahre später als im MT geboren. Die sich stetig verringernden Angaben zum Zeugungsalter im MT gelten allgemein als die ursprünglicheren;²⁵ sie passen zu den Angaben des Smr in Gen 5.

Besonders auffallend ist, dass in der LXX die Genealogie um einen zehnten Patriarchen erweitert wird; nach Arpachschad wird ein weiterer Kenan (vgl. Gen 5,9–14) eingefügt, dessen Lebensdaten mit dem folgenden Schelach identisch sind. Auch in Gen 10,22 wird ein Kenan an derselben Stelle der Genealogie nur in der LXX ergänzt. So entsteht in der griechischen Version eine Spanne von genau 1000 Jahren zwischen der Geburt von Arpachschad und der von Terach,²⁶ außerdem werden die Gen 5 und 11 untereinander harmonisiert, indem nun beide Genealogien 10 Generationen listen.

Die folgende Tabelle gibt als erste Zahl das Alter an in dem der Patriarch seinen Erben gezeugt hat, die zweite, *kursive* Zahl das Jahr *anno mundi*, in dem dies geschah.

²² Hughes 1990, 18.

²³ Vorausgesetzt ist, dass die Flut ein Jahr lang bis ins 601. Jahr Noahs dauerte, vgl. 8,13; Vgl. zum Abschnitt auch Wevers 1993, 154, und zu den Unschärfen der Rechnungswege Gertz 2018, 346.

²⁴ Tov 2015, 49.

²⁵ S. z.B. Gertz 2015, 84, Anm. 60; Tov 2015, 44, 51f.

²⁶ Wevers 1993, 154.

	MT		Smr		LXX	
<i>Flut</i>		1656		1307		2242
Sem	100	1658	100	1309	100	2244
Arpachschad	35	1693	135	1444	135	2379
Kainan					130	2509
Schelach	30	1723	130	1574	130	2639
Eber	34	1757	134	1708	134	2773
Peleg	30	1787	130	1838	130	2903
Regu	32	1819	132	1970	132	3035
Serug	30	1849	130	2100	130	3165
Nahor	29	1878	79	2179	79	3244
Terach	70	1948	70	2249	70	3314
[Abram, Gen 21,5)	100	2048	100	2349	100	3414]

Im Vergleich der beiden Genealogien in Kap 5 und 11 wird m.E. deutlich, dass in allen drei Versionen Überarbeitungen der Zahlen festzustellen sind, die zum Teil auf eine gemeinsame Vorstufe zurückgehen, wie die gleichartigen Erhöhungen in Gen 11 bei LXX und Smr zeigen. Die Rekonstruktion einer ursprünglichen Chronologie der *Toledot Adams* und *Sems* scheint mir nicht mehr möglich zu sein.²⁷ Offen zu sein scheint mir auch die Frage, ob die Änderungen der LXX auf der Ebene der griechischen Übersetzung oder der einer hebräischen Vorstufe stattgefunden haben. Hier hat zwar Emanuel Tov dafür plädiert, dass die Übersetzer nicht so weit gingen, die Logik der Genealogien neu zu berechnen,²⁸ dies allerdings basiert auf einem Gesamteindruck der Übersetzung ohne konkreten Texthinweis.²⁹

Nochmals anders gelagert ist die Argumentation von Helen Jacobus, die davon ausgeht, dass die Versionen zeitgleich im 3./2. Jh. in einer mathematischen Schule in Alexandria oder Palästina entstanden seien, weil alle bestimmte mathematische Elemente teilen. Die wesentliche Differenz sei der Umgang mit dem Patriarchen Kenan II, der in MT und SP bewusst nicht genannt werden sollte, weil er nach Jub 8,1–5 verflucht wurde.³⁰

Betrachtet man die einzelnen Textzeugen und die Genealogien je für sich, so ist für den Samaritanus in Gen 5 die Tendenz erkennbar, dass kein Patriarch einer früheren Generation die Flut überlebt, daher sterben Jared, Metuschelach und Lamech im Jahr der Flut. Das lässt sich entweder als Harmonisierung mit Gen

²⁷ Aber vgl. entsprechende Versuche bei Hughes 1990, 21-54; Etz 1993; Hendel 1998, 63.

²⁸ Tov 2015, 37, Anm. 1.

²⁹ Wacholder 1968, 456, Anm. 15 spricht von "permissive attitude in regard of changing patriarchal datings", das für die biblischen Versionen, das Jubiläenbuch und die hellenistischen Chronographen gilt.

³⁰ Jacobus 2009.

7,21 erklären oder als religiös motiviertes Urteil über die Sündigkeit der Generationen vor der Flut.³¹ Nach dem MT stirbt nur Metuschelach in der Flut.³² In Gen 11 mag bei LXX und Smr die vergleichbare Idee im Hintergrund stehen, die Patriarchen vor der Zeit Abrahams sterben zu lassen und somit die Epochen klarer zu trennen (s.o.). Für den MT ist hier kein vergleichbares Interesse erkennbar.

3. LÖSUNGSANSÄTZE

In der bisherigen Forschung hat es verschiedene Versuche gegeben, Gründe für die Bearbeitungen der Zahlen zu erkennen.³³ Sie lassen sich grob danach unterscheiden, ob sie nur innerhalb des Kontexts der Urgeschichte oder der Genesis bleiben oder ob sie auch chronologische Daten aus anderen biblischen Büchern einbeziehen. Besonders einflussreich ist dabei die These geworden, dass die Chronologie des MT auf das Jahr 4000 *a.m.* ziele und mit diesem Datum die Wiedereinweihung des Tempels in der Makkabäerzeit verbinde.³⁴ Die kürzere Chronologie des Samaritanus weise demgegenüber auf das Jahr 2800 und verbinde sie mit der Einweihung des Tempels auf dem Garizim.³⁵

Um auf diese möglichen Zielpunkte der Chronologien zu kommen, müssen weitere Jahresangaben aus anderen biblischen Schriften mitberechnet werden. Das setzt voraus, dass die jeweiligen Schriften den Redaktoren bzw. Übersetzern bekannt waren, führt also zu einer späten Datierung der Modifikation der Zahlen. Das ist im Falle des Smr und der LXX unproblematisch, im Falle des MT setzt der Zielpunkt in der Makkabäerzeit eine entsprechend späte Ansetzung der Überarbeitung voraus.

Die fraglichen Datierungen sind: Gen 21,5: Geburt Isaaks im 100. Jahr Abrahams = 2048 *a.m.* nach dem MT. Gen 25,26, Geburt Jakobs im 60. Jahr Isaaks =

³¹ Hendel 1998, 64; ders. 2012, 460f.; vgl. Carr 2021, 1-11, 189.

³² Dies wird nicht explizit gesagt, ist aber in der Logik der Genealogie anzunehmen, wenn Metuschelach im Jahr 1656 *a.m.*, dem Jahr der Flut stirbt. Anders Schüle 2020, 106f., dem zufolge nach dem MT keiner der Urväter in der Flut umkommt. So werde narrativ deutlich, dass allein die Generation Noahs für das Anwachsen der Gewalt verantwortlich sei.

³³ Zu den Versuchen, den Sinn der chronologischen Angaben in den Genealogien zu erklären, gehören auch einige ungewöhnliche Zugänge, etwa der von Heinzerling, 1998, der in den Textlängen den Lösungsschlüssel sucht, ähnlich der mathematische Ansatz von Young 2004, oder Larsson 2002, der aufbauend auf Stenring 1966 von der parallelen Anwendung drei verschiedener Kalender ausgeht (vgl. auch dazu die ratlose Rezension von Alfred Jepsen in ThLZ 93, 1968, 907f.). Sie haben in der Forschung keine Zustimmung gefunden, weil meist nicht einmal die jeweiligen Ansätze in sich plausibel sind. Das gilt letztlich m.E. auch für Ziemer 2009, der die Idee eines „Gottestages“ von tausend Jahren mit der Chronologie in Gen 5 kombiniert (S. 4-7).

³⁴ Procksch, 1924, 465; Murtonen 1954. Zur Kritik vgl. besonders Hendel 2012, der die Genese der makkabäerzeitlichen Deutung aber allein Murtonen zuschreibt.

³⁵ Diese Rechnung geht zurück auf Jepsen 1929, 253; sie wird u.a. von Hughes 1990, 237f. bestätigt (mit etwas anderer Rechnung im Detail).

2108 *a.m.* Gen 47,9, Zug Jakobs nach Ägypten in seinem 130. Jahr = 2238 *a.m.* Ex 12,40, Israels Aufenthalt dauert 430 Jahre = 2668 *a.m.* Diese Angabe spricht dafür, dass die oben genannte Differenz von zwei Jahren bei der Geburt Arpachshads (Gen 11,10) eher so zu bewerten ist, dass diese Spanne *nicht* in die Chronologie aufgenommen wird, denn dann wäre der Exodus im Jahr 2666 *a.m.* geschehen, was 2/3 einer Epoche eines „großen Jahres“ von 4000 Jahren entsprechen würde.³⁶ Zusätzlich ist eine weitere Differenz zwischen der Chronologie des MT und der von Smr und LX zu notieren, da diese von 430 Jahren in Kanaan und Ägypten ausgehen, weshalb nur mit 215 Jahren in Ägypten zu rechnen ist.

Wichtig für einen möglichen Bezug auf den Tempel ist dann die Angabe in 1.Kön 6,1, wonach der Tempel im 480. Jahr nach dem Auszug der Israeliten aus Ägypten gebaut wurde, nach der Rechnung des MT wäre das im Jahr 3146/8 *a.m.* Wieder ist eine Differenz zur LXX zu notieren, die hier nur 440 Jahre nennt.

Von hier an wird die Rechnung dadurch erschwert, dass nun keine Angabe für eine ganze Epoche mehr genannt wird, sondern es sind die einzelnen Regierungszeiten der jüdischen Könige bis zur Zerstörung des Tempels zu summieren. Dies führt erneut auf die Zahl 430, was auf das Jahr 3576/8 *a.m.* weist. Gemeinsam mit der Datierung in Esra 3,8f. zum Beginn des Tempelbaus im 2. Jahr nach der Rückkehr, also genau 50 Jahre nach der Zerstörung, wäre eine zweite schematische Periode von 480 Jahren erreicht; der Tempelbau hätte dann im Jahr 3626/8 *a.m.* begonnen.³⁷ Ergänzt man dann 372 bzw. 374 Jahre bis zur vollen Epochenzahl 4000, so kommt man auf das Jahr 165 bzw. 163 v.Chr., gerechnet vom Beginn des Tempelbaus im Jahr 537 (so Esra 3,8f). Damit wären eindeutig die Makkabäerzeit und die Wiedereinweihung des Tempels im Blick, was aufgrund der schematischen Epochenangaben nach wie vor plausibel ist.³⁸

Gegen diese Rekonstruktion der Chronologie des MT haben in der letzten Zeit David Carr und Ronald Hendel massiv Einspruch erhoben, der sich v.a. auf die Genealogie in Gen 5 bezieht. Das Hauptargument gegen diese Annahme einer hasmonäerzeitlichen Überarbeitung ist, dass es damaligen Schreibern nicht zuzutrauen sei, die 374 Jahre zwischen Tempelbau und Neuweihe zu berechnen, weil sich in den Büchern Esra, Nehemia oder Daniel kein entsprechendes chronologisches Interesse oder Wissen nachweisen lasse.³⁹ In ihrer Wahrnehmung lässt sich

³⁶ S. dazu z.B. Hughes 1990, 234, der jeweils zwei alternierende Zahlen angibt; dem schließe ich mich bei der folgenden Darstellung an. Die schematische Rechnung des Smr arbeitet allerdings mit diesen zwei Jahren, s. Jepsen 1929, 253.

³⁷ Hughes 1990, 39; s. auch das vorsichtige Urteil von Knauf 2004, 593, dass die zweite Epoche von 480 Jahren zu vermuten sei.

³⁸ Vgl., z.B. Johnson 1969, 32f. der vom Jahr 538 als dem üblichen Datum des Kyros-Edikts ausgeht und damit genau auf das Jahr 164 kommt. Zustimmung zu solchen Rekonstruktionen findet sich auch bei Berner 2012, 243, oder Gertz 2015, 83.

³⁹ Hendel 2012, 451; vgl. Carr 2021, 188f., der die Kritik auch auf die 2800 Jahre des Smr ausdehnt. Allerdings liegt hier die Sachlage anders, weil sich Jepsens Rekonstruktion nur auf textinterne Daten stützt.

in Gen 5 nur das lokale exegetische Interesse nachweisen, welche Patriarchen vor bzw. in der Flut umkommen; ein Problem, das MT und Smr unterschiedlich gelöst haben. Auch die Version der LXX lasse sich von dieser Problemlage her erklären, auch wenn sie zu einem „curious outcome“ geführt habe, nämlich dass Metuschelach die Flut überlebte.⁴⁰ Dies ist keine plausible Erklärung der Strategie der LXX, die Daten systematisch zu erhöhen, die sich zudem auch in Gen 11 zeigt. Gerade die von schematischen Veränderungen abweichenden Erhöhungen um 135 Jahre bei Lamech in Gen 5,28 oder um 50 Jahre bei von Nahor in 11,24 legen nahe, dass ein bestimmtes Datum im Blick ist.⁴¹ Das trifft auch für die auffälligen Erhöhungen des MT in Gen 5 bei Jered, Metuschelach und Lamech zu, die m.E. nicht aus lokalen exegetischen Gründen zu erklären sind.

Die grundsätzliche Kritik, den Schreibern seien keine weder umfassende chronologische Überlegungen, noch detailliertes historisches Wissen über die nachexilische Zeit zuzutrauen, scheint mir nicht angemessen zu sein. Zum einen handelt es sich um ein *e silentio* Argument, wenn aus der Nicht-Berechnung der Zeiträume in den nachexilischen Büchern geschlossen wird, dass es prinzipiell kein solches Wissen gegeben habe. Zum anderen ist m.E. vor allem durch das Buch Daniel belegt, dass in historischen Schematismen runder Zahlen gedacht wurde; Kardinalbeleg dafür ist das eingangs genannte Kapitel Dan 9 mit der Neuberechnung der 70 Jahre Jeremias. Schon die Datierung in Dan 1,1 setzt, wie Klaus Koch gezeigt hat, einen eigenständigen Umgang mit biblischen Datumsangaben und wohl auch die Kenntnis von Berossos' *Babyloniaca* voraus.⁴²

Außerhalb der biblischen Literatur ist in hellenistischer Zeit (3.Jh.) bei Demetrios das Bemühen belegt, biblische und ptolemäische Chronologie in Relation zueinander zu setzen (frg. 6), wobei er eindeutig eine lange Chronologie mit den Zahlen der LXX voraussetzt (frg. 2).⁴³ Im zweiten Jh. versuchte Eupolemos, das Alter biblischer Gestalten und Ereignisse zu belegen, wozu er Adam 5149 und den Exodus 1580 Jahre vor das 5. Jahr der Regierung des Demetrios I. Soter (= 158/7 v.Chr.) datierte, was eine noch längere Chronologie als die der LXX impliziert (frg. 5).⁴⁴ Aus dem gleichen Zeitraum stammt wahrscheinlich die Grundlage der fragmentarisch erhaltenen „Biblical Chronology“ 4Q559, in der ebenfalls biblische Daten mit außerbiblischen Traditionen kombiniert werden;

⁴⁰ Hendel 2012, 456.

⁴¹ So mit Recht Northcote 2004, 15.

⁴² Koch 2005, 27-34.

⁴³ JSHRZ III,2, 284-92 (N. Walter). Zu Demetrios vgl. auch Adler 2011, 500-502 und den klassischen Aufsatz von Wacholder 1968. Eine gute Übersicht zu den hellenistischen Autoren findet sich bei Finegan 1995, 140-152.

⁴⁴ Die Lesart 1580 ist strittig, da auch 2580 belegt und als ursprünglich diskutiert wird, vgl. JSHRZ I,2, 95, Anm. 7 (N. Walter).

erhalten sind Passagen von Isaak bis in die Richterzeit.⁴⁵ Vor diesem knapp umrissenen Hintergrund ist mir das Argument Carrs und Hendels nicht nachvollziehbar, dass die Schreiber nicht die Kompetenz für entsprechende Überlegungen und Modifikationen der Daten gehabt haben können.⁴⁶

Im Ergebnis ähnlich, aber begrenzt auf textkritische Überlegungen geht Emanuel Tov davon aus, dass in allen drei Versionen bei beiden Genealogien systematische Veränderungen erkennbar sind. Sie ließen sich aus dem nahen Kontext erklären, um ältere Listen mit dem Erzählverlauf zu harmonisieren. Daher wurde die Flutdauer in MT und Smr so berechnet, dass nur Noah und seine Familie die Flut überleben und Abrahams Auszug so verzögert, dass die früheren Patriarchen ihn nicht mehr erleben. Für die ungewöhnliche Tatsache, dass Metuschelach in der LXX die Flut überlebt, hat er jedoch keine Erklärung.⁴⁷ In einem Schlussabschnitt zieht Tov auf S. 52 ausdrücklich die Parallele zwischen den drei verschiedenen chronologischen Systemen in Gen 5 und 11 und den Überlegungen des Demetrius und seiner Nachfolger; als weiteres Indiz nennt er die an modifizierte Chronologie der Flut in der LXX.

Der Kommentar von Susan Brayford zur Genesis-LXX listet nur die Differenzen zwischen MT und LXX auf, ohne auf die ausführliche Debatte um die Chronologien einzugehen. Als einzige Erklärung bietet sie an, dass es der LXX darum gehe, in Gen 11 eine wichtige Gestalt am Ende von 10 Generationen stehen zu haben, wobei sie ohne eigene Entscheidung beide Optionen nennt, dass nämlich LXX die Gestalt des Kenan II nachgetragen oder der MT ihn ausgelassen habe.⁴⁸

Die bisher vorgestellten Lösungsansätze sind m.E. wenig befriedigend. Zwar ist einsichtig, dass besonders MT und Smr auf interne Textprobleme reagiert haben und daher sowohl in Gen 5 als auch in Gen 11 die Zahlen angepasst haben.⁴⁹ Darauf weisen Hendel, Carr und Tov mit Recht hin. Allerdings erklären sie nicht die auffälligen Differenzen der LXX, die sich wegen des Überlebens Methuschelachs nicht aus dem näheren Kontext begründen lassen. Dass MT und Smr eine Perspektive hatten, die über die Genesis hinausgeht und mit Epochen von 2800 und 4000 Jahren gerechnet haben, scheint mir weiterhin eine sinnvolle Annahme zu sein, die durch die vorgetragenen Einsprüche nicht erledigt ist.⁵⁰ Daher

⁴⁵ Text in DJD XXVII, 2009, 263–289. Vgl. auch Wise 1997, der das Werk ins 3. Jh. datiert (S. 50). Nebe 1997, 88, datiert etwas später, sieht das Werk aber auch in der Tradition des Demetrius.

⁴⁶ S. auch Milikowsky 1985, der auf die chronographische Vorgängertradition des *Seder Olam* hinweist und ebenfalls Demetrius als entscheidenden Beleg nennt, dazu aber auch wahrscheinlich macht, dass Josephus entsprechende Quellen kannte, die heute nicht mehr erhalten sind (S. 125f.).

⁴⁷ Tov 2015, 49–52.

⁴⁸ Brayford 2007, 287; zu Gen 5 vgl. S. 258–260, zu Gen 11 S. 287f.

⁴⁹ So auch Fischer 2018, 336–342 und 636–642, der gar nicht auf Erklärungen eingeht, die mit einem Zielpunkt der MT- oder Smr-Chronologie jenseits der Genesis rechnen.

⁵⁰ So auch Bailey 1996, 100f., der die Gründung des zweiten Tempels im Jahr 3600 *a.m.* als Zielpunkt sieht; das Kapitel Gen 5 aber auf ganz andere Weise mit mathematischen Fragestellungen bearbeitet.

ist auch zu überlegen, dass die Septuaginta-Chronologie in ähnlicher Weise zu erklären ist.

4. DIE "LANGE" CHRONOLOGIE DER SEPTUAGINTA

In der bisherigen Forschung hat es verschiedene Versuche gegeben, auch die Zahlen der LXX mit dem Bau des Tempels in Verbindung zu bringen, allerdings konnten die Autoren kein eindeutiges Zieldatum der Chronologie festmachen.⁵¹ Sinnvoll scheint mir jedenfalls die Überlegung zu sein, dass die deutlich verlängerte Chronologie der LXX auf die *Aegyptiaca* des Manetho reagieren kann, der zufolge die ersten Pharaonen vor 3000 Jahren gelebt haben.⁵² Mit dieser Grundannahme hat Jeremy Northcote drei verschiedene Entwicklungsphasen der LXX-Chronologie rekonstruiert.⁵³ Damit reagiert er darauf, dass die griechische Handschriften-Überlieferung bei einzelnen Zahlen nicht einheitlich ist und es folglich bei antiken jüdischen und christlichen Historikern Differenzen gibt. So datierte z.B. Demetrius den Exodus auf das Jahr 2264, nicht auf 2242, wie oben für die LXX berechnet.⁵⁴ Allerdings muss Northcote für alle Rekonstruktionen Unschärfen in Kauf nehmen, die nicht von den Texten gedeckt sind, um z.B. auf das „glatte“ Jahr 3500 für Jakobs Einwanderung in Ägypten oder 4777 als Jahr der Vollendung des zweiten Tempels zu kommen. Im Ergebnis geht er davon aus, dass die korrigierte Chronologie der LXX mit dem Schema einer 5000-Jahr-Epoche rechnet, die auf die Gegenwart der Schreiber etwa im Jahr 292 v.Chr. zielt.⁵⁵

Plausibler scheint mir demgegenüber ein Rechenmodell zu sein, das ich bereits in meiner Dissertation erwogen habe, das aber bisher kaum wahrgenommen wurde.⁵⁶ Es geht von der Grundannahme aus, dass die Genesis als erstes Buch des Pentateuch übersetzt wurde und zunächst alleine stand.⁵⁷ Daher ist es sinnvoll, für

⁵¹ Bosse 1908, 31–36; Hughes 1990, 238–241.

⁵² So Larson 1983, 403, zustimmend aufgenommen bei Harl 1986, 120f.; ähnlich Northcote 2004, 15. Für Wacholder 1968, 458, ist es wahrscheinlich, dass die Änderungen der LXX ein Resultat von Demetrius' Überlegungen sind; er sieht aber keinen Beleg für nichtjüdische Einflüsse.

⁵³ Northcote 2004, 15–20. In einem weiteren Beitrag schlägt er vor, dass eine ursprünglich auf das 7. Jh. zurückgehende Chronologie, die auf Joseph zielte, in der MT-Tradition im 3. Jh. so überarbeitet wurde, dass sich die zusammengezählten Lebensdaten der Patriarchen auf insgesamt 12600 Jahre belaufen, was ausweislich der parallel zu verstehenden 3½ Zeiten des Danielbuches (Dan 12,7) eine eschatologische Dimension habe (Northcote 2007).

⁵⁴ Wacholder 1968, 453+456, gibt diese Zahl für die ursprüngliche LXX an, die Demetrius übernommen habe, ohne den Rechenweg deutlich werden zu lassen.

⁵⁵ Auch Hughes 1990, 239, rechnet mit dem Jahr 5000 als Zielpunkt der LXX-Chronologie, was auf das Jahr 280 BCE weise. Die von ihm rekonstruierte Chronologie des Codex Vaticanus habe dagegen den Exodus im Jahr 4000 *a.m.* im Blick (S. 240).

⁵⁶ Rösel 1994, 136–144.

⁵⁷ Dazu Tov 2014.

die chronologischen Angaben aus den späteren Büchern *nicht* die Zahlen der LXX zu verwenden, sondern die der zu dem Zeitpunkt noch nicht übersetzten hebräischen Texte bzw. ältere Lesarten. Die Begründung dafür wird an der Schlüsselstelle Ex 12,40 besonders deutlich: Dort nennt der hebräische Text 430 Jahre für den Aufenthalt der Israeliten in Ägypten. Smr und LXX haben dagegen 430 Jahre für den Aufenthalt *ἐν γῆ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἐν γῆ Χανααν*, was üblicherweise als sekundäre Erleichterung angesehen wird, da in Ex 16,16–20 nur 4 Generationen von Jakob bis Mose genannt werden.⁵⁸ Für die LXX wird daher in der Regel nur mit 215 Jahren gerechnet. Das aber widerspricht der Strategie der LXX in Genesis 5 und 11, die Chronologie deutlich zu verlängern. Ähnliches gilt für 1.Kön 6,1 wo der Bau des salomonischen Tempels auf das 480. Jahr nach dem Exodus datiert wird. Dies wird auch von der antiochenischen Textform unterstützt, wohingegen die spätere LXX-Übersetzung eine Verkürzung auf 440 Jahre bietet.⁵⁹ Auch bei den Königen Abija (1.Kön 15,2) und Joram (2.Kön 8,17) hat die antiochenische Version der griechischen Bibel leicht abweichende Jahresangaben; bei Abija hat sie 6 statt 3 Herrschaftsjahre, bei Joram 10 statt 8. Damit kommt die antiochenische Version auf insgesamt 435 Jahre für die Könige Judas seit dem Tempelbau statt 430 wie der MT. In beiden Fällen gibt es gute Gründe, dass die lukianische/antiochenische Version als ältere Tradition anzusehen ist,⁶⁰ wobei allerdings angesichts der vielfältigen textgeschichtlichen und chronologischen Probleme der Königsbücher jedes Urteil mit Vorbehalt zu äußern ist.⁶¹

Diese modifizierten Zahlen (430 Jahre Aufenthalt in Ägypten; 480 Jahre Tempelbau nach dem Auszug, 435 Jahre bis zur Zerstörung des Tempels) lassen sich nun mit dem chronologischen Angaben der Genesis-LXX verbinden. Dieser zufolge hatte die Flut im Jahr 2242 *a.m.* stattgefunden, Abraham war im Jahr 3414 *a.m.* geboren worden (s.o.). Dazu sind 290 Jahre für die Patriarchen zu addieren, hier hat die LXX die gleiche Zahlen wie der MT. Demnach kam Jakob im Jahr 3604 *a.m.* nach Ägypten. Der Exodus fand dann im Jahr 4034 statt, die Tempelgründung im Jahr 4514 und seine Zerstörung im Jahr 4949 *a.m.* Verbunden mit den aus Esr 3,8f. abzuleitenden 50 Jahren bis zum Neubau des Tempels (s.o.), kommt man nach dieser Rechnung auf das Jahr 4999, in dem der Tempelbau begonnen wird.

⁵⁸ Wevers 1990, 190; ähnlich Wacholder 1968, 455f., der sogar überlegt, dass der Zusatz „in Kanaan“ auf Demetrius zurückgehe; er basiere auf einer Berechnung der Lebensdaten der Patriarchen und der Familie des Mose.

⁵⁹ Van Keulen 2005, 127: die 440 Jahre „may represent“ eine Korrektur nach der priesterlichen Genealogie in 1.Chron 5,29-41, die mit 11 Generationen von Aaron bis Zadok rechnet; Cogan/Tadmor 2001, 236.

⁶⁰ Hughes 1990, 38; nach Shenkel 1968, 33–35+71, 110. Vgl. auch die Übersicht bei Galil 1996, 159 und besonders Tetley 2005, 130+132.

⁶¹ S. etwa Hendel 2012b.

Dieser Rekonstruktion zufolge wäre der Zielpunkt der Chronologie tatsächlich das Jahr 5000 gewesen; mit dem neuen Tempel beginnt demnach eine neue Ära. Als Vielfaches des Jubel-/Erlassjahres von Lev 25,10f. passt dies gut in den Schematismus der alttestamentlichen Zahlensymbolik. Dass dabei eine konkrete Jahreszahl gemeint sei, etwa das historische Datum 515 für die Einweihung des Tempels, ist damit nicht gesagt.⁶² Nach der so rekonstruierten Chronologie der Genesis-LXX wäre der zweite Tempel 2857 Jahre nach der Flut gebaut worden, die historische Gegenwart des Übersetzers in der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jh. wäre ca. 3150 Jahre nach der Flut anzusetzen. Damit wird der Konflikt mit Manethos Chronologie der Pharaonen vermieden. Diese Neuberechnung der biblischen Zeitgeschichte würde zudem gut in die frühen chronographischen Versuche um die Synchronisierung jüdischer Geschichteereignisse mit den Kalendern der Umwelt passen, die mit Demetrius genau zu dieser Zeit begonnen haben. Es zeigt sich demnach, dass die Übersetzer der Genesis mit Recht als Schreiber und Schriftgelehrte verstanden werden können, die auch zu umfassenden Rechenoperationen fähig waren.

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⁶² So das Mißverständnis von Hendel 2012, 462, der zudem unterstellt, dieser Vorschlag vermische biblische und moderne Daten – was er gerade nicht tut.

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THE DARK AGES OF THE TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION OF THE TORAH

Emanuel TOV

Before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, no ancient Hebrew evidence was available on the Scripture books, but also subsequent to that discovery the situation is not optimal. For almost all Scripture books a large gap exists between the stage of the reconstructed finalized literary work and the first textual evidence. In the case of the Torah, this period could have lasted from the fifth, sixth or seventh to the third century BCE (LXX, 285 BCE). In this study we look for vestiges of literary traditions that differed from MT, however, I see little or no textual evidence that differed in a major way from the proto-MT. I cautiously suggest that for several centuries a text like the proto-MT (the forerunner of the MT) was the sole reigning text through the Dark Ages. Our thoughts about the prehistory of MT are extremely speculative, but they are silently accepted by all forms of the documentary hypothesis. It is assumed that throughout the Dark Ages the text transmission was very limited since a text like MT was probably preserved as a single text in the temple.

I. THE DARK AGES

It is not known when the textual transmission of the Torah began and whether this process happened in stages.¹ This topic has not received attention in scholarship and remains an area of much speculation. Every composition that was created in antiquity had a Dark Age period, and notably so in the case of the Torah literature. The Dark Ages of that literature were probably longer and differed from some of the other books, and there remains much uncertainty about the type of text that we ought to posit at the beginning of that period. Many generations of scholars posited the Masoretic Text at the base of the documents of the Torah already in the ninth, eighth, or seventh century, unchallenged by other texts. This is more or less axiomatic for biblical scholarship, but is such a view correct?

After the literary work named the “Torah” was completed, the textual transmission would have started, often in a complex way. I refer to the beginning of the textual transmission in the following way in my introduction to textual criticism:²

¹ This paper was first read in a one-day workshop “The Textual Development of the Pentateuch: Current Directions” at the Centre for the Study of the Bible at Oriel College in Oxford University and the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies organized by Prof. Hindy Najman, Dr. Hila Dayfani, and Dr. Harald Samuel. Thanks are due to the organizers for a stimulating meeting.

² Tov 2022, 344.

A composition could have been created by one or more consecutive authors, and then could have been finalized. Subsequently it could have been edited (revised) by one or more editors. Several different scenarios are possible, but there always was a final literary stage. *This final stage is considered the early text and it was circulated*; it is “determinative” for subsequent analysis. Sometimes this text was preceded by earlier formulations that also had been circulated since, at the time, they too were considered final and not “drafts.” Opinions are divided on whether the final stage can be reconstructed in its entirety; most scholars reconstruct many of its details. The early text was followed by one or more text branches.

According to the definition given in my book, the final stage of the literary development indicates the beginning of the textual transmission, but complications arise when a composition is finalized in stages.

2. GAP BETWEEN THE COMPLETED LITERARY COMPOSITION AND THE TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

Before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, no ancient Hebrew evidence was available on the Scripture books, but also subsequent to that discovery the situation is not optimal. For almost all Scripture books a large gap exists between the stage of the reconstructed finalized literary work and the first textual evidence. For example, LXX-Joshua reflects important evidence that probably precedes the evidence of MT-Joshua. One group of variants contained in a plus to LXX-Josh 24:33 that must be extremely old, probably pointing to a very early stage when Joshua and Judges were still combined in one book (24:33a–b).³ However, none of our text witnesses precede 300 BCE, and the LXX may be dated to the second pre-Christian century. I cannot give a date for the reconstructed source of parts of LXX-Joshua, but it may well be the seventh century BCE, before the Deuteronomistic revision of that book and before chapter 1 was included in the stand-alone book of Judges. If this assumption is correct, a segment of the early Hebrew text has been preserved faithfully for many centuries through the evidence of the LXX. These are nevertheless the Dark Ages of the transmission of Joshua because my depiction of the development of the LXX is reconstructed, referring to only one segment.

In the case of Jeremiah, the situation is more remarkable. Once again, the textual evidence is relatively late, deriving from the third and second centuries BCE, but there is likewise a gap between the reconstructed earliest texts and the extant textual evidence. LXX-Jer and 4QJer^{b,d} (200–150 BCE) on the one hand and MT-

³ Tov 2022, 246–247.

Jeremiah and 4QJer^a (200 BCE) and Jer^c (30–1 BCE) on the other reflect distinct textual traditions, probably representing two different editions of the book, a short edition in LXX-Jeremiah and 4QJer^{b,d} and a long one in MT-Jer and 4QJer^{a,c}. In this case, we can be more specific about dates. The short edition is preexilic and the long one is postexilic; phrases and sentences pointing to the exile were filled in after the exile in the long edition.⁴ In both cases, the evidence has been preserved well (although we don't know how well) for several centuries. In the case of Jeremiah, if this interpretation of the two editions is correct, the Dark Ages lasted from at least 500 to 250 BCE.

In the case of the Torah, the estimation of the Dark Ages depends on how one conceives of the history of the written text of that literature, a topic too complex to summarize in a few paragraphs and in which I am not an expert. Several scholars assume a two-stage process, initiated by the individual written sources (documents) of the Torah and finalized when these sources were combined. Some scholars speak hesitantly about the existence of early *written* documents of the Torah. According to Julius Wellhausen and those who followed him, the J source existed already around 840 BCE, and the E source around 700.⁵ According to Yehezkel Kaufman, the sources J, E, and P existed in some form before the seventh century BCE, while the kernel of D dated to the seventh century.⁶ According to Menahem Haran, a first written form of the book of Deuteronomy was penned in the second part of the seventh century BCE, and a century after the completion of the Deuteronomistic composition, the three other sources of the Torah were added to D.⁷ According to Baruch Schwartz, the J, E, and P documents of the Torah were already available in a written form as separate compositions between the ninth and the eighth century.⁸ The kernel of Deuteronomy was available at the

⁴ Some of the prophecies of edition I have been updated in edition II, and this aspect makes edition II an edition, preserved in a textual witness, rather than a scribal product.

Edition I of 25:1–13 does not mention the instrument with which God will punish Judah since verse 9 only mentions in general “all the peoples of the North.” On the other hand, ed. II mentions Nebuchadnezzar in verse 9 and Babylon in verses 11–12 (similarly 32:28). Ed. I mentions the exile of the temple vessels, but ed. II also refers to their return to Jerusalem (27:21–22). These additions in ed. II are anticlimactic in the context, which focuses on different matters (false prophets). Ed. II, but not ed. I, mentions the punishment that is to befall Babylon after the seventy-year exile (25:14, 27:7). Jeremiah's comforting letter to the exiles in Babylon after the deportation of 597 speaks about the present in ed. I, while ed. II mentions the return from the exile in verse 14. Some scholars assign ed. II to the early Persian period: Goldman 1992, 225–235; Wells 1984; Weis 2006, 278. Adrian Schenker and Pierre-Maurice Bogaert date ed. II to an even later period (the Hasmonean period): Schenker 2007; Bogaert 2001, 74.

⁵ Wellhausen 1957. For details about the views of Wellhausen and his school, see Nicholson 2002, 10–21 and Carbajosa 2013, 25–82.

⁶ Kaufmann 1972, 1:212.

⁷ Haran 2003, 2:26, 298.

⁸ Schwartz 2011, 161–221. An English version is due to appear under the title *The Torah and Its Documents*. I am grateful to my colleague Baruch Schwartz for advice and for showing me the unpublished

time of Josiah (621 BCE) but was finally written in the sixth century.⁹ The final literary form was presumably completed only in the Persian period.¹⁰ This was the second and determinative compositional stage for the Torah for Schwartz and other so-called “neo-documentarians.” According to these scholars, the Torah was composed by a compiler who almost literally transferred the four documents to the new environment. It is important to emphasize that no written evidence has been preserved from any of these presumed stages, and that all descriptions concerning the beginnings of the writing procedure of the Torah are therefore hypothetical.

The earliest written evidence for the Torah is that of the LXX and the length of the period of the Dark Ages thus depends on the various reconstructions of the written form of the Torah. These reconstructions differ much from one another, and accordingly in some cases the Dark Ages lasted longer than in others. This period could have lasted from the fifth to the third century BCE (LXX, 285 BCE), or from the sixth or seventh century until 285 BCE. In all scenarios, much time passed between the writing of the Torah and the first written evidence.

3. THE TRANSMISSION OF THE TORAH

Assuming that the completed literary shape of the Torah was submitted to textual transmission, when did that process take place? According to the description of § 2, this process could have taken place in the seventh, sixth, or fifth century BCE, or it could have taken place in stages, both in the seventh and fifth centuries. Due to the lack of evidence, we turn to some parallels and to theoretical reconstructions.

3.1 *The Case of Jeremiah as a Parallel*

According to the description in § 2, the textual transmission of Jeremiah was started twice, once after edition I was finalized, before the exile, and once after edition II was finalized, after the exile (roughly 587–517 BCE).¹¹ The short edition I was definitely followed by a textual transmission because otherwise that

English manuscript. According to Schwartz, the J source existed in a written form “most likely between the mid-ninth and mid-eighth centuries” (part 12 and p. 136 of the English text). The E source originated in the period “from the mid-eighth century BCE until the destruction of Samaria in 721” (part 12 and p. 142 of the English text). P was preexilic (p. 161). The study by Baden 2012 does not highlight the chronological relation between the sources.

⁹ Schwartz 2011, 195–196.

¹⁰ According to Schwartz 2011, 13, it was Ezra who combined the four earlier documents into the “Torah.”

¹¹ See n. 4.

edition could not have reached the caves of Qumran and the LXX translators. The second, postexilic, long edition was also followed by a textual transmission; the first proof of the copying procedure is found in 4QJer^a (200 BCE) and 4QJer^c (30–1 BCE). The first edition could have been stored in the temple for an extensive period in a copy before the exile, but it was also transmitted (4QJer^{b,d}, LXX); it probably was exiled, and the second edition could have been brought back from the exile and only afterwards was it submitted to more extensive copying.¹²

By the same token, the Torah could have been copied in stages. At a first stage when the constituting segments of the Torah (J, E, P, D) were completed, they *could* have been transmitted in multiple copies; likewise, if there was a second stage involving the work of a compiler of the four documents, that could also have been copied in multiple exemplars. These exemplars would either have been identical to the copies of the first stage or they could have been slightly or much different. Below I name this stage “model 2.”

3.2 *Single Copies of Early Books in the Temple?*

The assumptions suggested at the end of § 3.1 cannot be tested, but under special circumstances and always by coincidence, remains of such copying processes have been preserved for some books (Joshua, Samuel, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, etc.). On the other hand, for the Torah, hardly any ancient literary divergences from MT have been preserved (§§ 4, 4.1). The lack of such evidence may have resulted from the fact that either it has not been preserved or that in this special case the Torah was not or hardly transmitted textually. The second assumption would involve the unique further assumption that the text of the Torah remained unchanged for a long time until a certain period. True, many textual variations are known for the Torah,¹³ but in my reconstruction all of them are late, postdating the stage of the proto-Masoretic text (§§ 4, 4.1), including most of the evidence of the LXX.

Accordingly, possibly we need to consider a special scenario for the development of the text of the Torah, involving the assumption that only single copies were preserved for an extended period in a central place in the country. Without connection to any textual theory, because of the low literacy rate, it has been suggested that no more than a few copies of certain or all biblical books were extant

¹² The differences between the short and the long editions of Jeremiah are explained by this description, but LXX-Jeremiah is not always shorter than MT-Jeremiah (it is rarely a bit longer). These differences are explained by the assumption that the long edition of MT-Jeremiah was based on a copy of the short edition that differed somewhat from LXX-Jeremiah.

¹³ These are most of the textual witnesses of the Torah mentioned in Tov 2022, 379–382.

in early centuries (Lohfink,¹⁴ Haran,¹⁵ and Millard¹⁶). The story of the discovery of a scroll in the temple during the reign of Josiah (2 Kgs 22:8; 23:2, 24; 2 Chr 34:15, 30) must therefore be taken at face value: According to 2 Kgs 22:8 Hilkiah said: “I found *the* book of the law (ספר התורה) in the house of the Lord.” This is “the” book of the Torah (probably Deuteronomy) and it was kept in the temple¹⁷ and did not leave the premises.

At a theoretical level it would thus be possible that, with the completion of the literary stage(s), a single copy of the Torah was deposited in the temple. There it was consulted by priests, prophets, and persons who knew to read. This assumption allows us to understand why no parallel “*torot*” are known, since all literary developments were based on a single text form. The Deuteronomistic revisions of such books like Joshua, Judges, Jeremiah were based on the central text of those books, and therefore we don’t know of any rival Deuteronomistic editions or of any rival editions of any of the books of the Torah. There is no solid evidence for the assumption that the Torah was deposited in the temple, but at least the later rabbinic literature knows such a tradition that speaks of the ספר העזרה, the scroll of the Temple Court (b. B. Bat. 14b).¹⁸

I name the linear textual development of the Torah from a single copy “model 1.” That model operates without a substantial textual transmission when supposedly the Torah was stationed in a central place.¹⁹ The correctness of this model cannot be proven, but it can be made likely especially if the alternative model (model 2) is unlikely. According to model 2, there were several alternative or successive early versions of the Torah created by way of textual or editorial tran-

¹⁴ Lohfink 1995, 335–347 (91–104) In this impressive study, Lohfink suggested that initially books were written and deposited in the temple, and possibly were further rewritten there (Lohfink 1995, 338).

¹⁵ Haran 1986.

¹⁶ Millard 1992. In the words of Millard, “[w]hile the number of ancient Israelites who regularly read and wrote may have been very small and mostly professional scribes, the number who possessed marginal literacy was larger, and still more would likely have been able to recognize and write their names” (Millard 1992, 340). The evidence for writing and reading relates to seals, tax collecting, owners’ labels on jars, etc., mainly referring to the final 150 years of Judah’s history. Young 1998, 419, reached similar conclusions (“ancient Israelite scribes, priests and the upper class of society”). For an updated in-depth analysis of literacy, see further Demsky 2012, 297–324.

¹⁷ The depositing of Scripture books in the temple in this story is paralleled by other evidence in Scripture and elsewhere. For example, Samuel deposited a binding document in the temple: “Samuel expounded to the people the rules of the monarchy (משפט המלוכה) and recorded them in a document that he deposited before the Lord” (1 Sam 10:25). Beyond Israel, the depositing of scrolls in the temple, which runs parallel to the modern concept of publishing, is evidenced for Egypt as early as the third millennium BCE as well as in ancient Greece and Rome. In later times, rabbinic literature often mentions “the copy of the Torah (once: three copies) in the Temple Court.” For a detailed analysis of the evidence, see Tov 2008.

¹⁸ Other traditions mention “three scrolls of the Torah were found in the temple court” (y. Ta’an. 4.68a).

¹⁹ Model 1 allows for the possibility of copies made from the central copy in other places, but such copies are not known.

mission. These early versions differed significantly from each other at the literary level and hopefully vestiges from them can be identified among the textual witnesses.

We now turn to model 2.

4. VESTIGES OF THE EARLY DEVIATING TEXTS OF THE TORAH?

The formulation of model 2 involved the possibility that the text of the Torah was once transmitted on a broader scale than now meets the eye. The Hebrew textual witnesses among the Dead Sea Scrolls, the LXX, and the other versions display textual variety, but this variety shows mainly secondary developments, after the stage represented by the proto-MT. At the literary (editorial) level, we witness a rather monolithic picture in these texts displaying almost no literary variation, which would be needed in order to prove the existence of separate tradition blocks. We will nevertheless try to locate such textual or literary tradition blocks, always preserved by coincidence, attempting to substantiate the feasibility of model 2, which involves alternative or successive early versions of the Torah created by way of textual or editorial transmission.

LXX-Chronicles. The Qumran scrolls are a much-appreciated source for investigating the textual condition of the Torah, but possibly there are earlier sources. 1 Chronicles is a possible source for the Torah because of its extensive quotations from the genealogies of the Torah in the first seven chapters.²⁰

The Chronicler quoted from lists in the Torah, but we don't have the source of the Chronicler anymore. We cannot assume that he quoted from the text as we know it. The issue is very complicated, since we don't know which synoptic texts should be compared. The comparison of these texts is complicated by the fact that, as far as we can tell, all known texts of Chronicles were at least slightly harmonized to those of the Torah. If we limit ourselves to a comparison of the Masoretic Text of both books, we note that the Masoretic versions of the two texts usually agree. Disregarding the possibility of massive harmonization, we suppose that the Chronicler stayed close to his sources which in this case was a text like MT-Pentateuch. The same pertains to the Targum and Peshitta. The analysis of the relationship between Chron-MT and SP-Pentateuch did not yield any specific conclusions. However, some meaningful conclusions may be drawn from the minuses of LXX^B in 1 Chr 1 which may reflect the Old Greek in this case.²¹

²⁰ Genealogies are found in the first nine chapters of the book, but only in the first seven chapters can we trace the Torah sources.

²¹ For a detailed analysis, see my study Tov forthcoming.

Additional data. As a rule, the textual evidence of LXX-Pentateuch²² points to secondary textual developments, especially harmonizing tendencies.²³ Very few passages may reflect vestiges of early literary traditions: the major candidates are the genealogies in Genesis 5 and 11 (MT, LXX, SP)²⁴ and the LXX of the tabernacle chapters Exodus 35–40. However, in both cases I retain very serious doubts regarding their relevance for early traditions.

Num 10:35–36 (the Song of the Ark). In the LXX, the order of these verses differs from MT (35, 36, 34). The sequence of the LXX, in which v. 35, referring to *the* Ark, comes immediately after v. 33, where the Ark is also mentioned, is probably more natural, while in MT, v. 34 comes between the two.²⁵

The most important evidence is provided by LXX-Exod 35–40 that I consider to be exegetical, even midrashic.²⁶ In LXX-Exod 35–40, the LXX deviates much from all other sources. The analysis of these differences remains one of the great challenges for LXX research together with LXX-Prov. Major research has been undertaken from the 1950s onwards by David W. Gooding, John W. Wevers, Anneli Aejmelaeus, Brandon Bruning, Dominico Lo Sardo, Nathan MacDonald, and Benjamin Ziemer.²⁷ I'm much impressed by Wevers's intricate knowledge of the translation and the 2023 book of MacDonald's is so thorough that it seems that the last word has been said. The Masoretic Text and the Septuagint differ greatly in sequence with the latter being much shorter despite also containing pluses vis-à-vis the Masoretic Text. The Old Latin, the main topic of Lo Sardo's 2020 monograph, is even shorter than the LXX. Gooding and Wevers conclude that the OG reflects an inner-Greek revision,²⁸ while the other five scholars suggest that MT is a later text than the LXX. The main argument used is that the LXX and Old Latin translations of these chapters, containing the execution of God's commands to build the tabernacle, are further removed from the commands in chapters 25–31 than the MT. These scholars claim that the later MT version of the performance of the work in chapters 35–40 has been harmonized to the commands.²⁹ Furthermore, MacDonald claims that the lists of items in these chapters

²² The fact that the LXX evidence agrees often with SP probably indicates that the base of the LXX and SP can be pushed back to an earlier period, viz., the fourth century BCE. See Tov 2019c.

²³ See my analyses in Tov 2019; Tov Forthcoming a.

²⁴ I posit two content recensions (SP, LXX) and one text (MT) in chapter 11, and possibly three different recensions in chapter 5. The SP and LXX reflect similar tendencies but are not interdependent. It seems that MT is not recensional in chapter 11 but may be so in chapter 5. On the other hand, the *Vorlage* of the LXX and SP probably revised MT or a similar text in both chapters in a certain direction. See Tov 2015; Steinmann 2021.

²⁵ Tov 2022, 253.

²⁶ See my papers Tov forthcoming a and b.

²⁷ Gooding 1959; Wevers 1992, 117–46; Aejmelaeus 1993; Bruning 2014, summarized in Bruning 2016; Lo Sardo 2020; MacDonald 2023; Ziemer Forthcoming.

²⁸ Thus also, at an earlier stage, Finn 1914–1915.

²⁹ This argument is also used by Schenker 2007, 59–60; and Carr 2011, 104.

exhibit variation, inconsistency, and confusion in the OG, as opposed to consistency imposed on them in MT.³⁰ MacDonald also adds an important content argument: “The construction of the tabernacle has been described <in MT> according to a different logic determined not by the materials and the master craftsmen, but by the sanctity of the sanctuary and its furniture. The sanctuary must be constructed first before the furniture that will furnish it.”³¹ This argument is based on the different sequence of the building of the tabernacle (note the title of the book: *The Making of the Tabernacle and the Construction of Priestly Hegemony*). However, content arguments about differences between readings and texts can be explained in different ways. For example, Wevers finds the structure of the B account of the Greek text to be logical.³² Therefore, at this stage of the analysis, the formal arguments of the shortness of the LXX, and MT’s harmonization with the commands carry more weight than content arguments.

I suggest that the harmonious depiction of the A and B accounts in MT may have been original, disturbed by shortening and changing in the LXX; that version should probably be characterized as an exegetical version of MT resembling the way in which LXX-3 Kingdoms approached its source. The relation between these two textual sources of Exodus should be analyzed in the first place at the textual level. I presented several arguments in favor of the view that the LXX³³ of chapters 35–40 reflects a Hebrew exegetical, even midrashic version, while also displaying inner-Greek and editorial activity.³⁴

Additional examples. LXX-Num contains many small pluses and it reflects a shorter text in other cases, but in all instances the LXX probably reflects a harmonized text.³⁵ The same pertains to the exegetical changes in the copies of 4QRP^{a-e}.³⁶

³⁰ Macdonald 2023, 65–66.

³¹ Macdonald 2023, 65.

³² Wevers 1992, 126–27.

³³ Chapters 35–40 were probably produced by the same translator who rendered the remainder of the book. This translator was inconsistent in his vocabulary throughout the translation: Gooding 1959, 99; Aejmelaeus, 1993, 120. We thus need to consider the translation of Exodus as one construction and examine whether chapters 35–40 fit in the framework of that unit. Our default position is that all chapters of the translation reflect the same translator. For a different view, see Wevers 1992, 145; and Wade 2003, 245.

³⁴ Gooding 1959, *passim*, emphasized the inconsistency and incompetence of this translator, while Wevers 1992, 138, n. 10 and *passim* considers this view exaggerated. At the same time Wevers described the intentions of the translator of the B account, not including the inconsistency in translation equivalents. See the studies mentioned in n. 27.

³⁵ Small pluses appear in 2:7, 14, 20, 22, 29 (same plus in all verses); 3:10; 7:88 10:6a; 14:23 = Deut 1:39; 23:3 (= 4QNum^b; 23: = 24:2; 24:23; 32:30 = context; 36:1 = 27:1. In 9:22–23, the LXX has a shorter text (MT adds details from vv. 21–22; 13:33; 15:35). The two traditions differ twice in important sequence details. In the census in ch. 1, in the *Vorlage* of the LXX, Gad (vv. 24–26 in MT) follows Manasseh (vv. 34–35). The position of Gad in MT is less appropriate, after Reuben (20–21) and Simeon (22–23), probably influenced by the sequence in 2:10–16 (Reuben, Simeon, Gad).

³⁶ For some examples, see Tov 2022, 146–149.

The documentary hypothesis. At the beginning of the twentieth century there were some attempts to undermine the documentary hypothesis with the aid of some variations in the divine names in the LXX, but they were not convincing.³⁷ This does not mean that that hypothesis can be proven with textual data, but neither can it be refuted with such data. As a result, since the time of Jean Astruc (1684–1766), that theory has been promoted and questioned, based on the printed Masoretic Text.³⁸

Further, scholars consider the large literary differences between SP and the other texts as reflections of the editorial-exegetical manipulations of SP³⁹ and hence irrelevant to analyzing the early shape of the Hebrew Bible.⁴⁰

4.1 *Result of the Search for Early Deviating Texts*

The practical result of the search for early deviating texts is that I see little or no textual evidence that differed in a major way from the proto-MT. In other words, it seems that MT has no serious competitor among possibly early texts. This temporary conclusion may be altered in the future, but if literary features are a guide to textual conditions before the third century, the proto-MT remains the reconstructed dominant text. Of course, beyond these generalizations, we always allow for a large number of small details in which Qumran scrolls, SP, and the LXX reflect superior readings to MT.

This analysis thus disallows the existence of model 2 that posits parallel ancient texts that differed in major ways from MT. With the rejection of that model, I therefore turn to model 1, cautiously suggesting that for several centuries a text like the proto-MT (the forerunner of the MT) was the sole reigning text through the Dark Ages. This assumption was possible only if very few copies of the Torah or only a single one were circulating. The single-copy theory is not new since it has been suggested previously (§ 3.1). It is highly speculative. It cannot be proven, but surprisingly it is the tacit supposition of all those who adhere to a documentary hypothesis of some kind (see below), even though they themselves do not turn to textual evidence at all, to the best of my knowledge.

The conclusions reached in this paragraph are based on logic and inference, but there is a major problem with this logic. Since we deal with texts that may have circulated in a period about which we have no evidence (the Dark Ages), we

³⁷ Wiener 1912; Wiener 1913, 13–41; Skinner 1914; Wiener 1914; Harford 1926. See my analysis in Tov 2019b, 264.

³⁸ Described in detail in my study Tov 2019b, first published in 2015.

³⁹ See Tov 2022, 178–87.

⁴⁰ On the other hand, these differences as well as all the other differences between MT and other sources may illustrate the type of variations between the various stages in the composition of the Torah. This option is strongly suggested by Reinhard G. Kratz in several studies: Kratz 2016; Kratz 2016a; Kratz 2018.

have no knowledge at all about them. Our thoughts about the prehistory of MT are extremely speculative. On the positive side, these thoughts expose the difficulties of the postulates of all forms of the documentary hypothesis, to be detailed in the next paragraph. For example, what did the early form of MT-Torah look like? Does the fact that the spelling of these books is more defective than that of the other Scripture books support the suggestion that the Torah was preserved for a long period in the temple without being changed or updated?⁴¹ Andersen-Forbes suggest that the Torah reflect the spelling practices of the period between 550 and 350 BCE, with a strong preference of the period of Ezra in the fifth century and his personal involvement.⁴² The suggestion of Andersen-Forbes was made without any connection to the issues discussed here, and the suggestion about the chronological background of the spelling of the Torah *could* support our view that the Torah was kept unchanged from the time of Ezra onwards.

It is unknown which textual tradition was reflected by the documents now indicated as J, E, P, D, but in research they are all solidly described as reflecting segments of MT. That is, when scholars from Astruc onwards described these sources, they did so based on the *printed* MT since they had no other source at their disposal. Documents from the ninth or eighth century BCE were presented as containing segments of the text of MT. Several scholars suggest that these four documents were combined by a redactor or a series of redactors or by Ezra the scribe. All these assumed processes are based on the same text of MT. The key element in these hypotheses is that both the individual sources and the combined document were based on the very same form of the MT. In my view, such a hypothesis is possible only if we invoke an additional hypothesis that the redactor of J, E, etc. had in front of him the exact same form of J, E, etc. as included in MT. In other words, and this is the key issue, there never was a textual transmission of J that would have created variant forms of that source (to be named J-1, J-2 etc.). By the same token, there never was a textual transmission of the combined document JEPD that would have created a variant form, JEPD-1, or at least such a variant form is unknown to us. Scholars of documentary criticism who follow these hypotheses are probably not aware of these complications; the presentation of segments of MT at all stages of the theory implies that 1) the proto-MT existed at an early stage, and 2) there was no textual change (textual transmission) of the proto-MT after the early stages.

⁴¹ Andersen / Forbes 1986, 312–318 claim that the Torah and Kings reflect a more conservative (defective) orthography than the rest of the biblical books and that they also contain the greatest degree of internal consistency—in the Torah, this description applies especially to Exodus and Leviticus.

⁴² Andersen / Forbes 1986, 318–322.

4.2 *Early References to a Copy of the Torah in Other Scripture Books?*

In principle, some details about deviating textual traditions of the Torah could be culled from allusions to or quotations from the Torah, but in practice no reliable deviations from MT may be learned from Hosea, Deutero-Isaiah, Jeremiah, or Ezekiel.

Mere knowledge of the Torah, such as in the cases of Hosea and Deutero-Isaiah, does not require physical acquaintance with copies of the Torah since Torah traditions also circulated orally.⁴³ Yet, in some cases the presence of a written book of the Torah may be assumed. The quotations from Deuteronomy made by Jeremiah,⁴⁴ which display an intimate knowledge of Deuteronomy, make it likely that the prophet, in his role as a priest,⁴⁵ consulted a written copy of that book, possibly in the temple. Likewise, Ezekiel the priest,⁴⁶ who had an intimate knowledge of Leviticus and Deuteronomy,⁴⁷ may have consulted a copy of the Torah kept in a central location in exile.

The earliest reference to ספר התורה, a scroll of the Torah, is the story of the finding by the officers of Josiah of such a scroll in the temple, in his eighteenth year (622), probably referring to the book of Deuteronomy (2 Kgs 22:8). Some 170 years later, in the middle of the fifth century BCE, some form of the Torah existed as a written book, as Neh 8:2 states that Ezra read from ספר תורת משה, “the book of the Torah of Moses.” This is the earliest reference to the existence of the Torah as a written entity that *could* have been submitted to scribal transmission. That verse doesn’t state what the source was of the copy of the Torah that Ezra had in his hands. In the words of Hugh Williamson, after a long analysis, that book “was similar to, if not yet fully identical with, our Pentateuch.”⁴⁸

These few possible clues to early references to the Torah do not help us in pinpointing the beginning of the textual transmission of the Torah.

⁴³ For Deutero-Isaiah’s knowledge of Deuteronomy, the Deuteronomistic books, Jeremiah, Isaiah son of Amotz, Psalms, and Lamentations, see the tabulations Paul 2012, 44–59.

⁴⁴ For example, Deut 24:1—quoted in Jer 3:1–2.

⁴⁵ Jer 1:1 “The words of Jeremiah son of Hilkiah, one of the priests at Anathoth in the territory of Benjamin.” See the detailed analysis of Holladay 1989, 53–61.

⁴⁶ Ezek 1:3 “The word of the Lord came to the priest Ezekiel son of Buzi, by the Chebar Canal, in the land of the Chaldeans.”

⁴⁷ For detailed evidence of Ezekiel’s knowledge of these books, see Kasher 2004, 54–65. Zimmerli 1969, 46–52 (44–45). Miller 1955, 118, reached similar conclusions earlier regarding Ezekiel’s use of Jeremiah.

⁴⁸ Williamson 1985, xxxix.

5. SOME SPECULATIONS ABOUT THE EARLY TEXT OF THE TORAH

What the text of the Torah looked like at the time of Ezra or Josiah (only Deuteronomy?) is anyone's guess. The exact content and orthography would have differed from MT, but would the remainder have resembled that text form?

We possess some textual evidence, but that refers only to the period from the third pre-Christian century onwards. In my earlier research, I made a distinction between a group of MT and its congeners in the Torah (block I) and all other texts (block II), represented by the SP, LXX, and most Qumran texts.⁴⁹ Block II exhibits secondary features in comparison with block I, mainly regarding harmonizations that turned out to be the major textual phenomenon in the Torah. I then started thinking about the background of the separation between the two text blocks. The background of the drifting apart of the two blocks (or the creation of a new text block) is unknown, but historical events that impacted the Jewish people may have played a role in this development. Since the SP group, the source of the LXX in the Torah,⁵⁰ the harmonizing texts, and all the texts that are associated with those groups derive from Palestine, block II may have been created there after the return from the exile, while the conservative textual tradition of block I could have been brought back earlier from Babylon with the exiles.⁵¹ Incidentally, this hypothesis partially fits the theory of the three local texts of Albright and Cross⁵² who advocated a Babylonian origin for the text of the Torah. Alternatively, this block could have coexisted with block I in Palestine. After all, the representatives of the proto-MT group were found in Palestine as well, in the Judean Desert at sites other than Qumran. Naturally, the theories about the geographic background of the two blocks are pure speculation.

I don't think that the SP and the LXX had antecedents before the fourth or third century; I rather think that these texts were created as popular offshoots from the proto-MT family.

Summarizing my paper, in this study I examined the history of the biblical text in the Dark Ages that lasted anywhere between the seventh, sixth, or fifth century and the third century BCE. My basic assumption was that textual traditions that

⁴⁹ Tov 2019a.

⁵⁰ Tov 2024.

⁵¹ A necessary precondition for this assumption is that Jewish life was sufficiently developed in the diaspora that the Torah was fostered there and brought back by Ezra. During the exile, it may have stayed in a center of some kind. In view of several literary compositions written during the exile (Ezekiel, Deutero-Isaiah, according to some, a layer of Jeremiah), it is assumed that there indeed existed such a center, even if we have no knowledge about it. Our evidence is limited to the economic documents from Al-Yahudu, the City of the Judahites from the sixth-fifth centuries; see especially Rom-Shiloni 2017 and the literature mentioned there; Jursa / Zadok 2020. I am grateful to Dr. Rom-Shiloni for her advice on this topic. For the writing of the biblical books during this period, see Schniedewind 2004, 139–164 (“Writing in Exile”).

⁵² Albright 1955; Cross, 1998. Thus also the stemma in Klein 1974, 70.

diverge significantly may point to parallel or subsequent textual transmissions. Since we did not find much evidence for such diverging text traditions, we assume that a text like MT was the dominant text tradition throughout the Dark Ages, but this hypothesis may change with new text finds or analyses. It is assumed that throughout the Dark Ages the text transmission was very limited since a text like MT was probably preserved as a single text in the temple.

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“EATING SWINE’S FLESH IN THE PORCHES”:
LXX ISA 66:17 AS AN ILLUSTRATION OF THE GREEK TRANSLATOR’S
USE OF COMPLEMENTARY INTERPRETATION AND TRANSLATION
TECHNIQUES

Mirjam VAN DER VORM-CROUGHS

In the past, deviations in LXX Isaiah from the Masoretic Text have often been attributed to the translator’s purported lack of knowledge or understanding of the Hebrew. However, Arie van der Kooij has argued that most of these variants result from intentional intervention by the Greek translator. Rather than viewing the translator as deficient in Hebrew knowledge, Van der Kooij portrays him as a Jewish scholar exhibiting a high level of proficiency in Hebrew and Greek, along with a thorough acquaintance with (Hebrew) Scripture, and employing exegetical methods common in his era. This paper will present a case study reaffirming this portrayal of the Greek Isaiah translator as a highly skilled intellectual. This case involves LXX Isaiah’s rendering of the cryptic words **אחר אחד בתוך** (“after/behind one in the midst”) in Isa 66:17b as *καὶ ἐν τοῖς προθύροις* (“and in the porches”). Although this Greek rendering may at first seem ‘inaccurate’ and far removed from the Hebrew, this paper will demonstrate that it is, in fact, the product of thorough exegesis, with the translator combining several techniques to arrive at his translation. Not only did he employ other Scriptural passages, both within and outside Isaiah, to help him interpret the Hebrew text, but he may also have used the technique of formal association. The result was a Greek rendering that is tightly wrought and coherent in its own right, but also strengthened connections the translator perceived with other biblical texts.

Throughout his extensive career, Arie van der Kooij has made significant contributions to our understanding of the Septuagint translation of the Book of Isaiah. Not only has he shed more light on the Greek translation itself but also on the person behind it. In doing so, he has advocated for taking the translator of LXX Isaiah more seriously than was often done in the past, for instance as it concerns his knowledge of Hebrew. While earlier scholars¹ frequently attributed many of the deviations in LXX Isaiah from the Masoretic Text to the translator’s purported lack of knowledge of Hebrew, van der Kooij has argued that most of these variants result from intentional and deliberate intervention by the Greek translator. Rather than viewing the translator as deficient in Hebrew knowledge, van der Kooij

¹ E.g., Thackeray 1903, 583; Ottley 1904–1906, 1:49; Fischer 1930, 8–9. To a lesser extent, also Ziegler 1934, 13; Seeligmann 1948, 56–57.

portrays him as a Jewish scholar exhibiting a high level of proficiency in both Hebrew and Greek, along with a thorough acquaintance with (Hebrew) Scripture. This scholar-scribe employed exegetical methods which were common in his era and which are also known from ancient Jewish midrashim, such as root association and harmonization to other Scriptural texts.² Additionally, his translation at various points reflects an actualizing interpretation of the Isaianic prophecies, fitting within the phenomenon of fulfillment prophecies, which was widespread in Hellenism.³

In the present paper, which I dedicate with profound gratitude to my *Doktorvater* for his invaluable scholarly guidance and friendship, I will present a case study reaffirming this portrayal of the Greek Isaiah translator as a highly skilled intellectual. This case study will illustrate how the translator interpreted the text in front of him by drawing upon his extensive knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek languages and Scripture, as well as familiarity with contemporary exegetical methods. It demonstrates that beneath renderings which might seem ‘inaccurate’ on first sight often lies a meticulous exegetical study, with the translator frequently synthesizing ideas from different Scriptural texts and employing, even combining, various interpretation methods to arrive at his translation of a particular passage.

1. MT ISA 66:17B: “FOLLOWING SOMEONE IN THE MIDST”

The case I will discuss can be found in Isa 66:17, where the MT describes a somewhat mysterious pagan ritual through which the Israelites defile themselves extremely:

הַמְתַּקְדְּשִׁים וְהַמְטַהְרִים אֶל־הַגְּנוֹת	Those who sanctify and purify themselves into the gardens,
אֶחָד בְּתוֹךְ	after/behind one in the midst,
אֹכְלֵי בֶשֶׂר הַחֲזִיר וְהַשֶּׁקֶץ וְהָעֵכָבֵר	eating swine’s flesh and the abomination and mice,
יָחֵדוּ יַסְפּוּ נְאֻם־יְהוָה:	shall come to an end together, says YHWH. ⁴

² See e.g., van der Kooij 1981, 60–66; van der Kooij 1998, e.g. 186–187; van der Kooij 1998a, 214–229. Several of van der Kooij’s students demonstrated his views on larger sections of LXX Isaiah, among whom van der Louw 2007, esp. 243–247; van der Meer 2010; van der Vorm-Crougths 2014; de Angelo Cunha 2014; and Austin 2019. Two other works which are inspired by van der Kooij’s views are: Baer 2001; and Troxel 2008.

³ See e.g. van der Kooij 1981, 33–60; 67–71; van der Kooij 1998, 186–187; van der Meer 2018, 31.

⁴ The translations used in this paper are based on the Revised Standard Version (RSV) for M and the New English Translation of the Septuagint (NETS) for G. Where necessary to clarify the argumentation, minor adjustments have been made to these translations by the author.

The text tells us that certain people “sanctify and purify themselves into the gardens” where they eat “swine’s flesh and the abomination and mice.” The first line is ambiguous and appears elliptic. The preposition **אל** is usually understood to indicate direction, so that **אל-להגנות** can be interpreted as: with the intent of going to the gardens. Thus, the people purify themselves before entering the realm of the fertility cult.⁵ However, **אל** can also be used pregnantly to indicate “Ruhe am erreichten Ziel”, so that **אל-להגנות** can be interpreted as “in the gardens”.⁶ After the words **המתקדשים והמטהרים אל-להגנות** follows the phrase **אחר** **אחד** **בתוך**, “after [or: behind] one in the midst.” The MT contains a *Ketib/Qere* issue here, involving the form **אחד**: whereas the *Ketib* reading is a masculine numeral **אֶחָד** (“one”), the *Qere* reading involves its feminine counterpart **אַחַת**. Hence, the text seems to convey that in the gardens, the people are following someone who (or are standing behind something which), according to the *Ketib* is male, and according to the *Qere*, is female. When the *Ketib* (**אֶחָד**) is followed, the text may refer to a mystagogue, who as a leader stands in the middle of a circle of worshippers, leading them in a procession into a garden and instructing them in the rites which they are to imitate.⁷ In such a case, MT can be translated as: “(to go) into the gardens, following someone in the midst.” Perhaps the polemic of Ezekiel 8:11 served as a model here, where a certain Jaazaniah appears “in the midst” of seventy cultic leaders, who all engage in the most severe defilement, in a temple full of abominations, with women at the entrances mourning the fertility god Tammuz.⁸ When the *Qere* (**אַחַת**) is followed, the reference may be to female mystagogue, a priestess. Alternatively, as already proposed by ancient Jewish exegetes, **אַחַת** may refer to an image of a goddess or to a holy tree, possibly Asherah. This image or tree is standing in the middle of a garden and is worshipped there by people who stand “behind” her. In this situation, the text can be rendered as “(to go) into the gardens, serving one in the midst”.⁹

It is hardly possible to ascertain which reading—*Ketib* or *Qere*—could be the primary one. According to Peter W. Flint, the *Ketib* **אֶחָד** may be a “product of later editing to supply a form that most readers would expect.”¹⁰ The HOTTP committee, who in the seventies evaluated important text critical issues in the Hebrew Bible, was evenly divided between the two readings.¹¹

⁵ Berges, 647.

⁶ Koole, 469; BrSynt 108B; cf. NEB: “in garden rites”.

⁷ Barthélemy 1986, 461.

⁸ Berges 2022, 647–648.

⁹ Barthélemy 1986, 2:461.

¹⁰ Flint 2011, 115.

¹¹ Barthélemy 1986, 2:461.

2. ISA 66:17B IN THE ANCIENT WITNESSES

The ancient Versions present some variation in their rendering of אחר אחד בתוך in Isa 66:17b, as can be seen in the overview below. Nevertheless, the discussion in the continuation of this paragraph will demonstrate that these variations can largely be explained from the MT, so that it does not seem necessary to question MT's reliability, even if it remains unclear whether the *Ketib* or the *Qere* is primary.

MT	המתקדשים והמטהרים אל־הגנות אחר אחד בתוך אכלי בשר החזיר והשקץ והעכבר יחדו יספו נאם־ יהוה:	“Those who sanctify and purify themselves into the gardens, after one in the midst , eating swine’s flesh and the abomination and mice, shall come to an end together, says YHWH.”
1QIsa ^a	המתקדשים והמטהרים אל הגנות אחר אחת בתוך אוכלי בשר החוזיר והשקוץ והעכבר יחדיו אמר יהוה	“Those who sanctify and purify themselves into the gardens, after one in the midst , eating swine’s flesh and the abomination and mice together, says YHWH.”
1QIsa ^b	המִתְקַדְשִׁים וְהַמְטַהְרִים אֶל הַגְנוֹת [וְהַמְטַהְרִים אֶל בֶּשֶׂר הַחֹזִיר] וְהַשְׂקוּץ וְהַעֲכָבֵר יַחְדוֹ [יִסְפוּ נָאם] יְהוָה	“Those who [sanctify and] purify themselves into the garden[s, after on]e in the midst , eating flesh of the swin[e and the abomination] and mice, [shall come to an end] together, [says] YHWH.”
LXX	οἱ ἀγγιζόμενοι καὶ καθαριζόμενοι εἰς τοὺς κήπους καὶ ἐν τοῖς προθύροις ἔσθοντες κρέας ὕειον καὶ τὰ βδελύγματα καὶ τὸν μῦν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀναλωθήσονται, εἶπεν κύριος	“Those who sanctify and purify themselves for the gardens, and in the porches eat swine’s flesh, the abominations and the mouse shall be consumed together, said the Lord.”
Symmachus and Theo- dotion (according to Hierony- mus)	qui sanctificamini et lustramini in hortis alter post alterum inter eos qui comedunt carnem suillam et abominationem et murem simul deficient dicit Dominus	“They who are sanctified and purified in the gardens, the one after the other, among them the ones who eat swine’s flesh and the abomination and the mouse, they will fail together, says the Lord.”

Symmachus (according to Procopius)	οπισω αλληλων	“ behind one another ”
Vulgate	Qui sanctificabantur et mundos se putabant in hortis post unam intrinsecus qui comedebant carnem suillam et abominationem et murem simul consumentur dicit Dominus	“They who were sanctified and thought themselves clean in the gardens behind one within , they who eat swine’s flesh and the abomination and the mouse, they shall be consumed together, says the Lord.”
Peshitta	<p>הַחַטְּמִיּוֹת הַמְּתַהַבִּים כְּלֵל עִד כֹּהֵל עִד כְּחֵל חֵלָה הַכֹּלֵם כְּחֵלָה הַשֵּׁנִי הַשְּׂעִי אַ חֲסֻמְבִּיָּה אַחַשְׁתָּ נִשְׁפָּעֵם אַמְרֵי מֵיָה</p>	“They who are sanctified and purified in the gardens, the one after the other in the middle , and who eat swine’s flesh and reptile and mice, together they will disappear, says the Lord.”
Targum	<p>דְּמִזְדַּמְנִין וּדְמִדְכֵן לְגַיְאָד טְעוּתָא סִיעָא בְתַר סִיעָא אַכְלֵי בְסַר חֲזִירָא וְשִׁקְצָא וְעַכְבְּרָא כְחֵדָא יִסּוּפּוֹן אַמֵּר יְיָ</p>	“Those who join and purify themselves for your gardens of the idols, company after company , eating swine’s flesh and the abomination and the mouse, shall come to an end together, says the Lord.”

As the overview shows, 1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b (the latter preserved fragmentarily) contain אחר אחת בתוך, thus supporting MT^{qere}. Symmachus and Theodotion, as quoted by Hieronymus, present *alter post alterum*, which retroverted into Hebrew would be אחד אחר אחד (with the masculine numeral, cf. MT^{ket}), while they have joined בתוך to the next clause where it is rendered as *inter eos* (“in between”). Their rendering suggests that they interpreted the text in the sense that the people underwent the purifying ritual sequentially. Also the reading of the Peshitta, כֹּהֵל עִד כְּחֵל חֵלָה (“one after the other in the middle”), seems to derive from אחד אחר אחד בתוך. In a comparable way, the Targum reads סִיעָא בְתַר סִיעָא, “company after company” (with a rendering of בתוך missing), but here the feminine noun סִיעָא may go back to MT^{qere} אַחַת. In the Vulgate, we find the somewhat cryptic expression *post unam intrinsecus* (“behind one within”). Given that *unam* (“one”) is feminine, Vg seems to support MT^{qere}.¹² Symmachus’ reading according to

¹² Part of the Vulgate tradition reads *post portam*.

Procopius, *οπισω αλληλων* (“behind one another”), does not provide a clear insight into the underlying Hebrew text.

The translation of the Septuagint stands somewhat apart. It renders אחר אחד בתוך by *καὶ ἐν τοῖς προθύροις*. This rendering will be the focus of the remainder of this paper.

3. LXX ISA 66:17: “EATING SWINE’S FLESH IN THE PORCHES”

The Greek translation of Isa 66:17 differs in several aspects from the MT. For the current discussion, two differences are of special importance. In the first place, the words אחר אחד בתוך (“after/behind one in the midst”) have as their Greek counterpart words with a rather different meaning, i.e., *καὶ ἐν τοῖς προθύροις*, “and in the porches.” In the second place, the sentence division in the first part of v.17 differs between the LXX and the MT. While in the MT אחר אחד בתוך form the final words of the first clause (“...into the gardens *after one in the midst*”), their counterpart in the LXX form the beginning words of the next clause (*καὶ ἐν τοῖς προθύροις* ἔσθοντες κρέας ὕειον, “and in the porches eating swine’s flesh”), thus being parallel to *εἰς τοὺς κήπους* (“to the gardens”) in the preceding line:

MT Isa 66:17:

המתקדשים והמטהרים אל־הגנות	Those who sanctify and purify themselves into the gardens,
אחר אחד בתוך	after/behind one in the midst,
אכלי בשר החזיר והשקץ והעכבר	eating swine’s flesh and the abomination and mice,
יחדו יספו נאם־יהוה:	shall come to an end together, says YHWH.

LXX Isa 66:17:

οἱ ἀγνιζόμενοι καὶ καθαριζόμενοι	Those who sanctify and purify themselves
εἰς τοὺς κήπους	for/to the gardens,
καὶ ἐν τοῖς προθύροις ἔσθοντες	and in the porches eat swine’s flesh
κρέας ὕειον	
καὶ τὰ βδελύγματα καὶ τὸν μῦν	and the abominations and the mouse,
ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀναλωθήσονται,	they shall be consumed together,
εἶπεν κύριος	said the Lord.

How may the Greek translator have arrived at this unexpected rendering of אחר אחד בתוך as *καὶ ἐν τοῖς προθύροις*, “and in the porches”? Already in 1948, Isaac Seeligmann argued that the Isaiah translator probably borrowed his wording

from LXX Ezekiel 8, a text which (as already noted above) contains several points of agreement with Isa 66:17. Ezekiel 8 also deals with cult practices, featuring a mystagogue who stands among others, leading them to perform pagan rituals (see especially Ezek 8:11).¹³ Additionally, in Ezek 8:10, the noun $\gamma\kappa\psi$ is used to describe images of “detestable” idols that the prophet sees, rendered by $\beta\delta\epsilon\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ in the LXX. In Isa 66:17, the same pejorative Hebrew term appears and is translated in the same way in the LXX. Ezek 8:16–17 tells us that the prophet is brought to the inner court of the temple, and at the temple’s gateway—or in the LXX, at the porches ($\text{יהוה הכיל יהוה} / \text{ἐπὶ τῶν προθύρων τοῦ ναοῦ κυρίου}$)—he sees men committing abominations. Also in LXX Ezek 8:3, 7, and 14, the idolatrous activities are said to take place ἐπὶ τὰ πρόθυρα , at the porches of the temple. Seeligmann was undoubtedly right in his conjecture that the Greek Isaiah translator borrowed his translation with ἐν τοῖς προθύροις in Isa 66:17 from Ezek 8.¹⁴ Also elsewhere in LXX Isaiah, examples can be found of the adoption of elements from (the Greek version of) Ezekiel.¹⁵

Nevertheless, it is still remarkable that there seems to be so little (if any) agreement between the words $\text{אָהַר אַחַד בַּתּוֹךְ}$ in Isa 66:17 and their LXX counterpart $\text{καὶ ἐν τοῖς προθύροις}$ (or, when retroverted into Hebrew in conformity with Ezek 8:11, בַּפֶּתַח). That is, in other cases where LXX Isaiah borrows elements from other Scriptural passages, we can usually observe not only a connection between the *contexts* of both texts, but also between the wording or meaning of the Hebrew expression itself that the translator has to render and the Hebrew expression from the other text which he employs to render it. I.e., the translator recognizes that a certain formulation in his Hebrew *Vorlage* resembles a formulation elsewhere—either in terms of word usage or content—and then incorporates (elements from) that other formulation into his own translation (or, he harmonizes his own text to that other formulation). I will give three examples, out of the many that could be provided, to illustrate this point.

A first example illustrating LXX Isaiah’s usual way of implementing elements from other scriptural texts into his own translation, comes from Isa 9:9(10):

Isa 9:9(10)	לְבָנִים נִפְלוּ וּגְזִית נִבְנָה שְׁקָמִים גָּדְעוּ	Πλίνθοι πεπτώκασιν, ἀλλὰ δεῦτε λαξεύσωμεν λίθους καὶ ἐκκόψωμεν συκαμίνους καὶ κέδρους
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¹³ Seeligmann 1948, 74. See also Ziegler 1934, 133–134.

¹⁴ Another text from Ezekiel that might be related, is Ezek 43:8. Here, God accuses his people of defiling his holy name by their idolatry and by setting in his house “their threshold by my threshold and their doorposts beside my doorposts” (MT: $\text{בַּתְּחֵם סַפֵּם אֶת־סַפֵּי וּמוֹתֵם אֶצְל מוֹתֵי מוֹתֵי}$). The LXX renders the latter words as $\text{ἐν τῷ τιθέναι αὐτοὺς τὸ πρόθυρόν μου ἐν τοῖς προθύροις αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς φλιάς μου ἔχουμένας τῶν φλιῶν αὐτῶν}$. So, here too the word πρόθυρα appears in the context of idolatrous practices in relation to the temple.

¹⁵ Seeligmann 1948, 74; van der Vorm-Crouchs 2014, 424–438.

וארזים נחליף: *καὶ οἰκοδομήσωμεν ἑαυτοῖς πύργον.*

In rendering Isa 9:9(10), the translator has drawn inspiration from the story of the building of a tower in Gen 11:1–9, in particular from verses 3–4:¹⁶

<p>Gen 11:3–4 ויאמרו איש אל-רעהו הבה נלבנה לבנים ונשרפה לשרפה ותהי להם הלבנה לאבן והחמר היה להם לחמר: ויאמרו הבה נבנה-לנו עיר ומגדל וראשו בשמים</p>	<p><i>καὶ εἶπεν ἄνθρωπος τῷ πλησίον Δεῦτε πλινθεύσωμεν πλίνθους καὶ ὀπτήσωμεν αὐτὰς πυρί. καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς ἡ πλίνθος εἰς λίθον, καὶ ἄσφαλτος ἦν αὐτοῖς ὁ πηλός. καὶ εἶπαν Δεῦτε οἰκοδομήσωμεν ἑαυτοῖς πόλιν καὶ πύργον, οὐ ἢ κεφαλὴ ἔσται ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ</i></p>
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The Isaiah translator has added δεῦτε, and rendered נחליף (“we will replace”) as *καὶ οἰκοδομήσωμεν ἑαυτοῖς πύργον* (“and we will build for ourselves a tower”) under the influence of these Pentateuchal verses. The reason the translator connected Isa 9:9(10) with Gen 11:3–4, was not only because both texts focus on the theme of human arrogance, but also because the verses use similar building terminology and share certain Hebrew features and expressions. For instance, לבנים “The bricks have fallen, but let us build with dressed stones”) in Isa 9:9a–b can be connected with הבה נלבנה לבנים (“Come, let us make bricks”) in Gen 11:3b due to both phrases sharing comparable meanings and containing the noun לבנים and a first person plural cohortative verb (and also note the formal resemblance between נבנה and נלבנה). These correspondences have probably motivated the Isaiah translator to incorporate δεῦτε from LXX Gen 11:3b into his translation of לבנים נפלו וגזית נבנה in Isa 9:9a–b. A correspondence between נחליף in Isa 9:9d and the words in Gen 11:3f which the translator used to render it, i.e., נבנה-לנו עיר ומגדל, is that both involve first person plural cohortative verbs.

For a second example, we turn to Isa 18:6. While the MT reads העיט (“birds of prey”), the LXX has τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (“the birds of heaven”). And where the MT has בהמת הארץ (“the cattle of the earth”), LXX Isaiah renders it as τὰ θηρία τῆς γῆς (“the wild beasts of the earth”):

<p>Isa 18:6 יעזבו יחדו לעיט הרים ולבהמת הארץ וקץ עליו העיט וכל-בהמת הארץ עליו תחרף:</p>	<p><i>καὶ καταλείψει ἅμα τοῖς πετεινοῖς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τοῖς θηρίοις τῆς γῆς, καὶ συναχθήσεται ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ πάντα τὰ θηρία τῆς γῆς ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἴξει.</i></p>
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¹⁶ Cf. Ziegler 1934, 109; Troxel 2008, 147–48; van der Vorm-Croughs 2014, 363.

Probably, the LXX phraseology was borrowed from the passage on the creation of the animals in Gen 1:30:

Gen 1:30 ולכל־חית הארץ και πᾶσιν τοῖς θηρίοις τῆς γῆς
 ולכל־עוף השמים και πᾶσιν τοῖς πετεινοῖς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ¹⁷

The links between both Hebrew texts are clear: עוף השמים in Isa 18:6 and חית הארץ in Gen 1:30 are close in meaning. This also holds true for בהמת הארץ in Isa 18:6 and חית הארץ in Gen 1:30, while there is also a lexical correspondence, namely, in the use of הארץ. The Greek Isaiah translator made the expressions even more similar to each other.

A final example can be found in Isa 34:6. Several scholars have noticed that there are many points of agreement between LXX Isaiah and the Greek translation of the Song of Moses in Deut 32:1–43.¹⁸ Most likely, the Greek Isaiah translator occasionally copied elements from this passage in Deuteronomy to his own translation. Isa 34:6 serves as one illustration of this:

Isa 34:6 הדשנה מחלב מדם כרים ועתודים ἐπαχύνηθι ἀπὸ στέατος ἀρνῶν
 מחלב כליות אילים και ἀπὸ στέατος τράγων και κριῶν

The rendering of הדשנה מחלב מדם כרים ועתודים (“with fat, with the blood of lambs and goats”) by ἀπὸ στέατος ἀρνῶν (“with the fat of lambs”) in LXX Isa 34:6 may have been influenced by עִם־חֵלֶב כִּרִּים / μετὰ στέατος ἀρνῶν (“with the fat of lambs”) in Deut 32:14. This would also shed light on the lack of representation of מדם in the Greek translation of the Isaianic verse:

Deut 32:14 עִם־חֵלֶב כִּרִּים ואילים μετὰ στέατος ἀρνῶν και κριῶν

Also here the correspondence between the two Hebrew texts (i.e., the words חלב, כרים and אילים) is obvious.

In summary, in the three examples given above, we can discern a clear connection between the Hebrew expression that the Greek Isaiah translator has to render, and a phrase found elsewhere in Scripture, which he uses for rendering. As already mentioned, this pattern typically occurs when LXX Isaiah borrows elements from other biblical passages: the borrowing is usually a form of harmonization. However, when we look at Isa 66:17, the correspondence between this verse and the verse from which the translator seems to have borrowed part of its translation, Ezek 8:16, is not obvious at all. There does not seem to be any connection between פתח היכל יהוה in Isa 66:17 on the one hand, and פתח היכל יהוה (ἐπι τῶν προθύρων τοῦ ναοῦ κυρίου) in Ezek 8:16 on the other hand, neither in

¹⁷ Also compare Gen 1:20, 28 and 9:2.

¹⁸ E.g. Ziegler 1934, 119; Seeligmann 1948, 48, van der Vorm-Crouchs 2014, 367–372.

regards to the meaning of both expressions nor in the words that are used. Not any (significant) expression used in Isa 66:17 also occurs in Ezek 8:16. Even though two words in other verses within Ezekiel 8 agree with words in Isa 66:17 (i.e., בתוך [cf. Ezek 8:11] and שקץ [cf. Ezek 8:10]), this situation still deviates from the translator's common method.

4. A TRANSLATION PRINCIPLE OF LXX ISAIAH: STAYING CONNECTED TO THE HEBREW TEXT

Should we simply accept that the Greek Isaiah translator in this case apparently just ignored or disregarded the Hebrew words in his *Vorlage*—perhaps because he did not understand them—and replaced them with other words, borrowed from Ezekiel, which did not have any link with the Hebrew words (or their meaning) in his own text, but which he solely based on thematic or contextual connections he perceived between his own text and that of Ezekiel 8, and on the fact that these words happened to suit perfectly within his own text (ἐν τοῖς προθύροις [“in the porches”] being in line with and parallel to εἰς τοὺς κήπους [“to the gardens”] in the preceding line)? Still, this remains somewhat unsatisfactory, since, as we have just argued, such an approach would not align with the translation procedure typically employed by this translator. Not only in cases of borrowing, but also more broadly, throughout his entire work, one can observe that when the Greek translator appears to wander from his Hebrew *Vorlage*, his translation still remains, in some manner, connected to it.¹⁹ This seemingly paradoxical situation persists even when the Greek translation substantially differs from the Hebrew text in terms of content. In the case of borrowing, this translator's departure from, yet simultaneous adherence to, the Hebrew text, involves that the translator recognizes that an expression similar to the one in his *Vorlage* appears in another biblical text, and then incorporates additional elements from that other text into his translation. He still remains connected to his own *Vorlage* through the ‘linking words’. In addition to such harmonization, there is also another technique the Isaiah translator often uses in conformity with this principle of ‘staying connected to the Hebrew text’, that is, formal association. This entails rendering a Hebrew expression with a Greek word that, even if it does not form a *semantic* equivalent of the word in the source text, may, upon retroversion into Hebrew, resemble the original word in *form*. This resemblance can occur, for instance, through the substitution of one letter with another similar one, or through metathesis. An example

¹⁹ This way of translating has been described by James Barr, who notes that it is not unusual in Greek translations from the Hebrew that the translation is on the one hand “literal”—in the sense that it offers an “one-for-one representation” of the Hebrew elements by Greek ones—but at the same time “free,” because the translator in rendering those separate elements allowed himself great liberties. See Barr 1979, 281; 323.

of this can be found in Isa 44:14, where ארן (“cedar”) has generated κύριος via אדן. Another example we find in LXX Isa 32:7, where וּבְדַבֵּר (“and when speaking”) is translated as καὶ διασπαράσσει (“to scatter”), likely stemming from the Aramaic root בדר (“to scatter”), which the translator associated with דבר through metathesis.²⁰ In the past, scholars often attributed the origin of such renderings to errors made by the translator or to a different *Vorlage*. However, in many of these instances, the translator likely deliberately interpreted words differently. This intentional and creative approach to handling word forms finds its origins in Jewish hermeneutics, where the prevailing notion is that words in Scripture possess not only a literal meaning but also a derivative one based on formal similarities.²¹ The hypothesis that also the translators of the Septuagint employed similar midrashic procedures has been defended by scholars such as Zacharias Frankel, Leo Prijs, Roger Le Déaut, and Emanuel Tov.²² Regarding LXX Isaiah, one of the first to emphasize this notion has been Arie van der Kooij, in his early work *Die alten Textzeugen*.²³

5. FORMAL ASSOCIATION IN LXX ISAIAH 66:17?

This leads to an interesting question: Could formal association help us to understand why the Greek translator rendered אחד בתוך אחר in Isa 66:17 as καὶ ἐν τοῖς προθύροις, and perhaps even provide a connection key with פתח היכל יהוה / ἐπὶ τῶν προθύρων τοῦ ναοῦ κυρίου in (LXX) Ezek 8:16?²⁴ Might the translator have interpreted אחד בתוך אחר associatively as אחר אחד בתוך, “behind one of your houses” or אחר בתוך, “behind your houses”?²⁵ If he indeed read the words in Isa 66:17a in such a manner, he may have understood them as referring to exterior courtyards adjacent to the houses (and possibly surrounded by walls), hence

²⁰ This case is an example of double translation in the LXX, וּבְדַבֵּר having been rendered by both καὶ διασπαράσσει and λόγους; see van der Vorm-Croughs 2014, 162; and cf. Ziegler 1934, 69; Koenig 1982, 154.

²¹ See e.g. the rabbinical principle — יוצא אחד לזמנה טעמים — “One biblical verse or expression is susceptible of many (different) interpretations” (Sanhedrin 34a) (translation from Kadushin 1952, 104).

²² Frankel 1841, 185–191; Prijs 1948, 35–61; Le Déaut 1984, 187–190; Tov 1997, 164.

²³ van der Kooij 1981, 66–67. See also Koenig 1982, e.g. 35–37; Baer 2001, e.g. 16, 22; Troxel 2008, 107–118; van der Vorm-Croughs 2014, 21–22.

²⁴ For the hypothesis that LXX-Isaiah was dependent upon the *Greek* version of Ezekiel, see e.g. Seeligmann 1948, 74; van der Vorm-Croughs 2014, 437–438.

²⁵ It must be acknowledged that “behind (one of) *your* houses” would not precisely fit within the surrounding Hebrew context, which addresses a third person plural rather than a second person singular addressee. However, association does not always need exactness. An alternative possibility would be that the Greek translator associated אחד בתוך with פתח, but that seems somewhat less likely, given the difference in consonants.

rendering the words as ἐν τοῖς προθύροις.²⁶ The noun προθύρον can in Greek denote not only a doorway or porch itself but also the area before a door, whether or not it is a porch or portico.²⁷ Such a relatively private space in the open air the translator might have deemed particularly suitable for performing pagan rituals. The notion of “behind a house” (so, outdoors) would also suitably align with the gardens mentioned in the preceding line as the site of the rituals. Besides, it would align with the scene depicted in Ezekiel 8, where the rituals take place outside the temple, in the inner courtyard. Nevertheless, one could still wonder: If LXX Isaiah indeed interpreted the Hebrew as אחר (אחד) בתוך, why did he not render that phrase more literally, e.g., as ὀπίσω τῶν οἰκῶν? Why did he instead render it with a word which also appears in LXX Ezek 8:16, i.e., προθύρον?

6. AN INTERTEXTUAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN (LXX) ISA 66:17, ISA 57:8 AND EZEK 8:16

To address this question, we must examine another passage in Isaiah, that is, Isaiah 57:8. In Isa 57:7–10 YHWH reproaches a woman (symbolizing Israel) for forsaking Him and engaging in idolatrous practices. In verses 7–8a the MT reads:

על הר־גבה ונשא שמת משכבך	(v.7) Upon a high and lofty mountain you have set your bed,
גם־שם עלית לזבח זבח:	and there you went up to offer sacrifice.
ואחר הדלת והמזוזה	(v.8) And behind the door and the doorpost
שמת זכרוֹנך	you have set up your symbol

The LXX renders this text as follows:

ἐπ' ὄρος ὑψηλὸν καὶ μετέωρον, ἐκεῖ σου ἡ κοίτη, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἀνεβίβασας θυσίας.	(v.7) Upon a high and lofty mountain, there was your bed, And there you brought up your sacrifices.
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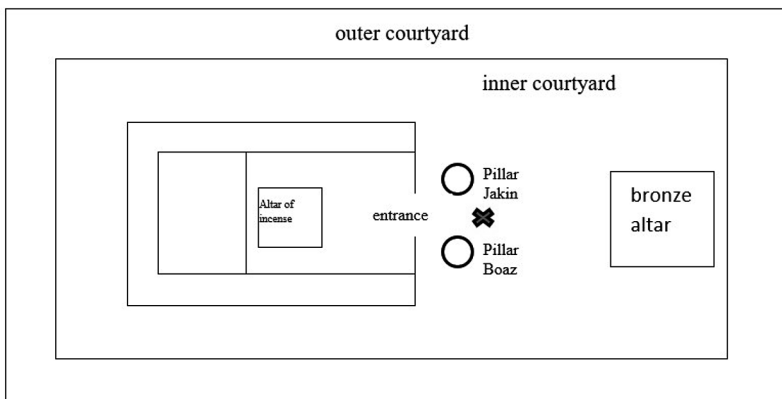
²⁶ When the translator located the rituals “behind houses”, this does not necessarily mean that he located them behind these houses from an *external* viewpoint, that is, on the opposite side of the building’s entrance. Rather, he may have considered the viewpoint from *inside* the house, suggesting that the rituals could have taken place in a courtyard just outside the entrance (similar to the courtyards enclosed by walls in four-room houses). Cf. the discussion on Isa 57:8 later in this paper.

²⁷ LSJ, 1481; cf. e.g. Hom. Od. 4.20 τῶ δ' αὖτ' ἐν προθύροισι δόμων αὐτῶ τε καὶ ἵππων, Τηλέμαχος θ' ἦρωσ καὶ Νέστορος ἀγλαδὸς υἱός, στήσαν, “Then the two, the prince Telemachus and the glorious son of Nestor, halted **in the courtyard** of the palace, they and their two horses.”

καὶ ὀπίσω τῶν σταθμῶν τῆς θύρας σου (v.8) And **behind the posts of your door**
 ἔθηκας μνημόσυνά σου· you have set up your memorials.

Isa 57:8a tells us that the woman set up a *זכרון*, a “memorial”, which likely refers to a phallic symbol revered within the fertility cult context (cf. Ezek 16:17; 7:20; 23:14). The woman positioned this symbol “behind the door and the doorpost”. While this could imply that the cultic object was placed *inside* the building (the temple), Jan L. Koole argues that the perspective is probably not from outside the building but from within, suggesting that “behind the door and the doorpost” means that the object—probably a column—was placed *outside* the sanctuary, in front of it. According to Koole, this interpretation is not only supported by the fact that according to later literary references (e.g. Lucian, *De syria dea* 16) such symbols could in fact stand there, but also by the observation that this creates a parody of the Jerusalem temple with its own pillars in front (1 Kings 7:15–22).²⁸

Following Koole’s interpretation, this would involve that the location where the woman in Isa 57:8a places an idolatrous symbol—in front of the sanctuary—corresponds to where the prophet in Ezek 8:16 witnesses idolatrous activities taking place, namely, in the inner courtyard outside the temple building, before the temple entrance (indicated by the cross in the image below), a location referred to by LXX Ezekiel as ἐπὶ τῶν προθύρων τοῦ ναοῦ. Furthermore, as observed earlier, this agrees with where LXX Isaiah locates the pagan rituals occurring in Isa 66:17, namely, ἐν τοῖς προθύροις, “in the porches,” or rather, the area outside the building, near the entrance.



²⁸ Koole 1995, 96–96.

When examining the Hebrew text of both Isaianic verses, one gets the impression that the Greek translator, in rendering Isa 66:17, drew inspiration from Isa 57:8, interpreting the phrase **אחר אחד בתיך** in 66:17a with the help of **ואחר הדלת** והמזוזה in 57:8a, both phrases starting with **אחר(ו)**:²⁹

57:8a	ואחר הדלת והמזוזה שמת זכרוןך	<i>καὶ ὀπίσω τῶν σταθμῶν τῆς θύρας σου ἔθηκας μνημόσυνά σου·</i>
66:17a/b	המתקדשים והמטהרים אל-הגנות אחר אחד בתוך אכלי בשר החזיר והשקץ והעכבר	<i>οἱ ἀγνιζόμενοι καὶ καθαριζόμενοι εἰς τοὺς κήπους καὶ ἐν τοῖς προθύροις ἔσθοντες κρέας ὑεῖον καὶ τὰ βδελύγματα καὶ τὸν μῦν</i>

The translator may have interpreted the phrase starting with **אחר** in 66:17 as indicating the location where a detestable pagan activity has been performed, in conformity with 57:8. While in 57:8, this activity involved the setting up of an idolatrous symbol, in the case of 66:17, it involves the consumption of unclean swine's meat. In line with 57:8, the translator considered this location in 66:17 to be a place near the entrance of a building.

If—as suggested in the previous paragraph—the translator associated **אחר אחד בתוך** in 66:17 with **בתיך (אחד) אחר**, “behind (one of) your houses,” he may have even construed “house” as a synecdoche for “door,” equating “behind (one of) your houses” with “behind the door” found in 57:8a. Yet, one might question why, in such a scenario, the translator did not use in 66:17 Greek wording more similar to the wording in 57:8, but instead wrote *καὶ ἐν τοῖς προθύροις* in 66:17 and *καὶ ὀπίσω τῶν σταθμῶν τῆς θύρας σου* in 57:8.

This question brings us back to Ezekiel 8 again. It is well thinkable that the Isaiah translator, when addressing Isa 57:8, was reminded of Ezek 8:16. Both passages depict Israelites engaging in pagan rituals in a sacrificial context, thus angering the God of Israel. The translator likely identified the location mentioned in Isa 57:8c where the rituals occurred (**ואחר הדלת**) with the location specified in Ezek 8:16 (**פתח היכל** / ἐπι τῶν προθύρων): in both cases the rituals take place near

²⁹ Note that in LXX Isa 66:17, **אחר אחד בתיך**, is rendered as *καὶ ἐν τοῖς προθύροις*, with the Greek clause starting with *καὶ*, whereas the copula is absent in the Hebrew. Perhaps the copula was adopted from **ואחר הדלת והמזוזה** / *καὶ ὀπίσω τῶν σταθμῶν τῆς θύρας σου* found in 57:8. Also note that in LXX Isa 66:17, *καὶ ἐν τοῖς προθύροις* form the first words of the sentence, indicating the place of the ritual, which deviates from the Hebrew, where **אחר אחד בתיך** form the final words of the preceding line, but which corresponds with *καὶ ὀπίσω τῶν σταθμῶν τῆς θύρας σου* in 57:8a, which are also the first words of the sentence indicating the place of the ritual. In other words, on a detailed level, LXX Isa 66:17 displays additional correspondences to 57:8.

the entrance of a building, which in Ezek 8:16 pertains to the temple and in Isa 57:8 presumably to a pagan sanctuary.³⁰

When confronted with the enigmatic words in Isa 66:17, it is likely that the Greek translator, through Isa 57:8 (which he connected with 66:17 because of thematic similarities and the occurrence of אחר), arrived at Ezek 8:16, which he perceived as describing a location of pagan rituals akin to that of Isa 57:8. Subsequently, he used LXX Ezekiel’s rendering of that location (ἐπὶ τῶν προθύρων) to translate אחר אחד בתוך in Isa 66:17. The possible association of אחר אחד בתוך with אחר (אחד) בתוך, “behind (one of) your houses,” may have further justified this rendering.

Returning to the question posed at the outset: Did the Greek Isaiah translator simply ‘disregard’ the Hebrew words in his *Vorlage* and replace them with other words, borrowed from another text and unrelated to the Hebrew words in his own text? The answer to this question is now evident: The translator certainly did not ignore the Hebrew words in his source text when translating 66:17. Rather, it was the phrasing of the Hebrew itself (אחר אחד בתוך) that guided him to Isa 57:8, which in turn directed him to Ezek 8:16, where the translator found the words he could use to render the cryptic Hebrew phrase in 66:17 in a manner very suitable to the context (the area outside the entrance aligning with the gardens mentioned in the same verse). Even stylistically, these words were fitting, creating a chiasmic pattern within the verse:³¹

οἱ ἀγνιζόμενοι καὶ καθαριζόμενοι εἰς τοὺς κήπους // καὶ ἐν τοῖς προθύροις
ἔσθοντες κρέας ὕειον.

Hence, by rendering in this way, the translator both confirmed and strengthened connections he perceived with other biblical texts and produced a Greek text that was tightly wrought and coherent in its own right.

7. LXX ISAIAH’S USE OF COMPLEMENTARY TECHNIQUES: THREE ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

In our examination of the LXX translation of Isa 66:17, it has become apparent that the Greek translator in this case employed various exegetical and/or translational techniques in order to interpret the Hebrew text before him and to produce

³⁰ LXX Isaiah drew connections also between other verses in Isaiah 57 and certain passages in Ezekiel; compare, e.g., LXX Isa 57:9, καὶ ἐπλήθυνας τὴν πορνείαν σου μετ’ αὐτῶν, with καὶ ἐπλήθυνας τὴν πορνείαν σου in Ezek 16:25 and 23:19, chapters which also mention male symbols venerated by women (see Ezek 16:17 and 23:14); cf. van der Vorm-Crougths 2014, 431.

³¹ For other examples of LXX Isaiah’s improvement or creation of chiasmic patterns within his translation, cf. van der Vorm-Crougths 2014, 285–291.

a smooth translation. These included intertextuality (the borrowing of elements from the same book), intratextuality (the borrowing of elements from other Scriptural texts), formal association, as well as the improvement of parallelism/chiasmus. Importantly, this case does not stand on its own: there are many additional instances in which the Greek translator of Isaiah combined interpretation or translation techniques such as formal association and the borrowing of elements from other texts. I will briefly mention three other examples.

In 63:1, LXX Isaiah uses βίαια, “with violence,” to render MT’s rare verb צעה, “bending.” According to Fischer, the translator may have arrived at this rendering by associating צעה with the Aramaic root עצי, “to oppress, to force,” through a transposition of consonants.³² On the other hand, the translator may also have been influenced by other passages in Isaiah depicting God’s appearance in wrath and violence, particularly 28:2–3, which, like 63:1, describes God’s trampling of Edom and where LXX Isaiah also uses βίαια (see also 30:28). As demonstrated, these two possibilities need not exclude each another.

In 64:1(2), MT’s phrase אש המסים בקדח, “as when fire kindles brushwood” is represented in LXX Isaiah as καὶ ταχέσονται ὡς κηρὸς ἀπὸ πυρὸς τήχεται, “and they would melt as wax melts from the fire.” This translation clearly draws from Mic 1:4 (אש מפני האש / והעמקים יתבקעו כדונג מפני האש) and possibly also Ps 97:5 (הרים כדונג נמסו מפני יהוה / τὰ ὄρη ἐτάκησαν ὡσεὶ κηρὸς ἀπὸ προσώπου κυρίου), which can be explained by correspondences between these theophanies, such as the mountains that tremble (Isa 63:19) or melt (Mic 1:4; Ps 97:5) at God’s manifestation. Additionally, the Isaiah translator may have connected his own text with these passages through the association of the *hapax legomenon* המסים (“brushwood”) with the root מסס, “to melt” (cf. Ps 97:5).

An example of a case where the translator may have combined intertextual and intratextual borrowing can be found in Isa 5:1. In this verse, God compares Israel to his beloved vineyard. The Hebrew לידי, “my beloved” is matched in the LXX by ὁ ἡγαπημένος, “the beloved.” It may well be that the translator omitted the possessive pronoun in לידי because ὁ ἡγαπημένος is also used as a designation for the people in LXX Isa 44:2. There we find:

Isa 44:2	אל־תירא עבדי יעקב וישרון בחרתי בו:	μη φοβοῦ, παῖς μου Ιακωβ καὶ ὁ ἡγαπημένος Ισραηλ, ὃν ἐξελεξάμην
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The MT of Isa 44:2 names the people with the poetic title ישרון, meaning “up-right one.” The LXX rendering of this title is ὁ ἡγαπημένος. Ziegler and Seeligmann

³² Fischer 1930, 66.

think this rendering depends on Deut 32:15,³³ since also in the Greek version of that Deuteronomic verse **יִשְׂרוֹן** is rendered **ὁ ἡγαπημένος**, in addition to its primary translation as **Ἰακώβ**:

Deut 32:15	יִשְׂמוֹן יִשְׂרוֹן וַיִּבְעֹט	καὶ ἔφαγεν Ἰακώβ καὶ ἐνεπλήσθη, καὶ ἀπελάκτισεν ὁ ἡγαπημένος
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So, in Isa 5:1, it seems that the Greek translator has adopted a formulation from another biblical book in conjunction with another passage in the Book of Isaiah itself, just as we have seen in Isa 66:17.

8. CONCLUSION

This paper has shown that LXX Isaiah’s rendition of Isa 66:17b, even if it may initially appear inaccurate and distant from the Hebrew *Vorlage*, upon closer examination, turns out to be the product of thorough exegesis. Our analysis of this case confirms that the Greek translator of Isaiah approached his task with meticulousness, drawing upon extensive knowledge of both Hebrew and Greek Scriptures and employing various exegetical techniques common in his time. Not only in the case of 66:17, but throughout his work, the translator consulted other biblical passages, both within and beyond Isaiah, often not limiting himself to a single source but combining different sources to achieve a comprehensive interpretation and translation of the Isaianic text. The aim of this was not only to produce a well-wrought rendering of the specific passage before him; rather, by strengthening connections with other texts in Isaiah, he confirmed and improved the unity of (his translation of) the Book of Isaiah, and by identifying and reinforcing links with texts or themes in other scriptural writings, he demonstrated how the Isaianic text was firmly embedded in Scripture. The Greek translator also applied midrashic techniques such as formal association, demonstrating adeptness in Hebrew and the ability to use this language in a creative manner. Occasionally, he even combined multiple techniques, such as formal association, intratextuality, intertextuality and the improvement of stylistic features such as parallelism, to strengthen his interpretation. These techniques may not always align with our current perspectives on proper translation or exegesis, but they should just be viewed as different from our own methods, not as indicative of a deficiency in Hebrew or a lack of understanding of the Hebrew text on the part of the translator.

³³ Ziegler 1934, 126; Seeligmann 1948, 48.

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„SIEHE, EIN GEHEIMNIS SAGE ICH EUCH ...“:
ZUM SCHRIFTBEZUG CHRISTUSGLÄUBIGER PROPHETIE
NACH PAULUS

Florian WILK

Der vorliegende Band ist dem Nachdenken über die Rolle der Schriftgelehrsamkeit bei der Abfassung, Überlieferung und Neuinterpretation prophetischer Texte gewidmet. Es läge durchaus nahe, diese Themenstellung auf die paulinische Verwendung und Deutung biblischer Prophetenbücher anzuwenden. In der Tat erweist sich der Völkerapostel zumal dort, wo er Zitate aus diesen Büchern in seinen Briefen anführt, in hohem Maß als Schriftgelehrter. Diesen Sachverhalt habe ich wiederholt untersucht, nicht zuletzt in meinem Beitrag für einen vom Jubilar mit herausgegebenen Tagungsband zur griechischen Version des Jesajabuches.¹ Im Folgenden wähle ich daher eine andere Perspektive auf den Konnex von Schriftgelehrsamkeit und Prophetie im Werk des Apostels. Ich möchte erheben, ob und inwiefern sich seiner Darstellung nach Prophetien, die aus dem Christusglauben heraus geäußert werden, ihrerseits auf die Schrift beziehen.

Dieser Zusammenhang erschließt sich am besten, wenn man im Kontext der paulinischen Aussagen zu solcher Prophetie von seinen Angaben zu deren Wirkungen und Quellen ausgeht.²

1. DIE AUSSAGEN ZU CHRISTUSGLÄUBIGER PROPHETIE IM ÜBERBLICK

Neben einigen Bemerkungen, die biblische Propheten oder Prophetenbücher betreffen,³ bieten die Paulusbriefe etliche Aussagen zur Prophetie als einem Vollzug, der im Dasein von Christusgläubigen verankert ist.⁴ Sie erscheint als eines der Charismen, mit denen Gottes Geist die Gemeinde ausstattet (1Kor 12,4). Die entsprechenden Aufzählungen weisen etliche Übereinstimmungen, aber auch er-

¹ Vgl. Wilk 1999, 291–298; Wilk 2013, 482–484; sowie Wilk 2010a. Ich freue mich, dem geschätzten Kollegen, langjährigen Kooperationspartner und guten Freund mit der vorliegenden Festgabe meine herzliche *gratulatio* (im doppelten Sinne des lateinischen Wortes) zu seinem hohen Geburtstag übermitteln zu können.

² Zur Problematik eines *formgeschichtlichen* Zugangs zum Thema vgl. Franz Schnider, „*προφήτης*“: Balz / Schneider (1992), 3:448.

³ Röm 1,2; 3,21; 11,3; 1Thess 2,15. Vgl. ferner die namentlichen Verweise auf Elija (Röm 11,2), Hosea (9,25) und Jesaja (9,27.29; 10,16.20; 15,12).

⁴ Vgl. zum Folgenden den (anders ausgerichteten) Überblick bei Gerhard Friedrich, „*προφήτης* κατ. D. Propheten und Prophezeien im Neuen Testament“: *TWNT* 6:849–858.

hebliche Unterschiede in Umfang und Anordnung sowie zum Teil in der Benennung bestimmter Gaben auf, wie die folgende Übersicht veranschaulicht:

	<i>Röm 12,6–8</i>	<i>1Kor 12,8–10</i>	<i>12,28</i>	<i>13,1–3</i>	<i>14,6</i>	<i>14,26</i>
Prophetie	Weisheits- Rede	Apostel	Menschen- und Engelssprachen	Reden in - Sprachen	Lobgesang	
Dienst	Erkenntnis- Rede	Propheten	Prophetie	- Offenba- rung	Lehre	
Lehrender	Glaube	Lehrer	Wissen um alle Ge- heimnisse und alle Erkenntnis	- Erkennt- nis	Offenbarung	
Zuredender	Heilungs- Gaben	Macht- erweise	Glaube	- Prophetie	Sprache	
Abgebender	Machterweis- Tätigkeiten	Heilungs- Gaben	Verfüttern allen Be- sitzes	- Lehre	Übersetzung	
Vorstehen- der	Prophetie	Hilfe- leistungen	Hingabe des eigenen Leibes			
Sich Erbar- mender	Unterschei- dungen Arten von Sprachen Übersetzung	Leitungen Arten von Sprachen				

Tabelle 1: Paulinische Charismenlisten.

Offenbar sind all diese Aufzählungen auf den jeweiligen Argumentationszusammenhang ausgerichtet, ohne dass jeweils Vollständigkeit beabsichtigt wäre. Dazu passt der Befund, dass Paulus manche der genannten Charismen andernorts auch eklektisch miteinander oder mit anderen Gaben bzw. Funktionen verknüpft.⁵ Für die Prophetie erfolgt dies durch die Kombination einerseits mit der Erkenntnis in 1Kor 13,9, andererseits mit dem Gebet in 11,4f. sowie durch die Gegenüberstellung mit dem Reden in fremden Sprachen in 14,2–5.22–25.27–32.39; in 13,8 sind Prophetie, Sprachen und Erkenntnis nebeneinandergestellt.

Unter den Charismen hebt Paulus die Prophetie mehrfach hervor: Er ruft in 1Thess 5,20 eigens dazu auf, sie nicht zu verachten, hält in 1Kor 14,1b-c.5a-b.39 alle Adressaten an, sich mit Eifer um diese Geistesgabe zu bemühen, und stellt sie in Röm 12,6–8 an die Spitze des Katalogs. Den Grund dafür lässt 1Kor 14,1–5 erkennen: Indem die Prophetie andere und die Gemeinde fördert, bringt sie in besonderer Weise die Liebe zur Geltung. Das gilt auch im Blick auf Außenstehende,

⁵ Vgl. 1Kor 1,5 (Rede, Erkenntnis); 12,4–6 (Gnadengaben, Dienste, Tätigkeiten); Phil 1,1 Aufseher, Dienst-Tuende); 1Thess 5,12 (Sich-Abmühen, Vorstehen, Den Sinn-Zurechtrücken), für den Apostolat 2Kor 12,1 (Schauungen, Offenbarungen); 12,12 (Zeichen, Wunder, Machterweise) und die Tugend-Liste in 6,4b.6–7b (Geduld etc.), ferner die Trias Glaube-Hoffnung-Liebe in 1Thess 1,3; 5,8; 1Kor 13,13. Zur Divergenz der verschiedenen Reihen vgl. auch Schweizer 1962, 165f.

die gastweise am Gottesdienst teilnehmen; denn die Prophetie ist geeignet, sie zur Gotteseerkenntnis zu führen (14,24f.). Freilich unterliegt wie alle Geistesgaben auch die Prophetie der Fragmentarität und Vorläufigkeit, welche die Gegenwart von der endzeitlichen Vollendung und der sie kennzeichnenden unmittelbaren Gottesschau unterscheiden (13,8–12).

Als Subjekte der Prophetie kommen verschiedene Personen in den Blick. Einerseits identifiziert der Apostel bestimmte Christusgläubige als „Propheten“ (1Kor 12,28f.; 14,29.32.37), schreibt ihnen also auf Dauer die Aufgabe des Prophezeiens zu. Andererseits attestiert er prinzipiell allen Gemeindegliedern die Befähigung dazu (14,31); allerdings weist er in Röm 12,6 auf Unterschiede im jeweils von Gott zugewiesenen Maß des Zutrauens hin.⁶ In 1Kor 13,2 und 14,6 wiederum spricht er von der Rolle der Prophetie in seinem eigenen Wirken.⁷

Der Ort, an dem Prophetie zum Einsatz kommt, ist die Gemeindeversammlung (1Kor 14,4.6+12.23f.). Demgemäß stellt Paulus für die Praxis des Prophezeiens einige Regeln auf, die zum einen für einen geordneten Verlauf der Zusammenkunft (14,26.29–37), zum andern für die Übereinstimmung mit den in allen anderen Gemeinden geltenden Gepflogenheiten (11,4f.16) sorgen sollen.⁸

Nur gelegentlich äußert sich Paulus zu den Quellen und den Wirkungen der Prophetie. Ersteres geschieht zumal im Zuge seiner Aussagen über sein eigenes Prophezeien (1Kor 13,2; 14,6) sowie in 14,30, Letzteres im Rahmen des Vergleichs zwischen Prophetie und Reden in fremden Sprachen (14,3.24f.31). Diese Angaben müssen ob ihrer besonderen Bedeutung für die Themenstellung des vorliegenden Beitrags im Folgenden genauer betrachtet werden.

2. DIE AUSSAGEN ZU DEN WIRKUNGEN CHRISTUSGLÄUBIGER PROPHETIE

Im Eingangsteil der vergleichenden Betrachtung von Prophetie und Reden in fremden Sprachen (1Kor 14,2–25) begründet Paulus den vom Kriterium der Liebe her (14,1) sich ergebenden Vorrang der Prophetie mit 14,3 wie folgt:

<p>ὁ δὲ προφητεύων ἀνθρώποις λαλεῖ οἰκοδομῆν καὶ παράκλησιν καὶ παραμυθίαν.</p>	<p>Wer aber prophezeit, redet zu Menschen (und bewirkt) Aufbau und Ermunterung und Zuspruch.⁹</p>
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⁶ Zum Verständnis von Röm 12,6b im Anschluss an 12,6a vgl. Wolter 2019, 271–273 – gegen die verbreitete Deutung auf den Glauben als hermeneutisches Kriterium (z. B. Wilckens 1982, 14.)

⁷ Zur Deutung beider Ich-Aussagen auf Paulus in seiner Rolle als Vorbild für die Adressaten vgl. die eingehende Begründung bei Wolff 2017, 426–432 und 442.

⁸ Vgl. zur Auslegung dieser Texte Wilk 2023, 148–153 und 193–200.

⁹ Die Übersetzung folgt Wilk 2023, 182.

Dass die Liebe Mitmenschen „aufbaut“, ist paulinische Grundüberzeugung (1Kor 8,1d). Denn wer in Liebe handelt, tut ihnen Gutes und nimmt sich ihrer Belange und Bedürfnisse an.¹⁰ Den Orientierungsrahmen dafür bietet das Christusgeschehen.¹¹ Konkret zielt solch „aufbauendes“ Handeln deshalb zumal auf die Förderung der Gottesbeziehung jener Mitmenschen;¹² und dies schließt die Stärkung ihres Glaubens und ihrer Hoffnung ebenso ein wie die Hilfe zu einer Lebensführung nach dem Willen Gottes.¹³ Dazu passt die Entfaltung der Aussage durch die Begriffe „Ermunterung“ und „Zuspruch“. Kann *παράκλησις* prinzipiell auch „Tröstung“ meinen, so dient das Wortfeld im 1. Korintherbrief doch meist eindeutig dazu, eine Ermunterung oder Ermahnung zu einem bestimmten, christusgemäßen Verhalten auszusprechen.¹⁴ Ähnliches gilt im paulinischen Sprachgebrauch für *παραμυθία*: Jedenfalls in Parallele zu *παρακαλέω* oder *παράκλησις* meinen Bildungen des Wortstamms stets den Zuspruch, der zu einer Gottes Heils handeln entsprechenden Lebensgestaltung ermutigt.¹⁵

In dieselbe Richtung weisen die beiden weiteren Aussagen zur Wirkung von Prophetie. So wird die Begründung der Regel für ihren geordneten Gebrauch in der Gemeindeversammlung (1Kor 14,29f.) mit 14,31 wie folgt eingeleitet:

<p><i>δύνασθε γὰρ καθ' ἕνα πάντες προφητεύειν, ἵνα πάντες μανθάνωσιν καὶ πάντες παρακαλῶνται.</i></p>	<p>Denn ihr vermögt als Einzelne allesamt zu prophezeien, auf dass alle (daraus) lernen und alle (dadurch) ermuntert werden.¹⁶</p>
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Indem der Text die intendierte Ermunterung aller Gemeindeglieder durch die Prophetie daran knüpft, dass sie aus ihr etwas „lernen“, deutet er an, dass jene Ermunterung auf eine Orientierung im Glauben und in der Lebensführung zielt.¹⁷

¹⁰ Vgl. Röm 15,2: „Ein jeder (und eine jede) von euch soll dem Nächsten zu Gefallen leben, (ihm oder ihr) zum Guten, zum Aufbau“, ferner 1Kor 10,23f.

¹¹ Vgl. die wiederholte Verknüpfung des Aufbau-Motivs mit christologischen Begründungen in 1Kor 3,9–12; 8,10f.; Röm 15,2f.

¹² Das ergibt sich schon aus dem Kontrast zur Aussage 1Kor 14,4a, durch ein Reden mittels fremder Sprachen erbaue die so betende Person sich selbst, sodann aus dem ekklesiologischen Grundsinn des Aufbau-Motivs (vgl. 3,9; 14,4f.12; 2Kor 12,19 sowie Josef Pfammatter, „οἰκοδομή κτλ“: Balz / Schneider 1992, 2:1213f.).

¹³ Vgl. Röm 14,19–23 (und dazu Wilk 1998, 337f.), negativ gewendet auch 1Kor 8,10, zur Hoffnung ferner 1Thess 5,11.

¹⁴ Vgl. 1Kor 1,10; 4,16; 16,12.15 (weiteren Sinn hat das Verb nur in 4,13). Zu 14,31 s. im Folgenden.

¹⁵ Vgl. 1Thess 2,12 (und dazu Holtz 1986, 90); Phil 2,1. Auch in 1Thess 5,14 geht es gegenüber den „Kleinmütigen“ zumindest um eine orientierende Stärkung ihres Glaubens.

¹⁶ Die Übersetzung folgt Wilk 2023, 193.

¹⁷ Vgl. Röm 16,17; 1Kor 4,6; 14,35; Phil 4,9, für Paulus selbst 4,11. Anders nur Gal 3,2.

In 1Kor 14,23–25 wiederum illustriert Paulus die positive Wirkung einer in der Gemeindeversammlung geübten Prophetie mit der folgenden Überlegung:

<p>ἐὰν οὖν συνέλθῃ ἡ ἐκκλησία ὅλη ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ... (²⁴) ... πάντες προφητεύωσιν, εἰσέλθῃ δέ τις ἄπιστος ἢ ἰδιώτης, ἐλέγχεται ὑπὸ πάντων, ἀνακρίνεται ὑπὸ πάντων, (²⁵) τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ φανερὰ γίνεται, καὶ οὕτως πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον προσκυνήσει τῷ θεῷ ἀπαγγέλλων ὅτι ὄντως ὁ θεὸς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστίν.</p>	<p>Wenn also die ganze Gemeinde an einem Ort zusammengekommen ist und ... alle prophezeien, (dann) aber jemand hereinkommt, (der oder die) ungläubig oder unkundig (ist), wird er (oder sie) zurechtgewiesen von allen, durchleuchtet von allen, das im eigenen Herzen Verborgene wird offenbar, und so wird er (oder sie) aufs Angesicht fallen, Gott anbeten und kundtun: „Wirklich, Gott ist in/unter euch!“¹⁸</p>
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Im Argumentationsgang dient die Szene zur Erläuterung von 1Kor 14,22. Dort wertet Paulus die Prophetie – im Kontrast zum Reden in fremden Sprachen – als Identifikationszeichen für Glaubende und stellt zugleich heraus, dass sie Ungläubige nicht in ihrem Unglauben belasse. Die Pointe der Szene besteht demgemäß darin, dass zur Gemeindeversammlung hinzukommende Gäste infolge der von ihnen gehörten Prophetie anerkennen, dass Gott in der Gemeinde präsent und wirksam ist.¹⁹ Diese Wirkung aber ergibt sich nach paulinischer Darstellung daraus, dass die Gäste von allen „zurechtgewiesen“ und „durchleuchtet“ werden. Beide Begriffe sind der Septuaginta entlehnt und lassen vor diesem Hintergrund erkennen, dass die Gäste sich hinsichtlich ihrer Lebensführung einer kritischen, orientierenden Beurteilung unterzogen sehen, wie sie nur von Gott her möglich ist.²⁰ Letzteres wird durch den Satz zur Offenbarung des im Herzen Verborgenen, der seinerseits auf Gott verweist,²¹ noch unterstrichen.

¹⁸ Die Übersetzung folgt Wilk 2023, 183.

¹⁹ Zur Interpretation von 1Kor 14,20–25 vgl. Wilk 2019, 33–39. Zum biblischen Hintergrund (von dem her allererst klar wird, dass 14,25 auf Gottes Präsenz in der Gemeinde, nicht in den einzelnen Gläubigen zielt) s. u. bei Anm. 67.

²⁰ Vgl. für ἐλέγχω Spr 3;11; 19,25; Jes 2,4 u. ö. (und dazu Friedrich Büchsel, „ἐλέγχω“: *TWNT* 2:471; er macht zu Recht für viele LXX-Belege die Idee der „Zucht und Erziehung der Menschen durch Gott“ geltend, welche „alle Stufen und Maßnahmen der Erziehung“ bis hin zur „Zurechtweisung im Sinne der Lehre und Mahnung“ umfasst) sowie Mt 18,15; Lk 3,19; Joh 16,8; Jak 2,9; Apk 3,19 u. ö., für ἀνακρίνω mit personalem Bezug Sus 48.51 sowie 1Kor 2,14f. (dazu Wilk 2019, 28–31); 4,3f. u. ö.

²¹ Vgl. Ps 43[44],22, ähnlich Röm 2,16; 1Kor 4,5 mit Blick auf das endzeitliche Gericht.

In der Zusammenschau der Belege wird deutlich: Die von Christusgläubigen praktizierte Prophetie dient Paulus zufolge dazu, andere Menschen hinsichtlich ihrer Gottesbeziehung zu fördern. Dies geschieht dadurch, dass diese in ihrem Glauben und/oder in ihrer Lebenspraxis Orientierung erhalten, sei es durch Ermunterung, Unterweisung oder Zurechtweisung. Solch existentiell-orientierende Wirkung hat die Prophetie allererst für Gemeindeglieder, darüber hinaus aber auch für Gäste in den Gemeindeversammlungen.

3. DIE AUSSAGEN ZU DEN QUELLEN CHRISTUSGLÄUBIGER PROPHETIE

Zu Beginn der Lobrede auf die Liebe 1Kor 12,31b–13,13 macht Paulus in einer Kette aus drei konditionalen Satzgefügen an seiner eigenen Person deutlich, dass der existentielle Nutzen jeder Geistesgabe ganz und gar davon abhängt, ob sie aus und in der Liebe eingesetzt wird. Zwischen seinen Aussagen über das Reden in fremden Menschen- sowie in Engelssprachen (13,1) und über den Einsatz des eigenen Besitzes oder auch des eigenen Leibes (13,3) heißt es in 13,2:

<i>καὶ ἐὰν ἔχω προφητεῖαν</i>	Und wenn ich das Prophezeien (als Gabe) habe
<i>καὶ εἰδῶ τὰ μυστήρια πάντα</i>	und (dafür) um alle Geheimnisse
<i>καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γνῶσιν</i>	und alle Erkenntnis weiß
<i>καὶ ἐὰν ἔχω πᾶσαν τὴν πίστιν</i>	und wenn ich allen Glauben habe,
<i>ὥστε ὄρη μεθιστάναι,</i>	um Berge zu versetzen,
<i>ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω,</i>	Liebe aber nicht habe,
<i>οὐθέν εἰμι.</i>	bin ich ein Nichts. ²²

In scharfer Weise entwertet der Apostel jedes Ansinnen, jenseits der Liebe die Geistesgaben „Prophetie“ und „Glaube“ für sich zu reklamieren. Die Schärfe der Stellungnahme wird durch die beigefügten Erläuterungen dieser Gaben noch gesteigert, zeigen sie doch die auch andernorts ausgesprochene Hochschätzung gerade dieser Gaben durch Paulus an.²³ Dies geschieht für den Glauben durch den Hinweis auf die Wunder wirkende Kraft, die den Glauben kennzeichnet.²⁴ Für die Prophetie hingegen wird gegenläufig dazu auf ihren Wurzelgrund verwiesen: Sie ist im Wissen um „Geheimnisse“ und „Erkenntnis“ verankert. Dass Paulus dabei von einem „Wissen um Erkenntnis“ spricht, ist keineswegs „ein Unding“.²⁵ Im

²² Die Übersetzung folgt Wilk 2023, 175.

²³ Vgl. zur Prophetie 1Kor 14,1–5, zum Glauben 13,13.

²⁴ Wie nahe die paulinische Aussage der Jesusüberlieferung (vgl. Mk 11,22f.; Mt 17,20) steht, betont mit Recht Neirynek 1996, 150–153.

²⁵ So Zeller 2010, 408, der vorschlägt, vor *πᾶσαν τὴν γνῶσιν* ein weiteres *ἔχω* zu ergänzen. Dem steht der Satzbau von 1Kor 13,2 mit seinem doppelten „und wenn ich habe ...“ eindeutig entgegen.

Licht von 1Kor 2,12 hebt er damit vielmehr den göttlichen Ursprung der Erkenntnis hervor, den sie gemäß 4,1 mit den Geheimnissen teilt.²⁶

Anders ausgerichtet ist die Eröffnung des Abschnitts 1Kor 14,6–19. Indem Paulus in der Art eines Schulvortrags die Eigenart der Glossolie und ihre Wirkung in der Gemeindeversammlung klärt, begründet er seine Wertung der Glossolie im Vergleich mit der Prophetie (14,2–5). Einleitend heißt es dazu in 14,6:

Νῦν δέ, ἀδελφοί,
ἐὰν ἔλθω πρὸς ὑμᾶς
γλώσσαις λαλῶν,
τί ὑμᾶς ὠφελήσω
ἐὰν μὴ ὑμῖν λαλήσω
ἢ ἐν ἀποκαλύψει
ἢ ἐν γνώσει
ἢ ἐν προφητείᾳ
ἢ διδαχῇ;

Nun aber, Geschwister:
Wenn ich zu euch komme
als einer, der mittels (fremder) Sprachen redet,
was werde ich euch helfen,
wenn ich nicht zu euch rede
aufgrund einer Offenbarung
oder aufgrund einer Erkenntnis
oder in (Form) einer Prophetie
oder einer Lehre?²⁷

Im Ausblick auf seinen geplanten Besuch in der Gemeinde zu Korinth²⁸ lenkt Paulus die Aufmerksamkeit der Adressaten auf die Frage, mit welcher Art des Redens er ihnen von Nutzen sein könne. Dazu bedarf es, wie die Fortsetzung deutlich macht, eines Redens, das in seinem Sinngehalt für andere zu verstehen ist (1Kor 14,9), eine Verbindung mit ihnen herstellt (14,12), sie zum Einstimmen einlädt (14,16) und ihnen zur Auferbauung und Unterweisung dient (14,17.19). All dies trifft auf das Reden in fremden Sprachen an sich nicht zu, wohl aber auf die Redeformen der Prophetie und der Lehre. Für die Prophetie stellt Paulus das in 14,3.24f. explizit fest, für das Lehren ergibt es sich implizit aus 4,17.²⁹

Die Kombination beider Redeweisen erinnert an die Einleitung des Katalogs von Diensten, Gaben und Tätigkeiten, durch die Paulus die Versammlung Gottes ausgezeichnet sieht (1Kor 12,28); hier folgt die Nennung von Propheten und

²⁶ In 1Kor 2,12 identifiziert Paulus „den Geist, der aus Gott (kommt)“ als Urheber dessen, „dass wir um (all) das wissen, was uns von Gott geschenkt wurde“; in 4,1 nennt er die Apostel „Verwalter von Geheimnissen Gottes“ (s. u. nach Anm. 37). Gegenläufig zur Rede vom menschlichen Wissen um die Erkenntnis heißt es übrigens in Röm 8,27, Gott wisse um *τί τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ πνεύματος*.

²⁷ Die Übersetzung folgt Wilk 2023, 182. Die von vielen Handschriften vor *διδαχῇ* bezeugte Präposition *ἐν* dürfte eher, zur formalen Angleichung an das Voranstehende, sekundär eingefügt als sekundär getilgt worden sein.

²⁸ Zu 1Kor 14,6c vgl. 4,19; 11,34; 16,5–7.

²⁹ Zu 1Kor 14,3.24f. s. o. Abschnitt 2. In 4,17 spricht Paulus von einer Erinnerung an seine „Wege“, wie er sie überall, in jeder Gemeinde, lehre – und verweist damit zugleich auf seine Weisungen und sein eigenes Verhalten (vgl. Fee 2014, 205). Vgl. ferner Röm 6,17 und 16,17: Aus beiden Stellen geht hervor, dass die paulinische Lehre auf ein gehorsames Einstimmen zielt, also verständlich und von Nutzen für die Adressaten ist.

Lehrern auf die der an erster Stelle stehenden Apostel.³⁰ Demgemäß dürfte die Wendung *ἐν ἀποκαλύψει ἢ ἐν γνώσει* nicht auf zwei weitere Redeformen verweisen, sondern zwei maßgebliche Quellen solchen Redens nennen, das für die Gemeindeglieder verständlich und nützlich ist.³¹ Der Nutzen aber erwächst daraus, dass in der Offenbarung und der Erkenntnis der Geist Gottes wirkt. Eben dies hebt der Apostel in 2,10f. eigens hervor. Daraus folgt zugleich, dass die beiden Quellen nicht im Sinne eines synthetischen Parallelismus je einer der anschließend genannten Redeweisen Prophetie und Lehre zuzuordnen sind.³² Dass in eine Prophetie auch Erkenntnis einfließt, stellt 13,2 fest; dass eine Offenbarung auch zum Lehren führen kann, geht aus 2,10–13 hervor.³³ Paulus hält in 14,6 also fest, dass der Nutzen seiner verständlichen Prophetie oder Lehre für die Adressaten gerade darin gründet, dass er in beiden Fällen auf der Basis von Offenbarung und Erkenntnis spricht, wie sie nur Gottes Geist zu erschließen vermag.

Dass eine prophetische Äußerung aus einer Offenbarung erwächst, macht mit Blick auf den Verlauf einer Gemeindeversammlung auch 1Kor 14,29f. deutlich:

<i>προφῆται δὲ</i>	(Von den) Propheten (und Prophetinnen) aber
<i>δύο ἢ τρεῖς λαλείτωσαν</i>	sollen zwei oder drei reden,
<i>καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι</i>	und die anderen
<i>διακρινέτωσαν·</i>	sollen (die Eigenart des Gesagten) herausstellen;
⁽³⁰⁾ <i>ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλω</i>	wenn aber (dabei) einem anderen
<i>ἀποκαλυφθῆ καθήμενῳ,</i>	(da)sitzenden (Gemeindeglied etwas) offenbart
	wird,
<i>ὁ πρῶτος σιγάτω.</i>	soll der (oder die) zuvor (Redende) schweigen. ³⁴

Was einzelne aus der Schar der Propheten oder Prophetinnen (1Kor 12,28) in der Gemeindeversammlung vortragen, müssen die anderen kraft ihrer geistlichen Begabung (12,10c) in seiner Eigenart differenzierend beurteilen.³⁵ Solch einen klärenden Austausch zur Bedeutung einer Prophetie gilt es indes zu unterbrechen, wenn währenddessen einem Gemeindeglied (14,31) eine Offenbarung zuteil

³⁰ Siehe o. Tabelle 1.

³¹ Hinsichtlich der Erkenntnis legt das auch der Ausdruck „Erkenntnis-Rede“ (*λόγος γνώσεως*) in 1Kor 12,8b nahe.

³² So etwa Schrage 1990, 390f. samt Anm. 83.

³³ Gegen Dautzenberg 1999, 38–53, ist 1Kor 2,6–16 daher nicht als Stellungnahme zum korinthischen Streben nach Weisheit von der urchristlichen Prophetie her aufzufassen. Kategorial bietet der Passus eher ein Beispiel für die in 12,8a als Geistesgabe identifizierte „Weisheits-Rede“.

³⁴ Die Übersetzung folgt Wilk 2023, 193.

³⁵ Zu diesem Sinn von *διακρίνω* vgl. 1Kor 4,7; 6,5; 11,29. Es geht also nicht um eine Unterscheidung von wahrer und falscher Prophetie (so Zeller 2010, 393). Andererseits hat die v. a. begriffsgeschichtlich begründete Auffassung, der Ausdruck bezeichne ebenso wie *συγκρίνω* einen Interpretationsvorgang (so Dautzenberg 1999, 19–30), an den paulinischen Texten wenig Anhalt.

wird.³⁶ Diese soll dann zunächst laut werden; und das geschieht wiederum in der Form des Prophezeiens.

In der Zusammenschau von 1Kor 13,2 und 14,6.30 zeigt sich, welche Quellen Paulus für das Prophezeien geltend macht. Es basiert darauf, dass ihm selbst, einem oder einer prophetisch begabten Christusgläubigen oder einem anderen Gemeindeglied Wissen um Gottes Geheimnisse zuteilgeworden ist, dass ihnen Gottes Geist etwas offenbart hat oder eine bestimmte Erkenntnis erschlossen hat. Allerdings spricht Paulus in seinen Briefen nicht nur in Bezug auf die Prophetie von Geheimnis, Offenbarung und Erkenntnis. Seine diesbezüglichen Aussagen müssen deshalb im Folgenden genauer daraufhin untersucht werden, ob und ggf. inwieweit sie hinsichtlich des Prophezeiens spezifische Sinnaspekte aufweisen.

4. DIE AUSSAGEN ZU GEHEIMNIS, OFFENBARUNG UND ERKENNTNIS

4.1. Die Aussagen zum Thema „Geheimnis“

Die meisten paulinischen Belege für den Begriff *μυστήριον* finden sich im 1. Korintherbrief. Zunächst identifiziert Paulus mit 1Kor 2,7–10a „Gottes Weisheit“ als das schon vor aller Zeit bereitgelegte, durch Christus erschlossene und durch den Geist den Christusgläubigen zugeeignete eschatologische Heilsgut, benennt die endzeitliche Teilhabe an Gottes ewiger „Herrlichkeit“ als das Ziel dieser Gabe – und schreibt ihr dabei den Charakter eines Geheimnisses zu, das „verborgen“, d. h. menschlichem Begreifen bleibend entzogen ist.³⁷ In 4,1 spricht er dann im Plural von Gottes Geheimnissen als Gegenstand eines ihm anvertrauten Verwalterdienstes. Erneut bezieht er sie auf das Christusgeschehen: Christus ist zum einen – das zeigt der Anschluss an 3,18–23 – der Herr der Christusgläubigen, an dem sich alle Werturteile in Bezug auf den Kosmos auszurichten haben, zum andern der Auftraggeber des apostolischen Dienstes an jenen Geheimnissen und somit auch der einzige, der über dessen Wahrnehmung urteilen kann (4,4f.). Der Sachbezug der Geheimnisse auf das Verständnis des Christusgeschehens wird im

³⁶ Zu 1Kor 14,31 s. o. bei Anm. 16f. – Dass eine Prophetie nach 12,10; 14,5 nicht übersetzt werden muss, besagt noch nicht, dass sie sich von selbst erklärt (gegen Müller 2018, 167). Dies wird schon daran deutlich, dass Paulus selbst die Kundgabe von Geheimnissen in 15,51–57 und Röm 11,25–32 mit erläuternden Ausführungen verknüpft (dazu s. u. bei Anm. 72).

³⁷ Vgl. Wilk 2023, 39f. Zu diesem Gebrauch des Begriffs *μυστήριον* vgl. v. a. 1QS XI,4–7: „... Denn Gottes Wahrheit, sie ⁽⁵⁾ ist der Fels meiner Schritte ..., aus dem Quell seiner Gerechtigkeit kommt mein Recht als Licht in mein Herz aus seinen Wunder-Geheimnissen. Ewiges ⁽⁶⁾ schaute mein Auge: Wissen, das verborgen ist vor Mensch(en), Erkenntnis und Klugheit, (verborgen) vor Menschengöttern, Quell von Gerechtigkeit und Hort von ⁽⁷⁾ Stärke mit (der) Quelle von Herrlichkeit, (verborgen) vor Fleisches-Rat. Denen, die Gott erwählt hat, gab er sie zu ewigem Besitz ...“ (Übersetzung in Anlehnung an Maier 1995, 198, und Lohse 1986, 40f. [Kursivierung F. W.]).

Übrigen durch 9,17f. bestätigt, insofern sich dort das Bild des Verwalters auf den paulinischen Dienst am Evangelium bezieht.

Von diesen Aussagen her dürfte *μυστήριον* sekundär in den Text von 1Kor 2,1 eingedrungen sein. Angesichts des paulinischen Sprachgebrauchs ist *μαρτύριον* hier – trotz der begrifflichen Anknüpfung an 1,6 – die schwierigere und daher wohl ältere Lesart.³⁸ Dafür spricht umgekehrt auch, dass die Rede vom Geheimnis die Aussage „in die Sphäre des Kolosser- und Epheser-Briefes“ rückt.³⁹

An 1Kor 13,2⁴⁰ knüpft Paulus dann in 15,51f. an, indem er die Auskunft darüber, wie die bei der Parusie lebenden Christusgläubigen in das Auferstehungsgeschehen einbezogen werden, als Mitteilung eines Geheimnisses kennzeichnet. Eine Parallele dazu bietet Röm 11,25–27; auch hier eröffnet der Apostel den Adressaten einen Einblick in eine spezifische Ereignisfolge der endzeitlichen Heilsvollendung: die Rettung ganz Israels als Konsequenz der zeitlichen Beschränkung der partiellen Verhärtung Israels gegenüber dem Evangelium, die mit dem „Einzug“ der „Fülle der Weltvölker“ aufgehoben wird.⁴¹ In 11,33–35 betont er daraufhin die Unergründlichkeit des heilsgeschichtlichen Handelns Gottes, das, wie 11,36 festhält, von der Schöpfung bis zur Vollendung der Welt reicht.

Anders ausgerichtet ist demgegenüber der Beleg in 1Kor 14,2. Er beschreibt menschliches Reden, das sich in Engelssprache vollzieht,⁴² als ein auf Gott gerichtetes, ganz im Raum des Geistes verortetes und daher geheimnisvolles, also in seinem Sinngehalt dem Verstehen von Menschen unzugängliches Reden. Letzteres gilt auch für die redende Person selbst – es sei denn, sie verfügt zusätzlich über die Gabe, Engelssprache übersetzen zu können.⁴³ Immerhin dient solches Reden nach 14,4 der Selbsterbauung, und nach 14,13–17 vollzieht sich in ihm ein Lob- oder Dankgebet. Die Identifizierung seines Inhalts als „Geheimnisse“ dürfte deshalb anzeigen, dass auch ein Reden in Engelssprache die in Christus gestiftete Beziehung zwischen Gott und Menschenwelt behandelt.⁴⁴

In der Zusammenschau der Belege zeigt sich: Generell bezeichnet *μυστήριον* in den Paulusbriefen eine aus der Sphäre Gottes stammende und von dort aus in den Kosmos hineinreichende Größe, die als solche zwar von Menschen bemerkt

³⁸ Gegen Metzger 1994, 480. Wolff 1996, 48, weist mit Recht darauf hin, dass „*μαρτύριον* im Corpus Paulinum selten begegnet (6mal) und sonst nie in Verbindung mit *θεοῦ*“.

³⁹ Vgl. Weiß 1910, 46, mit Verweisen auf Kol 1,26f.; 2,2; 4,3; Eph 3,3f.9; 6,19 (der gleichwohl die Lesart *μυστήριον* vorzieht).

⁴⁰ Dazu s. o. in Abschnitt 3.

⁴¹ Vgl. dazu Wilk 1998, 66–72.

⁴² Zum Bezug des mit *λαλέω* o. ä. verknüpften Singulars *γλώσσα* in 1Kor 14,2.4.9.13f.19.26f. auf die in 13,1 eigens erwähnte „Sprache der Engel“ vgl. Wilk 2023, 167.183f.

⁴³ Vgl. 1Kor 14,5.13 und dazu 12,10e.30c.

⁴⁴ Der „Einblick ... in die eschatologische Ausrichtung des Weltganzen“ (Strobel 1989, 214) ist also in der Tat auch in 1Kor 14,2 vorausgesetzt. Er wird aber durch das Reden in Engelssprache kaum als solcher ausgesagt; dieser Annahme steht die Kennzeichnung der Glossolalie als eines Redens zu Gott entgegen (vgl. Thiselton 2000, 1085).

wird, ihrem Begreifen jedoch prinzipiell entzogen ist. Dabei ist der so gefüllte Begriff konsequent auf das in Christus sich realisierende eschatologische Heil bezogen. Konkret bezeichnet er die Rettung stiftenden Güter oder Vollzüge, die Menschen im Zuge des Christusgeschehens zuteilwerden. Durch den Dienst des Apostels werden diese Güter und Vollzüge für Christusgläubige auch in ihrem Sinngehalt erschlossen. Inhaltlich ist dabei entweder das tiefere Verständnis der Teilhabe an dem in Christus gestifteten, eschatologischen Heil im Blick – so in 2,7–10 und 4,1 – oder das Wissen um einen spezifischen Vorgang im Kontext des Endgeschehens – so in 15,51f. und Röm 11,25–27. Beim Reden in Engels Sprache hingegen wird weder den redenden noch den zuhörenden Menschen verständlich, inwiefern es lobend oder dankend auf dieses Heil verweist.

Da Paulus mit 1Kor 2,13 das apostolische Reden von Gottes geheimnisvoller Weisheit dem Lehren zuordnet, liegt die Verknüpfung von Geheimnis und Lehre auch für 4,1 nahe.⁴⁵ Angesichts der kategorialen Unterscheidung von Lehre und Prophetie in 12,28f.; 14,6; Röm 12,6f. dürfte es also in 1Kor 13,2 mit Blick auf die Prophetie um solche Geheimnisse gehen, die, wie in 15,51f. und Röm 11,25–27, den Prozess der Vollendung des Heilshandelns Gottes in Christus betreffen.

4.2. Die Aussagen zum Thema „Offenbarung“

Wiederholt bezeichnen das Substantiv ἀποκάλυψις und das Verb ἀποκαλύπτω innerhalb der Paulusbriefe die Einbeziehung von Menschen in den Ereigniszusammenhang von Parusie, Endgericht und Heilsvollendung oder in einzelne seiner Elemente.⁴⁶ Gleichsam das Gegenstück dazu bieten Stellen, an denen vom gegenwärtigen Offenbar-Werden der Weisheit Gottes, des Glaubens oder der Gottesgerechtigkeit als einem Wirksam-Werden der rettenden Kraft des Christusgeschehens an glaubenden Menschen die Rede ist.⁴⁷ In 2Kor 3,18 kann Paulus auch davon sprechen, dass Christusgläubige die Herrlichkeit des Herrn auf einem „enthüllten“ Gesicht, nämlich dem Angesicht Jesu Christi (4,6), wie in einem Spiegel betrachten und so Anteil an ihr erhalten.⁴⁸ Die negative Folie zu solchen Vorgängen bildet das seinerseits in der Gegenwart verortete Offenbar-Werden des

⁴⁵ Dafür spricht auch die Aufnahme des Motivs der Beurteilung aus 1Kor 2,15b in 4,3a-b.

⁴⁶ Vgl. Röm 2,5 (Tag des Zorns und der Offenbarung des gerechten Gerichts Gottes); 8,18f. (Offenbarung der endzeitlichen Herrlichkeit an den Christusgläubigen als [aus der Vergänglichkeit befreien] Söhne Gottes); 1Kor 1,7 (Offenbarung unseres Herrn Jesus Christus [am Tag des Herrn]); 3,13 (Offenbar-Werden des [Gerichts-]Tages mit Feuer, das die Werke [der am Gemeindeaufbau Beteiligten] prüfen wird).

⁴⁷ Vgl. 1Kor 2,10 (s. o. bei Anm. 37); Gal 3,23 sowie Röm 1,17 (und dazu Wilk 2010, 276f.). In 2Kor 4,3f. fasst Paulus den entgegengesetzten Tatbestand ins Auge, dass das Evangelium einigen Menschen verhüllt bleibt, und schreibt ihm dem Wirken des „Gottes dieses Äons“ zu.

⁴⁸ Vgl. Wilk 2023a, 444f. Damit korrespondiert in 2Kor 3 die Rede von der „Enthüllung“ des Sachverhalts, dass das Todesurteil, das mit der Verlesung der alten Bundesverfügung über Israeliten ergeht, in Christus unwirksam wird (3,13f. nebst 3,7a.9a.).

Sachverhalts, dass menschliche Gottlosigkeit und Ungerechtigkeit unter Gottes Zorn fällt, Gott sie also im endzeitlichen Gericht verurteilen wird.⁴⁹

Mehrfach spricht Paulus sodann von persönlichen Offenbarungserlebnissen. Dies betrifft seine Berufung zum Verkündiger des Evangeliums in der Völkerwelt ebenso wie sein Eintreten für die Wahrheit dieses Evangeliums beim Apostelkonvent in Jerusalem.⁵⁰ Ferner verweist er in 2Kor 12,1–7a auf das Widerfahrnis einer Himmelsreise als Beleg für die „Schauungen und Offenbarungen des Herrn“, die ihm als „Mensch in Christus“ zuteilgeworden sind; er stellt freilich in seinem Bericht zugleich klar, dass er anderen weder über das Geschaute noch das Gehörte Auskunft geben kann. Anders verhält es sich mit dem Herrenwort, das ihm nach 12,7b–9c auf seine dreimalige Bitte hin, der Herr möge ihn von einem „Stachel im Fleisch“ befreien, zugekommen ist: Was ihm da der Herr gesagt hat, teilt Paulus den Korinthern mit, wird daran doch deutlich, dass er sich als Apostel Christi allein seiner Schwachheiten rühmen soll, weil gerade in ihnen die Kraft des Christus zur Entfaltung kommt (12,9d–10).⁵¹

Schließlich fasst Paulus an zwei Stellen eine Offenbarung an Gemeindeglieder ins Auge. Gegenüber den Adressaten des Philipperbriefs äußert er die Zuversicht, Gott werde ihnen „offenbaren“, was sie jetzt womöglich noch nicht erfassen – dass „Vollkommenheit“ in der Ausrichtung auf das himmlische Ziel der christusgläubigen Existenz bestehe.⁵² In 1Kor 14,26 stellt er die Offenbarung in die Mitte einer Liste diverser in die Gemeindeversammlung eingebrachter Redebeiträge: Loblied, Lehre, (Engels-) Sprache⁵³ und Übersetzung. Da der Begriff „Offenbarung“ in 14,30 aufgegriffen wird, dürfte er in 14,26 stellvertretend für eine Prophetie stehen, die von einem regelmäßig prophetisch tätigen oder auch einem anderen Gemeindeglied vorgetragen wird.⁵⁴ Dabei macht der Nachsatz 14,26i deutlich, dass solches auf Offenbarung gründendes Reden seinerseits zur Förderung des Gottesverhältnisses der übrigen Gemeindeglieder dient.⁵⁵

Überschaut man den Befund, so zeigt sich: Wie beim „Geheimnis“ geht es auch bei „Offenbarung“ um die im Zusammenhang des Christusgeschehens erfolgende Verbindung der Sphäre Gottes mit dem Kosmos. Konkret bezeichnet der Ausdruck Vorgänge, durch die Menschen Anteil erhalten an dem und/oder Einblick gewinnen in das Heil, das Gott in Christus gestiftet hat. Diese Vorgänge erstrecken sich von der glaubenden Erkenntnis der Christuswürde Jesu und der

⁴⁹ Vgl. Röm 1,18 und dazu Lohse 2003, 85f.

⁵⁰ Vgl. einerseits Gal 1,12.16, andererseits 2,2 (samt 2,5) und dazu Heiningen 1996, 241f. (mit Verweis auf Apg 16,9f.; 22,17–21 als plausible Analogien).

⁵¹ Vgl. dazu Schmeller 2015, 321–324.

⁵² Vgl. Phil 3,15 und dazu Walter 1998, 83.

⁵³ Siehe o. Anm. 42.

⁵⁴ Man beachte das „jeder“ zu Beginn von 1Kor 14,26d. Zu 14,30f. s. o. nach Anm. 15 und bei Anm. 34–36.

⁵⁵ Siehe o. bei Anm. 12.

durch ihn erschlossenen Rettung bis zu deren Vollendung im Gefolge der Parusie. Im Kontext der gegenwärtig-irdischen Existenz von Christusgläubigen zielt solch ein Vorgang regelmäßig darauf, dass sie die ihnen von Gott eröffnete Einsicht anderen Menschen mitteilen. Anders verhält es sich nur bei der besonderen Vision und Audition des Paulus, von der 2Kor 12,1–7a handelt; hier erfolgt ebenso eine auf das ‚eingeweihte‘ Individuum beschränkte, dabei auch seinem eigenen Begreifen entzogene Verbindung mit der himmlischen Welt wie beim Reden in Engelsprache nach 1Kor 14,2.

Menschliches *Reden aufgrund von Offenbarung* kann daher in verschiedenen Formen stattfinden: in der Verkündigung des Evangeliums (Röm 1,16f.), in einer dessen Verständnis vertiefenden Lehre (1Kor 2,10–13), im Streiten für die Wahrheit des Evangeliums (Gal 2,2–5), innerhalb der auf die Anerkennung des paulinischen Apostolats zielenden „Narrenrede“ (2Kor 11,16–12,10) in einem Auditionsbericht (12,7b–9c) – oder auch in einer Prophetie (1Kor 14,26.29f.).⁵⁶ Dabei verweisen bis auf die letztgenannte Stelle alle Belege auf Äußerungen des Apostels. Sein eigenes Reden aufgrund von Offenbarung (14,6) kann sich also im Prinzip auf sämtliche Aspekte und Etappen des Heilshandelns Gottes in Christus beziehen. Für die aus einer Offenbarung hervorgehende Prophetie gilt das angesichts der kategorialen Unterscheidung von der Lehre jedoch nur in eingeschränktem Maß. Eine inhaltliche Eingrenzung solcher Offenbarungen auf die künftige Vollendung jenes Heilshandelns legt der Textbefund aber nicht nahe. Vielmehr sprechen sowohl der Vergleich mit den das Leben des Apostels leitenden Offenbarungen in Gal 2,2 und 2Kor 12,9 als auch die kompositorische Verknüpfung der Aufzählungen in 1Kor 14,6 und 14,26 mit den wirkungsbezogenen Aussagen in 14,3f.23–25.29–31⁵⁷ für die Annahme, dass Paulus in 14,6. 26.29f. primär solche Offenbarungen an einzelne Christusgläubige im Blick hat, die das Dasein der anderen an der Gemeindeversammlung teilnehmenden Personen und dessen Ausgestaltung in der Beziehung zu Gott betreffen.

4.3. Die Aussagen zum Thema „Erkenntnis“

Grundlegend geht es bei menschlicher Gotteserkenntnis paulinischem Sprachgebrauch zufolge darum, aus dem schöpferischen und heilsgeschichtlichen Handeln Gottes heraus Gott und Jesus in der ihnen je eigenen Würde zu erkennen und anzuerkennen: Gott als den einen, einzigen Gott, der sich als Vater der Menschen erweist und im Evangelium die eigene Gerechtigkeit offenbar macht, Jesus als

⁵⁶ Somit bestätigt sich das oben nach Anm. 26 entwickelte Verständnis der Wendung *ἐν ἀποκαλύψει* in 1Kor 14,6: Sie benennt eine mögliche Quelle paulinischen Redens gegenüber der Gemeinde, das die Form der Prophetie oder der Lehre annehmen kann.

⁵⁷ Dazu s. o. Abschnitt 2.

den einen Herrn und Christus, durch den Gott die neue Schöpfung ins Werk gesetzt hat und der Vollendung zuführt.⁵⁸ Solche Erkenntnis, die sich natürlich mit dem Wissen um das von Gott geschenkte Heilsgut und das von Gott gebotene Tun verbindet, weckt allein der Geist (1Kor 2,11f.); sie schließt zudem ein sachgerechtes Verständnis der eigenen Existenz ‚in Christus‘ und ihrer heilsgeschichtlichen Verankerung ein.⁵⁹ Da die Wurzel derartigen Erkennens darin liegt, als Mensch allererst von Gott erkannt und anerkannt zu sein (Gal 4,9), zielt es inmitten seiner Fragmentarität auf ein Leben in der Liebe (1Kor 8,3; 13,12f.).

Ausdruck findet menschliche Gotteserkenntnis darüber hinaus in einem seinerseits geistgewirkten Reden aus und von dieser Erkenntnis.⁶⁰ Dass solches Reden in Form der Prophetie erfolgen kann, rückt außer 1Kor 13,2 nur noch der nachfolgende Passus 13,8–10 in den Blick. Es heißt dort:

<i>ἡ ἀγάπη οὐδέποτε πίπτει·</i>	Die Liebe fällt niemals (dahin).
<i>εἴτε δὲ προφητεῖαι,</i>	Seien es aber Prophetien,
<i>καταργηθήσονται·</i>	sie werden bedeutungslos werden;
<i>εἴτε γλώσσαι, παύσονται·</i>	seien es (fremde) Sprachen, sie werden aufhören;
<i>εἴτε γνώσις, καταργηθήσεται.</i>	sei es Erkenntnis, sie wird bedeutungslos werden.
⁽⁹⁾ <i>ἐκ μέρους γὰρ γινώσκομεν</i>	Denn bruchstückhaft erkennen
<i>καὶ ἐκ μέρους προφητεύομεν·</i>	und bruchstückhaft prophezeien wir;
⁽¹⁰⁾ <i>ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ τὸ τέλειον,</i>	wenn aber das Vollkommene (herbei) gekommen ist
<i>τὸ ἐκ μέρους</i>	wird das Bruchstückhafte
<i>καταργηθήσεται.</i>	bedeutungslos werden. ⁶¹

Da der Abschnitt Prophetie und Erkenntnis in 1Kor 13,8b-c.f-g parallelisiert und beide Phänomene in 13,9 verknüpft, dürfte hier von einem aus der Erkenntnis hervorgehenden Prophezeien die Rede sein. Dabei legt der Verweis auf die Heilsvollendung die Annahme nahe, dass jene Erkenntnis das auf diese Vollendung hinführende heilsgeschichtliche Handeln Gottes betrifft. In dieselbe Richtung weisen die Aussage zur Beschränkung der Schau des Göttlichen in 13,12 sowie

⁵⁸ Vgl. 1Kor 8,1.4–7a (und dazu Wilk 2023, 105–110); 2Kor 2,14 (und dazu Wilk 2020, 150); 4,6 (s. o. bei Anm. 48); 10,5, ferner zur Gotteserkenntnis Röm 11,33 sowie unter negativem Blickwinkel 1,20f. (und dazu Wilk 2011, 128); 1,28.32; 2,4; 10,2f. (und dazu Wilk 2010, 278); 1Kor 1,21; 2,14; 15,34, zur Christuserkenntnis 1Kor 2,16 (und dazu Wilk 2019, 28–32); 2Kor 5,16; 8,9 sowie unter negativem Blickwinkel 1Kor 2,8.

⁵⁹ Vgl. Röm 6,6; 2Kor 13,5; Phil 3,10 und Gal 3,7.

⁶⁰ Vgl. 1Kor 12,8b, ferner für die Christusgläubigen zu Korinth 1,5, für Paulus und sein Team 2,12f., implizit auch 2Kor 2,14 (vgl. 2,17) und 4,6 (vgl. 4,5).

⁶¹ Die Übersetzung folgt Wilk 2023, 175.

die Rede von der Tiefe der Erkenntnis Gottes in dem an Röm 11,25–27.28–32 anknüpfenden Gotteslob 11,33(–36).⁶² Insoweit geistgewirkte Erkenntnis zur Quelle von Prophetie wird, richtet sie sich also allem Anschein nach auf Gott als Regent und Vollender der Heilsgeschichte.

4.4. *Auswertung*

Überschaut man den Textbefund, so ergibt sich ein recht klares Bild zum Sachgehalt christusgläubigen Prophezeiens. Kundgetan werden darin

- „Geheimnisse“, die den Prozess der Vollendung des Heilshandelns Gottes in Christus betreffen,
- „Offenbarungen“ zur Auswirkung des göttlichen Heilshandelns auf die Existenz und Lebensführung von Menschen in der Beziehung zu Gott,
- „Erkenntnisse“ hinsichtlich des auf die Vollendung der Heilsgeschichte hin-führenden Handelns Gottes.

Insgesamt geht es in der Prophetie also darum, durch Gottes Geist ermächtigt Einblicke in das geschichtliche Heilshandeln Gottes in Christus sowie dessen Vollendung zu eröffnen und aufzuzeigen, wie Menschen ihr Dasein im Horizont dieses Heilshandelns wahrzunehmen und zu gestalten haben.⁶³

5. EIGENART UND SCHRIFTBEZUG CHRISTUSGLÄUBIGER PROPHETIE NACH PAULUS

Der Befund zur Verankerung christusgläubigen Prophezeiens in bestimmten Geheimnissen, Offenbarungen und Erkenntnissen (Abschnitte 3–4) harmoniert gut mit den Ergebnissen zu den Wirkungen derartiger Prophetie (Abschnitt 2). Gerade indem sie Menschen anleitet, Gott als Regent und Vollender der durch Christus bestimmten Heilsgeschichte anzuerkennen, ihnen Einsichten zu einzelnen Etappen oder Aspekten dieser Geschichte vermittelt und daraus Konsequenzen für das Verständnis und die Ausgestaltung der menschlichen Existenz zieht, bietet sie ihnen Orientierung für Glaube und Lebenspraxis und fördert auf diese Weise ihre Gottesbeziehung.

⁶² Zu 1Kor 13,12 vgl. Wilk 2023, 179f. (mit Verweis auf die Rede vom „Schauen“ des Amos in Am 8,2[1]), zu Röm 11,25–27 s. o. bei Anm. 41.

⁶³ Insofern stellt Merklein 1998, 402f., (aufgrund einer Auslegung zumal von 1Thess 4,15–18 und 1Kor 15,50–58) zu Recht fest: Die Prophetie bietet Einsichten, die sich „nicht mehr aus dem Kerygma entwickeln lassen“ und als solche „nicht nur auf einen Zuwachs an theologischer Erkenntnis“ zielen, „sondern“ angesichts „der Konfrontation mit aktuellen Problemstellungen“ auch „auf die Vermittlung neuer Perspektiven, die es ermöglichen, die Gegenwart zu bewältigen“.

Dieses Gesamtbild ähnelt mit seiner Verknüpfung von Aussagen zu Quellen und Wirkungen prophetischer Äußerungen einem bestimmten Element des Bildes, das in 1QpHab vom „Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit“ gezeichnet wird. In II,6–10 und VII,1–5 heißt es:

(II,6) ... Sie sind die, die Gewal[t tun am Bu]nd, die nicht *glauben*,⁽⁷⁾ wenn sie all das hören, was kom[men wird über] das letzte Geschlecht, aus dem Mund⁽⁸⁾ des Priesters, dem *Gott gegeben hat* in [sein Herz *Einsi*]cht, um zu deuten all [d]ie⁽⁹⁾ Worte seiner Knechte, der Propheten[, dur]ch die Gott *mitgeteilt* hat das⁽¹⁰⁾ alles, was kommt über sein Volk und [sein Land] ...

(VII,1) Und es sprach Gott zu Habakuk, er solle schreiben das, was kommt⁽²⁾ über das letzte Geschlecht. Und die *Vollendung* der Zeit hat (Gott) ihm nicht zu *erkennen gegeben*.⁽³⁾ Und was (die Schrift) sagt: „Damit eile, der in ihm liest“ –⁽⁴⁾ seine Deutung (bezieht sich) auf den Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit, dem Gott zu *erkennen gegeben* hat alle *Geheimnisse* der Worte seiner Knechte, der Propheten ...⁶⁴

Dass Gott jenem Lehrer mit Blick auf die Vollendung der Zeit Einsicht verliehen und Geheimnisse zu erkennen gegeben hat, damit er sie auf Anerkennung und Bewährung in der Bundesbeziehung zu Gott zielend weitersage, entspricht recht weitgehend dem, was Paulus über christusgläubige Prophetie schreibt.⁶⁵ Allerdings wird der Lehrer nicht als Prophet präsentiert, sondern als Deuter dessen, was in den biblischen Prophetenbüchern geschrieben steht. Die Differenz ist jedoch nur auf den ersten Blick frappant. Bei näherem Hinsehen eröffnet gerade dieser Befund einen Zugang zum Verständnis der paulinischen Aussagen.

Erstens lässt sich von ihm her nachvollziehen, dass der Apostel das in Rede stehende Tun von Christusgläubigen – und nicht zuletzt sein eigenes – ebenso als „Prophetie“ bezeichnet wie das, was in den „heiligen Schriften“ (Röm 1,2) dokumentiert ist:⁶⁶ In beiden Fällen ergreifen Menschen das Wort aufgrund einer ihnen zuteilgewordenen göttlichen Offenbarung hinsichtlich des eschatologischen Handelns Gottes in der Geschichte. In der Tat stellt Paulus christusgläubiges Prophezeien in 1Kor 14,24f. als Analogie zu biblischer Prophetie dar. Die entworfene Szene erinnert nämlich in Aufbau und Wortlaut an Dan 2Th. Auf ein Gebet zu Gott hin, so heißt es dort, „wurde Daniel ... das Geheimnis offenbart“, das mit dem Traum des Königs Nebukadnezar gegeben war (2,18f.). Nachdem er ihm daraufhin die Bedeutung seines Traums erklärt hatte, „fiel der König Nebukadnezar auf sein Angesicht und beugte vor Daniel die Knie ...“⁽⁴⁷⁾ und ... sagte: „In Wahr-

⁶⁴ Übersetzung in Anlehnung an Maier 1995, 161, und Lohse 1986, 234f. (Kursivierung F. W.).

⁶⁵ Die Ähnlichkeit wird durch die oben notierte Analogie zwischen Paulus und dem mit 1QpHab verwandten Text IQS im Verständnis des Geheimnisses (s. o. Anm. 37) noch vertieft.

⁶⁶ S. o. Anm. 3.

heit, euer Gott, er ist Gott der Götter und Herr der Könige und einer, der Geheimnisse offenbart ...“ (Dan 2,46f.).⁶⁷

Auch die Mitteilung zum Parusiesgeschehen in 1Thess 4,15–17 wird durch die Einleitungsformel *ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου* als Vorgang in Analogie zu biblischer Prophetie gekennzeichnet; er darf daher ebenfalls als Beispiel für eine christusgläubige Prophetie gelten,⁶⁸ auch wenn weitere begriffliche Hinweise darauf fehlen.

Zweitens legt sich auch für die von Paulus in den Blick genommene christusgläubige Prophetie ein genereller Bezug auf die Schrift nahe. Dafür spricht schon der Sachverhalt, dass er die beiden wesentlichen Wirkungen solcher Prophetie nach 1Kor 14,3.31⁶⁹ andernorts auch und gerade als Wirkungen eines kundigen Hörens auf die Schrift kennzeichnet: Gemäß Röm 15,3f. gründet die Hoffnung der Christusgläubigen, dass ihr Tun in der Nachfolge des Christus sein Ziel erreicht, auf der „Ermunterung durch die Schriften (*παράκλησις τῶν γραφῶν*)“, wie sie an dieser Stelle zumal durch den biblischen Kontext des zitierten Gebetsrufs aus Ps 68[69],10 erfolgt.⁷⁰ Nach 1Kor 4,6 wiederum sollen die Adressaten des ersten Korintherbriefs anhand der schriftbasierten Ausführungen in 3,5–4,5 *lernen*, bei der Beurteilung der Apostel das Maß nicht zu überschreiten, das durch die Schrift – in diesem Fall: die in 3,19f. angeführten Zitate aus Hiob 5,13 und Ps 93[94],11 mit ihrem vernichtenden Urteil Gottes über die Weisheit der Welt – festgesetzt worden ist.⁷¹ Ferner gründet Paulus die Mitteilung eines Geheimnisses, das den Prozess der Vollendung des göttlichen Heilshandelns in Christus betrifft, in Röm 11,25–27 ebenso auf die Schrift wie in 1Kor 15,51–57: An der erstgenannten Stelle bildet das paulinische Mischzitat aus Jes 59,20f. und 27,9 selbst einen wesentlichen Bestandteil des Geheimnisses, das er dann in Röm 11,28–32 heilsgeschichtlich einordnet; im zweiten Fall stellt die Zitatkombination aus

⁶⁷ Übersetzung in Anlehnung an Karrer / Kraus 2010, 1429; die begrifflichen und motivischen Übereinstimmungen mit 1Kor 14,24f. (s. o. bei Anm. 18) sind kursiviert (F. W.). Nach der LXX heißt es in Dan 2,47, Gott sei „der, der allein verborgene Geheimnisse aufscheinen lässt“. Zu Daniel als Prophet vgl. Mt 24,15. – Zudem entspricht die in 1Kor 14,25 dem ungläubigen oder unkundigen Gast zugeschriebene Aussage weitgehend dem Ausspruch der „Männer von Seboin“, die nach Jes 45,14f. zu Israel „übergehen“ und dort zur Anbetung Gottes finden (vgl. dazu Wilk 2019, 37f.).

⁶⁸ Vgl. Reinmuth 1998, 143, mit Verweis auf 3Kgt [1Kön] 21,35; Sir 48,3. Zum Schriftbezug von 1Thess 4,13–5,3 (konkret: dem Rekurs auf Jes 26) vgl. Wilk 1998, 327f.; Wilk 2024, 167f. – Dass Paulus auch in Röm 16,20a als Prophet redet (so etwa Müller, „Frühchristliche Prophetie und die Johannesoffenbarung“, 169), lässt sich von der literarischen Einbettung der Ankündigung her hingegen nicht wahrscheinlich machen.

⁶⁹ Dazu s. o. Abschnitt 2.

⁷⁰ Vgl. Wilk 2014, 563–576. – Zu der in 1Kor 14,3 außerdem genannten *παραμυθία* als Wirkung schriftbasierter Unterweisung vgl. 2Makk 15,9: „Und indem er sie ermutigte (*παραμυθούμενος*) aus dem Gesetz und den Propheten ..., machte er sie noch entschlossener.“

⁷¹ Vgl. Wilk 2019a, 89–102. Der 1. Korintherbrief leitet als Ganzes die Adressaten an, die Schrift als Maßstab ihrer Existenz ‚in Christus‘ zu begreifen und zu nutzen; vgl. dazu Wilk 2019a, 97–106; Wilk 2023, 8f. Zum „Lernen“ aus der Schrift nach dem Zeugnis des Neuen Testaments insgesamt vgl. Karl Heinrich Rengstorff, „*μανθάνω*“: *TWNT* 4:409–411.

Jes 25,8 und Hos 13,14 ausweislich ihrer Erläuterung in 1Kor 15,54–57 das Fundament für den Grundsatz 15,53 dar, mit dem das in 15,51f. mitgeteilte Geheimnis ausgewertet wird.⁷²

Dass christusgläubige Prophetie sich Paulus zufolge formal im Modus der Schriftauslegung vollzieht oder in jedem Fall explizit auf Schriftworte rekurriert, lässt sich aus dem präsentierten Befund nicht ableiten. Den paulinischen Angaben gemäß ist aber ein fundamentaler Bezug auf die Schrift für diese Art der Prophetie charakteristisch. Insofern sie Geheimnisse hinsichtlich des Prozesses der Vollen- dung des heilsgeschichtlichen Handelns Gottes in Christus erschließt, Offen- barungen zur Auswirkung dieses göttlichen Handelns auf die menschliche Exi- stenz kundtut, zur Erkenntnis Gottes als Regent und Vollender der Heils- geschichte führt und damit die Adressaten anleitet, ihr Dasein in diesem Horizont wahrzunehmen und zu gestalten, bringt sie die Schrift und nicht zuletzt deren prophetische Dimension⁷³ zur Geltung – formal und inhaltlich als geistgewirktes Zeugnis jenes heilsgeschichtlichen Gotteshandelns, intentional als Medium der Vergewisserung der in diesem Handeln begründeten individuellen und kollek- tiven Identität der Christusgläubigen. Für die von Paulus selbst in seinen Briefen übermittelten Prophetien gilt das in besonders deutlicher Weise.

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⁷² Vgl. zum Ersten Wilk 1998, 56–58 und 65–67, zum Zweiten Wilk 2023, 230–232.

⁷³ Zu dieser Dimension, die Paulus der Schrift generell zumisst, vgl. Wilk 2013, 487.

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