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The Servant of the Lord""": A Particular Group of Jews in Egypt According to the Old Greek of Isaiah. Some Comments on LXX Isa 49,1-6 and Related Passages""

Kooij, A. van der

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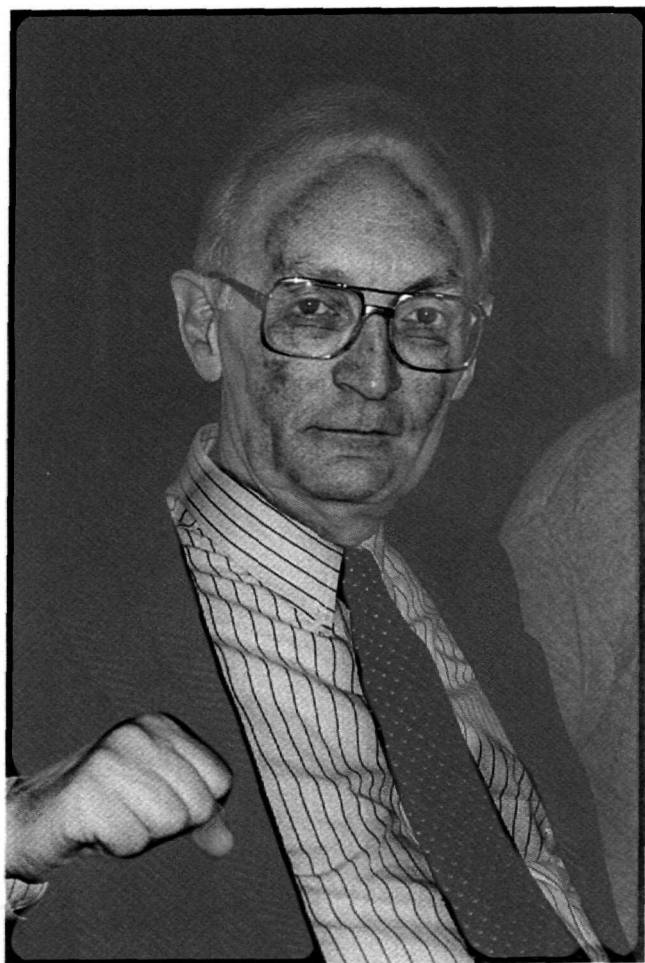
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STUDIES
IN THE BOOK OF ISAIAH

FESTSCHRIFT WILLEM A.M. BEUKEN

EDITED BY

J. VAN RUITEN AND M. VERVENNE



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a number of eminent specialists in the study of the Book of Isaiah. Their creativity and prompt submission of manuscripts is deserving of much praise. Our continued gratitude must be extended to the editor of the *Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium* series together with Leuven University Press and Uitgeverij Peeters who made the publication of this volume possible. Finally, the editors would like to express their appreciation for the efficient and accommodating cooperation which continues to exist with the staff of the *Orientaliste* who were responsible for the Festschrift's printing.

To conclude, the range, scope and number of the contributions published here are an eloquent testimony to the esteem in which Wim Beuken is held by biblical scholars throughout the world. It has been the privilege of many to have known and continue to know him as an extraordinarily considerate and faithful colleague: faithful to the *Societas Iesu*, faithful to his family, and faithful to the many friends who have encountered him along the way and experienced some of his passion for the Hebrew Scriptures and the exegesis of the hidden world contained therein, especially the Book of Isaiah.

Jacques VAN RUITEN
Marc VERVENNE

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Beuken's interpretation of the quotation in 20,32 has proved to be difficult to accept. In an argumentation based on a series of observations which cannot be repeated here, the present contribution has demonstrated that Ezekiel's opponents were voicing an arrogant claim, and not an exasperated complaint. Furthermore, a closer reading of the context has led us to the growing conviction that, at least in the dispute as an originally independent unit and perhaps also in the final text, those who voiced the said arrogant claim must have been inhabitants of Jerusalem.

The promise of the gathering of the dispersed raised questions concerning the situation of the final editor. Our suggestion is that a distinction should be made between the circumstances in which he lived and those of Ezekiel. The editor was most likely operating in a diaspora situation. When, in a literary fiction, he let Ezekiel address the problems of his diaspora public, he was obliged to do so within the framework of the traditional localisation of Ezekiel. While he used Ezekiel's style and vocabulary, several traces, nevertheless, reveal his own co-ordinates.

Some of my views are different from those of W. Beuken vintage 1972. His interpretation of Ez 20 may have developed since then. It cannot be denied, however, that his stylistic and intertextual analysis of 1972 remains exemplary.

van 't Sestichstraat 34
B-3000 Leuven

Johan LUST

"THE SERVANT OF THE LORD":
A PARTICULAR GROUP OF JEWS IN EGYPT
ACCORDING TO THE OLD GREEK OF ISAIAH
SOME COMMENTS ON LXX ISA 49,1-6 AND RELATED PASSAGES

I

In his commentary on Isaiah 40–55¹ Wim Beuken has made a very stimulating and important contribution to the discussion about the passages that deal with the Songs of "the Servant of the Lord", by interpreting these passages within the whole of the Hebrew (Masoretic) text of Deutero-Isaiah. This contribution to the volume in honour of our jubilee will not go into this exegetical discussion, but it will deal with aspects of the interpretation of the Servant of the Lord as reflected in the first and oldest translation of the Book of Isaiah, the Old Greek of Isaiah (hereafter: LXX Isa[iah]). In an excursus on the history of interpretation regarding the passages about the Servant, Beuken introduces LXX Isaiah as "de eerste interpretator van de Knecht, uiteraard in de context van Jes. 40–55 zelf"². In line with other scholars he further states that in LXX Isaiah the Servant of the Lord is seen as "Israel" in the first and second 'song', but as an individual, presumably the prophet himself, in the third and fourth 'song'³. Leaving aside for the moment the interpretation of the third and fourth 'song' in LXX Isaiah we concentrate on the idea of the Servant as "Israel" in the first and second 'song' in LXX Isaiah.

It is a well-known observation that, different from MT (cf. 1QIsa-a), in LXX Isa 42,1a the Servant of the Lord is presented explicitly as "Jacob" and "Israel". Both versions read in translation as follows:

(MT) Behold my servant, whom I uphold, my chosen, in whom my soul delights

(LXX) Jacob is my servant, I will help him; Israel is my chosen, my soul has accepted him.

The Greek text is easily understood as an interpretation of the verse in the light of other passages where "Jacob" and "Israel" are called the

1. W.A.M. BEUKEN, *Jesaja IIA* (POT), Nijkerk, 1979; *Jesaja IIB* (POT), Nijkerk, 1983.

2. *Jesaja IIB*, p. 307.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 307. See also H. HAAG, *Der Gottesknecht bei Deuterjesaja* (EdF, 233), Darmstadt, 1985, p. 47.

servant of God (cf. Isa 44,1.21; 45,4), but one wonders to whom this designation might refer: to the people of Israel as a whole, or to a part of the people. Beuken suggests that the Greek speaking Jewish community in the diaspora is behind a passage like LXX Isa 42,1. P. Grelot, commenting on LXX Isa 49,5f., speaks of the Jews in Egypt ("les Juifs d'Égypte")⁴.

In this article several passages from LXX Isaiah will be discussed in order to try to give a more specific answer to the question to whom the designation 'Israel' (and 'Jacob') as name of the Servant of the Lord might refer according to LXX Isaiah. Since LXX Isa 49,1-6 is a most important passage in this regard, we will deal first with this one. Secondly, starting from a particular aspect of this passage we will discuss some other texts of LXX Isaiah (outside LXX Isa 40-55, or 40-66!) which are likely to be seen as related passages.

Before doing so, a few remarks on method may be in order.

It is generally agreed upon that the many and often remarkable differences between MT and LXX Isaiah do not go back to a Hebrew Vorlage which was in close agreement with LXX Isaiah. This is very unlikely indeed in the light of the fact that the Qumran texts of Isaiah do support MT at most of the places where LXX do not agree with MT. In order to reach a better understanding of LXX Isaiah the best thing therefore is to take this Greek version seriously in its own right by means of a *contextual* approach. The aim of this method is to find out whether there are clear indications of coherence, on the level of text and of content, within a given passage (immediate context) and between passages within the whole of LXX Isaiah (context of the book as a whole). All this is of course to be done in comparison with MT and the Qumran texts of Isaiah (1QIsa-a, 1QIsa-b; hereafter: 1Qa, 1Qb) as far as available.

II

Isa 49,1-6:

Vs 1 (MT-LXX):

שְׁמַעו אֵימִים אֵלַי

הַקְשִׁיבוּ לְאִמְרֵי מִרְחֹק

ἀκούσατέ μου νῆσοι

καὶ προσέχετε ἔθνη· διὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ
στήσεται λέγει

4. BEUKEN, *Jesaja* (n. 1), p. 307. P. GRELOT, *Les Poèmes du Serviteur* (LD, 103), Paris, 1981, p. 92. Another view is expressed by J.C. BASTIAENS, *Interpretaties van Jesaja* 53, Tilburg, 1993, p. 124 (the obedient part of the people).

וְשִׁמְנֵי לֶחֶץ בְּרוּר
בְּאִשְׁפָּתוֹ הַסְתִּירָנִי:

ἔθηκέ με ὡς βέλος ἐκλεκτὸν
καὶ ἐν τῇ φαρέτρᾳ αὐτοῦ ἐσκέπασέ με

Both versions of this verse are closely corresponding to each other. As to MT לֶחֶץ – LXX ὡς βέλος; compare 1Qa כחץ (but with supralinear correction to לחל [1Qb: lacuna]). The reading כחץ of 1Qa may be due to harmonization to כחרב in vs 2a; the same principle may apply to the Greek text: cf. ὡσεὶ μάχαιραν in vs 2a.

The use of ἐκλεκτός (MT ברור , = 1Qa, 1Qb) reminds one of a text like LXX Isa 42,1: Ἰσραὴλ ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου (MT בחייר). There is no need, however, to suppose that the parent text of LXX Isa 49,2 read בחייר instead of ברור , because the Hebrew ברור can have the meaning of ‘select’, ‘chosen’; see e.g. 1 Chron 7,40; 9,22.

Vs 3 (MT-LXX):

וְיֹאמֶר לִי עַבְדִּי אֵתָּה
:יְשָׁאֵל אֶשֶׁר-בְּךָ אֶתְפָּאֵר:

καὶ εἶπέ μοι Δουλός μου εἶ σύ,
Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἐν σοὶ δοξασθήσομαι

Also here LXX corresponds closely to MT. Both contain the name “Israel” as the name, to be taken in a symbolical sense, of the Servant. We need not deal here with the question of the genuineness of the reading “Israel”. It is important to note that the most ancient witnesses (1Qa, 1Qb, and LXX) attest this reading.

The Hebrew עבד is rendered here as δούλος. This rendering is also found in vs 5 (see also vs 7), whereas in vs 6 the equivalent παῖς is used. In LXX Isaiah the latter one is employed much more frequently than the one of our verse. There is no indication to assume that in our pericope (plus vs 7) both equivalents are to be understood as conveying a different connotation. Both seem to carry the meaning of “servant” in the pericope under discussion.

Vs 4 (MT-LXX):

וְאֵנִי אֲמַרְתִּי לְרִיק יְעַתִּי
לְתַהוֹ וְהִבֵּל כְּחֵי כְלִיתִי
אֲכֹן מִשְׁפָּטִי אֶת-יְהוָה
:וּפְעַלְתִּי אֶת-אֱלֹהֵי:

καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπα Κενῶς ἐκοπίασα
καὶ εἰς μάταιον καὶ εἰς οὐθὲν ἔδωκα
τὴν ἰσχύν μου
διὰ τοῦτο ἡ κρίσις μου παρὰ κυρίῳ
καὶ ὁ πόνος μου ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ μου

Again, LXX does not offer here remarkable differences in comparison with MT. There is, however, an interesting difference in nuance between

MT אכן (=1Qa; 1Qb: אך) and LXX διὰ τοῦτο. Hebrew אכן expresses a strong contrast ('assuredly'), but the situation in LXX is a bit different. The Greek reads in translation, "Therefore is my judgment with the Lord, and my labour/travail before my God". This text seems to express the idea that, though the servant has given his strength in vain, he knows that his judgment is with the Lord, *because* (cf. "therefore") the Lord had said, "in you I will be glorified" (vs 3b). So the Greek διὰ τοῦτο makes sense if understood in the light of vs 3b.

The Hebrew פעלה has the meaning of 'recompense' (cf. 40,10). The equivalent in Greek (πόνος) is used only here in LXX (Isaiah and the rest). The Hebrew פעלה occurs also in 40,10; 61,8; 62,11, and 65,7. LXX has τὸ ἔργον in 40,11 and in the parallel passage of 62,11 (about God who will come to Zion; 'the work' in both verses in LXX refers contextually to the 'flock' [40,8], and to the 'holy people' [62,11] that will be brought to Zion by God). The same equivalent, be it in the plural, is found in 65,7, whereas in 61,8 the Greek offers the rendering μόθος ('labour').

The Greek πόνος is found at some (8) places in LXX Isaiah. Two are of particular interest, because they are part of another passage about the Servant of the Lord: 53,4 (καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐλογισάμεθα αὐτὸν εἶναι ἐν πόνῳ [MT גוע], and 53,10 (καὶ βούλεται κύριος ἀφελεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ πόνου τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ [MT עמל]). In both places it conveys a meaning ('travail, trouble') similar to that of 49,4. The use of the same Greek word in these texts may point to a particular relationship between 49,4 and 53,4.10.

Vs 5 (MT-LXX):

אָמַר יְהוָהוּ וְעַתָּה
 יִצְרֵי מִבְּטֶן לְעַבְדִּי
 לְשׁוֹבֵב יַעֲקֹב אֱלֹו
 וְיִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא יִאֲסֶף
 וְאֶכְבֵּד בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה
 וְאֵלֵהי הִיָּה עָזִי

καὶ νῦν οὕτως λέγει κύριος
 ὁ πλάσας με ἐκ κοιλίας δοῦλον ἑαυτοῦ
 τοῦ συναγαγεῖν τὸν Ιακωβ
 καὶ Ἰσραὴλ πρὸς αὐτόν· συναχθήσομαι
 καὶ δοξασθήσομαι ἐναντίον κυρίου
 καὶ ὁ θεός μου ἔσται μου ἰσχύς

The Greek reads in translation as follows: "And now, thus says the Lord who formed me from the womb to be his own servant to gather Jacob and Israel to him; – I shall be gathered and glorified before the Lord, and my God shall be my strength".

At the beginning of the verse LXX has a plus: οὕτως. MT = 1Qa, but 1Qb (+ כה) agrees with LXX.

The rendering τοῦ συναγαγεῖν clearly reflects an interpretation of the Hebrew לשׁוּב (MT = 1Qa, 1Qb) in the sense of "gathering" of the people of Israel from the dispersion (see also the next verse). The Greek πρὸς αὐτόν ("to him") testifies not only to אֱלֹהֵי, but also, very likely, to לו as the parallel reading. (MT has a well-known Ketib/Qere here: Ketib אֱלֹהֵי, and Qere לו. The reading לו, reflected by LXX, is also attested by 1Qa [1Qb: lacuna]; 4Qd has the reading אֱלֹהֵי. Thus, both readings are attested at an early stage.)

As for the verbal form הָאֵסָה (MT = 1Qa; [1Qb: lacuna]) LXX presents a different text, both as to number (1 sing.; MT 3 sing.) and as to syntax. In MT (cf. 1Qa) the verbal form belongs to the preceding words, but in LXX the word συναχθήσομαι is clearly part of the clause made up together with the words that follow: "I shall be gathered and I shall be glorified before the Lord".

The interesting thing is that according to this phrase the servant is supposed to be someone who will be "gathered" too. The same verb in Greek is used here as in the preceding phrase (συνάγω) where it is said that the Servant has been formed in order to "gather" the people of Israel. Here we have a clear indication that the Servant "Israel" (vs 3) who is called to gather the people of Jacob/Israel, is seen as a group, because it makes sense of a group, not of an individual, to say, that one shall "be gathered". With other words, the Servant is to be understood collectively, be it not in the sense of the people of Israel as a whole⁷, but of a group within the people. They will be "gathered", i.e. brought together like a flock and brought back to the place where they came from, and then be "glorified" (δοξασθήσομαι; compare vs 3 where the same is said of God). The Servant as a group is supposed to be outside the land of Israel.

Vs 6 (MT-LXX):

לְאִמְרֵי נְקֻלָּה	καὶ εἶπέ μοι Μέγα σοὶ ἔστι
מִהַיְתוּתָהּ לִי עֲבָד	τοῦ κληθῆναι σε παιδὰ μου
בְּהַקִּים אֶת־שִׁבְטֵי יַעֲקֹב	τοῦ στήσαι τὰς φυλάς Ιακωβ
וּנְצִירֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְהִשָּׁב	καὶ τὴν διασπορὰν τοῦ Ισραηλ ἐπιστρέψαι
וּנְתַתִּיהָ לְאֹרֶן עֹלָם	ἰδοὺ τέθεικά σε εἰς φῶς ἔθνων
לְהִיֵּת יְשׁוּעָתִי	τοῦ εἶναι σε εἰς σωτηρίαν
עַד־קִצְהָ הָאָרֶץ	ἕως ἑσχάτου τῆς γῆς

7. For this exegesis see ORIGIN, *Contra Celsum*, I, 55.

LXX: "And he said to me, It is a great thing for you to be called my servant, to establish the tribes of Jacob, and to recover the dispersion of Israel; behold, I have made you for a light to the nations, that you should be for salvation to the end of the earth".

The main differences between MT and LXX concern the two aspects of the task of the servant. In MT, so it seems, the task to restore the people of Israel is (too) little (a) matter (MT נקל, = 1Qa; 1Qb: רוקל); therefore, God has made the servant a light to the nations. In LXX things are different:

"It is a great thing for you
to be called my servant,
to establish the tribes of Jacob, [...]"

The emphasis of this part of the verse is not only on the restoration of the people (as is the case in MT: "to be⁸ a servant in order to re-establish the tribes of Jacob [...]"), but first of all on the notion of being *called* my servant as an element in its own right. The expression, "It is a great thing...", is best understood in the light of the verse in LXX as a whole, particularly the second part of it, because the Greek ἰδοὺ (τέθεικά σε ...) seems to introduce an explanation of why it is a great thing "to be called my servant". The last phrase of this part is most revealing:

"([...] for a light to the nations,) that you should be for salvation to the end of the earth".

Whereas MT (=1Qa, 1Qb [partly legible]) reads "my salvation", the salvation of God, "may reach to the end of the earth", LXX has it that "you", *the servant*, may be for salvation to the end of the earth. One is reminded here of LXX Isa 42,1-4: the servant Jacob shall bring forth judgment to the nations (vs 1.4; cf. MT), and "in his law⁹ the nations shall trust" (vs 4: καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ νόμῳ αὐτοῦ ἔθνη ἐλπιούσιν; cf. MT).

Thus, LXX vs 6 does not present one of the two aspects of work of the Servant as something which is a little matter (or, too little a matter). On the contrary, in being a light and salvation to the nations it is a great thing to be the servant of the Lord. The task "to establish the tribes of Jacob and to recover the dispersion of Israel" is not regarded as something minor, but as part of the work of the servant. Just as in vs 5 vs 6a is about the gathering of the people of Israel from the exile. For the Greek διασπορά, 'the dispersion', or 'the dispersed', see also LXX Dan

8. MT: מְרוֹתַי, = 1Qa, 1Qb [partly].

9. So according to the conjecture of Ziegler (νομῶ); the manuscript tradition, however, has the reading ὄνοματι, but this may be the result of a Christian reworking of the text (compare Mt 12,21).

12,2, and II Macc 1,27. The reading of MT Ketib, **בְּצִירֵי**, is also attested by 1Qa, 1Qb; for the Qere **בְּצֹרֵי**, see also Jerome, Comm.: *nesure*, 'the preserved'.

Our discussion of the Greek of Isa 49,1-6 in comparison with MT (+ 1Qa, 1Qb) has brought to light some aspects of meaning and content which are not, or with less emphasis to be found in MT. Though the gathering of Israel by the Servant is common to both texts, LXX is more univocal as to the aspect of the dispersion of the people of Israel (cf. *συνάγω* in vs 5, and *διασπορά* in vs 6). As to the full task of the Servant LXX vs 6 emphasizes more than in MT the role of the Servant as being someone "for salvation to the end of the earth".

There is one aspect in LXX vs 5 which is not present in MT (cf. 1Qa): the Servant "Israel" (vs 3) shall "be gathered (and then glorified)". It points to the view of the Servant as a particular group, and it is in view of this aspect that we will discuss in the next section other passages of LXX Isaiah which seem to refer to the same group as in 49,5. The interesting thing is that these passages are not part of Isa 40-55, or 40-66, but of Isa 1-39.

III

Chapters 10, 11, and 19 of LXX Isaiah offer passages which, unlike in MT (cf. 1Qa), are clearly related to each other: 10,24; 11,16, and 19,18f.24f. They share a great interest in a group of Jews in Egypt.

Isa 10,24 (MT-LXX):

לְכֹן כֹּה-אֲמַר	διὰ τοῦτο τάδε λέγει
אֲדַנִּי יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת	κύριος σαβαωθ
אֶל-תִּירָא עַמִּי	Μὴ φοβοῦ ὁ λαός μου
יִשָּׁב צִיּוֹן	οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Σιών
מֵאֲשׁוּר בְּשֶׁבֶט יִכָּבֵה	ἀπὸ Ἀσσυρίων· ὅτι ἐν ῥάβδῳ πατάξει σε
וּמִשֶּׁהוּ יִשְׂאֵר-עַלְיָהּ	πληγὴν γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐπάγω ἐπὶ σε
בְּדֶרֶךְ מִצְרָיִם:	τοῦ ἰδεῖν ὁδὸν Αἰγύπτου

According to LXX "my people who dwell in Sion" should not be afraid of Assyrians. They will smite them with a rod, for God (with emphasis [ἐγώ!]) brings a stroke on his people "to see the way to Egypt". In MT (cf. 1Qa) the Assyrians are the subject of the last part of the text ("and

they will lift up their staff against you as the Egyptians did"), but in LXX God is the subject.

It is not necessary, nor probable to presuppose a parent text different from MT-1Qa, for the Hebrew seems to have been read this way: "Assyrians will lift their staff against you on the way to Egypt", and this might have been reformulated for some reason or another as it stands. One can imagine that "his/their staff" (the staff of Assyria) has been taken, in the light of 10,5, in the sense of the rod of God's anger. The phrase "to see the way to Egypt" is also found in Deut 28,68, i.e. in a context where the curse of going into exile is the subject matter.

The Greek text evokes the picture of some disaster which will meet God's people "who dwell in Sion" (for the expression οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Σιών, see also LXX Isa 12,6): they have to go to Egypt because of Assyrians.

Isa 19,24-25 (MT-LXX¹⁰):

בְּיוֹם הַהוּא	τῆ ἡμέρα ἐκεῖνη
יְהִי יִשְׂרָאֵל שְׁלִישִׁית	ἔσται Ἰσραηλ τρίτος
לְמִצְרַיִם וּלְאַשּׁוּר	ἐν τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις
בְּרִכָּה בְּקֶרֶב הָאָרֶץ:	εὐλογημένος ἐν τῇ γῆ,
אֲשֶׁר בִּרְכוּ יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת	ἦν εὐλόγησε κύριος σαβαωθ
לְאֶמֶר	λέγων
בְּרוּךְ עַמִּי מִצְרַיִם	εὐλογημένος ὁ λαός μου ὁ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ
וּמִעֵשָׂה יְדֵי אֲשּׁוּר	καὶ ὁ ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις
וְנַחֲלֹתַי יִשְׂרָאֵל:	καὶ ὁ κληρονομία μου Ἰσραηλ

The differences between MT (cf. 1Qa, 1Qb [partly]) and LXX, particularly the ones in vs 25, are interesting and well-known. According to LXX "Israel" shall be "third" among the Assyrians and the Egyptians, and "blessed on earth". And the earth was blessed by God in saying:

"Blessed be my people in Egypt and among Assyrians,
and my inheritance Israel".

Quite different from the Hebrew text as attested by MT and 1Qa the Greek is about "my people in Egypt" (not: "among Egyptians", as in vs 24). But what about the phrase, "and among Assyrians"? Contextually

10. For a more detailed discussion of the verses from LXX Isa 19,16-25 see A. VAN DER KOOL, *The Old Greek of Isaiah 19:16-25: Translation and Interpretation*, in C.E. COX (ed.), *VI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Jerusalem 1986* (SBL SCS, 23), Atlanta, GA, 1987, pp. 127-166.

speaking it seems that "among Assyrians" (without article) in vs 25 is related to "Assyrians" of LXX vs 23 (καὶ εἰσελεύσονται Ἀσσύριοι εἰς Αἴγυπτον), that is to say, Assyrians who will enter, in the military sense of the word, the land of Egypt. Cf. LXX vs 23 (ending): "the Egyptians shall serve the Assyrians" (καὶ δουλεύουσιν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις). It means that "my people in Egypt and among Assyrians (in Egypt)" is referring to a group of Jews in Egypt only. The last part, "my inheritance Israel", is best understood as parallel expression to "my people".

The idea of Jews in Egypt is in line with the rest of LXX Isa. 19,16-25, especially vs 18f.:

Isa 19,18-19 (MT-LXX):

בְּיָמֵי הַהוּא יִהְיֶה	τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἔσονται
הַמֶּשׁ עָרִים בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם	πέντε πόλεις ἐν Αἴγυπτῶ
מִדְּבָרוֹת שְׂפֵת כְּנָעַן	λαλοῦσαι τῇ γλώσσει τῇ Χανανίτιδι
וַתִּשְׁבְּעוֹת לַיהוָה צְבָאוֹת	καὶ ὀμνύουσαι τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου
עִיר הַהָרִים יִאמָר לְאַחַת:	Πόλις ἀσεδεκ κληθήσεται ἡ μία πόλις
בְּיָמֵי הַהוּא	τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ
יִהְיֶה מִזְבֵּחַ לַיהוָה	ἔσται θυσιαστήριον τῷ κυρίῳ
בְּתוֹךְ אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם	ἐν χώρα Αἴγυπτῶν
וּמִצְבָּה אֶצֶל-גְּבוּלָהּ	καὶ στήλη πρὸς τὸ ὄριον αὐτῆς
לַיהוָה:	τῷ κυρίῳ

As I have argued elsewhere¹¹ LXX is about five cities in Egypt in which *Jews* shall live. One of these cities shall be called "City of *asedek*" i.e. the righteousness. Since this name is known from Isa 1,26 (MT-LXX) as the name of Jerusalem, the one city seems to have a status similar to that of Jerusalem¹². There will also be an altar (a legitimate one because of the equivalent θυσιαστήριον instead of βωμός which denotes an illegitimate one), presumably in the one city.

Our last passage is Isa 11,16 (MT-LXX):

הַיְתֵה מִסְלָה	καὶ ἔσται δίοδος
לְשָׂאֵר עַמּוֹ אֲשֶׁר יִשְׂאָר	τῷ καταλειφθέντι μου λαῷ
מִמִּשְׁוֹר	ἐν Αἴγυπτῶ

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 135-138.

12. As to the aspect of the transliteration ἀσεδεκ as illustration of the Canaanite language, see *ibid.*, p. 137.

כֹּאֲשֶׁר הִיְתָה לְיִשְׂרָאֵל	καὶ ἔσται τῷ Ἰσραὴλ
בְּיוֹם עֲלֹתָ	ὡς ἡ ἡμέρα ὅτε ἐξῆλθεν
מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם:	ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου

The differences in the first part of the verse concern "my people" (MT=1Qa: "his people") and "in Egypt" (MT=1Qa: "in Assyria"). As to vs 16b the difference is of a syntactical nature: in MT (cf. 1Qa) this part of the verse starts with "as" ("as there was to Israel [...1]"), but in LXX the comparison with the past is made in the clause following "Israel": "and it shall be to Israel as the day when he came forth out of the land of Egypt".

It is to be noted that the Hebrew text of Isa 11,11-16 (MT-1Qa) is characterized by a close agreement in wording between vs 11 and vs 16:

vs 11:	אֶת־שָׂאֵר עַמּוֹ אֲשֶׁר יִשְׂאָר מֵאַשּׁוּר וּמִמִּצְרַיִם וּמִפְתּוֹרוֹס וּמִכּוֹשׁ וּמֵעֵילָם וּמִשְׁנַעַר וּמִחֶמֶת וּמֵאֲרָם הַיָּם:
vs 16:	לְשָׂאֵר עַמּוֹ אֲשֶׁר יִשְׂאָר מֵאַשּׁוּר

The only difference is that the countries enumerated in vs 11 after "Assyria" are not mentioned again in vs 16. The phrase which occurs in both texts concerns "the remnant of his people which is left from Assyria". This inclusio in the pericope of vs 11-16 which marks the composition of the Hebrew text, points to an emphasis on the exiles of Israel in Assyria¹³.

The situation in LXX vs 11-16 is different:

vs 11:	τὸ καταλειφθὲν ὑπόλοιπον τοῦ λαοῦ, ὃ ἂν καταλειφθῆ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων καὶ ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου καὶ Βαβυλωνίας καὶ Αἰθιοπίας καὶ ἀπὸ Αἰλαμιτῶν καὶ ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν καὶ ἐξ Ἀραβίας
vs 16:	τῷ καταλειφθέντι μου λαῷ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ

The text of LXX as it stands distinguishes between "the remnant of the people that is left from the Assyrians and from Egypt etc." and "my people that is left in Egypt". The last one is surely the same group as "my people in Egypt" of 19,25; cf. also 10,24 where "my people (who dwell in Sion)" has to go to Egypt. Thus, LXX vs 11 is about the dispersion of Israel all over the world, whereas vs 16 refers to a particular

13. For a recent discussion of Isa 11,11-16 see now H.G.M. WILLIAMSON, *The Book Called Isaiah*, Oxford, 1994, pp. 125ff.

group of Jews in Egypt. It is further to be noted that LXX vs 16b is formulated in such a way (see above) that "Israel" is parallel to "my people":

"And there shall be a passage to *my people* that is left in Egypt, and it shall be to *Israel* [...]".

Summarizing our observations on the LXX passages mentioned above it will be clear that they have in common the motif of "my people in Egypt". These texts clearly testify to an interest in a particular group of Jews in Egypt. They seem to offer a rather complete picture:

LXX Isa 10,24 is about their going to Egypt;

LXX Isa 19,18f.24f. is about their stay in Egypt and their expected high position;

LXX Isa 11,16 is about their return.

The fact that in 10,24 this group is called "my people who dwell in Zion" suggests that their return will be to Sion. In 11,16 and 19,25 this group is called "Israel".

IV

It is now to be asked whether these texts about "my people in Egypt" are related to the passage about the Servant of the Lord in LXX Isa 49,1-6. Some elements do point, in my view, to a specific relationship. The passages of LXX Isa 11,11-16 and LXX Isa 49,5-6 have something in common which is not attested in MT (cf. 1Qa): namely the distinction between two groups which are in exile, (a) the people of Israel, and (b) a particular group of Jews. This is a clear indication that the Servant who is supposed to be in exile and who "shall be gathered" (49,5) is to be equated, within the whole of LXX Isaiah, with "my people in Egypt" in 11,16. Another element which favours this assumption is the name of "Israel": it is the name of the Servant in 49,3, and it is the name of "my people in Egypt" in 11,16 and 19,25.

The above raises the question whether there are other passages in LXX Isaiah which might refer to the same group, called "my people" or "Israel". I think there are, but it would lead us too far to discuss more texts from LXX Isaiah in this article. As to the text quoted in the introduction of this article, LXX Isa 42,1, it might well be that the names of "Israel" and "Jacob" are not to be understood as referring to the people of Israel, but, just as in 49,3.5, to the Servant as a particular group of the Jewish people.

The texts discussed in this article reveal an important aspect of the way in which the translator produced his Greek version of the book of Isaiah, viz. by interpreting passages in the light of other ones which he considered to be related to each other. It is therefore worthwhile to study specific readings and passages in the Old Greek of Isaiah, first of all, within the whole of LXX Isaiah. Because of the coherence between the Greek passages mentioned above it is not probable, nor necessary to suppose a different Hebrew text in one of the passages to account for the differences between LXX and MT, the more so since 1Qa (and 1Qb as far as available) is in agreement with MT.

The above passages about "my people in Egypt" in LXX Isaiah raise the intriguing question of whether these passages do refer to a particular group of Jews in Egypt at the time when LXX Isaiah was written (middle second century B.C.). This is likely indeed, for as has been argued by scholars LXX Isaiah shows traces of an actualizing interpretation, a type of interpretation which is fully in line with the assumption at that time, namely that the ancient prophecies are to be read and interpreted as referring to the present or the near future (cf. for instance the *pesharim* of Qumran).

Through Josephus we know of a particular group of Jews in Egypt in the second century B.C. that had fled from Jerusalem at the time of the crisis in the sixties of that century: the priest Onias (IV), member of the high-priestly family of the Oniads, and his followers. They got the permission from the Ptolemaic king to build a temple in Leontopolis, in the nome of Heliopolis. In his request to build a temple at that place Onias begs the king

to build a temple to the Most High God in the likeness of that at Jerusalem [...]. For this indeed is what the prophet Isaiah foretold, 'There shall be an altar in Egypt to the Lord God' (Ant. xiii, 67f.).

As I have argued elsewhere¹⁴ this claim of Onias fits very well the text of LXX Isa 19,18f.: first, it is actually the text of LXX Isa 19,19 that is cited here, and secondly, the reading "City of *asedek*", the city of righteousness, being the name of Jerusalem in Isa 1,26 (see above), suggests clearly that one of the cities in Egypt where the Jews will live is seen as having a status similar to that of Jerusalem.

The text of LXX Isa 10,24 makes also perfect sense if understood as referring to the flight of Onias and his followers to Egypt. The phrase

14. A. VAN DER KOOIJ, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches* (OBO, 35), Freiburg - Göttingen, 1981, pp. 54-55.

"my people who dwell in Zion" seems to convey the meaning of the priests and Levites who 'dwell' on Sion, the temple mount. This element would fit in too, because it is likely that the group of Onias, the priest, did consist primarily of priests and Levites.

Just as with other groups of the time (Samaritans, the community of Qumran), the group of Onias tried to legitimize their claims on the basis of passages in "the books of the ancestors"¹⁵, in their case the book of Isaiah. In the light of the available evidence it seems likely that "my people in Egypt" in LXX Isaiah refers to the (priestly) group of Onias, a group that understood themselves as the Servant of the Lord¹⁶.

Oranje Nassaulaan 21A
NL-2361 LA Warmond

Arie VAN DER KOOIJ

15. For this expression see Prologue Wisdom Ben Sira, 10.

16. For a parallel of the Servant as identified with a particular group see Dan. 11,33 and 12,3 ("the wise"). See e.g. H.L. GINSBERG, *The Oldest Interpretation of the Suffering Servant*, in VT 3 (1953), pp. 402-403; J.J. COLLINS, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, Minneapolis, 1993, pp. 385, 393.

"HIS MASTER'S VOICE"?
THE SUPPOSED INFLUENCE OF THE BOOK OF ISAIAH
IN THE BOOK OF HABAKKUK

This contribution, which is dedicated warmly to my highly esteemed teacher, Wim Beuken, deals with the relationship of another teacher, the prophet Isaiah, and someone who, according to some exegetes, was a pupil of his. I do not refer to the anonymous prophet(s) of chapters 40–66 of the Book of Isaiah, but to the prophet Habakkuk. However, the master had turned sixty-five a long time before; he was probably already dead¹, when the pupil was born², and a relationship could begin. Therefore, I restrict myself to the relationship of the *book* of Isaiah and the *book* of Habakkuk. In this contribution I will consider some of the similarities between both collections with regard to theme and vocabulary, which have been put forward in other studies, especially in a study of Walter Dietrich³. The question is whether these similarities point to the conclusion that Habakkuk is dependent on Isaiah or not. I will examine

1. Isaiah lived in the 8th century B.C. According to most exegetes the prophecies of Isa 1–39 are no unity, but rather reflect a complex literary entity. Some prophecies are traced back to the prophet himself, others to a redaction in the 7th century B.C. or even to a post-exilic redaction. Cf. B. DUHM, *Das Buch Jesaja* (HKAT, III/1), Göttingen, ¹1922; O. KAISER, *Das Buch des Propheten Jesaja I* (ATD, 17), Göttingen, ²1981 and II (ATD, 18), Göttingen, 1973; H. BARTH, *Die Jesaja-Worte in der Josiazeit. Israel und Assur als Thema einer produktiven Neuinterpretation der Jesajaüberlieferung* (WMANT, 48), Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1977; O. EISSFELDT, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Tübingen, ³1964, pp. 407–444; T.C. VRIEZEN – A.S. VAN DER WOUDE, *Literatuur van Oud-Israël*, Katwijk aan Zee, ⁴1984, pp. 221–226; B. CHILDS, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, London, 1979, pp. 310–338.

2. Habakkuk acted at the end of the 7th century B.C. See: P. HUMBERT, *Problèmes du livre d'Habacuc*, Neuchâtel, 1944; P. JÖCKEN, *Das Buch Habakuk. Darstellung der Geschichte seiner kritischen Erforschung mit einer eigenen Beurteilung* (BBB, 48), Köln - Bonn, 1977; cf. EISSFELDT, *Einleitung* (n. 1), pp. 526–557; VRIEZEN – VAN DER WOUDE, *Literatuur* (n. 1), pp. 253–255; CHILDS, *Introduction* (n. 1), pp. 447–456. According to some, the prophecies of Habakkuk underwent a thorough reworking at the end of the Babylonian exile: see J. JEREMIAS, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels* (WMANT, 35), Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1970, pp. 55–110; E. OTTO, *Die Stellung der Wehe-Worte in der Verkündigung des Propheten Habakuk*, in ZAW 89 (1977) 73–107.

3. W. DIETRICH, *Habakuk – ein Jesajaschüler*, in H.M. NIEMANN – M. AUGUSTIN – W.H. SCHMIDT (eds.), *Nachdenken über Israel, Bible und Theologie*. FS K.-D. Schunck (BEATAJ, 37), Frankfurt a.M., 1994, pp. 197–215. Some attention to the relationship between Habakkuk and Isaiah has also been paid by J. G. JANZEN, *Habakkuk 2:2–4 in the Light of Recent Philological Advances*, in HTR 73 (1980) 53–78, esp. pp. 72–78 and by B. PECKHAM, *The Vision of Habakkuk*, in CBQ 48 (1986) 617–636, esp. pp. 629–634.