The old Greek of Isaiah : an analysis of its pluses and minuses

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Chapter 8.
ANAPHORIC TRANSLATION

8.1 Introduction

8.1.1 Terminology

The present chapter will discuss pluses and minuses in the Greek translation of Isaiah that may be related to the translator's borrowing of elements from other places in the Bible. This adoption of textual elements from elsewhere in Scripture is a well-known phenomenon in early Bible translations. In studies on the Septuagint it has been designated in various ways, for instance the following:

Anaphoric translation
Homer Heater: "As a translation technique, 'anaphoric translation' refers to the interpolation or adaptation of words or phrases from other passages of Scripture where the underlying idea is the same or similar."[1]
Theo van der Louw: "Anaphoric translation is a transformation whereby a TL [target language] element seems to be a rendering of an SL [source language] element elsewhere or is influenced by a related passage in the same book or from a different text."[2]

Harmonizations
Tov: "Harmonizations, that is, secondary approximations of details, may take place within one text—in one sentence or chapter—or between two remote texts. In all instances they can be presented schematically as detail *a* which has been altered (added, omitted) in some or all witnesses of text A in accordance with detail *b* in text B."[3]

Emprunts scripturaires analogiques
Koenig: "Le texte de G a subi, en de nombreux endroits, dans des proportions et selon des modalités variables, des influences scripturaires qui proviennent soit d'autres passages du même prophète, soit d'autres livres bibliques, sous leur forme tantôt hébraique, tantôt grecque."[4] Koenig calls these influences "emprunts scripturaires analogiques."

Intertextual and contextual exegesis
Eugene Ekblad uses the term "contextual exegesis" for indicating "changes based on the immediate literary context, e.g. harmonizing," while he employs "intertextual exegesis" for "changes based on scriptural borrowings from the broader literary context."[5]

When using any of these terms, it is necessary to take into account the subtle distinction that exists between "harmonisation" on the one hand, and terms such as "intertextual exegesis" or "anaphoric translation" on the other. This distinction entails that harmonisation presupposes

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[1] Homer Heater Jr., *A Septuagint Translation Technique in the Book of Job* (CBQMS 11; Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1982), 6.
[2] van der Louw, "Transformations," 72.
[3] Emanuel Tov, "The Nature and Background of Harmonizations in Biblical Manuscripts," *JSOT* 31 (1985): 3.
[4] Koenig, *L'herméneutique analogique*, 3.
[5] Ekblad, *Isaiah's Servant Poems*, 28. See also Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (rev. and enl. ed; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 125–127.

two texts that are parallel or at least closely related to each other as regards their formulation. Through harmonisation, the translator makes the text on which he is working more similar to the other, parallel text. When, on the other hand, he applies "intertextual exegesis" or "anaphoric translation" this also permits cases where the passage used does not resemble his own text in wording, but is utilised for other reasons, for instance because the translator perceived a thematic relationship between this text and his translation.

For the title of this chapter I have chosen the term "anaphoric translation." This is because it is a compact term, which encompasses both the adoption of elements from within the same book as well as from other books. Furthermore, it does not only include cases of harmonisation, but of other kinds of influence too. Besides using this term, I will also often speak of the "borrowing" or "adoption" of elements from other Biblical texts, or the "influence of other Biblical texts" if pluses or minuses can be explained as being imported from elsewhere in Scripture. These too are meant as broad circumscriptions including instances where the translation depends on a passage that is not parallel to it. Additionally, I will sometimes apply the term "harmonisation," but only in its strict sense.

8.1.2 How did elements from other Biblical texts enter the translation?

Elements from other Scriptural sections may have entered the Greek translation in various ways:

a. They were already present in the Hebrew Vorlage *of the LXX, which differed from the MT*

According to Aejmelaeus, borrowed elements most commonly were already present in the *Vorlage* of Greek translations. She posits that the translators of Biblical manuscripts were rather limited in their range of vision and could not permit themselves to concentrate on anything else than the words they were translating, such as the searching for connections with other Biblical passages. For that reason the search for parallel passages may rather have been the occupation of Hebrew *copyists*, who knew the Biblical texts by heart and did have their thoughts free to discover such parallels.[6]

Also Tov is careful to ascribe harmonisations to the LXX translators. He thinks this to be a probable option only if the passage that is supposed to be dependent on another Greek text, largely corresponds to the latter:

> If the translator took care to use the same Greek equivalents in both passages, and if at least a few equivalents are unique to the two parallel passages, harmonization in other details, too, is at least a possibility. If the translator varied the translation vocabulary of the two sections, harmonization is still possible, but unlikely.[7]

Ziegler holds the theory that some of the additions and variants in LXX Isaiah that rely on other Biblical texts were already extant in the translator's Hebrew manuscript in the form of *glosses* (marginal notes).[8] This "gloss theory" has been made implausible, however, by the discovery of the Qumran scrolls, where no such marginal notes could be detected.

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[6] Aejmelaeus, "What can we know," 69–71.
[7] Tov, "Nature and Background," 20.
[8] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 105.

b. The Greek translator himself has introduced elements from other texts

During the translation process the translator may have been reminded of another passage in Scripture and have imported elements from that text into his translation. This may have happened in several ways:

- The translator was merely inspired by the *memory* of a specific Scriptural passage.[9] This may be true if the dependence only concerns the adoption of a certain concept or theme from that text, and not the copying of a formulation.
- The translator adopted an expression from the *Hebrew* text of a certain passage and then rendered it into Greek himself. This is the most likely option if the borrowed phrase reflects a locution elsewhere in the Bible as regards its content and syntax, yet the words used are different from the ones in the Greek version of its supposed source.
- The translator quoted words from the *Greek* translation of a Biblical document. This possibility exists provided that the borrowed text displays literal correspondences with the phraseology of the Greek translation from which it is assumed to be adopted.

As it concerns the Greek translation of Isaiah, most scholars agree that at least some of the instances suggesting dependence on other Scriptural texts, find their origin in the translation process, and not in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the translator.[10] According to some, such as Ziegler and Zillesen, the explanation for this reliance on other texts lies occasionally in the translator's lack of understanding of the Hebrew text.[11] Koenig, however, has criticised this—what he calls—"préjugé empiriste" of his predecessors. He thinks that scholars such as Ziegler too easily attribute variants in LXX Isaiah to an inadequate knowledge or to the indifference of the translator. In his own view "emprunts scripturaires analogiques" were rather applied *intentionally*. They were the product of learned investigation, justified by a hermeneutical method which was part of the religious community.[12] This method was known in Rabbinical exegesis as "scriptural analogy"—the projection of the meaning of one text upon another; it is discussed, among others, in the collection of rules of Hillel dating from the first century B.C.E.[13] According to Koenig this hermeneutical method of Biblical analogy was also practiced by the Isaiah translator, with the purpose of transforming his translation into a religiously educating text, a kind of a Targum, in which deviations from the Hebrew were allowed for the sake of the education of the community.[14]

The theory that Jewish exegetical rules on the use of other Scriptural passages were applied to Greek Bible translations has earlier been advocated by Prijs. In his work *Jüdische Tradition in*

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[9] Cf. Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 48.

[10] E.g. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 134; Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 45–47; Koenig, *L'herméneutique analogique*, 26, etc.

[11] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 107, 108, 114. Alfred Zillessen, "Bemerkungen zur alexandrinischen Übersetzung des Jesaja (c. 40–66)," *ZAW* 22 (1902): 261–262. Cf. also M. Flashar, "Exegetische Studien zum Septuagintapsalter," *ZAW* 32 (1912): 183; Emanuel Tov, "The Impact of the LXX Translation of the Pentateuch on the Translation of the Other Books," in *Mélanges Dominique Barthélemy. Études Bibliques offertes à l'occasion the son 60ᵉ anniversaire* (ed. Pierre Casetti, Othmar Keel and Adrian Schenker; OBO 38; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), 578; Olofsson, *LXX Version*, 26.

[12] Koenig, *L'herméneutique analogique*, 3–12, 26–37.

[13] Koenig, *L'herméneutique analogique*, 48–49.

[14] Koenig, *L'herméneutique analogique*, 73.

der Septuaginta Prijs remarks that the adaptation to parallel Bible texts is evidenced by the Peshitta and the Targumim as well. In his opinion this indicates that:

> mindestens ein Grossteil der Parallelergänzungen auch in der LXX ursprünglich sind und dass alle Übersetzungen hier ein exegetisches Prinzip anwenden, das als 17. der 32 exegetischen Regeln (מדות) des R. Elieser … schriftlich fixiert wurde: … *Etwas, was an einer Stelle des Bibeltextes nicht genügend erklärt wird und an einer anderen Stelle ausführlicher gesagt wird. Das an jener Stelle ergänzend Ausgeführte gilt dann auch für die kürzere Stelle.*[15]

c. The elements from other Biblical passages were added by a Greek editor

A final possibility as regards the authorship of borrowings, is that they were interpolated by later Greek editors who were making "corrections" to existing Greek translations. This option has been advanced especially to elucidate cases in which the influence seems to derive from sections further on in the same Biblical book. On such occasions the question arises of whether it is reasonable to suppose that a translator took elements from passages that he had not yet translated.[16] Regarding the Greek Isaiah, Seeligmann assumes that such borrowings from later sections may sometimes have been the work of a "second translator," editing the text of his predecessor.[17] This theory of Seeligmann will be further discussed later on in the present chapter (see 8.3.2).

Mostly it is quite complex to determine whether an anaphoric translation has been carried out by a Hebrew copyist, the LXX translator, or a later Greek editor. Hence, when this study attributes such a rendition to the LXX translator, this always remains a form of speculation, and hardly ever can the possibility be excluded that in fact it may originate from a different *Vorlage* or from an intervention of a later Greek editor.

8.1.3 Different levels of influence

Anaphoric translation may have taken place on several levels, depending upon the source from which the imported words or ideas originate:

(a) The adoption of elements from the near context.
(b) The adoption of elements from the same Scriptural book.
(c) The adoption of elements from other Scriptural books.[18]

This division forms the basis of the overview offered below, which will present LXX Isaiah's pluses and minuses that might be the outcome of anaphoric translation.

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[15] Prijs, *Jüdische Tradition*, 84.
[16] Cf. e.g. Aejmelaeus, "What can we know," 70.
[17] Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 71.
[18] This division is based upon Tov's classification of harmonisation in Tov, "Nature and Background," 5.

8.2 The adoption of elements from the near context: LXX Isaiah's pluses and minuses caused by contextual harmonisation and exegesis

A considerable number of the pluses in LXX Isaiah seem to have been supplied from a nearby verse or the same verse. Likewise, some elements are omitted in analogy to a preceding or following clause. This may have been done for various reasons:

a. Contextual exegesis
The text was interpreted or explained with the help of information from the context, with the aim of creating a coherent, clear and understandable text.[19]

b. Contextual harmonisation
Words were added, omitted, or changed to bring the text more into agreement with another, related passage close at hand. By approximating separate units within one section, the connection between these different parts could be strengthened. This gave the translator a means to improve the internal unity within his text.

Contextual harmonisation is a technique that is employed with frequency in ancient Bible translations. It has been used particularly often when in a discourse something is reported twice, in which case the translator tended to make the two accounts more similar to each other. Some other occasions in which it was applied regularly are indicated by Tov as follows:

- Command and fulfilment are harmonised with each other.
- References to earlier statements are assimilated to these.
- Differences in major details are removed
- Schematic descriptions, such as lists of names, are presented in an even more schematic way.[20]

In addition to this, elements from surrounding text may have been adopted for mere *stylistic* reasons. Words have sometimes been reiterated to create a figure of repetition or to balance parallel statements. Such instances of repetition for reasons of style will not be dealt with in the present chapter, but have already been listed in chapter 7.

In order to illustrate the Isaiah translator's use of contextual harmonisation, I will start with a small case study on the application of this technique in LXX Isa 36–39.

8.2.1 Contextual harmonisation in LXX Isa 36–39

Isaiah 36–39 are four historical chapters within the Book of Isaiah which centre around Hezekiah, king of Judah. These chapters have attracted special scholarly interest by virtue of the fact that in 2 Kgs 18:17–20:19 a parallel text can be found.[21] This makes the comparison of the Hebrew to the Greek even more intricate, but also more intriguing.

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[19] Cf. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 125–127.

[20] Tov, "Nature and Background," 7–9.

[21] For studies in the connection between Isa 36–39 and 2 Kgs 18–20, see e.g. Harry M. Orlinsky, "The Kings-Isaiah Recensions of the Hezekiah Story," *JQR* 30 (1939): 33–49; Otto Kaiser, "Die Verkündigung des Propheten Jesaja im Jahre 701," *ZAW* 81 (1969): 304–315; Julio C. Trebolle Barrera, "La expedición de Senaquerib contra Jerusalém. Reflexiones en torno a un libro reciente," *EstBib* 45 (1987): 7–22; Alessandro Catastini, *Isaia ed Ezechia. Studio di storia della tradizione di II Re 18–20 // Is. 36–39* (SS 6; Rome: Università degli studi "La Sapienza," 1989); Raymond F. Person, Jr., *The Kings – Isaiah and Kings – Jeremiah Recensions*

The Greek translation of these Isaianic chapters tends to be somewhat more literal than that of the preceding part of the book. Nonetheless, when examining these chapters in their LXX version, I got the impression that they hide relatively many cases of contextual harmonisation. Several of those—that is, the ones involving pluses or minuses—will be elaborated in the present paragraph. For that purpose, I will first discuss each chapter within Isa 36–39 separately, focusing on the possible cases of contextual harmonisation that occur in it. Afterwards, I will mention some harmonisations that the translator may have applied in order to tie the various chapters to each other more closely. The inquiry will also involve the parallel passage in (LXX) 2 Kings, as well as the text as attested by the Isaiah Scroll from Qumran (1QIsa^a).

8.2.1.1 Contextual harmonisation in LXX Isa 36

Isaiah 36 contains a dramatic dialogue between Rabshakeh—a messenger of the Assyrian king Sennacherib—and Eliakim, Shebna and Joah—delegates of king Hezekiah of Israel, in which Rabshakeh urges Hezekiah to surrender to the king of Assur.

The dialogue between Rabshakeh and the Judean delegates is enclosed by narrative text, which starts and concludes the chapter. The dialogue itself is divided into four parts. According to their content, the six parts of the chapter form a chiastic pattern. This pattern is highlighted by the reiteration of various expressions:

A   *Narrative introduction* (vv.1–3)

Ελιακιμ … καὶ Σομνας … καὶ Ιωαχ …   … אליקים … ושבנא … ויואח

B   *Speech of Rabshakeh: the words of the king* (vv.4–10)

καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Ραψακης …   … ויאמר אליהם רב־שקה
Τάδε λέγει ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς Ἀσσυρίων … … כה־אמר המלך הגדול מלך אשור …

C   *Plea of Eliakim, Shebna and Joah to Rabshakeh* (v.11)

καὶ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὸν   ויאמר
Ελιακιμ καὶ Σομνας καὶ Ιωαχ   אליקים ושבנא ויואח אל־רב־שקה
Λάλησον … καὶ μὴ λάλει … καὶ ἵνα τί λαλεῖς   … דבר־נא … ואל־תדבר
εἰς τὰ ὦτα τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ τείχει   באזני העם אשר על־החומה

C'   *Answer of Rabshakeh to Eliakim, Shebna and Joah* (v.12)

καὶ εἶπε Ραψακης πρὸς αὐτούς …   … ויאמר רב־שקה
λαλῆσαι …   …לדבר
πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς καθημένους ἐπὶ τῷ τείχει …   על־האנשים הישבים על־החומה

(BZAW 252; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997). Catastini is of the opinion that of the various versions of the Hezekiah narratives LXX Isaiah and 1QIsa^a preserve the earliest textual form, after which follows MT Isaiah, which "represents a developed form of the text, but one preserving several earlier textual pecularities." MT 2 Kings he thinks to contain the most developed form (Catastini, *Isaia ed Ezechia*, 324). Also Person thinks that MT 2 Kings reflects the latest form, while LXX Isaiah in many cases preserves the earliest reading (Person, *Kings*, 114). My own impression is somewhat divergent, in that I assume LXX Isaiah to contain a number of secondary harmonisations.

B' *Speech of Rabshakeh: the words of the king* (vv.13–20)

καὶ ἔστη Ραψακης … καὶ εἶπεν	ויעמד רב־שקה … ויאמר
Ἀκούσατε τοὺς λόγους τοῦ βασιλέως	שמעו את־דברי המלך הגדול
τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων	מלך אשור
Τάδε λέγει ὁ βασιλεύς …	כה אמר המלך …

A' *Narrative conclusion* (vv.21–22)

Ελιακιμ … καὶ Σομνας … καὶ Ιωαχ …	אליקים … ושבנא … ויואח …

The linkages between the several parts of Isa 36 have apparently been recognised by the LXX translator, since it seems that he has tried to make the parallell sections resemble each other even more. For this purpose he has applied some small modifications to the text of Isa 36:

a. Harmonisation of 36:12 to 36:11

While 36:11 (C in the outline above) contains a request by the delegates of Hezekiah to Rabshakeh, v.12 (C') offers Rabshakeh's harsh reaction. In this reaction several words of the preceding request are repeated in the Hebrew. The LXX translator has made even more connections between request and answer by departing from the Hebrew in two respects:

- In v.12 he has supplemented πρὸς αὐτούς to καὶ εἶπεν Ραψακης, aligning this clause to καὶ εἶπε *πρὸς αὐτόν* Ελιακιμ καὶ Σομνας καὶ Ιωαχ in v.11 (where πρὸς αὐτόν renders אל־רב־שקה).[22]

- In v.11 he has freely translated העם as τῶν ἀνθρώπων, bringing the phrase εἰς τὰ ὦτα *τῶν ἀνθρώπων* τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ τείχει more in accordance with πρὸς *τοὺς ἀνθρώπους* τοὺς καθημένους ἐπὶ τῷ τείχει in v.12:

36:11

ויאמר אליקים ושבנא ויואח **אל־רב־שקה**	καὶ εἶπε **πρὸς αὐτὸν** Ελιακιμ καὶ Σομνας καὶ Ιωαχ
דבר־נא אל־עבדיך ארמית	Λάλησον πρὸς τοὺς παῖδάς σου Συριστί,
כי שמעים אנחנו	ἀκούομεν γὰρ ἡμεῖς,
ואל־תדבר אלינו יהודית	καὶ μὴ λάλει πρὸς ἡμᾶς Ιουδαϊστί·
באזני **העם**	καὶ ἵνα τί λαλεῖς εἰς τὰ ὦτα **τῶν ἀνθρώπων**
אשר על־החומה	τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ τείχει;

36:12		
	ויאמר רב־שקה	καὶ **εἶπε** Ραψακης **πρὸς αὐτούς**
	האל אדניך ואליך	Μὴ πρὸς τὸν κύριον ὑμῶν ἢ πρὸς ὑμᾶς
	שלחני אדני	ἀπέσταλκέ με ὁ κύριός μου
	לדבר את־הדברים האלה	λαλῆσαι τοὺς λόγους τούτους;
	הלא על־**האנשים**	οὐχὶ πρὸς **τοὺς ἀνθρώπους**
	הישבים על־החומה …	τοὺς καθημένους ἐπὶ τῷ τείχει …

In the parallel text of Isa 36:12—2 Kgs 18:27—a prepositional object likewise appears. This is the case in both the Hebrew and Greek versions of 2 Kgs 18:27:

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[22] 1QIsa^a 36:11 presents ויאמרו אליו אליקים ושׁבנא ויואח.

MT 2 Kgs 18:27   ויאמר **אליהם** רב־שקה

LXX 2 Kgs 18:27[23]   καὶ **εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς** Ραψακης

One could posit that this agreement between LXX Isa 36:12 and 2 Kgs 18:27 contradicts the supposition that πρὸς αὐτούς in Isa 36:12 concerns a harmonising addition by the translator of Isaiah, and that it rather indicates that the insertion of πρὸς αὐτούς goes back to LXX Isaiah's Hebrew *Vorlage*. Still, another way to explain the identical pluses in LXX Isa 36:12 and 2 Kgs 18:27 is that also the translator of 2 Kings added πρὸς αὐτούς in v.27 in harmonisation with the preceding verse (in this case parallel to πρὸς Ραψακης).

The second deviation—the rendition in LXX Isa 36:11 of העם as τῶν ἀνθρώπων—is not supported by LXX 2 Kgs 18:26, which provides τοῦ λαοῦ here. 1QIsa[a], on the contrary, does mirror the reading of LXX Isa 36:11, offering האנשים. But again, this does not necessarily imply that 1QIsa[a] and LXX Isaiah based this reading on their (in this respect common) *Vorlage*. Rather, the Isaiah translator and 1QIsa[a] scribe have both harmonised their texts separately.[24] This becomes evident from the fact that 1QIsa[a] 36:11 contains yet another harmonising divergence from the MT, one which is absent in LXX Isaiah: in 1QIsa[a] 36:11 היושבים forms as a plus; this noun may well have been added by the scribe with the aim of approximating v.11 to v.12, where היושבים also appears:

MT Isa 36:11   באזני **העם** אשר על־החומה

MT Isa 36:12   על־**האנשים** הישבים על־החומה

1QIsa[a] 36:11   באוזֹני **האנשים** ה**יושבים** על החומה

1QIsa[a] 36:12   על **האנשים** היושבים על־הֹחומה

If the occurrence of τῶν ἀνθρώπων in LXX Isa 36:11 were the outcome of the translator's reading האנשים instead of העם in his *Vorlage*—which would in this aspect agree with 1QIsa[a]—one would also expect LXX Isaiah to provide an equivalent to 1QIsa[a]'s harmonising plus היושבים. Yet, since this plus is absent from LXX Isaiah, it is more plausible that the harmonisations in LXX Isaiah and 1QIsa[a] 36:11 came into existence independently of each other.

b. Harmonisation of 36:16 to 36:4

A small harmonising minus can be detected in LXX Isa 36:16.
The verses 4–10 (B in the outline above) and 13–20 (B') both comprise a speech of Rabshakeh in which he conveys the message of Sennacherib to the delegates of Hezekiah. Both speeches begin with a messenger formula, introducing the king's persuasive words. In the Hebrew these formulae read as follows:

MT Isa 36:4   כה־אמר המלך הגדול מלך אשור

MT Isa 36:16   כי כה אמר המלך אשור

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[23] For the sake of clarity and convenience I have, in this chapter, quoted texts from the Greek version of 2 Kgs as "LXX 2 Kgs" rather than as "4 Kgdms."

[24] Cf. Person, *Kings*, 60–61.

In the LXX version of 36:16 an equivalent for כי is absent. This omission has assimilated the formula in v.16 to that in v.4:[25]

36:4	אמרו־נא אל־חזקיהו	Εἴπατε Εζεκίᾳ
	כה־אמר המלך הגדול מלך אשור	**Τάδε λέγει ὁ βασιλεὺς** ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς Ἀσσυρίων
36:16	אל־תשמעו אל־חזקיהו	μὴ ἀκούετε Εζεκιου.
	<u>כי</u> כה אמר המלך אשור	<u>Τάδε λέγει ὁ βασιλεὺς</u> Ἀσσυρίων

This minus is not attested in the parallel texts in 2 Kings, that is, MT and LXX 2 Kgs 18:31. Those texts agree with MT Isa 36:16 in having the messenger formula start with a conjunction. Also 1QIsa[a] 36:16 offers כי in line with the MT. This strengthens the inference that the lack of representation of כי in LXX Isa 36:16 is due to an omission by the Isaiah translator, who may have left it out with the aim of bringing v.16 into alignment with v.4.

c. Harmonisation of 36:13b–14a to 36:14b–16a

In Isa 36:13–16 Rabshakeh contrasts the king of Judah with the king of Assur: in vv.13–14a—where he announces the message of Sennacherib—he mentions the Assyrian king three times, each time honouring him with the title "king." In vv.14b–16a—where Rabshakeh refers to Hezekiah and to what he has said to his people—Hezekiah is likewise mentioned in threefold, but each time *without* the title of "king." Besides, the section on Sennacherib starts with the command שמעו את־דברי המלך הגדול מלך אשור (v.13), whereas the section about Hezekiah ends with the warning אל־תשמעו אל־חזקיהו (v.16a), making it more than clear that the people ought to listen to the king of Assur, but that they *should not listen* to their own king Hezekiah.

In the Greek text of Isaiah this contrast between the two kings—to the disadvantage of Hezekiah—has been sharpened even further. This is the outcome of two departures from the Hebrew, resulting in two additional expressions from vv.13b–14a being repeated in vv.14b–16a:

-   In v.15 ואל־יבטח אתכם חזקיהו אל־יהוה has received a variant translation as καὶ μὴ λεγέτω ὑμῖν Εζεκιας. On account of this rephrasing, the Greek clause in an antithetical way repeats the words Τάδε *λέγει* ὁ βασιλεύς in v.14: the king of the Assyrians *says* such and such, but Hezekiah *should not say* such and such.

-   In v.14b the Greek version shows an additional λόγοις. This is a negative reprisal of λόγους in v.13: whereas authority is bestowed upon the words of the Assyrian king, the words of Hezekiah are rejected:

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[25] Also compare כה אמר המלך in 36:14.

v.13b–14a

שמעו את־דברי המלך הגדול	Ἀκούσατε τοὺς **λόγους** τοῦ βασιλέως
מלך אשור	τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων
כה אמר המלך	Τάδε **λέγει** ὁ βασιλεύς

v.14b–16a אל־ישא לכם חזקיהו

	Μὴ ἀπατάτω ὑμᾶς Εζεκιας _**λόγοις**_,
כי לא־יוכל להציל אתכם	οἳ οὐ δυνήσονται ῥύσασθαι ὑμᾶς·
ואל־יבטח אתכם חזקיהו אל־יהוה	καὶ **μὴ λεγέτω** ὑμῖν Εζεκιας
לאמר הצל יצילנו יהוה	ὅτι Ῥύσεται ὑμᾶς ὁ θεός,
לא תנתן העיר הזאת	καὶ οὐ μὴ παραδοθῇ ἡ πόλις αὕτη
ביד מלך אשור	ἐν χειρὶ βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων
אל־תשמעו אל־חזקיהו	_μὴ ἀκούετε_ Εζεκιου.

The plus λόγοις occurs in the Greek version of 2 Kgs 18:29 as well. Yet, as to the translation of ואל־יבטח אתכם חזקיהו אל־יהוה LXX 2 Kgs 18:30 is closer to the MT, having καὶ μὴ ἐπελπιζέτω ὑμᾶς Εζεκιας πρὸς κύριον, contrary to the harmonising translation by μὴ λεγέτω ὑμῖν Εζεκιας such as LXX Isa 36:15 presents. The MT of 2 Kgs 18:28–31 and 1QIsa^a are in conformity with MT Isaiah. So what we see here again, is that of the various harmonisations that LXX Isaiah discloses some are also present in the LXX of 2 Kings, but others are not.

8.2.1.2 Contextual harmonisation in LXX Isa 37

In Isa 37 the delegates of Hezekiah communicate to their king the threatening statements of king Sennacherib which he had spoken through Rabshakeh. They are sent to consult Isaiah, and return his prophetic message to Hezekiah. The Judean king prays to his God for protection.

Harmonisation of 37:17 to 37:4

Two verses in Isa 37 that have a corresponding content are v.4 and v.17. While 37:4 tells of the delegates expressing to Isaiah their wish that God may hear the reviling utterances of Rabshakeh, in v.17 Hezekiah asks in his prayer the same thing of God. In the Greek translation of these verses a few alterations seem to have been carried out in order to further extend the connections between the two verses, making Hezekiah's wish even more similar to the wish of the delegates in v.4:

- In v.4a (see below) אולי is omitted, which has adjusted the words εἰσακοῦσαι κύριος ὁ θεός σου to εἰσάκουσον, κύριε in v.17a.
- אדניו in v.4c is omitted in adjustment to v.17d, where after the naming of the Assyrian king an apposition such as אדניו does not follow either.
- In v.4c the suffix in שלחו is not represented, in keeping with שלח / ἀπέστειλε in v.17d. As a result, in LXX Isa 37:4 the antecedent of the relative clause (who or what has been sent by the king) is not Rabshakeh—as in MT Isa 37:4—but *the words* of Rabshakeh, which is more in agreement with v.17.
- The LXX has transformed סנחריב in v.17c from a genitive attribute modifying "the words" ("the words of Sennacherib") into the subject of the succeeding relative clause (d) ("the

words that Sennacherib has sent"), so that the Assyrian king in both v.4c and v.17d forms the explicit subject of the verb "to send" in a relative clause referring to "the words."

- In v.17a–c הטה, אזנך, and the second ושמע are omitted, in line with v.4, where a jussive verb in the sense of "to hear"—referring to God and with as its object "the words …"—occurs only once as well.

- Analogous to את דברי / τοὺς λόγους in v.4b, in v.17c כל־ preceding דברי is not rendered in the LXX:[26]

37:4	a	<u>אולי</u> ישמע יהוה אלהיך	*εἰσακοῦσαι κύριος* ὁ θεός σου
	b	את דברי רב־שקה	*τοὺς λόγους* Ραψάκου,
	c	אשר שלחו מלך־אשור <u>אדני</u>	*οὓς ἀπέστειλε βασιλεὺς Ἀσσυρίων*
	d	לחרף אלהים חי	ὀνειδίζειν θεὸν ζῶντα
	e	והוכיח בדברים	καὶ ὀνειδίζειν λόγους,
	f	אשר שמע יהוה אלהיך	οὓς ἤκουσε κύριος ὁ θεός σου·
37:17	a	<u>הטה</u> יהוה <u>אזנך ושמע</u>	*εἰσάκουσον, κύριε,*
	b	פקח יהוה עינך וראה	εἴσβλεψον, κύριε, καὶ ἰδὲ
	c	<u>ושמע</u> את <u>כל־</u>דברי סנחריב	*τοὺς λόγους,*
	d	אשר שלח	*οὓς ἀπέστειλε Σενναχηριμ*
	e	לחרף אלהים חי	ὀνειδίζειν θεὸν ζῶντα.

Otherwise also noteworthy is a pattern of word repetition within v.4 itself. The Hebrew text of Isa 37:4 comprises a chiastic repetition (AB/BA) formed of the following words:

אולי ישמע יהוה אלהיך / את דברי // בדברים / שמע יהוה אלהיך

In the Greek version the repetition has been expanded by means of translating והוכיח as ὀνειδίζειν. This has resulted in a pattern ABC/CBA:

εἰσακοῦσαι κύριος ὁ θεός σου / τοὺς λόγους / ὀνειδίζειν
ὀνειδίζειν / λόγους / ἤκουσε κύριος ὁ θεός σου

The 2 Kings passages parallel to Isa 37:4 and 17, i.e. 2 Kgs 19:4 and 16, mainly reflect MT Isaiah. The MT of 2 Kings only differs from the latter in that 2 Kgs 19:4 displays כל־ before דברי, while in 2 Kgs 19:16 כל־ is missing in front of דברי (so it offers the converse situation to MT Isa 37:4 and 17). Furthermore, we find in MT 2 Kgs 19:16 the verb שלחו with a third person singular suffix attached, contrary to שלח in MT Isa 37:17. The scribe of MT 2 Kgs 19 might have supplied a suffix to שלח in v.16 in assimilation to שלחו in v.4. If this is indeed the case, he has made a harmonisation in the very opposite direction of the LXX, which has left out the suffix in v.4.

MT 2 Kgs 19:4

אולי ישמע יהוה אלהיך
את **כל־דברי** רב־שקה
אשר **שלחו** מלך־אשור אדניו
לחרף אלהים הי

MT 2 Kgs 19:16

הטה יהוה אזנך ושמע
פקח יהוה עיניך וראה

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[26] Cf. also 36:13 Ἀκούσατε τοὺς λόγους τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων.

 וישמע את דברי סנחריב
אשר **שלחו** לחרף אלהים הי

The LXX of 2 Kgs 19:4 and 16 is quite close to the MT of these verses, except that v.16 does not reflect the suffix in שלחו, in which respect this verse agrees with the MT of Isa 37:17:

LXX 2 Kgs 19:4   εἴ πως εἰσακούσεται κύριος ὁ θεός σου
πάντας τοὺς λόγους Ραψακου,
ὃν ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς Ἀσσυρίων ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ
ὀνειδίζειν θεὸν ζῶντα

LXX 2 Kgs 19:16   κλῖνον, κύριε, τὸ οὖς σου καὶ ἄκουσον·
ἄνοιξον, κύριε, τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς σου καὶ ἰδὲ
καὶ ἄκουσον τοὺς λόγους Σενναχηριμ,
οὓς ἀπέστειλεν ὀνειδίζειν θεὸν ζῶντα.

Hence, of the six harmonisations that the Greek translation of Isaiah reveals in these verses, none is present in the Greek version of 2 Kings.

1QIsa[a] does not display any of the harmonisations mentioned either.

8.2.1.3 Contextual harmonisation in LXX Isa 38

Isaiah 38 recounts that Hezekiah became seriously ill and prayed to God for mercy. The prophet Isaiah appears to announce that the king's prayer has been heard and that he will be healed. Hezekiah gives thanks to his God in a prayer of thanksgiving (Isa 38:9–20).[27]

Harmonisation of 38:11b–12a to 38:10

The text of LXX Isa 38:11b–12a is somewhat distinct from the MT:

לא־אביט אדם עוד עם־יושבי חדל   οὐκέτι μὴ ἴδω ἄνθρωπον ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας μου.
דורי נסע   κατέλιπον <u>τὸ λοιπὸν</u> τῆς ζωῆς μου·
ונגלה מני   ἐξῆλθε καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ
כאהל רעי   ὥσπερ ὁ καταλύων σκηνὴν πήξας

MT Isa 38:11b–12a: I shall look upon mortals no more among the inhabitants of the world.
My dwelling is plucked up and removed from me like a shepherd's tent

LXX Isa 38:11b–12a: no longer shall I see a man from my kindred.
I have left behind the rest of my life:
it has gone out and departed from me
like the one who having pitched a tent takes it down.

The way in which the translator has arrived at κατέλιπον ("I have left") may be through a link between the somewhat mysterious lexeme חֶדֶל (which perhaps comes from חֶדֶל—"world")[28] and the root חדל, meaning "to fail." Rather than as the final word of the clause, he appears to have taken it as the initial word of a subsequent sentence.[29] The words דורי נסע ונגלה מני כאהל רעי ("My dwelling is plucked up and removed from me like a shepherd's tent")

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[27] The prayer of Hezekiah is absent in 2 Kgs.
[28] Wildberger, *Jesaja*, 3:1442.
[29] Cf. *HUB Isa*, 167.

he has demetaphorised, replacing them by more concrete language ("I have left behind the rest of my life: it has gone out and departed from me …"). Possibly, the noun דור, which besides meaning "dwelling" (in which sense it is used in the MT) also denotes "generation," was understood by him in this latter connotation, for which reason he may have rendered it by ζωή ("life"). He may then have placed τὸ λοιπόν in front of it. Another possibility is that he represented דורי (interpreted as "my generation") by τῆς συγγενείας μου ("my kindred"), and supplied τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ζωῆς μου.[30] Whatever the case, the reformulation of Isa 38:11 has caused this verse to echo 38:10, since that verse likewise includes an expression in the sense of "leaving behind the rest of one's life":

38:10 בדמי ימי אלכה בשערי שאול   Ἐν τῷ ὕψει τῶν ἡμερῶν μου ἐν πύλαις ᾅδου

          פקדתי יתר שנותי   καταλείψω τὰ ἔτη τὰ ἐπίλοιπα.

8.2.1.4 Contextual harmonisation in LXX Isa 39

In Isa 39 Hezekiah proudly displays all of his storehouses to the envoys of Merodach, king of Babylon. The prophet Isaiah turns up again and proclaims that the king will be punished for his arrogance.

Harmonisation of 39:2 to 39:4

While Isa 39:2 tells of Hezekiah showing the entirety of his treasures to the envoys from Babylon, 39:4 has a comparable content, but this time forming part of Hezekiah's answer to Isaiah's question as to what he has shown to the envoys. These two reports—the one of the storyteller in v.2 and that of the king in v.4—seem to have been harmonised in the LXX by way of several slight adjustments:

- In 39:4 the words ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου are complemented, in assimilation to ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ in v.2.
- באוצרתי in v.4 has been elaborated into ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς μου, which has approximated this phrase to καὶ πάντα, ὅσα ἦν ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς αὐτοῦ in v.2.
- ובכל־ממשלתו in v.2 has no counterpart in the LXX, which has brought the words καὶ οὐκ ἦν οὐθέν, ὃ οὐκ ἔδειξεν Εζεκιας ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ more into agreement with καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου ὃ οὐκ εἴδοσαν in v.4 (where "and in his kingdom" is not present either).

By means of these moves the account of the storyteller and the account of Hezekiah are in the LXX each composed of three parts:

a. Hezekiah has shown / the envoys have seen the things that are in "the house.'
b. He has also shown / they have also seen everything that is in the storehouses.
c. There is nothing in the house that he has not shown / that they have not seen:

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[30] However, ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας μου already seems to reproduce עם־יושבי.

39:2 The account of the storyteller

a. ויראם את־בית נכתה καὶ ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ νεχωθα
    את־הכסף ואת־הזהב καὶ τῆς στακτῆς καὶ τῶν θυμιαμάτων
    ואת־הבשמים ואת השמן הטוב καὶ τοῦ μύρου καὶ τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ τοῦ χρυσίου
    ואת כל־בית כליו καὶ πάντας τοὺς οἴκους τῶν σκευῶν τῆς γάζης
b. ואת כל־אשר נמצא באצרתיו *καὶ πάντα, ὅσα ἦν ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς αὐτοῦ·*
c. לא־היה דבר אשר לא־הראם חזקיהו **καὶ οὐκ ἦν οὐθέν, ὃ οὐκ ἔδειξεν Εζεκιας**
    בביתו ו<u>בכל־ממשלתו</u> **ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ.**

39:4 The account of Hezekiah

a. את כל־אשר בביתי ראו Πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου εἴδοσαν,
c. לא־היה דבר אשר לא־הראיתים **καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν <u>ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου</u> ὃ οὐκ εἴδοσαν,**
b. באוצרתי *ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ* ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς μου.

The 2 Kings recension of these verses, which consists of 2 Kgs 20:13 and 15, does not comprise any of these harmonising variants with regard to the MT. The LXX of 2 Kgs 20:13 and 15, however, has two of the three harmonisations mentioned in common with LXX Isaiah. Firstly, in LXX 2 Kgs 20:15 ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου likewise appears as a plus, and secondly, in the same verse באוצרתי has also been altered into ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς μου. Yet, contrary to what is the case in LXX Isa 39:2, one does find an equivalent for ובכל־ממשלתו in LXX 2 Kgs 20:13:[31]

LXX 2 Kgs 20:13   καὶ ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς ὅλον τὸν οἶκον τοῦ νεχωθα,
                  τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον, τὰ ἀρώματα καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον τὸ ἀγαθόν,
                  καὶ τὸν οἶκον τῶν σκευῶν
                  καὶ ὅσα ηὑρέθη ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς αὐτοῦ·
                  οὐκ ἦν λόγος, ὃν οὐκ ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς Εζεκιας
                  ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ **καὶ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ.**

LXX 2 Kgs 20:15   Πάντα, ὅσα ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου, εἶδον·
                  οὐκ ἦν <u>ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ</u> μου ὃ οὐκ ἔδειξα αὐτοῖς,
                  <u>ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ</u> ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς μου.

Once again, some harmonising details are shared by the LXX of Isaiah and 2 Kings, whereas some others that are found in LXX Isaiah are missing in LXX 2 Kings.[32]

8.2.1.5 Pluses and minuses strengthening the internal ties between LXX Isa 36–39

LXX Isaiah chapters 36–39 include several pluses and minuses that increase or enforce the ties between these chapters among themselves. These links may have been invented by the translator in order to strengthen the unity of this section as a whole.

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[31] According to Person (*Kings*, 73) ובכל־ממשלתו was not omitted in LXX Isaiah, but forms an addition in MT Isa, 1QIsaᵃ, MT 2 Kgs, and LXX 2 Kgs, "making the consequences of Hezekiah's action for 'his whole kingdom' more explicit." This seems improbable to me, though, as it is the evidence of four against one. Moreover, the absence of an equivalence of ובכל־ממשלתו in LXX Isa through contextual harmonisation provides a plainer explanation.

[32] In all aspects mentioned 1QIsaᵃ reflects the MT, except that in v.2 it reads ממלכתו for ממשלתו.

a. Harmonisation of 37:21 to 38:5

In Isa 37:21 the prophet Isaiah finds his way to king Hezekiah to tell him that his prayer has been heard. This announcement has a parallel in 38:5, where Isaiah for the second time receives a divine order to go to Hezekiah with the message that God has answered the king's prayer. In 37:21 the plus Ἤκουσα may be an addition by the translator imported from 38:5, with the aim of making the connection between these two verses even stronger:[33]

וישלח ישעיהו בן־אמוץ אל־חזקיהו 37:21	Καὶ ἀπεστάλη Ησαιας υἱὸς Αμως πρὸς Εζεκιαν
לאמר	καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ
כה־אמר יהוה אלהי ישראל	Τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ισραηλ
אשר התפללת אלי	**Ἤκουσα** ἃ προσηύξω πρός με
אל־סנחריב מלך אשור	περὶ Σενναχηριμ βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων.
ויהי דבר־יהוה אל־ישעיהו לאמר 38:4–5	καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς Ησαιαν λέγων
הלוך ואמרת אל־חזקיהו	Πορεύθητι καὶ εἰπὸν Εζεκια
כה־אמר יהוה אלהי דוד אביך	Τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς Δαυιδ τοῦ πατρός σου
שמעתי את־תפלתך	**Ἤκουσα** τῆς φωνῆς τῆς προσευχῆς σου
ראיתי את־דמעתך	καὶ εἶδον τὰ δάκρυά σου·

In LXX 2 Kgs 19:20 ἤκουσα is a plus as well: Ἃ προσηύξω πρός με περὶ Σενναχηριμ βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων, ἤκουσα. 1QIsa^a 37:21 mirrors the MT (except that it reads אליו for אלי).

b. Harmonisation of 39:1 to 38:1

In LXX Isa 39:1 the rumour that Hezekiah has fallen ill seems to have been complemented with information adopted from the announcement of Hezekiah's disease in 38:1:[34]

בעת ההוא שלח מרדך בלאדן 39:1	Ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ ἀπέστειλε Μαρωδαχ
בן־בלאדן מלך־בבל	υἱὸς τοῦ Λααδαν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Βαβυλωνίας
ספרים ומנחה אל־חזקיהו	ἐπιστολὰς καὶ πρέσβεις καὶ δῶρα Εζεκια·
וישמע כי חלה ויחזק	ἤκουσε γὰρ ὅτι ἐμαλακίσθη **ἔως θανάτου** καὶ ἀνέστη.
בימים ההם 38:1	Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ
חלה חזקיהו למות	ἐμαλακίσθη Εζεκιας **ἔως θανάτου·**

A similar plus cannot be found in MT and LXX 2 Kgs 20:12, nor in 1QIsa^a.

c. Harmonisation of 39:2 to 38:3

LXX Isa 39:2 conveys the news that Hezekiah rejoices over the Babylonian messengers "with great joy." The words χαρὰν μεγάλην are extra as compared to the MT. Perhaps they were added so as to sharpen the contrast between Hezekiah's current joy and his earlier sadness after hearing the tidings of his disease in 38:3. Possibly the translator in this way sought to stress the overconfidence of the king, so shortly after divine mercy had been shown to him through his miraculous healing:

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[33] Besides, it is an explicitating addition, clarifying the elliptic Hebrew text.
[34] See also Catastini, *Isaia ed Ezechia*, 93.

39:1–2

... בעת ההוא שלח מרדך בלאדן   Ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ ἀπέστειλε Μαρωδαχ ...
ספרים ומנחה אל־חזקיהו   ἐπιστολὰς καὶ πρέσβεις καὶ δῶρα Εζεκια·
וישמע כי חלה ויחזק   ἤκουσε γὰρ ὅτι ἐμαλακίσθη ἕως θανάτου καὶ ἀνέστη
וישמח עליהם חזקיהו   **καὶ ἐχάρη** ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς Εζεκιας **χαρὰν μεγάλην**

38:1–3   בימים ההם   Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ
... חלה חזקיהו למות   ἐμαλακίσθη Εζεκιας ἕως θανάτου ...
ויסב חזקיהו פניו   καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν Εζεκιας τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ
... אל־הקיר ויתפלל אל־יהוה   πρὸς τὸν τοῖχον καὶ προσηύξατο πρὸς κύριον ...
ויבך חזקיהו בכי גדול   **καὶ ἔκλαυσεν Εζεκιας κλαυθμῷ μεγάλῳ.**

The MT of 2 Kgs 20:13 has וישמע instead of וישמח עליהם חזקיהו: וישמע עליהם חזקיהו. LXX 2 Kgs 20:13 and 1QIsaᵃ agree with the MT of Isaiah.

8.2.1.6 Conclusion to 8.2.1

LXX Isa 36–39 display relatively many cases of contextual harmonisation. It appears that these chapters lend themselves to harmonisation, as not only the LXX but also the Isaiah Scroll contains a large number of harmonising additions in this section. Kutscher notes that in 1QIsaᵃ 36–39 no fewer than twenty pluses can be found, which is about twenty per cent of all additions in the Scroll.[35] Notwithstanding that some of those pluses can be explained as adjustments to the parallel text in 2 Kings, in most cases they do not have a parallel in 2 Kings, but seem to be the outcome of contextual harmonisation.[36] Interestingly enough, none of 1QIsaᵃ's harmonising pluses in these chapters accord with those in LXX Isaiah. This indicates that the harmonisations in LXX Isaiah and the Scroll do not derive from a common *Vorlage* in which they were already present, but that they were rather carried out by the Qumran scribe and the LXX translator themselves, who both applied contextual harmonisation to their texts, independently of each other.

Comparing LXX Isa 36–39 to its parallel text in 2 Kings demonstrates that none of LXX Isaiah's harmonising pluses and minuses has a counterpart in the MT of 2 Kings, yet some do correspond to the LXX of 2 Kings. This situation—LXX Isaiah and LXX 2 Kings having some, but not all, harmonising additions and omissions in common—can be clarified in various ways, such as the following:

- The harmonisations in LXX Isaiah are due to a Hebrew parent text in which they were already extant. LXX 2 Kings sometimes echoes this LXX Isaiah *Vorlage*, displaying similar

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[35] Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background*, 546.

[36] 1QIsaᵃ's harmonising pluses (underlined) in chs. 36–39 can be found in 1QIsaᵃ 36:4 אשר אתה בטחתה בו = MT אשר אתה בטחתה; 1QIsaᵃ 36:11 ואל תדבר את הדברים האלה = MT ואל תדבר (1QIsaᵃ harmonises to 37:10 אשר אתה בוטח בו); 1QIsaᵃ 36:11 לדבר את־הדברים האלה = MT האנשים היושבים על החומה = MT האנשים על החומה (cf. 36:12 תדבר אלינו); 1QIsaᵃ 37:4 (cf. 36:13 מלך אשור); 1QIsaᵃ 36:14 המלך = MT המלך (cf. 36:13 מלך אשור); 1QIsaᵃ 36:14 האנשים היושבים על החומה = MT האנשים הנמצאה (cf. 37:33 לוא יבוא על העיר הזאת and 37:34 ואל־העיר הזאת; השארית הנמצאים בעיר הזאת = MT השארית הנמצאה. Harmonising pluses in 1QIsaᵃ that have a parallel in 2 Kgs are: 1QIsaᵃ 38:6 ולמען (לוא יבוא אל העיר הזאת ולמען; (לוא יבוא וגנותי (cf. Isa 37:35) וגנותי על העיר הזאת = MT (וגנותי על־העיר הזאת למעני ולמען דוד עבדי (2 Kgs 20:6 דויד עבד); 1QIsaᵃ 39:2 את כל בית נכתיו = MT (את־כל־בית נכתה 2 Kgs 20:13); (על־העיר הזאת להושיעה למעני ולמען דוד עבדי) 1QIsaᵃ 39:2 את כל בית כליו (cf. Isa 39:2 ואת כל בית נכתה). Cf. Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background*, 536–547.

harmonisations, but at other times it offers a reading reflecting the tradition of MT Isaiah and MT 2 Kings, without the harmonisation.

- Some of LXX Isaiah's harmonising variants, especially the ones that it shares with the LXX of 2 Kings, were already present in its Hebrew *Vorlage*. Others, which are missing in LXX 2 Kings, have been invented by the Isaiah translator himself.
- The translator of 2 Kings was acquainted with the Greek translation of Isaiah and was occasionally influenced by it, adopting some of its harmonising variants.
- The agreement between a number of harmonising pluses and minuses in LXX Isaiah and LXX 2 Kings is mainly a matter of coincidence. The translators of both documents each made harmonising adjustments to their texts now and then, and sometimes in the same place.

Of these possibilities, the final one seems implausible. The agreement between the harmonising pluses and minuses of LXX 2 Kings and LXX Isaiah is too extensive to originate from coincidence. Also the first option appears unfeasible to me. The many cases of contextual harmonisation in LXX Isa 36–39, as well as within the other chapters of the Isaiah translation (which will be discussed in the following paragraphs), make it likely that its translator was inclined to apply harmonisation to his work. This LXX Isaiah tendency towards harmonisation prohibits the attribution of the preponderance of harmonising variants to a different *Vorlage*. This leaves us with the second and third possibilities. Of these, the second may be the plainest one, although the third option should not be ruled out too easily, as it is quite conceivable that the translator of 2 Kings was familiar with and made use of the Septuagint of Isaiah.

8.2.2 Contextual harmonisation in LXX Isa 44:14–19

Another outstanding example of a passage in the Greek Isaiah in which contextual harmonisation has been applied extensively is LXX Isa 44:14–19. This is not surprising in view of the fact that these verses present three accounts of the same event: three times the story is told of an artisan who takes wood to make a fire for himself (for baking food on or for warming himself), and out of the rest of the wood makes an idol to worship. The way in which these three accounts—in vv.14–15, vv.16–17, and v.19b—have been aligned to each other in the Greek is shown in the diagram below:

a. 44:14–15	**b. 44:16–17**	**c. 44:19b**
ὃ ἔκοψε ξύλον ἐκ τοῦ δρυμοῦ, ὃ ἐφύτευσε κύριος καὶ ὑετὸς ἐμήκυνεν, ἵνα ᾖ ἀνθρώποις εἰς *καῦσιν* καὶ λαβὼν ἀπ᾿ αὐτοῦ ἐθερμάνθη	οὗ *τὸ ἥμισυ αὐτοῦ κατέκαυσαν ἐν πυρὶ*	ὅτι *τὸ ἥμισυ αὐτοῦ κατέκαυσεν ἐν πυρὶ*
καὶ καύσαντες ἔπεψαν ἄρτους ἐπ᾿ αὐτῶν·	*καὶ καύσαντες ἔπεψαν· ἄρτους ἐπ᾿ αὐτῶν*	*καὶ ἔπεψεν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθράκων αὐτοῦ ἄρτους*

	καὶ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κρέας ὀπτήσας ἔφαγε καὶ ἐνεπλήσθη· καὶ θερμανθεὶς εἶπεν Ἡδύ μοι ὅτι ἐθερμάνθην καὶ εἶδον πῦρ.	καὶ ὀπτήσας κρέας ἔφαγε
<u>τὸ δὲ <u>λοιπὸν</u> εἰργάσαντο εἰς θεούς, καὶ προσκυνοῦσιν αὐτούς.</u>	τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐποίησεν εἰς θεὸν γλυπτὸν καὶ προσκυνεῖ αὐτῷ καὶ προσεύχεται λέγων Ἐξελοῦ με, ὅτι θεός μου εἶ σύ.	καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτοῦ εἰς βδέλυγμα ἐποίησε καὶ προσκυνοῦσιν αὐτῷ.
<u>לכרת־לו <u>ארזים ויקח תרזה ואלון</u> <u>ויאמץ־לו</u> בעצי־יער נטע ארן וגשם יגדל והיה לאדם לבער ויקח מהם ויחם אף־ישיק ואפה לחם אף־ יפעל־אל וישתחו <u>עשהו פסל</u> ויסגד־למו</u>	חציו שרף במו־אש על־<u>חציו</u> בשר יאכל יצלה <u>צלי</u> וישבע אף־יחם ויאמר האח חמותי ראיתי אור <u>ושאריתו</u> לאל עשה לפסלו יסגוד־לו <u>וישתחו</u> ויתפלל <u>אליו</u> ויאמר הצילני כי אלי אתה	חציו שרפתי במו־אש ואף אפיתי על־גחליו לחם אצלה בשר ואכל ויתרו לתועבה אעשה לבול <u>עץ</u> אסגוד

The following harmonising adjustments seem to have been made in the Greek. Firstly, the baking of bread on the fire (shown in bold italics in the diagram above) is in LXX Isaiah not only mentioned in accounts *a* and *c*, but also in *b*. Secondly, the idea that the idol is made out of the *rest* (λοιπόν) of the wood (shown in bold), can in the Greek be read not only in *b* and *c* but also in *a*. Furthermore, the clause על־חציו בשר יאכל יצלה צלי / καὶ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κρέας ὀπτήσας ἔφαγε in *b* (v.16; shown in shadow script) has been adapted to אצלה בשר ואכל / καὶ ὀπτήσας κρέας ἔφαγε in v.19b (*c*) by means of the omission of חצ and צלי.[37] Lastly, in the clause לבול עץ אסגוד in v.19b (*c*) עץ does not have an equivalent in the LXX, so the Greek version of these words (καὶ προσκυνοῦσιν αὐτῷ) was harmonised to καὶ προσκυνεῖ αὐτῷ in v.17 (*b*). In account *a* too the text has been altered so as to create a similar clause, namely through the rendering of וישתחו עשהו פסל ויסגד־למו in v.15 by καὶ προσκυνοῦσιν αὐτούς.

8.2.3 *Other examples of contextual harmonisation and exegesis in LXX Isaiah*

In numerous other places, scattered throughout the entire translation of Isaiah, one can also find instances of pluses and minuses caused by contextual harmonisation or exegesis. As regards pluses, this involves the addition of expressions which appear in the near context—in a similar formulation or touching on the same topic. With respect to minuses, it concerns cases in which words seem to have been omitted in assimilation to parallel formulations nearby. Defining what exactly one means with "nearby" or "the near context" is a somewhat subjective matter. For the sake of convenience, I will reckon here as such the entire chapter to which a verse belongs.[38]

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[37] Also 1QIsaᵃ displays harmonising variants in Isa 44:14–19, but these are different from the ones in LXX Isa: 1QIsaᵃ seems to have adapted account *b* (vv.16–17) to account *c* (v.19b) by reading חציו בשר ויאכל ועל גחליו ⁽ᵛᵉˡ⁾ in v.16, and by reading לבליו עץ instead of the Masoretic על־חציו בשר יאכל יצלה צלי וישבע אף־יחם ישב ויחם for the Masoretic in v.16, and by reading לבליו עץ instead of the Masoretic לפסלו in v.17.

[38] Contrary to Tov, who considers as "harmonization within the same context" only harmonisations which occur within the same verse or in adjacent verses (Tov, "Nature and Background," 5).

In the following overview of LXX Isaiah's additions and omissions that may have arisen from contextual borrowing the verses from which expressions have been adopted or to which they have been adjusted are presented in the column on the right:

1:21	**πόλις πιστὴ** <u>Σιων</u>	1:26	μητρόπολις πιστὴ Σιων

2:2	Ὅτι ἔσται ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις ἐμφανὲς **τὸ ὄρος τοῦ κυρίου** <u>καὶ</u> ὁ οἶκος <u>τοῦ θεοῦ</u> ἐπ᾽ ἄκρων τῶν ὀρέων[39]	2:3	Δεῦτε ἀναβῶμεν εἰς **τὸ ὄρος κυρίου** καὶ εἰς **τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ** Ιακωβ

3:7	Οὐκ ἔσομαί <u>σου</u> ἀρχηγός· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου ἄρτος οὐδὲ ἱμάτιον·	3:6	Ἱμάτιον ἔχεις, **ἀρχηγὸς ἡμῶν** γενοῦ, καὶ τὸ βρῶμα τὸ ἐμὸν ὑπὸ σὲ ἔστω.

LXX Isa 3:6 comprises a plea to a "brother" to be the leader of the people (MT: קצין תהיה־לנו). Verse 7 gives the negative answer of this person (MT: לא־אהיה חבש). In the LXX this answer has been adapted to the previous question by way of the addition of a genitive pronoun σου to ἀρχηγός, parallel to ἀρχηγὸς ἡμῶν in v.7.

13:5	ἔρχεσθαι ἐκ γῆς πόρρωθεν ἀπ᾽ ἄκρου <u>θεμελίου</u> τοῦ οὐρανοῦ	13:13	ὁ γὰρ οὐρανὸς θυμωθήσεται καὶ ἡ γῆ σεισθήσεται ἐκ τῶν **θεμελίων** αὐτῆς
13:9	θεῖναι **τὴν οἰκουμένην** <u>ὅλην</u> ἔρημον	13:5	τοῦ καταφθεῖραι **τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην**.
13:11	καὶ ἐντελοῦμαι **τῇ οἰκουμένῃ** <u>ὅλῃ</u> κακὰ		

14:4	καὶ ἐρεῖς <u>ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ</u>	14:3	Καὶ ἔσται **ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ**

14:12	συνετρίβη εἰς τὴν γῆν ὁ ἀπο-στέλλων πρὸς <u>πάντα</u> τὰ ἔθνη.	14:26	καὶ αὕτη ἡ χεὶρ ἡ ὑψηλὴ ἐπὶ **πάντα τὰ ἔθνη** τῆς οἰκουμένης.

14:17	ὁ θεὶς **τὴν οἰκουμένην** <u>ὅλην</u> ἔρημον	14:26	αὕτη ἡ βουλή, ἣν βεβούλευται κύριος ἐπὶ **τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην**

15:7	**ἐπάξω γὰρ** (–) **ἐπὶ** τὴν φάραγγα Ἄραβας	15:9	**ἐπάξω γὰρ ἐπὶ** Ρεμμων Ἄραβας

The MT reading of the clause cited from 15:7 is ופקדתם על נחל הערבים. The LXX has apparently read ופקדתם as a first person singular perfect verb with a third person plural suffix (although not representing the suffix) rather than as a noun phrase in the sense of "their possession," as the MT vocalises the form. The rendering of ופקדתם by ἐπάξω γὰρ ἐπί has taken place in harmonisation with 15:9, where the LXX shows a similar verb phrase, this time as a fairly literal translation of the Hebrew (כי־אשית על־דימון נוספות).

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[39] Cf. sections 7.3.1.1e and 8.4.5.5.

15:8   καὶ ὀλολυγμὸς αὐτῆς <u>ἕως</u> τοῦ φρέατος τοῦ Αιλιμ.[40]

15:4   <u>ἕως</u> Ιασσα ἠκούσθη ἡ φωνὴ αὐτῆς·
15:5   ἡ καρδία τῆς Μωαβίτιδος βοᾷ ἐν ἑαυτῇ <u>ἕως</u> Σηγωρ

21:16   Ἔτι ἐνιαυτὸς ὡς ἐνιαυτὸς μισθωτοῦ, ἐκλείψει ἡ δόξα <u>τῶν υἱῶν</u> Κηδαρ

21:17   καὶ τὸ κατάλοιπον τῶν τοξευμάτων **τῶν** ἰσχυρῶν **υἱῶν Κηδαρ** ἔσται ὀλίγον

22:21   καὶ τὸ κράτος <u>καὶ **τὴν οἰκονομίαν** σου</u> δώσω εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ

22:19   καὶ ἀφαιρεθήσῃ ἐκ **τῆς οἰκονομίας σου** καὶ ἐκ τῆς στάσεώς σου.

In Isa 22:17–19 God announces to the steward Somna (Shebna) that he will remove from him his insignia. In the ensuing verses—vv. 20–24—he threatens to give them to Eliakim instead. By way of the insertion of τὴν οἰκονομίαν in v.21 the translator has made these passages resemble each other even more in the Greek than they already do in the Hebrew:

17–19 What God takes away from Somna   *20–24 What God will give to Eliakim*

τὴν στολήν σου (17)   τὴν στολήν σου (21)
τὸν στέφανόν σου τὸν ἔνδοξον (18)   τὸν στέφανόν σου (21)
τῆς οἰκονομίας σου (19)   τὴν οἰκονομίαν σου (21)

24:14   <u>**οἱ δὲ καταλειφθέντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς**</u> εὐφρανθήσονται ἅμα τῇ δόξῃ κυρίου.

24:6   διὰ τοῦτο πτωχοὶ ἔσονται οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες **ἐν τῇ γῇ**, καὶ **καταλειφθήσονται** ἄνθρωποι ὀλίγοι.

26:5a   ὃς <u>**ταπεινώσας** κατήγαγες</u> τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν ὑψηλοῖς·

26:5b   πόλεις ὀχυρὰς **καταβαλεῖς** καὶ **κατάξεις** ἕως ἐδάφους[41]

With the MT of 26:5a reading כי השח ישבי מרום, the LXX seems to represent the verb השח by both ταπεινώσας and κατήγαγες.[42] This may be in conformity to LXX Isa 26:5b, which accordingly offers two verb forms in the sense of "to bring down." Compare also 25:12: καὶ τὸ ὕψος τῆς καταφυγῆς τοῦ τοίχου σου **ταπεινώσει**, καὶ **καταβήσεται** ἕως τοῦ ἐδάφους.[43]

26:19   ἀναστήσονται **οἱ νεκροί** (–), καὶ ἐγερθήσονται οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις (–)

26:14   **οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ** ζωὴν οὐ μὴ ἴδωσιν, οὐδὲ ἰατροὶ οὐ μὴ ἀναστήσωσι·

The lack of representation of the suffix in מתיך (οἱ νεκροί) and נבלתי (οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις) in 26:19 may be the result of harmonisation with מתים / οἱ δὲ νεκροί in v.14.

27:8   οὐ σὺ ἦσθα ὁ μελετῶν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ σκληρῷ <u>**ἀνελεῖν**</u>

27:7   καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς **ἀνεῖλεν**, οὕτως ἀναιρεθήσεται;

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[40] MT: ובאר אילים יללתה.
[41] MT: קריה נשגבה ישפילנה ישפילה עד־ארץ יגיענה עד־עפר.
[42] Cf. section 2.5a.
[43] The MT of 25:12 reads ומבצר משגב חומתיך השח השפיל הגיע לארץ עד־עפר.

αὐτοὺς πνεύματι θυμοῦ;[44]

27:9 καὶ οὐ μὴ μείνῃ τὰ δένδρα
αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ εἴδωλα αὐτῶν
ἐκκεκομμένα ὥσπερ δρυμὸς μακράν.[45]

27:9 ὅταν θῶσι πάντας τοὺς λίθους τῶν
βωμῶν κατακεκομμένους ὡς κονίαν
λεπτήν·

28:17b–18 καὶ οἱ πεποιθότες μάτην
ψεύδει· ὅτι οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ὑμᾶς
καταιγίς, μὴ καὶ ἀφέλῃ ὑμῶν τὴν
διαθήκην τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ ἡ ἐλπὶς
ὑμῶν ἡ πρὸς τὸν ᾅδην οὐ μὴ ἐμμείνῃ·
καταιγὶς φερομένη ἐὰν ἐπέλθῃ,
ἔσεσθε αὐτῇ εἰς καταπάτημα.

28:15 Ἐποιήσαμεν διαθήκην μετὰ τοῦ ᾅδου
καὶ μετὰ τοῦ θανάτου συνθήκας,
καταιγὶς φερομένη ἐὰν παρέλθῃ οὐ μὴ
ἔλθῃ ἡμῖν, ἐθήκαμεν ψεῦδος τὴν
ἐλπίδα ἡμῶν καὶ τῷ ψεύδει
σκεπασθησόμεθα

The MT of Isa 28:17b–18 reads as follows:

ויעה ברד מחסה כזב	hail will sweep away the refuge of lies,
וסתר מים ישטפו	and waters will overwhelm the shelter.
וכפר בריתכם את־מות	Then your covenant with death will be annulled,
וחזותכם את־שאול לא תקום	and your agreement with Sheol will not stand;
שוט שוטף כי יעבר	when the overwhelming scourge passes through
והייתם לו למרמס	you will be beaten down by it

The Greek text of 28:17b (καὶ οἱ πεποιθότες μάτην ψεύδει· ὅτι οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ὑμᾶς καταιγίς) is rather divergent from the MT (ויעה ברד מחסה כזב וסתר מים ישטפו). It is not easy to find out how the translator has construed this content out of the Hebrew. The noun phrase οἱ πεποιθότες he may have derived from מחסה, connecting the meaning of the root חסה = "to hide" with "to trust" (compare 30:3 והחסות / τοῖς πεποιθόσιν). μάτην seems to be a plus, whilst ψεύδει forms an equivalent of כזב ("lie").[46] Whether the words ὅτι οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ὑμᾶς καταιγίς can be matched to וסתר מים ישטפו is dubious. καταιγίς may correspond to ישטפו, linked to שוט שוטף ("the overwhelming scourge") in v.18, which has been rendered there as καταιγὶς φερομένη. Nevertheless, one could as well posit that the Greek clause is a plus and the Hebrew one a minus. Whatever the case, the Greek line obviously points back to the similar formulation καταιγὶς φερομένη ἐὰν παρέλθῃ in v.15. Whereas the latter verse expresses the (false) hope of the people that danger will not reach them, in vv.17b–19 God pronounces that the contrary will be the case. In his reaction to the bold statements of the people, God makes use of some of their words in order to contradict them. By the reformulation of v.17b this repetition has been increased by the translator. The contrast between the people's hope and God's threat is even more accentuated by virtue of the fact that in the LXX these verses relate to each other in a chiastic way:

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[44] MT: הגה ברוחו הקשה ביום קדים.
[45] MT: לא־יקמו אשרים וחמנים כי עיר בצורה בדד.
[46] One could also posit that the Greek clause as a whole forms an interpretation of the Hebrew clause as a whole, which was considered to be metaphorical.

v.15

A   Ἐποιήσαμεν ***διαθήκην*** μετὰ *τοῦ ᾅδου*   καὶ μετὰ ***τοῦ θανάτου*** συνθήκας,

B   *καταιγὶς φερομένη ἐὰν παρέλθῃ*   *οὐ μὴ ἔλθῃ ἡμῖν,*

C   ἐθήκαμεν **ψεῦδος** τὴν **ἐλπίδα** ἡμῶν   καὶ τῷ **ψεύδει** σκεπασθησόμεθα

vv.17–18a

C'   καὶ **θήσω** κρίσιν εἰς **ἐλπίδα**,   ἡ δὲ ἐλεημοσύνη μου εἰς σταθμούς,

      καὶ οἱ πεποιθότες μάτην **ψεύδει**·

B'   ὅτι *οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ὑμᾶς καταιγίς,*

A'   μὴ καὶ ἀφέλῃ ὑμῶν   τὴν ***διαθήκην τοῦ θανάτου***,

      καὶ ἡ ἐλπὶς ὑμῶν ἡ πρὸς ***τὸν ᾅδην***   οὐ μὴ ἐμμείνῃ·

vv.18b–19

B''   *καταιγὶς φερομένη ἐὰν ἐπέλθῃ,*   ἔσεσθε αὐτῇ εἰς καταπάτημα.

      ὅταν *παρέλθῃ,* λήμψεται *ὑμᾶς*

      πρωὶ πρωὶ παρελεύσεται ἡμέρας,   καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ ἔσται ἐλπὶς πονηρά·

32:19	<u>καὶ ἔσονται οἱ **ἐνοικοῦντες**</u> <u>ἐν</u> τοῖς δρυμοῖς <u>**πεποιθότες**</u> <u>ὡς</u> οἱ ἐν τῇ πεδινῇ.	32:17	καὶ **πεποιθότες** ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος·
		32:18	καὶ κατοικήσει ὁ λαὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν πόλει εἰρήνης καὶ **ἐνοικήσει πεποιθώς**

The final words of 32:19 in the Hebrew—היער ובשפלה תשפל העיר—have been entirely rearranged in the Greek. While היער and ובשפלה are used with a different function, תשפל העיר has been omitted. The new sentence in the LXX has been complemented with the words καὶ ἔσονται οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες and πεποιθότες ὡς, which may additionally serve to tie v.19 to vv.17–18 more closely. Also in those verses it is said of God's people that they will dwell in confidence.

41:4	τίς ἐνήργησε καὶ **ἐποίησε** <u>ταῦτα</u>;	41:20	ἵνα ἴδωσι καὶ γνῶσι καὶ ἐννοηθῶσι καὶ ἐπιστῶνται ἅμα ὅτι χεὶρ κυρίου **ἐποίησε ταῦτα** <u>πάντα</u>

In 41:20 an answer is given to the question posed in v.4. Probably the Isaiah translator has added ταῦτα in v.4 in analogy to v.20, so as to give prominence to the connection between the two verses.

41:4	<u>**ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὴν**</u> ὁ καλῶν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ γενεῶν ἀρχῆς	41:2	τίς ἐξήγειρεν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν δικαιοσύνην, **ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὴν** κατὰ πόδας αὐτοῦ

The Hebrew version of the clause from 41:4 quoted above reads קרא הדרות מראש. The LXX represents the participle קרא twice, with on the one hand ὁ καλῶν, and on the other ἐκάλεσεν αὐτήν. The latter rendering can be assumed to have been affected by ἐκάλεσεν αὐτήν in v.2.

41:5	εἴδοσαν ἔθνη καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν, τὰ ἄκρα τῆς γῆς ἤγγισαν καὶ ἤλθοσαν <u>**ἅμα**</u>	41:20	ἵνα ἴδωσι καὶ γνῶσι καὶ ἐννοηθῶσι καὶ ἐπιστῶνται **ἅμα**
		41:23	εὖ ποιήσατε καὶ κακώσατε, καὶ θαυμασόμεθα καὶ ὀψόμεθα **ἅμα**·

As in 41:20 and 23, the adverb ἅμα in v.5 is joined to a couple of parallel verbs. Each time these verbs express the people's realisation of the power of God (41:5,20), or of the lack of power of the idols (41:23).

41:17 ἐγὼ κύριος **ὁ θεός**, ἐγὼ ἐπακούσομαι, **ὁ θεὸς** Ισραηλ

41:21 Ἐγγίζει ἡ κρίσις ὑμῶν, λέγει κύριος **ὁ θεός**·

41:4 ἐγὼ **θεὸς** πρῶτος

41:10 ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι **ὁ θεός** σου ὁ ἐνισχύσας σε

41:13 ὅτι ἐγὼ **ὁ θεός** σου ὁ κρατῶν τῆς δεξιᾶς σου

41:14 ἐγὼ ἐβοήθησά σοι, λέγει **ὁ θεὸς** ὁ λυτρούμενός σε, Ισραηλ.

LXX Isa 41 exhibits a preference for (κύριος ὁ) θεός as a denomination for God. While in vv.17 and 21 θεός is a plus, in vv.4 and 14 it renders יהוה.

41:23 **ἀναγγείλατε** <u>ἡμῖν</u> τὰ ἐπερχόμενα ἐπ' ἐσχάτου, καὶ γνωσόμεθα ὅτι θεοί ἐστε·

41:22 ἐγγισάτωσαν καὶ **ἀναγγειλάτωσαν** **ὑμῖν** ἃ συμβήσεται, ἢ τὰ πρότερα τίνα ἦν εἴπατε, καὶ ἐπιστήσομεν τὸν νοῦν καὶ γνωσόμεθα τί τὰ ἔσχατα, καὶ τὰ ἐπερχόμενα εἴπατε ἡμῖν.

In 41:22a Isaiah addresses the people, insisting that the idols have to prove themselves to them. In vv.22b–23 he addresses the idols themselves with the same challenge. The LXX translator—or a later editor[47]—may have supplemented an object ἡμῖν to ἀναγγείλατε in v.23 so as to assimilate this command to ἀναγγειλάτωσαν ὑμῖν in v.22.[48]

41:28 ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἰδοὺ οὐθείς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων αὐτῶν οὐκ ἦν ὁ ἀναγγέλλων· καὶ ἐὰν ἐρωτήσω αὐτούς **Πόθεν ἐστέ**, οὐ μὴ ἀποκριθῶσί μοι.

41:23–24 ἀναγγείλατε τὰ ἐπερχόμενα ἐπ' ἐσχάτου, καὶ γνωσόμεθα ὅτι θεοί ἐστε· εὖ ποιήσατε καὶ κακώσατε, καὶ θαυμασόμεθα καὶ ὀψόμεθα ἅμα· ὅτι **πόθεν ἐστὲ** ὑμεῖς καὶ **πόθεν** ἡ ἐργασία ὑμῶν;

The MT of these verses reads as follows:

MT Isa 41:23–24   הגידו האתיות לאחור ונדעה כי אלהים אתם אף־תיטיבו ותרעו ונשתעה
ונרא ונראה יחדו הן־אתם מאין ופעלכם מאפע תועבה יבחר בכם

MT Isa 41:28   וארא ואין איש ומאלה ואין יועץ ואשאלם וישיבו דבר

In 41:28 ומאלה ("and from among these") is rendered καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων, as though the Hebrew reads ומאלים or ומאלהים ("and from among the gods"). Besides that, Πόθεν ἐστέ has been inserted in the LXX. Both changes have apparently been made in harmonisation with v.24, where in the Greek the gods are also asked where they come from: ὅτι πόθεν ἐστὲ ὑμεῖς καὶ πόθεν ἡ ἐργασία ὑμῶν; here the first πόθεν derives from מאין, understood in the sense of "whence" rather than as "nothing" (cf. 39:3 ומאין יבאו

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[47] The Göttingen edition has left out ἡμῖν in 41:23. The manuscript tradition is divided on this issue, although the two most important Alexandrian witnesses A and Q, are in favour of a reading without ἡμῖν. The pronoun may have been added by a later editor of the LXX.

[48] Additionally, ἡμῖν may have been added parallel to the preceding clause καὶ τὰ ἐπερχόμενα εἴπατε ἡμῖν.

אליך), while the second πόθεν stems from מאפע ("nothing"), read as מאיפוא—"from whence."

43:10 γένεσθέ μοι μάρτυρες, **κἀγὼ μάρτυς**, λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός, καὶ ὁ παῖς, ὃν ἐξελεξάμην, ἵνα γνῶτε καὶ πιστεύσητε καὶ συνῆτε ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι, ἔμπροσθέν μου οὐκ ἐγένετο ἄλλος θεὸς καὶ μετ᾽ ἐμὲ οὐκ ἔσται·

43:12 ἀνήγγειλα καὶ ἔσωσα, ἐνώτισα καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἐν ὑμῖν ἀλλότριος· ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ μάρτυρες **κἀγὼ μάρτυς**, λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός.

κἀγὼ μάρτυς in v.10 has been copied from v.12, where these words render ואני־אל.

44:7 **στήτω** καλεσάτω καὶ ἑτοιμασάτω μοι ἀφ᾽ οὗ ἐποίησα ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα[49]

44:11 συναχθήτωσαν πάντες καὶ **στήτωσαν** ἅμα, ἐντραπήτωσαν καὶ αἰσχυνθήτωσαν ἅμα.

45:5 ὅτι ἐγώ κύριος ὁ θεός, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι πλὴν ἐμοῦ θεός, (–) καὶ οὐκ ᾔδεις με

45:14–15 Οὐκ ἔστι θεὸς πλὴν σοῦ· σὺ γὰρ εἶ θεός, καὶ οὐκ ᾔδειμεν, ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ισραηλ σωτήρ.[50]

In LXX Isa 45:5 an equivalent to the Hebrew verb אאזרך ("I will gird you") is missing:

MT Isa 45:5   אני יהוה ואין עוד זולתי אין אלהים <u>אאזרך</u> ולא ידעתני

The omission of this verb has aligned v.5 to v.15, since there too the declaration of the divineness and uniqueness of God is immediately followed by the statement that the people have not known him. In v.15 οὐκ ᾔδειμεν translates מסתתר ("he who hides himself"). This rendering in its turn is probably encouraged by ולא ידעתני / καὶ οὐκ ᾔδεις με in v.5. So, between these two verses a kind of cross-pollination seems to have occurred.

45:21 (–) Ἐγὼ ὁ θεός, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος (–) **πλὴν ἐμοῦ**·

45:5 ὅτι **ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός**, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι πλὴν ἐμοῦ <u>θεός</u>

45:6 **ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι**·

45:7 **ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς** ὁ ποιῶν ταῦτα πάντα.

45:8 **ἐγώ εἰμι κύριος** ὁ κτίσας σε.

45:18 **Ἐγώ εἰμι, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι.**

45:19 **ἐγώ εἰμι** ἐγώ εἰμι κύριος λαλῶν Δικαιοσύνην

45:22 **ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ θεός, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος.**

In LXX Isa 45:21 some words are missing as compared to the Hebrew:

Isa 45:21   <u>הלוא</u> אני יהוה ואין־עוד <u>אלהים</u> מבלעדי

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[49] MT: יקרא ויגידה ויערכה לי משומי עם־עולם. I have considered στήτω as a plus, καλεσάτω as a rendering of יקרא, and ויגידה as a minus (i.e. an omission for the sake of condensation). Alternatively, στήτω could be perceived as translating יקרא (perhaps read as יקרה).

[50] MT: ואין עוד אפס אלהים אכן אתה אל מסתתר אלהי ישראל מושיע.

These two minuses have approximated 45:21 to other verses in the same chapter in which God similarly declares that there is no god beside him. In those verses God's self revelation is affirmative rather than interrogative, which may have prompted the translator to leave out the question particle הלוא in v.21. אלהים he has omitted in analogy to 45:6,18 and 22 (in 45:5 θεός has been added, however).

47:1	εἴσελθε εἰς τὸ σκότος, (–)	47:5	εἴσελθε εἰς τὸ σκότος,
	θυγάτηρ Χαλδαίων		θυγάτηρ Χαλδαίων

The words spoken to the daughter of Babylon in Isa 47:1—in Hebrew שבי־לארץ אין־כסא בת־כשדים—have in the Greek been altered to εἴσελθε εἰς τὸ σκότος, θυγάτηρ Χαλδαίων. Both the rendering of שבי לארץ as εἴσελθε εἰς τὸ σκότος and the omission of אין־כסא have made this verse conform to v.5:

v.1

a   רדי ושבי על־עפר   Κατάβηθι *κάθισον* ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν,
    בתולת בת־בבל   παρθένος θυγάτηρ Βαβυλῶνος,
b   שבי־לארץ <u>אין־כסא</u>   εἴσελθε εἰς τὸ σκότος,
    בת־כשדים   θυγάτηρ Χαλδαίων,
c   כי לא תוסיפי יקראו־לך   ὅτι *οὐκέτι* προσετέθησῃ *κληθῆναι*
    רכה וענגה   ἁπαλὴ καὶ τρυφερά.

v.5

a   שבי דומם   *Κάθισον* κατανενυγμένη,
b   ובאי בחשך   εἴσελθε εἰς τὸ σκότος,
    בת־כשדים   θυγάτηρ Χαλδαίων,
c   כי לא תוסיפי יקראו־לך   *οὐκέτι* μὴ *κληθήσῃ*
    גברת ממלכות   ἰσχὺς βασιλείας.

Remarkably enough, the only expression that is precisely identical in the Hebrew versions of 47:1 and 5, namely כי לא תוסיפי יקראו־לך, received a somewhat varying translation in the LXX. In v.1 it became ὅτι οὐκέτι προσετέθησῃ κληθῆναι, in v.5 οὐκέτι μὴ κληθήσῃ.[51]

47:10	σὺ γὰρ εἶπας Ἐγώ εἰμι, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν <u>ἑτέρα</u>.[52]	47:8	ἡ λέγουσα ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς Ἐγώ εἰμι, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἑτέρα·
49:5	καὶ νῦν <u>οὕτως</u> λέγει κύριος[53]	49:7	Οὕτως λέγει κύριος
		49:8	οὕτως λέγει κύριος
		49:22	Οὕτως λέγει κύριος
49:7	Οὕτως λέγει κύριος ὁ ῥυσάμενός σε ὁ θεὸς Ισραηλ	49:26	ὅτι ἐγὼ ὁ ῥυσάμενός σε καὶ ἀντιλαμβανόμενος ἰσχύος Ιακωβ.

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[51] For a further analysis of these verses, see section 7.4c.

[52] MT: אמרת אין ראני. Perhaps ראני was read as אני (Ἐγώ εἰμι), while אין was rendered καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν.

[53] 1QIsa^b has כה אמר יהוה; see section 12.3.2.1.

The translator has adapted 49:7 to v.26 by expanding the phrase גאל ישראל into ὁ ῥυσάμενός σε ὁ θεὸς Ισραηλ.[54] Compare for ὁ ῥυσάμενός σε (usually in combination with ἅγιος [θεὸς] Ισραηλ) also 47:4; 48:17; and 54:5,8.

51:7	ἀκούσατέ μου, οἱ εἰδότες κρίσιν, **λαός μου**, οὗ ὁ νόμος μου ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν·	51:4	ἀκούσατέ μου ἀκούσατε, **λαός μου**,
		51:16	Σιων **Λαός μου** εἶ σύ.
51:9	Ἐξεγείρου ἐξεγείρου, <u>Ιερουσαλημ</u>	51:17	Ἐξεγείρου ἐξεγείρου ἀνάστηθι, Ιερουσαλημ[55]
51:18	καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ ἀντιλαμβανόμενος τῆς χειρός σου οὐδὲ ἀπὸ πάντων **τῶν υἱῶν <u>σου</u>**, ὧν ὕψωσας.	51:20	**οἱ υἱοί σου** οἱ ἀπορούμενοι, οἱ καθεύδοντες ἐπ' ἄκρου πάσης ἐξόδου
55:11	ὃ <u>**ἐὰν**</u> ἐξέλθῃ ἐκ τοῦ στόματός μου	55:10	ὡς γὰρ **ἐὰν** καταβῇ ὑετὸς ἢ χιὼν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ

In Isa 55:10–11 a simile is presented, whereby v.10 gives the image and v.11 its signification. The wording of the explanation of this simile has in LXX Isaiah been adjusted to that of the image by way of the addition of ἐάν in v.11. For the same reason ושמה in v.10 and ריקם in v.11 have not been translated:

v.10, image:

כי כאשר ירד הגשם והשלג מן־השמים	ὡς γὰρ **ἐὰν** καταβῇ ὑετὸς ἢ χιὼν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
<u>ושמה</u> לא ישוב	καὶ **οὐ μὴ ἀποστραφῇ**,
כי אם־הרוה את־הארץ	ἕως ἂν μεθύσῃ τὴν γῆν,
והולידה והצמיחה	καὶ ἐκτέκῃ καὶ ἐκβλαστήσῃ
ונתן זרע לזרע	καὶ δῷ σπέρμα τῷ σπείροντι
ולחם לאכל	καὶ ἄρτον εἰς βρῶσιν

v.11, meaning:	כן יהיה דברי	οὕτως ἔσται τὸ ῥῆμά μου,
	אשר יצא מפי	ὃ <u>**ἐὰν**</u> ἐξέλθῃ ἐκ τοῦ στόματός μου,
	לא־ישוב אלי <u>ריקם</u>	**οὐ μὴ ἀποστραφῇ**,
	כי אם־עשה את־אשר חפצתי	ἕως ἂν συντελεσθῇ ὅσα ἠθέλησα

55:11	καὶ εὐοδώσω **<u>τὰς ὁδούς σου</u>** καὶ τὰ ἐντάλματά μου.[56]	55:7	ἀπολιπέτω ὁ ἀσεβὴς **τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτοῦ**
		55:8	οὐδὲ ὥσπερ **αἱ ὁδοὶ ὑμῶν** αἱ ὁδοί μου
		55:9	οὕτως ἀπέχει ἡ ὁδός μου ἀπὸ **τῶν ὁδῶν ὑμῶν**

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[54] The MT of 49:7 reads: כה אמר־יהוה גאל ישראל קדושו. An alternative explanation for the LXX rendering would be that the translator has based ὁ θεός on his *Vorlage*. He may have had a text in front of him similar to 1QIsaᵃ, which offers כוה אמר <u>אדני</u> יהוה גואל<u>כה</u> ישראל, and then have changed the order of these words (thus Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background*, 542); see section 12.3.1.1.

[55] Cf. also 52:1 Ἐξεγείρου ἐξεγείρου, Σιων, ἔνδυσαι τὴν ἰσχύν σου, Σιων, καὶ ἔνδυσαι τὴν δόξαν σου, Ιερουσαλημ πόλις ἡ ἁγία·

[56] MT: והצליח אשר שלחתיו. Also Isa 48:15 may have figured in the realisation of this rendering: אני אני דברתי אף־קראתיו הביאתיו והצליח דרכו / ἐγὼ ἐλάλησα, ἐγὼ ἐκάλεσα, ἤγαγον αὐτὸν καὶ *εὐόδωσα τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ*.

56:6 καὶ πάντας τοὺς φυλασσομένους **τὰ σάββατά** <u>μου</u> μὴ βεβηλοῦν καὶ ἀντεχομένους τῆς διαθήκης μου	56:4 ὅσοι ἂν φυλάξωνται **τὰ σάββατά μου** καὶ ἐκλέξωνται ἃ ἐγὼ θέλω καὶ ἀντέχωνται τῆς διαθήκης μου
57:15b Ἅγιος <u>ἐν ἁγίοις</u> ὄνομα αὐτῷ	57:15a Τάδε λέγει κύριος **ὁ ὕψιστος ὁ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς** κατοικῶν τὸν αἰῶνα[57]
58:10 καὶ δῷς **πεινῶντι** <u>τὸν ἄρτον</u> ἐκ ψυχῆς **σου**[58]	58:7 διάθρυπτε **πεινῶντι τὸν ἄρτον σου**
63:16 ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς **τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐφ᾽** <u>ἡμᾶς</u> ἐστιν.	63:19 ἐγενόμεθα ὡς τὸ ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς, ὅτε οὐκ ἦρξας ἡμῶν οὐδὲ ἐπεκλήθη **τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς.**[59]
64:8(9) μὴ ὀργίζου ἡμῖν σφόδρα καὶ μὴ ἐν καιρῷ μνησθῇς **ἁμαρτιῶν** <u>ἡμῶν</u>.	64:6(7) ὅτι ἀπέστρεψας τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν καὶ παρέδωκας ἡμᾶς διὰ τὰς **ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν.**
65:9 καὶ ἐξάξω τὸ ἐξ Ιακωβ σπέρμα καὶ τὸ ἐξ Ιουδα, καὶ κληρονομήσει **τὸ ὄρος** <u>τὸ ἅγιόν</u> μου[60]	65:11 ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ ἐγκαταλιπόντες με καὶ ἐπιλανθανόμενοι **τὸ ὄρος τὸ ἅγιόν μου** 65:25 οὐδὲ μὴ λυμανοῦνται ἐπὶ **τῷ ὄρει τῷ ἁγίῳ μου**
65:7c ἀποδώσω τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν κόλπον αὐτῶν.	65:6–7a Οὐ σιωπήσω, ἕως ἂν ἀποδῶ εἰς τὸν κόλπον αὐτῶν· τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν πατέρων αὐτῶν

In Isa 65:7c ראשנה is not represented in the LXX. This may be the result of assimilation to 65:6, where a comparable clause appears without this adverb:

MT Isa 65:6–7a	לא אחשה כי אם־שלמתי ושלמתי על־חיקם עונתיכם ועונת אבותיכם יחדו ...
MT Isa 65:7c	ומדתי פעלתם <u>ראשנה</u> על־חיקם

66:9 οὐκ <u>ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ</u> γεννῶσαν καὶ στεῖραν ἐποίησα; εἶπεν ὁ θεός.[61]	66:12 ὅτι τάδε λέγει κύριος **ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ** ἐκκλίνω εἰς αὐτοὺς ὡς ποταμὸς εἰρήνης
66:23 καὶ ἔσται μῆνα ἐκ μηνὸς καὶ σάββατον ἐκ σαββάτου ἥξει πᾶσα σὰρξ ἐνώπιόν μου	66:20 καὶ ἄξουσι τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ὑμῶν ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν δῶρον κυρίῳ μεθ᾽ ἵππων καὶ ἁρμάτων ἐν λαμπήναις

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[57] MT: כי כה אמר רם ונשא שכן עד.

[58] MT: ותפק לרעב נפשך.

[59] Cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 78.

[60] MT: והוצאתי מיעקב זרע ומיהודה יורש הרי.

[61] MT: אם־אני המוליד ועצרתי אמר אלהיך. Another possibility is that ἰδού is not a plus, but that the translator read הנני for אני (cf. הנני in v.12). For other cases of ἰδοὺ ἐγώ, see 54:11 (הנה אנכי) and 54:16 (הן אנכי).

προσκυνῆσαι <u>ἐν Ιερουσαλημ</u>, εἶπε κύριος.[62]

ἡμιόνων μετὰ σκιαδίων εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν Ιερουσαλημ

8.2.4 Conclusion to 8.2

Contextual harmonisation and exegesis form an important source for pluses and minuses in the Septuagint of Isaiah. Contextual *harmonisation* occurs especially when the text contains two parts that are closely related to each other, displaying similar statements. Sometimes the two related parts consist of a question and the answer to it (see LXX Isa 3:6,7; 36:11,12; 41:2,4; and 41:4,20), a simile and its explanation (55:10,11), or a speech and the reference to it by another figure (cf. 28:15,17–18 and 37:4,17). Also when the text presents several accounts of the same event these different reports are occasionally harmonised to each other (cf. 39:2,4 and 44:14–19). Through contextual harmonisation the translator (or a later editor) may have sought to strengthen the links between the different sections of the discourse, and so to attain a greater consistency and coherence.

Also contextual *exegesis* has been applied in order to strengthen or extend intertextual relations. Words that appear earlier or later in the same text are repeated so as to make a connection to the passage where they come from, or to explain the one passage with the help of the other.

By employing contextual harmonisation and exegesis the Isaiah translator showed himself to be part of a wider tradition. In other ancient witnesses and translations of the Bible, such as, for instance, the Samaritan Pentateuch, these techniques were practiced regularly as well.[63] Also the Great Isaiah Scroll displays a relatively large number of cases where an extra word or expression seems to derive from the same or a nearby verse.[64]

8.3 The adoption of elements from passages elsewhere in Isaiah

Besides elements from the immediate context, the translator has often introduced into his text elements from passages elsewhere in the Book of Isaiah. This gave him a means to clarify and interpret difficult portions with the help of other, related passages, but also to create linkages to other sections in Isaiah, thus improving the unity of his translation. The borrowing of elements from elsewhere in Isaiah has earlier been studied by, among others, Zillesen, Ziegler and Koenig.[65] The outline below will list those cases where this technique has led to pluses and minuses in the translation.[66]

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[62] Cf. also 27:13 καὶ προσκυνήσουσι τῷ κυρίῳ ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ἅγιον ἐν ιερουσαλημ.

[63] Cf. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 85–89.

[64] Kutscher mentions 34 cases in 1QIsaᵃ where the extra (group of) word(s) turns up in the same or a nearby verse, and another five where the word is found in the same chapter or on the same subject. This covers almost forty per cent of the total number of pluses he has perceived in 1QIsaᵃ (Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background*, 545). Strikingly enough, of these harmonising pluses 1QIsaᵃ has only a few in common with LXX Isa (see section 12.3.1.1). This confirms the idea that most harmonising pluses and minuses in LXX Isa were created by the translator or by a later Greek editor rather than that they are due to a different *Vorlage*.

[65] Zillessen, "Bemerkungen," 238–263; Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 134–175; Koenig, *L'herméneutique analogique*, 3–103.

[66] For a discussion of pluses and minuses resulting from intertextual borrowing within Isa 36–39, see section 8.2.2.5 above.

8.3.1 A survey of pluses and minuses resulting from the adoption of elements from elsewhere in Isaiah

1:10 προσέχετε **νόμον θεοῦ** (–), λαὸς Γομορρας.

30:9 ὅτι λαὸς ἀπειθής ἐστιν, υἱοὶ ψευδεῖς, οἳ οὐκ ἠβούλοντο ἀκούειν **τὸν νόμον τοῦ θεοῦ**

The MT of Isa 1:10 has האזינו תורת אלהינו עם עמרה. Perhaps the suffix in אלהינו did not receive a translation in the LXX so as to arrive at the expression νόμον θεοῦ, similar to νόμος τοῦ θεοῦ in 30:9 and in other Scriptural passages (e.g. Josh 24:26; 2 Esdr 18:8,18).[67]

1:20 τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησε <u>ταῦτα</u>.

58:14 τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησε <u>ταῦτα</u>.

24:3 τὸ γὰρ <u>στόμα</u> κυρίου ἐλάλησε ταῦτα.

The formula כי פי יהוה דבר appears three times in the Book of Isaiah: in Isa 1:20; 40:5; and 58:14. In 1:20 and 58:14 the LXX supplies ταῦτα, probably in harmonisation with כי יהוה דבר את־הדבר הזה / τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησε ταῦτα in 24:3 (where στόμα is a plus in the LXX). See also the discussion of 24:3 and 40:5 below.

1:25 καὶ ἐπάξω τὴν χεῖρά μου ἐπὶ σὲ καὶ πυρώσω σε εἰς καθαρόν, τοὺς <u>δὲ</u> ἀπειθοῦντας <u>ἀπολέσω</u> καὶ ἀφελῶ πάντας ἀνόμους ἀπὸ σοῦ <u>καὶ πάντας ὑπερηφάνους ταπεινώσω</u>.

10:33 καὶ οἱ ὑψηλοὶ τῇ ὕβρει συντριβήσονται, καὶ οἱ ὑψηλοὶ **ταπεινωθήσονται**

13:11 καὶ **ἀπολῶ** ὕβριν ἀνόμων καὶ ὕβριν **ὑπερηφάνων ταπεινώσω**.

29:20 ἐξέλιπεν ἄνομος, καὶ **ἀπώλετο ὑπερήφανος**, καὶ ἐξωλεθρεύθησαν οἱ ἀνομοῦντες ἐπὶ κακίᾳ

The Hebrew version of 1:25 presents a metaphor, picturing God's punishment of his people as the refinement of metal: ואשיבה ידי עליך ואצרף כבר סיגיך ואסירה כל־בדיליך. The LXX translator has offered an interpretative translation of this verse. He has read the homonym בר in its connotation of "purity" rather than as "lye," and rendered it by εἰς καθαρόν. סיגיך ("your dross") he has associated with סוג ("to turn away") and translated as τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας, starting a new clause with this noun phrase, which he complemented with the verb form ἀπολέσω. The words ואסירה כל־בדיליך ("and I will remove all your alloy") he glossed by καὶ ἀφελῶ πάντας ἀνόμους ἀπὸ σοῦ, while he appended to this a parallel clause καὶ πάντας ὑπερηφάνους ταπεινώσω. In using this phraseology for rendering 1:25 he was probably inspired by Isa 13:11 and 29:20.[68]

3:14 τί ἐνεπυρίσατε **τὸν ἀμπελῶνά μου**

5:1 Ἄισω δὴ τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ ᾆσμα τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ **τῷ ἀμπελῶνί μου**.

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[67] Cf. Wilk, "Vision wider Judäa und wider Jerusalem," 21.

[68] Cf. van der Kooij, "Interpretation of Metaphorical Language," 180–181; Wilk, "Vision wider Judäa und wider Jerusalem," 26–27; van der Louw, "Transformations," 177–179.

In LXX Isa 5:1–7 ὁ ἀμπελῶν μου is used five times as a metaphor representing the people of Israel. When encountering הכרם in Isa 3:14, the translator may have been reminded of this symbolism, which might have encouraged him to add a possessive pronoun in the first person singular to the noun.

5:28	οἱ τροχοὶ <u>τῶν ἁρμάτων αὐτῶν</u> ὡς καταιγίς·	66:15	καὶ ὡς καταιγὶς **τὰ ἅρματα αὐτοῦ**

The words וגלגליו כסופה—"and *his wheels* [are] like the whirlwind"—in 5:28 may have sounded somewhat curious in the ears of the translator, because the possessive pronoun "his" refers to a human being, namely "the one whose arrows are sharp" in 5:28a, by which the Hebrew text suggests that this person himself has wheels. In order to explain away this curiosity, the translator has changed the expression into "the wheels *of their chariots*," supplying τῶν ἁρμάτων αὐτῶν from LXX Isa 66:15.[69]

7:19	καὶ ἀναπαύσονται ἐν ταῖς φάραγξι τῆς χώρας καὶ ἐν ταῖς τρώγλαις τῶν πετρῶν <u>καὶ εἰς τὰ σπήλαια</u>	2:19	εἰσενέγκαντες **εἰς τὰ σπήλαια** καὶ εἰς τὰς σχισμὰς τῶν πετρῶν καὶ εἰς τὰς τρώγλας τῆς γῆς

8:22	καὶ ἰδοὺ **θλῖψις <u>καὶ στενοχωρία</u>** καὶ σκότος, ἀπορία στενὴ καὶ σκότος ὥστε μὴ βλέπειν	30:6	Ἐν τῇ **θλίψει καὶ τῇ στενοχωρίᾳ**
		30:20	καὶ δώσει κύριος ὑμῖν ἄρτον **θλίψεως** καὶ ὕδωρ **στενόν**

The LXX reproduces צרה in 8:22 by the doublet θλῖψις καὶ στενοχωρία. This word pair also turns up in Isa 30:6, rendering צרה וצוקה.[70]

9:3(4)	διότι <u>ἀφῄρηται</u> ὁ ζυγὸς ὁ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν κείμενος καὶ ἡ ῥάβδος ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ τραχήλου αὐτῶν·	10:27	**ἀφαιρεθήσεται** ὁ φόβος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ σοῦ καὶ **ὁ ζυγὸς** αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὤμου σου
		11:13	καὶ **ἀφαιρεθήσεται** ὁ ζῆλος (A: **ζυγὸς**) Εφραιμ
		14:25	καὶ **ἀφαιρεθήσεται** ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν **ὁ ζυγὸς** αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸ κῦδος αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ὤμων **ἀφαιρεθήσεται.**

13:2	Ἐπ᾽ ὄρους πεδινοῦ ἄρατε σημεῖον, ὑψώσατε τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῖς, **μὴ φοβεῖσθε**, παρακαλεῖτε τῇ χειρί	35:4	παρακαλέσατε, οἱ ὀλιγόψυχοι τῇ διανοίᾳ· ἰσχύσατε, **μὴ φοβεῖσθε**·
		40:9	ἐπ᾽ ὄρος ὑψηλὸν ἀνάβηθι, ὁ εὐαγγελιζόμενος Σιων· ὕψωσον τῇ ἰσχύι τὴν φωνήν σου, ὁ εὐαγγελιζόμενος Ιερουσαλημ· ὑψώσατε, **μὴ φοβεῖσθε**·

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[69] An additional motive for the insertion of τῶν ἁρμάτων αὐτῶν may have been to improve the parallelism with the preceding line *οἱ πόδες τῶν ἵππων αὐτῶν ὡς στερεὰ πέτρα ἐλογίσθησαν* (see section 7.5.1a). For comparable expressions, cf. Isa 28:27 (ואופן עגלה / τροχὸς ἁμάξης) and Jer 4:13.

[70] See section 2.3a. Cf. also Prov 1:27.

13:14	καὶ ἔσονται οἱ καταλελειμμένοι ὡς δορκάδιον φεῦγον καὶ **ὡς πρόβατον** <u>πλανώμενον</u>[71]	53:6	πάντες **ὡς πρόβατα ἐπλανήθημεν**, ἄνθρωπος τῇ ὁδῷ αὐτοῦ **ἐπλανήθη**·

14:1–2	Καὶ ἐλεήσει κύριος τὸν Ιακωβ καὶ ἐκλέξεται ἔτι τὸν Ισραηλ, καὶ ἀναπαύσονται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν, καὶ ὁ γιώρας προστεθήσεται πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ προστεθήσεται πρὸς τὸν οἶκον Ιακωβ, καὶ λήμ-ψονται αὐτοὺς ἔθνη καὶ εἰσάξουσιν (–) εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτῶν, καὶ κατα-κληρονομήσουσι (–) **καὶ πληθυνθή-σονται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς** τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς δούλους καὶ δούλας· καὶ ἔσονται αἰχμάλωτοι οἱ αἰχμαλωτεύσαντες αὐτούς, καὶ κυριευθήσονται οἱ κυριεύσαντες αὐτῶν.	6:12	καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μακρυνεῖ ὁ θεὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ οἱ καταλειφθέντες **πληθυνθήσονται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς**·[72]

The Greek text of 14:2 deviates from the Hebrew in that it displays an extra verb phrase καὶ πληθυνθήσονται, and does not represent the subject בית־ישראל and the object suffixes in והביאום and והתנחלום:

MT Isa 14:2

ולקחום עמים	And the nations will take them
והביאו<u>ם</u> אל־מקומם	and bring <u>them</u> to their place,
והתנחלום <u>בית־ישראל</u>	and <u>the house of Israel</u> will possess <u>them</u>
על אדמת יהוה לעבדים ולשפחות	in the Lord's land as male and female slaves;
והיו שבים לשביהם	they will take captive those who were their captors,
ורדו בנגשיהם	and rule over those who oppressed them.

To be able to clarify these variations, we first have to find out how Isa 14:1–2 was interpreted, both by the Masoretes and by the LXX translator.

In the Hebrew the subject of והתנחלום is "the house of Israel," whilst the object suffix in this verb makes reference to "the people": the house of Israel will inherit the people as male and female slaves. In the Greek, however, "the house of Israel" is missing, which obscures who it is that forms the subject of κατακληρονομήσουσι: is it the people of Israel, or the foreign people? Besides, in the Greek an extra verb phrase comes up: καὶ πληθυνθήσονται—"and they will be multiplied." On the origin of this plus, as well as of the minuses mentioned different theories have been brought forward:

-   Seeligmann is of the opinion that בית־ישראל was left out by the LXX translator because he regarded the idea of Israel making Gentile peoples their slaves as offensive. On the same grounds the translator would have omitted לעבדים ולשפחות, but those words

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[71] For the verb πλανάω used in combination with πρόβατον, see also LXX Ps 118(MT 119):176 (cf. section 8.4.2), and LXX Jer 50(MT 27):17 (cf. section 8.4.3.3).
[72] MT: ורחק יהוה את־האדם ורבה העזובה בקרב הארץ.

were subsequently added again by a later corrector. According to Seeligmann the LXX implies the subject of καὶ κατακληρονομήσουσι καὶ πληθυνθήσονται to be the remnant of Israel together with the proselytes who joined them.[73]

- Also Ziegler thinks that the ones who "will inherit and will be multiplied" in the LXX are the remnant of the people of Israel; καὶ πληθυνθήσονται would have been interpolated by the translator under the influence of Isa 6:12: καὶ οἱ καταλειφθέντες πληθυνθήσονται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (see above). Nevertheless, this way of understanding the Greek leads to the difficulty that in such a case it would be said of the remnant of Israel that they will become *slaves*. This may seem somewhat awkward at first sight, but can be explained in the light of Isa 65:9, where the title "slave" is used to designate the *servants of God*:

והוצאתי מיעקב זרע ומיהודה	καὶ ἐξάξω τὸ ἐξ Ιακωβ σπέρμα καὶ τὸ ἐξ Ιουδα,
יורש הרי	καὶ κληρονομήσει τὸ ὄρος τὸ ἅγιόν μου,
וירשוה בחירי ועבדי	καὶ κληρονομήσουσιν οἱ ἐκλεκτοί μου καὶ **οἱ δοῦλοί μου**
ישכנו־שמה	καὶ κατοικήσουσιν ἐκεῖ.

δοῦλος is likewise employed in the sense of a servant of God in 42:19; 48:20; 49:3,5; 56:6; and 63:17.

- An alternative possibility is that the "original" Hebrew version of 14:2 did not yet contain בית־ישראל, and that the LXX translator had such a manuscript without בית־ישראל in front of him. This text was ambiguous as to who had to be conceived of as the subject and object of והתנחלום: shall the foreign people inherit Israel, or shall Israel inherit the foreign people? Both the scribe of the MT and the Greek translator chose—independently of each other—their own method to solve this problem. The Hebrew scribe made the subject of והתנחלום explicit by adding בית־ישראל, so that it became obvious that Israel would inherit the people, and not the other way around. The LXX translator, by contrast, continued with the subject עמים and considered this also to govern והתנחלום. At the same time he omitted the object suffix in והתנחלום, and added the phrase καὶ πληθυνθήσονται, so that the text rather than invoke the offensive idea that the people would inherit Israel as slaves, would instead insinuate that the foreign people *themselves* would become slaves of Israel: "and they [= the foreign people] will inherit and they will be multiplied on the land of God into male and female slaves." The thought that foreigners in future would serve Israel is not strange to the Book of Isaiah: it can equally be found in Isa 60:12 and 61:5. Another text in which foreigners who cling to the God of Israel and receive blessings are called "male and female slaves" is LXX Isa 56:6. The "female slaves" in this verse are absent in the Hebrew, which offers merely לעבדים. The translator may have added καὶ δούλας in harmonisation with 14:2, which would support the assumption that in 14:2, as in 56:6, the "male and female slaves" are to be seen as the foreign people:

56:6	ובני הנכר הנלוים על־יהוה	καὶ τοῖς ἀλλογενέσι τοῖς προσκειμένοις κυρίῳ
	לשרתו ולאהבה את־שם יהוה	δουλεύειν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀγαπᾶν τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου
	להיות לו לעבדים	τοῦ εἶναι αὐτῷ εἰς **δούλους** <u>**καὶ δούλας**</u>

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[73] Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 35, 117.

15:2–3 ἐπὶ πάσης κεφαλῆς φαλάκρωμα, πάντες βραχίονες κατατετμημένοι· ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις περιζώσασθε σάκκους <u>**καὶ κόπτεσθε**</u>[74]

22:12 κλαυθμὸν καὶ **κοπετὸν** καὶ ξύρησιν καὶ ζῶσιν σάκκων

32:11–12 ἔκστητε, λυπήθητε, αἱ πεποιθυῖαι, ἐκδύσασθε, γυμναὶ γένεσθε, περιζώσασθε σάκκους τὰς ὀσφύας καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μαστῶν **κόπτεσθε**

16:12 καὶ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὰ τὰ χειροποίητα αὐτῆς ὥστε προσεύξασθαι, καὶ οὐ μὴ δύνηται <u>**ἐξελέσθαι αὐτόν**</u>.

4:17 τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐποίησεν εἰς θεὸν γλυπτὸν καὶ προσκυνεῖ αὐτῷ καὶ προσεύχεται λέγων Ἐξελοῦ με, ὅτι θεός μου εἶ σύ.

57:13 ὅταν ἀναβοήσῃς, **ἐξελέσθωσάν σε** ἐν τῇ θλίψει σου·

The verb ἐξαιρέω is used repeatedly in LXX Isaiah in texts on the powerlessness of idols: see besides the verses cited above, also 44:20 and 47:14. A statement that is comparable as regards its content can be found in 46:7: καὶ ὃς ἂν βοήσῃ πρὸς αὐτόν, οὐ μὴ εἰσακούσῃ, ἀπὸ κακῶν οὐ μὴ σώσῃ αὐτόν.

17:13 καὶ πόρρω αὐτὸν διώξεται ὡς χνοῦν ἀχύρου λικμώντων ἀπέναντι ἀνέμου καὶ **ὡς** <u>**κονιορτὸν**</u> τροχοῦ *καταιγὶς* <u>**φέρουσα**</u>.

29:5–6 καὶ ἔσται **ὡς κονιορτὸς ἀπὸ τροχοῦ** ὁ πλοῦτος τῶν ἀσεβῶν καὶ ὡς χνοῦς **φερόμενος**, καὶ ἔσται ὡς στιγμὴ παραχρῆμα παρὰ κυρίου σαβαωθ· ἐπισκοπὴ γὰρ ἔσται μετὰ βροντῆς καὶ σεισμοῦ καὶ φωνῆς μεγάλης, **καταιγὶς** <u>**φερομένη**</u> καὶ φλὸξ πυρὸς κατεσθίουσα.

The MT of Isa 17:13 and 29:5–6 reads as follows:

17:13 ורדף כמץ הרים לפני־רוח
וכגלגל לפני סופה

chased like chaff on the mountains before the wind
and like a wheel plant[75] before the storm.

29:5–6 והיה כאבק דק המון זריך
וכמץ עבר המון עריצים
והיה לפתע פתאם
מעם יהוה צבאות תפקד
ברעם וברעש וקול גדול
סופה וסערה ולהב אש אוכלה

But the multitude of your foes shall be like small dust,
and the multitude of tyrants like flying chaff.
And in an instant, suddenly,
you will be visited by the LORD of hosts
with thunder and earthquake and great noise,
whirlwind and tempest and the flame of devouring fire

In the LXX these two passages appear to have mutually influenced each other.[76] In 17:13 the translator has in all likelihood understood גלגל (in the Hebrew probably used in the sense of "wheel plant") as "wheel" (τροχός). Given that a storm generally does not chase a wheel (as the translator's interpretation of וכגלגל לפני סופה would imply), but may chase the *dust* of a wheel, he inserted κονιορτόν ("dust") before τροχός, perhaps also

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[74] See also section 8.4.3.1.
[75] This is the translation of גלגל that *HALOT* 1:190 proposes for Isa 17:13. The NRSV gives "whirling dust."
[76] For a discussion of these verses, see also Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 93.

under the influence of כאבק = ὡς κονιορτός in 29:5. Also φέρουσα in the phrase ὡς κονιορτὸν τροχοῦ καταιγὶς φέρουσα he may have adopted from 29:6, where one finds the similar expressions ὡς χνοῦς φερόμενος (וכמץ עבר) and καταιγὶς φερομένη (סופה וסערה). However, καταιγὶς φέρουσα / φερομένη in 17:13 and 29:6 could likewise have been imported from two other verses in (LXX) Isaiah that also depict a rushing storm:[77]

| 28:15 | שוט שוטף כי־עבר | καταιγὶς φερομένη ἐὰν παρέλθῃ |
| 28:18 | שוט שוטף כי יעבר | καταιγὶς φερομένη ἐὰν ἐπέλθῃ |

In 29:5 ἀπὸ τροχοῦ ("from a wheel") forms a variant rendering of דק ("thin"), which is, in its turn, possibly influenced by τροχοῦ in 17:13. A further text in which we encounter the noun τροχός in a similar setting is Isa 41:15–16. That passage too pictures the threshing wheels of a cart, and chaff that is left over from winnowing and taken by the wind.[78] The rendering of this passage may well be interlinked with that of Isa 17:13 and 29:5–6:

41:15–16	הנה שמתיך למורג חרוץ	ἰδοὺ ἐποίησά σε ὡς τροχοὺς ἁμάξης ἀλοῶντας
	חדש בעל פיפיות תדוש הרים	καινοὺς πριστηροειδεῖς, καὶ ἀλοήσεις ὄρη
	ותדק וגבעות כמץ תשים	καὶ λεπτυνεῖς βουνοὺς καὶ ὡς χνοῦν θήσεις·
	תזרם ורוח תשאם	καὶ λικμήσεις, καὶ ἄνεμος λήμψεται αὐτούς,
	וסערה תפיץ אותם	καὶ καταιγὶς διασπερεῖ αὐτούς

| 20:4 | ἀνακεκαλυμμένους (–) | 47:3 | ἀνακαλυφθήσεται ἡ αἰσχύνη σου |
| | τὴν αἰσχύνην Αἰγύπτου. | | |

The MT offers in Isa 20:4 וחשופי שת ערות מצרים.[79]

24:3	τὸ γὰρ <u>στόμα</u> κυρίου ἐλάλησε ταῦτα.	1:20	τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησε ταῦτα.
		58:14	τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησε ταῦτα.
25:8	τὸ γὰρ <u>στόμα</u> κυρίου ἐλάλησε.		

The MT presents in 24:3 כי יהוה דבר את־הדבר הזה and in 25:8 כי יהוה דבר. Ziegler posits that the appearance of στόμα may be the effect of a double translation of כי, read not only as a conjunction, but also as פי.[80] The opposite situation can be observed in 40:5, where the LXX renders כי פי יהוה דבר as ὅτι κύριος ἐλάλησε (see 40:5 below).

| 24:14 | οὗτοι φωνῇ βοήσονται, οἱ δὲ καταλειφθέντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εὐφρανθήσονται <u>ἅμα</u> τῇ κυρίου.[82] | 52:8 | καὶ τῇ φωνῇ **ἅμα** εὐφρανθήσονται·[81] |
| | | 52:9 | **ῥηξάτω εὐφροσύνην ἅμα** τὰ ἔρημα Ιερουσαλημ, ὅτι ἠλέησε κύριος δόξῃ αὐτὴν[83] |

| 25:11 | καὶ ταπεινώσει τὴν ὕβριν | 5:25 | καὶ **ἐπέβαλε τὴν χεῖρα** αὐτοῦ ἐπ᾽ |

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[77] For the image of a storm, cf. also 57:13 and 64:5.

[78] For another related verse, cf. LXX Isa 5:24 where the combination of ὡς χνοῦς and ὡς κονιορτός occurs too.

[79] Cf. section 3.2.2a.

[80] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 66.

[81] MT: נשאו קול יחדו ירננו.

[82] MT: המה ישאו קולם ירנו.

[83] MT: פצחו רננו יחדו חרבות ירושלם כי־נחם יהוה.

αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἃ τὰς χεῖρας ἐπέβαλε·[84]

αὐτούς

11:8 καὶ ἐπὶ κοίτην ἐκγόνων ἀσπίδων **τὴν χεῖρα ἐπιβαλεῖ**.

11:14 καὶ ἐπὶ Μωαβ πρῶτον **τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιβαλοῦσιν**

11:15 καὶ **ἐπιβαλεῖ τὴν χεῖρα** αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν πνεύματι βιαίῳ

19:16 ἀπὸ προσώπου **τῆς χειρὸς** κυρίου σαβαωθ, ἣν αὐτὸς **ἐπιβαλεῖ** αὐτοῖς.

26:9 διότι **φῶς** τὰ προστάγματά σου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.[85]

51:4 ὅτι νόμος παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐξελεύσεται καὶ ἡ κρίσις μου εἰς **φῶς** ἐθνῶν.

26:15 πρόσθες αὐτοῖς **κακά**, κύριε, πρόσθες **κακὰ** πᾶσι τοῖς ἐνδόξοις τῆς γῆς.[86]

13:11 καὶ ἐντελοῦμαι τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ὅλῃ **κακά**

31:2 καὶ αὐτὸς σοφὸς ἦγεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς **κακά**

27:4 τοίνυν διὰ τοῦτο ἐποίησε κύριος ὁ θεὸς πάντα, ὅσα συνέταξε. κατακέκαυμαι[87]

37:26 οὐ ταῦτα ἤκουσας πάλαι, ἃ ἐγὼ ἐποίησα; ἐξ ἀρχαίων ἡμερῶν συνέταξα, ἐπέδειξα ἐξερημῶσαι ἔθνη ἐν ὀχυροῖς καὶ ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν πόλεσιν ὀχυραῖς·[88]

The LXX reformulation of Isa 27:4 may have been encouraged by Isa 37:26, a text in which the king of Assur threatens to destroy Jerusalem. According to Ziegler, a later reader of the Hebrew perceived 27:2–5—verses describing a captured city—as a fulfilment of the threat in 37:26, and on those grounds added the words עשה יהוה ... אשר צוה, which are echoed by LXX Isa 27:4.[89] Nevertheless, it may just as well have been the translator himself who saw a linkage between these two verses and introduced the plus.

28:2 ἰδοὺ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ σκληρὸν **ὁ θυμὸς** κυρίου ὡς χάλαζα καταφερομένη οὐκ ἔχουσα σκέπην, βίᾳ καταφερομένη· ὡς ὕδατος πολὺ πλῆθος σῦρον

30:30 καὶ **τὸν θυμὸν** τοῦ βραχίονος αὐτοῦ δείξει μετὰ **θυμοῦ** καὶ ὀργῆς καὶ φλογὸς κατεσθιούσης· κεραυνώσει βιαίως καὶ ὡς ὕδωρ καὶ χάλαζα συγκαταφερομένη βίᾳ.

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[84] MT: והשפיל גאותו עם ארבות ידיו.

[85] MT: כי כאשר משפטיך לארץ. Maybe φῶς is not a plus, but a rendering of כאשר read as כאור. See also section 8.4.2.1.

[86] MT: יספת לגוי יהוה יספת לגוי נכבדת רחקת כל-קצוי-ארץ. Cf. also section 8.4.1.2a.

[87] The MT of Isa 27:4 reads: אציתנה יחד. For συντάσσω (πάντα,) ὅσα with as its subject κύριος, cf. e.g. Exod 31:6; 35:29; 36:1,5; Num 2:34; 19:2; and Josh 9:24. Another text that may have played a role in the formation of LXX Isa 27:4 is Lam 2:17, which, in accordance with Isa 27, has an eschatological perspective, declaring that God is doing what he has told before: עשה יהוה אשר זמם בצע אמרתו אשר צוה מימי-קדם (see Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 90). For a further analysis of the translation, cf. section 2.7a.

[88] The MT of 37:26 reads: הלוא-שמעת למרחוק אותה עשיתי מימי קדם ויצרתיה עתה הבאתיה ותהי להשאות גלים נצים ערים בצרות. Note that in the LXX συνέταξα is not a literal representation of the Hebrew, but translates ויצרתיה.

[89] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 90; cf. *HUB Isa*, 102.

χώραν τῇ γῇ ποιήσει ἀνάπαυσιν[90]

29:24	καὶ γνώσονται οἱ τῷ πνεύματι πλανώμενοι σύνεσιν, οἱ δὲ γογγύζοντες μαθήσονται ὑπακούειν [**, καὶ αἱ γλῶσσαι αἱ ψελλίζουσαι μαθήσονται λαλεῖν εἰρήνην**].[92]	32:4	καὶ ἡ καρδία τῶν ἀσθενούντων προσέξει τοῦ ἀκούειν, **καὶ αἱ γλῶσσαι αἱ ψελλίζουσαι ταχὺ μαθήσονται λαλεῖν εἰρήνην.**[91]
30:6	Ἐν τῇ θλίψει καὶ τῇ στενοχωρίᾳ, λέων καὶ σκύμνος λέοντος ἐκεῖθεν καὶ ἀσπίδες καὶ **ἔκγονα ἀσπίδων** πετομένων[94]	11:8	καὶ παιδίον νήπιον ἐπὶ τρώγλην ἀσπίδων καὶ ἐπὶ κοίτην **ἐκγόνων ἀσπίδων** τὴν χεῖρα ἐπιβαλεῖ.[93]
		14:29	ἐκ γὰρ σπέρματος ὄφεων ἐξελεύσεται **ἔκγονα ἀσπίδων**, καὶ τὰ ἔκγονα αὐτῶν ἐξελεύσονται ὄφεις πετόμενοι.[95]

The plus ἔκγονα appears to have entered 30:6 by way of an intertextual mingling of various texts:

- In 11:8 the phrase ἐκγόνα ἀσπίδων turns up for the first time in LXX Isaiah. Here it probably renders צפעוני גמול. Whereas גמול ("weaned child") in the Hebrew forms the subject of the clause ועל מאורת צפעוני גמול ידו הדה ("and the weaned child shall put his hand on the adder's den"), the Greek has joined it as an apposition to צפעוני: צפעוני גמול—"an adder, a young one."
- The second time that ἐκγόνα ἀσπίδων appears, is in 14:29. In the Hebrew it matches צפע ("adder"), so ἔκγονα is a plus here too. It may have been added in analogy to ἐκγόνων ἀσπίδων in 11:8, or it resumes ופריו / καὶ τὰ ἔκγονα αὐτῶν in 14:29 itself.
- The translation of ושרף מעופף as ἔκγονα ἀσπίδων πετομένων in 30:6 may have been accomplished in assimilation to ἔκγονα ἀσπίδων in 11:8 and 14:29, especially motivated by the fact that—in accordance with 14:29—30:6 speaks of a "*flying* serpent" (ושרף מעופף).[96]

30:17	ἕως ἂν καταλειφθῆτε ὡς ἱστὸς ἐπ' ὄρους καὶ **ὡς σημαίαν φέρων** ἐπὶ βουνοῦ.	18:3	κατοικηθήσεται ἡ χώρα αὐτῶν **ὡσεὶ σημεῖον** ἀπὸ ὄρους **ἀρθῇ**
30:18	διότι **κριτὴς κύριος** ὁ θεὸς **ἡμῶν** ἐστι[97]	33:22	**κριτὴς ἡμῶν κύριος**, ἄρχων ἡμῶν κύριος, βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν κύριος[98]

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[90] MT: הנה חזק ואמץ לאדני כזרם ברד שער קטב כזרם מים כבירים שטפים הניח לארץ ביד.

[91] MT: ולבב נמהרים יבין לדעת ולשון עלגים תמהר לדבר צחות.

[92] In the Göttingen edition Ziegler has put this clause between square brackets and thus marked it as a secondary rendering, even though it is attested by the large majority of Greek manuscripts.

[93] MT: ושעשע יונק על־חר פתן ועל מאורת צפעוני גמול ידו הדה.

[94] MT: בארץ צרה וצוקה לביא וליש מהם אפעה ושרף מעופף.

[95] MT: כי־משרש נחש יצא צפע ופריו שרף מעופף.

[96] An extra reason for the insertion of ἔκγονα may have been the wish to make the phrase ἔκγονα ἀσπίδων parallel to the preceding one σκύμνος λέοντος.

[97] MT: כי־אלהי משפט יהוה.

[98] MT: כי יהוה שפטנו יהוה מחקקנו יהוה מלכנו.

30:18	καὶ πάλιν μενεῖ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ οἰκτιρῆσαι ὑμᾶς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑψωθήσεται τοῦ ἐλεῆσαι ὑμᾶς· διότι κριτὴς κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐστιν, **καὶ ποῦ καταλείψετε τὴν δόξαν ὑμῶν**;	10:3	καὶ τί ποιήσουσιν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς; ἡ γὰρ θλῖψις ὑμῖν πόρρωθεν ἥξει· καὶ πρὸς τίνα καταφεύξεσθε τοῦ βοηθηθῆναι; **καὶ ποῦ καταλείψετε τὴν δόξαν ὑμῶν**

The clause appended to LXX Isa 30:18 may have been extrapolated from 10:3. Yet, it is not so clear why the translator would have added a line from precisely that verse. Did he perceive a link between 30:18 and 10:3? The only possible linkage I myself could detect, does not occur in 30:18 itself, but earlier in the same chapter, namely in 30:2. That verse speaks of the vain hope of the people to receive help from Egypt: οἱ πορευόμενοι καταβῆναι εἰς Αἴγυπτον … τοῦ βοηθηθῆναι ὑπὸ Φαραω … Maybe the translator connected this content to the theme of 10:3, where Israel looks in vain for help (note the identical infinitive βοηθηθῆναι).

31:6	ἐπιστράφητε, **οἱ τὴν βαθεῖαν βουλὴν** βουλευόμενοι καὶ ἄνομον.[99]	29:15	οὐαὶ **οἱ βαθέως βουλὴν** ποιοῦντες καὶ οὐ διὰ κυρίου· οὐαὶ οἱ ἐν κρυφῇ **βουλὴν ποιοῦντες**[100]
31:7	ὅτι τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἀπαρνήσονται οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὰ χειροποίητα αὐτῶν τὰ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ τὰ χρυσᾶ, **ἃ ἐποίησαν** (–) **αἱ χεῖρες αὐτῶν** (–).	2:8	καὶ ἐνεπλήσθη ἡ γῆ βδελυγμάτων τῶν ἔργων τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ προσεκύνησαν **οἷς ἐποίησαν οἱ δάκτυλοι αὐτῶν**[101]
		17:8	καὶ οὐ μὴ πεποιθότες ὦσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς βωμοῖς οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν, **ἃ ἐποίησαν οἱ δάκτυλοι αὐτῶν**[102]

The final clause of Isa 31:7 reads in the Hebrew אשר עשו לכם ידיכם חטא. The words לכם and חטא do not have an equivalent in the LXX. This may be the result of adjustment to similar expressions in Isa 2:8 and 17:8, where such complements are absent as well.[103]

32:2	καὶ κρυβήσεται ὡς ἀφ' ὕδατος φερομένου· **καὶ φανήσεται** ἐν Σιων ὡς ποταμὸς φερόμενος ἔνδοξος ἐν γῇ διψώσῃ.[104]	60:2	ἰδοὺ σκότος καὶ γνόφος καλύψει γῆν ἐπ' ἔθνη· ἐπὶ δὲ σὲ **φανήσεται** κύριος, καὶ ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ σὲ ὀφθήσεται.
32:13	καὶ ἐκ πάσης οἰκίας **εὐφροσύνη**	16:10	καὶ **ἀρθήσεται εὐφροσύνη** καὶ

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[99] MT: שובו לאשר העמיקו סרה בני ישראל.

[100] MT: הוי המעמיקים מיהוה לסתר עצה.

[101] MT: ותמלא ארצו אלילים למעשה ידיו ישתחוו לאשר עשו אצבעתיו.

[102] MT: ולא ישעה אל־המזבחות מעשה ידיו ואשר עשו אצבעתיו לא יראה.

[103] Ziegler (*Untersuchungen*, 54) considers חטא in the MT to be an addition by a later reader with the purpose of labelling the actions of the idol worshippers as sinful.

[104] MT: והיה־איש כמחבא־רוח וסתר זרם כפלגי־מים בציון כצל סלע־כבד בארץ עיפה. The noun סֵתֶר ("hiding place") has probably been rendered by κρυβήσεται (= Pi. סָתַר), the noun זֶרֶם ("wind") by φερομένου (= זֹרֵם—"pouring down," cf. 28:2; 30:30), and בְּצִיּוֹן by ἐν Σιων (= בְּצִיּוֹן). Cf. LXX Zeph 2:11.

<u>ἀρθήσεται</u>·[105] ἀγαλλίαμα ἐκ τῶν ἀμπελώνων σου

33:4 νῦν δὲ συναχθήσεται τὰ σκῦλα 17:5 καὶ ἔσται **ὃν τρόπον ἐάν τις συναγάγῃ**
ὑμῶν μικροῦ καὶ μεγάλου· **ὃν** ἀμητὸν ἑστηκότα καὶ σπέρμα σταχύ-
τρόπον <u>ἐάν τις συναγάγῃ</u> ἀκρίδας, ων ἀμήσῃ, καὶ ἔσται **ὃν τρόπον ἐάν τις**
<u>οὕτως</u> ἐμπαίξουσιν ὑμῖν.[106] **συναγάγῃ** στάχυν ἐν φάραγγι στερεᾷ

33:11 **ματαία** <u>ἔσται ἡ ἰσχὺς</u> τοῦ 30:15 **ματαία ἡ ἰσχὺς** ὑμῶν ἐγενήθη.
πνεύματος ὑμῶν, πῦρ ὑμᾶς
κατέδεται.

The MT version of the sentence quoted from 33:11 offers רוחכם אש תאכלכם; ματαία in all probability renders קש ("stubble"), the final word of the preceding clause in the MT. In the LXX ἡ ἰσχύς may have been added under the influence of LXX Isa 30:15: ματαία ἡ ἰσχὺς ὑμῶν ἐγενήθη, although these words do not reflect the Hebrew in a literal way either, the MT of 30:15 offering בהשקט ובבטחה תהיה גבורתכם. Perhaps both verses have been inspired by Lev 26:20. The possible link between that Pentateuchal verse and LXX Isa 30:15 and 33:11 will be discussed in section 8.4.1.2b.

34:11 καὶ κατοικήσουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ ὄρνεα 13:21–22 καὶ ἀναπαύσονται ἐκεῖ σειρῆνες, καὶ
καὶ ἐχῖνοι καὶ ἴβεις καὶ κόρακες, δαιμόνια ἐκεῖ ὀρχήσονται, **καὶ**
καὶ ἐπιβληθήσεται ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν **ὀνοκένταυροι ἐκεῖ κατοικήσουσιν**, καὶ
σπαρτίον γεωμετρίας ἐρήμου, <u>καὶ</u> νοσσοποιήσουσιν ἐχῖνοι ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις
<u>ὀνοκένταυροι οἰκήσουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ</u>.[107] αὐτῶν·[108]

34:16 ὅτι (–) **κύριος ἐνετείλατο** αὐτοῖς 23:11 **κύριος** σαβαωθ **ἐνετείλατο** περὶ
Χανααν
13:4 **κύριος** σαβαωθ **ἐντέταλται** ἔθνει
ὁπλομάχῳ

Contrary to the Greek, in the Hebrew the formula in 34:16 speaks of the "mouth" of God that has commanded: כי־פי הוא צוה. In the LXX פי may have been left out in assimilation to 13:4 and 23:11. Compare also 40:5 below. The pronoun הוא (perhaps with the yod of פי prefixed to it) was presumably read as יהו and translated κύριος.

38:11 Οὐκέτι μὴ ἴδω **τὸ σωτήριον** 52:10 καὶ ὄψονται πάντα τὰ ἄκρα τῆς γῆς
τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς[109] **τὴν σωτηρίαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ**.[110]
40:5 καὶ ὄψεται πᾶσα σὰρξ **τὸ**

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[105] MT: כי על־כל־בתי משוש.

[106] MT: ואסף שללכם אסף החסיל כמשק גבים שוקק בו. The verb form שוקק ("leap") is represented by ἐμπαίξουσιν (= שוחק), and כמשק ("as a locust") by ὃν τρόπον ἐάν τις συναγάγῃ (perhaps by way of קשש = "to collect"). The verb συνάγω may—besides under the influence of 17:5—also have been chosen because this verb likewise occurs earlier in the same verse.

[107] MT: וירשוה קאת וקפוד וינשוף וערב ישכנו־בה ונטה עליה קו־תהו ואבני־בהו. It is unlikely that καὶ ὀνοκένταυροι οἰκήσουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ renders ואבני־בהו ("the plummet of chaos").

[108] MT: שכנו שם בנות יענה ושעירים ירקדו־שם ועָנה איים באלמנותיו ותנים בהיכלי ענג.

[109] MT: לא־אראה יה יה בארץ החיים.

[110] MT: וראו כל־אפסי־ארץ את ישועת אלהינו.

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<u>σωτήριον</u> τοῦ θεοῦ·[111]

40:5   ὅτι (–) κύριος ἐλάλησε.   1:2   ὅτι κύριος ἐλάλησεν·
                                      21:17 διότι κύριος ἐλάλησεν ὁ θεὸς Ισραηλ.
                                      22:25 ὅτι κύριος ἐλάλησεν.

Comparably to the case in 34:16 which we have just discussed, in 40:5 פי in the formula כי פי יהוה דבר does not have a corresponding word in the Greek. Exactly the opposite move took place in 24:3 and 25:8, where to the words כי יהוה דבר the LXX rather seems to have *added* a word for "mouth" (see 24:3 above). The latter two instances also argue against the hypothesis that in 40:5 פי would have been removed in order to escape antropomorphism.[112]

Throughout LXX Isaiah the formula כי (פי) יהוה דבר is rendered as follows:

כי **פי** יהוה דבר	τὸ γὰρ **στόμα** κυρίου ἐλάλησε	1:20; 58:14
	ὅτι κύριος ἐλάλησε	40:5
כי יהוה דבר	τὸ γὰρ <u>**στόμα**</u> κυρίου ἐλάλησε	24:3; 25:8
	διότι / ὅτι κύριος ἐλάλησεν	1:2; 21:17; 22:25

The translation of this formula typically illustrates the fact that the LXX translator did not always render his text in a concordant and consistent way.

40:27 Ἀπεκρύβη ἡ ὁδός μου ἀπὸ τοῦ   59:9   διὰ τοῦτο **ἀπέστη ἡ κρίσις** ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν
       θεοῦ, καὶ ὁ θεός μου **τὴν κρίσιν**   59:11 ἀνεμείναμεν **κρίσιν**, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι·
       ἀφεῖλε <u>**καὶ ἀπέστη**</u>;[113]   σωτηρία μακρὰν **ἀφέστηκεν** ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν.
                                        59:14 καὶ **ἀπεστήσαμεν** ὀπίσω τὴν **κρίσιν**,
                                          καὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη μακρὰν **ἀφέστηκεν**

41:28 <u>ἀπὸ γὰρ **τῶν ἐθνῶν**</u> ἰδοὺ   63:3   καὶ **τῶν ἐθνῶν** οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνὴρ μετ᾽
       οὐδείς[114]   ἐμοῦ[115]

42:1 <u>**Ιακωβ** ὁ παῖς μου</u>, ἀντιλήμψομαι   41:8 Σὺ δέ, Ισραηλ, **παῖς μου Ιακωβ**, ὃν
       αὐτοῦ· <u>**Ισραηλ** ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου</u>,   ἐξελεξάμην
       προσεδέξατο αὐτὸν ἡ ψυχή   44:1 νῦν δὲ ἄκουσον, **παῖς μου Ιακωβ** καὶ
       μου·[116]   **Ισραηλ**, ὃν ἐξελεξάμην·
                                       44:2 μὴ φοβοῦ, **παῖς μου Ιακωβ** καὶ ὁ
                                       ἠγαπημένος **Ισραηλ**, ὃν ἐξελεξάμην·
                                       44:21 Μνήσθητι ταῦτα, **Ιακωβ** καὶ **Ισραηλ**,
                                       ὅτι **παῖς μου** εἶ σύ·
                                       45:4 ἕνεκεν **Ιακωβ τοῦ παιδός μου** καὶ

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[111] MT: וראו כל־בשר יחדו. The final word יחדו was probably read as יהוה. Perhaps the addition of τὸ σωτήριον also served to improve the parallelism with the preceding line ונגלה כבוד יהוה / καὶ ὀφθήσεται ἡ *δόξα* κυρίου. Cf. sections 7.5.1a, 8.4.2.1, and 10.3.2.

[112] Cf. section 10.3.2.

[113] MT: נסתרה דרכי מיהוה ומאלהי משפטי יעבור. For more comments on the translation, see section 2.3b.

[114] MT: וארא ואין איש.

[115] MT: ומעמים אין־איש אתי. Cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 152–153 (who thinks that ומעמים entered 41:28 as a gloss from 63:3), and Zillessen, "Bemerkungen," 255.

[116] Cf. Zillessen, "Bemerkungen," 243.

			Ισραηλ τοῦ ἐκλεκτοῦ μου ἐγὼ καλέσω σε τῷ ὀνόματί μου
42:10	Ὑμνήσατε τῷ κυρίῳ ὕμνον καινόν· **δοξάζετε** <u>τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ</u> ἀπ᾿ ἄκρου τῆς γῆς[117]	25:1	Κύριε ὁ θεός μου, **δοξάσω** σε, ὑμνήσω **τὸ ὄνομά σου**
43:10	ἔμπροσθέν μου **οὐκ ἐγένετο** <u>ἄλλος</u> **θεὸς**[118]	45:21	Ἐγὼ ὁ **θεός**, καὶ **οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος** πλὴν ἐμοῦ·
		45:22	ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ **θεός**, καὶ **οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος**.
44:13	<u>ἐκλεξάμενος</u> **τέκτων ξύλον** ἔστησεν αὐτὸ ἐν μέτρῳ[119]	40:20	**ξύλον** γὰρ ἄσηπτον **ἐκλέγεται τέκτων**[120]
44:19	καὶ οὐκ ἐλογίσατο τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ **οὐδὲ ἀνελογίσατο <u>ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ</u>** οὐδὲ ἔγνω τῇ φρονήσει[121]	10:7	αὐτὸς δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ἐνεθυμήθη καὶ **τῇ ψυχῇ** οὐχ οὕτως **λελόγισται**
44:23	εὐφράνθητε, οὐρανοί, ὅτι **ἠλέησεν ὁ θεὸς <u>τὸν Ισραηλ</u>**· σαλπίσατε, θεμέλια τῆς γῆς, βοήσατε, ὄρη, εὐφροσύνην, οἱ βουνοὶ καὶ πάντα τὰ ξύλα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς	49:13	εὐφραίνεσθε, οὐρανοί, καὶ ἀγαλλιάσθω ἡ γῆ, ῥηξάτωσαν τὰ ὄρη εὐφροσύνην, **ὅτι ἠλέησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ**
		52:9	ῥηξάτω εὐφροσύνην ἅμα τὰ ἔρημα Ιερουσαλημ, **ὅτι ἠλέησε κύριος αὐτὴν**[122] καὶ ἐρρύσατο Ιερουσαλημ.

The words ὅτι ἠλέησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν Ισραηλ in LXX Isa 44:23 represent כי־עשה יהוה in the MT. Apparently, עשה has been altered to ἠλέησεν and complemented with an object Ισραηλ analogously to 49:13 and 52:9.[123]

| 44:25 | τίς ἕτερος διασκεδάσει σημεῖα ἐγγαστριμύθων καὶ μαντείας <u>ἀπὸ καρδίας</u>[124] | 59:13 | ἐλαλήσαμεν ἄδικα καὶ ἠπειθήσαμεν, ἐκύομεν καὶ ἐμελετήσαμεν **ἀπὸ καρδίας** ἡμῶν λόγους ἀδίκους· |

In both texts the origin of evil words is considered to be the heart. Compare for ἀπὸ καρδίας also e.g. Judg 16:17,18 (A); 1 Kgs 12:33; Jer 23:16; and Ezek 13:3.

| 45:9 | μὴ ὁ ἀροτριῶν ἀροτριάσει τὴν γῆν <u>ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν</u>;[125] | 28:24 | μὴ **ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν** μέλλει ὁ ἀροτριῶν ἀροτριᾶν;[126] |

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[117] MT: שירו ליהוה שיר חדש תהלתו מקצה הארץ. The noun phrase תהלתו ("his praise") was probably linked to הללו and translated δοξάζετε. Cf. section 2.6.2b.

[118] Cf. Exod 8:6.

[119] MT: חרש עצים נטה קו—"The carpenter stretches a line." While in the MT עצים is an attribute to חרש ("a worker in wood"), the LXX has regarded it as an object.

[120] MT: המסכן תרומה עץ לא־ירקב יבחר.

[121] MT: ולא־ישיב אל־לבו ולא דעת ולא־תבונה.

[122] MT: כי־נחם יהוה עמו.

[123] Cf. Zillessen, "Bemerkungen," 256–257; Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 156; *HUB Isa*, 203.

[124] MT: מפר אתות בדים וקסמים יהולל.

The translator or a later editor[127] may have been led to 28:24 by way of a link between תפתח־ארץ in 45:8 and ויُשׁדד אדמתו יפתח in 28:24.[128]

45:16	αἰσχυνθήσονται καὶ ἐντραπήσονται **πάντες οἱ** <u>**ἀντικείμενοι αὐτῷ**</u> καὶ πορεύσονται ἐν αἰσχύνῃ.[129]		41:11	ἰδοὺ αἰσχυνθήσονται καὶ ἐντραπήσονται **πάντες οἱ ἀντικείμενοί σοι·** ἔσονται γὰρ ὡς οὐκ ὄντες καὶ ἀπολοῦνται πάντες οἱ ἀντίδικοί σου.[130]
45:16	**ἐγκαινίζεσθε** <u>πρός με</u>, νῆσοι.[131]		41:1	Ἐγκαινίζεσθε πρός με, νῆσοι[132]
46:6	οἱ συμβαλλόμενοι χρυσίον ἐκ μαρσιππίου καὶ ἀργύριον ἐν **ζυγῷ** στήσουσιν <u>ἐν **σταθμῷ**</u>		40:12	τίς **ἔστησε** τὰ ὄρη **σταθμῷ** καὶ τὰς νάπας **ζυγῷ**;
46:11	ἔκτισα καὶ ἐποίησα, <u>**ἤγαγον αὐτὸν καὶ εὐόδωσα τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ**</u>.[134]		48:15	ἐγὼ ἐλάλησα, ἐγὼ ἐκάλεσα, **ἤγαγον αὐτὸν καὶ εὐόδωσα τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ**.[133]
			55:11	**καὶ εὐοδώσω** <u>**τὰς ὁδούς σου**</u> καὶ τὰ ἐντάλματά μου.[135]
47:13	στήτωσαν καὶ σωσάτωσάν σε οἱ ἀστρολόγοι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, οἱ ὁρῶντες τοὺς ἀστέρας **ἀναγγειλάτωσάν** <u>σοι</u> (–) τί μέλλει ἐπὶ σὲ ἔρχεσθαι.[136]		19:12	ποῦ εἰσι νῦν οἱ σοφοί σου; καὶ **ἀναγγειλάτωσάν** σοι καὶ εἰπάτωσαν τί βεβούλευται κύριος σαβαωθ ἐπ᾽ Αἴγυπτον.
			41:22	ἐγγισάτωσαν καὶ **ἀναγγειλάτωσαν ὑμῖν** ἃ συμβήσεται, ἢ τὰ πρότερα τίνα ἦν εἴπατε
			41:23	**ἀναγγείλατε ἡμῖν** τὰ ἐπερχόμενα ἐπ᾽ ἐσχάτου, καὶ γνωσόμεθα ὅτι θεοί ἐστε·[137]

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[125] The MT has חרש את־חרשי אדמה—"a vessel among earthen vessels"(?), חרש and את־חרשי having been interpreted as derivations of the root חרש—"to plough"— in the LXX.

[126] MT: הכל היום יחרש החרש לזרע.

[127] The Göttingen edition has not printed ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν in 45:9. Although it is present in several Alexandrian manuscripts (as well as in a number of Hexaplaric and Lucianic ones), it is not evidenced by the two most important ones, A and Q. Therefore the phrase may well be a harmonising addition by a later editor of the LXX.

[128] Cf. Goshen-Gottstein, "Theory and Praxis," 154–155.

[129] MT: בושו וגם־נכלמו כלם הלכו בכלמה <u>יחדו</u>. Instead of a plus, οἱ ἀντικείμενοι αὐτῷ may be a rendering of יחדו, linked to נחרים ("those who strive against you," cf. 41:11).

[130] MT: הן יבשו ויכלמו כל הנחרים בך יהיו כאין ויאבדו אנשי ריבך.

[131] MT: חרשי צירים—"the makers (l. יצרי) of idols." The LXX has connected חרשי with חדשו—"be renewed"; the noun צירים seems to be related to איים (= νῆσοι).

[132] MT: החרישו אלי איים. As in 45:16, the translation reflects חדש rather than חרש.

[133] MT: אני אני דברתי אף־קראתיו הביאתיו והצליח דרכו.

[134] MT: יצרתי אף־אעשׂנה. The Göttingen edition has not printed this plus in LXX Isa 46:11. However, the clause is evidenced by all Alexandrian witnesses, and hence has a good chance of reflecting the original LXX text.

[135] MT: והצליח אשר שלחתיו. Compare for a related verse also 45:13 ἐγὼ ἤγειρα αὐτὸν μετὰ δικαιοσύνης, καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ εὐθεῖαι.

[136] MT: יעמדו־נא ויושיעֵך הברו שמים החזים בכוכבים מודיעם <u>לחדשים</u> מאשר יבאו עליך. Cf. also 48:5.

[137] In the Göttingen edition ἡμῖν is absent; it may be a secondary reading; see the footnote at 41:23 in section 8.2.3 above.

		44:7	στήτω καλεσάτω καὶ ἑτοιμασάτω μοι ἀφ᾽ οὗ ἐποίησα ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, καὶ τὰ ἐπερχόμενα πρὸ τοῦ ἐλθεῖν **ἀναγγειλάτωσαν ὑμῖν**.[138]
48:5	καὶ ἀνήγγειλά σοι πάλαι, πρὶν **ἐλθεῖν** <u>ἐπὶ σὲ</u> ἀκουστόν σοι ἐποίησα·	47:13	ἀναγγειλάτωσάν σοι τί μέλλει **ἐπὶ σὲ ἔρχεσθαι**.
48:14	ἀγαπῶν σε ἐποίησα τὸ θέλημά σου ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα <u>τοῦ ἆραι σπέρμα</u> Χαλδαίων.[139]	15:9	ἐπάξω γὰρ ἐπὶ Ρεμμων Ἄραβας καὶ **ἀρῶ τὸ σπέρμα** Μωαβ καὶ Αριηλ καὶ τὸ κατάλοιπον Αδαμα.[140]
49:7	Οὕτως λέγει κύριος ὁ ῥυσάμενός <u>σε ὁ θεὸς</u> Ισραηλ[141]	54:5	καὶ ὁ **ῥυσάμενός** σε ἅγιός **θεὸς** Ισραηλ, πάσῃ τῇ γῇ κληθήσεται.
49:11	καὶ θήσω **πᾶν ὄρος** (–) εἰς ὁδὸν καὶ πᾶσαν τρίβον εἰς βόσκημα αὐτοῖς.	40:4	καὶ **πᾶν ὄρος** καὶ βουνὸς ταπεινω- θήσεται, καὶ ἔσται πάντα τὰ σκολιὰ εἰς εὐθεῖαν καὶ ἡ τραχεῖα εἰς ὁδοὺς λείας·

πᾶν ὄρος in 49:11 matches כל־הרי in the MT. The translator may have changed the plural into a singular and omitted the possessive pronoun in assimilation to 40:4, since that verse too speaks about the transformation of "every mountain" (MT: וכל־הר).

49:13	εὐφραίνεσθε, οὐρανοί, καὶ ἀγαλλιάσθω ἡ γῆ, **ῥηξάτωσαν τὰ ὄρη** εὐφροσύνην <u>καὶ οἱ βουνοὶ δικαιοσύνην</u>, ὅτι ἠλέησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ταπεινοὺς τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ παρεκάλεσεν.[142]	44:23	εὐφράνθητε, οὐρανοί, ὅτι ἠλέησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν Ισραηλ· σαλπίσατε, θεμέλια τῆς γῆς, **βοήσατε**, **ὄρη**, **εὐφροσύνην**, **οἱ βουνοὶ** καὶ πάντα τὰ ξύλα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι ἐλυτρώσατο ὁ θεὸς τὸν Ιακωβ, καὶ Ισραηλ δοξασθήσεται.
		45:8	εὐφρανθήτω ὁ οὐρανὸς ἄνωθεν, καὶ αἱ νεφέλαι ῥανάτωσαν **δικαιοσύνην**· ἀνατειλάτω ἡ γῆ ἔλεος καὶ **δικαιοσύνην** ἀνατειλάτω ἅμα·
		55:12	ἐν γὰρ **εὐφροσύνῃ** ἐξελεύσεσθε καὶ ἐν χαρᾷ διδαχθήσεσθε· **τὰ γὰρ ὄρη καὶ οἱ βουνοὶ** ἐξαλοῦνται προσδεχόμενοι ὑμᾶς ἐν χαρᾷ

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[138] ὑμῖν renders למו.

[139] MT: יהוה אהבו יעשה חפצו בבבל וזרעו כשדים.

[140] ἀρῶ is not a literal rendering of the Hebrew, which reads כי־אשית על־דימון נוספות לפליטת מואב אריה ולשארית אדמה. Probably it reflects נוספות, which was linked to אסף. Cf. section 2.6.1b.

[141] MT: כה אמר־יהוה גאל ישראל קדושו. For other related texts (albeit not all of them containing ὁ θεός), cf. 44:6; 47:4; 48:17; 49:26; and 54:8. See also the discussion of 49:7 in section 8.2.3 above.

[142] καὶ οἱ βουνοὶ δικαιοσύνην is printed in Rahlfs' edition, but omitted in the Göttingen edition. Cf. the footnote in section 7.3.2.1b.

49:13 ὅτι ἠλέησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ **τοὺς ταπεινοὺς τοῦ λαοῦ** αὐτοῦ παρεκάλεσεν.

14:32 ὅτι κύριος ἐθεμελίωσε Σιων, καὶ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ σωθήσονται **οἱ ταπεινοὶ τοῦ λαοῦ**.[143]

51:2 ἐμβλέψατε εἰς **Αβρααμ** τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν καὶ εἰς Σαρραν τὴν ὠδίνουσαν ὑμᾶς· ὅτι εἷς ἦν, καὶ ἐκάλεσα αὐτὸν καὶ εὐλόγησα αὐτὸν **καὶ ἠγάπησα αὐτὸν** καὶ ἐπλήθυνα αὐτόν.[144]

41:8 Σὺ δέ, Ισραηλ, παῖς μου Ιακωβ, ὃν ἐξελεξάμην, σπέρμα **Αβρααμ, ὃν ἠγάπησα**

51:9 **Ἐξεγείρου ἐξεγείρου, Ιερουσαλημ**, καὶ ἔνδυσαι τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ βραχίονός σου·[145]

51:17 **Ἐξεγείρου ἐξεγείρου** ἀνάστηθι, **Ιερουσαλημ**

52:1 **Ἐξεγείρου ἐξεγείρου**, Σιων, ἔνδυσαι τὴν ἰσχύν σου, Σιων, καὶ ἔνδυσαι τὴν δόξαν σου, **Ιερουσαλημ** πόλις ἡ ἁγία

51:12 **γνῶθι τίνα εὐλαβηθεῖσα ἐφοβήθης** ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπου θνητοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ υἱοῦ ἀνθρώπου[146]

57:11 **τίνα εὐλαβηθεῖσα ἐφοβήθης** καὶ ἐψεύσω με καὶ οὐκ ἐμνήσθης μου

56:6 καὶ τοῖς ἀλλογενέσι τοῖς προσκειμένοις κυρίῳ δουλεύειν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀγαπᾶν τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τοῦ εἶναι αὐτῷ **εἰς δούλους καὶ δούλας**

14:2 καὶ λήμψονται αὐτοὺς ἔθνη καὶ εἰσάξουσιν εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτῶν, καὶ κατακληρονομήσουσι καὶ πληθυνθήσονται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τοῦ θεοῦ **εἰς δούλους καὶ δούλας**·

Goshen-Gottstein assumes that the appending of καὶ δούλας in 56:6 was prompted by the word pair υἱῶν καὶ θυγατέρων in v.5.[147] However, it is equally possible that through this insertion the translator sought to join 56:6 to 14:2, where exactly the same word couple δούλους καὶ δούλας is present. For a further discussion of the possible connection between these two verses, see at 14:2 above.

56:10 ἴδετε ὅτι πάντες ἐκτετύφλωνται, **οὐκ ἔγνωσαν φρονῆσαι**[148]

44:18 **οὐκ ἔγνωσαν φρονῆσαι**, ὅτι ἀπημαυρώθησαν τοῦ βλέπειν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτῶν[149]

57:17 δι᾽ ἁμαρτίαν βραχύ τι ἐλύπησα αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπάταξα αὐτὸν καὶ **ἀπέστρεψα τὸ πρόσωπόν μου**

54:8 ἐν θυμῷ μικρῷ **ἀπέστρεψα τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ἀπὸ σοῦ** καὶ ἐν ἐλέει αἰωνίῳ ἐλεήσω σε

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[143] MT: כי יהוה יסד ציון ובה יחסו עניי עמו; for the lack of representation of the suffix in LXX Isa, see section 5.2.1.

[144] For the relation of the Greek to the Hebrew, cf. section 2.7c.

[145] For additional verses enclosing an imperative addressed to Jerusalem, see 52:2; 60:1; and 66:10.

[146] MT: מי־את ותיראי מאנוש ימות ומבן־אדם.

[147] *HUB Isa*, 252.

[148] MT: צפו עורים כלם לא ידעו.

[149] MT: לא ידעו ולא יבינו ... .

ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐλυπήθη[150]

58:9	τότε βοήσῃ, καὶ ὁ θεὸς εἰσ-ακούσεταί σου· **ἔτι λαλοῦντός σου** ἐρεῖ Ἰδοὺ πάρειμι.[151]	65:24	καὶ ἔσται πρὶν κεκράξαι αὐτοὺς ἐγὼ ἐπακούσομαι αὐτῶν, **ἔτι λαλούντων αὐτῶν** ἐρῶ Τί ἐστι;
58:13	οὐκ ἀρεῖς τὸν πόδα σου ἐπ᾽ ἔργῳ οὐδὲ λαλήσεις λόγον ἐν ὀργῇ <u>ἐκ τοῦ στόματός σου</u>[152]	45:23	Ἦ μὴν ἐξελεύσεται **ἐκ τοῦ στόματός μου** δικαιοσύνη, οἱ λόγοι μου οὐκ ἀποστραφήσονται
		48:3	Τὰ πρότερα ἔτι ἀνήγγειλα, καὶ **ἐκ τοῦ στόματός μου** ἐξῆλθε
		55:11	οὕτως ἔσται τὸ ῥῆμά μου, ὃ ἐὰν ἐξέλθῃ **ἐκ τοῦ στόματός μου**, οὐ μὴ ἀποστραφῇ
		59:21	καὶ τὰ ῥήματα, ἃ ἔδωκα εἰς τὸ στόμα σου, οὐ μὴ ἐκλίπῃ **ἐκ τοῦ στόματός σου**
63:7	<u>**κύριος** κριτὴς</u> ἀγαθὸς τῷ οἴκῳ Ισραηλ[154]	30:18	διότι **κριτὴς κύριος** ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐστι[153]
		33:22	**κριτὴς** ἡμῶν **κύριος**[155]
64:11(12)	καὶ **ἐπὶ** <u>**πᾶσι**</u> **τούτοις** ἀνέσχου, κύριε, καὶ ἐσιώπησας	9:16(17)	**ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις** οὐκ ἀπεστρά-φη ὁ θυμός, ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι ἡ χεὶρ ὑψηλή.[156]
65:2	ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν πρὸς λαὸν **ἀπει-θοῦντα** <u>**καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα**</u>, οἳ οὐκ ἐπορεύθησαν ὁδῷ ἀληθινῇ, ἀλλ᾽ ὀπίσω τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν.[157]	50:5	καὶ ἡ παιδεία κυρίου ἀνοίγει μου τὰ ὦτα, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ **ἀπειθῶ οὐδὲ ἀντιλέγω**.
65:18	ἀλλ᾽ εὐφροσύνην καὶ ἀγαλλίαμα <u>**εὑρήσουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ**</u>·[158]	51:3	εὐφροσύνην καὶ ἀγαλλίαμα **εὑρήσουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ**[159]
65:24	καὶ ἔσται πρὶν κεκράξαι αὐτοὺς	58:9	τότε βοήσῃ, καὶ ὁ θεὸς

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[150] MT: בעון בצעו קצפתי ואכהו הסתר ואקצף. See also section 8.4.6 below.

[151] Cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 173–174.

[152] MT: וכבדתו מעשות דרכיך ממצוא חפצך ודבר דבר. Possibly ἐκ τοῦ στόματός σου is not a plus, but a rendering of ממצוא חפצך, read in a associative way as מהוציא מפיך.

[153] MT: כי־אלהי משפט יהוה.

[154] MT: ורב־טוב לבית ישראל. LXX Isa has read ורב־טוב (MT: וְרַב־טוּב—"the greatness of favour") as וְרַב־טוֹב—"and a good judge" (Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 147); κύριος is probably a second translation of יהוה, which is located at the end of the previous sentence. Cf. *HUB Isa*, 279.

[155] MT: כי יהוה שפטנו.

[156] Cf. also 9:11(12),20(21) and 10:4: ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσιν οὐκ ἀπεστράφη ὁ θυμός, ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι ἡ χεὶρ ὑψηλή.

[157] Cf. Deut 21:18,20; Jer 5:23; and Ps 78(77):8, and for more comments, cf. section 8.4.1.2b.

[158] MT: כי־אם־שישו וגילו עדי־עד. The verb שישו seems to have produced the noun εὐφροσύνην, and וגילו καὶ ἀγαλλίαμα. עדי־עד has no equivalent in the Greek. For the word pair εὐφροσύνη καὶ ἀγαλλίαμα, cf. LXX Isa 16:10; 22:13; and 51:11; cf. also 35:10 and 60:15.

[159] MT: ששון ושמחה ימצא בה.

ἐγὼ ἐπακούσομαι αὐτῶν, **ἔτι λαλούντων αὐτῶν ἐρῶ** <u>Τί ἐστι</u>;

εἰσακούσεταί σου· **ἔτι λαλοῦντός σου** ἐρεῖ Ἰδοὺ πάρειμι.

While in 58:9 ἔτι has been added in approximation to 65:24 (see at 58:9 above), through the addition of Τί ἐστι the translator at the same time appears to have aligned 65:24 to 58:9. Even if Τί ἐστι in 65:24 does not have a literal match in the LXX of 58:9—which has Ἰδοὺ πάρειμι in the corresponding place—it does seem to render the *Hebrew* reading of the latter words, which consists of the interjection הנני.[160] The rendering of הנני as Τί ἐστι has precedents in e.g. Gen 31:11; 46:2; and Exod 3:4.

66:3   καὶ οὗτοι **ἐξελέξαντο** τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ βδελύγματα αὐ-τῶν, <u>ἃ ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτῶν ἠθέλησε</u>[161]

65:12   καὶ ἐποιήσατε τὸ πονηρὸν ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ καὶ **ἃ οὐκ ἐβουλόμην ἐξελέξασθε.**[162]

66:18   κἀγὼ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν αὐτῶν <u>ἐπίσταμαι</u>.[163]

37:28   νῦν δὲ τὴν ἀνάπαυσίν σου καὶ τὴν ἔξοδόν σου καὶ τὴν εἴσοδόν σου ἐγὼ **ἐπίσταμαι·**

66:20   καὶ **ἄξουσι** (–) **τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ὑμῶν** ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν δῶρον κυρίῳ

43:6   **ἄγε τοὺς υἱούς μου** ἀπὸ γῆς πόρρωθεν
49:22   καὶ **ἄξουσι τοὺς υἱούς σου** ἐν κόλπῳ
60:9   **ἀγαγεῖν τὰ τέκνα σου** μακρόθεν

LXX Isa 66:20 displays a minus in that it does not offer an equivalent for כל in the phrase את־כל־אחיכם, which forms part of the Hebrew clause והביאו את־כל־אחיכם מכל־הגוים מנחה ליהוה. An explanation for this minus can be discovered in Isa 43:6; 49:22; and 60:9, which similarly speak of the bringing of the Israelites from all places of the earth. Also in these verses כל is missing before the object.

66:23   καὶ ἔσται μῆνα ἐκ μηνὸς καὶ σάββατον ἐκ σαββάτου ἥξει πᾶσα σὰρξ ἐνώπιόν μου **προσκυνῆσαι** <u>ἐν Ιερουσαλημ</u>

27:13   καὶ **προσκυνήσουσι** τῷ κυρίῳ ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ἅγιον **ἐν Ιερουσαλημ.**

8.3.2 Conclusion to 8.3

In this paragraph some eighty cases have been listed where *pluses* in the Greek Isaiah seem to have arisen from the borrowing of text from passages elsewhere in the Book of Isaiah. It has been shown that the sections from which components were adopted are usually related in

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[160] One could also conclude from this, however, that the translator read הנני in his *Vorlage* of 65:24. This would elucidate the different rendering of this Hebrew expression in the LXX of 65:24 and 58:9. For, if the translator in 65:24 was influenced by 58:9, one might expect him to have been influenced by the Greek version of the latter verse and so to have added Ἰδοὺ πάρειμι instead of Τί ἐστι.

[161] MT: גם־המה בחרו בדרכיהם ובשקוציהם נפשם חפצה. The translator most likely considered נפשם חפצה to be a asyndetic relative clause, even if in the MT it is part of the main clause ("… and in their abominations their soul takes delight"); cf. section 9.2.

[162] MT: ותעשו הרע בעיני ובאשר לא־חפצתי בחרתם.

[163] Cf. also LXX Deut 31:27 ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐπίσταμαι τὸν ἐρεθισμόν σου καὶ τὸν τράχηλόν σου τὸν σκληρόν; and Ps 94(93):11 (see section 8.4.2.1).

content to those to which they were imported, but sometimes the translator merely seems to have copied phraseology, without connecting the two texts on an exegetical level (see e.g. 1:20; 8:22; 24:3; 25:8,11; 44:19; and 58:13 above). Also some *minuses* are the outcome of intratextual borrowing. This concerns the omission of elements in harmonisation with similar locutions in other parts of the translation (see 1:10; 20:4; 31:7; 34:16; 40:5; 49:11; and 66:20 above).

Passages from which expressions have been taken or to which they are adjusted can often be found in nearby chapters. Especially in LXX Isaiah chapters 41–49 many additions and omissions appear that elaborate the internal connections within this section.

In some cases "cross-pollination" has occurred, two verses having influenced each other mutually. Examples of this can be found in 1:20/24:3; 17:13/29:5–6; 11:8/14:29/30:6; and 58:9/65:24 above.

By creating and enhancing intratextual links, the translator could in the first place strengthen the internal unity of his work, and in the second place interpret the often complex Hebrew text, explaining one passage with the help of another.

Intratextual additions and omissions in LXX Isaiah do not only betray the influence of passages in *preceding* parts of the translation, but also that of *later* chapters. The question has been raised of whether also in the latter case pluses and minuses could be the work of the translator himself, as he had not yet arrived at that part of his translation where the changes are based on. According to some scholars LXX translators can hardly be considered to have used elements from posterior sections of their work. Seeligmann, for instance, suggests that such borrowings from later parts of LXX Isaiah may have been the work of a so-called "second translator," revising the translation of his predecessor.[164] Aejmelaeus even regards the influence of later passages as an argument against the idea *per se* that intratextual translations are the accomplishment of the LXX translators themselves. She argues that they may rather be the work of Hebrew copyists.[165] Yet, the number of pluses and minuses in LXX Isaiah that reveal the influence of chapters further on in the book is so substantial, that one can hardly escape the conclusion that the translator has indeed utilised subsequent parts of his translation in earlier sections.[166] Apparently, he did not proceed his work by simply starting at the first page and continuing until the final word, after which he had for once and for all finished his entire work. This would be a far too simple picture of the translation process in the LXX translator's time, which would underestimate the precision and accuracy with which translators worked. The translation process must have been much more complex, including stages of the translator's rereading, editing and improving of his own work. It was probably during this reworking of his translation that the translator inserted elements from subsequent chapters. It is also possible that during the translation process he was reminded of a certain passage further on in the book, then glanced through that passage, and translated it first (just in his mind or actually in his script), after which he integrated it into the earlier verse.[167]

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[164] Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 71.

[165] Aejmelaeus, "What can we know," 70–71.

[166] In the outline above at least thirty of the around eighty instances concern pluses and minuses influenced by later chapters: see 1:10,20,25; 3:14; 5:28; 8:22; 9:2(3); 13:2,14; 15:2–3; 17:13; 20:4; 24:14; 26:9; 27:4; 28:2; [29:24]; 30:18; 32:2; 38:11; 40:27; 41:28; 43:10; 44:23,25; [46:11]; 49:7; 51:9; 51:12; and 58:9.

[167] See also Baer, *When We All Go Home*, 25: "He leaves evidence that his translation did not proceed systematically from front to back. On at least one occasion, translation of a given text is carried out in a manner that suggests that a Greek translation of a similar passage *later* in the book already existed and lay before him."

In his extensive use of intratextuality, the Isaiah translator does not stand alone. Other ancient Bible versions display the same tendency. The Isaiah Scroll from Qumran comprises approximately twenty pluses which demonstrate this technique.[168]

8.4 The adoption of elements from other Biblical books

One of the most intriguing features of the Septuagint of Isaiah is the intricated web of relationships that the translation reveals with other Biblical books. The Isaiah translator appears to have been well educated in Scripture, and has woven in elements of Biblical stories, songs and prophecies from elsewhere all throughout his translation. The Greek Pentateuch in particular seems to have had a large impact on him. This earliest one of the Greek Bible translations was probably widely known among Hellenistic Jews, and has influenced other subsequent translations as well.[169] While it is evident that the Pentateuch was consulted by the Isaiah translator in its Greek version, of the other parts of Scripture traces of which can be found in LXX Isaiah there is less evidence to indicate whether they stem from the Greek translations of these books or only from the Hebrew. This issue is especially relevant as it concerns the Books of the Psalms, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve Prophets. Those texts are considered by several scholars to have been sources of inspiration for the Isaiah translator in composing his work, either in their Greek or in their Hebrew form.[170] One difficulty in determining which version the translator has used for other Biblical books, is the fact that the date of origin of most Greek Bible translations is controversial, so that there is no external evidence available to assist in ascertaining the possibility of dependence on the Greek. Another complexity is that often "die Argumente Schlüsse nach beiden Seiten zulassen," as Wevers formulates it.[171] That is, when one thinks that the Greek translation of a specific text in Isaiah relies on a passage in the Greek translation of another Biblical book, often the reversed hypothesis is also possible, namely that this other translation depends on the LXX of Isaiah. Yet, this complication does not exist when in the Greek Isaiah a *plus* or a *minus* is supposed to have been influenced by another Greek translation. In such a case the direction of the dependency is obvious. Therefore, in order to shed more light on the relationship between the various Greek translations, the search for pluses and minuses that may be the result of intertextual borrowing is particularly important.

In order to investigate critically whether a plus or minus in LXX Isaiah has truly been caused by the influence of texts elsewhere in Scripture, one should ask whether this variant could not be the result of another process or technique, such as the assimilation to a set phrase, the explicitation of the text, or the addition or omission of elements for stylistic motives. Sometimes such alternative explanations make it unnecessary to attribute a plus or minus to intertextuality. In other cases, the alternative clarification may be complementary, however, and exist side by side with the intertextual one. For instance, the translator may have sought to ameliorate the parallelism between two lines, and for that purpose have added an expression that he detected in a related passage elsewhere in Scripture.

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[168] Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background*, 545.
[169] Tov, "Impact of the LXX Translation," 578.
[170] Cf. e.g. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 103–106; Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 71–75.
[171] John W. Wevers, "Septuaginta-Forschungen," *TRu*, NF 22 (1954): 180.

Another possible way to explain correspondences of LXX Isaiah with other texts, is to posit that the congruence is just accidental. However, the more extensive and precise the resemblance between the two texts is (also including the context of both), the smaller the chance that it is merely a matter of coincidence.

If a plus or minus in LXX Isaiah indeed seems to have an intertextual background, one can try to find out whether it goes back to the Hebrew version of a book or to the Greek rendition of it. As will be clear, if the text in LXX Isaiah and its parallel in the Greek translation of the other document present literal correspondences in their vocabulary and phraseology, it is most likely that the Isaiah translator was relying on the Greek version. If, on the other hand, the two Greek texts do not correspond in a formal way, but only as regards their content, it is more plausible that the Isaiah translator depended on the *Hebrew* text, or that he was merely reminded of the contents of the other passage rather than using its exact formulation.

Although most intertextual adjustments to the Greek Isaiah have probably been made by the LXX translator himself, it is conceivable that some of them were already present in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the translation: a Hebrew scribe may have added or omitted text under the influence of passages elsewhere in Scripure. Also a later Greek editor of the LXX may have sought to extend the ties of the Isaianic text to other sections of the Bible.

8.4.1 LXX Isaiah and the Pentateuch

The Greek Pentateuch is the oldest translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek and can be dated around 250 B.C.E. Septuagint scholars today are convinced that the Greek Pentateuch has had a significant impact on subsequent Greek translations of the Old Testament. This influence of the Pentateuch can be explained in the light of the important function of the Torah in the Jewish community of the Hellenistic period.[172] According to some, such as Mozley, Katz, and more recently, Rabin and Tov, the Greek Pentateuch even served as some sort of "lexicon" or "text book" for later translators.[173] But the Greek Torah did not only affect the adoption of vocabulary and quotations, it may also have exercised influence on an exegetical level.[174]

In the LXX of Isaiah traces of the Greek Pentateuch can also be discovered. This has been pointed out by e.g. Thackeray, Brockington, Ziegler, Seeligmann, and Koenig.[175] Seeligmann in particular has investigated the connection of the Greek translation of Isaiah to the Pentateuch. He thinks that the Isaiah translator may have been inspired by this part of the Bible by building forth on memories he had in his mind of the Torah but also by borrowing

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[172] Tov, "Impact of the LXX Translation," 578.

[173] Francis W. Mozley, *The Psalter of the Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905), 13; Peter Katz, "The Recovery of the Original Septuagint. A Study in the History of Transmission and Textual Criticism," in *Actes du premier congrès de la Fédération internationale des associations d'études classiques 1950* (FIEC; Paris: Klincksieck, 1951), 178; Chaim Rabin, "The Translation Process and the Character of the Septuagint," *Textus* 6 (1968): 22; Tov, "Impact of the LXX Translation," 578. See also Olofsson, *LXX Version*, 26.

[174] Tov, "Impact of the LXX Translation," 578.

[175] Thackeray, "Greek translators of the Prophetical Books," 583; L. H. Brockington, "Septuagint and Targum," *ZAW* 66 (1954): 84–85; Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 103; Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 45–48; Koenig, *L'herméneutique analogique*, e.g. 87–100.

literal formulations from it.[176] Arie van der Kooij too is of the opinion that the translator imported elements from the Greek Pentateuch, because as a learned scribe and scholar the Isaiah translator was familiar with this part as well as with other parts of Scripture.[177]

In the continuation of this paragraph I will list a number of pluses and minuses in LXX Isaiah that may have entered the translation as a result of the translator's dependence on the Pentateuch (which for the sake of practicability will be divided into the book of Genesis on the one hand and the four subsequent books on the other). Many more examples could be afforded to illustrate this dependence, but given the scope of my work, I will have to limit myself to examining the pluses and minuses.

8.4.1.1 Genesis

The Isaiah translator seems to have had a special interest in some famous narratives that are written down in the book of Genesis. Two of those are the stories of the creation and of the building of the tower of Babel. When he was translating the Isaianic text these stories may have sprung to mind, which resulted in his adopting themes or expressions from these texts into his translation, or sometimes in his omitting words in harmonisation with similar formulations that occur in those texts. The pluses and minuses that have been generated in this way will be the focus of the present paragraph.

a. Influence of Gen 1–3 The creation story

| **Isa 7:16** | כי בטרם ידע הנער | διότι πρὶν ἢ *γνῶναι* τὸ παιδίον *ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν* |
| | מאס ברע ובחר בטוב | ἀπειθεῖ πονηρίᾳ τοῦ ἐκλέξασθαι τὸ ἀγαθόν |

Isa 7:16 forms part of the well-known Isaianic passage describing a divine sign that a young woman would become pregnant and bear a son who would be named Emmanuel. Already in the early Church these verses were regarded as a prophecy of the birth of Jesus Christ. This interpretation was facilitated by the LXX translation of this passage, which in v.14 represents the noun עלמה ("young woman") by παρθένος, meaning "virgin." On the Greek translation of these verses and the issue of whether or not the LXX of Isa 7:14 warrants a Messianic interpretation, extensive investigation has been carried out by various scholars, including van der Kooij, Martin Rösel, Troxel, and Lust.[178]

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[176] Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 48.

[177] see Arie van der Kooij, "Perspectives on the Study of the Septuagint. Who are the translators?," in *Perspectives in the Study of the Old Testament and Early Judaism. A Symposium in Honour of Adam S. van der Woude on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday* (ed. Florentino García Martínez and Ed Noort; VTSup 73; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 214–229, esp. 219–220. Van der Kooij posits that the prologue to the Wisdom of Ben Sira offers a clear reference to such a learned scholar. In lines 7–11 the grandson praises his grandfather as a scholar "who had devoted himself for a long time to the reading of the Law, the Prophets, and the other books of our ancestors, and developed a thorough familiarity with them."

[178] Arie van der Kooij, "Die Septuaginta Jesajas als Dokument jüdischer Exegese. Einige Notizen zu LXX–Jes. 7," in *Übersetzung und Deutung. Studien zu dem Alten Testament und seiner Umwelt Alexander Reinard Hulst gewidmet von Freunden und Kollegen* (ed. H. A. Brongers et al.; Nijkerk: Callenbach, 1977), 91–102; Martin Rösel, "Die Jungfrauengeburt des endzeitlichen Immanuel. Isaiah 7 in der Übersetzung der Septuaginta," *JBTh* 6 (1991): 135–151; Ronald L. Troxel, "Isaiah 7,14–16 through the Eyes of the Septuagint," *ETL* 79 (2003): 1–22; idem, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation*, 139–145; Lust, "A Septuagint Christ," 218–225.

As far as Isa 7:16 is concerned, the translator has switched the emphasis of its content by changing the text in a subtle way: whereas in the Hebrew the expression "before the child knows how to refuse the evil and choose the good" is meant merely as a (neutral) definition of time, i.e. before the boy has reached a certain age, in the LXX stress is laid upon the boy choosing the right (already in his youth). Seeligmann thinks that the Isaiah translator in his reformulation of 7:16 may have been reminded of the knowledge of good and evil in the Biblical account of the sin of the first man in Gen 3:[179]

Gen 3:5   כי ידע אלהים   ἤδει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς

כי ביום אכלכם ממנו   ὅτι ἐν ᾗ ἂν ἡμέρᾳ φάγητε ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ,

ונפקחו עיניכם   διανοιχθήσονται ὑμῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί,

והייתם כאלהים ידעי טוב ורע   καὶ ἔσεσθε ὡς θεοὶ **γινώσκοντες καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν.**

הן האדם היה כאחד ממנו   Gen 3:22   Ἰδοὺ Ἀδὰμ γέγονεν ὡς εἷς ἐξ ἡμῶν

לדעת טוב ורע   τοῦ **γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν**

Nonetheless, since the correspondence between these texts in Genesis and LXX Isa 7:16 is not literal—LXX Isaiah displaying the words ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν where Gen 3 has καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν—it is questionable whether the Isaiah translator actually wanted to allude to Gen 3. It is more likely that he drew upon three other verses in the Pentateuch, namely LXX Num 14:23; 32:11; and Deut 1:39. The discussion of the relation between those three verses and LXX Isa 7:16 will be resumed in 8.4.1.2b below.

Isa 13:10 כי-כוכבי השמים וכסיליהם   οἱ γὰρ ἀστέρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ὁ Ὠρίων

לא יהלו אורם   *καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* τὸ φῶς οὐ δώσουσι

וכסיליהם seems to have been rendered by both ὁ Ὠρίων[180] and καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.[181] The latter rendering might be based upon Gen 2:1. Also that verse speaks of "all the ornament" of heaven:

Gen 2:1   ויכלו השמים והארץ   Καὶ συνετελέσθησαν **ὁ οὐρανὸς** καὶ ἡ γῆ

וכל-צבאם   **καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος αὐτῶν.**

Another option, proposed by Ziegler, is that the extra words have entered Isa 13:10 from Isa 24:21, although there the word כל / πᾶς is missing:[182]

Isa 24:21   יפקד יהוה   καὶ ἐπάξει ὁ θεὸς

על-צבא המרום במרום   ἐπὶ **τὸν κόσμον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ** τὴν χεῖρα

Isa 18:6 יעזבו יחדו לעיט הרים   καὶ καταλείψει ἅμα τοῖς πετεινοῖς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ

ולבהמת הארץ וקץ   καὶ τοῖς θηρίοις τῆς γῆς, καὶ συναχθήσεται

עליו העיט   ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς *τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ,*

וכל-בהמת הארץ עליו תחרף   καὶ πάντα τὰ θηρία τῆς γῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἥξει.

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[179] Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 46.
[180] Cf. Job 38:31.
[181] Cf. section 2.3a.
[182] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 64.

Where the MT reads העיט ("birds of prey"), LXX Isaiah has τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. The translator may have chosen these words so as to repeat τοῖς πετεινοῖς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ earlier in v.6. However, there too the phrase does not form a literal rendering of the Hebrew, which offers לעיט הרים ("the birds of the mountains"). Perhaps the LXX phraseology was borrowed from the passage on the creation of the animals in Gen 1:30. The effect of that text may also extend to the translation of בהמת הארץ ("the cattle of the earth") as τὰ θηρία τῆς γῆς ("the wild beasts of the earth") within the same verse in LXX Isaiah:

| Gen 1:30 | ולכל־חית הארץ | καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς θηρίοις τῆς γῆς |
| | ולכל־עוף השמים | καὶ πᾶσιν **τοῖς πετεινοῖς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ**[183] |

Nevertheless, the "birds of the heaven" also turn up in LXX Ps 8:9; 50:11; 78:2; and 103:12. Hence, it may just as well be that this phrase, rather than originating from one specific Scriptural text, simply formed part of the translator's Biblical jargon.

Isa 44:14 | לכרת־לו ארזים | ὃ ἔκοψε |
| ויקח תרזה ואלון ויאמץ־לו בעצי־יער | ξύλον ἐκ τοῦ δρυμοῦ, |
| נטע ארן | *ὃ ἐφύτευσε κύριος* |

Probably κύριος is not a real plus, but a rendering of ארן, read as אָדֹן.[184] In any case, the words ὃ ἐφύτευσε κύριος have possibly been taken from Gen 2:8:

| Gen 2:8 | ויטע יהוה אלהים גן־בעדן | Καὶ **ἐφύτευσεν κύριος** ὁ θεὸς παράδεισον ἐν Ἐδεμ |

Isa 65:22 | כי־כימי העץ | κατὰ γὰρ τὰς ἡμέρας *τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς* |
| ימי עמי | ἔσονται αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ λαοῦ μου, |
| ומעשה ידיהם יבלו בחירי | τὰ ἔργα τῶν πόνων αὐτῶν παλαιώσουσιν. |

The translator interpreted העץ in Isa 65:22 as the tree of life from the creation story, figuring in Gen 2:9 and 3:22,24:[185]

Gen 2:9	ועץ החיים בתוך הגן	καὶ **τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς** ἐν μέσῳ τῷ παραδείσῳ
Gen 3:22	ועתה פן־ישלח ידו ולקח	καὶ νῦν μήποτε ἐκτείνῃ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ λάβῃ **τοῦ**
	גם מעץ החיים ואכל וחי לעלם	**ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς** καὶ φάγῃ καὶ ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.
Gen 3:24	לשמר את־דרך עץ החיים	φυλάσσειν τὴν ὁδὸν **τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς**.

In this way he has given an interpretation of Isa 65:22 in the sense that in future God's people will be living as though in paradise.

b. Influence of Gen 11:1–9 The tower of Babel

Isa 9:9(10) | לבנים נפלו | Πλίνθοι πεπτώκασιν, |
| וגזית נבנה | *ἀλλὰ δεῦτε* λαξεύσωμεν λίθους |

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[183] Also compare Gen 1:20,28 and 9:2.

[184] *HUB Isa*, 201. For the formulation ὃ ἔκοψε ξύλον ἐκ τοῦ δρυμοῦ, cf. Jer 10:13 (see section 8.4.3.2 below).

[185] See also Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 79; *HUB Isa*, 290. This plus is attested by the Targum as well. It is not certain, though, whether the translator based his addition on exactly these verses in Genesis. He may also have been reminded of the concept of the "tree of life" without having precisely these texts in his mind.

שקמים גדעו   καὶ ἐκκόψωμεν συκαμίνους καὶ κέδρους
וארזים נחליף   καὶ *οἰκοδομήσωμεν ἑαυτοῖς πύργον*.

In the LXX of Isa 9:10 (MT Isa 9:9) the status of οἰκοδομήσωμεν ("let us built") is obscure. Perhaps it is equivalent to נחליף ("we will replace"). Even if it is not connected to that verb in a semantic sense, both verbs appear in the same place, and are equal from a grammatical point of view, both being future verbs in the first person plural. Alternatively, οἰκοδομήσωμεν might reflect נבנה, which, in conformity with the Greek verb, is a first person plural verb form denoting "let us built." However, נבנה is located elsewhere in the verse, and seems already to be represented by λαξεύσωμεν (albeit נבנה and λαξεύσωμεν have a different meaning, and merely agree in their grammatical form and sentence position). Koenig overcomes this problem by suggesting that the translator has transposed the renderings of נחליף and נבנה, and read נחליף with the connotation of a homonymous Aramaic root חלף—"to cut down," translating it by λαξεύσωμεν.[186]

Whatever the case, one thing that seems to be evident, is that the translator in rendering Isa 9:9(10) draws inspiration from the story of the building of a tower in Gen 11:1–9, in particular from vv.3–4:[187]

Gen 11:3–4   ויאמרו איש אל־רעהו   καὶ εἶπεν ἄνθρωπος τῷ πλησίον
הבה נלבנה לבנים ונשרפה   Δεῦτε πλινθεύσωμεν πλίνθους καὶ ὀπτήσωμεν αὐτὰς
לשרפה ותהי להם הלבנה לאבן   πυρί. καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς ἡ πλίνθος εἰς λίθον,
והחמר היה להם לחמר   καὶ ἄσφαλτος ἦν αὐτοῖς ὁ πηλός.
ויאמרו הבה נבנה־לנו עיר   καὶ εἶπαν Δεῦτε οἰκοδομήσωμεν ἑαυτοῖς πόλιν
ומגדל וראשו בשמים   καὶ **πύργον**, οὗ ἡ κεφαλὴ ἔσται ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ[188]

The reason why the translator connected Isa 9:9(10) with Gen 11:1–9, may be that Isa 9:8(9)–9(10) focuses on the theme of human arrogance. This becomes clear, for instance, in the first part of Isa 9:8(9):

Isa 9:8(9)   וידעו העם כלו אפרים   καὶ γνώσονται πᾶς ὁ λαὸς τοῦ Εφραιμ
ויושב שמרון   καὶ οἱ ἐγκαθήμενοι ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ,
בגאוה ובגדל לבב לאמר   ἐφ᾽ ὕβρει καὶ ὑψηλῇ καρδίᾳ λέγοντες

It was most probably this theme that provided the link to Gen 11:1–9, since the story of the tower building has traditionally been interpreted as demonstrating human pride.

Isa 10:9   הלא ככרכמיש   Οὐκ ἔλαβον τὴν χώραν τὴν ἐπάνω Βαβυλῶνος
כלנו   *καὶ Χαλαννη, οὗ ὁ πύργος ᾠκοδομήθη;*

Seeligmann assumes that the Isaiah translator regarded כלנו in Isa 10:9 as identical to the geographical name כלנה / Χαλαννή in Gen 10:10. The latter verse reports that Calneh and Babylon are situated in the land of Sinear, the area where—according to Gen 11:2ff.—the building of the tower took place:[189]

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[186] Koenig, *L'herméneutique analogique*, 93–96.
[187] Cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 109; Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation*, 147–148.
[188] Note that LXX Isa 9:10 merely mentions the building of a "tower" and not of a "city" of which Gen 11:4 additionally speaks.
[189] Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 47; see also Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation*, 145–148. Note that the idea that the building of the tower took place in the very city of Χαλαννή does not occur in the book of Genesis.

Gen 10:10	ותהי ראשית ממלכתו	καὶ ἐγένετο ἀρχὴ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ
	בבל וארך ואכד וכלנה	Βαβυλὼν καὶ Ὄρεχ καὶ Ἀρχὰδ καὶ **Χαλαννὴ**
	בארץ שנער	ἐν τῇ γῇ **Σενναάρ**.
Gen 11:2–4	ויהי בנסעם מקדם	καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ κινῆσαι αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν
	וימצאו בקעה בארץ שנער וישבו שם ...	εὗρον πεδίον ἐν γῇ **Σενναὰρ** καὶ κατῴκησαν ἐκεῖ ...
	ויאמרו הבה נבנה-לנו עיר	καὶ εἶπαν Δεῦτε **οἰκοδομήσωμεν ἑαυτοῖς πόλιν**
	ומגדל וראשו בשמים	**καὶ πύργον**, οὗ ἡ κεφαλὴ ἔσται ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ

This indirect link of כלנו in Isa 10:9 to the tower of Babel, may have prompted the translator to interpolate in Isa 10:9 words that go back to Gen 11:1–9: compare οὗ ὁ πύργος ᾠκοδομήθη in LXX Isa 10:9 with οἰκοδομήσωμεν ἑαυτοῖς πόλιν καὶ πύργον in Gen 11:4 (cited above) and compare also Gen 11:5:

| Gen 11:5 | וירד יהוה לראת את-העיר | καὶ κατέβη κύριος ἰδεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν |
| | ואת-המגדל אשר בנו בני האדם | **πύργον**, ὃν ᾠκοδόμησαν οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. |

c. Influence of other texts in Genesis

| **Isa 3:24–25** | כי-תחת יפי | καὶ *ὁ υἱός σου* ὁ κάλλιστος, <u>*ὃν ἀγαπᾷς*</u>, |
| | מתיך בחרב יפלו | μαχαίρᾳ πεσεῖται |

The LXX translator has probably understood יפי מתיך (MT: "a burning mark [?]. Your men") as "the beauty (יפי) of your men," which he then explained in the sense of "the most beautiful of your men" and translated as ὁ υἱός σου ὁ κάλλιστος. The plus ὃν ἀγαπᾷς may rest upon Gen 22:2, a text which, in accordance with Isa 3:25, deals with the imminent death of a beloved son:

Gen 22:2	קח-נא **את-בנך** את-יחידך	Λαβὲ **τὸν υἱόν σου** τὸν ἀγαπητόν,
	אשר-אהבת את-יצחק	ὃν ἠγάπησας, τὸν Ἰσαάκ,
	ולך-לך אל-ארץ המריה	καὶ πορεύθητι εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ὑψηλὴν
	והעלהו שם לעלה	καὶ ἀνένεγκε αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ εἰς ὁλοκάρπωσιν
	על אחד ההרים אשר אמר אליך	ἐφ’ ἓν τῶν ὀρέων, ὧν ἄν σοι εἴπω.

Isa 39:2	ויראם את-בית נכתה	καὶ ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ νεχωθα
	את-הכסף ואת-הזהב	<u>*καὶ τῆς στακτῆς*</u> καὶ τῶν θυμιαμάτων καὶ τοῦ μύρου
	ואת-הבשמים ואת השמן הטוב	καὶ τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ τοῦ χρυσίου

נכתה (l. נְכֹתוֹ from נְכֹת—"treasure–house") is represented twice in the LXX: as the transcription νεχωθα, and as καὶ τῆς στακτῆς ("oil of myrrh");[190] the latter rendition supposedly results from the association of נכתה with נכאת, the name of a spice, maybe a "resin of the cistus rose."[191] In Gen 37:25 and 43:11 נכאת is mentioned in a list of costly spices. It is translated there by θυμίαμα ("incense"), a noun that appears in LXX Isa 39:2 as well. The Greek versions of the lists in Genesis also include στακτή, in both cases as renderings of the Hebrew לט (a kind of spice of which the precise meaning is unknown):

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[190] See section 2.3a.
[191] *HALOT* 1:697.

Gen 37:25	וגמליהם נשאים נכאת	καὶ αἱ κάμηλοι αὐτῶν ἔγεμον θυμιαμάτων
	וצרי ולט	καὶ ῥητίνης καὶ **στακτῆς**·
Gen 43:11	והורידו לאיש מנחה מעט	καὶ καταγάγετε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ δῶρα,
	צרי ומעט דבש	τῆς ῥητίνης καὶ τοῦ μέλιτος,
	נכאת ולט בטנים ושקדים	θυμίαμα καὶ **στακτὴν** καὶ τερέμινθον καὶ κάρυα.

In order to render נכתה in Isa 39:2 the LXX translator may with στακτή have opted for a word that he encountered in Gen 37:25 and 43:11, in the first place because those texts—like Isa 39:2—name expensive merchandise, and, in the second place, because of the formal resemblance between נכתה in Gen 37:25 and 43:11 and נכאת in Isa 39:2.

Isa 48:19	ויהי כחול זרעך	καὶ ἐγένετο ἂν ὡς *ἡ ἄμμος τὸ σπέρμα σου*
	וצאצאי מעיך כמעתיו	καὶ τὰ ἔκγονα τῆς κοιλίας σου ὡς ὁ χοῦς <u>τῆς γῆς</u>·

The attribution of τῆς γῆς to ὁ χοῦς could be inspired by the stories of the patriarchs, in which Abraham and Jacob are promised that their offspring will be as innumerable as the dust of the earth:

Gen 13:16	ושמתי את־זרעך כעפר הארץ	καὶ ποιήσω τὸ σπέρμα σου ὡς τὴν ἄμμον τῆς
	אשר אם־יוכל איש למנות	γῆς· εἰ δύναταί τις ἐξαριθμῆσαι τὴν ἄμμον τῆς
	את־עפר הארץ גם־זרעך ימנה	γῆς, καὶ τὸ σπέρμα σου ἐξαριθμηθήσεται.
Gen 28:14	והיה זרעך כעפר הארץ	καὶ ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς γῆς

Nevertheless, the words עפר הארץ appear in other places in the Hebrew Bible as well, which makes it likewise imaginable that the addition of τῆς γῆς, rather than having been influenced by one or two specific verses, was merely made in assimilation to a fixed Biblical phrase.[192]

Isa 66:19	ושלחתי מהם פליטים	καὶ ἐξαποστελῶ ἐξ αὐτῶν σεσῳσμένους εἰς τὰ
	אל־הגוים תרשיש פול ולוד	ἔθνη, εἰς Θαρσις καὶ Φουδ καὶ Λουδ
	משכי קשת תבל ויון	καὶ *Μοσοχ* καὶ Θοβελ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα
	האיים הרחקים	καὶ εἰς τὰς νήσους τὰς πόρρω,
	אשר לא־שמעו את־שמעי	οἳ οὐκ ἀκηκόασί μου τὸ ὄνομα
	ולא־ראו את־כבודי	οὐδὲ ἑωράκασι τὴν δόξαν μου,
	והגידו את־כבודי בגוים	καὶ ἀναγγελοῦσίν μου τὴν δόξαν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι.

Isa 66:19 offers an enumeration of nations to whom will be declared God's glory. In this list משכי קשת ("they who draw the bow") is rendered by the name Μοσοχ. This rendition can be clarified through the appearance of משך / Μόσοχ in Gen 10, where it forms part of a genealogy naming the sons of Noah and the people that have descended from them:[193]

Gen 10:2–6	בני יפת גמר ומגוג ומדי	Υἱοὶ Ιαφεθ· Γάμερ καὶ Μαγὼγ καὶ Μαδαὶ καὶ
	ויון ותבל ומשך ותירס	Ἰωυὰν καὶ Ἐλισὰ καὶ Θοβὲλ καὶ **Μόσοχ** καὶ Θιράς
	ובני גמר אשכנז וריפת ותגרמה	καὶ υἱοὶ Γάμερ· Ασχαναζ καὶ Ῥιφὰθ καὶ Θοργαμά.
	ובני יון אלישה ותרשיש כתים ודדנים	καὶ υἱοὶ Ἰωυάν· Ἐλισὰ καὶ Θαρσίς, Κίτιοι, Ῥόδιοι.

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[192] See section 8.4.6.
[193] So *HUB Isa*, 296. Another possibility is that the Isaiah translator deduced Μόσοχ from משכי קשת by himself, independently from Gen 10.

מאלה נפרדו איי הגוים   ἐκ τούτων ἀφωρίσθησαν νῆσοι τῶν ἐθνῶν
בארצתם איש ללשנו   ἐν τῇ γῇ αὐτῶν, ἕκαστος κατὰ γλῶσσαν
למשפחתם בגויהם   ἐν ταῖς φυλαῖς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν αὐτῶν.
ובני חם כוש ומצרים ופוט וכנען   Υἱοὶ δὲ Χάμ· Χοὺς καὶ Μεσράιμ, Φοὺδ καὶ Χανάαν.

8.4.1.2 Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy

The Pentateuchal accounts of Israel's flight from Egypt and their dwelling in the desert have supplied the Isaiah translator with a rich source of inspiration. It is not surprising that he has alluded to those stories especially when passages in the Book of Isaiah deal with Egypt. But other parts of the Pentateuch, containing laws and prescriptions for the people, have also been referred to with regularity. One chapter in particular turns out to have been utilised, namely Deut 32. We will start this paragraph with a discussion of the relation between this Deuteronomic chapter and LXX Isaiah.

a. Influence of Deut 32:1–43: The song of Moses

One text from the Pentateuch that has received special scholarly attention as regards its relation to the LXX of Isaiah, is Deut 32:1–43, the Song of Moses. This song tells how God has shown loyalty to his people in history. Yet, the people have forsaken him and gone to serve other gods. This is why God is provoked by his people, and threatens to bring judgement on them. Still, in the end he will bring salvation to Israel.
Both Ziegler and Seeligmann have noted several points of agreement between the Greek translation of this song and the translation of Isaiah. I will present below some of the links that these scholars have found between the two texts, and complement these with a few additional examples which I have discovered myself, restricting these to the ones entailing pluses or minuses. After that, I will try to elucidate why it seems to be this Pentateuchal passage in particular that had this influence on the Isaiah translator.

The first example of a case where the translator may have adjusted his text to the Greek of Deut 32 can be found in Isa 1. This first chapter of Isaiah has several thematic and idiomatic aspects in common with Deut 32: in both texts Israel is accused of being a sinful people because they have forsaken the Lord (see Deut 32:15,18 and Isa 1:4); they have infuriated him by serving idols (see Deut 32:16ff. and Isa 1:29); and in both the idea is conveyed that God has brought forth his people (see Deut 32:18 and LXX Isa 1:2).
In Isa 1:11 God expresses his detestation of the offerings made to him:

Isa 1:11   שבעתי עלות אילים   πλήρης εἰμὶ ὁλοκαυτωμάτων κριῶν
וחלב מריאים   καὶ στέαρ ἀρνῶν
ודם פרים וכבשים ועתודים   καὶ αἷμα *ταύρων καὶ τράγων*
לא חפצתי   οὐ βούλομαι

This text is reminiscent of Deut 32:14 where it is said of Jacob that he was fed with the blood and fat of sheep and goats:

Deut 32:14   חמאת בקר וחלב צאן   βούτυρον βοῶν καὶ γάλα προβάτων
עם־חלב כרים ואילים   μετὰ στέατος ἀρνῶν καὶ κριῶν,
בני־בשן ועתודים   υἱῶν **ταύρων καὶ τράγων**

עם־חלב כליות חטה   μετὰ στέατος νεφρῶν πυροῦ,

ודם־ענב תשתה־חמר   καὶ αἷμα σταφυλῆς ἔπιον οἶνον.

In the Greek Isaiah פרים וכבשים ועתודים ("bulls, lambs, and goats") is rendered by just ταύρων καὶ τράγων ("bulls and goats"), so an equivalent of וכבשים ("lambs") is missing at this point (it does however occur earlier in the verse as a non-literal rendering of מריאים). One explanation for this minus is that the translator may have borrowed the word combination ταύρων καὶ τράγων—"bulls and goats"—from Deut 32:14, where this phrase appears as well. This could have prompted him to omit "the lambs" from the phrase in question.[194]

Isa 26:15   יספת לגוי יהוה   πρόσθες αὐτοῖς <u>κακά</u>, κύριε,

יספת לגוי   πρόσθες <u>κακὰ</u>

נכבדת רחקת כל־קצוי־ארץ   πᾶσι τοῖς ἐνδόξοις τῆς γῆς.

A second point of agreement concerns Isa 26:15 and Deut 32:23. In Isa 26:15 the Hebrew offers a clause that seems elliptic: "But you have added to the nation, O LORD." The Greek translation has complemented this clause with an object κακά. Ziegler believes this plus to go back to a Hebrew *Vorlage* in which רעות was added under the influence of Deut 32:23:[195]

Deut 32:23   אספה עלימו **רעות**   συνάξω εἰς αὐτοὺς **κακὰ**,

חצי אכלה־בם   καὶ τὰ βέλη μου συντελέσω εἰς αὐτούς.

The association of Isa 26:15 with this verse in Deuteronomy has according to Ziegler been triggered by the verbal forms יספת and אספה which appear in the respective texts. Ziegler thinks that a Hebrew editor saw a connection between those two verbs, as he would have taken אספה to derive from אסף (rather than from ספה, from which it actually stems), which would be related to יסף because both verbs may signify "to add." For that reason, the editor correlated Isa 26:15 with Deut 32:23, and added from the latter רעות as a gloss to Isa 26:15. The Hebrew manuscript containing this gloss would have formed the *Vorlage* of LXX Isaiah, and this is why the Greek text of Isa 26:15 presents κακά in Ziegler's view. He bases this idea that κακά had not been added just during translation, but was already present in its *Vorlage*, on the fact that the verbs יספת and אספה have different translations in the Greek versions of Deut 32 and Isa 26, that is, by προστίθημι and συνάγω, respectively. If it had been the translator himself who had made the link between the two texts, he would have translated the two verbs in the same way, Ziegler apparently reasons. Yet, to my opinion this presumption is not necessarily true. The observation that יספת and אספה derive from different roots (albeit with an overlapping meaning) may have provided sufficient grounds for the translator to render them diversely. Apart from that, the theory that Hebrew manuscripts contained glosses, as advanced by Ziegler, has been made implausible by the discovery of the Qumran scrolls, in which none of such marginal notes can be detected. Hence, to my opinion κακά is rather an addition by the translator himself. He may have supplied κακά under the influence of Deut 32:23, but also of other texts, as the same object appears several times more in LXX Isaiah itself, see e.g. Isa 13:11 and 31:2:

Isa 13:11   ופקדתי על־תבל רעה   καὶ ἐντελοῦμαι τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ὅλῃ **κακὰ**

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[194] Van der Louw ("Transformations," 154) suggests that וכבשים has been omitted because it is semantically superfluous: "Only male sheep … were sacrificed, and these have already been mentioned in the Greek text."
[195] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 118.

Isa 31:2   ויבא רע   ἦγεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς **κακά**

Isa 34:6   הדשנה מחלב <u>מדם</u> כרים ועתודים   ἐπαχύνθη *ἀπὸ στέατος ἀρνῶν*
                מחלב כליות אילים   καὶ ἀπὸ στέατος τράγων καὶ κριῶν·

The formulation ἀπὸ στέατος ἀρνῶν in LXX Isa 34:6 might have bearing on עם־חלב כרים /
μετὰ στέατος ἀρνῶν in Deut 32:14. This would throw light on the lack of representation of
מדם in the Greek translation of the Isaianic verse:

Deut 32:14   עם־חלב כרים ואילים   **μετὰ στέατος ἀρνῶν** καὶ κριῶν

Especially chapters 41–49 of LXX Isaiah contain many correspondences with Deut 32. The
explanation for this lies in the observation that these two sections are close to each other from
a thematic point of view, and that also in the Hebrew they occasionally display common
phraseology. A few instances of shared themes are as follows: God is the only god, besides
him there is no other (see Deut 32:39; Isa 43:10,11; 44:6,8; 45:5,6,14,18,21,22; 46:9); God is
the one who has created human beings (Deut 32:6; Isa 44:2; 45:8; 46:11); he is the creator and
origin of everything (Deut 32:39; Isa 45:7,12,18; 48:13); the people have served other gods
(Deut 32:16ff.; Isa 42:17; 44:9ff.; 45:20; 46:5ff.; etc.), which has provoked God to anger
(Deut 32:19ff.; Isa 42:25; 47:6; 48:9; etc.); the gods are challenged to prove that they are real
gods (see Deut 32:38; Isa 41:22–24; 44:7).
One example of an addition within these Isaianic chapters that has probably been taken from
Deut 32 can be discovered in Isa 44:2:

Isa 44:2   אל־תירא עבדי יעקב   μὴ φοβοῦ, παῖς μου Ιακωβ
             וישרון בחרתי בו   καὶ *ὁ ἠγαπημένος <u>Ισραηλ</u>*, ὃν ἐξελεξάμην·

As a designation for the people, the MT of Isa 44:2 uses the poetic title ישרון, meaning "upright
one." The LXX rendering of this title is ὁ ἠγαπημένος. Ziegler and Seeligmann think this
rendering depends on Deut 32:15,[196] since also in the Greek version of that Deuteronomic
verse ישרון is rendered ὁ ἠγαπημένος, in addition to its primary translation as Ιακώβ:

Deut 32:15   וישמן ישרון   καὶ ἔφαγεν **Ιακὼβ** καὶ ἐνεπλήσθη,
               ויבעט   καὶ ἀπελάκτισεν <u>**ὁ ἠγαπημένος**</u>

When one looks closer, one can see that the congruence goes still further, because just like the
Greek text of Deuteronomy, LXX Isaiah has translated ישרון twice: firstly, by ὁ ἠγαπημένος,
and secondly, by a proper name, Ισραηλ. It thus seems that the Septuagint of Isaiah has
adopted the Greek Deuteronomy's double translation of ישרון.[197]

The same designation ὁ ἠγαπημένος is attested twice more in LXX Isaiah, both times in Isa
5:1, where God compares Israel to his beloved vineyard. Here ὁ ἠγαπημένος matches the
Hebrew לידידי, "*my* beloved." It may well be that the translator omitted the possessive
pronoun in לידידי because he wanted to reproduce Israel's title of honour ὁ ἠγαπημένος as
encountered in LXX Deut 32:[198]

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[196] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 126; Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 48.
[197] Elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible the name Jeshurun occurs only in Deut 33:5,26. There the LXX has rendered
the name with a mere ὁ ἠγαπημένος.
[198] The omission of the possessive pronoun could however also be a matter of style, see section 9.5f.

Isa 5:1   אשירה נא לידידִי   Ἄισω δὴ **τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ**

ᾆσμα τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ τῷ ἀμπελῶνί μου.

שירת דודי לכרמו

כרם היה לידידִי   ἀμπελὼν ἐγενήθη **τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ**

בקרן בן־שמן   ἐν κέρατι ἐν τόπῳ πίονι.

A further Isaianic section that displays several parallels with the Song of Moses is Isa 65. Like Deut 32, this chapter speaks of the people having sinned and having enraged God because they have forsaken him to serve other gods. This is why God will be avenged on his people and his anger will burn like a fire.

In Isa 65:3 we hear about Israel's pagan sacrifices that have provoked God to anger. In the Greek of this verse an extra element can be observed in that these offerings were dedicated to "demons that do not exist':

Isa 65:3   העם המכעיסים אותי   ὁ λαὸς οὗτος ὁ *παροξύνων με*

על־פני תמיד זבחים   ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ διὰ παντός, αὐτοὶ θυσιάζουσιν

בגנות ומקטרים על־הלבנים   ἐν τοῖς κήποις καὶ *θυμιῶσιν* ἐπὶ ταῖς πλίνθοις

הישבים בקברים   *τοῖς δαιμονίοις, ἃ οὐκ ἔστι* καὶ ἐν τοῖς μνήμασι

ובנצורים ילינו   καὶ ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις κοιμῶνται δι᾽ ἐνύπνια

As Goshen-Gottstein has suggested, this extra element might be an addition by Isaiah's translator under the influence of Deut 32:17, where it says that the people "sacrificed to demons," thus provoking God:[199]

Deut 32:16–19

יקנאהו בזרים   **παρώξ**υνάν με ἐπ᾽ ἀλλοτρίοις,

בתועבת יכעיסהו   ἐν βδελύγμασιν αὐτῶν ἐξεπίκρανάν με·

יזבחו לשדים לא אלהים לא ידעום ...   **ἔθυσαν δαιμονίοις καὶ οὐ θεῷ**, θεοῖς, οἷς οὐκ ᾔδεισαν...

צור ילדך תשי   θεὸν τὸν γεννήσαντά σε ἐγκατέλιπες

ותשכח אל מחללך   καὶ ἐπελάθου θεοῦ τοῦ τρέφοντός σε.

וירא יהוה וינאץ   καὶ εἶδεν κύριος καὶ ἐζήλωσεν,

מכעס בניו ובנתיו   καὶ **παρωξ**ύνθη δι᾽ ὀργὴν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ θυγατέρων·

The motif of offering to demons also figures later on in the same Isaianic chapter: in LXX Isa 65:11. There the noun δαίμων (rather than δαιμόνιον as we find in v.3) renders גד, which is the name of a Babylonian god. Nowhere else in the Septuagint has גד been translated as δαίμων or δαιμόνιον, so here too the image may derive from Deut 32:[200]

Isa 65:11   ואתם עזבי יהוה   ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ ἐγκαταλιπόντες με

השכחים את־הר קדשי   καὶ ἐπιλανθανόμενοι τὸ ὄρος τὸ ἅγιόν μου

הערכים **לגד** שלחן   καὶ ἑτοιμάζοντες **τῷ δαίμονι** τράπεζαν

והממלאים למני ממסך   καὶ πληροῦντες τῇ τύχῃ κέρασμα

Note that in the Greek translation of Isa 65:11, in order to express the idea that the people had forsaken the Lord, two verbs have been used that are exactly identical to the ones employed in Deut 32:18: ἐγκαταλείπω and ἐπιλανθάνομαι. Especially with regard to the use of

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[199] *HUB Isa*, 286. Ziegler (*Untersuchungen*, 79) thinks that the plus may derive from a "Randglosse" לשדים לא
יהוה (יהיה > יהיה > יהוה) based upon Deut 32:17.

[200] Sacrificing to demons is not a common Biblical notion. Besides in the places mentioned it only figures in LXX Ps 105:37.

ἐγκαταλείπω this may not have been just a random choice by the Isaiah translator, as this verb appears only 16 times in the LXX of Isaiah as compared to the much more common καταλείπω which numbers 46 instances. So, perhaps also the preference for ἐγκαταλείπω in this verse has been encouraged by Deut 32:18.

A final illustration of a possible linkage between the Greek versions of Isaiah and Deut 32 resulting in a plus or a minus pertains to the several occurrences of the phrase στερεὰ πέτρα in LXX Isaiah. This phrase can be encountered in four places in the Isaiah translation, three times as an equivalent for צור/צר and once as a rendering of חלמיש ("flint"):

2:21	לבוא בנקרות הצרים	τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὰς τρώγλας τῆς <u>στερεᾶς</u> πέτρας
5:28	כצר נחשבו	ὡς <u>στερεὰ</u> πέτρα ἐλογίσθησαν
50:7	על־כן שמתי פני כחלמיש	ἀλλὰ ἔθηκα τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ὡς <u>στερεὰν</u> πέτραν
51:1	הביטו אל־צור חצבתם	ἐμβλέψατε εἰς τὴν <u>στερεὰν</u> πέτραν, ἣν ἐλατομήσατε

This translation with στερεὰ πέτρα is striking because elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible צור is generally rendered by a mere πέτρα without στερεά.[201] Outside the Greek Isaiah the exact word combination στερεὰ πέτρα is attested only once: in Deut 32:13, translating חלמיש צור:

Deut 32:13	וינקהו דבש מסלע	ἐθήλασαν μέλι ἐκ πέτρας
	ושמן מחלמיש צור	καὶ ἔλαιον ἐκ στερεᾶς πέτρας

It is indeed conceivable that the translation of צור/צר or חלמיש by στερεὰ πέτρα in LXX Isaiah is dependent upon this rendition in Deut 32.

b. Influence of other texts in Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy

Isa 1:9	לולי יהוה צבאות הותיר לנו	καὶ εἰ μὴ κύριος σαβαωθ *ἐγκατέλιπεν ἡμῖν*
	שריד <u>כמעט</u> כסדם היינו	*σπέρμα*, ὡς Σοδομα ἂν ἐγενήθημεν
	לעמרה דמינו	καὶ ὡς Γομορρα ἂν ὡμοιώθημεν.

The absence of כמעט is possibly related to the occurrence of similar phraseology ("to leave seed") in Deut 3:3, where this word does not follow שריד either:[202]

Deut 3:3	ונכהו	καὶ ἐπατάξαμεν αὐτὸν
	עד־בלתי השאיר־לו שריד	ἕως τοῦ μὴ **καταλιπεῖν αὐτοῦ σπέρμα**.

Isa 3:8	כי־לשונם ומעלליהם	καὶ αἱ γλῶσσαι αὐτῶν μετὰ ἀνομίας,
	אל־יהוה למרות	*τὰ πρὸς κύριον ἀπειθοῦντες*
	עני כבודו	διότι νῦν ἐταπεινώθη ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν

The appearance in the Greek of ἐταπεινώθη implies that the translator has interpreted עני as a derivation of ענה—"to humiliate" rather than in the sense of "the eyes of," as the MT vocalises

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[201] In the Book of Isaiah, cf. 2:10,19 and 18:14.

[202] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 106. Van der Louw ("Transformations," 151) assumes that the absence of כמעט may bear on the syntactical ambiguity of the word, as it is unclear where it belongs syntactically.

the form.[203] ומעלליהם he may have connected to מעל—"infidelity" (from the root מעל) instead of to מעלל ("deed," from עלל), albeit it is also possible that the he simply translated the latter noun in a free way. The translation of אל־יהוה למרות as τὰ πρὸς κύριον ἀπειθοῦντες might be influenced by Deut 9:7. This Deuteronomic verse is embedded in a speech of Moses in which he blames Israel for being an obstinate and stubborn people, who do not deserve the land promised to them:[204]

Deut 9:7 זכר אל־תשכח את אשר־הקצפת	μνήσθητι μὴ ἐπιλάθῃ ὅσα παρώξυνας
את־יהוה אלהיך במדבר	κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ
למן־היום אשר־יצאת מארץ מצרים	ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἐξήλθετε ἐξ Αἰγύπτου
עד־באכם עד־המקום הזה	ἕως ἤλθετε εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον,
ממרים הייתם עם־יהוה	*ἀπειθοῦντες* διετελεῖτε *τὰ πρὸς κύριον*

Isa 4:5 וברא יהוה על כל־מכון הר־ציון	καὶ ἥξει, καὶ ἔσται πᾶς τόπος τοῦ ὄρους Σιων καὶ
ועל־מקראה ענן יומם	πάντα τὰ περικύκλῳ αὐτῆς *σκιάσει νεφέλη ἡμέρας*
ועשן ונגה אש להבה	καὶ ὡς καπνοῦ καὶ ὡς φωτὸς πυρὸς καιομένου
לילה כי על־כל־כבוד חפה	νυκτός· πάσῃ τῇ δόξῃ σκεπασθήσεται·

Isa 4:5 betrays the influence of Pentateuchal passages narrating how God during Israel's journey through the desert revealed his presence by way of a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night; see e.g. Exod 13:21–22; 14:24; 16:10; 24:15–18; 33:9–10; and 40:34–38, and see also the following verses in Numbers from which the translator may have borrowed the verb σκιάζω:

Num 9:16–18 כן יהיה תמיד הענן	οὕτως ἐγίνετο διὰ παντός· *ἡ νεφέλη*
יכסנו ומראה־אש לילה ...	ἐκάλυπτεν αὐτὴν *ἡμέρας* καὶ εἶδος πυρὸς τὴν νύκτα. ...
כל־ימי אשר ישכן הענן	πάσας τὰς *ἡμέρας*, ἐν αἷς *σκιάζει ἡ νεφέλη*
על־המשכן יחנו	ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς, παρεμβαλοῦσιν οἱ υἱοὶ Ισραήλ

Num 10:34(36)[205] וענן יהוה עליהם יומם	καὶ *ἡ νεφέλη* ἐγένετο *σκιάζουσα* ἐπ' αὐτοῖς *ἡμέρας*
בנסעם מן־המחנה	ἐν τῷ ἐξαίρειν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς.

Isa 7:16 כי בטרם ידע הנער	διότι πρὶν ἢ *γνῶναι τὸ παιδίον ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν*
מאס ברע ובחר בטוב	ἀπειθεῖ πονηρίᾳ τοῦ ἐκλέξασθαι τὸ ἀγαθόν

As noted earlier, the interpolation of ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν, resulting in a text that—contrary to the Hebrew—speaks about the *knowing of good or evil* of the boy, might have been influenced by Gen 3:3,22.[206] Yet, a more precise correspondence can be distinguished in another text in the Pentateuch, that is, in Deut 1:39.[207] That verse refers to the Israelite children during the journey through the desert, who did not yet know good or evil, and, for that reason, were allowed to enter the promised land. This knowledge of "good or evil" specifies, according to

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[203] Cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 137; Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 50. Koenig (*L'herméneutique analogique*, 115–116) thinks that the variant translation of עני was meant to remove the anthropomorphism from the Hebrew text ("the eyes of God"); see however section 10.3.2.

[204] Also Hos 5:3–5 could have played a role in the translation of Isa 3:8; see section 8.4.5.1.

[205] The numbering of the LXX is put between brackets.

[206] See section 8.4.1.1a.

[207] Troxel, "Isaiah 7,14–16," 2–7; idem, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation*, 139–145.

Troxel, "culpability acquired at a certain stage of maturation," involving the loss of childish innocence:[208]

Deut 1:39	ובניכם אשר לא־ידעו היום	καὶ πᾶν **παιδίον** νέον, ὅστις **οὐκ οἶδεν** σήμερον
	טוב ורע המה יבאו שמה	**ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν**, οὗτοι εἰσελεύσονται ἐκεῖ,
	ולהם אתננה	καὶ τούτοις δώσω αὐτήν

The same theme of knowing good and evil appears in the LXX of Num 14:23 and 32:11 as well. In both verses it is integrated into a plus, probably additions inspired by Deut 1:39:[209]

Num 14:23	אם־יראו את־הארץ	ἦ μὴν οὐκ ὄψονται τὴν γῆν,
	אשר נשבעתי לאבתם	ἣν ὤμοσα τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν,
		ἀλλ' ἢ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν, ἅ ἐστιν μετ' ἐμοῦ
		<u>ὧδε, ὅσοι **οὐκ οἴδασιν ἀγαθὸν οὐδὲ κακόν**,</u>
		<u>πᾶς νεώτερος ἄπειρος, τούτοις δώσω τὴν γῆν,</u>
	וכל־מנאצי לא יראוה	πάντες δὲ οἱ παροξύναντές με οὐκ ὄψονται αὐτήν.
Num 32:11	אם־יראו האנשים העלים	Εἰ ὄψονται οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι οἱ ἀναβάντες
	ממצרים מבן עשרים שנה ומעלה	ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἀπὸ εἰκοσαετοῦς καὶ ἐπάνω,
		<u>οἱ ἐπιστάμενοι τὸ κακὸν καὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν,</u>
	את האדמה אשר נשבעתי לאברהם	τὴν γῆν, ἣν ὤμοσα τῷ Αβρααμ καὶ Ισαακ
	ליצחק וליעקב כי לא־מלאו אחרי	καὶ Ιακωβ, οὐ γὰρ συνεπηκολούθησαν ὀπίσω μου

Of the three verses mentioned, only Deut 1:39 exhibits an exact agreement with LXX Isa 7:16 in presenting the words ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν and παιδίον.

| **Isa 8:14** | ולאבן נגף | καὶ <u>οὐχ</u> ὡς λίθου προσκόμματι *συναντήσεσθε αὐτῷ* |
| | ולצור מכשול | <u>οὐδὲ</u> ὡς πέτρας πτώματι· |

Koenig posits that נגף ("striking") in the LXX of Isa 8:14 has received a twofold translation: not only has it been reproduced in a literal way by προσκόμματι, but also—through association with the root נגף—"to wound"—by συναντήσεσθε αὐτῷ. The connection between נגף and συναντάω ("to encounter") he bases on the observation that in Exod 9:14 the word מגפתי ("my plague"), which likewise stems from the root נגף, matches τὰ συναντήματά μου:[210]

Exod 9:14	כי בפעם הזאת אני שלח	ἐν τῷ γὰρ νῦν καιρῷ ἐγὼ ἐξαποστέλλω
	את־כל־מגפתי אל־לבך	πάντα **τὰ συναντήματά μου** εἰς τὴν καρδίαν σου
	ובעבדיך ובעמך	καὶ τῶν θεραπόντων σου καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ σου

This linking of LXX Isa 8:14 to Exod 9:14 seems somewhat far-fetched to me, however, since the two verses do not contain any other aspect which they share with each other.

Isa 10:2	להטות מדין דלים	*ἐκκλίνοντες κρίσιν* πτωχῶν,
	ולגזל משפט עניי עמי	ἁρπάζοντες κρίμα πενήτων τοῦ λαοῦ μου
	להיות אלמנות שללם	ὥστε εἶναι αὐτοῖς *χήραν* εἰς ἁρπαγὴν

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[208] Troxel, "Isaiah 7,14–16," 5.

[209] Troxel, "Isaiah 7,14–16," 3–6.

[210] Koenig, *L'herméneutique analogique*, 126.

וְאֶת־יְתוֹמִים יָבֹזּוּ   καὶ *ὀρφανὸν* εἰς προνομήν.

The slightly free rendition of לְהַטּוֹת מִדִּין דַּלִּים—"to turn aside the needy from justice"—as ἐκκλίνοντες κρίσιν πτωχῶν—"turning aside the cause of the poor" (דִּין having been altered into a direct object) may be the outcome of the adoption of juridical phraseology from the book of Deuteronomy:[211]

Deut 16:19   לֹא־תַטֶּה מִשְׁפָּט   οὐκ **ἐκκλινοῦσιν κρίσιν**

Deut 24:17   לֹא תַטֶּה מִשְׁפַּט גֵּר   Οὐκ **ἐκκλινεῖς κρίσιν** προσηλύτου
יָתוֹם   καὶ **ὀρφανοῦ** καὶ χήρας

Deut 27:19   אָרוּר מַטֶּה מִשְׁפַּט   Ἐπικατάρατος ὃς ἂν **ἐκκλίνῃ κρίσιν**
גֵּר־יָתוֹם וְאַלְמָנָה   προσηλύτου καὶ **ὀρφανοῦ** καὶ χήρας·

Isa 10:24   אַל־תִּירָא עַמִּי יֹשֵׁב צִיּוֹן   Μὴ φοβοῦ, ὁ λαός μου οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Σιων,
מֵאַשּׁוּר בַּשֵּׁבֶט יַכֶּכָה   ἀπὸ Ἀσσυρίων, ὅτι ἐν ῥάβδῳ πατάξει σε·
וּמַטֵּהוּ יִשָּׂא־עָלֶיךָ   πληγὴν γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐπάγω ἐπὶ σὲ
בְּדֶרֶךְ מִצְרָיִם   *τοῦ ἰδεῖν* ὁδὸν Αἰγύπτου.

The insertion of τοῦ ἰδεῖν may be founded upon Deut 28:68, where the Israelite people are threatened with a return to Egypt if they do not obey God's laws:[212]

Deut 28:68   וְהֱשִׁיבְךָ יְהוָה מִצְרַיִם בָּאֳנִיּוֹת   καὶ ἀποστρέψει σε κύριος εἰς **Αἴγυπτον** ἐν πλοίοις
בַּדֶּרֶךְ אֲשֶׁר אָמַרְתִּי לְךָ   καὶ ἐν τῇ **ὁδῷ**, ᾗ εἶπα
לֹא־תֹסִיף עוֹד לִרְאֹתָהּ   Οὐ προσθήσεσθε ἔτι **ἰδεῖν** αὐτήν·

Such an interpretation of LXX Isa 10:24 in the light of Deut 28:68 favours Seeligmann's hypothesis that LXX Isa 10:24 presents an actualising translation, in that the "plague," which would entail that the people would see "the road of Egypt," would allude to a Jewish emigration from Palestine to Egypt so as to escape the religious persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes.[213]

Isa 19:6   וְהֶאֶזְנִיחוּ נְהָרוֹת   καὶ ἐκλείψουσιν *οἱ ποταμοὶ*
דָּלְלוּ וְחָרְבוּ יְאֹרֵי מָצוֹר   καὶ *αἱ διώρυγες* τοῦ ποταμοῦ,
καὶ ξηρανθήσεται *πᾶσα συναγωγὴ ὕδατος*
קָנֶה וָסוּף קָמֵלוּ   *καὶ ἐν παντὶ* ἕλει καλάμου καὶ παπύρου·

LXX Isa 19:6 diverges from the Hebrew as regards its sentence division and idiom. ξηρανθήσεται ("and they will dry out") might be a condensed rendering of דָּלְלוּ וְחָרְבוּ ("they will diminish and dry up").[214] ἕλει ("marsh") may echo קָמֵלוּ ("they will rot away"), which equivalency has a probable precedent in Isa 33:9. What is equally possible is that the translator selected ἕλος on account of κάλαμος ("reed"), since in LXX Isa 35:7 these two nouns appear in close context to each other as well (ἔπαυλις καλάμου καὶ ἕλη). The words

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[211] Besides in the quoted texts, the exact formulation ἐκκλίνω κρίσιν appears only in Exod 23:2; Lam 3:35; and Mal 3:5. Comparable expressions can be found in 1 Kgdms 8:3; Prov 17:23; and 18:5.

[212] Cf. *HUB Isa*, 42.

[213] Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 85.

[214] Or, καὶ ξηρανθήσεται renders וחרבו, while דללו is represented by καὶ ἐκλείψουσιν, and והאזניחו ("they will become foul") is a minus.

πᾶσα συναγωγὴ ὕδατος most likely reproduce יארי מצור, just as in Isa 37:25.[215] In both 19:6 and 37:25 the translator has linked מצור to the root אצר—"to collect," which elucidates the use of συναγωγή.[216] However, in Isa 19:6 יארי מצור seems to have received a second translation, that is, as αἱ διώρυγες τοῦ ποταμοῦ.

The choice of vocabulary in LXX Isa 19:6 has probably been guided by intertextual factors as well: the expressions πᾶσα συναγωγὴ ὕδατος and ἐν παντὶ ἕλει have in all likelihood been used in analogy to Exod 7:19 and 8:1. Those texts accordingly name various kinds of waters which Egypt possesses, and exhibit similar phraseology:

Exod 7:19	קח מטך ונטה-ידך	Λαβὲ τὴν ῥάβδον σου καὶ ἔκτεινον τὴν χεῖρά σου
	על-מימי מצרים על-נהרתם	ἐπὶ τὰ ὕδατα Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐπὶ **τοὺς ποταμοὺς** αὐτῶν
	על-יאריהם ועל-אגמיהם	καὶ ἐπὶ **τὰς διώρυγας** αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ **τὰ ἕλη** αὐτῶν
	ועל כל-מקוה מימיהם	καὶ ἐπὶ **πᾶν συνεστηκὸς ὕδωρ** αὐτῶν
Exod 8:1	נטה את-ידך במטך	Ἔκτεινον τῇ χειρὶ τὴν ῥάβδον σου
	על-הנהרת על-היארים ועל-האגמים	ἐπὶ **τοὺς ποταμοὺς** καὶ ἐπὶ **τὰς διώρυγας** καὶ ἐπὶ **τὰ ἕλη**

The dependence of LXX Isa 19 on Exod 7 is further suggested by the translation in LXX Isa 19:7 of על-פי יאור as τὸ κύκλῳ τοῦ ποταμοῦ:

| Isa 19:7 | ערות על-יאור על-פי יאור | καὶ τὸ ἄχι τὸ χλωρὸν πᾶν **τὸ κύκλῳ τοῦ ποταμοῦ** |

This locution has supposedly been derived from Exod 7:24:

Exod 7:24	ויחפרו כל-מצרים	ὤρυξαν δὲ πάντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι
	סביבת היאר מים לשתות	**κύκλῳ τοῦ ποταμοῦ** ὥστε πιεῖν ὕδωρ,
	כי לא יכלו לשתת ממימי היאר	καὶ οὐκ ἠδύναντο πιεῖν ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ.

Another Pentateuchal text to which the use of συναγωγὴ ὕδατος in LXX Isa 19:6 and 37:25 can be allied, is Lev 11:36. This is the only place in the Greek Bible that provides an exact parallel:[217]

| Lev 11:36 | אך מעין ובור | πλὴν πηγῶν ὑδάτων καὶ λάκκου |
| | מקוה-מים יהיה טהור | καὶ **συναγωγῆς ὕδατος**, ἔσται καθαρόν· |

Isa 23:18	כי לישבים לפני יהוה	ἀλλὰ τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἔναντι κυρίου
	יהיה סחרה	πᾶσα ἡ ἐμπορία αὐτῆς
	לאכל לשבעה	φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν καὶ ἐμπλησθῆναι
	ולמכסה עתיק	εἰς συμβολὴν _μνημόσυνον ἔναντι κυρίου._

The final words of Isa 23:18 in the Greek—εἰς συμβολὴν μνημόσυνον ἔναντι κυρίου ("as a covenant, a memorial, in the presence of the Lord")—are markedly distinct from the Hebrew, which offers ולמכסה עתיק ("for fine clothing") in this place. This peculiar translation has been analysed by several scholars, e.g. Scholz, Ziegler, Seeligmann, and van der Kooij. Van der Kooij is of the opinion that ולמכסה (MT: מְכַסֶּה—"covering") was read by the translator as מֶכֶס or מִכְסָה, denoting "contributed portion," "regular contribution," "tax" (cf. e.g. Num

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[215] Isa 37:25 reads: אני קרתי ושתיתי מים ואחרב בכף-פעמי כל יארי מצור / καὶ ἔθηκα γέφυραν καὶ ἠρήμωσα ὕδατα καὶ πᾶσαν συναγωγὴν ὕδατος. Cf. *HUB Isa*, 71.

[216] For אצר / συνάγω, see also Isa 23:18 and 39:6.

[217] Cf. also Gen 1:9 Συναχθήτω τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς συναγωγὴν μίαν.

31:28), which he then translated as συμβολή, bearing the same meaning of "contribution."[218] The adverb עתיק ("eminent," "choice") the translator has, in van der Kooij's view, connected with the Aramaic adjective עתיק—"old"—and related to "the Ancient of Days" (עתיק יומין) in Dan 7:9, which is used there as a designation for God. The latter association could explain the rendering of עתיק by ἔναντι κυρίου in LXX Isa 23:18.[219]

An alternative explanation comes from Ziegler. Even if Ziegler, in agreement with van der Kooij, believes that the translator read וְלִמְכָסָה rather than וְלִמְכַסֶּה, he still supposes that this noun's Greek equivalent συμβολή was not used here according to its primary meaning of "Beitrag," "Beisteuer," but in line with its secondary meaning, "Mahl" (cf. Prov 23:20; Sir 18:32). This can be understood in the light of Ziegler's perception that the translator would recognise in Isa 23:18 the portrayal of a holy banquet. Ziegler considers the words ἔναντι κυρίου to be a plus, reflecting a gloss in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX stemming from Pentateuchal texts describing banquets and containing similar expressions, such as Exod 18:12; Deut 12:7,18; 15:20; and 27:7.[220] However, in my opinion these texts may also have influenced the translator directly:

Exod 18:12	ויבא אהרן וכל	παρεγένετο δὲ Ἀαρὼν καὶ πάντες οἱ
	זקני ישראל לאכל־לחם	πρεσβύτεροι Ισραὴλ συμφαγεῖν ἄρτον
	עם־חתן משה לפני האלהים	μετὰ τοῦ γαμβροῦ Μωυσῆ **ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ.**
Deut 12:7	ואכלתם־שם לפני יהוה אלהיכם	καὶ φάγεσθε ἐκεῖ **ἐναντίον κυρίου** τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν
Deut 12:18	כי אם־לפני יהוה אלהיך	ἀλλ᾽ ἢ **ἐναντίον κυρίου** τοῦ θεοῦ σου
	תאכלנו במקום אשר יבחר	φάγῃ αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, ᾧ ἂν ἐκλέξηται
	יהוה אלהיך בו	κύριος ὁ θεός σου αὐτῷ
Deut 15:20	לפני יהוה אלהיך	**ἔναντι κυρίου** τοῦ θεοῦ σου
	תאכלנו שנה בשנה	φάγῃ αὐτὸ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐξ ἐνιαυτοῦ
Deut 27:7	ואכלת שם	καὶ φάγῃ καὶ ἐμπλησθήσῃ ἐκεῖ
	ושמחת לפני יהוה אלהיך	καὶ εὐφρανθήσῃ **ἐναντίον κυρίου** τοῦ θεοῦ σου.

Besides these passages, Ziegler as well as Seeligmann mention Num 31:54 as a text that could have been of influence.[221] In conformity with LXX Isa 23:18, this verse, relating how Moses makes plundered gold into a memorial, gives ἔναντι κυρίου in combination with μνημόσυνον:[222]

Num 31:54	ויקח משה ואלעזר הכהן	καὶ ἔλαβεν Μωυσῆς καὶ Ελεαζαρ ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸ χρυσίον
	את־הזהב מאת שרי האלפים	παρὰ τῶν χιλιάρχων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἑκατοντάρχων
	והמאות ויבא אתו אל־אהל מועד	καὶ εἰσήνεγκεν αὐτὰ εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου
	זכרון לבני־ישראל לפני יהוה	**μνημόσυνον** τῶν υἱῶν Ισραηλ **ἔναντι κυρίου.**

Finally, the following texts in Exodus in which both ἔναντι κυρίου/θεοῦ and μνημόσυνον occur, may have played a role in the appearance of these same words in LXX Isa 23:18:

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[218] van der Kooij, *Oracle of Tyre*, 74, 148.
[219] van der Kooij, *Oracle of Tyre*, 148. Van der Kooij bases his opinion on Scholz, *Alexandrinische Uebersetzung*, 13.
[220] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 116–117.
[221] Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 47.
[222] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 116–117.

Exod 28:12	ונשא אהרן את־שמותם	καὶ ἀναλήμψεται Ἀαρὼν τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν υἱῶν
	לפני יהוה על־שתי כתפיו	Ἰσραὴλ **ἔναντι κυρίου** ἐπὶ τῶν δύο ὤμων αὐτοῦ,
	לזכרן	**μνημόσυνον** περὶ αὐτῶν.
Exod 28:29(23)	ונשא אהרן את־שמות	καὶ λήμψεται Ἀαρὼν τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν
	בני־ישראל בחשן המשפט	υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἐπὶ τοῦ λογίου τῆς κρίσεως
	על־לבו בבאו אל־הקדש	ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους, εἰσιόντι εἰς τὸ ἅγιον
	לזכרן לפני־יהוה תמיד	**μνημόσυνον ἔναντι τοῦ θεοῦ**.
Exod 30:16	ולקחת את־כסף הכפרים	καὶ λήμψῃ τὸ ἀργύριον τῆς εἰσφορᾶς
	מאת בני ישראל ... והיה	παρὰ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ... καὶ ἔσται
	לבני ישראל לזכרון לפני יהוה	τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ **μνημόσυνον ἔναντι κυρίου**

Still, the *primary* cause for the presence of ἔναντι κυρίου in LXX Isa 23:18 does not lie in the Pentateuchal texts quoted, but in the attestation of identical words earlier in the same verse: in ἀλλὰ τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν *ἔναντι κυρίου* (לישבים לפני יהוה). Perhaps this phraseology reminded the translator of the above-mentioned passages from the Torah in which ἔναντι κυρίου likewise occurs. Given that in many of those ἔναντι κυρίου is combined with μνημόσυνον, this could have motivated the translator to apply the same noun in Isa 23:18 as well.

Isa 29:1–2 הוי אריאל אריאל קרית חנה דוד	Οὐαὶ πόλις Αριηλ, ἣν Δαυιδ ἐπολέμησε·
ספו שנה על־שנה	*συναγάγετε γενήματα* ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπ᾽ἐνιαυτόν,
חגים ינקפו	φάγεσθε γὰρ σὺν Μωαβ.
והציקותי לאריאל	ἐκθλίψω γὰρ Αριηλ

The translation by συναγάγετε γενήματα suggests that the translator has read the Hebrew ספו ("add") as אספו ("gather"), and has complemented the latter verb with an object γενήματα ("crops"). חגים ינקפו ("let the feasts run their round") has generated a completely different Greek text: φάγεσθε γὰρ σὺν Μωαβ. The use of the name Μωαβ implies that the city of Ariel, which is mentioned twice in Isa 29:1–2, was not regarded by the translator as referring to Jerusalem—such as is the case in the Hebrew—but was perceived as a Moabite city.[223] A similar connection between Μωαβ and Αριηλ is made in the LXX of Isa 15:9 (לפליטת מואב אריה / τὸ σπέρμα Μωαβ καὶ Αριηλ) and of 2 Sam 23:20 ("the two sons of Ariel the Moabite"). Ziegler notes that also the patristic exegesis related Ariel to Moab, identifying the former with the capital city of Moab, Areopolis.[224]

The Greek sentence "Gather crops year by year, for you will eat with Moab" was probably meant as a threat: Israel will reap what they sow, their iniquity will return to them, and the same misfortune as that of Moab will await them. Compare for a related concept LXX Isa 3:10–11: τοίνυν τὰ γενήματα τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν φάγονται. οὐαὶ τῷ ἀνόμῳ· πονηρὰ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ συμβήσεται αὐτῷ. At the same time, the insertion of

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[223] Also the translation in v.1a of הוי אריאל אריאל קרית חנה דוד ("Woe, Ariel, Ariel, *the city where David encamped*") as Οὐαὶ πόλις Αριηλ, ἣν Δαυιδ ἐπολέμησε ("Ah, city of Ariel, *against which David waged war*") suggests that LXX Isa did not interpret Ariel as Jerusalem. This likewise applies to the translation in v.3 of וחניתי עליך כדור ("And I will encamp against you round about") as καὶ κυκλώσω ὡς Δαυιδ ἐπὶ σέ ("and *like David* I will surround you"), possibly alluding to 2 Sam 8:2 on David's beating the Moabites.

[224] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 68.

exactly the object γενήματα may have been elicited by the occurrence of the phrase συνάγω τὰ γενήματα in the Pentateuch:[225]

Exod 23:10	ושש שנים תזרע את־ארצך	Ἓξ ἔτη σπερεῖς τὴν γῆν σου
	ואספת את־תבואתה	καὶ **συνάξεις τὰ γενήματα** αὐτῆς
Lev 25:20	מה־נאכל בשנה השביעת	Τί φαγόμεθα ἐν τῷ ἔτει τῷ ἑβδόμῳ τούτῳ,
	הן לא נזרע ולא נאסף	ἐὰν μὴ σπείρωμεν μηδὲ **συναγάγωμεν τὰ**
	את־תבואתנו	**γενήματα** ἡμῶν;

For the combination of γένημα with ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπ᾽ἐνιαυτόν, see Deut 14:22:

Deut 14:22(21)	עשר תעשר את כל־תבואת	Δεκάτην ἀποδεκατώσεις παντὸς **γενήματος**
	זרעך היצא השדה	τοῦ σπέρματός σου, τὸ **γένημα** τοῦ ἀγροῦ σου
	שנה שנה	**ἐνιαυτὸν κατ᾽ ἐνιαυτόν**

Isa 29:10–11	ויעצם את־עיניכם	καὶ καμμύσει τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν
	את־הנביאים ואת־ראשיכם	καὶ τῶν προφητῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτῶν,
	החזים כסה	οἱ ὁρῶντες *τὰ κρυπτά.*
	ותהי לכם חזות הכל	καὶ ἔσονται ὑμῖν *πάντα τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα*
	כדברי הספר החתום	ὡς οἱ λόγοι τοῦ βιβλίου τοῦ ἐσφραγισμένου τούτου

חזות ("vision") seems to have received a twofold rendering in the LXX: by ταῦτα (הזות > חזות הזאת >), as well as by τὰ ῥήματα, probably a free translation of חזות. The resulting phrase—πάντα τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα—is not uncommon in the LXX, but can be found in eight other places.[226] It generally renders the fixed Biblical phrase כל־הדברים האלה, which the MT offers 34 times (albeit nowhere in Isaiah). One of the places where πάντα τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα / כל־הדברים האלה can be encountered, is Deut 30:1. That verse, as well as the preceding ones (Deut 29:28–9) might have exercised influence on the formulation in Isa 29:11,[227] the more so as the two passages are additionally related in that they both speak of "hidden things" (τὰ κρυπτά). Perhaps the Isaiah translator identified the "sealed book" of Isa 29:11 with the Law of Moses that Deut 29:28–29 refers to (compare οἱ λόγοι τοῦ βιβλίου τοῦ ἐσφραγισμένου τούτου in Isa 29:11 with πάντα τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ νόμου τούτου in Deut 29:29):

Deut 29:28(29)–30:1

	הנסתרת ליהוה אלהינו	**τὰ κρυπτὰ** κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν,
	והנגלת לנו ולבנינו	τὰ δὲ φανερὰ ἡμῖν καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ἡμῶν
	עד־עולם לעשות את־כל־דברי	εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ποιεῖν **πάντα τὰ ῥήματα**
	התורה הזאת	τοῦ νόμου τούτου.
	והיה כי־יבאו עליך כל־הדברים	Καὶ ἔσται ὡς ἂν ἔλθωσιν ἐπὶ σὲ **πάντα τὰ**
	האלה הברכה והקללה ...	**ῥήματα ταῦτα**, ἡ εὐλογία καὶ ἡ κατάρα ...

For the reference to the Law of Moses by τὸ βιβλίον, see e.g. Deut 28:58 and 31:24:

| Deut 28:58 | אם־לא תשמר לעשות | ἐὰν μὴ εἰσακούσητε ποιεῖν |
| | את־כל־דברי התורה הזאת | **πάντα τὰ ῥήματα** τοῦ νόμου τούτου |

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[225] For συνάγω τὰ γενήματα, see, besides the verses quoted, only Jer 8:13.
[226] See Gen 20:8; Exod 4:30; Deut 30:1; 1 Kgdms 19:7; 25:9; Job 42:7; Jer 16:10; and Jdt 10:1.
[227] *HUB Isa*, 115.

τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν **τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ**	הכתובים בספר הזה
Ἡνίκα δὲ συνετέλεσεν Μωυσῆς γράφων	ויהי ככלות משה לכתב Deut 31:24
πάντας **τοὺς λόγους** τοῦ νόμου τούτου εἰς **βιβλίον**	את־דברי התורה־הזאת על־ספר
ἕως εἰς τέλος,	עד תמם

καὶ ἐξαρεῖς τὰ εἴδωλα τὰ περιηργυρωμένα	וטמאתם את־צפוי פסילי כספך Isa 30:22
καὶ τὰ περικεχρυσωμένα,	ואת־אפדת מסכת זהבך
λεπτὰ ποιήσεις καὶ λικμήσεις ὡς *ὕδωρ*	תזרם כמו
ἀποκαθημένης καὶ ὡς κόπρον ὤσεις αὐτά.	דוה צא תאמר לו

Isa 30:22, which instructs the people to grind and scatter their idols, recalls the story in Exod 32 of Moses destroying the golden calf that Aaron had made as a cult image for the Israelites.[228] Both that text and Isa 30:22 use the verb זרה to depict the scattering of the remnants of the idols. The supposed insertion of λεπτὰ ποιήσεις in the Greek translation of Isa 30:22 has perhaps been inspired by this Deuteronomic text, where a similar performance is executed on the idols: καὶ κατήλεσεν αὐτὸν λεπτόν. Also the addition of ὕδωρ might be traceable back to Exod 32:20, for that verse too speaks of "water" (albeit in a different setting):

καὶ λαβὼν τὸν μόσχον, ὃν ἐποίησαν,	ויקח את־העגל אשר עשו Exod 32:20
κατέκαυσεν αὐτὸν ἐν πυρὶ,	וישרף באש
καὶ **κατήλεσεν αὐτὸν λεπτόν**, καὶ ἔσπειρεν αὐτὸν	ויטחן עד אשר־דק ויזר
ἐπὶ τὸ **ὕδωρ**, καὶ ἐπότισεν αὐτὸ τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραήλ	על־פני המים וישק את־בני ישראל

νῦν ὄψεσθε, νῦν αἰσθηθήσεσθε·	תהרו חשש תלדו קש Isa 33:11
ματαία *ἔσται ἡ ἰσχὺς* τοῦ πνεύματος ὑμῶν,	רוחכם אש
πῦρ ὑμᾶς κατέδεται.	תאכלכם

Once again a verse whose content and formulation in the Greek are largely divergent from the Hebrew. The LXX seems to give an explanation of the metaphor that the Hebrew presents, interpreting the burning up of straw as the annihilation of power. For this purpose the translator has glossed the noun קש ("stubble of straw") as ματαία—"idleness," "worthlessness." He probably based his understanding of Isa 33:11 on LXX Isa 1:31. There the weakening of power is symbolised as flax on fire:

καὶ **ἔσται ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτῶν ὡς καλάμη στιππύου**	והיה החסן לנערת Isa 1:31
καὶ αἱ ἐργασίαι αὐτῶν ὡς σπινθῆρες πυρός,	ופעלו לניצוץ
καὶ κατακαυθήσονται οἱ ἄνομοι καὶ οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἅμα	ובערו שניהם יחדו

A second verse he may have relied on is Isa 30:15:[229]

ὅτε ἐπεποίθεις ἐπὶ τοῖς ματαίοις,	בהשקט ובבטחה Isa 30:15
ματαία ἡ ἰσχὺς ὑμῶν ἐγενήθη.	תהיה גבורתכם

So, all three LXX Isa 1:31; 30:15; and 33:11 convey the idea of the degeneration of power into idleness. This idea may have its roots in Lev 26:20:[230]

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[228] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 121; *HUB Isa*, 125.
[229] For a more detailed analysis of this verse, see section 2.5b.

Lev 26:20   ותם לריק כחכם   καὶ ἔσται εἰς κενὸν ἡ ἰσχὺς ὑμῶν,

ולא־תתן ארצכם את־יבולה   καὶ οὐ δώσει ἡ γῆ ὑμῶν τὸν σπόρον αὐτῆς

Isa 36:9   ואיך תשיב   καὶ πῶς δύνασθε ἀποστρέψαι

את פני פחת   εἰς πρόσωπον τοπάρχου ἑνός;

אחד עבדי <u>אדני הקטנים</u>   *οἰκέται εἰσὶν οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ᾽ Αἰγυπτίοις*

ותבטח <u>לך</u> על־מצרים לרכב ולפרשים   εἰς ἵππον καὶ ἀναβάτην.

The appearance in LXX Isa 36:9 of οἰκέται is striking: the term οἰκέτης ("house slave") figures nowhere else in the Greek Isaiah; its Hebrew source עבד is in LXX Isaiah usually represented by παῖς (19x) or δοῦλος (9x). Also the entire sentence in which οἰκέται occurs— οἰκέται εἰσὶν οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ᾽ Αἰγυπτίοις—is remarkable, being rather distinct from the Hebrew.[231] Its subject, οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ᾽ Αἰγυπτίοις, is a free rendering of ותבטח לך על־מצרים. The Hebrew phrase אדני הקטנים is not represented in the Greek. The LXX sentence might have bearing on texts in the Pentateuch on the slavery of the Israelites under Egypt. In those texts οἰκέτης is found quite frequently.[232] See for instance:

Deut 6:21   עבדים היינו לפרעה במצרים   **Οἰκέται ἦμεν** τῷ Φαραω ἐν γῇ **Αἰγύπτῳ**,

Deut 5:15; 15:15;   וזכרת כי עבד היית   καὶ μνησθήσῃ ὅτι **οἰκέτης ἦσθα**

16:12; 24:18,22   בארץ מצרים / במצרים   ἐν γῇ **Αἰγύπτου**

By means of this allusion the translator perhaps wanted to insinuate that if Israel were to trust Egypt, they would become Egyptian slaves again, just as in the past.

Isa 42:13   יהוה <u>כגבור</u> יצא   κύριος <u>ὁ θεὸς</u> τῶν δυνάμεων ἐξελεύσεται

<u>כאיש</u> מלחמות יעיר קנאה   *<u>καὶ συντρίψει</u> πόλεμον*, ἐπεγερεῖ ζῆλον

יריע אף־יצריח על־איביו יתגבר   καὶ βοήσεται ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτοῦ μετὰ ἰσχύος.

In contrast to the MT of Isa 42:13, where God is portrayed as a warrior, in the LXX God *makes an end* to the war. This pacification has probably been copied from a parallel text in LXX Exod 15:3:[233]

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[230] Cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 147 (who assumes that the text from Lev 26:20 was added as a gloss to the *Vorlage* of LXX Isa); Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 46.

[231] The Hebrew of 36:9 reads in translation: "How then can you repulse a single captain among the least of my master's servants, when you rely on Egypt for chariots and for horsemen?"; the Greek has: "How then are you able to turn back to the face of one governor? Those who trust in Egypt for horse and rider are house servants."

[232] For a discussion of οἰκέτης and other words for "slave" in the Greek Pentateuch, see Arie van der Kooij, "Servant or Slave? The Various Equivalents of Hebrew *'Ebed* in the Septuagint of the Pentateuch," in *XIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies. Ljubljana 2007* (ed. Melvin K. H. Peters; SCS 55; Atlanta: SBL, 2008). Van der Kooij states—on the grounds of *int.al.* a text of Philo—that οἰκέτης designates "a slave belonging to a particular household permanently, a setting implying loyalty and strict obedience to the master" (*op.cit.* p.231). This permanent status of the οἰκέτης may put extra weight on the use of the term in LXX Isa 36:9.

[233] Cf. Johann F. Schleusner, *Novus thesaurus philologico-criticus sive lexicon in LXX et reliquos interpretes græcos ac scriptores apocryphos Veteris Testamenti* (5 vols.; Leipzig: Weidmann, 1820–1821), 3:202; Thackeray, "Greek translators of the Prophetical Books," 583; Ottley, *Book of Isaiah*, 2:308; Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 125; Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 118; Koenig, *L'herméneutique analogique*, 59–60; *HUB Isa*, 189; Baer, *When We All Go Home*, 87–98. For further influence of LXX Exod 15 on LXX Isa, see Brockington, "Septuagint and Targum," 84; Baer, *When We All Go Home*, 90–91.

Exod 15:3   יהוה איש מלחמה יהוה שמו   κύριος <u>συντρίβων</u> πολέμους, κύριος ὄνομα αὐτῷ.

LXX Exod 15:3 in its turn may have adopted the concept of God as the one who "breaks war" from Hos 2:20:[234]

Hos 2:20(18)   ומלחמה אשבור מן־הארץ   καὶ πόλεμον συντρίψω ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς

Isa 48:21   ולא צמאו בחרבות הוליכם   καὶ ἐὰν διψήσωσι, δι' ἐρήμου ἄξει αὐτούς,
מים מצור הזיל למו ויבקע־צור   ὕδωρ ἐκ πέτρας ἐξάξει αὐτοῖς· σχισθήσεται πέτρα,
ויזבו מים   καὶ ῥυήσεται ὕδωρ, <u>*καὶ πίεται ὁ λαός μου*</u>.

Isa 48:21 touches on the account in Exod 17:1–7 of Moses beating on the rock in Massah and Meribah, so that water flowed out of it. The plus καὶ πίεται ὁ λαός μου in the LXX of Isa 48:21[235] has undoubtedly been extrapolated from this Pentateuchal text:

Exod 17:6   הנני עמד לפניך שם על־הצור   ὅδε ἐγὼ ἕστηκα πρὸ τοῦ σὲ ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας ἐν
בחרב והכית בצור ויצאו   Χωρήβ· καὶ πατάξεις τὴν πέτραν, καὶ ἐξελεύσεται
ממנו מים ושתה העם ויעש כן   ἐξ αὐτῆς ὕδωρ, **καὶ πίεται ὁ λαός μου**. ἐποίησεν
משה לעיני זקני ישראל   δὲ Μωυσῆς οὕτως ἐναντίον τῶν υἱῶν Ισραηλ.

Isa 54:15   הן גור יגור <u>אפס</u> מאותי   ἰδοὺ *προσήλυτοι προσελεύσονταί <u>σοι</u>* δι' ἐμοῦ

The verb יגור, stemming from גור II—"to attack," has been conceived of by the Isaiah translator as a derivation of גור I—"to sojourn." In a like manner he has read גּוֹר (inf. abs. of גור II) as גֵּר—"stranger." Interpreting the text in such a way, he may have thought of passages in the Pentateuch offering rules that concern strangers living in Israel. Also the object σοι he may have added in analogy to those verses, since they speak about strangers who will come "to you" (even though this is the second person *plural* rather than singular); see especially the similar dative form in Lev 19:33:

Exod 12:48–49   וכי־יגור אתך גר   ἐὰν δέ τις **προσέλθῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς προσήλυτος**
ועשה פסח ליהוה המול לו   ποιῆσαι τὸ πασχα κυρίῳ, περιτεμεῖς αὐτοῦ
כל־זכר ... תורה אחת יהיה לאזרח   πᾶν ἀρσενικόν ... νόμος εἷς ἔσται τῷ ἐγχωρίῳ
ולגר הגר בתוככם   καὶ τῷ **προσελθόντι προσηλύτῳ ἐν ὑμῖν**.

Lev 19:33   וכי־יגור אתך גר   Ἐὰν δέ τις **προσέλθῃ προσήλυτος ὑμῖν**
בארצכם לא תונו אתו   ἐν τῇ γῇ ὑμῶν, οὐ θλίψετε αὐτόν·[236]

Num 9:14   וכי־יגור אתכם גר   ἐὰν δὲ **προσέλθῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς προσήλυτος**
ועשה פסח ליהוה   ἐν τῇ γῇ ὑμῶν καὶ ποιήσει τὸ πασχα κυρίῳ,
כחקת הפסח   κατὰ τὸν νόμον τοῦ πασχα
וכמשפטו כן יעשה   καὶ κατὰ τὴν σύνταξιν αὐτοῦ, οὕτως ποιήσει αὐτό·

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[234] Baer thinks that the Isaiah translator may well have been influenced by LXX Hos 2:20 *directly*, and not only indirectly via Exod 15:3 (Baer, *When We All Go Home*, 87–98); cf. section 8.4.5.1 below. Cf. also Ps 76(75):4.

[235] This plus has been indicated by Ziegler as a secondary reading, as he assumes that the clause has been taken from Exod 17:6. It is, however, witnessed by all Greek manuscripts except for V. Probably it belongs to the original LXX text.

[236] For possible influence of Lev 19, see also Isa 41:5–6 and 48:11.

From the fact that LXX Isa 54:15 renders יגור by a form of προσέρχομαι ("they will go") rather than by a verb that means "to live" in accordance with the literal meaning of גור I, one can conclude that the words under consideration in LXX Isa 54:15 depend on the *Greek* translation of the Pentateuch, since there one comes across exactly the same unexpected translation of גור.

Isa 65:2   פרשתי ידי כל־היום   ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν
אל־עם סורר   πρὸς λαὸν *ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα*,
ההלכים הדרך לא־טוב   οἳ οὐκ ἐπορεύθησαν ὁδῷ ἀληθινῇ,
אחר מחשבתיהם   ἀλλ' ὀπίσω τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν.

סורר in LXX Isa 65:2 matches the doublet ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα.[237] This rendition may have been affected by LXX Isa 50:5, where the verbs ἀπειθέω and ἀντιλέγω are likewise coordinated: ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἀπειθῶ οὐδὲ ἀντιλέγω (MT: ואנכי לא מריתי אחור לא נסוגתי). Besides, also Deut 21:18 and 20 may have been of an influence: here the Hebrew gives the word pair סורר ומורה:[238]

Deut 21:18   כי־יהיה לאיש בן סורר ומורה   Ἐὰν δέ τινι ᾖ υἱὸς **ἀπειθὴς καὶ ἐρεθιστὴς**
איננו שמע בקול אביו ובקול אמו   οὐχ ὑπακούων φωνὴν πατρὸς καὶ φωνὴν μητρὸς

Deut 21:20   בננו זה סורר ומרה   Ὁ υἱὸς ἡμῶν οὗτος **ἀπειθεῖ καὶ ἐρεθίζει**,
איננו שמע בקלנו   οὐχ ὑπακούει τῆς φωνῆς ἡμῶν,
זולל וסבא   συμβολοκοπῶν οἰνοφλυγεῖ·

Given that the word pair in LXX Isa 65:2 differs from the ones in the Greek text of the Deuteronomic verses cited, it is more reasonable to assume that the translator borrowed the words from the *Hebrew* version of Deuteronomy and translated them into Greek himself.

Isa 66:20–21   כאשר יביאו בני ישראל   ὡς ἂν ἐνέγκαισαν *οἱ υἱοὶ Ισραηλ* ἐμοὶ τὰς
את־המנחה בכלי טהור בית יהוה   θυσίας αὐτῶν μετὰ ψαλμῶν εἰς τὸν οἶκον κυρίου.
וגם־מהם אקח לכהנים ללוים   καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν *λήμψομαι ἐμοὶ* ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευίτας,
אמר יהוה   εἶπεν κύριος.

The insertion of ἐμοί in LXX Isa 66:21 may rest upon Num 8:14–16, a passage that is concerned with the appointment of the Levites. In those verses too, God announces that he will take *for himself* Levites from among the sons of Israel:[239]

Num 8:14–16
והבדלת את־הלוים מתוך בני ישראל   καὶ διαστελεῖς τοὺς **Λευίτας** ἐκ μέσου τῶν **υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ**,
והיו לי הלוים ... כי נתנים נתנים   καὶ ἔσονται **ἐμοί** ... ὅτι ἀπόδομα ἀποδεδομένοι
המה לי מתוך בני ישראל תחת   οὗτοί **μοί** εἰσιν ἐκ μέσου **υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ**· ἀντὶ τῶν
פטרת כל־רחם בכור   διανοιγόντων πᾶσαν μήτραν πρωτοτόκων
כל מבני ישראל לקחתי אתם לי   πάντων **ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ** εἴληφα αὐτοὺς **ἐμοί**.

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[237] Cf. section 2.3a.

[238] For סורר ומורה, cf. also Ps 78:8 and Jer 5:23 (Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 78–79; *HUB Isa*, 285). For ἀντιλέγω, cf. LXX Isa 22:22 καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ἀντιλέγων (MT: ואין סגר).

[239] However, it is also conceivable that the translator has read לי in his *Vorlage*: Cf. 1QIsa^a: וגם מהמה אקח **ליא** (Pesh. and Targ. = MT) לכהנים ללוים.

Compare also Num 3:41:

Num 3:41 ולקחת את־הלוים לי אני יהוה   καὶ **λήμψῃ τοὺς Λευίτας ἐμοί**, ἐγὼ κύριος,

תחת כל־בכר בבני ישראל   ἀντὶ πάντων τῶν πρωτοτόκων **τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ**

8.4.1.3 Conclusion to 8.4.1

The translator of Isaiah has made extensive use of the Pentateuch as a source. Certain Pentateuchal sections in particular have attracted his attention, such as the Genesis narratives on the creation (Gen 1-3) and the building of a tower (Gen 11), as well as the Song of Moses in Deut 32. He has mostly consulted Pentateuchal passages that display a *thematic* (and often also lexical) correspondence to the Isaianic passage he was dealing with. The elements that seem to have been adopted generally involve expressions which are (nearly) identical to the ones in the *Greek* version of the Torah, for which reason they can be assumed to rely on the Greek rather than on the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch (see e.g. Isa 1:9,11; 3:8; 4:5; 7:16[/Deut 1:39]; 9:9[10]; 10:9; 19:6; 29:11; 34:6; 36:9; 42:13; 44:2; 48:19,21; 54:15; 65:3,22; and 66:19,21 above). Nevertheless, LXX Isaiah also includes extra elements that merely reflect the same *idea* as can be encountered in the Pentateuch, without displaying identical words. In such cases the translator may have borrowed formulations from the *Hebrew* version of the Torah and rendered those into Greek himself, or he may just have been reminded of a certain Pentateuchal theme, which he formulated in his own words and then implemented in his translation (see e.g. Isa 7:16[/Gen 3:5]; 30:22; 33:11; and 65:2 above). Finally, the Greek Isaiah contains some references to the Pentateuch that are purely *lexical*, the words quoted being embedded in an entirely different context. These cases may affirm the hypothesis that the translator used the Greek Pentateuch as a kind of lexicon (see e.g. Isa 2:21; 5:28; 10:2; 13:10; 29:1; 39:2; 50:7; and 51:1 above).

8.4.2 LXX Isaiah and the Psalms

In addition to the Pentateuch, the Book of Psalms also has probably played an important role in the religious life of the Jewish community. One of the indications that leads to this thought is the fact that in Qumran many copies have been found of fragments of the Psalms. It would not be surprising, from this perspective, if the translator of LXX Isaiah in producing his translation had been influenced by the Psalms now and then. But whether he was already familiar with the Book of Psalms in its *Greek* version is uncertain. The feasibility of this depends on the date of origin of LXX Psalms.

Discussion on the genesis of the Greek Psalms is still in progress. One century ago, Swete placed its origin in the second half of the second century B.C.E.[240] But after him many other dates were proposed. Van der Kooij, for instance, maintained that the Book of Psalms was not translated into Greek until the first century B.C.E. This he based on the close relationship he discerned between the Greek translation and the καιγέ recension of the Psalms, which, in his eyes, indicated "a congenial, Pharisaic milieu common to both."[241] Also Olivier Munnich saw

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[240] Henry B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (rev. by Richard R. Ottley; Cambridge: University Press, 1914), 25.

[241] Arie van der Kooij, "On the Place of Origin of the Old Greek of Psalms," *VT* 33 (1983): 73. In a later publication, van der Kooij proposes an earlier date, namely the second half of the second century B.C.E., in

a relation between the LXX of the Psalms and the καιγέ group. He believed the LXX translators of the Psalms to be the predecessors of the καιγέ recension; the latter would have been influenced by the LXX translators in their translation procedures and in specific renderings, such as the translation of יהוה צבאות as κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων. On basis of such lexicographical observations, Munnich thought the date of the Greek Psalms to be as early as the beginning of the second century B.C.E.[242] The connection between the Greek Psalms and the καιγέ recension which van der Kooij and Munnich supposed to exist, was called into question, though, by Joachim Schaper. According to this scholar, LXX Psalms contains allusions to historical events that took place at the time of the evolving Hasmonaean dynasty. This would point to the second half of the second century B.C.E. as the most likely time of origin of the Greek Psalms.[243]

Returning to the earlier question: could the translator of Isaiah have been familiar with the Psalms in their Old Greek version? As the LXX of Isaiah itself is generally dated around the middle of the second century B.C.E.,[244] such a familiarity would be impossible if one accepts for the LXX of the Psalms an origin later than that. In such a case even the reverse hypothesis could be posited, namely that it was the translator of the Psalms who relied on the Greek Isaiah. This is exactly what Mozley and Flashar advocated at the beginning of the previous century.[245]

Nevertheless, a number of other scholars do think that the Isaiah translator was acquainted with (part of) the Greek translation of the Psalms. They base this idea on their conviction that LXX Isaiah reveals elements that can be traced back to the Greek Psalter. One of the first to defend this view, was Seeligmann:

> our translator depended, in the case of certain passages, upon translations that have been
> handed down to us in the Septuagint of the Psalms, which does not necessarily imply that the

accordance with Schaper's view. This he bases on a quotation of LXX Ps 78:2–3 in 1 Macc 7:17 which gives rise to the assumption that the LXX of the Psalms was produced in pro-Maccabaean circles, or was at least available in their time; see Arie van der Kooij, "The Septuagint of Psalms and the First Book of Maccabees," in *The Old Greek Psalter. Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma* (ed. Robert J. V. Hiebert, Claude E. Cox, and Peter J. Gentry; JSOTSup 332; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 229–247.

[242] Gilles Dorival, Marguerite Harl, and Olivier Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante. Du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme ancien* (ICA; Paris: Éditions du CERF / Éditions du C.N.R.S., 1994), 96–97.

[243] Joachim Schaper, "Der Septuaginta-Psalter als Dokument jüdischer Eschatologie," in *Die Septuaginta zwischen Judentum und Christentum* (ed. Martin Hengel and Anna Maria Schwemer; WUNT 72; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 59–61; idem, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter* (WUNT 76; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), 34–45.

[244] Thackeray: early in the second century B.C.E. (Henry St J. Thackeray, review of R. R. Ottley, *The Book of Isaiah according to the Septuagint*, *JTS* 10 [1909]: 303); Seeligmann: middle of the second century B.C.E. (Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 91); van der Kooij: 140 B.C.E. (van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 73); Bickerman: 170–150 B.C.E. (Elias Bickerman, "Some Notes on the Transmission of the Septuagint," in *Studies in Jewish and Christian History* [3 vols.; AGJU 9; Leiden: Brill, 1976], 1:147; repr. from *Alexander Marx. Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of his Seventienth Birthday* [ed. Saul Lieberman; New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1950]); Fischer: 250–201 B.C.E. (Fischer, *In welcher Schrift*, 6); Harl: somewhere between 170 and 132 B.C.E. (Dorival, Harl and Munnich, *La Bible grecque*, 97).

[245] Mozley, *Psalter*, 182 n.1; Flashar, "Exegetische Studien," 181–182. According to Flashar the uncommon translation of עיים ("heap of stones") as ὀπωροφυλάκιον ("watcher's hut") in LXX Ps 78:1 may rely on the occurrence of the same Greek noun in LXX Isa 1:8, where ὀπωροφυλάκιον forms a semantically apt equivalent of מלונה.

whole of the Septuagint of the Psalms had already been completed, and was in circulation, during the translator's own period.[246]

Albeit even more cautious in his formulation, Ziegler also believes in the possibility that the Isaiah translator relied on the Greek version of the Psalms:

> Es ist … sehr leicht möglich, daß Teile des Psalters, die als Gesänge für den Gottesdienst in Frage kamen, schon vor der Js-LXX ins Griech. übersetzt waren[247]

Recently, this theory received support in an article by Tyler Williams. In Williams' view, the Greek Psalms form a homogenous unity, originating in the second century B.C.E. One important reason for coming to this conclusion he finds in external citations of and allusions to the Greek Psalms in other ancient writings, such as the LXX of Isaiah. In support of his opinion, Williams offers a number of examples to demonstrate the dependence of LXX Isaiah on the Greek Psalter.[248] Besides Williams, the Finnish scholar Staffan Olofsson also concurs with the idea that the Greek Isaiah postdates the Septuagint of the Psalms.[249]

In summary, there is no scholarly consensus over the date of the Greek Psalms and their relation to the LXX of Isaiah. Nevertheless, the current trend favours a dating of this translation anterior to the Greek Isaiah.

In the survey that will follow below, a number of cases will be treated in which the Isaiah translator has possibly adopted elements from the Psalms into his text—either from its Hebrew or from its Greek version—which has given rise to a plus or a minus. In each case I will try to find out from which of those two versions the influence may derive. This I will consider merely on the basis of internal factors, omitting the question of dating. In this way, perhaps a slight contribution can be made to the complicated discussion of the relationship between LXX Isaiah and LXX Psalms.

8.4.2.1 An outline of pluses and minuses resulting from possible influence of the Psalms

Isa 9:1(2)   ישבי בארץ צלמות   οἱ κατοικοῦντες *ἐν χώρᾳ καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου*

The expression ἐν χώρᾳ καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου, arrived at through the addition of καί (and through the interpretation of צלמות—"deep shadow"—as צל מות—"shadow of death") echoes formulations such as חשך וצלמות / ἐν σκότει καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου, which can repeatedly be observed in the Psalms. See for instance:[250]

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[246] Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 72–73.

[247] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 105.

[248] Tyler F. Williams, "Towards a Date for the Old Greek Psalter," in *The Old Greek Psalter. Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma* (ed. Robert J. V. Hiebert, Claude E. Cox, and Peter J. Gentry; JSOTSup 332; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 248–268. Williams presents the following examples: the rendering in Isa 32:4 of לדבר צחות by λαλεῖν εἰρήνην may be based on LXX Ps 27:3 and 84:9; the usage in Isa 29:1 of ποτίζω for נסך, as well as the use of the rare word κατάνυξις suggest a connection with LXX Ps 59:5; the employment in Isa 6:4 of ἐπαίρω to render נוע may be inspired by LXX Ps 23:7, and the rendering in Isa 26:14 of רפאים as ἰατροί by LXX Ps 87:11. The translation in Isa 1:8 of מלונה as ὀπωροφυλάκιον might draw upon LXX Ps 78:1 (although, in theory, the direction of the dependence could also be the reverse, as Mozley suggests).

[249] Staffan Olofsson, *God is my Rock. A Study of Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis in the Septuagint* (ConBOT 31; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1990), 23.

[250] Even if LXX Isa in this very clause gives the words ἐν χώρᾳ rather than ἐν σκότει, the latter phrase does appear in the beginning of the verse, namely in ὁ λαὸς ὁ πορευόμενος ἐν σκότει.

Ps 107(6):10[251]   ישבי חשך וצלמות   καθημένους **ἐν σκότει καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου**

Ps 107(6):14   יוציאם מחשך וצלמות   καὶ ἐξήγαγεν αὐτοὺς **ἐκ σκότους καὶ σκιᾶς θανάτου**

Ps 88(87):7   במחשכים במצלות   **ἐν σκοτεινοῖς καὶ ἐν σκιᾷ θανάτου.**

Similar phraseology features twice in the book of Job:

Job 3:5   יגאלהו חשך וצלמות   ἐκλάβοι δὲ αὐτὴν **σκότος καὶ σκιὰ θανάτου**

Job 28:3   אבן אפל וצלמות   λίθος **σκοτία καὶ σκιὰ θανάτου**

Ps 107(6):10 in particular may have served as a model for the rendering in LXX Isa 9:2, since, in conformity to the Isaiah verse, the Hebrew version of the phrase quoted from this Psalm is governed by the participle ישבי. Yet, while the translator of the Psalms has rendered ישבי by καθημένους, in LXX Isa 9:2 it matches οἱ κατοικοῦντες. This might imply on the one hand that, if LXX Isa 9:2 actually relies on Ps 107(6):10, this is rather on its Hebrew version. On the other hand, the Isaiah translator could also have had the *Greek* Psalm in front of him, but still have opted for a translation using οἱ κατοικοῦντες, for the reason that the "inhabitants" play an important role in his translation (see e.g. the preceding verse 8:23[9:1]).[252] Finally, it is also conceivable that the translator based the insertion of καί on his Hebrew *Vorlage*.

Isa 12:2   הנה אל ישועתי   ἰδοὺ *ὁ θεός μου σωτήρ μου κύριος*,

אבטח   πεποιθὼς ἔσομαι ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ[253]

In rephrasing Isa 12:2, the translator may have taken Ps 62(61):3,7 as an example:

Ps 62(61):3   אך־הוא צורי וישועתי   καὶ γὰρ **αὐτὸς θεός μου καὶ σωτήρ μου**

Ps 62(61):7   אך־הוא צורי וישועתי   ὅτι **αὐτὸς θεός μου καὶ σωτήρ μου**

Besides that LXX Isa 12:2 and LXX Ps 61:3,7 all contain the words θεός μου (καὶ) σωτήρ μου, they are additionally related in that they all have ישועה ("salvation") translated as σωτήρ ("saviour"), and are embedded in a similar context, focusing on trusting God and finding honour in him. Compare e.g. LXX Isa 12:2 with LXX Ps 61:8:

LXX Isa 12:2   ἰδοὺ ὁ θεός μου σωτήρ μου κύριος, πεποιθὼς ἔσομαι ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ οὐ φοβηθήσομαι, διότι *ἡ δόξα μου* καὶ ἡ αἴνεσίς μου κύριος καὶ ἐγένετό μοι εἰς *σωτηρίαν*.

LXX Ps 61:8   ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ τὸ *σωτήριόν* μου καὶ *ἡ δόξα μου* ὁ θεὸς τῆς βοηθείας μου, καὶ ἐλπίς μου ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ.

Still, it can be disputed whether the reformulation of LXX Isa 12:2 is really the outcome of harmonisation with LXX Ps 61, for ὁ θεός μου is a quite common Biblical phrase that may just as easily have been produced without the interference of LXX Psalms; perhaps μου was supplied for stylistic reasons, to balance the parallelism with the words σωτήρ μου.[254]

Isa 13:2   ויבאו פתחי נדיבים   Ἀνοίξατε, οἱ ἄρχοντες.

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[251] The numbering of the LXX is mentioned between brackets.
[252] See also e.g. LXX Isa 10:31; 12:6; 20:6; 24:5,6; 42:11; 49:19; and 51:6.
[253] 1QIsaᵃ has הנה אל אל ישועתי אבטח; see section 12.3.1.1.
[254] For a related verse, cf. Isa 17:10: διότι κατέλιπες τὸν θεὸν τὸν σωτῆρά σου καὶ κυρίου τοῦ βοηθοῦ σου οὐκ ἐμνήσθης.

The occurrence in the Greek of Ἀνοίξατε suggests that the translator has read פתחי as though it were פתחו—a plural imperative of פתח, in the sense of "open!" (with as its implied object probably "the gates"). ויבאו does not have a Greek counterpart. Goshen-Gottstein connects this translation with the following verses in Psalms:[255]

Ps 24(23):7	שאו שערים ראשיכם	ἄρατε πύλας, **οἱ ἄρχοντες** ὑμῶν,
	והנשאו פתחי עולם	καὶ ἐπάρθητε, πύλαι αἰώνιοι,
	ויבוא מלך הכבוד	καὶ εἰσελεύσεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης.
Ps 24(23):9	שאו שערים ראשיכם	ἄρατε πύλας, **οἱ ἄρχοντες** ὑμῶν,
	ושאו פתחי עולם	καὶ ἐπάρθητε, πύλαι αἰώνιοι,
	ויבא מלך הכבוד	καὶ εἰσελεύσεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης.
Ps 118(7):19	פתחו־לי שערי־צדק	**ἀνοίξατέ** μοι πύλας δικαιοσύνης·
	אבא־בם אודה יה	εἰσελθὼν ἐν αὐταῖς ἐξομολογήσομαι τῷ κυρίῳ.

In line with LXX Isa 13:2, the LXX of these verses gives a command—in LXX Ps 23:7,9 directed to "the leaders"—to "open" or "raise" the gates. This is different in the Hebrew version of Ps 24(23):7 and 9, where only the gates themselves are addressed:

MT Ps 24:7,9   Lift up your heads, O gates! and be lifted up, O ancient doors! that the King of glory may come in.

LXX Ps 23:7,9   Raise the gates, O rulers of yours! And be raised up, O perpetual gates!

Hence, if these verses did indeed influence LXX Isa 13:2, it was in their Greek version rather than in the Hebrew, at least as regards Ps 23(24):7 and 9. Nevertheless, one might argue against such a dependence that none of the verses from the Psalms mentioned contains a clause that exactly corresponds to the one in LXX Isa 13:2. Notwithstanding the fact that LXX Ps 117:19, just as does LXX Isa 13:2, opens with the imperative ἀνοίξατέ, and LXX Ps 23:7 and 9 present the vocative οἱ ἄρχοντες, in none of these Greek Psalms does one meet the exact words Ἀνοίξατε, οἱ ἄρχοντες.

| **Isa 13:14** | והיה כצבי מדח | καὶ ἔσονται οἱ καταλελειμμένοι ὡς δορκάδιον φεῦγον |
| | וכצאן | καὶ *ὡς πρόβατον <u>πλανώμενον</u>* |

The same picture of "wandering sheep" features in Ps 119(118):176:

| Ps 119(118):176 | תעיתי כשה אבד | ἐπλανήθην **ὡς πρόβατον ἀπολωλός**· |

Since the expressions concerned in the LXX of Psalms and Isaiah do not correspond to each other literally, it is improbable that LXX Isa 13:14 draws upon the *Greek* version of Ps 119. A text that can be more easily thought to have played a role, is LXX Jer 27:17:

| Jer 50(27):17 | שה פזורה ישראל | **Πρόβατον πλανώμενον** Ισραηλ |

But the plainest option is that the Isaiah translator copied the imagery of wandering sheep from a passage in the Book of Isaiah itself: in Isa 53:6 it can be found in the clause πάντες ὡς πρόβατα ἐπλανήθημεν (MT: כלנו כצאן תעינו).

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[255] *HUB Isa*, 49.

Isa 18:6 וקץ עליו העיט καὶ συναχθήσεται ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς *τὰ πετεινὰ* <u>*τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*</u>,

וכל־בהמת הארץ עליו תחרף καὶ πάντα τὰ θηρία τῆς γῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἥξει.

The phrase τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ has parallels in the following Psalms:[256]

Ps 8:9 צפור שמים ודגי הים **τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ** καὶ τοὺς ἰχθύας τῆς θαλάσσης

Ps 50(49):11 ידעתי כל־עוף הרים ἔγνωκα πάντα **τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ**,

וזיז שדי עמדי καὶ ὡραιότης ἀγροῦ μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ ἐστιν.

Ps 79(78):2 מאכל לעוף השמים βρώματα **τοῖς πετεινοῖς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ**,

בשר חסידיך לחיתו־ארץ τὰς σάρκας τῶν ὁσίων σου τοῖς θηρίοις τῆς γῆς·

Ps 104(3):11–12 ישקו כל־חיתו שדי ... ποτιοῦσιν πάντα τὰ θηρία τοῦ ἀγροῦ ...

... עליהם עוף־השמים ישכון ἐπ᾽ αὐτὰ **τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ** κατασκηνώσει

However, as mentioned earlier, the same words likewise appear in Genesis—that is in Gen 1:28,30 and 9:2,[257] so they may have been extrapolated from those famous verses as well. Alternatively, the Isaiah translator was just using common Biblical vocabulary, without alluding to any specific text.

Isa 23:15 והיה ביום ההוא καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ

ונשכחת צר שבעים שנה καταλειφθήσεται Τύρος ἔτη ἑβδομήκοντα

כימי מלך אחד ὡς χρόνος βασιλέως, <u>*ὡς χρόνος ἀνθρώπου*</u>·

In his monograph *The Oracle of Tyre* van der Kooij defines the plus ὡς χρόνος ἀνθρώπου in LXX Isa 23:15 as "an exegetical addition in order to make clear that the expression, 'like the lifetime of a king', is to be taken as the lifespan of a man, and not as the reign of a king."[258] For the notion of a human lifespan of seventy years he refers to Ps 90(89):10:

Ps 90(89):10 ימי־שנותינו αἱ ἡμέραι τῶν ἐτῶν ἡμῶν,

בהם שבעים שנה ἐν αὐτοῖς ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη

Possibly the Isaiah translator has integrated this idea into his translation of Isa 23:15, though without using the diction of the Psalm.

Isa 25:4–5 כזרם קיר כחרב בציון ὡς <u>ἄνθρωποι</u> ὀλιγόψυχοι διψῶντες ἐν Σιων

שאון זרים תכניע ἀπὸ <u>ἀνθρώπων</u> ἀσεβῶν, <u>*οἷς ἡμᾶς παρέδωκας*</u>.

Here we have another example of a text in LXX Isaiah where the Greek, even though it has represented most of the separate words of the Hebrew text, diverges substantially from the Hebrew as regards its content. This concerns, among other things, the unexpected rendering of תכניע ("you subdued") as οἷς ἡμᾶς παρέδωκας. Ziegler supposes that in choosing these words the translator had a number of Psalm texts in his mind on the righteous one asking God not to deliver him into the hands of his enemies:[259]

Ps 27(26):12 אל־תתנני בנפש צרי μὴ **παραδῷς με** εἰς ψυχὰς θλιβόντων με

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[256] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 114.
[257] See section 8.4.1.1a.
[258] van der Kooij, *Oracle of Tyre*, 146.
[259] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 117.

| Ps 41(40):3 | ואל־תתנהו בנפש איביו | καὶ μὴ **παραδῷη αὐτὸν** εἰς χεῖρας ἐχθροῦ αὐτοῦ. |
| Ps 119(8):121 | בל־תניחני לעשׁקי | μὴ **παραδῷς με** τοῖς ἀδικοῦσίν με. |

But in this case too, it is open to question whether the formulation of LXX Isa 25:4–5 was indeed influenced by (the Greek version of) these Psalms: firstly, because the use of παραδίδωμι in LXX Isa 25:5 could also simply have been related to the translator's preference for using that verb in general:[260] παραδίδωμι belonged to his collection of favourite words; in his translation he has employed this verb as many as eighteen times, as a rendering of eleven different Hebrew roots.[261] Secondly, the idea of God's delivery of his people into the hands of evil ones is not limited to the Psalms and Isaiah, but can additionally be found in the following texts in Ezekiel:

Ezek 11:9	καὶ **παραδώσω ὑμᾶς** εἰς χεῖρας ἀλλοτρίων
Ezek 16:27	καὶ **παραδώσω σε** εἰς ψυχὰς μισούντων σε,
Ezek 23:28	Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ **παραδίδωμί σε** εἰς χεῖρας ὧν μισεῖς
Ezek 31:11	καὶ **παρέδωκα αὐτὸν** εἰς χεῖρας ἄρχοντος ἐθνῶν,
Ezek 39:23	καὶ **παρέδωκα αὐτοὺς** εἰς χεῖρας τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτῶν

| **Isa 26:9** | כי <u>כאשׁר</u> משׁפטיך לארץ | διότι _φῶς_ τὰ προστάγματά σου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. |
| | צדק למדו ישׁבי תבל | δικαιοσύνην μάθετε, οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. |

In the LXX of Isa 26:9 God's ordinances are called a "light" on the earth.[262] This metaphor may draw on Ps 37(36):6 and Ps 119(118):105, in which God's righteousness and his word are compared to light:[263]

Ps 37(36):6	והוציא כאור צדקך	καὶ ἐξοίσει ὡς **φῶς** τὴν δικαιοσύνην σου
	ומשׁפטך כצהרים	καὶ τὸ κρίμα σου ὡς μεσημβρίαν.
Ps 119(8):105–6	נר־לרגלי דברך	ιδα νουν. Λύχνος τοῖς ποσίν μου ὁ λόγος σου
	ואור לנתיבתי	καὶ **φῶς** ταῖς τρίβοις μου.
	נשבעתי ואקימה	ὀμώμοκα καὶ ἔστησα
	לשׁמר משׁפטי צדקך	τοῦ φυλάξασθαι τὰ κρίματα τῆς δικαιοσύνης σου.

Ps 37(36) in particular may have had an influence on LXX Isa 26:9, since that Psalm has in common with Isa 26:9 its focus on the theme of the righteous ones trusting God, as opposed to the ungodly people. Nonetheless, a nearer source is revealed in the Book of Isaiah itself, namely in Isa 51:4: ὅτι νόμος παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ ἐξελεύσεται καὶ ἡ κρίσις μου εἰς **φῶς** ἐθνῶν (MT: כי תורה מאתי תצא ומשׁפטי לאור עמים ארגיע).

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[260] Cf. Coste, "Le texte grec d'Isaïe XXV 1–5," 44.

[261] See Isa 19:4 (סכר); 25:5 (כנע); 33:1 (שׁדד),23 (חלק); 34:2 (נתן); 36:15 (נתן); 37:10 (נתן); 38:12 (שׁלם),13 (שׁלם); 47:3 (פגע); 53:6 (פגע),12 (ערה); 64:7(6) (?מגן); 65:12 (מנה). In 23:7 and 33:6 παραδίδωμι does not have a clear Hebrew equivalent; in 25:7 it matches the noun פני.

[262] Rather than a plus, φῶς in LXX Isa 26:9 may be a representation of כאשר read as though it were כ(שׁ)אור (perhaps under the influence of Isa 51:4 and the Psalms quoted). Cf. Koenig, *L'herméneutique analogique*, 136–141.

[263] According to Baer "there are indications in the details of LXX Isa 26.9 that the translator is influenced by the vocabulary of psalmody. He may allude to Ps. 37(36) and perhaps also to Ps 63(62)." Besides the addition of φῶς, Baer also mentions "the otherwise unprecedented use of ὀρθρίζειν for שׁחר—an equivalency that appears elsewhere only in Ps 63(62), 78(77), and twice in Job—and the unauthorized addition of πρὸς σέ, ὁ θεός" (Baer, *When We All Go Home*, 30).

Isa 26:10   יחן רשע   πέπαυται γὰρ ὁ ἀσεβής,
          בל־למד צדק   οὐ μὴ μάθῃ δικαιοσύνην ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,
          בארץ נכחות יעול   ἀλήθειαν οὐ μὴ ποιήσῃ·
          ובל־יראה גאות יהוה *ἀρθήτω ὁ ἀσεβής*, ἵνα μὴ ἴδῃ τὴν δόξαν κυρίου.

LXX Isa 26:10 conveys the message that the ungodly one will meet his end and will be taken away. Remarkably enough, this is quite in contrast to the MT, in which favour is shown to the wicked one. The deviation of the LXX possibly has its origin in Ps 37(36). That Psalm, in accordance with LXX Isa 26:7–10, deals with the righteous people trusting in God, versus the ungodly (רשע) who will perish (as I have already noted above when comparing Isa 26:9 to Ps 37[36]:6). This is made clear especially in the following verses:

Ps 37(36):9–10   כי־מרעים יכרתון   ὅτι οἱ πονηρευόμενοι ἐξολεθρευθήσονται,
          וקוי יהוה   οἱ δὲ ὑπομένοντες τὸν κύριον
          המה יירשו־ארץ   αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσιν γῆν.
          ועוד מעט ואין רשע   καὶ ἔτι ὀλίγον *καὶ οὐ μὴ ὑπάρξῃ ὁ ἁμαρτωλός*,
          והתבוננת על־מקומו ואיננו καὶ ζητήσεις τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ καὶ *οὐ μὴ εὕρῃς*

Ps 37(36):20   כי רשעים יאבדו   *ὅτι οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀπολοῦνται*,
          ואיבי יהוה כיקר כרים οἱ δὲ ἐχθροὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἅμα τῷ δοξασθῆναι αὐτοὺς
          כלו בעשן כלו   καὶ ὑψωθῆναι ἐκλιπόντες ὡσεὶ καπνὸς ἐξέλιπον.

Ps 37(36):35–36 ראיתי רשע עריץ   εἶδον **ἀσεβῆ** ὑπερυψούμενον
          ומתערה כאזרח רענן   καὶ ἐπαιρόμενον ὡς τὰς κέδρους τοῦ Λιβάνου·
          ויעבר והנה איננו   *καὶ παρῆλθον, καὶ ἰδοὺ οὐκ ἦν*

Ps 37(36):38   ופשעים נשמדו יחדו   οἱ δὲ παράνομοι ἐξολεθρευθήσονται ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό,
          אחרית רשעים נכרתה   τὰ ἐγκαταλείμματα **τῶν ἀσεβῶν** ἐξολεθρευθήσονται.

Despite the thematic correspondence of these verses with LXX Isa 26:10, the vocabulary used in their respective Greek versions differs between the two documents: nowhere in LXX Ps 36 can the exact words ἀρθήτω ὁ ἀσεβής be found. Hence, it is implausible that the plus in LXX Isa 26:10 is the outcome of a dependence on the Greek translation of Ps 36. If the Isaiah translator was actually inspired by Ps 37(36), it was rather by its Hebrew version, or merely by the ideology in this Psalm. But it is likewise possible that he changed the text of Isa 26:10 on his own initiative, independently of Ps 37, perhaps for the reason that he thought the Hebrew text of this verse too lenient on the ungodly ones.

Isa 28:28   כי לא לנצח אדוש ידושנו   οὐ γὰρ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα *ἐγὼ ὑμῖν* ὀργισθήσομαι,[264]
          והמם גלגל עגלתו ופרשיו οὐδὲ φωνὴ τῆς πικρίας μου
          לא־ידקנו   καταπατήσει ὑμᾶς.

The LXX appears to interpret the metaphorical language of the Hebrew:[265]

MT Isa 28:28   No, he does not thresh it for ever; when he drives his cart wheel over it with his horses, he

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[264] Perhaps the translator has read אדוש—which is an inf. abs. of דוש—as a 1. sing. ipf. form.
[265] For the LXX Isa tendency to interpret metaphors, see Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 81–91, and Arie van der Kooij, "The Interpretation of Metaphorical Language. A Characteristic of LXX-Isaiah," in *Jerusalem, Alexandria, Rome. Studies in Ancient Cultural Interaction in Honour of A. Hilhorst* (ed. Florentino García Martínez, and Gerard P. Luttikhuizen; JSJSup 82; Leiden: Brill, 2003).

does not crush it

LXX Isa 28:28   For I will not be angry with you forever, nor will the voice of my bitterness trample you.

The translator may have explicated the Hebrew in this way by means of the association of עגלתו ("his cart") with עברתו ("his anger"), which is reflected in τῆς πικρίας μου (compare the rendering of עבדתו as ἡ πικρία αὐτοῦ in v.21). Besides, as Goshen-Gottstein suggests, the following Psalm texts could have played a role in the LXX formulation:[266]

Ps 85(84):6   הלעולם תאנף־בנו   μὴ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ὀργισθήσῃ ἡμῖν
תמשך אפך לדר ודר   ἢ διατενεῖς τὴν ὀργήν σου ἀπὸ γενεᾶς εἰς γενεάν;[267]

Ps 103(2):9   לא־לנצח יריב   οὐκ εἰς τέλος ὀργισθήσεται
ולא לעולם יטור   οὐδὲ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα μηνιεῖ·

Yet, the primary source for the rephrasing of Isa 28:28 can be found in Isaiah itself: see Isa 57:16 Οὐκ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἐκδικήσω ὑμᾶς οὐδὲ διὰ παντὸς ὀργισθήσομαι ὑμῖν (MT: כי לא לעולם אריב ולא לנצח אקצוף).[268]

Isa 30:4–5   כי־היו בצען שריו ומלאכיו   ὅτι εἰσὶν ἐν Τάνει ἀρχηγοὶ *ἄγγελοι πονηροί*
חנס יגיעו כל הבאיש הביש   μάτην κοπιάσουσι
על־עם לא־יועילו   πρὸς λαόν, ὃς οὐκ ὠφελήσει αὐτοὺς

Isa 30:4–5 is translated in a somewhat free and associative way: the Hebrew place name חנס may have been linked to הנם ("in vain"), and hence rendered μάτην. The verb יגיעו was probably understood to stem from יגע—"to grow weary" (instead of from נגע—"to reach"), and thus reproduced as κοπιάσουσι. הבאש, rather than as an inflection of the root בוש—"to be ashamed"—was perceived as a derivation of באש, which in Aramaic means "to be evil." The latter connotation is expressed in πονηροί, though that adjective appears in the LXX in the preceding clause. The attribution of πονηροί to ἄγγελοι may draw upon Ps 78(77):49:[269]

Ps 78(77):49   ישלח־בם חרון אפו   ἐξαπέστειλεν εἰς αὐτοὺς ὀργὴν θυμοῦ αὐτοῦ,
עברה וזעם וצרה   θυμὸν καὶ ὀργὴν καὶ θλῖψιν,
משלחת מלאכי רעים   ἀποστολὴν δι' ἀγγέλων πονηρῶν·

Ps 78(77) offers a view on Israel's exodus from Egypt. It describes the plagues that God let loose on the Egyptians, including "a company of destroying angels." In conformity with this Psalm, Isa 30:4–5 also deals with Egypt, judging the futile trust that the Israelites have in this people. So, this focus on Egypt may provide an extra link between the two passages. Apart from in LXX Ps 77:49 and LXX Isa 30:4 ἄγγελος πονηρός occurs nowhere else in the Septuagint. Hence, there is a considerable chance that the Isaiah translator indeed borrowed this expression from Ps 78(77):49. But whether he used the Hebrew or the Greek version of this Psalm remains the question: ἀγγέλων πονηρῶν is a predictable translation of מלאכי רעים and could also have been the translator's own rendition of the Hebrew formulation.

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[266] *HUB Isa*, 112.
[267] In Ps 85(84):4 the noun עברה—"anger"—can be found: אספת כל־עברתך השיבות מחרון אפך.
[268] Cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 119–120; Ziegler also mentions Jer 3:12 as a related verse.
[269] Cf. *HUB Isa*, 120.

Isa 32:3 ולא תשעינה עיני ראים καὶ οὐκέτι ἔσονται πεποιθότες ἐπ' ἀνθρώποις

Also in this verse most separate Hebrew words have received a variant translation in the LXX, giving rise to a Greek text that differs substantially from the Hebrew. In the first place, תשעינה (from שעע—"to be smeared over," "to be blinded") was probably read as if it were תִּשָּׁעֶנָּה—a Nif. form of שען—"to trust"—and has accordingly been rendered by ἔσονται πεποιθότες. In the second place, ראים may have been altered into אדם by means of metathesis and interchange of the resh and the dalet, and then have been translated ἀνθρώποις.[270] עיני seems to lack a Hebrew counterpart. The resulting clause καὶ οὐκέτι ἔσονται πεποιθότες ἐπ' ἀνθρώποις echoes a thought expressed in Ps 118(7):8:

Ps 118(7):8 טוב לחסות ביהוה ἀγαθὸν πεποιθέναι ἐπὶ κύριον
  מבטח באדם ἢ πεποιθέναι ἐπ' ἄνθρωπον·

Compare also Ps 146(145):3:

  אל־תבטחו בנדיבים בבן־אדם μὴ πεποίθατε ἐπ' ἄρχοντας καὶ ἐφ' υἱοὺς ἀνθρώπων,
  שאין לו תשועה οἷς οὐκ ἔστιν σωτηρία.

The fact that the vocabulary used in the various verses differs from one to the other—LXX Isa 32:3 has ἀνθρώποις where Ps 118(7):8 offers a singular ἄνθρωπον and Ps 146:3 the compound phrase υἱοὺς ἀνθρώπων—makes it more feasible that the Isaiah translator merely reproduced a Psalmic motif rather than importing literal phraseology from the above Psalms. Furthermore, the warning not to trust in men is close to the more general principle of the futility of trusting others than God (idols, leaders, other people, etc.) which is central to (LXX) Isaiah (see, for instance, 10:20; 17:8; 30:3; 31:1; 36:6,9). Hence, the translator could also have remained within the scope of his own text in reformulating Isa 32:3.

Isa 38:11 לא־אראה יה יה בארץ החיים Οὐκέτι μὴ ἴδω *τὸ σωτήριον* τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς
Isa 40:5 וראו כל־בשר יחדו καὶ *ὄψεται* πᾶσα σὰρξ *τὸ σωτήριον* τοῦ θεοῦ

In the LXX of both Isa 38:11 and 40:5 τὸ σωτήριον appears as a plus before τοῦ θεοῦ. In 40:5 τοῦ θεοῦ probably originates from יחדו, read as if it were יהוה.[271] The expression ὁράω τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ in both verses might have been borrowed from Ps 98(97):3:

Ps 98(97):3 ראו כל־אפסי־ארץ εἴδοσαν πάντα τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς
  את ישועת אלהינו **τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ** ἡμῶν.

τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ further appears in LXX Ps 49:23, but there it is not governed by ὁράω:[272]

Ps 50(49):23 ושם דרך καὶ ἐκεῖ ὁδός,
  אראנו בישע אלהים ᾗ δείξω αὐτῷ **τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ**.

Notwithstanding the striking resemblance to the verses quoted from the Psalms, τὸ σωτήριον could have been inserted in LXX Isa 38:11 and 40:5 independently of these. In 40:5 it may have been added in parallelism to ἡ δόξα κυρίου in the preceding line (although this does not exclude the possibility of the influence of the Psalm). Moreover, the use of ὁράω τὸ

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[270] See Koenig, *L'herméneutique analogique*, 149.

[271] For the omission of יה, cf. section 7.7.

[272] Apart from the verses mentioned τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ has no other occurrences in the LXX.

σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ might have its origin in the Greek Isaiah itself, that is, in 52:10, despite the fact that there one finds the noun σωτηρία rather than σωτήριον, and a somewhat different grammatical construction: καὶ *ὄψονται* πάντα τὰ ἄκρα τῆς γῆς *τὴν σωτηρίαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ* (MT: ‏וראו כל־אפסי־ארץ את ישועת אלהינו‏).

Isa 38:20   ‏יהוה לַהוֹשִׁיעֵנִי‏   κύριε τῆς σωτηρίας μου·

The Hebrew of Isa 38:20 is somewhat vague: "The Lord (is prepared?) to save me." The Greek solves this obscurity by translating by κύριε τῆς σωτηρίας μου—"O Lord of my salvation." Exactly the same words appear in LXX Ps 37:23:[273]

Ps 38(37):23   ‏חושה לעזרתי‏   πρόσχες εἰς τὴν βοήθειάν μου,

                  ‏אדני תשועתי‏   κύριε τῆς σωτηρίας μου.

The view that the Isaiah translator has taken the expression κύριε τῆς σωτηρίας μου from Ps 38(37):23 is supported by the fact that Isa 38:20 and Ps 38(37):23 form part of a text of a similar genre, namely the prayer of a diseased person calling to God (in the case of Isa 38:10–20 this person is Hezekiah). Maybe it was this congruence that moved the translator to import words from Ps 38(37) to Isa 38:20.

Isa 42:13   ‏יהוה כַּגִבּוֹר יֵצֵא‏   κύριος <u>ὁ θεὸς</u> τῶν δυνάμεων ἐξελεύσεται

The appearance in LXX Isaiah of the divine title ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων is remarkable. This name is the common equivalent for ‏אלהים־(יהוה) צבאות‏ in the Greek Psalms.[274] In Isa 42:13, however, one does not find ‏צבאות‏, and if it were to be found, one would expect it to be represented by σαβαωθ, which is the default for ‏צבאות‏ in the Greek Isaiah. Maybe the Isaiah translator, for one reason or another, copied the divine title from the Greek Psalms so as to interpolate it into Isa 42:13. Baer gives a different explanation for the occurrence of ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων in LXX Isaiah. He thinks that the translator has derived this title from ‏יהוה כגבור‏ on his own initiative. This he contends on the grounds that in four out of the eight cases (including the present one) where ‏גבור‏ is used in association with God the LXX uses some form of δυνα- to render the noun.[275] Yet another explanation for the use of ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων in LXX Isa 42:13 would be that at the time of the translator this title belonged to common religious terminology.

Isa 44:4   ‏וצמחו בבין חציר‏   καὶ *ἀνατελοῦσιν <u>ὡσεὶ</u> χόρτος* ἀνὰ μέσον <u>ὕδατος</u>

The Greek clause cited, denoting "And they shall spring up like grass in the midst of water," departs slightly from the Hebrew—"They shall spring up between grass." The LXX imagery of springing up *like* grass has a precedent in Ps 92(91):8:[276]

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[273] κύριε τῆς σωτηρίας has no further parallels in the LXX.

[274] See LXX Ps 58:6; 79:5,8,15,20; 83:9; and 88:9. Outside the Greek Psalms ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων only occurs in 3 Kgdms 17:1 and 4 Kgdms 19:20 (in both of which verses an equivalent is absent in the MT).

[275] Baer, *When We All Go Home*, 95–96. Cf. also Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 37. Seeligmann thinks that the use of this divine title indicates the existence of different textual strata in the Greek Isaiah.

[276] For the springing up *of* grass, cf. Ps 147(146):8 ‏המצמיח הרים חציר‏ / τῷ ἐξανατέλλοντι ἐν ὄρεσι χόρτον. For a text in Isaiah with a similar syntax, cf. Isa 53:2 ἀνηγγείλαμεν ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ ὡς παιδίον, ὡς ῥίζα ἐν γῇ

Ps 92(91):8   בפרח רשעים כמו עשב   ἐν τῷ **ἀνατεῖλαι** τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς **ὡς χόρτον**

Although this verse is linked to LXX Isa 44:4 as regards its vocabulary, the context in which it is applied is rather distinct from Isa 44. In LXX Isa springing up like grass is used as a comparison for the increase of Israel's offspring. The simile in Ps 92(91):8, conversely, has a negative connotation, saying of the *sinners* that they will spring up like grass. This different use of ἀνατέλλω (ὡς) χόρτον makes it less likely that the Isaiah translator has adopted this expression from Ps 92(91). A further argument, which contradicts influence from the *Greek* text of Ps 91:8, is that the Psalm verse offers the comparative particle ὡς, whereas LXX Isa 44:4 has ὡσεί.

Isa 45:13   וגלותי ישלח   καὶ *τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν <u>τοῦ λαοῦ μου</u> ἐπιστρέψει*[277]

This is one of the cases which Seeligmann discusses so to confirm his theory that the Greek Isaiah relies on the Greek Psalms. Seeligmann suggests that in LXX Isa 45:13 τοῦ λαοῦ μου has been appended to τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν in harmonisation with Ps 14(13):7 and Ps 53(52):7, and also with Amos 9:14,[278] verses which likewise contain the statement that God will "turn back the captivity of his people." The influence of these verses could also clarify the uncommon translation of ישלח ("he will let go") by ἐπιστρέψει ("he will turn back") in the Isaianic verse:[279]

Ps 14(13):7   בשוב יהוה   ἐν τῷ **ἐπιστρέψαι** κύριον
                      שבות עמו   **τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ**

Ps 53(52):7   בשוב אלהים   ἐν τῷ **ἐπιστρέψαι** κύριον
                      שבות עמו   **τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ**

As Amos 9:14 offers similar phraseology, the plus τοῦ λαοῦ μου in LXX Isa 45:13 cannot provide firm evidence of a reliance of LXX Isaiah on the Greek Psalms, for the translator might just as well have copied τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν τοῦ λαοῦ μου ἐπιστρέφω from LXX Amos as from LXX Psalms. Or, he may have based his translation on a mere memory of this well-known Biblical locution, without being conscious of where it was to be located in Scripture. The latter reflects the opinion of Wevers, who thinks that the usage of τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν ἐπιστρέφω in 45:13 is nothing more than an *Anklang* to the familiar Hebrew idiom שוב שבות.[280]

Isa 53:2–3   לא-תאר לו ולא הדר   οὐκ ἔστιν εἶδος αὐτῷ οὐδὲ δόξα·
                    ונראהו ולא-מראה ונחמדהו   καὶ εἴδομεν αὐτόν, καὶ *οὐκ <u>εἶχεν</u> εἶδος οὐδὲ κάλλος*
                                    נבזה   ἀλλὰ τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἄτιμον
                           וחדל אישים   ἐκλεῖπον παρὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους

διψώσῃ (in the Göttingen edition Ziegler proposes as a conjecture ἀνέτειλε μέν instead of ἀνηγγείλαμεν). Texts in Isaiah where the words ὡς/ὡσεὶ χόρτος likewise appear, can be found in Isa 37:27 and 51:12.
[277] Also the Targum shows this plus.
[278] See section 8.4.5.3.
[279] Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 72.
[280] Wevers, "Septuaginta Forschungen," 180.

Ziegler seeks to connect the translation of ולא־מראה ונחמדהו ("and no beauty that we should desire him") by καὶ οὐκ εἶχεν εἶδος οὐδὲ κάλλος ("he had no form or beauty") to Ps 45(44):3, a Psalm passage which, conform to Isa 53, alludes to a messianic figure:[281]

Ps 45(44):3	יפיפית מבני אדם	ὡραῖος **κάλλει** παρὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων,
	הוצק חן בשפתותיך	ἐξεχύθη χάρις ἐν χείλεσίν σου·
	על־כן ברכך אלהים לעולם	διὰ τοῦτο εὐλόγησέν σε ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

Under the influence of this same Psalm a number of LXX Isaiah manuscripts have in Isa 53:3 altered παρὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους to παρὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Still, it is not quite evident whether the translator himself already saw a connection between Isa 53:2 and Ps 45(44). The rendering of ונחמדהו by κάλλος he could also have figured out himself, without depending on the Psalm verse, since κάλλος is a common equivalent for חמדה, which stems from the same root as ונחמדהו. The translator might have preferred to translate the Hebrew verb with a noun because he wanted to make the line in which the form appears more parallel to the preceding line in v.2b, by means of having both of them contain two coordinate nouns:

οὐκ ἔστιν **εἶδος** αὐτῷ οὐδὲ **δόξα**·
καὶ εἴδομεν αὐτόν,
καὶ οὐκ εἶχεν **εἶδος** οὐδὲ **κάλλος**·
ἀλλὰ τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἄτιμον
ἐκλεῖπον παρὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους

Isa 53:8   מ<u>עצר וממשפט</u> לקח   *ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει* ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῦ ἤρθη·[282]

The words ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει appear several times in the Greek Psalms:

Ps 119(8):50	זאת נחמתי בעניי	αὕτη με παρεκάλεσεν **ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει** μου
	כי אמרתך חיתני	ὅτι τὸ λόγιόν σου ἔζησέν με.
Ps 119(8):92	לולי תורתך שעשעי	εἰ μὴ ὅτι ὁ νόμος σου μελέτη μού ἐστιν,
	אז אבדתי בעניי	τότε ἂν ἀπωλόμην **ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει** μου.
Ps 136(5):23	שבשפלנו זכר לנו	ὅτι **ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει** ἡμῶν ἐμνήσθη ἡμῶν ὁ κύριος

When the translator was rendering Isa 53, these Psalms might have come to his notice, in particular Ps 119(8), a chapter that, in accordance with Isa 53, relates the story of a righteous servant of God being afflicted and despised.[283] Although ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει appears in LXX Jer 2:24 as well (ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει αὐτῆς εὑρήσουσιν αὐτήν), the motif of the suffering servant that Ps 119 and Isa 53 have in common, is absent in Jer 2:24, which favours the idea of LXX Isaiah's reliance on the Psalms on this occasion. The fact that the formulation ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει recurs literally identically in the *Greek* version of the verses quoted from Ps 119(118), makes plausible the assumption that LXX Isaiah depended on the LXX translation of these Psalms.

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[281] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 128.

[282] ἐν could be a rendering of מ (read as ב) rather than a plus.

[283] Compare e.g. Ps 119:67 ראה־**עני** וחלצני, and 153 ואמונה **עניתני** 75, טוב־לי כי־**עניתי** 71, טרם **אענה** אני שגג to Isa 53:4 מכה אלהים ו**מענה**, and 53:7 נ**ענה** והוא נגש; and compare Ps 119:141 צעיר אנכי ו**נבזה** to Isa 53:3 ו**נבזה**.

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Isa 57:9 ותשפילי עד־שאול <u>καὶ ἀπέστρεψας</u> καὶ ἐταπεινώθης ἕως ᾅδου.

The idea of a *return* to Sheol may have been taken from Ps 9:18:

Ps 9:18 ישובו רשעים לשאולה ἀποστραφήτωσαν οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ εἰς τὸν ᾅδην,

כל־גוים שכחי אלהים πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἐπιλανθανόμενα τοῦ θεοῦ·

If there is a dependency involving these verses, it is still unsure whether the Isaiah translator had a *Greek* version of Ps 9:18 in front of him. The latter is doubtful in view of the fact that whereas LXX Isa 57:9 and MT Ps 9:19 have used the verb "to return" in an active sense, the LXX of Ps 9:19 offers a passive.

Isa 63:19(64:1)–64:1(2)

לוא־קרעת שמים ירדת ἐὰν ἀνοίξῃς τὸν οὐρανόν, τρόμος λήμψεται

מפניך הרים נזלו ἀπὸ σοῦ ὄρη, *καὶ τακήσονται*,

כקדח אש המסים *ὡς κηρὸς <u>ἀπὸ</u> πυρὸς τήκεται.*

מים תבעה־אש καὶ κατακαύσει πῦρ <u>τοὺς ὑπεναντίους</u>

The LXX presents a text that diverges from the MT in various aspects:

MT Isa 63:19–64:1   O that you would tear open the heavens and come down, so that the mountains would quake at your presence—as when fire kindles brushwood and the fire causes water to boil—to make your name known to your adversaries

LXX Isa 64:1–2   If you should open heaven, trembling from you would seize the mountains, and they would melt as wax melts from the fire. And fire shall burn up your adversaries

In the Greek version τρόμος λήμψεται may stem from ירדת via רעד/רעדה[284] or חרד[285] (both meaning "to tremble"). τακήσονται (from τήκω—"to melt") supposedly reproduces נזלו (Nif. זלל—"to quake"), even if in other places τήκω usually matches מסה/מסס ("to melt"). Maybe the use of a verb in the sense of "to melt" is brought about by the occurrence of המסים ("brushwood") in v.2, which might have been associated with מסס. The verb form תבעה was probably read as though it were תבער (Pi. בער—"to burn up") and translated as κατακαύσει. The vision of mountains melting as wax before the Lord offered by the Greek version of Isa 64:2, is missing in the Hebrew text. We do, however, find the same image in Ps 97(96):5:

Ps 97(96):5 הרים כדונג נמסו τὰ ὄρη ἐτάκησαν ὡσεὶ κηρὸς

מלפני יהוה ἀπὸ προσώπου κυρίου,

מלפני אדון כל־הארץ ἀπὸ προσώπου κυρίου πάσης τῆς γῆς.

Also the words ὡς κηρὸς ἀπὸ πυρὸς τήκεται have a parallel in the Psalms: they return almost literally in Ps 68(67):3:

Ps 68(67):3 כהנדף עשן תנדף ὡς ἐκλείπει καπνός, ἐκλιπέτωσαν·

כהמס דונג מפני־אש ὡς τήκεται κηρὸς ἀπὸ προσώπου πυρός,

יאבדו רשעים מפני אלהים οὕτως ἀπόλοιντο οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ.

The simile of melting wax additionally features in the following Psalm verses:

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[284] Cf. Isa 33:14 אחזה רעדה חנפים / λήμψεται τρόμος τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς.

[285] Cf. Isa 19:16 וחרד ופחד מפני תנופת יד־יהוה צבאות / ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἐν τρόμῳ ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς χειρὸς κυρίου σαβαωθ.

Ps 22(21):15	היה לבי כדונג נמס	ἐγενήθη ἡ καρδία μου **ὡσεὶ κηρὸς τηκόμενος**
	בתוך מעי	ἐν μέσῳ τῆς κοιλίας μου·
Ps 58(57):9	כמו שבלול תמס יהלך	**ὡσεὶ κηρὸς ὁ τακεὶς** ἀντανειρεθήσονται·
	נפל אשת בל־חזו שמש	ἐπέπεσε πῦρ, καὶ οὐκ εἶδον τὸν ἥλιον.

Aside from these Psalms, Mic 1:4 should also be mentioned. Here a picture comparable to that of Ps 97(96):5 and LXX Isa 64:1–2 occurs:

Mic 1:4	ונמסו ההרים תחתיו	καὶ σαλευθήσεται τὰ **ὄρη** ὑποκάτωθεν αὐτοῦ,
	והעמקים יתבקעו	καὶ αἱ κοιλάδες **τακήσονται**
	כדונג מפני האש	ὡς **κηρὸς** ἀπὸ προσώπου πυρὸς
	כמים מגרים במורד	καὶ ὡς ὕδωρ καταφερόμενον ἐν καταβάσει.

Still, regarding its content LXX Isa 64:1–2 agrees more precisely with LXX Ps 97(96):5 than with LXX Mic 1:4, given that in Ps 97(96):5, in agreement with the Isaianic passage, it is the "mountains" that are subject to melting, and not, as in LXX Mic 1:4, the "valleys."[286] Since the vocabulary of the Greek version of the Psalms quoted corresponds closely to that of LXX Isa 64:1–2, it is certainly conceivable that the Isaiah translator relied on the LXX of the Psalms in translating these verses.[287]

Isa 66:2	ואת־כל־אלה ידי עשתה	πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα ἐποίησεν ἡ χείρ μου,
	ויהיו כל־אלה נאם־יהוה	καὶ *ἔστιν ἐμὰ* πάντα ταῦτα, λέγει κύριος·

Ziegler mentions as a possibility that in LXX Isa 66:2 ἐμά was added in harmonisation with Ps 50(49):10:[288]

Ps 50(49):10	כי־לי כל־חיתו־יער	ὅτι **ἐμά ἐστιν πάντα** τὰ θηρία τοῦ δρυμοῦ,
	בהמות בהררי־אלף	κτήνη ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν καὶ βόες·

Compare also Ps 50(49):12:

Ps 50(49):12	כי־לי תבל ומלאה	**ἐμὴ γάρ ἐστιν** ἡ οἰκουμένη καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς.

In favour of the dependence of LXX Isa 66:2 on Ps 50(49) is the fact that the contexts of both verses expose the same theme, that is, God's contempt for sacrifices. On the other hand, the Hebrew clause ויהיו כל־אלה is elliptic and strongly insinuates לי, which makes it likewise imaginable that the Isaiah translator has added ἐμά independently of Ps 50, simply in order to clarify his text. Maybe he also wished to make the line καὶ ἔστιν ἐμὰ πάντα ταῦτα more analogous in content to the preceding one πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα ἐποίησεν *ἡ χείρ μου*. An explanation for the additional ἐμά can further be sought in a difference of *Vorlage*. Perhaps לי got lost in the MT tradition, giving rise to the somewhat obscure Hebrew text we have now.

Isa 66:16	כי באש יהוה נשפט	ἐν γὰρ τῷ πυρὶ κυρίου *κριθήσεται* _πᾶσα ἡ γῆ_
	ובחרבו את־כל־בשר	καὶ ἐν τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ αὐτοῦ πᾶσα σάρξ·

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[286] In the MT of Mic 1:4, on the contrary, it is the mountains that are melting.

[287] Ziegler, by contrast, suggests that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of Isaiah may already have contained this imagery (Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 100). For a more extensive discussion of these verses, see Baer, *When We All Go Home*, 181–192.

[288] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 79.

The supply of a subject πᾶσα ἡ γῆ to the verb κριθήσεται may be related to the following verses from Psalms, which similarly concentrate on the theme of God's judgment of the world:

Ps 82(81):8	קומה אלהים שפטה הארץ	ἀνάστα, ὁ θεός, **κρῖνον τὴν γῆν**,
	כי־אתה תנחל בכל־הגוים	ὅτι σὺ κατακληρονομήσεις ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.
Ps 94(93):2	הנשא שפט הארץ	ὑψώθητι, **ὁ κρίνων τὴν γῆν**,
	השב גמול על־גאים	ἀπόδος ἀνταπόδοσιν τοῖς ὑπερηφάνοις.
Ps 96(95):13	לפני יהוה כי בא	πρὸ προσώπου κυρίου, ὅτι ἔρχεται,
	כי בא לשפט הארץ	ὅτι ἔρχεται **κρῖναι τὴν γῆν**·
	ישפט־תבל בצדק	κρινεῖ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ
	ועמים באמונתו	καὶ λαοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ αὐτοῦ.
Ps 98(97):9	כי בא לשפט הארץ	ὅτι ἥκει **κρῖναι τὴν γῆν**·
	ישפט־תבל בצדק	κρινεῖ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ
	ועמים במישרים	καὶ λαοὺς ἐν εὐθύτητι.

Of these verses Ps 94(93):2 contains an extra link to LXX Isa 66:16, in that it deals with God's retribution on his enemies, using the verb השיב / ἀπόδιδωμι. This same theme and the same verb occur in Isa 66:15, i.e. in the verse preceding the one under discussion. Notwithstanding this, the following points argue against the reference back to the Psalms already mentioned:

- In the above Psalms πᾶσα as an adjective to ἡ γῆ is missing.
- Gen 18:25 contains a comparable expression, which, in contrast to the quotations from LXX Psalms, does mention "the *whole* earth": ὁ κρίνων πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν οὐ ποιήσεις κρίσιν;.
- πᾶσα ἡ γῆ may well have been inserted in LXX Isa 66:16 parallel to πᾶσα σάρξ in the succeeding line.

| **Isa 66:18** | ואנכי מעשיהם | κἀγὼ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν |
| | ומחשבתיהם | *καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν αὐτῶν* <u>*ἐπίσταμαι*</u>. |

Even though it is possible that LXX Isaiah's underlying Hebrew manuscript offered an equivalent for ἐπίσταμαι, it is more likely that the translator himself has supplied this verb, namely, with the aim of "correcting" the ellipsis of the Hebrew. He might have opted for a verb in the sense of "to know" on the grounds that Isa 66:18 reminded him of Ps 94(93):11, a verse that speaks of God's knowledge of man's thoughts. Both Ps 94(93):11 and Isa 66:18 present the noun מחשבה:[289]

| Ps 94(93):11 | יהוה ידע **מחשבות** אדם | κύριος **γινώσκει τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς** τῶν ἀνθρώπων |
| | כי־המה הבל | ὅτι εἰσὶν μάταιοι. |

If the plus in LXX Isa 66:18 indeed goes back to Ps 94(93):11, the translator will probably have used the *Hebrew* text of this Psalm instead of the Greek, as the wording of the two translations differs, LXX Isa 66:18 having λογισμός and γιγνώσκω, where LXX Ps 93:11 has

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[289] Cf. *HUB Isa*, 296.

διαλογισμός and ἐπίσταμαι, respectively. However, rather than from Ps 94(93), the translator may have imported ἐπίσταμαι from a verse in Isaiah itself—Isa 37:28: νῦν δὲ τὴν ἀνάπαυσίν σου καὶ τὴν ἔξοδόν σου καὶ τὴν εἴσοδόν σου ἐγὼ ἐπίσταμαι.

8.4.2.2 Conclusion to 8.4.2

This paragraph has reviewed about 25 cases of plus and minus in the Greek Isaiah that may have arisen from the translator's adoption of elements from the Book of Psalms, or by his omission of words in harmonisation with a text from Psalms. For every instance the question was raised of whether the LXX deviation from the MT could equally be explained in another way than by such a reliance on the Psalter. It turned out that in many cases alternative clarifications can be found for pluses or minuses in LXX Isaiah, making the supposition of a relation between LXX Isaiah and (LXX) Psalms unnecessary. Often a plus or minus could be elucidated by influence from closer by, that is, from the Book of Isaiah itself.

If a relation of dependency on the Psalms still seemed to provide the most plausible explanation for a plus or minus, I have attempted to find out whether the Isaiah translator has made use of either the Hebrew or the Greek text of the Psalms. The outcome of this inquiry is, that proof of LXX Isaiah's dependency on the *Greek* version of the Psalms cannot be given here, as in almost all cases of supposed reliance, the translator of Isaiah could just as well (or rather) have used the *Hebrew* text of the Psalms. Nevertheless, the possibility of LXX Isaiah's reliance on the Greek Psalms should not entirely be erased. A handful of instances may still point in such a direction. This especially pertains to those cases where the vocabulary applied in both translations is mutually similar and in which also the contexts of both passages under consideration show a close connection. Among the examples discussed LXX Isa 13:2; 30:4–5; 53:8; 64:1–2; and 66:2 especially may meet these criteria.

8.4.3 LXX *Isaiah and Jeremiah*

Since there is quite some interface between the prophetical works of Isaiah and Jeremiah, it can be expected that the translator of Isaiah, apt as he was to integrate Scriptural elements from elsewhere into his text, has also drawn inspiration from the book of Jeremiah now and then. But whether he was acquainted with that work only in its Hebrew or also in its Greek version is again the question. Ziegler leaves some room for the possibility that the translator was familiar with a *Greek* translation of Jeremiah; although a direct connection with the LXX of Jeremiah, in his view, cannot readily be proven,[290] he offers some instances which exhibit parallels between the two Greek texts. Prior to Ziegler, a contrary opinion was defended by Thackeray. This scholar maintained that it is impossible for LXX Isaiah to depend on LXX Jeremiah, because Isaiah was the first of the prophetical books to be translated into Greek. This he deduced from LXX Isaiah's "greater ease of style, and the tendency to give a free rather than a *verbatim* rendering," which he considers to be marks of a comparatively early date. The other Greek prophets are, according to Thackeray, characterised by a more literal style of rendering, which he regards as indicating a later date of composition.[291]

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[290] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 105.
[291] Thackeray, "Greek translators of the Prophetical Books," 583.

On the pages below a number of cases will be examined in which the Isaiah translator possibly adopted elements from the book of Jeremiah, resulting in pluses or minuses in his translation. When discussing these cases, I will attempt to investigate critically whether the additions and omissions may relate to either the Hebrew or the Greek text of Jeremiah.

8.4.3.1 Influence of Jer 48(31) on Isa 15 and 16

Jer 48(31) elaborates upon the same subject as Isa 15–16, that is, the destruction of Moab. Not only do these two texts share a common theme, but their vocabulary also shows agreements. Isa 15–16 seem to possess even more linkages to Jer 48(31) in their Greek translation. This suggests that Jer 48 has had some influence on the LXX of Isa 15 and 16. The following examples of pluses and minuses may illustrate this assumption:

Isa 15:2–3	על־נבו ועל מידבא	ἐπὶ Ναβαυ τῆς Μωαβίτιδος
	מואב ייליל בכל־ראשיו קרחה	ὀλολύζετε. ἐπὶ πάσης κεφαλῆς φαλάκρωμα,
	כל־זקן גרועה	πάντες βραχίονες κατατετμημένοι·
	בחוצתיו חגרו שק	ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις αὐτῆς περιζώσασθε σάκκους *καὶ κόπτεσθε,*
	על גגותיה וברחבתיה	ἐπὶ τῶν δωμάτων αὐτῆς καὶ ἐν ταῖς ῥύμαις αὐτῆς
	כלה ייליל ירד בבכי	πάντες ὀλολύζετε μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ.

The extra phrase καὶ κόπτεσθε in LXX Isa 15:3 might be traceable back to Jer 48(31):37–38. Just as Isa 15:2–3, this Jeremianic text depicts people lamenting for Moab, and lists a number of mourning rituals, of which some are identical to those in Isa 15:2–3:

Jer 48(31):37–38

	כי כל־ראש קרחה	πᾶσαν κεφαλὴν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ ξυρήσονται,
	וכל־זקן גרעה	καὶ πᾶς πώγων ξυρηθήσεται,
	על כל־ידים גדדת	καὶ πᾶσαι χεῖρες **κόψονται**,
	ועל־מתנים שק	καὶ ἐπὶ πάσης ὀσφύος σάκκος.
	על כל־גגות מואב	καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν δωμάτων Μωαβ
	וברחבתיה כלה **מספד**	καὶ ἐπὶ πλατείαις αὐτῆς,
	כי־שברתי את־מואב	ὅτι συνέτριψα τὸν Μωαβ,
	ככלי אין־חפץ בו נאם־יהוה	φησὶ κύριος, ὡς ἀγγεῖον, οὗ οὐκ ἔστι χρεία αὐτοῦ.

If the Isaiah translator was indeed influenced by Jer 48(31):37, it is more plausible that he used its Hebrew text than the Greek one, as several expressions that are the same in the MT versions of Isa 15:2–3 and Jer 48:37 have received different translations in the Greek (קרחה aligns with ξυρήσονται in LXX Jeremiah, but with φαλάκρωμα in LXX Isaiah; וכל־זקן גרעה matches καὶ πᾶς πώγων ξυρηθήσεται in LXX Jeremiah, but πάντες βραχίονες κατατετμημένοι in LXX Isaiah; וברחבתיה is translated by καὶ ἐπὶ πλατείαις αὐτῆς in LXX Jeremiah, but by καὶ ἐν ταῖς ῥύμαις αὐτῆς in LXX Isaiah). However, whereas the Greek text of Jer 48(31):37–38 displays κόψονται, the Hebrew version of this passage does not contain an expression close to καὶ κόπτεσθε; the nearest equivalent it offers is מספד in 48:38, a noun coming from the root ספד—"to lament."[292]

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[292] Ziegler (*Untersuchungen*, 27) remarks that in LXX Isa 15:2–3 some deviations from the MT correspond with the MT of Jer 48:37 (e.g. πάντες βραχίονες κατατετμημένοι in LXX Isa 15:2 corresponds more closely to על

Rather than from Jer 48(31):37 the translator may therefore have imported καὶ κόπτεσθε from other places in the Book of Jeremiah. A similar combination of an imperative of κόπτω with an imperative of περιζώννυμι σάκκους to that which LXX Isa 15:3 displays, is attested in LXX Jer 4:8 and 49:3(30:30):

| Jer 4:8 | על־זאת חגרו שקים ספדו | ἐπὶ τούτοις **περιζώσασθε σάκκους καὶ κόπτεσθε** |
| | והילילו | καὶ ἀλαλάξατε |

| Jer 49:3(30:30) | צעקנה בנות רבה | κεκράξατε, θυγατέρες Ραββαθ, |
| | חגרנה שקים ספדנה והתשוטטנה בגדרות | **περιζώσασθε σάκκους καὶ κόψασθε** |

Moreover, LXX Isaiah itself contains texts presenting this same combination, namely in Isa 22:12 and 32:11–12 (see section 8.3.1); so in LXX Isa 15:2 καὶ κόπτεσθε may also have been added under the influence of those Isaianic verses. In summary, the plus in LXX Isa 15:3 cannot provide convincing evidence of the dependence of LXX Isaiah on (LXX) Jer 48(31):37–38 or on other Jeremianic texts.[293]

Isa 15:5   כי דרך חורנים זעקת־שבר יעערו   τῇ ὁδῷ Αρωνιιμ βοᾷ *σύντριμμα* <u>*καὶ*</u> *σεισμός.*

Contrary to the Hebrew, the Greek version of Isa 15:5 includes direct speech:

MT Isa 15:5   For on the road to Horonaim they raise a cry of destruction;

LXX Isa 15:5   By the way of Haroniim she cries aloud, "Destruction and an earthquake!"

The LXX reformulation has been achieved by the translation of the verb יעערו ("they raise") by the noun σεισμός ("earthquake')—perhaps through linking יעערו to סערה ("tempest"), and of the noun זעקת by the verb βοᾷ. The syntactical construction of the Greek sentence may have been copied from Jer 48(31):3:

| Jer 48(31):3 | קול צעקה מחרונים | ὅτι φωνὴ κεκραγότων ἐξ Ωρωναιμ, |
| | שד ושבר גדול | ὄλεθρον καὶ σύντριμμα μέγα |

MT Jer 48:3   Hark! a cry from Horonaim,"Desolation and great destruction!"

LXX Jer 31:3   Because of a voice of people that cry from Horonaim: Desolation and a great fracture!

The formulations of MT/LXX Jer 48(31):3 and LXX Isa 15:5 agree in the sense that the three of them introduce direct speech with the help of a verb phrase with the connotation of "to cry." The words that follow form in all three texts an exclamation, composed of a word pair of which one of the two elements is the noun שבר / σύντριμμα. The distinctive transcriptions of חרונים as Ωρωναιμ and Αρωνιιμ in LXX Jeremiah and LXX Isaiah respectively, suggest that the Isaiah translator relied on the *Hebrew* version of Jeremiah.

Isa 15:7   על־כן יתרה עשה   *μὴ* <u>*καὶ*</u> *οὕτως μέλλει σωθῆναι,* ἐπάξω γὰρ

כל־ידים גדדת in MT Jer 48:37 than to its counterpart כל־זקן גרועה in MT Isa 15:2). In his eyes this may indicate that the *Vorlage* of LXX Isa 15:2–3 was not the MT of Isa 15:2, but a text similar to Jer 48(31):37. Also the occurrence of καὶ κόπτεσθε in LXX Isa 15:3 would be the outcome of such a deviating Hebrew manuscript, in which a word such as ספדו or מספד was already present (perhaps in the form of a gloss).

[293] For the combination of κόπτω with περιζώννυμι, cf. also 2 Kgdms 3:31 and Joel 1:13 (περιζώσασθε καὶ κόπτεσθε).

ופקדתם על נחל הערבים ישאום   ἐπὶ τὴν φάραγγα Ἄραβας, καὶ λήμψονται αὐτήν.

At first sight, the Greek wording μὴ καὶ οὕτως μέλλει σωθῆναι ("Even so, will she be saved?") does not seem to have anything in common with the Hebrew על־כן יתרה עשה ("Therefore the abundance they have gained"), but on second thoughts, most of the lexemes of the LXX can be aligned with a Hebrew one: μή echoes the final ה of היה (the last word of v.6), which was interpreted as a question particle; οὕτως is a rendering of כן־; μέλλει reflects יתרה, read associatively as עָתֵד, while σωθῆναι reproduces עשה, linked to הושיע.[294] This curious rephrasing of the Hebrew might have been inspired by Jer 48(31):8. Comparably to LXX Isa 15:7—which poses the rhetorical question about Moab if she will be saved—Jer 48(31):8 proclaims of the cities of Moab that they "will not be saved":

Jer 48(31):8	ויבא שדד אל־כל־עיר	καὶ ἥξει ὄλεθρος ἐπὶ πᾶσαν πόλιν,
	ועיר לא תמלט ואבד העמק	οὐ μὴ σωθῇ, καὶ ἀπολεῖται ὁ αὐλών,
	ונשמד המישר אשר אמר יהוה	καὶ ἐξολεθρευθήσεται ἡ πεδινή, καθὼς εἶπε κύριος.

Isa 16:10	ונאסף שמחה וגיל	καὶ ἀρθήσεται εὐφροσύνη καὶ ἀγαλλίαμα
	מן־הכרמל	ἐκ τῶν ἀμπελώνων σου,
	ובכרמים לא־ירנן לא ירעע	καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀμπελῶσί σου οὐ μὴ εὐφρανθήσονται
	יין ביקבים לא־ידרך <u>הדרך</u>	καὶ *οὐ μὴ πατήσουσιν* οἶνον εἰς τὰ ὑπολήνια,
	<u>הידד</u> השבתי	πέπαυται γάρ.

The lack of an equivalent for הדרך in LXX Isa 16:10 may be elucidated by reference to a closely related text in Jer 48(31):33:

Jer 48(31):33	ונאספה שמחה וגיל	συνεψήσθη χαρμοσύνη καὶ εὐφροσύνη
	מכרמל ומארץ מואב	ἐκ γῆς Μωαβίτιδος,
	ויין מיקבים השבתי	καὶ οἶνος ἦν ἐπὶ ληνοῖς σου· πρωὶ
	לא־ידרך הידד הידד לא הידד	οὐκ ἐπάτησαν· αιδεδ αιδεδ, οὐκ [ἐποίησαν] αιδεδ.

In the penultimate clause of this Jeremianic verse, which shares with Isa 16:10 its theme of the ceasing of joy and wine production, the grammatical subject of the wine treading is undefined (MT: לא־ידרך; LXX: πρωὶ οὐκ ἐπάτησαν). Maybe the Isaiah translator wanted to mirror this formulation in Jer 48(31):33 through omitting הדרך in the clause לא־ידרך הדרך. Also the omission of הידד may be in adjustment to Jer 48(31):33: now not only in MT Jer 48:33 but also in LXX Isa 16:10 the "stopping" (השבתי) concerns the wine treading, and not the "vintage shout."

Supposing that there is a relation between LXX Isa 16:10 and Jer 48(31):33, the most likely explanation is that the Isaiah translator relied on the *Hebrew* text of Jer 48, given the distinct translations of השבתי by πέπαυται in LXX Isa 16:10 and by ἦν in LXX Jer 31:33, and the rendering of יקבים by ὑπολήνια in LXX Isaiah and by ληνοῖς in LXX Jeremiah. Besides, the virtually identical initial clauses of both texts (ונאסף שמחה וגיל מן־הכרמל in Isa 16:10 and ונאספה שמחה וגיל מכרמל ומארץ מואב in Jer 48:33) are also reproduced differently in either of the Greek translations.

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[294] Cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 29. An alternative explanation that Ziegler gives for the appearance of μέλλει, is that in Isa 15:7 the form ואבד from Jer 48:8 appeared in the margin of the Hebrew manuscript of LXX Isa, and was read by the translator as ואבה, and hence translated by μέλλει. The explanation of μέλλει as translating עָתֵד seems more plausible to me, however.

To conclude this section, I will offer one example which contains no pluses or minuses, but may additionally illustrate the influence of Jer 48 on LXX Isa 15–16:

Isa 16:7 לכן ייליל מואב למואב ὀλολύξει Μωαβ, ἐν γὰρ τῇ Μωαβίτιδι
כלה ייליללאשישי πάντες ὀλολύξουσι· *τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν*
קיר־חרשת תהגו אך־נכאים *Αδεσεθ* μελετήσεις καὶ οὐκ ἐντραπήσῃ.

It may be that the translator read לאשישי ("raisin cakes") as if it were לאנשי, and on those grounds translated the phrase by τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν.[295] He may have done this under the influence of Jer 48(31):31 and 36, perhaps additionally motivated by the consideration that the mourning over the *residents* of Qir Chareset makes more sense than the mourning over the *raisin cakes* of this Moabite place.

Jer 48(31):31 על־כן על־מואב איליל διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ Μωαβ ὀλολύζετε
ולמואב כלה אזעק πάντοθεν,
אל־אנשי קיר־חרש יהגה βοήσατε ἐπ᾽ *ἄνδρας κιρ Αδας* αὐχμοῦ.

Jer 48(31):36 על־כן לבי למואב διὰ τοῦτο καρδία μου, Μωαβ,
כחללים יהמה ὥσπερ αὐλοὶ βομβήσουσιν,
ולבי אל־אנשי קיר־חרש καρδία μου ἐπ᾽ *ἀνθρώπους κιρ Αδας*
כחללים יהמה ὥσπερ αὐλὸς βομβήσει·

Again, this case hints at the reliance on the Hebrew text of Jeremiah rather than on its Greek translation, as LXX Isa 16:7 offers τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν where LXX Jer 31:31 and 36 have ἄνδρας and ἀνθρώπους respectively, and as the two documents show a different transcription of the place-name (קיר־חרש(ת.

8.4.3.2 *Influence of Jer 10 on* LXX *Isa 44 and 46*

A further chapter in Jeremiah that has close ties to sections within the Book of Isaiah is Jer 10. This chapter conveys the same theme as Isa 44:6–20 and 46:1–7, i.e. the vain trust of the people in idols which they have made themselves and which are in fact mere images, powerless and not able to achieve anything. The Greek translation of Isa 44 and 46 holds several pluses and minuses which indicate that the Isaiah translator was not merely aware of the resemblance between these texts, but even created some extra links:

Isa 44:14 לכרת־לו ארזים ויקח תרזה ואלון ὃ *ἔκοψε*
ויאמץ־לו בעצי־יער נטע ארן *ξύλον ἐκ τοῦ δρυμοῦ*, ὃ ἐφύτευσε κύριος

The LXX has omitted several words, probably with the purpose of abridging the Hebrew. Besides, it has read ארן as אדן and rendered the noun by κύριος.[296] The formulation ὃ ἔκοψε ξύλον ἐκ τοῦ δρυμοῦ may show a connection with Jer 10:3. Both that text and Isa 44:4 speak of the cutting down of a tree from the forest for making an idol:[297]

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[295] It is likewise conceivable, however, that the translator did not perceive לאשישי as being derived from אשישה—"raisin cake," but from אשיש, which in later Hebrew is used in the sense of "adult male" and with this connotation appears repeatedly in Qumran manuscripts (especially in 4Q502, where it can be found ten times). This too could explain the translation of לאשישי by τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν.

[296] *HUB Isa*, 201.

[297] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 126.

Jer 10:3 כי־חקות העמים הבל הוא   ὅτι τὰ νόμιμα τῶν ἐθνῶν μάταια·

כי־עץ מיער כרתו   ξύλον ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ δρυμοῦ ἐκκεκομμένον,

מעשה ידי־חרש במעצד   ἔργον τέκτονος καὶ χώνευμα·

Isa 46:6–7 הזלים זהב מכיס   οἱ συμβαλλόμενοι χρυσίον ἐκ μαρσιππίου

וכסף בקנה ישקלו   καὶ ἀργύριον ἐν ζυγῷ στήσουσιν ἐν σταθμῷ

ישכרו צורף ויעשהו אל   καὶ μισθωσάμενοι χρυσοχόον ἐποίησαν χειροποίητα

יסגדו אף־ישתחוו   καὶ κύψαντες προσκυνοῦσιν αὐτοῖς.

ישאהו על־כתף   αἴρουσιν αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων, _καὶ πορεύονται_

יסבלהו ויניחהו תחתיו   ἐὰν δὲ θῶσιν αὐτό,

ויעמד ממקומו לא ימיש   ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου αὐτοῦ μένει, οὐ μὴ κινηθῇ·

Isa 46:6–7 portray a procession in which idols are being carried around because they cannot move of their own accord. In the LXX καὶ πορεύονται appears as a plus.[298] Ziegler points to the occurrence of the same verb in the Greek version of Jer 10:9, a verse that similarly speaks of motionless idols of silver and gold made by human hands:[299]

Jer 10:9   <u>ἀργύριον τορευτόν ἐστιν, **οὐ πορεύσονται**·</u>

כסף מרקע מתרשיש יובא   ἀργύριον προσβλητὸν ἀπὸ Θαρσις ἥξει,

וזהב מאופז מעשה חרש   χρυσίον Μωφαζ καὶ χεὶρ χρυσοχόων,

וידי צורף   ἔργα τεχνιτῶν πάντα·

תכלת וארגמן לבושם מעשה חכמים כלם   ὑάκινθον καὶ πορφύραν ἐνδύσουσιν αὐτά·

Cf. also Jer 10:5:

כתמר מקשה המה ולא ידברו

נשוא ינשוא כי לא יצעדו   αἰρόμενα ἀρθήσονται, ὅτι **οὐκ ἐπιβήσονται**

It is unclear, though, whether in LXX Isaiah and LXX Jeremiah the verbs in the sense of "to go" refer to the same group. In LXX Jer 10:9 the subject of πορεύονται is the images themselves who do not go forward, but remain in the same place. In LXX Isa 46:7, by contrast, καὶ πορεύονται may refer to the _carriers_ of the images, who _do_ proceed in the procession. This difference could invalidate the connection between the two Greek texts. Nevertheless, one could also posit that καὶ πορεύονται in LXX Isa 46:7 likewise pertains to the idols, who move because they are carried by humans. But even then it is uncertain whether LXX Isaiah has taken πορεύονται from LXX Jer 10:9: since in the latter verse the verb is a plus too, the influence could have come from either direction.

Isa 46:7 ישאהו על־כתף יסבלהו   αἴρουσιν αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων, καὶ πορεύονται·

ויניחהו תחתיו ויעמד   ἐὰν δὲ θῶσιν αὐτό, ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου αὐτοῦ μένει,

<u>ממקומו</u> לא ימיש   _οὐ μὴ κινηθῇ_

A second distinction between the Greek and Hebrew versions of Isa 46:7 which could be clarified with the help of Jer 10, pertains to the minus ממקומו. By way of the omission of that phrase on the one hand, and the slightly free rendering of מוש ("depart") as a passive tense of

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[298] One could also argue that καὶ πορεύονται is not a plus, but a rendering of יסבלהו. However, it is hard to find a link between those two verbs. More likely the latter form has been left out for reasons of condensation.

[299] Ziegler, _Untersuchungen_, 127.

κινέω on the other, the Isaiah translator might have attempted to harmonise his text towards the formulation καὶ οὐ κινηθήσονται in LXX Jer 10:4, thus expressing in the same way as the Jeremianic verse the inability of idols to move:

Jer 10:4	בכסף ובזהב ייפהו	ἀργυρίῳ καὶ χρυσίῳ κεκαλλωπισμένα ἐστίν·
	במסמרות ובמקבות יחזקום	ἐν σφύραις καὶ ἥλοις ἐστερέωσαν αὐτά,
	ולוא יפיק	**καὶ οὐ κινηθήσονται·**

In this case it is less feasible that the Isaiah translator relied on the *Hebrew* text of Jer 10:4, as that version presents in place of κινηθήσονται an inflection of פוק—"to totter," which is a somewhat unexpected source for κινέω and has not generated this Greek verb anywhere else in the LXX.[300]

8.4.3.3 Influence of other texts in Jeremiah

| **Isa 2:1** | הדבר אשר חזה | Ὁ λόγος ὁ γενόμενος <u>*παρὰ κυρίου*</u> |
| | ישעיהו בן־אמוץ | <u>*πρὸς*</u> Ησαιαν υἰὸν Αμως |

The initial words of MT Isa 2:1—הדבר אשר חזה—appear somewhat awkward: how can one *see* a word? Commonly, formulae introducing prophecies or visions have as the object of the verb חזה the nouns חזון[301] or משא,[302] whereas דָּבָר in such formulations generally governs the verb היה.[303] This peculiarity of the Isa 2:1 wording may have prompted the Isaiah translator to change the formula and adapt it to an introduction frequently used in the Greek Jeremiah: Ὁ λόγος ὁ γενόμενος παρὰ κυρίου πρός:

Jer 11:1; 18:1; 21:1; 32(39):1; 40(47):1

| הדבר אשר היה אל־ירמיהו מאת יהוה | Ὁ λόγος ὁ γενόμενος παρὰ κυρίου πρὸς Ιερεμιαν |
| (לאמר) | (λέγων) |

It is notable that in all the above-mentioned attestations of this formula in Jeremiah the phrases אל־ירמיהו and מאת יהוה have in the translation had a change of position as compared to the Hebrew. [304] LXX Isa 2:1 reflects the order of the *Greek* version of the Jeremianic formula, which might betray that the Isaiah translator relied on the Greek text of Jeremiah rather than on the Hebrew.

Isa 8:15–16	ונלכדו	καὶ ἁλώσονται <u>*ἄνθρωποι*</u> ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ <u>*ὄντες*</u>.
	צור תעודה חתום תורה	<u>*Τότε*</u> φανεροὶ ἔσονται οἱ σφραγιζόμενοι τὸν νόμον
	בלמדי	τοῦ μὴ μαθεῖν.

The translator may have read תעודה ("testimony") as תִּוָּדַע—a third pers. fem. sg. imperfect of the Nif. of ידע—"she will be known,"[305] or as תועדיה—an imperfect of the Hif. of that same

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[300] An alternative explanation for the omission of ממקומו would be that this phrase was omitted because it overlaps with תחתיו in the preceding clause.

[301] Cf. Isa 1:1 and Ezek 12:27.

[302] Cf. Isa 13:1 and Hab 1:1.

[303] היה דבר־יהוה אל; or ויהי דבר־יהוה אל; or דבר־יהוה אשר היה אל; cf. Jer 1:1,4,11,13; 11:1; etc.; Ezek 1:3; 6:1; etc.; Hos 1:1; Joel 1:1; Jonah 1:1; 3:1; Mic 1:1; Zeph 1:1; Hag 1:1; 2:11,21; Zech 1:1,7; 8:1.

[304] In LXX Jer 37:1 (MT: 30:1); 41:1,8 (MT: 34:1,4); and 42:1 (MT: 35:1) one finds similar formulae reflecting the same order as the MT: Ὁ λόγος ὁ γενόμενος πρὸς Ιερεμιαν παρὰ κυρίου.

[305] Cf. Exod 33:16 and Prov 14:33.

root—, and hence have given a rendering by φανεροὶ ἔσονται. A similar translation can be found in Isa 64:1(2), where להודיע שמך לצריך matches καὶ φανερὸν ἔσται τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου. The preceding verbal form צור (an imperative of צרר—"to wrap") he presumably identified as the noun צור—"rock" (cf. ולצור in v.14), interpreting this as a metaphor for safety, and basing on it a translation with ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ.[306] With the help of ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ he formed a subject to the verb ונלכדו ("they will be captured," in the MT belonging to the previous clause), namely ἄνθρωποι ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ ὄντες.[307] The supply of ἄνθρωποι may, according to Ziegler, be connected to Jer 5:26 and 6:11. These verses correspondingly depict people that are going to be seized:

Jer 5:26	כי־נמצאו בעמי רשעים	ὅτι εὑρέθησαν ἐν τῷ λαῷ μου ἀσεβεῖς,
	ישור כשך יקושים הציבו משחית	καὶ παγίδας ἔστησαν
	אנשים ילכדו	διαφθεῖραι **ἄνδρας** καὶ **συνελαμβάνοσαν**
Jer 6:11	שפך על־עולל בחוץ	ἐκχεῶ ἐπὶ νήπια ἔξωθεν
	ועל סוד בחורים יחדו	καὶ ἐπὶ συναγωγὴν νεανίσκων ἅμα,
	כי־גם־איש עם־אשה ילכדו	ὅτι **ἀνὴρ** καὶ γυνὴ **συλλημφθήσονται**,
	זקן עם־מלא ימים	πρεσβύτερος μετὰ πλήρους ἡμερῶν·

Ziegler assumes that the Isaiah translator read אנשים as a gloss from Jer 5:26 in his *Vorlage*.[308] However I do not think this is convincing: LXX Isa 8:15–16 as a whole forms a quite free and associative translation; the addition of ἄνθρωποι is rather a mere element of this rephrasing of the Hebrew. Moreover, the addition of ἄνθρωποι seems to be tendentious for LXX Isaiah, for more examples, see section 4.7.

Isa 9:12(13)　　　　　　　καὶ ὁ λαὸς οὐκ ἀπεστράφη, ἕως ἐπλήγη,
　ואת־יהוה **צבאות** לא דרשו　　*καὶ τὸν κύριον οὐκ ἐξεζήτησαν.*

The missing of a counterpart to צבאות in LXX Isa 9:13 can perhaps be explained in the light of Jer 10:21. In that verse we find an almost identical clause, but without צבאות:

Jer 10:21	כי נבערו הרעים	ὅτι οἱ ποιμένες ἠφρονεύσαντο
	ואת־יהוה לא דרשו	καὶ τὸν κύριον οὐκ ἐξεζήτησαν·

Isa 9:17(18) כי־בערה כאש רשעה　　καὶ καυθήσεται ὡς πῦρ ἡ ἀνομία
שמיר ושית תאכל　　καὶ ὡς ἄγρωστις ξηρὰ βρωθήσεται ὑπὸ πυρός·
ותצת בסבכי היער　　καὶ καυθήσεται ἐν τοῖς δάσεσι τοῦ δρυμοῦ,

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[306] Fischer, *In welcher Schrift*, 23; van der Kooij, "Isaiah in the Septuagint," 526–527.

[307] The expression ἄνθρωποι ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ ὄντες in its entirety might echo the common Biblical phraseology "to live in security" (ישב/ שכן [ל]בטח); see e.g. Lev 25:18,19; 26:5; Deut 12:10; 33:12,28; Judg 18:7; 1 Sam 12:11; 1 Kgs 5:5; Ps 16:9; Prov 1:33; 3:29; Isa 47:8; Jer 23:6; 32:37; 33:16; 49:31; Ezek 28:26; 34:25,28; 38:8,11,14; 39:6,26; Zeph 2:15; and Zech 14:11. For a related expression in Isa itself, cf. Isa 47:8 עדינה היושבת לבטח / ἡ τρυφερὰ ἡ καθημένη πεποιθυῖα. In the Pentateuch a secure living forms part of God's blessing of the people for keeping his laws, contrasted by a curse that if they do not obey the law, they will be delivered into the hands of their enemies (see e.g. Lev 25:18,19; 26:5,17; Deut 12:10). In the prophetic books the theme of an attack against people living in safety recurs repeatedly; see e.g. Jer 49:31; and Ezek 38:11; 39:6,26.

[308] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 62.

ויתאבכו גאות עשן   καὶ *συγκαταφάγεται τὰ κύκλῳ τῶν βουνῶν πάντα*.[309]

The Hebrew sentence ויתאבכו גאות עשן ("and they swirled upward in a column of smoke") is represented, in what at first glance seems a curious manner, by καὶ συγκαταφάγεται τὰ κύκλῳ τῶν βουνῶν πάντα ("and it will devour everything around the hills"). This translation appears to be the outcome of a complex interplay of associative and anaphoric manoeuvres. The first word of the clause—ויתאבכו—was perhaps linked to ויתאכלו, and translated συγκαταφάγεται.[310] Also the occurrence of תאכל earlier in v.18 may have encouraged this rendering. The use of βουνός will have been triggered by גאות, which was interpreted as a substantivated adjective fem. plural "the heights" (גאות) instead of as a singular noun גאות ("column").[311] Besides, in the selection of this Greek noun, and in the formation of the Greek text of Isa 9:17(18) in general, a role may have been played by LXX Isa 10:18. This verse too threatens the people with the burning of hills and forests in the future:[312]

Isa 10:18   וכבוד יערו וכרמלו   τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἀποσβεσθήσεται τὰ ὄρη καὶ **οἱ βουνοὶ** καὶ
     מנפש ועד־בשר יכלה   οἱ δρυμοί, καὶ **καταφάγεται** ἀπὸ ψυχῆς ἕως σαρκῶν·

The picture of a forest fire may further have reminded the translator of two passages in Jeremiah, from which he possibly obtained the words τὰ κύκλῳ … πάντα:[313]

Jer 21:14   והצתי אש ביערה   καὶ ἀνάψω πῦρ ἐν τῷ δρυμῷ αὐτῆς,
     ואכלה כל־סביביה   καὶ ἔδεται **πάντα τὰ κύκλῳ** αὐτῆς.

Jer 50(27):32   והצתי אש בעריו   καὶ ἀνάψω πῦρ ἐν τῷ δρυμῷ αὐτῆς,
     ואכלה כל־סביבתיו   καὶ **καταφάγεται πάντα τὰ κύκλῳ** αὐτῆς.

Isa 13:14   והיה כצבי מדח   καὶ ἔσονται οἱ καταλελειμμένοι ὡς δορκάδιον φεῦγον
     וכצאן   καὶ ὡς *πρόβατον πλανώμενον*

The only other place in the LXX where one comes across the exact phrase πρόβατον πλανώμενον is LXX Jer 27:17:

Jer 50(27):17   שה פזורה ישראל   Πρόβατον πλανώμενον Ισραηλ

Because πλανώμενον ("wandering") in LXX Jer 27:17 is not a very strict rendering of פזורה ("scattered")—this verb in the LXX mostly parallels (δια)σπείρω or διασκορπίζω—[314] the

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[309] Perhaps τὰ κύκλῳ in LXX Isa 9:18 is not a plus, but a rendering of בסבכי, read as מסביב—the Hebrew equivalent for τὰ κύκλῳ. Arguing against this, though, is the fact that בסבכי occurs in another sentence, and is already represented there by ἐν τοῖς δάσεσι. For τὰ κύκλῳ, cf. also LXX Isa 19:7, which deals with destruction too: καὶ τὸ ἄχι τὸ χλωρὸν πᾶν τὸ κύκλῳ τοῦ ποταμοῦ … ξηρανθήσεται ἀνεμόφθορον (MT: ערות על־יאור עַל־פִּי יאור … ייבש נדף ואיננו).

[310] George Buchanan Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Isaiah* (2 vols.; ICC; Edinburgh: Clark, 1912), 1:188.

[311] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 109; Koenig, *L'herméneutique analogique*, 14.

[312] In Isa 10:18 βουνός does, however, not form a straightforward translation of the Hebrew either, but renders—together with τὰ ὄρη—וכרמלו (cf. also section 2.3a).

[313] Cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 110; in Ziegler's view the text of these Jeremianic verses may already have been extant in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX Isa in the form of a gloss.

[314] For פזר / (δια)σπείρω, see Esth 3:8; Prov 11:24; and Joel 4:2. For פזר / διασκορπίζω, see Ps 53(52):6; 89(88):11; 112(111):9; and 141(140):7.

supposition arises that the translator has imported the words πρόβατον πλανώμενον from the Greek rather than from the Hebrew text of Jer 50(27):17. Nonetheless, the addition of πλανώμενον could also be due to *intra*textual borrowing, as we find related phraseology in LXX Isa 53:6 (πάντες ὡς πρόβατα ἐπλανήθημεν). Also in Ps 119(118):176 we have noticed a similar expression (see section 8.4.2). Last but not least, πλανώμενον could have been added in LXX Isa 13:14 independently from any other Biblical text, merely on the grounds that it is parallel to φεῦγον in the preceding line.

Isa 22:5	כי יום מהומה	ὅτι *ἡμέρα ταραχῆς <u>καὶ ἀπωλείας</u>*
	ומבוסה ומבוכה	καὶ καταπατήματος καὶ πλάνησις
	לאדני יהוה צבאות בגיא חזיון	παρὰ κυρίου σαβαωθ ἐν φάραγγι Σιων·

The expression ἡμέρα ταραχῆς καὶ ἀπωλείας is reminiscent of the apocalyptical phrase ἡμέρα ἀπωλείας in Jer 18:17 and 46(26):21:

Jer 18:17	כרוח־קדים אפיצם	ὡς ἄνεμον καύσωνα διασπερῶ αὐτοὺς
	לפני אויב ערף	κατὰ πρόσωπον ἐχθρῶν αὐτῶν,
	ולא־פנים אראם ביום אידם	δείξω αὐτοῖς ἡμέραν ἀπωλείας αὐτῶν.

Jer 46(26):21	כי יום אידם בא עליהם	ὅτι ἡμέρα ἀπωλείας ἦλθεν ἐπ᾿ αὐτοὺς
	עת פקדתם	καὶ καιρὸς ἐκδικήσεως αὐτῶν.

However, this phraseology is not exclusive to the Book of Jeremiah: it can also be found in Deut 32:35 and Obad 1:12,13.[315] As the expression in LXX Isa 22:5 does not exactly match ἡμέρα ἀπωλείας, it is moreover doubtful if it has anything to do with the specific verses mentioned. It could equally have been the translator's own creation, perhaps affected by a Biblical style of writing.

Isa 25:1	יהוה אלהי אתה ארוממך	Κύριε ὁ θεός μου, δοξάσω σε,
	אודה שמך	ὑμνήσω τὸ ὄνομά σου,
	כי עשית פלא	ὅτι ἐποίησας θαυμαστὰ πράγματα,
	עצות מרחוק אמונה אמן	βουλὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀληθινήν· *γένοιτο, <u>κύριε</u>.*

The Isaiah translator has understood אמן (MT: אָמֵן "faithfulness") as though it were vocalised אָמֵן ("Amen" = γένοιτο), and has complemented this optative with the addressee κύριε.[316] The phrase γένοιτο, κύριε finds its only parallels in Ps Sol 4:14,25 and LXX Jer 3:19 and 11:5:

Jer 3:19	ואנכי אמרתי	καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπα **Γένοιτο, κύριε**·

Jer 11:5	ואען ואמר אמן יהוה	καὶ ἀπεκρίθην καὶ εἶπα **Γένοιτο, κύριε**.

Still, it is far from certain whether the Isaiah translator was familiar with this formula through the Greek text of Jeremiah, or just because it belonged to the religious jargon of his time.[317]

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[315] See section 8.4.5.4.

[316] κύριε may additionally (or better) have been added for stylistic reasons, see section 7.3.1.1a.

[317] Coste ("Le texte grec d'Isaïe XXV 1–5," 38) thinks that the translator in employing Γένοιτο, κύριε was led by liturgical habits.

Isa 34:15–16   אַךְ־שָׁם נִקְבְּצוּ דַיּוֹת   ἐκεῖ ἔλαφοι συνήντησαν
אִשָּׁה רְעוּתָהּ   καὶ εἶδον τὰ πρόσωπα ἀλλήλων·
דִּרְשׁוּ מֵעַל־סֵפֶר <u>יְהוָה</u> וּקְרָאוּ   *ἀριθμῷ παρῆλθον,*
אַחַת מֵהֵנָּה לֹא נֶעְדָּרָה   καὶ μία αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀπώλετο

The first line of v.16 in the LXX—ἀριθμῷ παρῆλθον ("They have passed by in [their full] number")—is fairly different from the Hebrew דרשו מעל־ספר יהוה וקראו ("Seek from the book of the LORD and read"). The one word that seems to link these two clauses is סֵפֶר, which was in all likelihood associated with מספר—"number"—and then translated ἀριθμῷ. Despite its divergent content, the Greek sentence fits perfectly well in the context: it is congruent with the imagery of the gathered animals contained in the preceding verse, and is logically connected to the succeeding words καὶ μία αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀπώλετο ("and not one of them has perished"). The MT counterpart דרשו מעל־ספר יהוה וקראו, in contrast, turns up somewhat unexpectedly against the background of the surrounding text. It was probably this seeming discontinuity that made the Isaiah translator reformulate the Hebrew. In doing this, Ziegler believes him to have drawn inspiration from Jer 33(40):13, where animals are counted by letting them pass under the hands of the one who counts them:[318]

Jer 33(40):13 עַד תַּעֲבֹרְנָה הַצֹּאן עַל־יְדֵי   ἔτι **παρελεύσεται** πρόβατα ἐπὶ χεῖρα
מוֹנֶה אָמַר יְהוָה   **ἀριθμοῦντος**, εἶπε κύριος.

In opposition to such a connection between LXX Isa 34:16 and Jer 33(40):13 is the fact that even though from a formal perspective ἀριθμῷ in LXX Isa 34:1 resembles the ἀριθμοῦντος of LXX Jer 40:13, yet the connotation these words bear, is different: the passing by "in [full] number" of the animals in LXX Isa 34:16 does not necessarily presuppose their being "counted," as is mention of in Jer 33(40):13. From this point of view, the words ἀριθμῷ παρῆλθον may equally well have been chosen by the Isaiah translator without reference to Jer 33(40):13, simply because they went together well with the ensuing clause καὶ μία αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀπώλετο, and because of the link between סֵפֶר and מספר.

Isa 36:22   וַיָּבֹא אֶלְיָקִים בֶּן־חִלְקִיָּהוּ   Καὶ εἰσῆλθεν Ελιακιμ ὁ τοῦ Χελκιου ὁ οἰκονόμος
אֲשֶׁר־עַל־הַבַּיִת וְשֶׁבְנָא הַסֹּפֵר   καὶ Σομνας *ὁ γραμματεὺς <u>τῆς δυνάμεως</u>*[319]
וְיוֹאָח בֶּן־אָסָף הַמַּזְכִּיר   καὶ Ιωαχ ὁ τοῦ Ασαφ ὁ ὑπομνηματογράφος
אֶל־חִזְקִיָּהוּ קְרוּעֵי בְגָדִים   πρὸς Εζεκιαν ἐσχισμένοι τοὺς χιτῶνας

The designation ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς δυνάμεως has its only precedent in Jer 52:25 (even if there the plural of δύναμις has been used):

Jer 52:25   וְשִׁבְעָה אֲנָשִׁים מֵרֹאֵי   καὶ ἑπτὰ ἄνδρας ὀνομαστοὺς ἐν
פְנֵי־הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲשֶׁר נִמְצְאוּ   προσώπῳ τοῦ βασιλέως τοὺς εὑρεθέντας ἐν τῇ
בָעִיר וְאֵת סֹפֵר שַׂר הַצָּבָא   πόλει καὶ **τὸν γραμματέα τῶν δυνάμεων**
הַמַּצְבִּא אֶת־עַם הָאָרֶץ   τὸν γραμματεύοντα τῷ λαῷ τῆς γῆς

Given that the conformity merely applies to the Greek versions of the expression—the Hebrew of Jer 52:25 offering וְאֵת סֹפֵר **שַׂר הַצָּבָא**—the Isaiah translator has more likely relied on the *Greek* text of Jer 52:25.[320]

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[318] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 122–123.

[319] In the LXX version of 2 Kgs 18:37—which is parallel to Isa 36:22—the plus is missing.

Isa 37:4   ונשאת תפלה   καὶ δεηθήσῃ <u>πρὸς κύριον τὸν θεόν σου</u>
בעד השארית הנמצאה   περὶ τῶν καταλελειμμένων <u>τούτων</u>.

The primary clarification for the plus πρὸς κύριον τὸν θεόν σου in LXX Isa 37:4 is that these words have been supplied in repetition of the two earlier occurrences of κύριος ὁ θεός σου in the same verse. Simultaneously, the Greek text yields a striking resemblance with Jer 42:2, which hints at the influence of that Jeremianic verse as an additional factor:[321]

Jer 42(49):2

תפל־נא תחנתנו לפניך	Πεσέτω τὸ ἔλεος ἡμῶν κατὰ πρόσωπόν σου
והתפלל בעדנו אל־יהוה אלהיך	καὶ πρόσευξαι πρὸς κύριον τὸν θεόν σου
בעד כל־השארית הזאת	περὶ τῶν καταλοίπων τούτων,
כי־נשארנו מעט מהרבה	ὅτι κατελείφθημεν ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν

The feasibility of the dependence of LXX Isa 37:4 on Jer 42(49):2 is sustained by the variant translation of בעד השארית הנמצאה in the former as περὶ τῶν καταλελειμμένων τούτων, which may have been realised in analogy to בעד כל־השארית הזאת in Jer 42:2. The distinct vocabulary of the two Greek texts (δεηθήσῃ versus πρόσευξαι, καταλελειμμένων versus καταλοίπων) points in the direction of the Hebrew text of Jeremiah having served as an example for the Isaiah translator.[322]

Isa 45:13   וגלותי ישלח   *καὶ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν <u>τοῦ λαοῦ μου</u> ἐπιστρέψει*[323]

The words "the captivity of my people" are attested in a number of Psalms and in Amos 9:14, and besides, also in Jer 30(37):3. According to Zillesen, the Isaiah translator may have added τοῦ λαοῦ μου in LXX Isa 45:13 in harmonisation with that Jeremianic text:

Jer 30(37):3 ושבתי את־שבות	καὶ ἀποστρέψω τὴν ἀποικίαν
עמי ישראל ויהודה אמר יהוה	λαοῦ μου Ισραηλ καὶ Ιουδα, εἶπε κύριος,
והשבתים אל־הארץ אשר־נתתי	καὶ ἀποστρέψω αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἣν ἔδωκα
לאבותם וירשוה	τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ κυριεύσουσιν αὐτῆς.

For a further discussion of this plus, see sections 8.4.2.1 and 8.4.5.3.

Isa 57:20   והרשעים כים נגרש   οἱ δὲ ἄδικοι οὕτως κλυδωνισθήσονται
כי השקט לא יוכל   καὶ ἀναπαύσασθαι οὐ δυνήσονται.
ויגרשו מימיו רפש וטיט

The LXX of Isa 57:20 does not provide an equivalent to כים and ויגרשו מימיו רפש וטיט.[324] Perhaps these words were left out after the example of a related text in LXX Jer 30:23. The Hebrew version of that verse, in conformity to the MT of Isa 57:20, compares confused people

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[320] Jer 52:25 has a parallel in 2 Kgs (4 Kgdms) 25:19. In the LXX of that verse the Hebrew is translated in a literal way, that is, by τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῆς δυνάμεως. So שר did receive a rendering there.
[321] Cf. *HUB Isa*, 156.
[322] However, LXX Isa accords with the *Greek* text of Jeremiah in that it speaks of "these left ones," rather than of "*all* these left ones," such as MT Jer offers.
[323] Also the Targum shows this plus.
[324] Perhaps כים is not a minus, but was read as כמו and represented by οὕτως.

with the troubled sea. In the Greek translation of the Jeremianic verse, just as in the LXX of Isa 57:20, the comparison has been removed through the omission of a word for "sea':

Jer 49:23(30:12)   נמגו בים דאגה   ἐξέστησαν, ἐθυμώθησαν,

השקט לא יוכל   ἀναπαύσασθαι οὐ μὴ δύνωνται.

This case however leaves uncertainty about the direction of the dependence: it also allows that it was the translator of LXX Jeremiah who based his omission of בים on LXX Isaiah.

8.4.3.4. Conclusion to 8.4.3

The translator of LXX Isaiah appears to have occasionally elaborated the extant links between the prophetical works of Isaiah and Jeremiah in his translation through changing, adding or omitting elements in analogy to a Jeremianic passage. This in particular concerns the related chapters Jer 48 and Isa 15–16 (on the destruction of Moab), as well as Jer 10 and Isa 44 and 46 (on the production of idols). In the Greek translation of those Isaianic chapters a relatively large number of additional allusions to Jeremiah can be found.

The added or omitted elements in LXX Isaiah in some cases seem to derive from the *Hebrew* version of Jeremiah, in that they merely produce or strengthen a correspondence with a Jeremianic text in *content*, while in the mutual Greek translations the vocabulary differs. This we encounter strikingly often in the instances of the possible influence of Jer 48 on LXX Isa 15 and 16: see Isa 15:2–3/Jer 48(31):37; Isa 15:5/Jer 48(31):3; Isa 16:7/Jer 48(31):31,36; and Isa 16:10/Jer 48(31):33. Apart from these cases, this happens in only one other place: Isa 37:4/Jer 42(49):2.

Nevertheless, other examples permit the possibility of the Isaiah translator having brought in elements from the *Greek* text of Jeremiah; this is a plausible option when the two translations exhibit precise similarity in their wording: see Isa 9:12(13)/Jer 10:21; Isa 9:17(18)/Jer 21:14; 50(27):32; Isa 25:1/Jer 3:19; 11:5; Isa 34:15–16/Jer 33(40):13; Isa 36:22/Jer 52:25; and Isa 44:14/Jer 10:3. The reliance of LXX Isaiah on the Greek Jeremiah is even more feasible when a plus or minus in LXX Isaiah accords with the LXX of Jeremiah, yet deviates from Jeremiah's Hebrew text, which is the case in Isa 2:1/Jer 11:1, etc.; Isa 13:14/Jer 50(27):17; Isa 36:22/Jer 52:25; Isa 46:7/Jer 10:4; and Isa 57:20/Jer 49(30):23.

As a conclusion, this modest investigation seems to indicate that the Isaiah translator in composing his translation made use of both the Hebrew and Greek versions of Jeremiah as his sources of inspiration.

8.4.4 LXX Isaiah and Ezekiel

As is the case for the majority of Greek Bible translations, the date of origin of the Septuagint of Ezekiel is also a matter of disputation. Nor is it established yet whether Ezekiel was translated into Greek prior to the Book of Isaiah or after it. As noted in the previous paragraph, Thackeray has advanced the opinion that the prophetical works of Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and the Twelve Prophets were rendered into Greek in a later period than Isaiah, which he concluded on basis of the freer translation style of the latter.[325] Notwithstanding this, Thackeray also believed that the Greek translations of some of the Prophets contained early

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[325] Thackeray, "Greek translators of the Prophetical Books," 583.

sections that were already in circulation before the prophetical books had been translated in their entirety. Those sections would have functioned in the synagogue as part of the worship from an early period and were later on adopted by the LXX translators of the Prophets and integrated into their translations.[326] As an example Thackeray mentions Ezek 36:24–38, "where the LXX version of an early Christian Pentecost lesson …, the lectionary use of which was inherited from Judaism, is clearly marked off from its context by peculiarities of style."[327] Arguing from this point of view, if such older Greek translation fragments actually existed, they might already have been familiar to the translator of Isaiah. Nonetheless, this thesis of Thackeray on the existence of earlier sections within the Greek translations of the prophetical books is nowadays rather controversial.[328]

A different view is held by Seeligmann. This scholar posits that the entire translation of the Greek Ezekiel (as well as the LXX of the Twelve Prophets) was already circulating at the time of the Isaiah translator, and has even had an influence on the Greek Isaiah. In order to defend his theory Seeligmann provides some examples of renderings in LXX Isaiah which, in his eyes, could be considered as being based upon the Greek Ezekiel.[329] In the present paragraph I will examine several of these cases, in addition to a number of other ones in which a plus or minus in LXX Isaiah might be explained as having been influenced by the book of Ezekiel. While analysing these instances, I will seek to find out whether the Isaiah translator has indeed made use of Ezekiel, and if so, whether this was in its Hebrew or in its Greek version (or in both).

8.4.4.1 Influence of Ezek 16 and 23

Two chapters in Ezekiel which concentrate on themes that also play an important role in the Book of Isaiah are Ezek 16 and 23. Ezek 16 tells the story of a woman—symbolising Jerusalem—who is rejected as a child, but taken by God to be his wife. But the woman commits adultery and prostitutes herself with strange people. Because of this God delivers her into the hands of her enemies. Ezek 23 presents a similar parable, but this time involving two women, representing Jerusalem and Samaria. Motifs in these two chapters that also feature in Isaiah are the woman as a symbol for a group of people (see for instance Isa 47; 54:6; and 57:6–13), the going for help to enemies such as Egypt and Assur (compare e.g. Ezek 16:26 with Isa 20:6; 30:2–7,32; and 31:1–3) and the bringing of offerings to idols.

In the following cases a plus or minus in LXX Isaiah may be dependent upon Ezek 16 and/or 23:

Isa 14:19–20

ואתה השלכת מקברך	σὺ δὲ ῥιφήσῃ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν
כנצר נתעב לבוש הרגים	ὡς νεκρὸς ἐβδελυγμένος μετὰ πολλῶν τεθνηκότων

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[326] Thackeray, *Grammar*, 1:10–12; Henry St. J. Thackeray, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship. A Study in Origins* (Schweich lectures 1920; London: Oxford University Press, 1923), 28; idem, "The Bisection of Books in Primitive Septuagint Mss." *JTS* 9 (1908): 88–98.

[327] Henry St. J. Thackeray, "Primitive Lectionary Notes in the Psalm of Habakkuk," *JTS* 12 (1911): 210; cf. also idem, "The Greek Translators of Ezekiel," *JTS* 4 (1903): 407–408.

[328] See Dorival, Harl and Munnich, *La Bible grecque*, 100–101.

[329] Seeligmann (*Septuagint Version*, 74) mentions καὶ ἐπλήθυνας τὴν πορνείαν σου in LXX Isa 57:9, which would have been borrowed from LXX Ezek 16:25 and 23:19 (see the discussion of these verses below); καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ τὴν παραλίαν κατοικοῦντες in LXX Isa 9:1, adopted from LXX Ezek 25:16 (see below); and καὶ ἐν τοῖς προθύροις ἔσθοντες κρέας ὕειον καὶ τὰ βδελύγματα in LXX Isa 66:17, influenced by LXX Ezek 8:10.

מטעני חרב יורדי אל־אבני־בור   ἐκκεκεντημένων μαχαίραις καταβαινόντων εἰς ᾅδου.
כפגר מובס   ὃν τρόπον ἱμάτιον *ἐν αἵματι πεφυρμένον* <u>οὐκ ἔσται</u>
<u>καθαρόν, οὕτως οὐδὲ σὺ ἔσῃ καθαρός</u>

The LXX presents a text that in some points deviates markedly from the Hebrew; especially the extra words at the end of v.20 are notable:

MT Isa 14:19–20:   but you are cast out, away from your grave, like loathsome carrion, clothed with the dead, those pierced by the sword, who go down to the stones of the Pit, like a corpse trampled underfoot.

LXX Isa 14:19–20:   but you will be cast out on the mountains, like an abominable corpse, with many dead, those pierced with swords, who go down into Hades. As a cloak stained with blood will not be clean, so neither will you be clean

How did the translator arrive at this remarkable translation? לבוש הרגים ("clothed with the slain") he probably paraphrased as μετὰ πολλῶν τεθνηκότων ("with many dead"). פֶּגֶר ("corpse") he may have linked to בֶּגֶד and translated by ἱμάτιον ("robe");[330] מובס ("trodden," Hof. בוס) he has perhaps associated with the Hitpolel of בוס, meaning "to flounder," which may have prompted a rendering by πεφυρμένον ("stained"; see below); he might additionally have translated מובס as οὐκ ἔσται καθαρόν, by means of the association with the Polel of בוס—"to desecrate." An alternative solution is proposed by Seeligmann, who contends that לבוש הרגים is rendered twice: (a) by μετὰ πολλῶν τεθνηκότων and (b) by a "paraenetic meditation" ὃν τρόπον ἱμάτιον ἐν αἵματι πεφυρμένον οὐκ ἔσται καθαρόν, οὕτως οὐδὲ σὺ ἔσῃ καθαρός (לבוש = "garment").[331]

Outside of LXX Isa 14:19 the expression "stained with blood" occurs in LXX Ezek 16.[332] There too a participle perfect of φύρομαι represents an inflection of בוס, in this case מתבוססת, which is a Hitpolel with the meaning of "to flounder":

Ezek 16:6   ואראך מתבוססת בדמיך   καὶ εἶδόν σε πεφυρμένην ἐν τῷ αἵματί σου
Ezek 16:22   ועריה מתבוססת בדמך היית   καὶ πεφυρμένη ἐν τῷ αἵματί σου ἔζησας.

It may well be that the occurrence of the root בוס in Isa 14:19 reminded the Isaiah translator of these passages in Ezekiel, and that on those grounds he rendered מובס in the same way as מתבוססת in Ezek 16:6,22—that is, by a participle of φύρομαι—and added ἐν αἵματι in analogy to those verses as well. Aside from the appearance of בוס, a metaphor that both texts contain may also have served as a link: the depiction in Isa 14:19 of a man who is cast out on the mountains (or—in the Hebrew—away from his grave) may have recalled the imagery in Ezek 16:5 of a new-born baby cast out in the open fields:

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[330] For the image of a robe stained with blood, cf. also MT Isa 9:5 ושמלה מגוללה בדמים (LXX: καὶ ἱμάτιον μετὰ καταλλαγῆς). It is possible that the translator, in rendering 14:19, was influenced by this Hebrew wording; cf. its Greek translation by Aquila: και ιματισμος πεφυρμενος εν αιμασιν. Perhaps he was also inspired by the text in Gen 37:31 on Joseph's robe: "Then they took Joseph's robe, and killed a goat, and dipped the robe in the blood."

[331] Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 34.

[332] Besides in Ezek 16:6,22 and Isa 14:19 φύρομαι in combination with αἷμα only appears in 2 Kgdms 20:12 (πεφυρμένος ἐν τῷ αἵματι; MT: מתגלל בדם), and Job 39:30(33).

Ezek 16:5   וְתֻשְׁלְכִי אֶל־פְּנֵי הַשָּׂדֶה   καὶ **ἀπερρίφης** ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τοῦ πεδίου

בְּגֹעַל נַפְשֵׁךְ בְּיוֹם הֻלֶּדֶת אֹתָךְ   τῇ σκολιότητι τῆς ψυχῆς σου ἐν ᾗ ἡμέρᾳ ἐτέχθης.

Isa 14:19   וְאַתָּה הָשְׁלַכְתָּ מִקִּבְרְךָ   σὺ δὲ **ῥιφήσῃ** ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν

Isa 32:9–10   נָשִׁים שַׁאֲנַנּוֹת קֹמְנָה   Γυναῖκες πλούσιαι, ἀνάστητε

שְׁמַעְנָה קוֹלִי בָּנוֹת בֹּטְחוֹת   καὶ ἀκούσατε τῆς φωνῆς μου·

הַאְזֵנָּה אִמְרָתִי   θυγατέρες ἐν ἐλπίδι, ἀκούσατε τοὺς λόγους μου.

יָמִים עַל־שָׁנָה תִּרְגַּזְנָה   *ἡμέρας ἐνιαυτοῦ* <u>*μνείαν ποιήσασθε*</u> ἐν ὀδύνῃ

בֹּטְחוֹת   μετ' ἐλπίδος·

Whereas the final line in the Hebrew (יָמִים עַל־שָׁנָה תִּרְגַּזְנָה בֹּטְחוֹת) reads in translation "In little more than a year you will shudder, you complacent women," the Greek offers ἡμέρας ἐνιαυτοῦ μνείαν ποιήσασθε ἐν ὀδύνῃ μετ' ἐλπίδος—"Mention the days of a year in pain with hope." Probably the translator has reached this translation by converting the verb form תִּרְגַּזְנָה (from רגז—"to quiver," "to be agitated") into the semantically related ἐν ὀδύνῃ—"in pain"; in addition, he may have rendered the same verb by μνείαν ποιήσασθε, arrived at through the association with תִּזְכֹּרְנָה (changing the ג of תִּרְגַּזְנָה into a כ, and transposing the ר and the ז). The use of an imperative in the sense of "to remember" addressed to the "daughters in hope," may be founded on Ezek 16:22 and 43. In those verses God blames the faithless woman Jerusalem for not having remembered the days of her youth. Even though the vocabulary in these verses in Ezekiel does not exactly correspond to that of LXX Isa 32:10, and even if a broader connection between the passages in Ezekiel and Isaiah is not immediately visible, still it is possible that the Isaiah translator has been influenced by Ezek 16:22 and 43, the more so as he appears to have utilised Ezek 16:22 before, that is, in translating Isa 14:19 (see above).

Ezek 16:22   וְאֵת כָּל־תּוֹעֲבֹתַיִךְ וְתַזְנֻתַיִךְ   τοῦτο παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πορνείαν σου,

לֹא זָכַרְתְּ אֶת־יְמֵי נְעוּרָיִךְ   καὶ οὐκ **ἐμνήσθης τὰς ἡμέρας** τῆς νηπιότητός σου,

בִּהְיוֹתֵךְ עֵרֹם וְעֶרְיָה   ὅτε ἦσθα γυμνὴ καὶ ἀσχημονοῦσα

מִתְבּוֹסֶסֶת בְּדָמֵךְ הָיִית   καὶ πεφυρμένη ἐν τῷ αἵματί σου ἔζησας.

Ezek 16:43   יַעַן אֲשֶׁר לֹא־זָכַרְתְּי   ἀνθ' ὧν **οὐκ ἐμνήσθης**

אֶת־יְמֵי נְעוּרָיִךְ   **τὴν ἡμέραν** τῆς νηπιότητός σου

וַתִּרְגְּזִי־לִי בְּכָל־אֵלֶּה   καὶ ἐλύπεις με ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις

Two additional links between Isa 32 and Ezek 16 are, firstly, the use of the form וַתִּרְגְּזִי (Hif. רגז) in Ezek 16:43, which finds a parallel in תִּרְגַּזְנָה (Qal רגז) in Isa 32:10, and secondly, the nakedness of the adulterous woman by which God will humiliate her in front of her lovers in Ezek 16:37,39 as compared to the nakedness of the women as a sign of mourning in Isa 32:11:

Isa 32:11   חִרְדוּ שַׁאֲנַנּוֹת רְגָזָה בֹּטְחוֹת   ἔκστητε, λυπήθητε, αἱ πεποιθυῖαι,

פְּשֹׁטָה **וְעֹרָה**   ἐκδύσασθε, **γυμναὶ** γένεσθε

Ezek 16:37   וְגִלֵּיתִי **עֶרְוָתֵךְ** אֲלֵהֶם   καὶ ἀποκαλύψω τὰς κακίας σου πρὸς αὐτούς,

וְרָאוּ אֶת־כָּל־**עֶרְוָתֵךְ**   καὶ ὄψονται πᾶσαν τὴν αἰσχύνην σου·

Ezek 16:39   וְהִנִּיחוּךְ **עֵירֹם וְעֶרְיָה**   καὶ ἀφήσουσί σε **γυμνὴν** καὶ ἀσχημονοῦσαν.

In Ezek 23—the allegory on the women Oho'lah and Ohol'ibah—the expression "to remember the days" can likewise be found:

Ezek 23:19 וַתַּרְבֶּה אֶת־תַּזְנוּתֶיהָ לִזְכֹּר	καὶ ἐπλήθυνας τὴν πορνείαν σου τοῦ **ἀναμνῆσαι**
אֶת־יְמֵי נְעוּרֶיהָ אֲשֶׁר זָנְתָה	**ἡμέρας** νεότητός σου, ἐν αἷς ἐπόρνευσας
בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם	ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ[333]

Isa 47:10	חָכְמָתֵךְ	γνῶθι ὅτι ἡ σύνεσις <u>τούτων</u>
	וְדַעְתֵּךְ הִיא שׁוֹבְבָתֶךְ	<u>*ἡ πορνεία σου*</u> *ἔσται σοι αἰσχύνη.*

The Greek translation has been achieved by way of a twofold rendering of וְדַעְתֵּךְ ("your knowledge") as on the one hand γνῶθι—based on a reading with דַע (cf. 44:20), and on the other hand ἡ πορνεία σου[334]—deriving from וּרְעָתֵךְ (cf. בְּרָעָתֵךְ earlier in the same verse). The verb phrase שׁוֹבְבָתֶךְ ("she led you astray") was probably rendered αἰσχύνη through a linking to בּוּשׁ.[335] The rearrangement of Isa 47:10 as a whole might have been inspired by Ezek 16 and 23. In agreement with those chapters, Isa 47 relates the story of an overindulged woman—representative of a people—who will be punished and humiliated by God because of her immoral behaviour. Compare, for instance, Isa 47:10 with Ezek 16:36–37:

Ezek 16:36–37

יַעַן הִשָּׁפֵךְ נְחֻשְׁתֵּךְ	Ἀνθ' ὧν ἐξέχεας τὸν χαλκόν σου,
וַתִּגָּלֶה עֶרְוָתֵךְ	καὶ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται **ἡ αἰσχύνη σου**
בְּתַזְנוּתַיִךְ עַל־מְאַהֲבָיִךְ …	**ἐν τῇ πορνείᾳ σου** πρὸς τοὺς ἐραστάς σου …
לָכֵן הִנְנִי מְקַבֵּץ	διὰ τοῦτο ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐπὶ σὲ συνάγω
אֶת־כָּל־מְאַהֲבַיִךְ אֲשֶׁר עָרַבְתְּ עֲלֵיהֶם	πάντας τοὺς ἐραστάς σου, ἐν οἷς ἐπεμείγης ἐν αὐτοῖς
וְגִלֵּיתִי עֶרְוָתֵךְ אֲלֵהֶם …	… καὶ ἀποκαλύψω τὰς κακίας σου πρὸς αὐτούς,
וְרָאוּ אֶת־כָּל־עֶרְוָתֵךְ	καὶ ὄψονται πᾶσαν **τὴν αἰσχύνην σου·**

Points of contact between LXX Isa 47 and Ezek 16 and 23 can further be found in LXX Isa 47:2–3. Just as Ezek 16:36 (see above) and Ezek 23:10,29 (see below) these Isaianic verses mention the exposure of the "shame" of the woman. Moreover, they contain the promise that the woman will not be delivered to her enemies anymore. This promise can be found only in the *Greek* text of Isa 47:3, which offers οὐκέτι μὴ παραδῶ ἀνθρώποις (whereas the Hebrew reads וְלֹא אֶפְגַּע אָדָם—"and I will spare no one"). Maybe this Greek wording bears the mark of Ezek 16:39 and 23:9,28:

Isa 47:2–3

קְחִי רֵחַיִם וְטַחֲנִי קָמַח	λαβὲ μύλον, ἄλεσον ἄλευρον,
גַּלִּי צַמָּתֵךְ חֶשְׂפִּי־שֹׁבֶל	ἀποκάλυψαι τὸ κατακάλυμμά σου, ἀνακάλυψαι τὰς πολιάς,
גַּלִּי־שׁוֹק עִבְרִי נְהָרוֹת	ἀνάσυραι τὰς κνήμας, διάβηθι ποταμούς·
תִּגָּל עֶרְוָתֵךְ	ἀνακαλυφθήσεται ἡ αἰσχύνη σου,
גַּם תֵּרָאֶה חֶרְפָּתֵךְ	φανήσονται οἱ ὀνειδισμοί σου·

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[333] Elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible זכר (את) יְמֵי is attested in Deut 32:7; Ps 143:5; Qoh 5:19; 11:8; Isa 63:11; and Lam 1:7. For μνείαν ποιέω, see Job 14:13 and Ps 110:4.

[334] I follow here the reading of Rahlfs. In the Göttingen edition Ziegler gives ἡ πονηρία σου, but that reading is attested only by ms 233 and Tht.

[335] *HUB Isa*, 216.

נקם אקח ולא אפגע אדם   τὸ δίκαιον ἐκ σοῦ λήμψομαι, **οὐκέτι μὴ παραδῶ ἀνθρώποις.**

Ezek 16:39   ונתתי אותך בידם   καὶ **παραδώσω σε εἰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν,**

והרסו גבך   καὶ κατασκάψουσι **τὸ πορνεῖόν σου**

ונתצו רמתיך   καὶ καθελοῦσι τὴν βάσιν σου

והפשיטו אותך בגדיך   καὶ ἐκδύσουσί σε τὸν ἱματισμόν σου

ולקחו כלי תפארתך   καὶ λήμψονται τὰ σκεύη τῆς καυχήσεώς σου

והניחוך **עירם ועריה**   καὶ ἀφήσουσί σε γυμνὴν καὶ **ἀσχημονοῦσαν.**

Ezek 23:9–10   לכן נתתיה   διὰ τοῦτο **παρέδωκα αὐτὴν**

ביד־מאהביה   εἰς χεῖρας τῶν ἐραστῶν αὐτῆς,

ביד בני אשור אשר עגבה עליהם   εἰς χεῖρας υἱῶν Ἀσσυρίων, ἐφ' οὓς ἐπετίθετο.

המה **גלו ערותה**   αὐτοὶ **ἀπεκάλυψαν τὴν αἰσχύνην αὐτῆς**

Ezek 23:28–30

הנני נתנך ביד אשר שנאת   Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ **παραδίδωμί σε εἰς χεῖρας ὧν μισεῖς,**

ביד אשר־נקעה נפשך מהם   ἀφ' ὧν ἀπέστη ἡ ψυχή σου ἀπ' αὐτῶν·

ועשו אותך בשנאה   καὶ ποιήσουσιν ἐν σοὶ ἐν μίσει

ולקחו כל־יגיעך   καὶ λήμψονται πάντας τοὺς πόνους σου

καὶ τοὺς μόχθους σου,

ועזבוך **עירם ועריה**   καὶ ἔσῃ γυμνὴ καὶ **ἀσχημονοῦσα,**

ונגלה **ערות** זנוניך   καὶ **ἀποκαλυφθήσεται αἰσχύνη πορνείας σου**

זמתך ותזנותיך   καὶ ἀσέβειά σου.

עשה אלה לך   καὶ ἡ πορνεία σου ἐποίησε ταῦτά σοι

בזנותך אחרי גוים   ἐν τῷ ἐκπορνεῦσαί σε ὀπίσω ἐθνῶν

על אשר־נטמאת בגלוליהם   καὶ ἐμιαίνου ἐν τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασιν αὐτῶν.

Aside from Isa 47, Isa 57 also displays close ties to Ezek 16 and 23. Similar to these chapters in Ezekiel, Isa 57 tells about a woman who has left her husband and plays the harlot with foreign people. As the operating base of this woman both Ezek 16:24 and Isa 57:7 mention a high place; in Ezek 23:17 as well as Isa 57:7–8 the bed of the harlot is mentioned. In both Isa 57:9 and Ezek 23:16,40 the woman sends messengers to remote places. The statement that she has forgotten her husband (God) is made in Isa 57:11 as well as in Ezek 23:35. Finally, in all three of the chapters the bringing of child sacrifices plays a role (see Isa 57:5; Ezek 16:21; 23:39). A possible lexical linkage can be detected between LXX Isa 57:9 and Ezek 16:25:

Isa 57:7–9   על הר־גבה ונשא   ἐπ' ὄρος ὑψηλὸν καὶ μετέωρον,

שמת משכבך   ἐκεῖ σου ἡ κοίτη,

גם־שם עלית לזבח זבח   κἀκεῖ ἀνεβίβασας θυσίας.

ואחר הדלת והמזוזה   καὶ ὀπίσω τῶν σταθμῶν τῆς θύρας σου

שמת זכרונך   ἔθηκας μνημόσυνά σου·

כי מאתי גלית ותעלי   ᾤου ὅτι ἐὰν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἀποστῇς, πλεῖόν τι ἕξεις·

הרחבת משכבך <u>ותכרת־לך מהם</u>

אהבת משכבם   ἠγάπησας τοὺς κοιμωμένους μετὰ σοῦ

<u>יד חזית</u>   *καὶ ἐπλήθυνας τὴν πορνείαν σου μετ' αὐτῶν*

<u>ותשרי למלך</u> בשמן ותרבי רקחיך   καὶ πολλοὺς ἐποίησας τοὺς μακρὰν ἀπὸ σοῦ

In LXX Isa 57:9 it is hard to discover the Hebrew source of the words καὶ ἐπλήθυνας τὴν πορνείαν σου μετ' αὐτῶν. Perhaps they form an interpretation of the somewhat enigmatic clause יד חזית. Or, maybe they render הרחבת משכבך in v.8, in which רחב—"to broaden"—may have been connected with πλήθυνω—"to make plenty." Alternatively, the clause could be considered a plus. In any case, it seems plain that the translator has adopted this Greek formulation from Ezek 16:25 and 23:19:[336]

Ezek 16:24–25	ותבני־לך גב	καὶ ᾠκοδόμησας σεαυτῇ οἴκημα πορνικὸν
	ותעשי־לך רמה בכל־רחוב	καὶ ἐποίησας σεαυτῇ ἔκθεμα ἐν πάσῃ πλατείᾳ
	אל־כל־ראש דרך בנית רמתך	καὶ ἐπ' ἀρχῆς πάσης ὁδοῦ ᾠκοδόμησας τὰ πορνεῖά σου
	ותתעבי את־יפיך	καὶ ἐλυμήνω τὸ κάλλος σου
	ותפשקי את־רגליך לכל־עובר	καὶ διήγαγες τὰ σκέλη σου παντὶ παρόδῳ
	ותרבי את־תזנתך	**καὶ ἐπλήθυνας τὴν πορνείαν σου·**

Ezek 23:19	ותרבה את־תזנותיה לזכר	**καὶ ἐπλήθυνας τὴν πορνείαν σου** τοῦ ἀναμνῆσαι
	את־ימי נעוריה אשר זנתה	ἡμέρας νεότητός σου, ἐν αἶς ἐπόρνευσας
	בארץ מצרים	ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ

8.4.4.2 Influence of other texts in Ezekiel

Isa 8:23(9:1)

כעת הראשון הקל	Τοῦτο πρῶτον ποίει, ταχὺ ποίει,
ארצה זבלון וארצה נפתלי	χώρα Ζαβουλων, ἡ γῆ Νεφθαλιμ
והאחרון הכביד דרך הים	ὁδὸν θαλάσσης καὶ *οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ τὴν παραλίαν <u>κατοικοῦντες</u>*
עבר הירדן גליל הגוים	καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ιορδάνου, Γαλιλαία τῶν ἐθνῶν,
	<u>τὰ μέρη τῆς Ιουδαίας</u>.

The list of areas in Isa 8:23(9:1) has in the Greek been extended by, in the first place, τὰ μέρη τῆς Ιουδαίας, and, in the second, οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ τὴν παραλίαν κατοικοῦντες. The latter words perhaps go back to the Hebrew והאחרון הכביד: while οἱ λοιποί may come from והאחרון read as והאחרי, τὴν παραλίαν might have been generated by הכביד, read as though it were החוף. In spite of the fact that הכביד and החוף are rather distant from each other in form, the translator may still have wanted to arrive at החוף because "the coast" is a regular component in similar Biblical lists of (Israelite) areas or tribes, in which also the names of Zebulon, Naphtali, or the "land beyond the Jordan" often occur.[337] Yet, even if the people "living on the coast" figure repeatedly in the Bible, "the *remaining* ones living on the coast" can be found in only one place outside of LXX Isa 9:1—that is in LXX Ezek 25:16:[338]

Ezek 25:16

הנני נוטה ידי על־פלשתים	Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐκτενῶ τὴν χεῖρά μου ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους
והכרתי את־כרתים	καὶ ἐξολεθρεύσω Κρῆτας
והאבדתי את־שארית	καὶ ἀπολῶ **τοὺς καταλοίπους**

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[336] Cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 129.

[337] See e.g. Gen 49:3–28, especially v.13; Judg 5:14–18; and Jdt 1:7–9; 2:28. Expressions comparable to τὴν παραλίαν κατοικέω / παράλιον κατοικέω occur in Gen 49:13; Deut 33:19; Ezek 25:16; and Jdt 1:7; 2:28; 5:22; cf. also Josh 9:1 and Judg 5:17.

[338] Cf. Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 74.

חוף הים   τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν παραλίαν·

The fact that a comparable phrase appears solely in LXX Isa 9:1 and LXX Ezek 25:16 makes it plausible that a relationship exists between these two verses. Still, if there is indeed dependency involved, the question is, what would be the direction of it. As a matter of fact, this case allows for the possibility that it was Ezekiel's translator who adopted the expression under consideration from LXX Isaiah rather than *vice versa*. For in the LXX of Ezekiel τοὺς κατοικοῦντας is likewise a plus. Moreover, LXX Ezekiel has not represented the Hebrew הים—which has approximated the phrase in LXX Ezekiel to the one in LXX Isaiah.[339] If such a reliance of the Ezekiel translator on LXX Isaiah has indeed occurred, this would disturb our picture of the two translations, as in some other instances, we have discussed how LXX Isaiah seemed to rely on the Greek Ezekiel. This difficulty can be approached in several ways. Firstly, one can maintain that of the two translations LXX Ezekiel is the older one, and that the rendering by the phrase οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ τὴν παραλίαν κατοικοῦντες in LXX Isa 9:1 has been influenced by LXX Ezek 25:16. In such a case, the plus and minus in the latter verse would have been produced by the Ezekiel translator independently of LXX Isa 9:1 (but maybe inspired by other Biblical texts which mention "the ones living on the coast"). A second solution is to presuppose that at the time of the Isaiah translator only certain parts of the book of Ezekiel existed in a Greek translation. Those fragments he may have used in his translation. The Septuagint of Ezekiel as a whole, though, would have been completed *subsequently* to LXX Isaiah. This would have as a consequence that the translator of Ezekiel may have utilised the Greek translation of Isaiah, for instance in the case of Ezek 25:16. As noted before, a similar theory was once proposed by Thackeray. Another possibility is that the Isaiah translator was influenced by the *Hebrew* text of Ezek 25:16, which is what Wevers assumes.[340] Finally, it is possible that both translators produced the text concerned on their own, without consulting the translation of the other.

Isa 17:1–2   הנה דמשק מוסר מעיר   Ἰδοὺ Δαμασκὸς ἀρθήσεται ἀπὸ πόλεων
והיתה מעי מפלה עזבות ערי ערער   καὶ ἔσται εἰς πτῶσιν, καταλελειμμένη εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα,
לעדרים תהיינה ורבצו   εἰς κοίτην ποιμνίων καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν,
ואין מחריד   καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ διώκων.

Goshen-Gottstein refers for the insertion in LXX Isa 17:2 of κοίτην to Ezek 25:5.[341] Also that verse compares the ruined state of a city to a dwelling of flocks:

Ezek 25:5   ונתתי את־רבה לנוה גמלים   καὶ δώσω τὴν πόλιν τοῦ Αμμων εἰς νομὰς καμήλων
ואת־בני עמון למרבץ־צאן   καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς Αμμων εἰς νομὴν προβάτων·

If the Isaiah translator actually drew upon Ezek 25:5, it was most likely on the Hebrew reading of this verse, since the two texts in their Greek translation display significant differences in vocabulary: where LXX Isaiah uses ἀνάπαυσις to denote a resting place, LXX Ezekiel offers νομή, and where LXX Isaiah employs the noun ποίμνιον for sheep, LXX Ezekiel has πρόβατον.

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[339] The omission of הים could however also be just a matter of free translation: παραλία already implies "the sea," so the separate mention of that noun is not necessary.
[340] Wevers, "Septuaginta-Forschungen," 180.
[341] *HUB Isa*, 65.

Isa 32:13–14

עַל אַדְמַת עַמִּי קוֹץ שָׁמִיר תַּעֲלֶה	ἡ γῆ τοῦ λαοῦ μου ἄκανθα καὶ χόρτος ἀναβήσεται,
כִּי עַל־כָּל־בָּתֵּי מָשׂוֹשׂ	καὶ ἐκ πάσης οἰκίας εὐφροσύνη ἀρθήσεται·
קִרְיָה עַלִּיזָה כִּי־אַרְמוֹן נֻטָּשׁ	πόλις πλουσία, οἶκοι ἐγκαταλελειμμένοι
הֲמוֹן עִיר עֻזָּב	πλοῦτον πόλεως *καὶ οἴκους ἐπιθυμητούς* ἀφήσουσι·

In Isa 32:14 καὶ οἴκους ἐπιθυμητούς stems from no obvious Hebrew equivalent. The "desirable houses" may have been juxtaposed to "a city's wealth" in analogy to some other texts in LXX Isaiah, where, in a comparable setting describing the destruction of an area, there is likewise mention of the desolation of the "houses" of the city (see e.g. 6:11; 22:8–10; and 24:10,12).[342] Compare also the בתי משוש in 32:13. These connections simultaneously explain the rendering of ארמון as οἶκοι at the beginning of v.14. The use of the adjective ἐπιθυμητής may have been stimulated by the occurrence of על־שדי־חמד / ἀπὸ ἀγροῦ ἐπιθυμήματος in v.12. Furthermore, it is possible that the translator's choice of οἴκους ἐπιθυμητούς was influenced by LXX Ezek 26:12. In that text, which in accordance with Isa 32:13–14 prophecies the destruction of a city, a similar expression appears:[343]

Ezek 26:12		
	וְשָׁלְלוּ חֵילֵךְ	καὶ προνομεύσει τὴν δύναμίν σου
	וּבָזְזוּ רְכֻלָּתֵךְ	καὶ σκυλεύσει τὰ ὑπάρχοντά σου
	וְהָרְסוּ חוֹמוֹתַיִךְ	καὶ καταβαλεῖ σου τὰ τείχη
	וּבָתֵּי חֶמְדָּתֵךְ יִתֹּצוּ	καὶ **τοὺς οἴκους σου τοὺς ἐπιθυμητούς** καθελεῖ

It is not evident, though, whether it was the Hebrew or the Greek text of Ezek 26:12 that may have played a role. Since ἐπιθυμητής is a common translation of חמדה,[344] the Isaiah translator could just as well have based his addition in Isa 32:14 on ובתי חמדתך, as he encountered it in the Hebrew text of Ezek 26:12.

Isa 33:15

הֹלֵךְ צְדָקוֹת וְדֹבֵר מֵישָׁרִים	πορευόμενος ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, λαλῶν εὐθεῖαν ὁδόν,
מֹאֵס בְּבֶצַע מַעֲשַׁקּוֹת	μισῶν ἀνομίαν καὶ ἀδικίαν
נֹעֵר כַּפָּיו מִתְּמֹךְ בַּשֹּׁחַד	καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀποσειόμενος ἀπὸ δώρων,
אֹטֵם אָזְנוֹ מִשְּׁמֹעַ דָּמִים	βαρύνων τὰ ὦτα ἵνα μὴ ἀκούσῃ *κρίσιν αἵματος*,
וְעֹצֵם עֵינָיו מֵרְאוֹת בְּרָע	καμμύων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἵνα μὴ ἴδῃ ἀδικίαν

The expression κρίσις αἵματος in LXX Isa 33:15 has only one parallel in the Septuagint, that is, in LXX Ezek 44:24, in a section listing prescriptions for the Levites. There it does not precisely match the MT either, which offers a plain ריב. A *Hebrew* parallel is contained in Ezek 7:23, where one finds the term משפט דמים ("litigation about blood guilt"):[345]

Ezek 44:24		
	וְעַל־**רִיב** הֵמָּה יַעַמְדוּ	καὶ ἐπὶ **κρίσιν αἵματος** οὗτοι ἐπιστήσονται
	לְשָׁפֹט בְּמִשְׁפָּטִי	τοῦ διακρίνειν· τὰ δικαιώματά μου δικαιώσουσι
	שְׁפָטֻהוּ וְאֶת־תּוֹרֹתַי	καὶ τὰ κρίματά μου κρινοῦσι καὶ τὰ νόμιμά μου
	וְאֶת־חֻקֹּתַי בְּכָל־מוֹעֲדַי	καὶ τὰ προστάγματά μου ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἑορταῖς μου
	יִשְׁמֹרוּ וְאֶת־שַׁבְּתוֹתַי יְקַדֵּשׁוּ	φυλάξονται καὶ τὰ σάββατά μου ἁγιάσουσι.

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[342] A phrase comparable to οἴκους ἐπιθυμητούς can be found in 22:8: τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς οἴκους τῆς πόλεως.
[343] Except for the instances in Isa 32:14 and Ezek 26:12 an expression similar to οἴκους ἐπιθυμητούς is unparalleled in the LXX.
[344] Cf. 2 Chr 32:27; 36:10; Ps 106(105):24; Jer 12:10; Ezek 26:12; Dan 11:8; Hos 13:15; and Nah 2:9(10).
[345] Cf. also κρίμα αἵματος (MT: חרב) in LXX Ezek 33:2 (A) (B: ῥομφαίαν); see Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 122.

Ezek 7:23	עשה הרתוק	καὶ ποιήσουσι φυρμόν,
	כי הארץ מלאה משפט דמים	διότι ἡ γῆ πλήρης λαῶν,
	והעיר מלאה חמס	καὶ ἡ πόλις πλήρης ἀνομίας.

Although it might be that the Isaiah translator has adopted the idea of a "case of blood-guilt" from the Hebrew text of Ezek 7:23, or perhaps even from the Greek of Ezek 44:24, he could as easily have based the addition of κρίσιν on his own interpretation of דמים, independent of Ezekiel. Another text of which he may have been reminded is Deut 17:8, which describes judicial cases on bloodshed (ῥῆμα ἐν κρίσει ἀνὰ μέσον αἷμα αἵματος). Lastly, it is possible that κρίσις αἵματος was a common juridical term in his time.

Isa 34:12	חריה ואין־<u>שם</u>	οἱ *ἄρχοντες* αὐτῆς *οὐκ ἔσονται*
	מלוכה <u>יקראו</u> וכל־שריה	οἱ γὰρ βασιλεῖς αὐτῆς καὶ οἱ *ἄρχοντες* αὐτῆς
	יהיו אפס	<u>καὶ οἱ *μεγιστᾶνες*</u> αὐτῆς ἔσονται <u>εἰς *ἀπώλειαν*</u>.

The LXX of Isa 34:12 reflects a Hebrew text as though it were אין חריה ומלכיה ושריה יהיו לאפס. This transformation may have been accomplished under the influence of LXX Ezek 30:13. In agreement with Isa 34:12 that passage forms part of an oracle on the destruction of a people. While in Isa 34 the oracle of doom is directed against Edom, in the case of Ezek 30:13 it concerns Egypt:

Ezek 30:13	והאבדתי גלולים והשבתי אלילים מנף	Καὶ ἀπολῶ μεγιστᾶνας ἀπὸ Μέμφεως
	ונשיא מארץ־מצרים	καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου,
	לא יהיה־עוד ונתתי יראה בארץ מצרים	καὶ οὐκ ἔσονται ἔτι.

Because the MT of Ezek 30:13 refers to the destroying of "idols" and "a prince" rather than to the "nobles" and "rulers" of which there is mention in the LXX of both Ezek 30:13 and Isa 34:12, in the case of dependency the Isaiah translator will have relied on the *Greek* text of Ezekiel.[346]

Isa 44:25	מפר אתות בדים	τίς ἕτερος διασκεδάσει σημεῖα ἐγγαστριμύθων
	וקסמים <u>יהולל</u>	καὶ μαντείας <u>*ἀπὸ καρδίας*</u>,[347]
	משיב חכמים אחור	ἀποστρέφων φρονίμους εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω
	ודעתם ישכל	καὶ τὴν βουλὴν αὐτῶν μωρεύων

The words "from his/their hearts" recur repeatedly in the Bible.[348] But, applied in the context of false prophecy, such as in Isa 44:25, we find them exclusively in Ezek 13:3,17 and Jer 23:16. Perhaps these verses served as a model for the addition in LXX Isa 44:25:

Ezek 13:3	הוי על־הנביאים הנבלים	Οὐαὶ τοῖς προφητεύουσιν
	אשר הלכים אחר רוחם ולבלתי ראו	**ἀπὸ καρδίας** αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ καθόλου μὴ βλέπουσιν

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[346] Alternatively, one could posit that LXX Ezekiel relies on LXX Isaiah, which would explain the former's variant rendering of גלולים by μεγιστᾶνας, and of ונשיא by καὶ ἄρχοντας. The wording οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῆς οὐκ ἔσονται in LXX Isaiah, however, rather suggests the influence of LXX Ezekiel (καὶ οὐκ ἔσονται ἔτι) on the Greek Isaiah.

[347] The omission of יהולל is likely to be a case of distributive rendering, see section 3.6.2b.

[348] Cf. e.g. Num 16:28; 24:13; LXX Judg 16:17,18; 3 Kgdms 12:33; Neh 6:8 (= 2 Esd 16:8); LXX Ps 30:13; Qoh 11:10; Isa 59:13; Lam 3:33; Bar 3:7; Jdt 13:19; Sir 50:27; and Wis 16:6. Cf. also section 8.3.1; Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 126; Goshen-Gottstein, "Theory and Praxis," 152; *HUB Isa*, 204.

Ezek 13:17 ואתה בן־אדם שים פניך   καὶ σύ, υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου, στήρισον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου
אל־בנות עמך המתנבאות   ἐπὶ τὰς θυγατέρας τοῦ λαοῦ σου τὰς προφητευούσα
מלבהן והנבא עליהן   **ἀπὸ καρδίας** αὐτῶν καὶ προφήτευσον ἐπ᾽ αὐτάς

Jer 23:16 אל־תשמעו על־דברי הנבאים   Μὴ ἀκούετε τοὺς λόγους τῶν προφητῶν,
הנבאים לכם מהבלים המה אתכם   ὅτι ματαιοῦσιν ἑαυτοῖς ὅρασιν,
חזון לבם ידברו   **ἀπὸ καρδίας** αὐτῶν λαλοῦσιν
לא מפי יהוה   καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ στόματος κυρίου.

Isa 51:2 הביטו אל־אברהם אביכם   ἐμβλέψατε εἰς *Αβρααμ* τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν
ואל־שרה תחוללכם   καὶ εἰς Σαρραν τὴν ὠδίνουσαν ὑμᾶς·
כי־אחד קראתיו   *ὅτι εἷς <u>ἦν</u>, <u>καὶ</u> ἐκάλεσα αὐτὸν*
ואברכהו   καὶ εὐλόγησα αὐτὸν καὶ ἠγάπησα αὐτὸν
וארבהו   καὶ ἐπλήθυνα αὐτόν.

The somewhat cryptic Hebrew clause כי־אחד קראתיו—meaning "because one I have called," or maybe "when he was one, I have called him"—has in LXX Isaiah been glossed by ὅτι εἷς ἦν, καὶ ἐκάλεσα αὐτόν—"because he was one, and I called him." The verb form ἦν may have been supplied purely with the purpose of making the text more explicit, but there is also a chance that Ezek 33:24 (MT or LXX) has played a role:[349]

Ezek 33:24 אחד היה אברהם ויירש את־הארץ   **Εἷς ἦν Αβρααμ καὶ** κατέσχε τὴν γῆν

Isa 52:5 ותמיד כל־היום שמי מנאץ   δι᾽ ὑμᾶς διὰ παντὸς *τὸ ὄνομά μου βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι*.

The phrasing βλασφημέω ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι which LXX Isa 52:5 exhibits, is unprecedented in the LXX. Nevertheless, a related formulation, βεβηλόω τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, can be observed several times in Ezek 36:[350]

Ezek 36:21 ואחמל על־שם קדשי   καὶ ἐφεισάμην αὐτῶν διὰ **τὸ ὄνομά μου** τὸ ἅγιον,
אשר חללוהו בית ישראל בגוים   ὃ **ἐβεβήλωσαν** οἶκος Ισραηλ **ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν**,
אשר־באו שמה   οὗ εἰσήλθοσαν ἐκεῖ.

Ezek 36:22 לא למענכם אני עשה   Οὐχ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ποιῶ,
בית ישראל כי אם־לשם־קדשי   οἶκος Ισραηλ, ἀλλ᾽ ἢ διὰ **τὸ ὄνομά μου** τὸ ἅγιον,
אשר חללתם בגוים אשר־באתם שם   ὃ **ἐβεβηλώσατε ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν**, οὗ εἰσήλθετε ἐκεῖ.

Ezek 36:23 וקדשתי את־שמי הגדול   καὶ ἁγιάσω **τὸ ὄνομά μου** τὸ μέγα
המחלל בגוים   τὸ **βεβηλωθὲν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν**,
אשר חללתם בתוכם   ὃ ἐβεβηλώσατε ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν[351]

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[349] *HUB Isa*, 232. Targum and Peshitta reflect a text similar to the LXX.

[350] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 77; *HUB Isa*, 239. The expression βεβηλόω τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν has no parallels elsewhere in the LXX.

[351] Also compare Ezek 20:9,14,22 ואעש למען שמי לבלתי החל לעיני הגוים / καὶ ἐποίησα ὅπως τὸ ὄνομά μου τὸ παράπαν μὴ βεβηλωθῇ ἐνώπιον τῶν ἐθνῶν.

8.4.4.3 Conclusion to 8.4.4

The previous investigation of pluses and minuses in the Greek Isaiah that possibly have bearing on (the Greek version of) Ezekiel cannot satisfactorily clarify the relation between the Greek translation of Isaiah and LXX Ezekiel. This lack of a clear outcome is in the first place connected to the more general complication applying to this entire chapter, that this sort of inquiry involves a high degree of speculation, as one is never sure whether there is in fact a relation of dependency between two texts, or that the conformity has arisen from coincidence. Secondly, it has to do with the ambiguous results of the instances analysed above: on the one hand, several of them seem to betray the influence of the *Greek* Ezekiel on LXX Isaiah (see Isa 14:20/Ezek 16:6,22; Isa 34:12/Ezek 30:13; Isa 44:25/Ezek 13:3; and Isa 57:9/Ezek 16:25; 23:19). But in other cases the Isaiah translator rather appears to have relied on the *Hebrew* text of Ezekiel (see Isa 17:2/Ezek 25:5; and Isa 32:9–10/Ezek 16:22,43). Besides, in many cases it is doubtful which version he used (see Isa 32:14/Ezek 26:12; Isa 33:15/Ezek 7:23; 44:24; Isa 44:25/Ezek 13:17; Isa 47:10 / Ezek 16:36; 23:29; and Isa 51:2/Ezek 33:24). One example has been dealt with which allows for the possibility that the translator of Ezekiel may have drawn upon the LXX version of Isaiah rather than *vice versa* (see Isa 8:23[9:1]/ Ezek 25:16).[352] A possible solution to this paradoxical issue would be that in the time of the Isaiah translator only parts of the book of Ezekiel existed in a Greek translation, and that the translator made use solely of those parts. The entire translation may have been completed only after the realisation of LXX Isaiah, with as a consequence that the Greek Isaiah could have been used by the LXX translator of Ezekiel. Yet, it may be more reasonable to assume that this one example is not sufficient to prove the influence of LXX Isaiah on the Greek Ezekiel, and that LXX Isaiah is more likely to be the posterior one of the two translations. The Isaiah translator may then occasionally have copied elements from the book of Ezekiel, sometimes from its Hebrew version, and at other times from the Greek translation of it.

8.4.5 LXX *Isaiah and the Twelve Prophets*

The final Biblical corpus that I will deal with on the grounds that its relation to the LXX of Isaiah has repeatedly formed a topic of discussion, is the book of the Twelve Prophets. As mentioned before, it is the opinion of Thackeray that the Twelve Prophets were rendered into Greek only after the translation of Isaiah was finished. Ziegler, on the contrary, conceives the more recent of the two translations to be LXX Isaiah, because some of its renderings would indicate that the Isaiah translator was familiar with the Twelve Prophets in their Greek form.[353] This assumption is defended by Seeligmann, who offers a number of correspondences between LXX Isaiah and the LXX of the Twelve Prophets which are to "justify the theory that our translator was acquainted with the Septuagint of the Dodekapropheton and that this work reveals traces of its influence."[354]

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[352] Possibly also the case of Isa 34:12/Ezek 30:13 allows for such a hypothesis.

[353] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 104–105.

[354] Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 73. The examples that are particularly significant in Seeligmann's view are the formulation καὶ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν τοῦ λαοῦ μου ἐπιστρέψει in LXX Isa 45:13, which may have been adopted from LXX Amos 9:14 (see below), the translation by καὶ τέκνα πολλα ἀλλόφυλα ἐγενήθη αὐτοῖς in LXX Isa 2:6, based on LXX Hos 5:7, and the translation by ταχὺ ἔρχεται καὶ οὐ χρονιεῖ in LXX Isa 13:22, echoing Hab 2:3 (see below) (Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 72). Also Baer suspects that LXX Isa was influenced by the Greek Twelve Prophets: see Baer, *When We All Go Home*, 94–95; 209–212.

In a recent article by Cécile Dogniez this idea of the dependence of LXX Isaiah upon the Greek Twelve Prophets has, however, been called into question. Dogniez is not convinced of the examples Seeligmann provides in order to establish his view, because these could also be explained in a different way. She founds her scepticism on an analysis of LXX Isa 8 en 9, focusing on the possible connections that can be discovered in those chapters with the Greek version of the Twelve Prophets. Her conclusion is that LXX Isa 8 and 9 do not reveal any reliance on the Greek Twelve.[355] As an additional argument for casting doubt on Seeligmann's theory, Dogniez points to the fact that the divine epitheton צבאות is in LXX Isaiah represented by the transcription σαβαωθ, whereas the Greek Twelve reproduce this term by way of the interpretative translation παντοκράτωρ. This makes one wonder why the Isaiah translator, if he were familiar with the Greek translation of the Twelve, would have maintained the more "primitive" transliteration with σαβαωθ.[356] One could counter this argumentation of Dogniez by saying that the Isaiah translator, even if he were acquainted with the connotation of צבאות, for specific reasons still choose to represent it by means of a transcription, just as some modern translations do, despite the fact that the meaning of this noun is common knowledge nowadays.

In short, the scholarly opinions on the relation between the Septuagint translations of Isaiah and the Twelve Prophets are rather varied. On the following pages I will again seek to get a clearer insight into this issue by means of a study of the pluses and minuses in LXX Isaiah which could possibly be traced back to the (Greek) Twelve Prophets.

8.4.5.1 Hosea

Isa 3:8	כי־לשונם ומעלליהם	καὶ αἱ γλῶσσαι αὐτῶν μετὰ ἀνομίας,
	אל־יהוה למרות	τὰ πρὸς κύριον ἀπειθοῦντες·
	עני כבודו	*διότι νῦν ἐταπεινώθη ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν*

It might be that in his reformulation of Isa 3:8 the translator has drawn inspiration from Hos 5:3–5. That passage shares with Isa 3:8 its focus on Israel's apostasy, as well as its use of the noun phrase ומעלליהם. Through the influence of Hos 5:5 the translator may have associated עני ("the eyes of") in Isa 3:8 with the verb ענה ("to humiliate"), on which grounds he rendered the noun by ἐταπεινώθη.[357] The conjunction διότι νῦν could have been supplied by the translator just for the sake of the discourse, but an additional factor might have been the occurrence of the same conjunction in LXX Hos 5:3:[358]

Hos 5:3–5

אני ידעתי אפרים	ἐγὼ ἔγνων τὸν Εφραιμ,
וישראל לא־נכחד ממני	καὶ Ισραηλ οὐκ ἄπεστιν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ,
כי עתה הזנית אפרים	**διότι νῦν** ἐξεπόρνευσεν Εφραιμ,

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[355] Cécile Dogniez, "Le traducteur d'Isaïe connaissait-il le texte grec du Dodekapropheton?," *Adamantius* 13 (2007): 34.

[356] Dogniez, "Le traducteur d'Isaïe," 37

[357] For more notes on the translation, see section 8.4.1.2b.

[358] διότι νῦν occurs only sporadically in the LXX: besides in Isa 3:8 and Hos 5:3 only in Gen 26:22, Hos 10:3, Mic 4:10; 5:3; and Zech 9:8. This favours the surmise that in LXX Isa 3:8 the conjunction was added after the example of LXX Hos 5:3.

נטמא ישראל	ἐμιάνθη Ισραηλ·
לא יתנו מעלליהם	οὐκ ἔδωκαν τὰ διαβούλια αὐτῶν
לשוב אל־אלהיהם	τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν αὐτῶν,
כי רוח זנונים בקרבם	ὅτι πνεῦμα πορνείας ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐστι,
ואת־יהוה לא ידעו	τὸν δὲ κύριον οὐκ ἐπέγνωσαν.
וענה גאון־ישראל	καὶ **ταπεινωθήσεται** ἡ ὕβρις τοῦ Ισραηλ
בפניו	εἰς πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ,
וישראל ואפרים יכשלו בעונם	καὶ Ισραηλ καὶ Εφραιμ ἀσθενήσουσιν ἐν ταῖς ἀδικίαις αὐτῶν,
כשל גם־יהודה עמם	καὶ ἀσθενήσει καὶ Ιουδας μετ᾽ αὐτῶν.

It has to be admitted, though, that the points of contact between these two texts are only subtle. The Isaiah translator may as well have created the clause διότι νῦν ἐταπεινώθη ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν by himself, without the influence of Hosea, and merely encouraged by the resemblance of עני to ענה. He could also have made a link to Isa 5:15:

Isa 5:15	ועיני גבהים תשפלנה	καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ οἱ μετέωροι **ταπεινωθήσονται**·

Isa 42:13   יהוה כַּגבור יצא   κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων ἐξελεύσεται
כָּאִישׁ מלחמות יעיר קנאה   *καὶ συντρίψει* πόλεμον, ἐπεγερεῖ ζῆλον

Earlier in this chapter I have discussed the possible correlation of the Greek translation of Isa 42:13 with the LXX of Exod 15:3. After the example of that Pentateuchal verse, the LXX of Isa 42:13 may also have altered the image of JHWH as a warrior into a more peaceful description of the Divine as the one who *crushes* war. The latter representation of God has its roots in Hos 2:20, from which the translator of Exodus may have adopted his formulation:[359]

Hos 2:20(18)   ומלחמה אשבור מן־הארץ   καὶ **πόλεμον συντρίψω** ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς

According to Baer this text in LXX Hos 2:20 did not only have an *indirect* influence on the Isaiah translator (via Exod 15:3), but was also consulted by him directly. This Baer supposes for the reason that the Greek Hosea displays a singular noun πόλεμον, which accords with the noun that LXX Isaiah employs to render the plural form מלחמות. The Greek text of Exod 15:3, conversely, has a plural πολέμους. So in this respect, Baer argues, the Isaiah translator has followed LXX Hosea rather than LXX Exodus.[360] As further argumentation for the influence of LXX Hosea on LXX Isa 42:13 he notes that Hos 2:20

> shares imagery and vocabulary which are very similar to Deutero-Isaiah's own. Second, both passages are concerned with the renewal of covenant. Finally, LXX 42.13 hews very close to LXX Hos. 2.18, grammatically speaking. Συντρίψω and συντρίψει differ *only* in gramatical person. Each has accusative singular πόλεμον.[361]

Although the translator could have been influenced by the Hebrew text of Hos 2:20 alone, Baer thinks that this case still provides supporting evidence for the view that LXX Isaiah came into exististence after the translation of the Minor Prophets.[362]

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[359] See section 8.4.1.2b.
[360] Baer, *When We All Go Home*, 93–94.
[361] Baer, *When We All Go Home*, 94.
[362] Baer, *When We All Go Home*, 94–95.

8.4.5.2 Joel

Isa 8:1 קח־לך גליון גדול   Λαβὲ σεαυτῷ τόμον καινοῦ μεγάλου

וכתב עליו בחרט אנוש   καὶ γράψον εἰς αὐτὸν γραφίδι ἀνθρώπου

למהר שלל חש בז   Τοῦ ὀξέως προνομὴν ποιῆσαι σκύλων· *πάρεστι γάρ*.

Whether πάρεστι γάρ renders חש ("to hurry") or concerns a plus (while חש was omitted because it overlaps with למהר) can be disputed. In opposition to the first option is the fact that חש is not located at the very end of the verse, as πάρεστι γάρ is. Whatever the case, Seeligmann thinks that the Isaiah translator has imported the Greek expression from LXX Joel 2:1, where a similar formulation occurs within a like eschatological setting:

Joel 2:1   תקעו שופר בציון,   Σαλπίσατε σάλπιγγι ἐν Σιων,

והריעו בהר קדשי,   κηρύξατε ἐν ὄρει ἁγίῳ μου,

ירגזו כל ישבי הארץ,   καὶ συγχυθήτωσαν πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν γῆν,

כי־בא יום־יהוה כי קרוב   διότι **πάρεστιν ἡμέρα κυρίου**, ὅτι ἐγγύς

The assumed linkage between the two texts is supported by the correspondence that the beginning of Joel 2:2 exhibits with Isa 8:22:

Isa 8:22   והנה צרה וחשכה   καὶ ἰδοὺ θλῖψις καὶ στενοχωρία καὶ σκότος,

מעוף צוקה ואפלה מנדח   ἀπορία στενὴ καὶ σκότος ὥστε μὴ βλέπειν

Joel 2:2   יום חשך ואפלה   ἡμέρα σκότους καὶ γνόφου,

יום ענן וערפל   ἡμέρα νεφέλης καὶ ὁμίχλης.

Nonetheless, the Isaiah translator may just as well have modelled his use of πάρεστι on other Biblical passages, as a comparable application of this expression is not unique to LXX Joel 2:1, but also occurs in LXX Lam 4:18, and, what is more, in LXX Isa 63:4:

Isa 63:4   כי יום נקם בלבי   ἡμέρα γὰρ ἀνταποδόσεως ἐπῆλθεν αὐτοῖς,

ושנת גאולי באה   καὶ ἐνιαυτὸς λυτρώσεως **πάρεστι**.

Besides, influence on LXX Isa 8:1 is very likely to stem from the Septuagint of Deuteronomy: in LXX Deut 32:35 πάρεστιν appears as a rendering of חש:[363]

Deut 32:35   כי קרוב יום אידם   ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἡμέρα ἀπωλείας αὐτῶν,

וחש עתדת למו   καὶ **πάρεστιν** ἕτοιμα ὑμῖν.

This equivalency at the same time supports the view that πάρεστι in Isa 8:1 is not a plus, but a translation of חש.

Isa 63:2–3   מדוע אדם ללבושך   διὰ τί σου ἐρυθρὰ τὰ ἱμάτια

ובגדיך כדרך בגת   καὶ τὰ ἐνδύματά σου ὡς ἀπὸ πατητοῦ ληνοῦ;

<u>פורה דרכתי לבדי</u>   *πλήρης* καταπεπατημένης,

ומעמים אין־איש אתי   καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνὴρ μετ' ἐμοῦ

Ziegler relates the distinct rendering of פורה דרכתי לבדי ("I have trodden the wine press alone") by πλήρης καταπεπατημένης ("full of a trampled") in LXX Isa 63:3 to Joel 4:13.[364]

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[363] For LXX Isa's dependence on LXX Deut 32, see section 8.4.1.2a.

[364] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen* 132; cf. also *HUB Isa*, 278.

In accordance with that verse, LXX Isa 63:3 depicts the treading of a winepress, employing the adjective πλήρης. In both texts this metaphor is used to symbolise the judgment of God:[365]

Joel 4(3):13	באו רדו כי־מלאה גת	εἰσπορεύεσθε **πατεῖτε**, διότι **πλήρης ἡ ληνός**·
	השיקו היקבים	ὑπερεκχεῖται τὰ ὑπολήνια,
	כי רבה רעתם	ὅτι πεπλήθυνται τὰ κακὰ αὐτῶν.

Notwithstanding this lexical agreement between the two texts, they each use πλήρης in a different way. Whereas LXX Isaiah speaks about a person who is "full of a trampled (winepress)," in Joel the fullness refers to the winepress itself. It may be more reasonable, therefore, to suppose that what is involved here is nothing more than the application of the same metaphor rather than a direct relationship between the LXX of Isa 63:3 and Joel 4:13.

8.4.5.3 Amos

Isa 25:6	משתה שמנים משתה שמרים	πίονται εὐφροσύνην, *πίονται οἶνον,*
	שמנים ממחים <u>שמרים מזקקים</u>	*χρίσονται μύρον.*

In their description of a future feast on Mount Zion, the Hebrew and Greek versions show some differences. The noun משתה ("feast") is in the LXX represented by πίονται, reflecting a verb form from the same root שתה. The first occurrence of שמנים ("fat things") was probably connected with שמחים and rendered by εὐφροσύνην, while the second occurrence of this word has received a more accurate semantic equivalent in μύρον ("oil"). The participle ממחים ("full of marrow") appears to have generated χρίσονται ("to anoint"), while שמרים מזקקים does not have a Greek counterpart at all.

The portrayal of a banquet with its guests drinking wine and being anointed with oil, can be encountered repeatedly in the Hebrew Bible, for instance in 1 Chr 29:22, Ps 23:5, and Mic 6:15. In the Book of Isaiah the motif of eating, drinking and being joyful is present in 5:12,22; 21:5; 22:13; 23:18; and 49:26. But the very combination of the phrases πίνω οἶνον and χρίω μύρον, as it is found in LXX Isa 25:6, has merely one parallel, namely in Amos 6:6. This is the reason why Ziegler presumes that the Isaiah translator has taken that passage as an example in rendering Isa 25:6:[366]

Amos 6:6	השתים במזרקי יין	οἱ **πίνοντες** τὸν διυλισμένον **οἶνον**
	וראשית שמנים ימשחו	καὶ τὰ πρῶτα **μύρα χριόμενοι**

Still, this link is not firm enough to demonstrate convincingly that the Isaiah translator depended upon the Greek Amos: he may equally well have used the Hebrew text of this book, or the congruence might be accidental.

Isa 45:13	וגלותי ישלח	*καὶ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν <u>τοῦ λαοῦ μου</u> ἐπιστρέψει*
	לא במחיר ולא בשחד	*οὐ μετὰ λύτρων οὐδὲ μετὰ δώρων*

Besides the pluses in Isa 3:8 and 8:1—which have been discussed above—another one of the cases that Seeligmann presents so as to affirm his hypothesis of LXX Isaiah's reliance on the Greek Twelve, concerns the translation in LXX Isa 45:13 of וגלותי ישלח as καὶ τὴν

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[365] Of the combination of (κατα)πατέω with πλήρης no parallels can be found elsewhere in the LXX.
[366] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 117.

αἰχμαλωσίαν τοῦ λαοῦ μου ἐπιστρέψει. In Seeligmann's view this rendering makes allusion to Amos 9:14. Not only the insertion of τοῦ λαοῦ μου, but also the unusual rendering of ישלח ("he will let go") as ἐπιστρέψει ("he will turn back") could be clarified by that text:[367]

Amos 9:14 ושבתי את־שבות עמי ישראל   καὶ ἐπιστρέψω τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν λαοῦ μου Ισραηλ

However, a similar expression appears in LXX Ps 13:7 and 52:7.[368] Those texts too could have served as a model for the translator. Or, possibly, he did not think of any specific Bible verse at all, but just assimilated his text to the common Hebrew phraseology שוב שבות, as Wevers and Dogniez suggest.[369] According to Dogniez, the translation of Isa 45:13 does not show LXX Isaiah's dependence on LXX Twelve, but a harmonisation by the translator or a copyist of LXX Isaiah (or of a Hebrew *Vorlage*) to the usual formulation of this expression as it is often attested in Scripture.[370]

8.4.5.4 Obadiah

Isa 22:5 כי יום מהומה   ὅτι *ἡμέρα ταραχῆς καὶ ἀπωλείας*
ומבוסה ומבוכה   καὶ καταπατήματος καὶ πλάνησις
לאדני יהוה צבאות בגיא חזיון   παρὰ κυρίου σαβαωθ ἐν φάραγγι Σιων·

This verse has already received consideration when we reflected on the formulation ἡμέρα ταραχῆς καὶ ἀπωλείας and the possible influence that was excercised on it by the expression ἡμέρα ἀπωλείας in Jer 18:17 and 26(46):2 (see section 8.4.3.3). Besides in these Jeremianic passages ἡμέρα ἀπωλείας also figures in Deut 32:35 and in Obad 1:12,13:

Obad 1:12,13 ואל־תשמח לבני־יהודה   καὶ μὴ ἐπιχαρῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς Ιουδα
ביום אבדם   ἐν **ἡμέρᾳ ἀπωλείας** αὐτῶν
ואל־תגדל פיך ביום צרה ...   καὶ μὴ μεγαλορρημονήσῃς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ θλίψεως ...
ואל־תשלחנה בחילו   μηδὲ συνεπιθῇ ἐπὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν
ביום אידו   ἐν **ἡμέρᾳ ἀπωλείας** αὐτῶν·

The same reservations that were expressed in 8.4.3.3 also apply to this case: it is more likely that the translator in Isa 22:5 has adopted a Biblical style of writing rather than that he was influenced by one of these specific verses.

8.4.5.5 Micah

Isa 2:2 והיה באחרית הימים   Ὅτι ἔσται ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις
נכון יהיה הר בית־יהוה   ἐμφανὲς *τὸ ὄρος τοῦ κυρίου* καὶ ὁ οἶκος *τοῦ θεοῦ*
בראש ההרים   ἐπ' ἄκρων τῶν ὀρέων

Isa 2:2–4, which contains a prophecy on the restoration of Judah, can be found in nearly identical form in Mic 4:1–3. Perhaps this could throw some light on the appearance in LXX Isa

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[367] Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 72. Zillessen ("Bemerkungen," 253) and Ziegler (*Untersuchungen*, 127) assume that the text from Amos 9:14 may have been present in the margin of the *Vorlage* of LXX Isa.
[368] See section 8.4.2.1.
[369] Wevers, "Septuaginta-Forschungen," 180; Dogniez, "Le traducteur d'Isaïe," 30.
[370] Dogniez, "Le traducteur d'Isaïe," 30.

2:2 of τὸ ὄρος τοῦ κυρίου where the MT has הר בית־יהוה, since virtually the same Greek phrase is found in LXX Mic 4:1. However, in that verse too τὸ ὄρος τοῦ κυρίου translates הר בית־יהוה, with בית being a minus. Therefore, if these texts have indeed influenced each other, it is unclear what has been the direction of the influence:

Mic 4:1	והיה באחרית הימים	Καὶ ἔσται ἐπ’ ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν
	יהיה הר בֵּית־יהוה	ἐμφανὲς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ κυρίου,
	נכון בראש ההרים	ἕτοιμον ἐπὶ τὰς κορυφὰς τῶν ὀρέων,

Contrary to LXX Micah, LXX Isaiah does give a rendering of בית later on in the same sentence: there the noun is elaborated into the phrase καὶ ὁ οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ. Because of this significant difference from LXX Mic 4:1, it seems more likely that, rather than having been affected by each other, the translators of Isaiah and Micah have both on their own initiative replaced the unusual phrasing הר בית־יהוה by the more common one τὸ ὄρος τοῦ κυρίου.[371] The same phrase also returns in the ensuing context of both verses, namely in Isa 2:3 and Mic 4:2. Hence, an extra motivation for the translators to use τὸ ὄρος τοῦ κυρίου was probably the wish to harmonise their texts to these later verses:[372]

Isa 2:2   ἐμφανὲς *τὸ ὄρος τοῦ κυρίου* καὶ *ὁ οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ* ἐπ’ ἄκρων τῶν ὀρέων

Isa 2:3   Δεῦτε καὶ ἀναβῶμεν εἰς *τὸ ὄρος κυρίου* καὶ εἰς *τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ* Ιακωβ

Mic 4:1   ἐμφανὲς *τὸ ὄρος τοῦ κυρίου*, ἕτοιμον ἐπὶ τὰς κορυφὰς τῶν ὀρέων

Mic 4:2   Δεῦτε ἀναβῶμεν εἰς *τὸ ὄρος κυρίου* καὶ εἰς *τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ* Ιακωβ

| **Isa 10:21** | שאר ישוב שאר יעקב | *καὶ ἔσται τὸ καταλειφθὲν τοῦ Ιακωβ* |
| | אל־אל גבור | ἐπὶ θεὸν ἰσχύοντα. |

Words close to καὶ ἔσται τὸ καταλειφθὲν τοῦ Ιακωβ present themselves in LXX Mic 5:6–7:

Mic 5:6–7	והיה שארית יעקב	καὶ ἔσται τὸ ὑπόλειμμα τοῦ Ιακωβ
	בקרב עמים רבים כטל ...	ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐν μέσῳ λαῶν πολλῶν ὡς δρόσος ...
	והיה שארית יעקב	καὶ ἔσται τὸ ὑπόλειμμα τοῦ Ιακωβ
	בגוים בקרב עמים רבים כאריה ...	ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐν μέσῳ λαῶν πολλῶν ὡς λέων ...

It could be that the Isaiah translator in reformulating Isa 10:21 has drawn upon these verses. If such is the case, the fact that the noun for "remnant" differs in the Greek versions of Micah and Isaiah (being respectively ὑπόλειμμα and καταλειφθέν), would point in the direction of LXX Isaiah resting on the *Hebrew* text of Micah. Nonetheless, the reformulation of Isa 10:21 can also be explained without the interference of Mic 5:6–7, since שאר ישוב may well have been omitted just for the sake of condensation, the resemblance that exists between the two texts being merely coincidental.

Isa 63:19–64:1 (64:1–2)

| | לוא־קרעת שמים | ἐὰν ἀνοίξῃς τὸν οὐρανόν, |
| | ירדת מפניך הרים | τρόμος λήμψεται ἀπὸ σοῦ *ὄρη*, |

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[371] For τὸ ὄρος (τοῦ) κυρίου cf. Gen 22:14; Num 10:33; Ps 23:3; Isa 2:3; 30:29; Mic 4:2; and Zech 8:3. The phrase τὸ ὄρος (τοῦ) θεοῦ appears in Exod 4:27; 18:5; 19:3; 24:13; Ps 67:16; and Ezek 28:14,16. For ὄρος οἴκου τοῦ κυρίου, see only 2 Chr 33:15.

[372] Cf. sections 7.3.1.1e and 8.2.3.

נזלו כקדח אש המסים   καὶ *τακήσονται, ὡς κηρὸς ἀπὸ πυρὸς* τήκεται.

In Isa 63:19–64:1 (64:1–2) the Greek applies a somewhat different imagery from the Hebrew, involving the melting of the mountains like wax.[373] In addition to Ps 97(96):5 and Ps 68(67):3 (see section 8.4.2.1), Mic 1:4 also shows quite some overlap in vocabulary with these verses in LXX Isaiah:

Mic 1:4	ונמסו ההרים תחתיו	καὶ σαλευθήσεται **τὰ ὄρη** ὑποκάτωθεν αὐτοῦ,
	והעמקים יתבקעו	καὶ αἱ κοιλάδες **τακήσονται**
	כדונג מפני האש	**ὡς κηρὸς ἀπὸ** προσώπου πυρὸς
	כמים מגרים במורד	καὶ ὡς ὕδωρ καταφερόμενον ἐν καταβάσει.

In view of the fact that the verb form τακήσονται appears exactly the same in both LXX versions, and given the virtually identical phrases ὡς κηρὸς ἀπὸ πυρός and ὡς κηρὸς ἀπὸ προσώπου πυρός, this example might well support the dependency of LXX Isaiah on the Greek translation of Micah.

8.4.5.6 Habakkuk

Isa 13:22   וקרוב לבוא עתה וימיה לא ימשכו   ταχὺ ἔρχεται καὶ οὐ χρονιεῖ.

The Greek text of Isa 13:22 calls to mind LXX Hab 2:3:

Hab 2:3   כי־בא יבא לא יאחר   ὅτι **ἐρχόμενος** ἥξει καὶ **οὐ μὴ χρονίσῃ**.

The congruence between the two Greek translations is considered by Seeligmann as evidence in favour of the reliance of LXX Isaiah on LXX Habakkuk.[374] A point of critique on this assumption has been raised by Wevers. He notes that the correspondence might only indicate that LXX Isaiah was acquainted with the *Hebrew* Habakkuk, and not necessarily with its Greek rendition.[375] This criticism is justified, for χρονίζω is a common translation of אחר in the Septuagint,[376] and hence could just as well have been the Isaiah translator's *own* rendering of the Hebrew verb in Hab 2:3, provided that he has used that text for his translation. But even the existence of a relationship between LXX Isa 13:22 and the *Hebrew* version of Hab 2:3 can be questioned, as is done by Dogniez. She argues that this link may have been unintentional, or is just reflecting an exegesis which was current at the time of the translator. She also points to LXX Isa 51:14 which expresses a similar idea.[377]

Isa 19:8   ואנו הדיגים ואבלו   καὶ στενάξουσιν οἱ ἁλεεῖς, καὶ στενάξουσι

כל־משליכי ביאור חכה   πάντες οἱ βάλλοντες *ἄγκιστρον* εἰς τὸν ποταμόν,

ופרשי מכמרת על־פני־מים אמללו   καὶ οἱ βάλλοντες *σαγήνας* καὶ *οἱ ἀμφιβολεῖς* πενθήσουσι.

The Hebrew words ופרשי מכמרת ("who spread nets upon the water") seem to have generated two Greek phrases: (a) οἱ βάλλοντες σαγήνας ("they who cast nets") and (b) οἱ ἀμφιβολεῖς

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[373] For an analysis of the translation, see section 8.4.2.1.

[374] Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 72. Also Goshen-Gottstein thinks that the wording of LXX Isaiah has been taken from Hab 2:3 (*HUB Isa*, 51). Ziegler (*Untersuchungen*, 112) assumes that the translator found Hab 2:3 in the margin of his Hebrew manuscript and integrated it into the main text.

[375] Wevers, "Septuaginta-Forschungen," 180.

[376] Cf. Gen 32:5; 34:19; Deut 23:22; Judg 5:28; Ps 40(39):18; 70(69):6; Qoh 5:3; and Dan 9:19.

[377] Dogniez, "Le traducteur d'Isaïe," 31. Cf. also Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 112.

("fishermen"). Although פרש is not reproduced anywhere else in the LXX by an inflection of ἀμφιβάλλω, it is rendered in a few places by the related verb περιβάλλω ("to throw round").[378] The prepositional phrase על־פני־מים seems not to be represented in the Greek.

The supply of καὶ οἱ ἀμφιβολεῖς may be connected to LXX Hab 1:14–15. LXX Hab 1:15 mentions the names of three fishing tools: ἀγκίστρος ("hook"), σαγήνη ("drag-net"), and ἀμφιβλήστρος ("cast-net"). In LXX Isa 19:8 we rediscover two of those tools, namely ἀγκίστρος and σαγήνη, forming part of the descriptions of fishermen, while the third one—ἀμφιβλήστρος—is represented in ἀμφιβολεῖς. Would it be too speculative to presume that the Isaiah translator adopted this triad from LXX Habakkuk, and that this would elucidate the addition of καὶ οἱ ἀμφιβολεῖς in LXX Isa 19:8?

Hab 1:14–15

ותעשה אדם כדגי הים	καὶ ποιήσεις τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὡς τοὺς ἰχθύας τῆς θαλάσσης
כרמש לא־משל בו	καὶ ὡς τὰ ἑρπετὰ τὰ οὐκ ἔχοντα ἡγούμενον.
כלה בחכה העלה	συντέλειαν ἐν **ἀγκίστρῳ** ἀνέσπασε
יגרהו בחרמו	καὶ εἵλκυσεν αὐτὸν ἐν **ἀμφιβλήστρῳ**
ויאספהו במכמרתו	καὶ συνήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς **σαγήναις** αὐτοῦ.[379]

Such a hypothesis would be advocated by the circumstance that the verb ἀμφιβάλλω and its derivations are rare in the Septuagint: ἀμφιβάλλω can only be found in Hab 1:17; ἀμφιβλήστρον, besides in Hab 1:15,16,17, only in Ps 140:10 and Qoh 9:12, while ἀμφιβολεύς, apart from in LXX Isa 19:8 occurs nowhere else in the Septuagint. Furthermore, if the Isaiah translator were *not* influenced by LXX Habakkuk, but just wanted to employ two different words for "net," he could just as well have chosen δίκτυον, which is a more usual word for "(fishing) net" than σαγήνη in the LXX.[380] Yet, admittedly, the appearance in LXX Isaiah and LXX Habakkuk of three similar words in the domain of fishing could still be fortuitous.[381]

8.4.5.7 Zephaniah

Isa 16:12	והיה כי־נראה	καὶ ἔσται εἰς τὸ ἐντραπῆναί σε,
	כי־נלאה מואב על־הבמה	ὅτι ἐκοπίασε Μωαβ ἐπὶ τοῖς βωμοῖς
	ובא אל־מקדשו	καὶ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὰ χειροποίητα αὐτῆς
	להתפלל ולא יוכל	ὥστε προσεύξασθαι, καὶ *οὐ μὴ δύνηται ἐξελέσθαι αὐτόν*.

A clause that is practically identical to οὐ μὴ δύνηται ἐξελέσθαι αὐτόν in LXX Isa 16:12, and which likewise describes the inability of things valued by people to save them, comes up in LXX Zeph 1:18:[382]

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[378] See Ruth 3:9; 2 Kgs/4 Kgdms 8:15; and Ezek 32:3.

[379] The nouns σαγήνη and ἀμφιβλήστρος, as well as the verb ἀμφιβάλλω are extant in LXX Hab 1:16–17 as well: ἕνεκεν τούτου θύσει τῇ *σαγήνῃ* αὐτοῦ καὶ θυμιάσει τῷ *ἀμφιβλήστρῳ* αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐλίπανεν μερίδα αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὰ βρώματα αὐτοῦ ἐκλεκτά· διὰ τοῦτο *ἀμφιβαλεῖ* τὸ *ἀμφίβληστρον* αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἀποκτέννειν ἔθνη οὐ φείσεται.

[380] δίκτυον has 22 occurrences in the LXX; σαγήνη occurs, besides in Isa 19:8 and Hab 1:15–16, only in Qoh 7:26 and Ezek 26:5,14; 47:10.

[381] For a stylistic explanation of the plus in Isa 19:8, see section 7.3.2.1b.

[382] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 65.

Zeph 1:18   גַּם־כַּסְפָּם גַּם־זְהָבָם   καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ χρυσίον αὐτῶν

לֹא־יוּכַל לְהַצִּילָם בְּיוֹם עֶבְרַת יְהוָה   οὐ μὴ δύνηται ἐξελέσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὀργῆς κυρίου

The idea that the Isaiah translator has borrowed words from the Greek translation of Zeph 1:18 might be sustained by the employment in LXX Isaiah of δύνηται—a verb form in the singular, referring to a *plural* (albeit neutral) subject (τὰ χειροποίητα αὐτῆς). In Zeph 1:18 the same singular verb appears, but in this case referring to a singular subject.[383]
A plainer solution, however, is that the addition of ἐξελέσθαι αὐτόν in LXX Isa 16:2 was inspired by passages in the Book of Isaiah itself: a similar theme, encompassing the false hope of being saved by idols, features, for instance, in Isa 44:17,20 and 46:6–7 (see section 8.3.1). Nevertheless, those texts do not reveal as close a correspondence with LXX Isa 16:12 as the LXX of Zeph 1:18.

Isa 63:4   כִּי יוֹם נָקָם בְּלִבִּי   *ἡμέρα* γὰρ ἀνταποδόσεως *ἐπῆλθεν αὐτοῖς*,

וּשְׁנַת גְּאוּלַי בָּאָה   καὶ ἐνιαυτὸς λυτρώσεως πάρεστι.

The LXX of Isa 63:4 may have been adapted in line with Zeph 2:2. Both verses announce the coming of the day of the Lord's judgement:

Zeph 2:2   בְּטֶרֶם לֹא־יָבוֹא עֲלֵיכֶם יוֹם אַף־יְהוָה   πρὸ τοῦ **ἐπελθεῖν ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἡμέραν** θυμοῦ κυρίου.

Given that LXX Isaiah employs the verb ἐπέρχομαι instead of the more common ἔρχομαι, one might assume that the translator drew inspiration from Zeph 2:2's *Greek* version.

8.4.5.8 Conclusion to 8.4.5

Also as regards the relationship between the Greek translation of Isaiah and the Book of the Twelve Prophets this investigation may have raised more questions than it answers. It is unsure, or even questionable, whether the majority of the examples presented above can confirm the hypothesis of the dependence of LXX Isaiah on either the Hebrew or the Greek text of the Twelve Prophets. Yet, there are some instances that may still leave some room for the idea that the Isaiah translator has made use of the Twelve. These texts, because of literal correspondences between the Greek versions of both documents, may point to the translator's familiarity with the Twelve Prophets in their *Greek* version: see Isa 16:12/Zeph 1:18; Isa 19:8/Hab 1:14–15; Isa 63:4/Zeph 2:2; and Isa 64:1–2/Mic 1:4 above.

8.4.6 Assimilation to fixed Biblical phrases

In some instances—of which several have already been examined in the previous paragraphs—the translator did not adopt elements from one *specific* Biblical text, but merely adjusted his translation in line with locutions that figure in Scripture repeatedly.[384] Such assimilation to set phrases, as far as it concerns pluses and minuses, occurs in LXX Isaiah in the following places:

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[383] χειροποίητα is a noun in the neuter plural, therefore able to govern a plural as well as a singular verb. Elsewhere in LXX Isa χειροποίητα occurs once as the subject of a plural verb (21:9), and also once as the subject of a singular verb (19:1). Outside of LXX Isaiah, the noun functions as a subject in merely one place, that is, in Dan 6:28, governing a plural verb.

[384] For the distinction between "harmonisation" and "assimilation," cf. Tov, "Nature and Background," 5.

3:9	כי־גמלו להם רעה	διότι **βεβούλευνται βουλὴν** πονηρὰν καθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν
7:5	יען כי־יעץ עליך ארם רעה	ὅτι **ἐβουλεύσαντο βουλὴν** πονηρὰν περὶ σοῦ
31:6	לאשר העמיקו סרה	οἱ τὴν βαθεῖαν **βουλὴν** βουλευόμενοι καὶ ἄνομον.

βουλεύομαι βουλήν reflects the Hebrew idiom יעץ עצה. In (LXX) Isaiah this phrase can further be found in 8:10; 14:26; 19:17 (LXX); and 31:6 (LXX). Beyond Isaiah it appears in e.g. 2 Sam 16:23; 17:7; 1 Kgs 1:12 (MT); 12:8,13; 2 Chr 10:8; Jer 49:20(30:14); 49:30(30:25); 50:45(27:45); Ezek 11:2; and Dan 6:5 (LXX).

9:18(19)	בעברת יהוה צבאות נעתם ארץ	διὰ **θυμὸν ὀργῆς** κυρίου συγκέκαυται ἡ γῆ ὅλη

The words θυμὸν (τῆς) ὀργῆς also feature in LXX Isa 13:13, and elsewhere in the Septuagint in almost twenty other places. The related expression ὀργὴ (τοῦ) θυμοῦ comes up about thirty times. In the MT the equivalent expressions חרון אף and חרי־אף are attested approximately forty times.

14:3	והיה ביום הניח יהוה לך	Καὶ **ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ** ἀναπαύσει σε ὁ θεὸς
30:25	ביום הרג רב	**ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ**, ὅταν ἀπόλωνται πολλοὶ

For (ἐν) τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ (and, printed in italics, ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ), cf. in LXX Isaiah: 2:11,17,20; 3:7,18; 4:2; 5:30; 7:*18*,20,*21*,*23*; 10:17,*20*,*27*; *11:10,11*; 12:1,4; 14:4; 17:*4*,7,9; 19:18,19,21,23,24; 22:8,12,*20*,25; *23:15*; 25:9; 26:1; 27:1,2,*12*,*13*; 28:5; 29:18; 30:23; 31:7; 38:12; and 52:6. Across the LXX as a whole (ἐν) τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ occurs hundreds of times.

19:18	ונשבעות ליהוה צבאות	καὶ ὀμνύουσαι **τῷ ὀνόματι** κυρίου·

The expression ὀμνύω τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου/τοῦ θεοῦ/μου—mirroring נשבע בשם יהוה—has parallels in the LXX of e.g. Deut 10:20; Lev 19:12; 1 Kgdms 20:42; Prov 30:22; Isa 48:1; Jer 12:16; 51(44):26; Zech 5:4; and Mal 3:5.[385]

32:11	וחגורה על־חלצים	**περιζώσασθε σάκκους** τὰς ὀσφύας

Within LXX Isaiah περιζωννύω σάκκους/σάκκον returns in 3:24 and 15:3. Outside of Isaiah, one comes across this expression in the LXX of e.g. 2 Kgdms 3:31; 3 Kgdms 20:27; 21:32; Jer 4:8; 6:26; 30:19; Lam 2:10; Ezek 7:18; and Joel 1:8.

39:2	וישמח עליהם חזקיהו	καὶ **ἐχάρη** ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς Εζεκιας **χαρὰν μεγάλην**

Perhaps the Isaiah translator based his insertion of χαρὰν μεγάλην on a Hebrew manuscript in which he read שמחה גדולה. Alternatively, the words may be an addition in assimilation to the phrase שמח שמחה גדולה, of which the Hebrew Bible has several occurrences: see e.g. 1 Kgs 1:40; 1 Chr 29:9; Neh 12:43; and Jonah 4:6. In the LXX this phrase is usually rendered with the help of the verb εὐφραίνω. The expression χαίρω χαρὰν μεγάλην, as it appears in Isa 39:2, can further only be found in Jonah 4:6, as well as once in the New Testament, namely in Matt 2:10.[386]

41:4	מי־פעל ועשה	τίς ἐνήργησε καὶ **ἐποίησε ταῦτα**;

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[385] Cf. van der Kooij, "The Old Greek of Isaiah 19:16–25," 135–136.
[386] For a third explanation of this plus, see section 8.2.1.5.

41:20　　　　כי יד־יהוה עשתה זאת　　ὅτι χεὶρ κυρίου ἐποίησε ταῦτα <u>**πάντα**</u>

Phrases such as "God who has done (all) these things" recur repeatedly throughout the Bible, particularly in wisdom texts on God's inapprehensible greatness. Within Isaiah, see 9:6; 37:32; and 45:7, and elsewhere in e.g. Deut 32:27; Jer 14:22; Dan 3:28; and Jdt 8:14; 15:10.

43:28　　　　ואחלל שרי קדש　　καὶ ἐμίαναν οἱ ἄρχοντες **τὰ ἅγιά <u>μου</u>**

In the Greek Isaiah τὰ ἅγιά μου has additional occurrences in 30:29 and 62:9. The phrase further appears frequently in the Greek Ezekiel and a few times in Leviticus.

44:28　　　　והיכל תוסד　　καὶ **τὸν οἶκον τὸν ἅγιόν <u>μου</u>** θεμελιώσω.[387]

ὁ οἶκος ὁ ἅγιός μου is paralleled in the LXX of Deut 26:15; Isa 63:15; and Mic 1:2. Compare τὰ ἅγιά μου above.

45:11　　　　שאלוני על־בני　　Ἐρωτήσατέ με **περὶ τῶν υἱῶν μου**
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　καὶ περὶ τῶν θυγατέρων μου

The word couple "sons and daughters" has more than one hundred instances in the MT.

48:11　　　　כי איך יחל　　ὅτι <u>**τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα**</u> βεβηλοῦται

For the phraseology "to defile (God's, my, etc.) name," compare e.g. Lev 18:21; 19:12; 20:3; 21:6; and 22:2,32. In the Book of Ezekiel the same expression is used several times too: in Ezek 20:44; 36:20; 39:7; and 43:8. Compare also βλασφημέω τὸ ὄνομά μου in Isa 52:5.

48:19　　　　ויהי כחול זרעך　　καὶ ἐγένετο ἂν ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τὸ σπέρμα σου
　　　　　　　 וצאצאי מעיך כמעתיו　　καὶ τὰ ἔκγονα τῆς κοιλίας σου ὡς ὁ **χοῦς <u>τῆς γῆς</u>**·

The Hebrew equivalent for ὁ χοῦς τῆς γῆς—(ה)ארץ עפר—has attestations in Gen 13:16; 28:14; Exod 8:12,13; 2 Sam 22:43; 2 Chr 1:9; Job 14:19; Isa 40:12; and Amos 2:7. For χοῦς (τῆς) γῆς, see the LXX of 2 Kgdms 22:43; 2 Chr 1:9; Amos 2:7; and Sir 44:21.

49:5　　　　ועתה אמר יהוה　　καὶ νῦν <u>**οὕτως**</u> **λέγει κύριος**

The messenger formula οὕτως λέγει κύριος is regular phraseology in LXX Isaiah, employed around 26 times. In the other books of the LXX one finds only nine examples of it (four in 2 Chronicles and five in Jeremiah). The insertion of οὕτως in the verse under consideration may principally be a matter of contextual harmonisation: see οὕτως λέγει κύριος in vv.7, 8, and 22.

55:11　　　　והצליח אשר שלחתיו　　καὶ **εὐοδώσω <u>τὰς ὁδούς σου</u>** καὶ τὰ ἐντάλματά μου.

A nearly identical expression—καὶ εὐόδωσα τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ—figures in LXX Isa 48:15. Comparable phrases can further be encountered in Gen 24:21,40,42,48,56, and Deut 28:29.

57:17　　　　הסתר ואקצף　　καὶ **ἀπέστρεψα <u>τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ἀπ' αὐτοῦ</u>**, καὶ ἐλυπήθη
59:2　　　　וחטאותיכם הסתירו　　καὶ διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ὑμῶν **ἀπέστρεψε**

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[387] 1QIsaᵃ has והיכל ׄתיסד. It is unclear, though, whether the suspended yod belongs to either תיסד or והיכל; cf. section 12.3.1.1.

<div dir="rtl">פנים מכם משמוע</div> τὸ πρόσωπον <u>αὐτοῦ</u> ἀφ᾽ ὑμῶν τοῦ μὴ ἐλεῆσαι.

The verb phrase הסתיר פנים מן / ἀποστρέφω τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ἀπό with God as its subject has precedents in e.g. Deut 31:17,18; 32:20; Ps 13(12):2; 22(21):25; 27(26):9; 51(50):11; 69(68):18; 88(87):15; 102(101):3; 143(142):7; Isa 8:17; 54:8; 64:6; Jer 33:5; Ezek 7:22; 39:23,24,29; and Mic 3:4. In the Greek version of the formulation πρόσωπον is almost always followed by a possessive pronoun.

66:9   אם־אני המוליד ועצרתי   οὐκ <u>ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ</u> γεννῶσαν καὶ στεῖραν ἐποίησα;

The interjection ἰδοὺ ἐγώ recurs more than two hundred times throughout the LXX, seven times of which are in LXX Isaiah (aside from 66:9, also in 28:16; 37:7; 54:11,16; 65:18; and 66:12). In the case of 66:9 the supplying of ἰδού may be in adjustment to ἰδοὺ ἐγώ in v.12.

8.5 Conclusion

Anaphoric translation—that is, the borrowing of elements from other Biblical texts, both from within the Book of Isaiah as well as from beyond—is one of the main tendencies displayed by LXX Isaiah, accounting for a substantial part of the pluses and minuses that can be found in the translation. Sections that have been used for borrowing mostly concern Scriptural passages which exhibit a thematic correspondence with the Isaianic text for which they have been employed. The borrowed elements usually consist of words or expressions, but sometimes a mere theme or thought seems to have been adopted. Besides, the translator has occasionally applied *harmonisation*, in which case he has approximated a formulation to a parallel one elsewhere, often in the near context or in a nearby chapter. Finally, LXX Isaiah contains references to other texts that are (almost) solely lexical, without the occurrence of two similar contexts. This mainly pertains to a number of borrowings from the Greek Pentateuch, a work which was probably utilised by the translator as a kind of lexicon.

Aside from the adoption of expressions or themes from *specific* parts of the Bible, a related category concerns the assimilation to phrases that occur repeatedly across the entire Hebrew Bible, and which may have been fixed formulations. Yet, it is sometimes hard to distinguish whether a plus belongs to the former or to the latter group.

Another difficulty lies in determining whether anaphoric translations in LXX Isaiah are based on either the Hebrew or on the Greek version of a certain text. This problem principally applies to cases of *inter*textuality, though hardly to cases of contextual or intratextual borrowing, for it is obvious that when the translator took elements from the Book of Isaiah itself, he commonly made use of his own translation, also when he drew on passages later on in the book. When, however, he relied on scriptures outside of Isaiah, it is not always clear which version he had in front of him. In the case of the Pentateuch he has generally quoted the Greek version, in the case of the prophetical books and the Psalms he might have utilised both versions or only the Hebrew.

When attributing pluses and minuses to anaphoric translation, one has to bear in mind that elements which appear to be derived from other Scriptural texts, are sometimes explainable in another way as well, for instance as being caused by stylistic motives. Nevertheless, such alternative explanations can often exist side by side. The translator may, for example, have

wished to ameliorate his text stylistically and for that purpose have used words that he detected in a related text somewhere else in Scripture.

Although this chapter, in a somewhat simplistic way, generally speaks of the *translator* as the one who extrapolated expressions from Biblical passages elsewhere, in most instances it is also possible that it was a later editor who practised this technique. Besides, some anaphoric elements may already have been present in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the translator, having been introduced into it by a copyist. However, as anaphoric translation occurs so frequently in the LXX of Isaiah, the majority of cases can be assumed to originate from the translator himself.

CHAPTER EIGHT