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.”

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.”

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.”

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 hébraïque, tantôt grecque.” Koenig calls these influences “emprunts scripturaires analogiques.”

Intertextual and contextual exegesis
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.”

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
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.

\(^6\) 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. 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. According to some, such as Ziegler and Zillessen, the explanation for this reliance on other texts lies occasionally in the translator’s lack of understanding of the Hebrew text. 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. 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. 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.

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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10 E.g. Ziegler, Untersuchungen, 134; Seeligmann, Septuagint Version, 45–47; Koenig, L’herméneutique analogique, 26, etc.
12 Koenig, L’herméneutique analogique, 3–12, 26–37.
13 Koenig, L’herméneutique analogique, 48–49.
14 Koenig, L’herméneutique analogique, 73.
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 (انون) 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

15 Prijs, Jüdische Tradition, 84.

16 Cf. e.g. Aeijmelaeus, “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.

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’).

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 ἀλλικ ... σου βενα ... Ποια ... ἐρισθήκη ... Και ἀν ο εξ ανθρώπων αΝ Ποιηθήκαν ... ἔρισθήκη... ἐρισθήκη διδόται μελή της Ασσυρίων ... ... ἐρισθήκη... ἐρισθήκη...

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

καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Ραψακης ... ἡμέρες Αλλικ ... ἐρισθήκη διδόται μελή της Ασσυρίων ... ... ἐρισθήκη... ἐρισθήκη διδόται μελή της Ασσυρίων ... ... ἐρισθήκη... ἐρισθήκη διδόται μελή της Ασσυρίων...

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

καὶ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὸν Ελιακιµ καὶ Σοµνας καὶ Ιωαχ ... ἐρισθήκη... ἐρισθήκη διδόται μελή της Ασσυρίων ... ... ἐρισθήκη... ἐρισθήκη διδόται μελή της Ασσυρίων ...

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

καὶ εἶπε Ραψακης πρὸς αὐτοὺς ... λαλήσαι ... ἐρισθήκη... ἐρισθήκη διδόται μελή της Ασσυρίων ... ... ἐρισθήκη... ἐρισθήκη διδόται μελή της Ασσυρίων ...

(BZAW 252; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997). Catastini is of the opinion that of the various versions of the Hezekiah narratives LXX Isaiah and 1QIsa preserve the earliest textual form, after which follows MT Isaiah, which “represents a developed form of the text, but one preserving several earlier textual peculiarities.” MT 2 Kings he thinks to contain the most developed form (Catastini, Isaiā 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 Ραψακὴς ... καὶ εἶπεν ... Ἰομĕρ
ἐκούσατε τοὺς λόγους τοῦ βασιλεῖος
τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλεῖος Ασσουρίων
Τάδε λέγει ὁ βασιλεὺς ... οὖχ ἂν ἑπέ 

καὶ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἐλιακὶ καὶ Σομνὰς καὶ ἱωάχι 
Λάλησον πρὸς τοὺς παιδὰς σου Συριστί, ἀκούσεις γὰρ ἡμεῖς.
καὶ μὴ λάλει πρὸς ἡμᾶς Ιουδαιστί καὶ καθημένους ἑπὶ τῷ τείχει; 

A’ Narrative conclusion (vv.21–22)

Ελιακὶ ... καὶ Σομνὰς ... καὶ ἱωάχι ... ὑοὰτ ἂν ... εὐθεῖα

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 parallel 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 αὐτοὺς τοῦ εἶπεν Ραψακῆς, aligning this clause to καὶ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἐλιακὶ καὶ Σομνὰς καὶ ἱωάχι in v.11 (where πρὸς αὐτὸν renders ἀλλὰ δεῖ).
- In v.11 he has freely translated μὴν as τῶν ἀνθρώπων, bringing the phrase εἰς τὰ ὡτὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῦ ἑπὶ τῷ τείχει more in accordance with πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὸς καθημένου ἑπὶ τῷ τείχει in v.12:

36:11

καὶ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἐλιακί καὶ Σομνὰς καὶ ἱωάχι 
Λάλησον πρὸς τοὺς παιδὰς σου Συριστί, ἀκούσεις γὰρ ἡμεῖς,
καὶ μὴ λάλει πρὸς ἡμᾶς Ιουδαιστί καὶ καθημένους ἑπὶ τῷ τείχει; 

36:12

καὶ εἶπε Ραψακῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς 
Μὴ πρὸς τὸν κύριον υμῶν ἢ πρὸς υμᾶς ἀπέσταλκέ με ὁ κύριός μου
λαλήσαι τοὺς λόγους τούτους;
οὐχὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς καθημένους ἑπὶ 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:

22 1QIsa 36:11 presents ἄλλων ἄλλων οὐκ ἦν οὖσα.
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One could posit that this agreement between LXX Isa 36:12 and 2 Kgs 18:27 contradicts the supposition that πρὸς αὐτοῦς in Isa 36:12 concerns a harmonising addition by the translator of Isaiah, and that it rather indicates that the insertion of πρὸς αὐτοῦς 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 αὐτοῦς in v.27 in harmonisation with the preceding verse (in this case parallel to πρὸς Ραψακῆς).

The second deviation—the rendition in LXX Isa 36:11 of τῆς ἡσυχᾶς as τῶν ἀνθρώπων—is not supported by LXX 2 Kgs 18:26, which provides τοὺς λαοὺς here. 1Q Isa on the contrary, does mirror the reading of LXX Isa 36:11, offering ανθρωπος. But again, this does not necessarily imply that 1Q Isa and LXX Isaiah based this reading on their (in this respect common) Vorlage. Rather, the Isaiah translator and 1Q Isa scribe have both harmonised their texts separately. This becomes evident from the fact that 1Q Isa 36:11 contains yet another harmonisation divergence from the MT, one which is absent in LXX Isaiah: in 1Q Isa 36:11 Ραψακῆς 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 ἀνθρώπων also appears:

If the occurrence of τῶν ἀνθρώπων in LXX Isa 36:11 were the outcome of the translator’s reading τῆς ἡσυχᾶς instead of τοὺς λαοὺς in his Vorlage—which would in this aspect agree with 1Q Isa—one would also expect LXX Isaiah to provide an equivalent to 1Q Isa’s harmonising plus Ραψακῆς. Yet, since this plus is absent from LXX Isaiah, it is more plausible that the harmonisations in LXX Isaiah and 1Q Isa 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:

If the occurrence of τῆς ἡσυχᾶς in LXX Isa 36:11 were the outcome of the translator’s reading τῶν ἀνθρώπων instead of τοὺς λαοὺς in his Vorlage—which would in this aspect agree with 1Q Isa—one would also expect LXX Isaiah to provide an equivalent to 1Q Isa’s harmonising plus Ραψακῆς. Yet, since this plus is absent from LXX Isaiah, it is more plausible that the harmonisations in LXX Isaiah and 1Q Isa 36:11 came into existence independently of each other.

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.”

In the LXX version of 36:16 an equivalent for כ המלך is absent. This omission has assimilated the formula in v.16 to that in v.4.²⁵

36:4 καὶ αἱρείστησεν Αλλαχοκίων Ἔζεκία

Εἴποτε Εξεκία

τάδε λέγει ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς Ἀσσυρίων

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 (v.13), whereas the section about Hezekiah ends with the warning (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 Ἀλλαχοκίων hath received a variant translation as καὶ μὴ λέγετω ὑμῖν Εξεκίας. On account of this rephrasing, the Greek clause in an antithetical way repeats the words τάδε λέγει ὁ βασιλεὺς 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 λόγοι in v.13: whereas authority is bestowed upon the words of the Assyrian king, the words of Hezekiah are rejected:

²⁵ Also compare כ המלך in 36:14.
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v.13b–14a

Şemşet Atrabatı, melki nequtlu  
Təde lægei ə bəsiləus

cəmər melki
mərlə

v.14b–16a

Alisəms cəlt hoksite  
Mē āpatatwo əmə Ezechıa ə səlo:

ci ərazilət nałebət əncəm
oəi oə dənəhəntəi rəsəssəba əməs:

əxəbiət əncəm ələnəwiətəh
ətəm ytuβət təltət əhət
ətəm xətər həxət
ədi melkə

Alisəmsməcəlt hoksite

The plus əlogoi occurs in the Greek version of 2 Kgs 18:29 as well. Yet, as to the translation of əxəbiət əncəm ələnəwiətəh LXX 2 Kgs 18:30 is closer to the MT, having kəi mə əpelebiətəo əmə Ezechıa ə pros kuryon, contrary to the harmonising translation by mə lægetəo əmə Ezechıa such as LXX Isa 36:15 presents. The MT of 2 Kgs 18:28–31 and 1QIsa 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) ילא is omitted, which has adjusted the words əiəskəuə ci kürıə ə theə əsvə to əiəskəuəν, kürıə in v.17a.
- In v.4c is omitted in adjustment to v.17d, where after the naming of the Assyrian king an apposition such as əiəskəuə əvədiətəiətələ does not follow either.
- In v.4c the suffix in əshə is not represented, in keeping with əshə / απέστειλε 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 ənmərə əvəri 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 ο γεγονός, and the second τον 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 τον λόγους in v.4b, in v.17c preceding διάρρηκτες is not rendered in the LXX.\(^{26}\)

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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:

αἰτὶ ό εἰσακούσατε θόλον ἄλλοτε / τούς λόγους / οὗς ἀπέστειλε βασιλεῖς Ἀσσυρίω | 

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

εἰσάκουσαι κύριος ό θεός σου / τοὺς λόγους / ὄνειδίζειν | ὄνειδίζειν / λόγους / ἰκουσὲ κύριος ό 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 before διάρρηκτες, while in 2 Kgs 19:16 διάρρηκτες is missing in front of διάρρηκτες (so it offers the converse situation to MT Isa 37:4 and 17). Furthermore, we find in MT 2 Kgs 19:16 the verb ἦλθεν with a third person singular suffix attached, contrary to ἦλθεν in MT Isa 37:17. The scribe of MT 2 Kgs 19 might have supplied a suffix to ἦλθεν in v.16 in assimilation to ἦλθεν 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

αἰτὶ ό εἰσακούσατε θόλον ἄλλοτε | 

αἱ γεγονός, κύριε | 

οὗς ἀπέστειλε βασιλεῖς | 

όνειδίζειν θεὸν ζωντα | 

MT 2 Kgs 19:16

αἰτὶ ό εἰσακούσατε θόλον ἄλλοτε | 

ἐκάλεσεν διάρρηκτες βασιλεῖς | 

οὗς ἀπέστειλε βασιλεῖς Ἀσσυρίων | 

ὁ λόγος θεοῦ σου Κυρίε" | 

\(^{26}\) Cf. also 36:13 Ακοισάσετε τοὺς λόγους τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων.

215
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 שלוחה, in which respect this verse agrees with the MT of Isa 37:17:

**LXX 2 Kgs 19:4**

εἴ πως εἰσακούσται κύριος ὁ θεός σου
πάντας τοὺς λόγους Ραψακοῦ,

ὅτι ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς Λασσυρίων ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ
οὐειδίζειν θεόν ζῶντα.

**LXX 2 Kgs 19:16**

κλίνον, κύριε, τὸ οὐς σου καὶ άκουσον
ἀνοιξόν, κύριε, τοὺς ὀρθαλμοὺς σου καὶ ἴδε
καὶ άκουσον τοὺς λόγους Σενναχηρίμ,

οὐς ἀπέστειλεν οὐειδίζειν θεόν 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 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).

**Harmonisation of 38:11b–12a to 38:10**

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

LXX Isa 38:11b–12a:

οὐκέτι μὴ ἰδὼ αὐθρωπὸν ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας μου.
κατέλιπον τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ζωῆς μου.
ἐξῆλθε καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ
καὶ θανάτῳ

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 κόλασις (which perhaps comes from γόλα—"world") and the root מָלַא, 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. The words מַלַּה מָן (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 ἡραίον, 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 λοιπὸν in front of it. Another possibility is that he represented τῆς συγγενείας μου (“my kindred”) by τῶν συγγενέων τῆς ζωῆς μου. 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 Εἶν τῷ οὐκ ημερῶν μου ἐν πύλαις άδου καταλείψω τά ἐτη τά ἐπιλοίπα.

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 οίκῳ μου are complemented, in assimilation to ἐν τῷ οίκῳ αὐτῶν in v.2.
- In v.4 has been elaborated into ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς μου, which has approximated this phrase to καὶ πάντα, δόσα ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς αὐτῶν in v.2.
- In v.2 has no counterpart in the LXX, which has brought the words καὶ οὐκ ἐν οὐθὲν, ὁ οὖν ἐδείξεν Εζεκίας ἐν τῷ οίκῳ αὐτοῦ more into agreement with καὶ οὖν ἐστιν ἐν τῷ οίκῳ μου ὁ οὖν ἔδοξαν 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:

30 However, ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας μου already seems to reproduce עו.שׁי.
39:2 The account of the storyteller

a. parallels and cohesion
b. LXX does not stress the event

c. LXX does not mention the event

39:4 The account of Hezekiah

a. Zephaniah is mentioned but not in LXX

b. LXX mentions the event differently

c. LXX mentions the event

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 אבuckland has also been altered into ἀλλὰ καί τά ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς μου. Yet, contrary to what is the case in LXX Isa 39:2, one does find an equivalent for Πάντα τά ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου εἴδοσαν, in LXX 2 Kgs 20:13. LXX 2 Kgs 20:13 καὶ ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς ὅλον τὸν οἶκον τοῦ νεχωθα, τὸ ἀργυρίου καὶ τὸ χρυσίου, τὰ ἀρώματα καὶ τὸ ἐλαιον τὸ ἀγαθὸν, καὶ τὸν οἶκον τῶν σκευῶν καὶ ὥσα θύραθε ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς αὐτοῦ· οὐκ ἦν λόγος, ὅν οὐκ ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς Εζεκιας ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ξοφίᾳ αὐτοῦ. LXX 2 Kgs 20:15 Πάντα, ὥσα ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου, εἴδον· οὐκ ἦν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου· ὅ οὐκ ἔδειξα αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ 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.

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.

31 According to Person (Kings, 73) was not omitted in LXX Isaiah, but forms an addition in MT Isa, IQIsa', 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 אבuckland in LXX Isa through contextual harmonisation provides a plainer explanation.

32 In all aspects mentioned IQIsa' reflects the MT, except that in v.2 it reads instead of ממלכתו.
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 ἰκουσα 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

In LXX 2 Kgs 19:20 ἰκουσα is a plus as well: ἀ προσήξεω πρὸς μὲ περὶ Σενναχηριβασιλέωσας οσιουσ. 1QIsa37:21 mirrors the MT (except that it reads ἰεροί for ἰεροί).

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

A similar plus cannot be found in MT and LXX 2 Kgs 20:12, nor in 1QIsa3.

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 χαράν 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:

33 Besides, it is an explicitating addition, clarifying the elliptic Hebrew text.
34 See also Catastini, Isai ed Ezechia, 93.
CHAPTER EIGHT

39:1–2

The MT of 2 Kgs 20:13 has instead of ἤσσεμνεν ἥγκης ἡκοθάν ζήσεμα. LXX 2 Kgs 20:13 and 1QIsa 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 1QIsa 36–39 no fewer than twenty pluses can be found, which is about twenty per cent of all additions in the Scroll. 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. Interestingly enough, none of 1QIsa’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 1QIsa’s harmonising pluses (underlined) in chs. 36–39 can be found in 1QIsa 36:4 = MT לאו ויהי הנה בותי בותי (cf. 36:10 לָו וָאֵלֶּה תְּדֵרֵךְ יִשָּׂעַי מִיּוֹז); 1QIsa 36:11 = MT לאו ויהי הנה בותי בותי (cf. 36:12 לָו וָאֵלֶּה תְּדֵרֵךְ יִשָּׂעַי מִיּוֹז); 1QIsa 36:12 = MT לאו ויהי הנה בותי בותי (cf. 36:13 לָו וָאֵלֶּה תְּדֵרֵךְ יִשָּׂעַי מִיּוֹז); 1QIsa 36:14 = MT לאו ויהי הנה בותי בותי (cf. 36:14 לָו וָאֵלֶּה תְּדֵרֵךְ יִשָּׂעַי מִיּוֹז); 1QIsa 37:4 = MT לאו ויהי הנה בותי בותי (cf. 37:33 לָו וָאֵלֶּה תְּדֵרֵךְ יִשָּׂעַי מִיּוֹז); 1QIsa 37:6 = MT לאו ויהי הנה בותי בותי (cf. 37:34 לָו וָאֵלֶּה תְּדֵרֵךְ יִשָּׂעַי מִיּוֹז). Harmonising pluses in 1QIsa that have a parallel in 2 Kgs are: 1QIsa 38:6–7 = MT לאו ויהי הנה בותי בותי (cf. Isa 38:6–7 לָו וָאֵלֶּה תְּדֵרֵךְ יִשָּׂעַי מִיּוֹז).
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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:

![Diagram of contextual harmonisation in LXX Isa 44:14–19]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. 44:14–15</th>
<th>b. 44:16–17</th>
<th>c. 44:19b</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ὁ ἔκοψε ξύλον ἐκ τοῦ δρυμοῦ, ὁ ἐφύτευσε κύριος καὶ ὑπὸς ἐμήκυνεν, ἵνα ἥ αὐραίροσις εἰς καύσων καὶ λαβὼν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐθερμάνθη</td>
<td>οὖ τὸ ἡμιον αὐτοῦ κατέκαυσαν ἐν πυρί</td>
<td>οτι τὸ ἡμιον αὐτοῦ κατέκαυσαν ἐν πυρί</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>καὶ καύσατος ἐπεσαν ἄρτους ἐπ’ αὐτῶν</td>
<td>καὶ καύσατος ἐπεσαν ἄρτους ἐπ’ αὐτῶν</td>
<td>καὶ ἐπεσαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄνθρωπων αὐτοῦ ἄρτους</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 (λοιπὸν) 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 the idol is made out of the rest of the wood is harmonised in \(v.16\); shown in shadow script) has been adapted to the Greek. Lastly, in the 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 the verb in \(v.15\) by καὶ προσκυνοῦσιν αὐτοῖς.

### 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 IQIsa\(^a\) displays harmonising variants in Isa 44:14–19, but these are different from the ones in LXX Isa: IQIsa\(^a\) seems to have adapted account \(b\) \((v.v.16–17)\) to account \(c\) \((v.19b)\) by reading for the Masoretic text θερμάνθη καὶ δον ρ. in \(v.16\), and by reading θερμάνθη καὶ δον ρ. 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LXX</th>
<th>MT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1:21</td>
<td>2:2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>πόλις πιστῆ Σιὼν</td>
<td>&quot;Οτι ἐσται ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις ἐμφανές τὸ δρός τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ὁ οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ ἀκρων τῶν ὀρέων</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:26</td>
<td>2:3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>μητρόπολις πιστῆ Σιὼν</td>
<td>Δεῦτε ἀναβῶμεν εἰς τὸ δρός κυρίου καὶ εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ ἱκανῷ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3:7
Οὖκ ἔσομαι σου ἀρχηγός: οὐ γὰρ ἐστιν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου ἀρτὸς οὔδε ἰμάτιον

3:6
Ἰμάτιον ἔχεις, ἀρχηγός 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: נב שיחא). Verse 7 gives the negative answer of this person (MT: וב נב שיחא). 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 ἀρχηγός ἡμῶν in v.7.

13:5
ἔρχεσθαι ἐκ γῆς πόρρωθεν ἀπ’ ἀκρου θεμέλιου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ | 13:13 ὁ γὰρ οὐρανὸς θυμωθήσεται καὶ ἡ γῆ σεισθήσεται ἐκ τῶν θεμελίων αὐτῆς

13:9
θεῖναι τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην ἔρημον

13:11 καὶ ἐντελοῦμαι τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ὅλῃ κακά

14:4 καὶ ἐρέις ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ | 14:3 Καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ

14:12 συνετρίβη εἰς τὴν γῆν ὁ ἀποστέλλων πρὸς πάντα τὰ θεμ. | 14:26 καὶ αὕτη ἡ χείρ ἡ ὑψηλή ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ θεμ. τῆς οἰκουμένης.

14:17 ὁ θεὸς τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην ἔρημον

15:7 ἐπάξω γὰρ (−) ἐπὶ τὴν φάραγγα Ἄραβας

The MT reading of the clause cited from 15:7 is מֵאָצוֹל לְתיו יִשְׂרָאֵל. The LXX has apparently read מֵאָצוֹל לְתיו יִשְׂרָאֵל 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 מֵאָצוֹל לְתיו יִשְׂרָאֵל by ἐπάξω γὰρ ἐπὶ 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 (כֵּרָאת יְלֵי מִנְפָּת הָיוֹת).

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39 Cf. sections 7.3.1.1e and 8.4.5.5.
CHAPTER EIGHT

15:8 καὶ ὀλολυγμὸς αὐτῆς ἐκ τοῦ φρέατος τοῦ Αἰλιμ. 15:4 ἐκ τοῦ Ἱσσαα ἦκούσθη ἡ φωνὴ αὐτῆς: 15:5 ἡ καρδία τῆς Μωαβίτιδος βοᾷ ἐν ἑαυτῇ ἐκ τῆς Σηγωρ

21:16 Ἐτι ἐνιαυτὸς ὡς ἐνιαυτὸς μισθωτοῦ, ἐκλείψει ἡ δόξα τῶν ἱλῶν Κηδαρ 21:17 καὶ τὸ κατάλοιπον τῶν τοξευμάτων τῶν ἱσχυρῶν ἱλῶν Κηδαρ ἔσται ὀλίγον


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 him his insignia. In the ensuing verses—vv. 20–24—he threatens to give them to Eliakim instead. By way of the insertion of

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

tὴν στολὴν σου (17) tὴν στολὴν σου (21)
tὸν στέφανον σου τὸν ἐνδοξὸν (18) tὸν στέφανον σου (21)
tῆς οἰκονομίας σου (19) tῆν οἰκονομίαν σου (21)


26:5a ὁς ταπεινώσας κατήγαγες τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν υψηλοῖς: 26:5b πόλεις ὀχυρὰς καταβάλεις καὶ κατάξεις ἐκ τῆς ἐδάφους:

With the MT of 26:5a reading ὡς, the LXX seems to represent the verb ὡς by both ταπεινώσας and κατήγαγες. 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 ὄψος τῆς καταφυγῆς τοῦ τοίχου σου ταπεινώσας, καὶ καταβάλεις, καὶ καταβήσονται ἐκ τῆς ἐδάφους.

26:19 ἀναστήσονται οἱ νεκροὶ (–), καὶ ἐγερθήσονται οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις (–) 26:14 οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ ζωὴν οὐ μὴ ἵδωσιν, οὐδὲ ἱστροὶ οὐ μὴ ἀναστήσωσι.

The lack of representation of the suffix in μνημεία (οἱ νεκροὶ) and ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις in 26:19 may be the result of harmonisation with μνημεία / oἱ δὲ νεκροὶ in v.14.

27:8 οὐ γὰρ ὁ μελετῶν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ κλήρῳ ἀνελεῖν 27:7 καὶ ὃς αὐτὸς ἀνελεῖν, οὕτως ἀναστήσωσιν;

40 MT: βασάνος ἄλλης ἔλεος.
41 MT: ἐκ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐξολοθρεύσεως.
42 Cf. section 2.5a.
43 The MT of 25:12 reads οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ ζωὴν οὐ μὴ ἵδωσιν, οὐδὲ ἱστροὶ οὐ μὴ ἀναστήσωσι.
αὐτοὺς πνεύματι θυμοῦ;\(^{44}\)

27:9 καὶ οὐ μὴ μείνῃ τὰ δέντρα αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ ἐίδωλα αὐτῶν ἐκκεκομιένα ὀσπέρ δρυμὸς μακράν.\(^{45}\)

28:17b–18 καὶ οἱ πεποιθότες μάτην ψεύδειν ὅτι οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ύμῶν καταγίς, μή καὶ ἀφέλῃ ὕμων τὴν διαθήκην τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ ἢ ἐλπὶς ὑμῶν ἢ πρὸς τὸν άδην οὐ μὴ ἐμμείνῃ: καταγίςς φερομένη ἐὰν ἐπέλθῃ, ἐσεθεὶς αὐτῇ εἰς καταπάτησιν.

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

| ηὔχεσθαι μαθήσεις θυμὸν τοῦ θανάτου καταγίς | hail will sweep away the refuge of lies, and waters will overwhelm the shelter. |
| νοτρέμεται καταγίς | Then your covenant with death will be annulled, |
| καταγίςς φερομένης θανάτου | and your agreement with Sheol will not stand; |
| καταγίςς φερομένης ομοθετούσας | when the overwhelming scourge passes through |
| καταγίςς φερομένης | you will be beaten down by it |

The Greek text of 28:17b (καὶ οἱ πεποιθότες μάτην ψεύδειν ὅτι οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ύμῶν καταγίς) is rather divergent from the MT (ψεύδεσθαι μαθήσεις θυμὸν τοῦ θανάτου καταγίς). 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 the הֲשָׁמֶס, connecting the meaning of the root אָסָה = “to hide” with “to trust” (compare 30:3 תָּשִּׂתְס תִּשְׁפָּף / τοῖς πεποιθόσιν). μάτην seems to be a plus, whilst ψεύδει forms an equivalent of בְּשָׁר ("lie").\(^{46}\) Whether the words ὅτι οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ύμῶν καταγίς can be matched to הֲשָׁמֶס מִמְּשָׁפֶת is dubious. καταγίς may correspond to καταιγίς, linked to στόμα στόμα ("the overwhelming scourge") in v.18, which has been rendered there as καταγίςς 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 καταγίςς 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: ἀνέθετο ἔρθεσται βίον κέριν.

\(^{45}\) MT: λαύκον ἐκ τοῖς τοποῖς περὶ τοῦ χώρου δίδ.

\(^{46}\) 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.
CHAPTER EIGHT

v.15

A' Ἑποίησαμεν διαθήκην μετὰ τοῦ άδου καὶ μετὰ τοῦ βανάτου συνθήκας,
B' καταγίζεις φερομένη έὰν παρέλθῃ οὐ μὴ ἐλθῇ ἡμῖν,
C' ἐθήκαμεν ψεύδος τὴν ἐλπίδα ἡμῶν καὶ τῷ ψεύδει σκεπασθησόμεθα

vv.17–18a

C' καὶ θήσω κρίσιν εἰς ἐλπίδα, ἢ δὲ ἐλεημοσύνη μου εἰς σταθμοῦς,
B' ὅτι οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ύμας καταγίζεις,
A' μὴ καὶ ἀφελή ὑμῶν καὶ ή ἐλπίς ὑμῶν ἢ πρός τὸν ἄδην τήν διαθήκην τοῦ βανάτου,

vv.18b–19

B' καταγίζεις φερομένη έὰν ἐπέλθῃ, ἢσσοθε αὐτή εἰς καταπάτημα.

32:19 καὶ ἔσουνται οἱ ἐνοικούντες 32:17 καὶ πεποιθότες ἔως τοῦ αἰῶνος:
ἐν τοῖς δρυμοῖς πεποιθότες 32:18 καὶ κατοικήσει ο λαός αὐτοῦ ἐν πόλει εἰρήνης καὶ ἐνοικίσας πεποιθώς

The final words of 32:19 in the Hebrew—תיטש לועש והשלח תיתר—who have been entirely rearranged in the Greek. While תיטש לועש and והשלח are used with a different function, לועש has been omitted. The new sentence in the LXX has been complemented with the words καὶ ἔσουνται οἱ ἐνοικούντες 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 ταῦτα: 41:20 ἵνα ἰδοὺ καὶ γνῶσι καὶ ἐννοηθῶσι καὶ ἐπιστῶνται ἄμα ὅτι χείρ κυρίου ἐποίησε ταῦτα πάντα

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 ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὴν 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 ננש לודג ו以為חף אוכ. The LXX represents the participle קָרִית twice, with on the one hand ὁ καλῶν, and on the other ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὴν. The latter rendering can be assumed to have been affected by ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὴν in v.2.

41:5 εἶδοσαν ἔθνη καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν, τὰ ἄκρα τῆς γῆς ἤγγισαν καὶ ἠλάθοσαν ἀμα 41:20 ἵνα ἰδοὺ καὶ γνῶσι καὶ ἐννοηθῶσι καὶ ἐπιστῶνται ἄμα 41:23 εὐ ποιήσατε καὶ κακώσατε, καὶ θαυμασόμεθα καὶ ὁγόμεθα ἀμα.
As in 41:20 and 23, the adverb ἡμῖν 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 θεός, ἐγὼ ἐπακούσαμαι, θεός Ἰσραήλ

41:21 Ἑγγίζει ἡ κρίσις ὑμῶν, λέγει κύριος θεός.

41:14 ἐγὼ ἡβοήθησά σοι, λέγει θεός ὁ λυτρομένος σε, Ἰσραήλ.

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

41:23 ἀναγγείλατε ἡμῖν τὰ ἐπερχόμενα ἐπ’ ἑσχάτου, καὶ γνωσόμεθα ὅτι θεοί ἐστε.

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—may have supplemented an object ἡμῖν to ἀναγγείλατε in v.23 so as to assimilate this command to ἀναγγείλατο σοι ἡμῖν in v.22. 48

41:28 ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἱδοὺ ὑπετέσθης, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων αὐτῶν ὅτι ἡ ἀναγγέλλων καὶ ἔπη ἐρωτήτησον αὐτούς. Πόθεν ἐστέ, οὐ μὴ ἀποκριθῶσί μοι.

The MT of these verses reads as follows:

MT Isa 41:23–24 ἄναγγείλατος τὰ ἐπερχόμενα ἐπ’ ἑσχάτου, καὶ γνωσόμεθα ὅτι θεοὶ ἐστε.

MT Isa 41:28 ἄναγγείλατος τὰ ἐπερχόμενα ἐπ’ ἑσχάτου, καὶ γνωσόμεθα ὅτι θεοὶ ἐστε· εὖ ποιήσατε καὶ κακώσατε, καὶ θαυμάσαμεν καὶ ὑψώσαμεν ἁμα· ὅτι πόθεν ἐστε ὑμεῖς καὶ πόθεν ἡ ἐργασία ὑμῶν;

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 ἐπίστατε ἡμῖν.
43:10 γένοσθε μοι μάρτυρες, καγώ μάρτυς, λέγει κύριος ο θεός, και ὁ παῖς, ὁν ἐξελέξαμην, ἵνα γνώτε και πιστεύσητε καὶ συνήτε ὦτι ἐγώ εἰμι, ἐξπροσθέν μου οὐκ ἐγένετο ἄλλος θεὸς καὶ μετ᾽ ἐμὲ οὐκ ἔσται:

καγώ μάρτυς in v.10 has been copied from v.12, where these words render ὑπερηφάνεια.

44:7 καλεσάτο καὶ έτοιμασάτο μοι ἄφ᾽ οὗ ἐποίησα ἀνθρωπον εἰς τὸν ἁιώνα.

44:11 συναχθήτωσαν πάντες καὶ στήτω στήτω στήτω στήτω στήτω.
45:5 ὥστε θεός καί οὐκ ἐστίν ἐτί πλήν ἐμοῦ θεός, (–) καὶ οὐκ ἰδεῖς me.

45:14–15 Οὐκ ἔστι θεός πλήν σοῦ· σὺ γὰρ εἶ θεός, καὶ οὐκ ἰδείμεν, ὁ θεός τοῦ Ἰσραήλ σωτήρ.

In LXX Isa 45:5 an equivalent to the Hebrew verb ברא ("I will gird you") is missing: οἶν ἡ ἄνω ἡ ἀλλήλοι ἀλλήλοι αὐτοῖς ἑαυτοῖς.

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 ἰδείμεν translates סומסא ("he who hides himself"). This rendering in its turn is probably encouraged by "nothing", read as "from whence."

45:21 (–) ἐγώ ο θεός, καὶ οὐκ ἐστίν ἄλλος (–) πλήν ἐμοῦ.

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

םלט אֵין יִהוּדָאָו אֲלָלְהוּ דְּמָעְלָי.

49 MT: καλεσάτο ημών χρήσεται μη μεθορύπαντο λεπτόν. I have considered στήτωσα as a plus, καλεσάτω as a rendering of καρακῆς, and ἀνθρωπον as a minus (i.e. an omission for the sake of condensation). Alternatively, στήτωσα could be perceived as translating καρακῆς (perhaps read as κάρακη).

50 MT: ὕστερον ἐγώ εἰμι κύριος. I have considered καλεσάτω as a plus, καλεσάτω as a rendering of καρακῆς, and καρακῆς as a minus (i.e. an omission for the sake of condensation). Alternatively, καλεσάτω could be perceived as translating καρακῆς (perhaps read as κάρακη).
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 ἐλθὼν in v.21. ἐλθὼν he has omitted in analogy to 45:6,18 and 22 (in 45:5 θεὸς has been added, however).

47:1 εἰσελθαί εἰς τὸ σκότος, (--) 47:5 εἰσελθαί εἰς τὸ σκότος, θυγάτηρ Χαλδαίων θυγάτηρ Χαλδαίων

The words spoken to the daughter of Babylon in Isa 47:1—in Hebrew שְׂבִיבֵי־אֲרֻבָּם שְׂבִיבֵי־אֲרֻבָּם—have in the Greek been altered to εἰσελθαί εἰς τὸ σκότος, θυγάτηρ Χαλδαίων. Both the rendering of שְׂבִיבֵי־אֲרֻבָּם as εἰσελθαί εἰς τὸ σκότος and the omission of αὐτής have made this verse conform to v.5:

v.1

a ῥῆς ὑστίν ἀλφαβήτος, Κατάβησθι καθίσοντες τὴν γῆν, παρθένος θυγάτηρ Βαβυλώνος, b σφυρεῖν Αρουδάμα, εἰσελθαί εἰς τὸ σκότος, θυγάτηρ Χαλδαίων, c ότι οὐκέτι προστεθήσεται κληθήσεται ἀπαλή καὶ τρυφερά.

v.5

a σφυρεῖν Βαβυλώνος, Καθίσον κατανενυγμένη, b εἰσελθαί εἰς τὸ σκότος, θυγάτηρ Χαλδαίων, c ότι οὐκέτι μὴ κληθήσεται ἵσχὺς βασιλείας.

Remarkably enough, the only expression that is precisely identical in the Hebrew versions of 47:1 and 5, namely בְּיַספִּיס קֵרוֹנִילָן בְּיַספִּיס קֵרוֹנִילָן, received a somewhat varying translation in the LXX. In v.1 it became ὅτι οὐκέτι προστεθήσεται κληθήσεται, in v.5 οὐκέτι μὴ κληθήσεται.  

47:10 οὖ γὰρ ἔπαισε Ἔγγο εἰμι, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτερα. 47:8 ἥ λέγουσα ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς Ἐγγό εἰμι, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτερα.

49:5 καὶ νῦν Οὔτως λέγει κύριος 49:7 Οὔτως λέγει κύριος

49:8 Οὔτως λέγει κύριος

49:22 Οὔτως λέγει κύριος

49:26 ὅτι ἕγγο ὁ ρυσαμένος σε καὶ ἀντιλαμβανόμενος ἵσχύος ἱακωβ.

51 For a further analysis of these verses, see section 7.4c.
52 MT: יָם יָם. Perhaps יָם was read as יִשָׁם (Ἐγώ εἰμι), while יָם was rendered καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν.
53 1QIsa has יָם יָם; see section 12.3.2.1.
The translator has adapted 49:7 to v.26 by expanding the phrase ἐν τῷ πλῆθῳ τῆς ζωής μου to ὅταν ὤντος ζωῆς μου.\(^54\) Compare for ὅταν ὄντος τῆς ζωῆς μου (usually in combination with ἀγίος [θεός] Ισραήλ) also 47:4; 48:17; and 54:5, 8.

51:7 ἄκουσατέ μου, οἱ εἰδότες κρίσειν, λαὸς μου, οὐ ὅνομος μου ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν.
51:4 ἄκουσατέ μου ἄκουσατε, λαὸς μου, Σιών Λαὸς μου εἰ σὺ.
51:16 Ἔξεγείρου ἔξεγείρου, ἱερουσαλήμ.
51:9 λαὸς μου, οὐ καθευδοντές επὶ αὐτοῦ πάντων τῶν ὑψώσας.
51:17 άκουστε μου ἄκουσατε, λαὸς μου ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν.\
51:18 καὶ οὐκ ἢ χρόνος αὐτοῦ τῆς χειρός σου οὐδὲ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ὑψώσας, οὐκ ἐπικεντρώθη.
51:20 οἱ υἱοὶ σου οἱ ἀποροοῦμενοί, οἱ καθευδοντες ἐπὶ ἀκρού πάσης ἐξόδου
55:11 ὁ εἶναί εξέλθη ἐκ τοῦ στόματός μου.
55:10 ωσ γὰρ εἶναι καταβήσετε ή χρόνος ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
55:12 τοῦ κύρους σου ίσοι Σιών εἰς ναὸν σου λαὸς μου λαὸς μου λαὸς μου λαὸς μου εἰς ναὸν σου ή χρόνος ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
55:20 οἱ υἱοὶ σου οἱ ἀποροοῦμενοί, οἱ καθευδοντες ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ πάσης ἐξόδου

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 ἐναί in v.11. For the same reason ὁταν in v.10 and ἐναίκ in v.11 have not been translated:

v.10, image:

ὡς γὰρ ἐναίκι ἑυόρητος ἢ χρόνος ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀποστραφῇ.

v.11, meaning:

οὕτως ἔσται τὸ ἡμία μου, ὁ εἶναί εξέλθη ἐκ τοῦ στόματός μου, οὐ καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀποστραφῇ.

55:11 καὶ εὐόδωσω τὰς ὄδοις σου καὶ τὰ ἐνταλμάτα σου.
55:7 ἀπολιπέτω ὁ ἀσεβὴς τὰς ὄδοις αὐτοῦ
55:8 οὐδὲ ἀστερὶ αἱ ὄδοι ὑμῶν αἱ ὄδοι μου
55:9 οὕτως ἀπέχει ἢ ὃνομα μου ἀπὸ τῶν ὄδοι ὑμῶν

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\(^{54}\) The MT of 49:7 reads: יְשַׁעְלֹה. An alternative explanation for the LXX rendering would be that the translator has based ὃθεος on his Vorlage. He may have had a text in front of him similar to 1Qbα, which offers ὃθεος ἐναίκις τῶν ὄντων ἀγίων, 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 ἑξαγοράζου, Σιών, ἐνυδαίος τὴν ἱεράν σου, Σιών, καὶ ἐνυδαίος τὴν δόξαν σου, ἱερουσαλήμ πόλις ἢ ἐναίσχον.

\(^{56}\) MT: Ιερουσαλήμ πόλις ἢ ἐναίσχον. Also Isa 48:15 may have figured in the realisation of this rendering: ἐναίζεται τὸ ἡμία τῆς τῶν ὄντων ἡμῶν.
ANAPHORIC TRANSLATION

56:6 καὶ πάντας τοὺς φυλασσόμενους τὰ σάββατα μου μὴ βεβηλούν καὶ ἀντέχομενος τῆς διαθήκης μου 56:4 οὕσιν ἂν φυλάξωμαι τὰ σάββατα μου καὶ ἐκλέξωμαι ἄ ἐγὼ θέλω καὶ ἀντέχωμαι τῆς διαθήκης μου

57:15b Αγιος ἐν ἄγιοις ὄνομα αὐτῶ 57:15a Τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ ὑμιστὸς ὁ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν τὸν οἴκον

58:10 καὶ δῶς πεινώντι τὸν ἄρτον ἐκ ψυχῆς σου 58:7 διάθρυττε πεινώντι τὸν ἄρτον σου

63:16 ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐστιν. 63:19 ἐγενόμεθα ως τὸ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, οτέ οὐκ ἤρξας ἡμῶν οὔδε ἐπεκλήθη τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς.

64:8(9) μὴ ὀργίζου ἡμῖν σφόδρα καὶ μὴ ἐν καιρῷ μνησθῆν ἀμαρτίων ἡμῶν. 64:6(7) ὁτι ἀπεστρέφας τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἀφ' ἡμῶν καὶ παρέδωκας ἡμᾶς διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν.

65:9 καὶ ἔξω τὸ ἐξ λακωβ ἱερώματα καὶ καὶ τὸ ἐξ Ιουδα, καὶ κληρονομήσει τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἄγιον μου 65:11 ὤμεις δὲ οἱ ἐγκαταλιπόντες με καὶ ἔπλαυσεν ὁ δρός τὸ ἄγιον μου

65:7c ἀποδόσοι τὰ ἐργά αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν κόλπον αὐτῶν. 65:6–7a Οὐ σιωπήσω, ἐως ἂν ἀποδῷ εἰς τὸν κόλπον αὐτῶν, τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν πατέρων αὐτῶν

In Isa 65:7c ἄναπαρα 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

MT Isa 65:7c

66:9 οὐκ ἢγος γεννώσαν καὶ στειρῶν ἐποίησα; εἶπεν ὁ θεός. 66:12 ὁτι τάδε λέγει κύριος 18ον ἢγο

66:23 καὶ ἔσται μῆνα ἐκ μνηδοσ καὶ σάββατον ἐκ σάββατον ἥξει πάσα σάβρε ἐνωπίον μου 66:20 καὶ ἄξουσι τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ὑμῶν ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν δώρον κυρίοι μεθ’ ἐποτῶν καὶ ἀρμάτων ἐν λαμπήναις

57 MT: ὃς μέν ἐκ τοῦ ἔρχεται
58 MT: τὸν διὰ τοῦτον ψυχῆς σου.
59 Cf. Ziegler, Untersuchungen, 78.
60 MT: τὸ ἄγιον μου
61 MT: ὁτοι αὐτοὺς ὑπάρχοντας μεθ’ ἐποτῶν καὶ ἀρμάτων ἐν λαμπήναις.

Another possibility is that ἢγο is not a plus, but that the translator read πάντων ἐθνῶν δώρον κυρίοι μεθ’ ἐποτῶν καὶ ἀρμάτων ἐν λαμπήναις (cf. v.12). For other cases of ἢγο, see 54:11 (ὃς ἐμπρήσε) and 54:16 (καὶ ὄνομα).
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. 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.

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, Zillessen, Ziegler and Koenig. The outline below will list those cases where this technique has led to pluses and minuses in the translation.

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62 Cf. also 27:13 καὶ προσκυνήσου τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐπὶ τῷ ὄροσ τὸ ἁγίον ἐν Ἰερουσαληµ.
64 Kutscher mentions 34 cases in 1QIsa 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 1QIsa (Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background*, 545). Strikingly enough, of these harmonising pluses 1QIsa 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.
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 θεού (–), 30:9 ὁ λαὸς ἀπειθής ἐστιν, υἱοὶ υἱουδεῖς, οἱ οὐκ ἢβουλοῦντο ἀκούειν τὸν νόμον τοῦ θεοῦ.

The MT of Isa 1:10 has ἀνελθεν ἄλλος πνεύμα θεοῦ. Perhaps the suffix in νόμον 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).

1:20 τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησε 24:3 τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησε ταύτα.
58:14 τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησε ταύτα.

The formula 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 ταύτα, probably in harmonisation with τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησε ταύτα 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 χειρὰ μου ἐπὶ σὲ καὶ πυρέω σε εἰς καθαρὸν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπειθοῦντας ἀπολέσω καὶ ἀφελῶ πάντας ἀνόμους ἄπο σοῦ καὶ πάντας ὑπερφάνους ὑπερφάνως.
10:33 καὶ οἱ ψυχηλοὶ τῇ ὑβρεὶ συντριβήσονται, καὶ οἱ ψυχηλοὶ ταπεινωθήσονται 11:13 καὶ ἀπολοῦ ὑβριν ἀνόμου καὶ ὑβριν ὑπερφάνως ταπεινωθήσονται.
29:20 ἐξελιπτείς ἀνομος, καὶ ἄπωλετο ὑπερφάνος, καὶ ἐξωλεθρεύθησαν οἱ ἀνομουντες ἐπὶ κακία.

The Hebrew version of 1:25 presents a metaphor, picturing God’s punishment of his people as the refinement of metal: "your dross" he has associated with ἀπειθόντας, starting a new clause with this noun phrase, which he complemented with the verb form ἀπολέσω. The words ἀπολέσω (“and I will remove all your alloy”) he glossed by καὶ ἀφελῶ πάντας ἀνόμους ἄπο σοῦ, while he appended to this a parallel clause καὶ πάντας ὑπερφάνους ταπεινωθήσονται. In using this phraseology for rendering 1:25 he was probably inspired by Isa 13:11 and 29:20.

3:14 τί ἐνεπιρίσατε τὸν ἀμπελώνα μου 5:1 Αἰσχὸ δὴ τῷ ἡγαστημένῳ ἄσωμα τοῦ ἄγαπητοῦ τῷ ἀμπελώνι μου.

In LXX Isa 5:1–7 ὁ ἄμπελὼν μου is used five times as a metaphor representing the people of Israel. When encountering תרשך יユーザー 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 οι τροχοι τῶν ἀρμάτων αὐτῶν 66:15 καὶ ὡς καταγιγίς τὰ ἁρμάτα αὐτοῦ ὡς καταγιγίς

The words παρακάλεστε, οὐκ ἰλιγόψυχοι τῇ διανοίᾳ; ἰαχύσατε, μὴ φοβεῖσθε; and ὕψωσατε τῇ χειρί

2:19 εἰσενέγκαντες εἰς τὰ σπήλαια καὶ εἰς τὰς σχισμάς τῶν πετρῶν καὶ εἰς τὰς τρώγλας τῆς γῆς

7:19 καὶ ἀναπαύονται ἐν ταῖς φάραγξι τῆς χώρας καὶ ἐν ταῖς τρώγλαις τῶν πετρῶν καὶ εἰς τὰ σπήλαια

8:22 καὶ ἱδοὺ θλίψις καὶ στενοχωρία καὶ σκότος, ἀπορία στενῆ καὶ σκότος ὡς μὴ βλέπειν

The LXX reproduces ἄρωστε τὸν φόβος in 8:22 by the doublet θλίψις καὶ στενοχωρία. This word pair also turns up in Isa 30:6, rendering ἄρωστε τὸν φόβος. 70

9:3(4) διότι ἀφηρματεί ὁ ζυγὸς ὁ ἐπ᾿ αὐτῶν κείμενος καὶ ἡ ἱδρύσει ἐπὶ τοῦ τραχήλου αὐτῶν

10:27 ἀφαίρεθησται ὁ φόβος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ σοῦ καὶ ὁ ζυγὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅμου σου καὶ ἀφαίρεθησται ὁ ζήλος (Α: ζυγὸς) Εφραίμ

11:13 καὶ ἀφαίρεθησται ἐπ᾿ αὐτῶν ὁ ζυγὸς αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸ κύδος αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ὅμων ἀφαίρεθησται.

12:2 ὦς πεδινοῦ ἄρατε σημεῖον, ὕψωσατε τὴν φωνήν αὐτοῖς, μὴ φοβεῖσθε, παρακαλεῖτε τῇ χειρί

13:2 Ἐπ᾿ ὁροὺς πεδινοῦ ἄρατε σημεῖον, ὕψωσατε τὴν φωνήν αὐτοῖς, μὴ φοβεῖσθε, παρακαλέστε τῇ διανοίᾳ; 35:4 παρακαλέστε, οἱ ὄληγγυμχοι τῇ διανοίᾳ; ἰαχύσατε, μὴ φοβεῖσθε; 40:9 ἐπ᾿ ὁροὺς ύψηλον ἀνάβητι, ὁ εὐαγγελίζομενος Σιών ὕψωσαν τῇ ἱσχίῃ τὴν φωνῆν σου, ὁ εὐαγγελίζομενος ἱερουσαλήμ ὕψωσατε, μὴ φοβεῖσθε;

69 An additional motive for the insertion of τῶν ἁρμάτων αὐτῶν may have been to improve the parallelism with the preceding line ὁι πόδες τῶν ἱππῶν αὐτῶν ὡς στερεὰ πέτρα ἐλογίσθησαν (see section 7.5.1a). For comparable expressions, cf. Isa 28:27 (ὕψωσαν τὸν πάχον αὐτῶν / τροχοὺς ἀμάξης) and Jer 4:13.

70 See section 2.3a. Cf. also Prov 1:27.
13:14 καὶ ἔσονται οἱ καταλειμμένοι ὡς δορκάδιον φεύγουν καὶ ὡς πρόβατον πλανώμενον.

53:6 πάντες ὡς πρόβατα ἐπλανήθημεν, ἀνθρώπος τῇ ὁδῷ αὐτοῦ ἐπλανήθη.

14:1–2 Καὶ ἐλεήσει κύριος τὸν Ιακώβ καὶ ἐκλεξεται ἔτι τὸν Ἰσραήλ, καὶ ἀναπαύονται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν, καὶ ὁ γιώρας προστεθῇ πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ προστεθήσεται πρὸς τὸν οἶκον Ιακώβ, καὶ λήμψονται αὐτοὺς ἐβην καὶ εἰσάξουσιν (-) εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτῶν, καὶ κατακληρονομοῦσιν (-) καὶ πληθυνθήσονται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς δούλους καὶ δούλας· καὶ ἔσονται αἰχμάλωτοι οἱ αἰχμαλωτεύσαντες αὐτοὺς, καὶ κυριεύσαντες αὐτούς.

6:12 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μακρυνεῖ ὁ θεὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ οἱ καταλειφθέντες πληθυνθήσονται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

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 βασιλεία Ισραήλ and the object suffixes in Ισραήλ and οἱ ἄνθρωποι:

MT Isa 14:2

And the nations will take them and bring them to their place, and the house of Israel will possess them in the Lord’s land as male and female slaves; they will take captive those who were their captors, and rule over those who oppressed them.

Seeligmann is of the opinion that 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, but those words

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71 For the verb πλανώσαω 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: ἰδίως τί θέλετε ἀνθρώποι ὑπὸ τῆς θανάτου βρέχετε τῇ ἁρμήν.
were subsequently added again by a later corrector. According to Seeligmann the LXX implies the subject of καὶ καταληφθοῦσαι καὶ πληθυνθήσονται to be the remnant of Israel together with the proselytes who joined them.

- 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 καταλείφθεντες 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:

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 בֵּיתֵי-רָשָׁם, and that the LXX translator had such a manuscript without בֵּיתֵי-רָשָׁם in front of him. This text was ambiguous as to who had to be conceived of as the subject and object of בֵּיתֵי-רָשָׁם: 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 בֵּיתֵי-רָשָׁם explicit by adding בֵּיתֵי-רָשָׁם, 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 בֵּיתֵי-רָשָׁם and considered this also to govern בֵּיתֵי-רָשָׁם. At the same time he omitted the object suffix in בֵּיתֵי-רָשָׁם, 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 לָעַבידם in the Hebrew, which offers merely לָעַבידם. The translator may have added καὶ δοῦλοι 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 כֹּל לְעַבְּדוּ איָּדָּם נַעֲלֵיהֶם לֵאמֶרֶת לַחַנָּבָה אֲדֹשֶׁם יְהוָה לֹא לְעַבְּדוּם καὶ τοῖς ἀλλογενεῖσι τοῖς προσκειμένοις κυρίῳ δουλεύειν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀγαπᾶν τὸ ὅνομα κυρίου τοῦ εἶναι αὐτῷ εἰς δοῦλους καὶ δούλους

73 Seeligmann, Septuagint Version, 35, 117.
The verb ἐξαρέω 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 οὐδὲν θεὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν, οὐ μὴ εἰσακούσῃ, ἀπὸ κακῶν οὐ μὴ σώσῃ αὐτὸν.

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

17:13 καὶ πόρρω αὐτῶν διώξεται ὡς χνοῦν ἄχρονοι λικμώντων ἀπέναντι ἄνεμου καὶ ὡς κοινοιρτὸς τροχοῦ καταιγίς φέρουσα.

29:5–6 καὶ ἕσται ὡς κοινοιρτὸς ἀπὸ τροχοῦ ὁ πλοῦτος τῶν ἁσβετῶν καὶ ὡς χνοὺς φέρομενος, καὶ ἕσται ὡς στιγμὴ παραχρήμα παρὰ κυρίου σαβαωθ. ὡς κοινοιρτὸς τροχοῦ καταιγίς φέρουσα.

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. In 17:13 the translator has in all likelihood understood/full of dust (in the Hebrew probably used in the sense of “wheel plant”) as “wheel” (τροχοῦ). Given that a storm generally does not chase a wheel (as the translator’s interpretation of δέντας would imply), but may chase the dust of a wheel, he inserted κοινοιρτὸν (“dust”) before τροχοῦ, perhaps also

\[\text{See also section 8.4.3.1.}\]

\[\text{This is the translation of } δέντας \text{ that } HALOT 1:190 \text{ proposes for Isa 17:13. The NRSV gives “whirling dust.”}\]

\[\text{For a discussion of these verses, see also Ziegler, Untersuchungen, 93.}\]
under the influence of ὡς κονιορτός in 29:5. Also φέρουσα in the phrase ὡς κονιορτόν τροχοῦ καταγίζει φέρουσα he may have adopted from 29:6, where one finds the similar expressions ὡς χονδρό φέρομεν (νόημα νύμμα) and καταγίζει φερομένη (ὑπάρχησα). However, καταγίζει 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.\footnote{For the image of a storm, cf. also 57:13 and 64:5.}

28:15 στόμα τάπεινόντα

28:18 στόμα τάπεινόντα

καταγίζει φερομένη εἶναι παρέλη

καταγίζει φερομένη εἶναι ἐπέληθ

In 29:5 ἀπὸ τροχοῦ (“from a wheel”) forms a variant rendering of ἄδικο (“thin”), which is, in its turn, possibly influenced by τροχοῦ in 17:13. A further text in which we encounter the noun τροχοῦ 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.\footnote{For another related verse, cf. LXX Isa 5:24 where the combination of ὡς χονδρός and ὡς κονιορτός occurs too.} The rendering of this passage may well be interlinked with that of Isa 17:13 and 29:5–6:

41:15–16 ἔδω ἐποίησα σε ὡς τροχοῦ ἀμάξης ἀλοώντας καινοῦς πριστηροειδεῖς, καὶ ἀλοήσεις ὁρὴ καὶ λεπτυνεῖς βουνοῦς καὶ ὡς χονδροῦ θῆσεις καὶ λικυθήσεις, καὶ ἄνεμον λήμψεται αὐτοὺς, καὶ καταγίζης διασπερεῖ αὐτοὺς

20:4 ἀνακεκαλυμμένους (–)

25:8 τὸ γάρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησε ταῦτα.

The MT offers in Isa 20:4 γάρ κυρίος τό δόξα του χείρα.

25:8 τὸ γάρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησε.

The MT presents in 24:3 τὸ γάρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησε and in 25:8 καὶ τῷ φωνῇ ἀμα εὐφρανθήσονται. Ziegler posits that the appearance of στόμα may be the effect of a double translation of ἀμα, read not only as a conjunction, but also as ἀμα.\footnote{Ziegler, Untersuchungen, 66.} The opposite situation can be observed in 40:5, where the LXX renders καὶ τῷ δόξα του χείρα as ὁ δόξα του χείρα (see 40:5 below).

24:14 οὐτοί φωνῇ βοήσουσιν, οἱ δὲ καταλειφθέντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εὐφρανθήσονται ἀμα τῇ κυρίου.

25:11 καὶ ταπεινώσει τὴν υβρίν

52:8 καὶ τῇ φωνῇ ἀμα εὐφρανθήσονται\footnote{MT: μα γάρ κυρίος τό δόξα του χείρα.}

52:14 διὰ καὶ τῇ φωνῇ ἀμα εὐφρανθήσονται καὶ τῇ φωνῇ εὐφρανθήσονται ἀμα τῇ κυρίου

25:11 καὶ ταπεινώσει τὴν υβρίν

52:9 ῥηξάτω εὐφρανθήσονται ἀμα τῇ ἐρήμῳ λεπτομελή, ὧν ἠλέησε κύριος δόξα αὐτήν \footnote{MT: γάρ καὶ τῷ κυρίῳ προσκύνησε ταὸν λεπτομελὴ ἐρήμῳ καὶ τῇ φωνῇ εὐφρανθήσονται καὶ τῇ φωνῇ εὐφρανθήσονται.}

5:25 καὶ ἐπέβαλε τὴν χείρα αὐτοῦ ἐπ’
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


which are echoed by LXX Isa 27:4. Nevertheless, it may just as well have been the translator himself who saw a linkage between these two verses and introduced the plus.

The MT of Isa 27:4 reads: διότι φῶς τὰ προστάγματά σου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. Maybe φῶς is not a plus, but a rendering of as its subject. See also section 8.4.2.1.

The MT of 37:26 reads: καὶ τὸν θυμὸν τοῦ βραχίονος αὐτοῦ δείξει μετὰ θυμοῦ καὶ ὕγις καὶ φλογὸς καταφεροµένην· κεραυνώσει βιαιώς καὶ ώς ὑδωρ καὶ χάλαζα συγκαταφεροµένη βία.

Note that in the LXX συνέταξα is not a literal representation of the Hebrew, but translates ἀναπορηστική δύναμις. Ziegler, Untersuchungen, 90; cf. HUB Isa, 102.
The plus ἐκγόνα 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 מָצָא נַפְשֵׁה ("weaned child") in the Hebrew forms the subject of the clause היה childcare מַעֲרָית מַעֲרָית מַעֲרָית מַעֲרָית ("and the weaned child shall put his hand on the adder’s den"), the Greek has joined it as an apposition to מַעֲרָית מַעֲרָית מַעֲרָית מַעֲרָית—"an adder, a young one."
- The second time that ἐκγόνα ἀσπίδων appears, is in 14:29. In the Hebrew it matches מַעֲרָית מַעֲרָית מַעֲרָית מַעֲרָית ("adder"), so ἐκγόνα is a plus here too. It may have been added in analogy to ἐκγόνα ἀσπίδων in 11:8, or it resumes מַעֲרָית מַעֲרָית מַעֲרָית מַעֲרָית in 14:29 itself.
- The translation of מַעֲרָית מַעֲרָית מַעֲרָית מַעֲרָית as ἐκγόνα ἀσπίδων πετομένων in 30:6 may have been accomplished in assimilation to ἐκγόνα 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" (σαρκονις).

30:17 ἔως ἀν καταλειψθῇ ὡς ἰστός ἐπὶ ὅροις καὶ ὡς σημαίαν φέρων ἐπὶ βουνοῖ. 18:3 κατοικισθήσεται ἢ χώρα αὐτῶν ὡσεὶ σημεῖον ἀπὸ ὅρους ἀρβηθ.

30:18 διότι κριθῆς κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐστὶ. 33:22 κριθῆς ἡμῶν κύριος, ἀρχων ἡμῶν κύριος, βασιλεύς ἡμῶν κύριος.
30:18 καὶ πάλιν μενεῖ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ
οἰκτηρῆσαι ὑμᾶς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
ὑψοθητεῖ τοῦ ἐλεήσαι ὑμᾶς;
διὸτι κρίτης κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν
έστιν, καὶ ποῦ καταλείπετε 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 βοηθῆτε ὑπὸ Φαραὼ ... Maybe the translator
connected this content to the theme of 10:3, where Israel looks in vain for help (note the
identical infinitive βοηθῆναι).

31:6 ἐπιστράφητε, οἱ τὴν βαθείαν
βουλήν βουλευόμενοι καὶ ἀνομοῦν.99

31:7 οὐδὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἑκείνῃ
ἀπαρνήσονται οἱ ἀνθρωποί
tὰ χειροποίητα αὐτῶν τὰ
ἀργυρὰ καὶ τὰ χρυσά, ἃ
ἐποίησαν (―) οἱ χεῖρες αὐτῶν (―).
17:8 οὐδὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἑκείνῃ
ἀπαρνήσονται οἱ βαθικοὶ αὐτῶν.102

The final clause of Isa 31:7 reads in the Hebrew לוחיש על LET ידך תוכו. The words
לך and נון 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 ἄφρ. ὑδάτος
φερομένου: καὶ φανήσεται ἐν
Σιων ὡς ποταμὸς φερόμενος
ἐν χείρι ἀνθρώπων ἐν χείρι
διψώσεως.104

32:13 καὶ ἐκ πάσης οἰκίας εὐφροσύνη
16:10 καὶ ἀρθήσεται εὐφροσύνη καὶ

99 MT: שבעה לא רומ עלינו כן גיד הוא יראה.

100 MT: ויהי מצוקים מצוות שאלות.

101 MT: הנלך ארצのような물 רעשים יתי שיתווח עלisEqual כמו אספניאד.

102 MT: א来る אל שיער את מהותי מ병ע יד אספניאד.

103 Ziegler (Untersuchungen, 54) considers הנות 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: "pouring down," cf. 28:2; 30:30, and תעודתベンינקר in the LXX Zeph 2:11.
CHAPTER EIGHT

\[\text{ο/uni1F30κήσουν /uni1F10ν α/uni1F50τ/uniFC7} \]

33:4 νῦν δὲ συναχθήσεται τὰ σκῦλα ὑμῶν μικρὸι καὶ μεγάλοι· ὥν τρόπον ἐὰν τις συναγάγῃ ἀκριβῶς, οὔτως ἐμπαιξοῦσιν ὑμῖν.\[105\]

33:11 ματαιὰ ἐσται ἡ ἴσχὺς τοῦ πνεύματος ὑμῶν, πῦρ ὑμᾶς κατέδεται.

The MT version of the sentence quoted from 33:11 offers ὁ/uni1F30κέτι μ/uni1F74 /uni1F34δω ττ ττ σωτήριον σωτήριον σωτήριον σωτήριον.\[106\] Although these words do not reflect the Hebrew in a literal way either, the MT of 30:15 offering καταδείκται and translated ὁ/uni1F50κέτι µ/uni1FD6ν µπαίξουσιν µπαίξουσιν µπαίξουσιν µπαίξουσιν may—besides under the influence of 17:5—also have been chosen because this verb likewise (“as a locust”) by διὸ/uni1F10ν διὸ/uni1F10ν διὸ/uni1F10ν διὸ/uni1F10ν·

33:15 καὶ ἔσται ὁ τρόπον ἐὰν τις συναγάγῃ ἁμησίαν ἐστηκότα καὶ σπέρμα σταχύων ἀμήσῃ, καὶ ἐσται διὸ τρόπον ἐὰν τις συναγάγῃ στάχυν ἐν φάραγγι στερεῖ.

33:11 The verb κατέδεται occurs earlier in the same verse. The verb form καταδείκται may—besides under the influence of 17:5—also have been chosen because this verb likewise occurs earlier in the same verse.

34:11 καὶ κατοικίσουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ ὀρνικαὶ καὶ ἔξυνοι καὶ ἱβίες καὶ κόρακες, καὶ ἐπιβληθήσεται ἐπί αὐτὴν σπαρτίον γεωμετρίας ἐρήμου, καὶ ὅνοκένταυροι ὀικήσουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ.\[107\]

34:16 ὅτι (–) κύριος ἐνετείλατο αὐτοῦς

Chapter Eight, 13:21–22 καὶ ἀναπαύσονται ἑκεῖ σειρῆνες, καὶ δαιμόνια ἑκεῖ ὀρχήσονται, καὶ ὅνοκένταυροι ἑκεῖ κατοικίσουσιν, καὶ νοσοποιήσουσιν ἑξίνοι ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις αὐτῶν.

Contrary to the Greek, in the Hebrew the formula in 34:16 speaks of the “mouth” of God that has commanded: καὶ ὁ θεος της γης. In the LXX ἐπὶ τής γης was left out in assimilation to 13:4 and 23:11. Compare also 40:5 below. The pronoun ἐπὶ (perhaps with the yod of ἐπὶ prefixed to it) was presumably read as ἐπί and translated κύριος.

38:11 Οὐκέτι μὴ ἴδω τὸ σωτηρίουν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γης 109

52:10 καὶ ὄψονται πάντα τὰ ἀκρα τῆς γῆς τῆς σωτηρίαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ.\[110\]

40:5 καὶ ὄψαται πᾶσα σάρξ τοῦ µαταιαί ἐκ τῶν ἀμπελώνων σου.\[109\] 242
Comparably to the case in 34:16 which we have just discussed, in 40:5 εις in the formula 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 εις εις εις εις εις εις εις εις 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 εις would have been removed in order to escape antropomorphism.

Throughout LXX Isaiah the formula (με των) εις εις εις εις εις εις εις εις is rendered as follows:


41:8 Σὺ δὲ, Ἰσραηλ, παῖς μου Ἰακωβ, ὦ ἔξελεξάμην 41:28 ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν ἔθνων ἱδοὺ οὐδείς 63:3 καὶ τῶν ἔθνων οὐκ ἐστιν ἀνήρ μετ’ ἐμοῦ.

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.

42:1 Ἰακωβ ὁ παῖς μου, ἀντιλήμψοιμαι αὐτῶν Ἰσραηλ ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς μου, προσεδέξατο αὐτὸν ἢ ψυχή μου. 44:1 ὦ νῦν δὲ ἀκουσοῦν, παῖς μου Ἰακωβ καὶ Ἰσραηλ, ὦ ἔξελεξάμην· 44:2 μὴ φοβοῦ, παῖς μου Ἰακωβ καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραηλ, ὦ ἔξελεξάμην· 44:21 Μνήσθητι ταῦτα, Ἰακωβ καὶ Ἰσραηλ, ὦ παῖς μου εἰς σὺ· 45:4 ἐνεκέν Ἰακωβ τοῦ παιδὸς μου καὶ

\[\text{σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ}\]

40:5 ὅτι (—) κύριος ἐλάλησε. 1:2 ὅτι κύριος ἐλάλησεν.

111 MT: וַיְכָלְבֹּר יְהוָה. The final word was probably read as וַיְכָלְבֹּר. Perhaps the addition of וַיְכָלְבֹּר also served to improve the parallelism with the preceding line וַיְכָלְבֹּר. Cf. sections 7.5.1a, 8.4.2.1, and 10.3.2.

112 Cf. section 10.3.2.

113 MT: וַיְנַהֲצָה דֶּרֶךְ מַעַהַה יְהוָה מַעַהַה יְהוָה. For more comments on the translation, see section 2.3b.


42:10 Ὑμνήσατε τῷ κυρίῳ ύμιν· καὶ ὑμῶν· δοξάζετε τὸ οὖν ισραὴλ ἀυτῷ ἀπ’ ἀκρου τῆς γῆς. 117

43:10 ἐμπροσθεν μου οὐκ ἐγένετο ἄλλος θεός. 118

44:13 ἐκλεξάμενος τέκτων ἐξουσιών ἐστησαν αὐτὸ ἐν μέτρῳ. 119

44:19 καὶ οὐκ ἐλογίσατο τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ ἀνελογίσατο ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ ἐγνώ τῇ φρονήσει. 120

44:23 εὐφράνθητε, οὐρανοὶ, ὅτι ἠλέησεν ὁ θεός τὸν ισραήλ· σαλπίζατε, θεμέλια τῆς γῆς, βοήσατε, ὄρη, εὐφροσύνην, οἱ βουνοὶ καὶ πάντα τὰ ξύλα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς.

The words ὅτι ἠλέησεν ὁ θεός τὸν ισραήλ in LXX Isa 44:23 represent οἱ λαὸς of the MT. Apparently, ἠλέησεν has been altered to ἠλέησεν and complemented with an object ισραήλ analogously to 49:13 and 52:9. 121

44:25 τῆς ἐξεργασίας σαῦραι θυγατριώθων καὶ μαντείας ἀπὸ καρδίας. 124

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 ἄλην τὴν ἡμέραν. 125

28:24 μὴ ἄλην τὴν ἡμέραν μέλλει ὁ ἀροτριῶν ἀροτριάιν; 126

117 MT: ότι ἠλέησεν ὁ κυρίῳ τῷ ισραήλ. The noun phrase ὁ λαὸς τῆς γῆς (“his praise”) was probably linked to ἄλην. Cf. section 2.6.2b.
119 MT: δοξάζετε τὸ οὖν ισραήλ. “The carpenter stretches a line.” While in the MT ὁ λαὸς is an attribute to ἀπὸ καρδίας (“a worker in wood”), the LXX has regarded it as an object.
The translator or a later editor\textsuperscript{127} may have been led to 28:24 by way of a link between ἡμείς ὑδήματα in 45:8 and ὑδήματα in 28:24.\textsuperscript{128}

\begin{align*}
45:16 & \text{αἰσχυνθήσονται καὶ} \\
& \text{ἐντραπήσονται πάντες οἱ} \\
& \text{ἀντικειμένοι αὐτῷ καὶ} \\
& \text{πορεύονται ἐν αἰσχύνῃ.} \textsuperscript{129}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
41:11 & \text{idοὺ αἰσχυνθήσονται καὶ ἐντρα-} \\
& \text{πήσονται πάντες οἱ ἀντικειμένοι οὐ-} \\
& \text{σοι ἐσούνται γὰρ ὡς οὐκ ὄντες καὶ} \\
& \text{ἀπολούνται πάντες οἱ ἀντιδικοὶ σου.} \textsuperscript{130}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
45:16 & \text{ἐγκαινίζεσθε πρὸς με, νήσοι.} \textsuperscript{131}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
40:12 & \text{τις ἔστησε τὰ ὅρη σταθμῷ καὶ τὰς} \\
& \text{νάπτας ζυγῷ:}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
46:6 & \text{οἱ συμβαλλόμενοι χρυσίον ἐκ} \\
& \text{μαρασπιτίων καὶ ἀργύριον ἐν} \\
& \text{ζυγῷ στῆσαν ἐν σταθμῷ.}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
48:15 & \text{ἐγὼ ἐλάλησα, ἐγὼ ἐκάλεσα, ἠγαγόν} \\
& \text{αὐτὸν καὶ εὐδόκησο τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ.} \textsuperscript{132}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
46:11 & \text{ἐκτίσα καὶ ἐπιόσα, ἠγαγόν} \\
& \text{αὐτὸν καὶ εὐδόκησα τὴν οἰκίαν} \\
& \text{αὐτοῦ.} \textsuperscript{134}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
55:11 & \text{kαὶ εὐδοκήσω τὰς οἰκίας σου καὶ} \\
& \text{τὰ ἐνταλματά μου.} \textsuperscript{135}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
47:13 & \text{στήτοσαν καὶ σωσάτωσάν σε} \\
& \text{οἱ ἀστρολόγοι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, οἱ} \\
& \text{ὦρῶντες τοὺς ἀστέρας} \\
& \text{ἀναγγειλάτωσαν σοι (–) τί} \\
& \text{μέλει ἐπὶ σε ἐρχεσθαί.} \textsuperscript{136}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
19:12 & \text{ποὺ εἰσίν ὦν οἱ σοφοί σου; καὶ ἀναγγε}- \\
& \text{ιλάτωσαν σοι καὶ εἰπάτωσαν τί βεβού-} \\
& \text{λευταί κύριος σαβαοθ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγυπτίων.}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
41:22 & \text{ἐγγίσατοσαν καὶ ἀναγγειλάτωσαν} \\
& \text{ὑμῖν ὁ συμβήσεται, ἢ τὰ πρότερα} \\
& \text{τίνα ἢν εἴπατε.}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
41:23 & \text{ἀναγγείλατε ἡμῖν τὰ ἐπερχόμενα ἐπὶ} \\
& \text{ἐσχάτῳ, καὶ γνωσόμεθα ὅτι θεοὶ} \\
& \text{ἐστε.} \textsuperscript{137}
\end{align*}

\textsuperscript{127} The MT has ἡμέρας ὑδήματα—"a vessel among earthen vessels"— rather than ἡμέρας ὑδήματα having been interpreted as derivations of the root ὕδημα—"to plough"—in the LXX.


\textsuperscript{129} The Göttingen edition has not printed οἶδον 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.


\textsuperscript{131} 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.

\textsuperscript{132} Cf. also 48:5.

\textsuperscript{133} In the Göttingen edition οὐκ ἔστιν is absent; it may be a secondary reading; see the footnote at 41:23 in section 8.2.3 above.
44:7 Only a summons and a summoning, and I summon you myself.

48:5 and the mortal ones, and you shall not come, and you will not come, and you will not come, and you will not come.

47:13 and they said to him, "Tell me, because the one who is calling you, will you come to him?"

48:14 after summoning the dead, and to Babylon, to their house, and to their house, and to their house.

49:7 and to the Lord, and as the Lord of Israel, and as the Lord of Israel, and as the Lord of Israel.

49:11 and as every mountain, and as every mountain, and as every mountain, and as every mountain.

πᾶν ὄρος in 49:11 matches “every mountain” 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: מַרְכָּזוּת).

49:13 εὐφραίνεσθε, οὐρανοὶ, καὶ εὐφραίνεσθε, οὐρανοὶ, and εὐφραίνεσθε, οὐρανοὶ, and εὐφραίνεσθε, οὐρανοὶ.

44:23 εὐφράνθητε, οὐρανοὶ, καὶ εὐφράνθητε, οὐρανοὶ, and εὐφράνθητε, οὐρανοὶ, and εὐφράνθητε, οὐρανοὶ.

45:8 εὐφράνθητω ὁ οὐρανὸς ἄνωθεν, and εὐφράνθητω ὁ οὐρανὸς ἄνωθεν, and εὐφράνθητω ὁ οὐρανὸς ἄνωθεν.

55:12 ἐν γὰρ εὐφρασοῦν ἔξελεοῦσεθε καὶ ἐν χαρᾷ διδαχθήσεθε: τὰ γὰρ ὅρη καὶ οἱ θεοὶ ὁμολογοῦνται προδεχόμενοι ὑμᾶς ἐν χαρᾷ

138 ὑμῖν renders ὑμῖν.

139 MT: יִכְרֹחַ בְּגֵרָם בְּגֵרָם בְּגֵרָם בְּגֵרָם.

140 ἀρχέω is not a literal rendering of the Hebrew, which reads כָּיָּדוּת הָעַלֶּיהָמִים בְּגֵרָם מָאָכְרָה לְהָשָׂרִים. Probably it reflects תּוֹסִפָא, which was linked to םְסָר. Cf. section 2.6.1b.

141 MT: יִכְרֹחַ בְּגֵרָם בְּגֵרָם בְּגֵרָם בְּגֵרָם.

142 Cf. section 2.6.1b.
49:13 ὁτι ἠλέησεν ὁ θεός τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ταπεινοὺς τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ παρεκάλεσεν.

51:2 ἐμβλέψατε εἰς Ἀβρααμ τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν καὶ εἰς Σαρραν τὴν ὥδινουσαν ὑμᾶς: ὁτι εἰς ἦν, καὶ ἐκάλεσα αὐτὸν καὶ εὐλόγησα αὐτὸν καὶ ἤγάπησα αὐτὸν καὶ ἔπληθυνα αὐτὸν. 144

51:9 ἔξεγείρου ἔξεγείρου, Ιερουσαλήμ, καὶ ἐνδυσαί τὴν ἱερὰν τοῦ βραχίονός σου. 145

51:12 γυναῖκι τίνα εὐλογθείσα ἐφοβήθησα ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπου θυτητοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ οὐιοῦ ἀνθρώπου. 146

51:17 ἔξεγείρου ἔξεγείρου ἀνάστηθι, Ιερουσαλήμ

52:1 ἔξεγείρου ἔξεγείρου, Σιών, ἐνδυσαί τὴν ἱερὰν σου, Σιών, καὶ ἐνδυσαί τὴν δόξαν σου, Ἰερουσαλήμ πόλις ἢ ἀγία

56:6 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλογενεῖς τοῖς προσκεκαμένοις κυρίῳ δουλεύειν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀγαπάν τὸ ὅνομα κυρίου τοῦ εἶναι αὐτῷ εἰς δούλους καὶ δούλας.

Goshen-Gottstein assumes that the appending of καὶ δούλας in 56:6 was prompted by the word pair υἱὸν 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 ὁτι πάντες ἐκτετύφλωνται, οὐκ ἔγνωσαν φρονήσατε. 148

57:11 τίνα εὐλογθείσα ἐφοβήθης καὶ ἐγνώσα με καὶ οὐκ ἐμνήσθης μου

57:17 διʼ ἀμαρτίαν 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 ἐλεήσει αἰωνίως ἐλεήσομαι

143 MT: γι γνωσαμαι δει δια τον θεον για πατειν αντων.

144 For the lack of representation of the suffix in LXX Isa, see section 5.2.1.

145 For the relation of the Greek to the Hebrew, cf. section 2.7c.

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

147 Ἰσα 252.

148 MT: ... ὃς πάντες ἔκτυφλωσαν, δια τον θεον γενήσατε.
CHAPTER EIGHT

άπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐλυπήθη 150

158:9 τότε βοήσῃ, καὶ ὁ θεὸς εἰσ- 

65:24 καὶ ἔσται πρὶν κεκράξαι αὐτοὺς 

58:13 οὐκ ἀρείς τὸν πόδα σου ἐπ' ἐργῷ οὔθε λαλῆσις λόγον ἐν ὀργῇ ἐκ τοῦ στόματός σου 152

45:23 Ἡ μὴν ἔξελεύσεται ἐκ τοῦ στόματός 

153:7 κύριος κριτὴς ἄγαθὸς τῷ οίκῳ 

30:18 διότι κριτὴς κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἔστι 153

63:7 κύριος κριτὴς ἄγαθὸς τῷ οίκῳ 

152:24 καὶ ἔσται πρὶν κεκράξαι αὐτοὺς 

58:9 τότε βοήσῃ, καὶ ὁ θεὸς εἰσ- 

159:18 ἀλλ᾽ εὐφροσύνη καὶ ἀγαλλίαμα 

51:3 εὐφροσύνη καὶ ἀγαλλίαμα 

65:24 καὶ ἔσται πρὶν κεκράξαι αὐτοὺς 

150: MT: ηλυπηθη. See also section 8.4.6 below.

151: MT: ηεσκούσωμαι αὐτῶν. Possibly ἐκ τοῦ στόματός σου is not a plus, but a rendering of ἑκ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν, read in an associative way as ἑκ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν σου. Μὴ ἐκ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν.

152: MT: ἐστυγμένος. Read ψυχή δρόμος, ὁ δὲ πειθεῖται. LXX ἔστι πρὶν κεκράξαι αὐτοὺς. The verb ἐστι seems to have produced the noun εὐφροσύνη, and τότε καὶ ἀγαλλίαμα. Τότε ἔστιν 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.


154: MT: Κύριος κριτής τούτων οίκω Ισραήλ. 147; κύριος is probably a second translation of θεός, which is located at the end of the previous sentence. Cf. HUD Isa, 279.

155: MT: Κύριος κριτής ημῶν κύριος. 147; κύριος is probably a second translation of θεός, which is located at the end of the previous sentence. Cf. HUB Isa, 279.


157: MT: Κύριος κριτής τούτων οίκω Ισραήλ. 147; κύριος is probably a second translation of θεός, which is located at the end of the previous sentence. Cf. HUD Isa, 279.
While in 58:9 ἐτί 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 ἵδοΰ πάρειμι in the corresponding place—it does seem to render the Hebrew reading of the latter words, which consists of the interjection יְנָה. The rendering of לְלַעֲבָּנָה as Τί ἐστι has precedents in e.g. Gen 31:11; 46:2; and Exod 3:4.

LXX Isa 66:20 displays a minus in that it does not offer an equivalent for לְלַעֲבָּנָה in the phrase תַּהֲדָכְרְכָא, which forms part of the Hebrew clause הַתָּהֲדָכְרְכָא מִכָּל גִּיוֹם תְּהֵב לָא לִהְיוֹת. 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 לְלַעֲבָּנָה is missing before the object.

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 לְלַעֲבָּנָה 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 ἵδοΰ πάρειμι instead of Τί ἐστι.

161 MT: רָבָּמָה בַּתַּהֲדָכְרְכָא בְּמֵשֶׁכֶתְוּ לְלָא. The translator most likely considered תַּהֲדָכְרְכָא 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: מָתַהוּ תַּהֲדָכְרְכָא הָרָּבָּמָה. See above.

163 Cf. also LXX Deut 31:27 ὅτι ἔγω ἐπίσταμαι τὸν ἐρεβισμόν σου καὶ τὸν τράχηλον 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. Seelegmann, 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. Seeligmann, 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. 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. 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.

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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.\(^\text{168}\)

### 8.4 The adoption of elements from other Biblical books

One of the most intriguing features of the Septuagint of Isaiah is the intricate 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.\(^\text{169}\) 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.\(^\text{170}\) 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.\(^\text{171}\) 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.

\(^{168}\) Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background*, 545.

\(^{169}\) Tov, “Impact of the LXX Translation,” 578.


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 Scripture. 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.
174 Tov, “Impact of the LXX Translation,” 578.
literal formulations from it. 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.

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

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 ("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.

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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.”
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>יי דייג אלתים</th>
<th>הבדי יאר עת תונק</th>
<th>ב כל אכלים ממ</th>
<th>תונקזה נבט</th>
<th>וה photoshop יד טב וער</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Gen 3:22

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ידוע לה תד הבד מתם</th>
<th>לנדע טב וער</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Nonetheless, since the correspondence between these texts in Genesis and LXX Isa 7:16 is not literal—LXX Isaiah displaying the words ἀγαθόν η κακόν where Gen 3 has καλὸν καὶ πονηρὸν—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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>οι γάρ αστέρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ και ὁ ὕψις</th>
<th>και πᾶς ὁ κόσμος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸ φῶς οὐ δύσσουσι</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

The latter rendering might be based upon Gen 2:1. Also that verse speaks of “all the ornament of heaven”:

Gen 2:1

| מַעְלָל השמיים והארץ | קָאָי סְעֵטְלֶלֶסְחָא נְוָוָאָרָאָו כֹּל וַחֲגַם | קָאָי פַּאָס הָּלָּו מָּּאֲח | קָאָי פַּאָס הָּלָּו מָּּאֲח |

Another option, proposed by Ziegler, is that the extra words have entered Isa 13:10 from Isa 24:21, although there the word לָל / פַּאָס is missing.182

Isa 24:21

| יִפְסָד היה | קָאָי פַּאָס הָּלָּו מָּּאֲח | עַל-צֹאָב המַרְבּוֹת מִרְמֵר | עַל-צֹאָב המַרְבּוֹת מִרְמֵר |

Isa 18:6

| יִקָּח וּדֶרֶךְ לוֹתִיָּר | הַכְּלָבָה הָּרָּם וְנָקָּק | הַכְּלָבָה הָּרָּם וְנָקָּק | הַכְּלָבָה הָּרָּם וְנָקָּק |

179 Seeligmann, Septuagint Version, 46.
181 Cf. section 2.3a.
182 Ziegler, Untersuchungen, 64.
Where the MT reads "עֵץ ("birds of prey"), LXX Isaiah has τὰ πτετεύου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. The translator may have chosen these words so as to repeat τοῖς πτετευοῖς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ earlier in v.6. However, there too the phrase does not form a literal rendering of the Hebrew, which offers לְעֵץ הָרִים ("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 בָּחַם ("the cattle of the earth") as τὰ θηρία τής γῆς ("the wild beasts of the earth") within the same verse in LXX Isaiah:

Gen 1:30 /uni1F43 /uni1F10φυτευσε κυριος και πασιν τοις θηριοις της γης
dlaphthi tou /uni1F43 /uni1F10φυτευσε κυριος
kai pasiv tois petteivos toou ouranou

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 /uni1F43 /uni1F10φυτευσε κυριος

Probably κύριος is not a real plus, but a rendering of גֵּר, read as גֵר. In any case, the words ὃ ἐφύτευσεν κύριος have possibly been taken from Gen 2:8:

Gen 2:8 /uni1F43 /uni1F10φυτευσεν κυριος

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

Gen 2:9 /uni1F43 /uni1F10φυτευσεν κυριος

Gen 3:22 /uni1F43 /uni1F10φυτευσεν κυριος

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) /uni1F43 /uni1F10φυτευσε κυριος, Πληθων πεπτωκαισιν

183 Also compare Gen 1:20,28 and 9:2.
184 HUB Isa, 201. For the formulation ὃ ἐκουσε 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.
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 αὐθρώπος τῶν πλησιόν (“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 νας, which, in conformity with the Greek verb, is a first person plural verb form denoting “let us built.” However, νας is located elsewhere in the verse, and seems already to be represented by λαξεύσωμεν (albeit νας 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 νας and λαξεύσωμεν with the connotation of a homonymous Aramaic root — “to cut down,” translating it by λαξεύσωμεν. 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:

οο οο/uni1F30/uni1F30 /uni1F30/uni1F30κοδοµήσωµεν κοδοµήσωµεν κοδοµήσωµεν κοδοµήσωµεν . . . .

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):

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.

Seeligmann assumes that the Isaiah translator regarded כְּלֶל in Isa 10:9 as identical to the geographical name כְּלֶל / Хαλαννη 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:

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 Хαλαννη does not occur in the book of Genesis.
This indirect link of κοδομή in Isa 10:9 to interpolate in Isa 10:9 words that go back to Gen 11:1–9: compare Gen 22:2, a text which, in accordance with Isa 3:25, deals with the imminent death of a "the beauty (κάλλιστος) of your men," which he then explained in the sense of "the most beautiful of your men" and translated as οὐ όγαπας may rest upon Gen 22:2, a text which, in accordance with Isa 3:25, deals with the imminent death of a beloved son:

Isa 39:2
και ἐδειξεν αὐτοῖς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ νεκρῶν
καὶ τὴς στακτῆς καὶ τῶν θυματίων καὶ τοῦ μύρου
καὶ τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ τοῦ χρυσίου

LXX
καὶ ἐδειξεν αὐτοῖς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ νεκρῶν
καὶ τῆς στακτῆς καὶ τῶν θυματίων καὶ τοῦ μύρου
καὶ τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ τοῦ χρυσίου

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

Isa 3:24–25
καὶ ὁ οἶος σου ὁ κάλλιστος, ὁν άγαπάς,
μαχαίρα πεσεῖται

The Greek versions of the lists in Genesis also include στακτή, in both cases as renderings of the Hebrew נְכָה (a kind of spice of which the precise meaning is unknown):

190 See section 2.3a.
191 HALOT 1:697.
In order to render the phrase in Isa 39:2 the LXX translator may with ἁτάκτη 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 Gen 37:25 and 43:11 and ἅρμα in Isa 39:2.

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:


Nevertheless, the words ὁ χοῦς τῆς γῆς 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 καὶ ἐξαποστελῶ ἐξ αὐτῶν σεσωμένους εἰς τὰ ἐθνεῖς, εἰς Θαρσᾶ καὶ Φοῦδ καὶ Λοῦδ καὶ Μοσοχ καὶ Θοβελ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ εἰς τὰς νήσους τὰς πόρρω, οἱ οὐκ ἀκηκόασιν μου τὸ δόξαν καὶ άναγγελοῦσιν μου τὴν δόξαν ἐν τοῖς ἐθνεῖς.

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

192 See section 8.4.6.
193 So HUB Isa, 296. Another possibility is that the Isaiah translator deduced Μοσοχ from κοιλίας by himself, independently from Gen 10.
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 Deuteronomical chapter and LXX Isaiah.


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

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

This 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

This 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
In the Greek Isaiah ("bulls, lambs, and goats") is rendered by just ταύρων καὶ τράγων ("bulls and goats"); so an equivalent of הבש ("lambs") is missing at this point (it does however occur earlier in the verse as a non-literal rendering of המרים). 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.\(^{194}\)

\(^{194}\) Van der Louw ("Transformations," 154) suggests that הבש has been omitted because it is semantically superfluous: "Only male sheep ... were sacrificed, and these have already been mentioned in the Greek text."

The association of Isa 26:15 with this verse in Deuteronomy has according to Ziegler been correlated Isa 26:15 with Deut 32:23, and added from the latter Vorlage as a gloss to Isa 26:15. The Hebrew manuscript containing this gloss would have formed the Vorlage in which τὰ ἱερὰ ἡμῶν was added under the influence of Deut 32:23.\(^{195}\)

\(^{195}\) Ziegler, Untersuchungen, 118.
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:

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

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 ἱγαστημένος twice: firstly, by ὁ ἱγαστημένος, and secondly, by a proper name, ἱσραήλ. It thus seems that the Septuagint of Isaiah has adopted the Greek Deuteronomy’s double translation of ἵγαστημι.  

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

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 ἱγαστημένος.
198 The omission of the possessive pronoun could however also be a matter of style, see section 9.5f.
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”:

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:

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 δαίμωνι as we find in v.3) renders τῷ, which is the name of a Babylonian god. Nowhere else in the Septuagint has ῥ τη been translated as δαίμων or δαίμωνι, so here too the image may derive from Deut 32:

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: ἐγκαταλείπετος and ἐπιλαυθάνομαι. 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” ἀλλά δὴ τῷ ἡγατημένῳ 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.
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 πέτρας in LXX Isaiah. This phrase can be encountered in four places in the Isaiah translation, three times as an equivalent for דוד ורה and once as a rendering of בקעמהשע (“flint”):

Deut 32:13

This translation with στερεὰ πέτρας is striking because elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible דוד וריה is generally rendered by a mere πέτρα without στερεὰ. Outside the Greek Isaiah the exact word combination στερεὰ πέτρας is attested only once: in Deut 32:13, translating in LXX Isaiah:

It is indeed conceivable that the translation of דוד ורה or בקעמהשע by στερεὰ πέτρας in LXX Isaiah is dependent upon this rendition in Deut 32.

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

The absence of בקעמהשע is possibly related to the occurrence of similar phraseology (“to leave seed”) in Deut 3:3, where this word does not follow דוד ורה either:

Deut 3:3

The appearance in the Greek of ἐταπεινώθη ἃθανατάμοι implies that the translator has interpreted ἃθανατάμοι as a derivation of ἐταπεινώθη—”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 בקעמהשע may bear on the syntactical ambiguity of the word, as it is unclear where it belongs syntactically.
the form.\textsuperscript{203} he may have connected to מ والفダウンה—"infidelity" (from the root מダウンה) instead of to מダウンה ("deed," from מ Downs), albeit it is also possible that the he simply translated the latter noun in a free way. The translation of Деут 9:7 as тα πρός κύριον ἀπειθοῦντες might be influenced by Деут 9:7. This Deuteronomic verse is embedded in a speech of Moses in which he declares Israel for being an obstinate and stubborn people, who do not deserve the land promised to them:  \textsuperscript{204}

Deut 9:7

μνήσθητι μὴ ἐπιλάθῃ ὡσα παρώξυνας κύριον τὸν θεὸν σου ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἀφ’ ἥς ἡμέρας ἐξῆλθετε ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐχος ἠλθετε εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον, ἀπειθοῦντες διετελεῖτε τὰ πρὸς κύριον

Isa 4:5

καὶ ἤξει, καὶ ἔσται πᾶς τόπος τοῦ ὄρους Σιὼν καὶ πάντα τὰ περικύκλωρ αὐτῆς σκιάζει νεφέλης ἡμέρας καὶ ὡς καπνὸ καὶ ὡς φωτὸς πυρὸς καιομένου νυκτός: πάση τῇ δόξῃ σκεπασθήσεται

Num 9:16–18

γν γν γν γν

καὶ ἤνεφελ ἐγένετο διὰ παντός: ἡ νεφέλη ἐκάλυπτεν αὐτήν ἡμέρας καὶ εἰδος πυρὸς τὴν νύκτα. … πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας, ἐν αῖς σκιάζει ἡ νεφέλη ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς, παρεμβαλοῦν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραήλ

Num 10:34(36)\textsuperscript{205}

καὶ ἡ νεφέλη ἐγένετο σκιάζουσα ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ἡμέρας ἐν τῷ ἐξαιρεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς.

Isa 7:16

διὸτι πρὶν ἤ γνωναί τὸ παιδίον ἄγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν ἢ τοὺς τοῦ ἀπεθανεῖν πονηρία τοῦ ἐκλέξασθαι τὸ ἄγαθὸν

As noted earlier, the interpolation of ἄγαθον 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.\textsuperscript{206} Yet, a more precise correspondence can be distinguished in another text in the Pentateuch, that is, in Деут 1:39.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{203} Cf. Ziegler, Untersuchungen, 137; Seeligmann, Septuagint Version, 50. Koenig (L’herméneutique analogique, 115–116) thinks that the variant translation of יָבוּן was meant to remove the anthropomorphism from the Hebrew text ("the eyes of God"); see however section 10.3.2.

\textsuperscript{204} Also Hos 5:3–5 could have played a role in the translation of Isa 3:8; see section 8.4.5.1.

\textsuperscript{205} The numbering of the LXX is put between brackets.

\textsuperscript{206} See section 8.4.1.1a.

\textsuperscript{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  

καὶ πᾶν παιδίου νέου, ὡστὶς οὐκ οἴδειν σήμερον ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν, οὕτωι εἰσελέυσόστοι ἐκεῖ, καὶ τούτοις δῶσῳ αὐτὴν.

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  

辏CollectionView

It is believed that the words ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν match those in Isa 8:14 and Deut 1:39. The connection between these two verses is not exact, but they both point to the idea of knowing good and evil.

Isa 8:14  

καὶ οὐκ ἔστω προσκομισματὶ συναντήσεσθε αὐτῷ ὀψήρ πέτρας πτώματος.

Koenig posits that ("striking") in the LXX of Isa 8:14 has received a twofold translation: not only has it been reproduced in a literal way by προσκομισματι, but also—through association with the root ἄναγκα—"to wound." By συναντήσεσθε αὐτῷ, he bases on the observation that in Exod 9:14 the word δέκομαι ("my plague"), which likewise stems from the root ἄναγκα, matches τὰ συναντήσεσται μου: 210

Exod 9:14  

ἐν τῷ γὰρ υἱὸν καρπῶν ἐγὼ ἐξαποστέλλω πάντα τὰ συναντήσεσται μου εἰς τὴν καρδίαν σου 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  

ἐκκλίνοντες κρίσιν πτωχῶν, ἀρπάζοντες κρίμα πενήντων τοῦ λαοῦ μου ὡστε εἶναι αὐτοῖς χήρανεiς ἁρπαγήν.

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208 Troxel, “Isaiah 7,14–16,” 5.
210 Koenig, L’herméneutique analogique, 126.
The slightly free rendition of Deut 28:68—"to turn aside the needy from justice"—as ἐκκλίνοντες κρίσιν πτωχῶν—"turning aside the cause of the poor" (םי ד having been altered into a direct object) may be the outcome of the adoption of juridical phraseology from the book of Deuteronomy.\(^\text{211}\)

Deut 16:19

οὐκ ἐκκλίνοντες κρίσιν

Deut 24:17

καὶ ὀφφανοῦ καὶ χήρας

Deut 27:19

ἐπικατάρατος ὡς ἀν ἐκκλίνη κρίσιν

 Isa 10:24

Μὴ φοβοῦ, ὡς λαός μου ὁ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Σιων,

καὶ άποστρέψεις σε κύριος ἐς Αἰγυπτον ἐν πλοῖοι

καὶ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἦ ἐπίτησιν σε

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.\(^\text{213}\)

 Isa 19:6

καὶ ἐκλείψουσιν οἱ ποταμοὶ

καὶ αἱ διαφύγεσι τοῦ ποταμοῦ,

καὶ ἐκαταράσει τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ πατύρου

LXX Isa 19:6 diverges from the Hebrew as regards its sentence division and idiom. ἐκαταράσει ("and they will dry out") might be a condensed rendering of אֲדוֹלִים וֹרֵב ("they will diminish and dry up").\(^\text{214}\) ἐλεὶ ("marsh") may echo ἑπεξερέξωμαι ("they will rot away"), which equivalency has a probable precedent in Isa 33:9. What is equally possible is that the translator selected ἐλος on account of καλάμος ("reed"), since in LXX Isa 35:7 these two nouns appear in close context to each other as well (ἔπαυλις καλάμου καὶ ἐλη). The words

\(^{211}\) Besides in the quoted texts, the exact formulation ἐκκλίνοντες 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.

\(^{214}\) ἐλεὶ, καὶ ἐκαταράσει σε renders ἑπεξερέξωμαι, while אֲדוֹלִים וֹרֵב is represented by καὶ ἐκλείψουσιν, and ἑπεξερέξωμαι ("they will become foul") is a minus.
πᾶσα συναγωγὴ ὕδατος most likely reproduce, just as in Isa 37:25. In both Exod 7:19 and 37:25 the translator has linked εἶναι πάντα to the root διώρυγα, “to collect,” which elucidates the use of συναγωγή. However, in Isa 19:6 it seems to have received a second translation, that is, 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 ἔλεις 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 Λαβῆ τὴν ράβδον σου καὶ ἐκτείνου τὴν χειρά σου ἐπὶ τὰ ὑδάτα Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς διώρυγας αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἠλέη αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶν συνεστηκὸς ὕδωρ αὐτῶν
Exod 8:1 Ἐκτείνου τῇ χειρί τὴν ράβδον σου ἐπὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς διώρυγας καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἠλέη

The dependence of LXX Isa 19 on Exod 7 is further suggested by the translation in LXX Isa 19:7 of ὁ λείψας αὐτῷ: ὁ λείπῃ ὑλὰ τοῖς σπουδαίοις

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

Exod 7:24 ὁ ὑπὲρ τὸ λίθωμα τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ ὁ πάντως οἱ Ἀιγύπτιοι οὐκ ἠδύναντο πεινὰν ὕδωρ, καὶ οὐκ ἤδυναντο πεινὰν 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:

Lev 11:36 καὶ συναγωγῆς ὕδατος, ἔσται καθαρὰν καὶ συναγωγῆς ὕδατον καὶ λάκκου πλὴν πηγῶν ὕδατον καὶ λάκκου μορφῶν ὅσαν ἦσσον καὶ μορφῶν ὅσαν ἦσσον.

Isa 23:18 ἀλλὰ τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐναντίον κυρίου θύεται καὶ ἐν μοῖρῃ αὐτῆς ἢ ἐπιμερίᾳ αὐτῆς ἐν ἀλλήλοις διασκοίνους φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν καὶ ἐπιμελθῆσθαι τὰς λεβητὰς ἡμῶν εἰς συμβολὴν μημόσυνου ἐναντίον κυρίου.

The final words of Isa 23:18 in the Greek—εἰς συμβολὴν μημόσυνου ἐναντίον κυρίου ("as a covenant, a memorial, in the presence of the Lord")—are markedly distinct from the Hebrew, which offers לָכֵל הַכֶּפֶךָו ("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 לָכֵל הַכֶּפֶךָו (MT: כָּכֶפֶךָו—"covering") was read by the translator as כָּכֶפֶךָו, denoting “contributed portion,” “regular contribution,” “tax” (cf. e.g. Num

216 For ἐν / συναγωγή, see also Isa 23:18 and 39:6.
217 Cf. also Gen 1:9 Συναχθήτω τῷ ὕδωρ τῷ ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς συναγωγὴν μίαν.
occurs, may have played a role in the appearance of these same words in other passages, besides these passages, Ziegler as well as Seeligmann mention Num 31:54 as a text that could have been of influence. Besides these passages, Ziegler as well as Seeligmann mention Num 31:54 as a text that could have been of influence.

An alternative explanation comes from Ziegler. Even if Ziegler, in agreement with van der Kooij, believes that the translator read rather than rendered gold into a memorial, gives a rendering of Dan 7:9, which is used there as a designation for God. The latter association could explain the rendering of the Adverb in LXX Isa 23:18.

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 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. However, in my opinion these texts may also have influenced the translator directly:

Exod 18:12  

Deut 12:7  

Deut 12:18  

Deut 15:20  

Deut 27:7

Besides these passages, Ziegler as well as Seeligmann mention Num 31:54 as a text that could have been of influence. In conformity with LXX Isa 23:18, this verse, relating how Moses makes plundered gold into a memorial, gives a combination with "contribution." Rather than bearing the same meaning of “contribution,” the adverb ("eminent," "choice") the translator has, in van der Kooij’s view, connected with the Aramaic adjective “old”—and related to “the Ancient of Days” (Dan 7:9), which is used there as a designation for God. The latter association could explain the rendering of the adverb in LXX Isa 23:18.

218 van der Kooij, *Oracle of Tyre*, 74, 148.


221 Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 47.

Exod 28:29(23) this could have motivated the translator to apply the same noun in Isa 23:18 as well.

Exod 28:29(23) and of the above-mentioned passages from the Torah in which identifying the former with the capital city of Moab, Areopolis.

Exod 30:16 Likewise occurs. Given that in many of those misfortune as that of Moab will await them. Compare for a related concept...

Isa 29:1–2 The translation by συναγάγετε γενήματα suggests that the translator has read the Hebrew συναγάγετε γενήματα (“add”) as συναγάγετε γενήματα (“gather”), and has complemented the latter verb with an object γενήματα (“crops”). 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. A similar connection between Μωαβ and Αριηλ is made in the LXX of Isa 15:9

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: τούτων τά γενήματα τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν φάγονται. οὔτε τῷ ἀνόμῳ πονηρᾷ κατά τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ συμβήσεται αὐτῷ. At the same time, the insertion of

223 Also the translation in v.1a of ἀλλὰ τῶν ἑαυτῶν ("Woe, Ariel, Ariel, the city where David encamped") as οὐ λαοῖς Αριηλ, ἤν Δαυὶδ 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 ἐν κατάλειψιν ἔφη ἡ ἁπαξ λεξίς "And I will encamp against you round about") as καὶ κυκλώσῃ ὈΣ Δαυὶδ ἐπὶ σὲ ("and like David I will surround you"), possibly alluding to 2 Sam 8:2 on David’s beating the Moabites.

Ziegler, Untersuchungen, 68.
exactly the object γενήματα may have been elicited by the occurrence of the phrase συνάγω γενήματα in the Pentateuch: 225

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scripture Reference</th>
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| Exod 23:10         | "Εξ ἑτη σπερεῖς τὴν γῆν σου καὶ συνάξεις τὰ γενήματα αὐτῆς" | From Deut 29:28(29)–30:1. That verse, as well as the preceding ones, 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 ὡς οἱ λόγοι τοῦ βιβλίου του ἐσφραγισμένου τοῦτού in Isa 29:11 with πάντα τὰ ρήματα του νόμου τουτού in Deut 29:29).
| Lev 25:20          | Τί φαγόμεθα ἐν τῷ ἐτεί τῷ ἐβδόμῳ τοῦτῳ, ἕαν μὴ σπείρωμεν μὴ δὲ συναγάγωμεν τὰ γενήματα ἡμῶν; | For the combination of γενήματα with ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπ’ ἐνιαυτὸν, see Deut 14:22: | Deuteronomy 29:28(29)–30:1
|                    |            | For Deut 14:22(21) | "Δεκάτην ἀποδεκατώσεις παντὸς γενήματος τοῦ σπέρματος σου τὸ γένημα τοῦ ἀγροῦ σου ἐνιαυτὸν κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν" |
| Isa 29:10–11       | καὶ καμμισός τοὺς ὀρθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν προφητήν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτῶν, | ίσοι δρώντες τὰ κρυπτά. καὶ ἐσονται υμῖν πάντα τὰ ρήματα ταύτα | (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 ὡς οἱ λόγοι τοῦ βιβλίου του ἐσφραγισμένου τοῦτού in Isa 29:11 with πάντα τὰ ρήματα του νόμου τουτού in Deut 29:29): |
|                    | καὶ ἑξοσμόντα υμῖν πάντα τὰ ρήματα ταύτα | ὡς οἱ λόγοι τοῦ βιβλίου του ἐσφραγισμένου τοῦτού | Deuteronomy 29:28(29)–30:1
|                    | καὶ ἐσονται υμῖν πάντα τὰ ρήματα ταύτα | καὶ ἑκάσταν γενήματος του βιβλίου του ἐσφραγισμένου τοῦτού | (Deut 29:28–29) 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 ὡς οἱ λόγοι τοῦ βιβλίου του ἐσφραγισμένου τοῦτού in Isa 29:11 with πάντα τὰ ρήματα του νόμου τουτού in Deut 29:29): |

225 For συνάγω 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.
Isa 33:11

Deut 31:24

Isa 30:22

Isa 30:15

Exod 32:20

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 πυρ (“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:

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

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:

228 Ziegler, Untersuchungen, 121; HUB Isa, 125.

229 For a more detailed analysis of this verse, see section 2.5b.

230
Lev 26:20  
καὶ ἕσται εἰς κενὸν ἡ ἱσχύς ὑμῶν,
καὶ οὐ δώσει οἱ γῆ ὑμῶν τὸν σπόρον αὐτῆς

Isa 36:9  
καὶ πῶς δύνασθε ἀποστρέψαι
οἰκέται εἰλιν οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ᾽ Αἰγυπτίοις

eἰς ὑππον 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 דבָע is in LXX Isaiah usually represented by παῖς (19x) or δοῦλος (9x). Also the entire sentence in which οἰκέται occurs—οἰκέται εἰλιν οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ᾽ Αἰγυπτίοις—is remarkable, being rather distinct from the Hebrew.231 Its subject, οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ᾽ Αἰγυπτίοις, is a free rendering of the verbשָׁבַח לַעֲלָם. The Hebrew phrase 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  
Οἰκέται ἡμεν τῷ Φαραώ ἐν γῇ Αἰγυπτῷ,
Deut 5:15; 15:15; 16:12; 24:18,22  
καὶ μην ἀναληθήσῃ ὧτι οἰκέτης ἡθα

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  
κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων ἐξελεύσεται
cαὶ συντρίψει συντρίψει συντρίψει συντρίψει

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

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.”
Exod 15:3 לַהֵן אַעֲשֵׁי מַלְוָהָהּ יְהוָה שָׁמָּה

Isa 48:21 לֹא צַמֵּא חָרְבֹת הַיָּם

Hos 2:20(18) וַיֵּלֹחֵם אַשְׁבֵּרָן מְרִיאָאִים

Exod 15:3 in its turn may have adopted the concept of God as the one who “breaks war” from Hos 2:20.²³⁴

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 πιέται ὁ λαὸς μου in the LXX of Isa 48:21²³⁵ has undoubtedly been extrapolated from this Pentateuchal text:

Exod 12:48–49 οὗτοι προσῆλθον πρὸς ὑμᾶς προσήλυτος·

Lev 19:33 Εὰν δὲ τις προσῆλθῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἐποίησει τὸ πασχά κυρίῳ,, περιτείμεις αὐτοῦ?

Num 9:14 Εὰν δὲ προσῆλθῇ πρὸς ὑμᾶς προσήλυτος·

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 יִדוּ by a form of προσέρχομαι (“they will go”) rather than by a verb that means “to live” in accordance with the literal meaning of Деут I, one can conclude that the words under consideration in Deut 21:20 may have been affected by LXX Isa 50:5, where the verbs άπειθέω and άντιλέγομαι are likewise coordinated: εγώ δὲ έσούν άπειθείς ουδέ άλλοι ναος και ναος ναος... (MT: η ναος η ναος η ναος). Besides, also Deut 21:18 and 20 may have been of an influence: here the Hebrew gives the word pair סדר ומדורג.238

Given that the word pair in LXX Isa 65:2 differs from the ones in the Greek text of the Deuteronomistic 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.

The insertion of έμοι 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

237 Cf. section 2.3a.
238 For Deut 21:18, cf. also Ps 78:8 and Jer 5:23 (Ziegler, Untersuchungen, 78–79; HUB Isa, 285). For άντιλέγομαι, cf. LXX Isa 22:22 και έσονται έμοι ... οτι άπόδοσια άποδοσιαν ουθε ουθε ουθε ουθε (MT: η ναος η ναος η ναος)...
239 However, it is also conceivable that the translator has read י in his Vorlage: Cf. 1IQa: אֶלֶף קַח פָּרָשַׁת שָׁלֹא לְיַלְדוּתָם לְיִשְׂרָאֵל (Pesh. and Targ. = MT).
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Compare also Num 3:41:

καὶ λήμψῃ τοὺς Λευτέρας ἐμοί, ἔγώ κύριος,
καὶ πάντας τῶν πρωτοτόκων τῶν νεωτέρων 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. 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 καιγε recension of the Psalms, which, in his eyes, indicated “a congenial, Pharisaic milieu common to both.”

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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
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a relation between the LXX of the Psalms and the κατεγρέ group. He believed the LXX translators of the Psalms to be the predecessors of the κατεγρέ recension; the latter would have been influenced by the LXX translators in their translation procedures and in specific renderings, such as the translation of ἱλασμον as κάτεγρε. Υπό τον ενεργόν θεο. 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. The connection between the Greek Psalms and the κατεγρέ 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 Hasmonean 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.

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., 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. 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-Maccabean 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.


245 Mozley, Psalter, 182 n.1; Flashar, “Exegetische Studien,” 181–182. According to Flashar the uncommon translation of ημεροφυλάκιον (“heap of stones”) as ὀπταροφυλάκιον (“watcher’s hut”) in LXX Ps 78:1 may rely on the occurrence of the same Greek noun in LXX Isa 1:8, where ὀπταροφυλάκιον forms a semantically apt equivalent of מַלֶּךְ.
whole of the Septuagint of the Psalms had already been completed, and was in circulation, during the translator’s own period.\textsuperscript{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:

\begin{quote}
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\textsuperscript{247}.
\end{quote}

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.\textsuperscript{248} Besides Williams, the Finnish scholar Staffan Olofsson also concurs with the idea that the Greek Isaiah postdates the Septuagint of the Psalms.\textsuperscript{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

\textbf{Isa 9:1(2)}  שֵׁבֶת בָּאָרָים עַל כַּתָּוִים \(\varepsilonν\ \chiωρ\ \kappa\&\ \sigmaκιά\ \thetaαν\άτου\)

The expression \(\varepsilonν\ \chiωρ\ \kappa\&\ \sigmaκιά\ \thetaαν\άτου\), arrived at through the addition of \(\kappa\&\) (and through the interpretation of \(\varepsilonν\ \chiωρ\ \kappa\&\ \sigmaκιά\ \thetaαν\άτου\)—“deep shadow”—as \(\varepsilonν\ \κατ\ά\ \σκι\ \θαν\άτου\)—“shadow of death”) echoes formulations such as \(\varepsilonν\ \κατ\έ\ \σκι\ \θαν\άτου\), which can repeatedly be observed in the Psalms. See for instance:\textsuperscript{250}

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\textsuperscript{246} Seeligmann, \textit{Septuagint Version}, 72–73.

\textsuperscript{247} Ziegler, \textit{Untersuchungen}, 105.

\textsuperscript{248} Tyler F. Williams, “Towards a Date for the Old Greek Psalter,” in \textit{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 \(\lambda\αλλά\ εἰρήνην\) may be based on LXX Ps 27:3 and 84:9; the usage in Isa 29:1 of \(\piστικά\) for \(\tau\ ν\), as well as the use of the rare word \(\kατά\vο\) suggest a connection with LXX Ps 59:5; the employment in Isa 6:4 of \(\τα\ρό\) to render \(\textit{προς}\) may be inspired by LXX Ps 23:7, and the rendering in Isa 26:14 of \(\alphaλ\τρο\) as \(\alphaλ\τρο\) by LXX Ps 87:11. The translation in Isa 1:8 of \(\alphaλ\τρο\) as \(\sigmaτομοφορά\) might draw upon LXX Ps 78:1 (although, in theory, the direction of the dependence could also be the reverse, as Mozley suggests).

\textsuperscript{249} Staffan Olofsson, \textit{God is my Rock. A Study of Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis in the Septuagint} (ConBOT 31; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1990), 23.

\textsuperscript{250} Even if LXX Isa in this very clause gives the words \(\varepsilonν\ \chiωρ\ \kappa\&) rather than \(\varepsilonν\ \κατ\ά\), the latter phrase does appear in the beginning of the verse, namely in \(\ν\ λα\δ\ ο\ \πορευ\όμενο\ \varepsilonν\ \κατ\ά\).
Ps 107(6):10

Ps 107(6):14

Ps 88(87):7

καθηµένους ἐν σκότει καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου
καὶ ξείδε ἀντούς ἐκ σκότους καὶ σκιάς θανάτου
ἐν σκοτεινοῖς καὶ ἐν σκιᾷ θανάτου.

Similar phraseology features twice in the book of Job:

Job 3:5

Job 28:3

αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ἐκθέτοντας
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
gerwnen en sth miastt Houston.

the translator based the insertion of

In rephrasing Isa 12:2, the translator may have taken Ps 62(61):3,7 as an example:

Ps 62(61):3

Ps 62(61):7

σκιὰ θεοῦ
δόξα µου

Besides that LXX Isa 12:2 and LXX Ps 61:3,7 all contain the words θεὸς µου (και) σωτήρ µου, they are additionally related in that they all have ἰσαρίαν (“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

LXX Ps 61:8

Still, it can be disputed whether the reformulation of LXX Isa 12:2 is really the outcome of harmonisation with LXX Ps 61, for θεὸς 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

Ἀνοίξατε, οἱ ἄρχουντες.

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 IQIsa has ἴσης γενετόν ὑμών; see section 12.3.1.1.

The occurrence in the Greek of ἀνοίξατε suggests that the translator has read מָהֵרָה—as though it were מָהֵרָה—a plural imperative of מָהֵרָה, in the sense of “open!” (with as its implied object probably “the gates”). Goshen-Gottstein connects this translation with the following verses in Psalms: 255

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:

**Ps 24(23):7**

Lift up your heads, O gates! and be lifted up, O ancient doors! that the King of glory may come in.

**Ps 24(23):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 ἀνοίξατε, and LXX Ps 23:7 and 9 present the vocative οἱ ἁρχοντες, in none of these Greek Psalms does one meet the exact words ἀνοίξατε, οἱ ἁρχοντες.

The same picture of “wandering sheep” features in Ps 119(118):176:

Ps 119(118):176  ἐπλανήθην ὡς πρόβατον ἀπολολός

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  Πρόβατον πλανώμενον Ισραήλ

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: כלל בנות ת(2,6),(996,991)}.
The phrase τὰ πετεινά τοῦ οὐρανοῦ has parallels in the following Psalms: ²⁵⁶

Ps 8:9

Ps 50(49):11

Ps 79(78):2

Ps 104(3):11–12

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

In his monograph The Oracle of Tyre van der Kooij defines the plus ὃς 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

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

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 עַבְדָּנַי (“you subdued”) as ὁς ἡμᾶς παρέδωκεν. 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

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 καὶ μὴ παραδῷς αὐτὸν εἰς χείρας ἐχθροῦ αὐτοῦ. Ps 119(8):121 μὴ παραδῷς με τοῖς ἀδικοῦν ὑμεῖς.

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;\(^\text{260}\) 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.\(^\text{261}\) 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 παραδώσεως υμᾶς εἰς χείρας ἀλλοτρίων
Ezek 16:27 καὶ παραδώσεως σε εἰς ψυχάς μισοῦντας σε,
Ezek 23:28 Ἡδον ἐγὼ παραδίδωμι σε εἰς χείρας ων μισεις
Ezek 31:11 καὶ παρέδωσα αὐτοῖς εἰς χείρας ἅρχοντος ἐθνῶν,
Ezek 39:23 καὶ παρεδωσα αὐτοὺς εἰς χείρας τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτῶν

**Isa 26:9** διὸτι φως τὰ προστάγματά σου ἐπί τῆς γῆς.

In the LXX of Isa 26:9 God’s ordinances are called a “light” on the earth.\(^\text{262}\) 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.\(^\text{263}\)

Ps 37(36):6 καὶ ἔδοικε ὡς φῶς τὴν δικαιοσύνην σου
Ps 119(8):105–6 οὐ καὶ τὸ κρίμα σου ὡς μεσομβρίαν.

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: ὃτι νόμος παρ’ ἐμοὶ ἐξελέξασθαι καὶ ἢ κρίσις μου εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν (MT: ἢ κρίσις μου ἐν φως ἐθνῶν).

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261 See Isa 19:4 (48:20); 25:5 (11:23); 33:1 (32:23) (ἐλθέτε); 34:2 (ἐλθέτε); 37:10 (ἐλθέτε); 38:12 (ἐλθέτε); 13 (ἐλθέτε); 47:3 (ἐλθέτε); 53:6 (ἐλθέτε); 12 (ἐλθέτε); 64:7(6) (ἐλθέτε); 65:12 (ἐλθέτε). In 23:7 and 33:6 παραδίδωμι does not have a clear Hebrew equivalent; in 25:7 it matches the noun מַעָלָה. Rather than a plus, φῶς in LXX Isa 26:9 may be a representation of בְּאוֹר (perhaps under the influence of Isa 51:4 and the Psalms quoted). Cf. Koenig, *L’herméneutique analogique*, 136–141.
262 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 ὁρθρίζειν for ἐλθέτε—an equivalency that appears elsewhere only in Ps 63(62), 78(77), and twice in Job—and the unauthorized addition of πρὸς σε, ὁ θεός” (Baer, *When We All Go Home*, 30).
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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

Ps 37(36):20

Ps 37(36):35–36

Ps 37(36):38

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 ἄρθητω ὁ ἁσβης 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.

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 שד— which is an inf. abs. of שיש— as a 1. sing. ipf. form.
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 "אָרָע ("his cart") with עָרֹע ("his anger"), which is reflected in τῆς πικρίας μου (compare the rendering of וֵעָרֹע as η̄ 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  μὴ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ὑψωθῇ σημύν

Ps 103(2):9  οὐκ εἰς τέλος ὑψωθῆσεται

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 σοῦ ὑμᾶς οὖν διὰ παντὸς ὑψωθῆσομαι σημύν (MT: Αὐτῷ ἀριτμ. σημύν) ὑπὸ αἰῶνα τὸν αἰῶνα.268

Isa 30:4–5  γενεάς αὐτοῦ µάτην κοπιάσουσι

Isa 30:4–5 is translated in a somewhat free and associative way: the Hebrew place name וֹתַם may have been linked to νῆμα ("in vain"), and hence rendered μάτην. The verb was probably understood to stem from מָתִים—"to grow weary" (instead of from מָתִים—"to reach"), and thus reproduced as κοπιάσουσιν. Whether, rather than as an inflection of the root מָתִים—"to be ashamed"—was perceived as a derivation of מָתִים, which in Aramaic means "to be evil." The latter connotation is expressed in πονηροῖ, though that adjective appears in the LXX in the preceding clause. The attribution of πονηροῖ to ἀγγέλοι may draw upon Ps 78(77):49.269

Ps 78(77):49  ἐξαπέστειλεν εἰς αὐτούς ὅμως σημύν θυμὸν αὐτοῦ,

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 ἀγγέλοι πονηροῖ 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 מָלֵא רְעָי and could also have been the translator's own rendition of the Hebrew formulation.

266 HUB Isa, 112.
267 In Ps 85(84):4 the noun "anger"—can be found: ἁμαρτάνεις οφθαλμός.
268 Cf. Ziegler, Untersuchungen, 119–120; Ziegler also mentions Jer 3:12 as a related verse.
269 Cf. HUB Isa, 120.
Isa 32:3 καὶ οὐκέτι ἔσονται πεποιθότες ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπων

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, ἐπὶ—(from ἐπὶ—“to be smeared over,” “to be blinded”) was probably read as if it were ἐπὶ—(a Nif. form of ἐπὶ—“to trust”—and has accordingly been rendered by ἔσονται πεποιθότες. In the second place, ἀνθρώπων may have been altered into ἀρχοντας by means of metathesis and interchange of the resh and the dalet, and then have been translated ἀνθρώπων. In the third place, ἀνθρώπων seems to lack a Hebrew counterpart. The resulting clause καὶ οὐκέτι ἔσονται πεποιθότες ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπων echoes a thought expressed in Ps 118(7):8:

Ps 118(7):8 ἄγαθον πεποιθέναι ἐπὶ κύριον
μὴ πεποιθέναι ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπων

Compare also Ps 146(145):3:

The fact that the vocabulary used in the various verses differs from one to the other—LXX Isa 32:3 has ἀνθρώπως where Ps 118(7):8 offers a singular ἀνθρώπου and Ps 146:3 the compound phrase 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 Οὐκέτι μὴ ἰδὼ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὅμηται πᾶσα σάρξ, 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 ἐπὶ, read as if it were ἐπὶ. The expression ὁ ὅρα ἀρα καὶ ὅμηται πᾶσα σάρξ, τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ in both verses might have been borrowed from Ps 98(97):3:

Ps 98(97):3 ἐδοξασαν πάντα τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς καὶ ὅμηται πᾶσα σάρξ, τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν.

The expression ὁ ὅρα ἀρα καὶ ὅμηται πᾶσα σάρξ, τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ further appears in LXX Ps 49:23, but there it is not governed by ὁ ὅρα.272

Ps 50(49):23 η το σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ.272

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 τὸ σωτήριον may have been added in parallelism to ἐδοξασαν πάντα τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς, ἀρα καὶ ὅμηται πᾶσα σάρξ, τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ in the preceding line (although this does not exclude the possibility of the influence of the Psalm). Moreover, the use of ὁ ὅρα τὸ

270 See Koenig, L’herméneutique analogique, 149.
271 For the omission of ἐπὶ, cf. section 7.7.
272 Apart from the verses mentioned τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ has no other occurrences in the LXX.
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σωτηρίου 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 σωτηρίου, and a somewhat different grammatical construction: καὶ ὄψυνται πάντα τὰ ἀκρα τῆς γῆς τὴν σωτηρίαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ (MT: כָּל כָּפָרָא יָסִיר אֱלֹהֵינוּ כֶּסֶף אֱלֹהֵינוּ).

Isa 38:20 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 κύριος τῆς σωτηρίας μου—“O Lord of my salvation.” Exactly the same words appear in LXX Ps 37:23.273

Ps 38(37):23 πρόσχες εἰς τὴν βοήθειάν μου, κύριος τῆς σωτηρίας μου.

The view that the Isaiah translator has taken the expression κύριος 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 κύριος ὁ θεός τῶν δυνάμεων εξελύσεται

The appearance in LXX Isaiah of the divine title ὁ θεός τῶν δυνάμεων is remarkable. This name is the common equivalent for θεός τῶν δυνάμεων (θεός ἁμαρτίας) in the Greek Psalms.274 In Isa 42:13, however, one does not find θεός τῶν δυνάμεων, and if it were to be found, one would expect it to be represented by σαβαωθ, which is the default for θεός 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 θεός τῶν δυνάμεων in LXX Isaiah. He thinks that the translator has derived this title from θεός ναβις on his own initiative. This he contends on the grounds that in four out of the eight cases (including the present one) where θεός ναβις 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 θεός 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 καὶ ἀνατελοῦσιν ὥσει χόρτος ἀνὰ μέσου ὕδατος

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

273 κύριος 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 θεός 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 ὡσει χόρτος / τῶ ἐξανατελλόντων ἐν ὄρει χόρτων. For a text in Isaiah with a similar syntax, cf. Isa 53:2 ἀναγεννήσωσαν ἐναντίων αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ παιδίου, ὡς πίζα ἐν γῇ.
Ps 92(91):8 ἐν τῷ ἀνατείλαι τοῦς 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 ἀνατείλω (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 ὡσεὶ.

Isa 45:13

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 ἀνάβη ("he will let go") by ἐπιστρέψει ("he will turn back") in the Isaiahic verse.279

Ps 14(13):7 ἐν τῷ ἐπιστρέψαι κύριου

Ps 53(52):7 ἐν τῷ ἐπιστρέψαι κύριου

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 הבש שית.

Isa 53:2–3

οὐκ ἔστιν εἶδος αὐτῶν οὐδὲ δόξα·
καὶ εἴδομεν αὐτὸν, καὶ οὐκ εἰῆν εἶδος οὐδὲ κάλλος

Alla τὸ εἶδος αὐτῶν ἀτιμον

Σκέπην παρὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπων

διψώσ (in the Göttingen edition Ziegler proposes as a conjecture ἀνέτειλε μὲν instead of ἄνηγεῖλαμεν).

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 See Seeligmann, Septuagint Version, 72.

Ziegler seeks to connect the translation of "(and no beauty that we should desire him") by καὶ οὖκ εἶχεν εἰδῶς 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. Ziegler seeks to connect the translation of Ps 45(44):3, a Psalm passage which, conform to Isa 53, alludes to a messianic figure:

Ps 45(44):3

The words Ps 45(44):3 Ps 136(5):23 Isaiah's reliance on the Psalms on this occasion. The fact that the formulation that Ps 119 and Isa 53 have in common, is absent in Jer 2:24, which favours the idea of the servant of God being afflicted and despised.

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. Although εν τῇ ταπεινώσει appears in LXX Jer 2:24 as well (εν 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 εν τῇ ταπεινώσει recurs literally identically in the Greek version of the verses quoted from Ps 119(18), makes plausible the assumption that LXX Isaiah depended on the LXX translation of these Psalms.

281 Ziegler, Untersuchungen, 128.

282 εν could be a rendering of ה (read as ב) rather than a plus.

283 Compare e.g. Ps 119:67, 71, 75, 85, and 153 to Isa 53:4, אָדָם אֵלֶּה תְּלֵט עֲשַׂר [and compare Ps 119:141 to Isa 53:3.
Isa 57:9  ותפשי על דריאתיך  kai ἀπέστρεψας καὶ ἐταπεινώθης ἐώς ἀδοῦ.

The idea of a return to Sheol may have been taken from Ps 9:18:

Ps 9:18  יושב תרתי על שקוי טidente  ἀποστραφήτωσαν οἱ ἀμαρτωλοὶ εἰς τὸν ξῆνον.

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

LXX ἡ αἵματα τῶν εὕραντο, τρόμος λήμψεται

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 תרדה 284 or חמש 285 (both meaning “to tremble”). The verb form (from תָּקִים—to melt”) supposedly reproduces נלנל (Nif. הָלִל—to quake”), even if in other places תָּקִים usually matches 메ס/ภาพย (“to melt”). Maybe the use of a verb in the sense of “to melt” is brought about by the occurrence of מים ("brushwood") in v.2, which might have been associated with מים. The verb form was probably read as though it were מים בועש (Pi. מים—"to burn up") and translated as κατακαυσεί. 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  תָּרָה דּוֹרֶת אַטְאָקְסָא, וְאֵאַי קֶרְדָּו -appointed the prophet of the Lord.

Also the words וָאֵי קֶרְדָּו-appointed the prophet tìkêtaí have a parallel in the Psalms: they return almost literally in Ps 68(67):3:

Ps 68(67):3  וָאֵי קֶלֶּיֹּפ קָטְנִים, אֶקְלְיִטְסָאָו -appointed the prophet of the prophet's Pious, oponento onto the amartwlois appointed the prophet to the theou.

The simile of melting wax additionally features in the following Psalm verses:

284 Cf. Isa 33:14 וַתִּקְוָה תַּחַת הָדָם, לְיִקְּמֹא חַרְמֹא  / λήμψεται τρόμος τούς ἀσέβεις.

Ps 22(21):15

Ps 58(57):9

Ps 50(49):12

Ps 64:1–2

Isa 66:16

Isa 66:2

Mic 1:4

Verses expose the same theme, that is, God’s contempt for sacrifices. On the other hand, the explanation for the additional vocabulary of the Greek version of the Psalms quoted corresponds closely to that of Ps 97(96):5 and LXX Isa 64:1–2 occurs:

Aside from these Psalms, Mic 1:4 should also be mentioned. Here a picture comparable to that of Ps 97(96):5 and LXX Mic 1:4 should also be mentioned. Here a picture comparable to that of Ps 97(96):5 and LXX Mic 1:4, given that in Ps 97(96):5, in agreement with the Isaianic passage, it is the mountains that are melting.

Since the vocabulary of the Greek version of the Psalms quoted corresponds closely to that of Ps 97(96):5, which makes it likewise conceivable that the Isaiah translator relied on the LXX of the Psalms in translating these verses.

Ziegler mentions as a possibility that in LXX Isa 66:2  ἐμὰ was added in harmonisation with Ps 50(49):10:

Ps 50(49):10

Ps 50(49):12

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 הרים כל־הרים is elliptic and strongly insinuates ו, which makes it likewise imaginable that the Isaiah translator has added ἔμα independently of Ps 50, simply in order to clarify his text. Maybe he also wished to make the line καὶ  ἔστιν πάντα ταῦτα ἐποίησεν ἡ χεῖρ μου analogus in content to the preceding one πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα ἐποίησεν ἡ χεῖρ μου. An explanation for the additional ἔμα can further be sought in a difference of Vorlage. Perhaps ו got lost in the MT tradition, giving rise to the somewhat obscure Hebrew text we have now.

Isa 66:2

Ps 50(49):10

Ps 50(49):12

In the MT of Mic 1:4, on the contrary, it is the mountains that are melting.

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.

Ziegler, Untersuchungen, 79.
CHAPTER EIGHT

The supply of a subject πᾶσα ἢ γῆ to the verb κρίθησεται 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
κόσμοι ἀλλήλων πέμπτη τοιαύτα
ἀνάστα, ὁ θεός, κρίνων τὴν γῆν.
ὁτι σύ κατακληρονομήσεις ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐθνείσιν.

Ps 94(93):2
νεφελής, ὁ κρίνων τὴν γῆν,
ἀπόδος ἀνταπόδοσιν τοῖς ὑπερηφάνοις.

Ps 96(95):13
λέπις χρυσόν καὶ ζάλμους
cαὶ καὶ λαός δύναται
cαι λαοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ αὐτοῦ.

Ps 98(97):9
καὶ πᾶν κρίνεται
cαι γνωσιμοῖς ἐνδέχεται
και λαοὺς ἐν εὐθυτητί.

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 ἐπισταμαι / 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 ἢ 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 ὦ ποιήσεις κρίσιν;
- πᾶσα ἢ γῆ may well have been inserted in LXX Isa 66:16 parallel to πᾶσα σάρξ in the succeeding line.

Isa 66:18
καγώ τα ἔργα αὐτῶν
καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν αὐτῶν ἐπισταμαι.

Even though it is possible that LXX Isaiah’s underlying Hebrew manuscript offered an equivalent for ἐπισταμαι, 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 ἐπιστήμη:289

Ps 94(93):11
κύριος γινώσκει τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς τῶν ἄνθρωπων
ὅτι εἰσίν 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 γινώσκω, where LXX Ps 93:11 has

289 Cf. HUB Isa, 296.
diálogiómoś 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 εἰσοδόν 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, 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.

290 Ziegler, Untersuchungen, 105.
291 Thackeray, “Greek translators of the Prophetic 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**

Mt: "כִּי יָלַשׁ קְרָה, כִּי יָלַשׁ קְרָה, כִּי יָלַשׁ קְרָה, כִּי יָלַשׁ קְרָה"

LXX: "ἐπί Ναβαυ τῆς Μωαβίτιδος ὀλολύζετε. ἐπί πάσης κεφαλῆς φαλάκρωμα, πάντες βραχίονες κατατετμημένοι, εὐ ταῖς πλατείαις αὐτῆς περιξώσασθε σάκκος καὶ κόπτεσθε, ἐπὶ τῶν δομάτων αὐτῆς καὶ εὐ ταῖς ρύμαις αὐτῆς 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**

Mt: "יכלארש קרה, יככברת חוכמ, יככפרת חוכמ, יככברת חוכמ"

LXX: "πᾶσαν κεφαλήν ἐν πάντι τόπῳ ξυρῆσονται, καὶ πᾶς πώγαν ξυρηθήσεται, καὶ πᾶσιν χεῖρεσ κόμνουται, καὶ ἐπὶ πάσης όσφύος σάκκος. καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν δομάτων Μωαβ καὶ ἐπὶ πλατείαις αὐτῆς, ὅτι συνετρίψα τῶν Μωαβ, φησὶ κύριος, ὡς ἄγγειον, οὐχ 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 (καὶ κόπτεσθε). Mountz remarks that LXX Jeremiah, but with φαλάκρωμα in LXX Isaiah; the Hebrew version of this passage does not contain an expression close to καὶ κόπτεσθε; the nearest equivalent it offers is מכספ in 48:38, a noun coming from the root מִכָּספָּה—"to lament."

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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 יָלַשׁ in Jer 48:31:37–38).
Rather than from Jer 48(31):37 the translator may therefore have imported και κόπτεσθε from other places in the Book of Jeremiah. A similar combination of an imperative of κόπτω with an imperative of περιζόωσσομαι σάκκους to that which LXX Isa 15:3 displays, is attested in LXX Jer 4:8 and 49:3(30:30):

Jer 4:8

ἐπὶ τούτοις περιζόωσσομαι σάκκους και κόπτεσθε και ἀλαλάξατε

Jer 49:3(30:30)

τευκράξατε, θυγατέρες Ραββαθ, περιζόωσσομαι σάκκους και 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 και κόπτεσθε may also have been added under the influence of those Isaiahic 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

καὶ δρόμος τύχοντας κράδος σύντριμμα καὶ 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 ἐπεράν tore (“they raise”) by the noun σεισμός (“earthquake”)—perhaps through linking ἐπεράν to τρία πέραν (“tempest”), and of the noun τύχοντας by the verb βοή. The syntactical construction of the Greek sentence may have been copied from Jer 48(31:3):

Jer 48(31:3)

καὶ δύο τούτων μετανίκησεν ὁ Θεός ημῶν,

σατράπης τοῦ Αρωνηιν χξιάτικαι 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 σφαρτος σύντριμμα. The distinctive transcriptions of χξιάτικαι as θρόωναι and Αρωνηιν in LXX Jeremiah and LXX Isaiah respectively, suggest that the Isaiah translator relied on the Hebrew version of Jeremiah.

Isa 15:7

μὴ καὶ οὕτως μέλλεις σωθήναι, ἐπάξεω γὰρ
At first sight, the Greek wording μή καὶ οὕτως μέλλει σοθῆναι (“Even so, will she be saved?”) does not seem to have anything in common with the Hebrew 울節 תדר השע (“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 יִכְכָּכוּ; μέλλει reflects רוחה, read associatively as רוח, while σοθῆναι reproduces השע, linked to יווש. 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 the cities of Moab that they “will not be saved”:

Jer 48(31):8: נבך שב דיאכלני, עצי אלו בֱּתי חוס, וגו הֵימַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוֹ הָאָדָם אָדָם, and hence translated by אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדוֹם, καὶ ἔζει ὁλέθρος ἐπὶ πᾶσαν πόλιν, οὐ μή σοθῆ, καὶ ἀπολεῖται ὁ αὐλῶν, καὶ ἔξολοθρευθήσεται ἢ πεδινή, καθὼς εἶπε κύριος.

Isa 16:10: ομοίως εὐφροσύνη καὶ ἀγαλλίαμα ἐκ τῶν ἀμπελώνων σου, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀμπελώνοις σου οὐ μὴ εὐφρανθήσωσαι καὶ οὐ μὴ πατήσασιν οὖν εἰς τὰ ὑπολήματα, πέπαυται γάρ.

The lack of an equivalent for יִכְכָּכוּ in LXX Isa 16:10 may be elucidated by reference to a closely related text in Jer 48(31):33:


In the penultimate clause of this Jeremiac 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: יָדָד רַבִּיה; LXX: πρὶν οὐκ ἐπάτησαν). Maybe the Isaiah translator wanted to mirror this formulation in Jer 48(31):33 through omitting the clause in the phrase לַאֵעִר רַבִּיה. Also the omission of יִכְכָּכוּ 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” (הָשְׁבָרָה) 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 נְסֶפֶם שֶׁמֶת הָנָל מִדְרָבִים (nasmek smeh nemal midravim in Isa 16:10 and nasmek smeha nemal in Jer 48:33) are also reproduced differently in either of the Greek translations.

294 Cf. Ziegler, Untersuchungen, 29. An alternative explanation that Ziegler gives for the appearance of μέλλει, is that in Isa 15:7 the form רֹאשׁ from Jer 48:8 appeared in the margin of the Hebrew manuscript of LXX Isa, and was read by the translator as רוחה, and hence translated by μέλλει. The explanation of μέλλει as translating רוח 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 ἄλολύζεις Μωαβ, ἐν γὰρ τῇ Μωαβίτιδι
día touédó épti Mowab ólouyzei

It may be that the translator read ἄλολύζεις κατοικίς as “raisin cakes” as if it were ἄλολύζεις κατοικίς, and on those grounds translated the phrase by τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν. 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 διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ Μωαβ ὀλολύζετε
κύριος ἀποκαταστήσει καὶ σωθήσεις

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 ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἄνθρωπος respectively, and as the two documents show a different transcription of the place-name (κατοικίς).

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 ἄλολύζεις Μωαβ, ἐν γὰρ τῇ Μωαβίτιδι

The LXX has omitted several words, probably with the purpose of abridging the Hebrew. Besides, it has read τὰς as τῶν and rendered the noun by κύριος. The formulation δὲ ἐκοψε ζύλον 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:

295 It is likewise conceivable, however, that the translator did not perceive ἄλολύζεις κατοικίς as being derived from ἄλολύζεις κατοικίς——“raisin cake,” but from πάντες ὀλολύζουσιν τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν.

296 HUB Isa, 201.

297 Ziegler, Untersuchungen, 126.
CHAPTER EIGHT

Jer 10:3

οτί τὰ νόμιμα τῶν ἐθνῶν μάταια·
ζηλού ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ δρυμοῦ ἐκεκομιμένον,
έργον τέκτων καὶ χώνευμα·

Isa 46:6–7

οἱ συμβαλλόμενοι χρυσόν ἐκ μαρσιππίου
καὶ ἀργύριον ἐν ζυγῷ στήσουσιν ἐν σταθμῷ
καὶ μισθοσάμενοι χρυσοχόου ἐποίησαν χειροποίητα
καὶ κύματες προσκυνοῦσιν αὐτοῖς.
ἀφροσίον αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τῶν ὠμῶν, καὶ πορεύονται
ἐὰν δὲ θύσιν αὐτὸ,
ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου αὐτοῦ μένει, οὐ μὴ κινηθή·

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

αἱρὸμενα ἀρθήσονται, οτὶ οὐκ ἐπιβῆσονται

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

αἱρούσιν αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τῶν ὠμῶν, καὶ πορεύονται
ἐὰν δὲ θύσιν αὐτὸ, ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου αὐτοῦ μένει,
οὐ μὴ κινηθή·

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 μεκομένων. By way of the omission of that phrase on the one hand, and the slightly free rendering of μετίς (“depart”) as a passive tense of

298 One could also argue that καὶ πορεύονται is not a plus, but a rendering of סכלות. 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jer 10:4} & \quad \text{καὶ οὐ κινηθήσονται} \\
\text{LXX} & \quad \text{καὶ οὐ κινηθήσονται}
\end{align*}
\]

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 פָּקַד—“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

The initial words of MT Isa 2:1—appear somewhat awkward: how can one see a word? Commonly, formulae introducing prophecies or visions have as the object of the verb the nouns or, whereas in such formulations generally governs the verb היה.\(^{301}\) 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: "The Lord, who has gathered (λέγουσιν)"

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jer 11:1; 18:1; 21:1; 32(39):1; 40(47):1} & \quad \text{The Lord, who has gathered (λέγουσιν)} \\
\text{LXX} & \quad \text{The Lord, who has gathered (λέγουσιν)}
\end{align*}
\]

It is notable that in all the above-mentioned attestations of this formula in Jeremiah the phrases and have in the translation had a change of position as compared to the Hebrew.\(^{302}\) 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Isa 8:15–16} & \quad \text{καὶ αὐθεντοῦται ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν} \\
\text{LXX} & \quad \text{καὶ αὐθεντοῦται ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν}
\end{align*}
\]

The translator may have read τὸν νόμον του μὴ μαθεῖν. ("testimony") as τὸν νόμον του μὴ μαθεῖν. —an imperfect of the Nif. of יָדָי—"she will be known,"\(^{305}\) or as τὸν νόμον του μὴ μαθεῖν. —an imperfect of the Hif. of that same

\(^{300}\) An alternative explanation for the omission of the LXX is that this phrase was omitted because it overlaps with νώμος in the preceding clause.

\(^{301}\) Cf. Isa 1:1 and Ezek 12:27.

\(^{302}\) Cf. Isa 13:1 and Hab 1:1.

\(^{303}\) Cf. Isa 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); 41:8 (MT: 34:14); and 42:1 (MT: 35:1) one finds similar formulae reflecting the same order as the MT: "The Lord who has gathered (λέγουσιν)"

\(^{305}\) Cf. Exod 33:16 and Prov 14:33.
root—, and hence have given a rendering by φανεροὶ ἐσονται. A similar translation can be found in Isa 64:1(2), where ἀσφαλεία matches καὶ φανεροὶ ἐσται τῷ ὀνόμα κυρίου. The preceding verbal form ἐξαφανίζεται (an imperative of ἀφανίζω—to wrap”) he presumably identified as the noun ἀφανίζεται—“rock” (cf. ἀφανίζεται in v.14), interpreting this as a metaphor for safety, and basing on it a translation with ἀσφαλεία. With the help of ἀσφαλεία he formed a subject to the verb διαφθείραμεν (“they will be captured,” in the MT belonging to the previous clause), namely ἀνθρώποι ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ ὄντες. The supply of ἀνθρώποι 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
καὶ παγιδάς ἐστησαν
οὗτοι 
διαφθείραμεν ἀνθρώποι
καὶ συνελαμβάνομεν

Jer 6:11
ἐκχείρω ἐπὶ νήπιο κατέστησεν
καὶ ἐπὶ συναγωγὴν νεανίσκων ἁμαρτόντως
οὗτοι ἀνήρ καὶ γυνὴ συλλημφθοῦσαιν
καὶ συνελαμβάνομεν
πρεσβύτεροι μετὰ πλήρους ἡμερῶν

Ziegler assumes that the Isaiah translator read ἄσφαλτος as a gloss from Jer 5:26 in his Vorlage. 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 ἀνθρώποι is rather a mere element of this rephrasing of the Hebrew. Moreover, the addition of ἀνθρώποι seems to be tendentious for LXX Isaiah, for more examples, see section 4.7.

Isa 9:12(13)
καὶ ὁ λαός ὦκ ἄπεστράφη, ὦς ἔπληγνη,
καὶ τὸν κύριον ὦκ ἐξεζήτησαν.

The missing of a counterpart to ἄσφαλτος 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 ἄσφαλτος:

Jer 10:21
καὶ τὸν κύριον ὦκ ἐξεζήτησαν

Isa 9:17(18)
καὶ καυθήσεται ὅς πῦρ ἢ ἄνομα
καὶ τὸν κύριον ὦκ ἐξεζήτησαν

...
The Hebrew sentence τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἑκείνῃ ἀποσβεσθήσεται τὰ ὄρη καὶ οἱ βουνοὶ καὶ οἱ δρυμοί, καὶ καταφάγεται ἀπὸ ψυχῆς ἐκὸς σαρκῶν (Isa 10:18) is represented, in what at first glance seems a curious manner, by καὶ συγκαταφάγεται τὰ κύκλῳ τῶν βουνῶν πάντα. This verse too threatens the people with the burning of hills and forests in the future.

Also the occurrence of ἔρροιαν earlier in v.18 may have encouraged this rendering. The use of βουνὸς will have been triggered by ἔρροια, which was interpreted as a substantivated adjective fem. plural “the heights” (τῶν) instead of as a singular noun ἔρροια ("column"). 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 ἔρροια, which was perhaps linked to τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, and translated συγκαταφάγεται. Also the occurrence of ἔρροια in LXX Isa 10:18. This verse too threatens the people with the burning of hills and forests in the future.

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:

Jer 21:14 καὶ ἀνάψω πῦρ ἐν τῷ δρυμῷ αὐτῆς, καὶ ἔδεται πάντα τὰ κύκλῳ αὐτῆς.

Jer 50(27):32 καὶ ἀνάψω πῦρ ἐν τῷ δρυμῷ αὐτῆς, καὶ καταφάγεται πάντα τὰ κύκλῳ αὐτῆς.

Isa 13:14 καὶ ξυστοῖσι οἱ καταλειμμένοι ὡς δορκάδιον φεῦγον 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 ἦν Πρόβατον πλανώμενον Ἰσραηλ

Because πλανώμενον ("wandering") in LXX Jer 27:17 is not a very strict rendering of ἔρροια ("scattered")—this verb in the LXX mostly parallels (διασκορπίζω or διασκορπίζο— the

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310 Ziegler, Untersuchungen, 109; Koenig, L’herméneutique analogique, 14.

311 In Isa 10:18 βουνὸς does, however, not form a straightforward translation of the Hebrew either, but renders— together with τὰ ὄρη—καὶ καταφάγεται ἀπὸ ψυχῆς ἐκὸς σαρκῶν (cf. also section 2.3a).

312 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.

313 For see Esth 3:8; Prov 11:24; and Joel 4:2. For 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 intratextual borrowing, as we find related phraseology in LXX Isa 53:6 (πάντες ώς 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 φεύγων in the preceding line.

Isa 22:5
οδί ήµέρα ταραχῆς καὶ ἀπωλείας
καὶ καταπατήματος καὶ πλῆνησις
παρά κύριον σαβαωθ ἐν φάραγγι Σιων

The expression ήµέρα ταραχῆς καὶ ἀπωλείας is reminiscent of the apocalyptical phrase ήµέρα ἀπωλείας in Jer 18:17 and 46(26):21:

Jer 18:17
wortenberg أفسو
λευψιον καὐσα διασπερῶ αὐτοῦς
κατὰ πρόσωπον ἐξχρύσων αὐτῶν,
δείξω αὐτοῖς ήµέραν ἀπωλείας αὐτῶν.

Jer 46(26):21
οδί ήµέρα ἀπωλείας ἥλθεν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς
καὶ καιρὸς ἐκκίνησες 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. As the expression in LXX Isa 22:5 does not exactly match ήµέρα 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
Κύριε ὁ θεός μου, δοξάσω σε,
Κύριε ὁ θεός μου, δοξάσω σε,
δοξάσω τὸ δυνάμι σου,
δοξάσω τὸ δυνάμι σου,
ὅτι ἐποίησας θεαματά πράγματα,
ὅτι ἐποίησας θεαματά πράγματα,
βουλήν ἄρχαιαν ἀληθινὴν γένοιτο, κύριε.

The Isaiah translator has understood מז (MT: מז “faithfulness”) as though it were vocalised מז (“Amen” = γένοιτο), and has complemented this optative with the addressee κύριε. 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
καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπα Γένοιτο, κύριε.

Jer 11:5
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.

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

The first line of v.16 in the LXX—ἀριθμὸς παρηθήθην (“They have passed by in [their full] number”—is fairly different from the Hebrew דרש מליפוסר היהו והכאר (“Seek from the book of the LORD and read”). The one word that seems to link these two clauses is מָסַף, which was in all likelihood associated with מַּה—“number”—and then translated ἀριθμὸς. 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 מליפוסר היהו והכאר, 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  ἐτὶ παρελεύσεται πρὸβατά ἐτὶ χεῖρας

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 ἀριθμὸς in LXX Isa 34:1 resembles the ἀριθμούντος 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 ἀριθμὸς παρηθήθον 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 παρε and παρε.

Isa 36:22

The designation ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς δυνάμεως has its only precedent in Jer 52:25 (even if there the plural of δυνάμεως has been used):

Jer 52:25

Given that the conformity merely applies to the Greek versions of the expression—the Hebrew of Jer 52:25 offering אелеת תוא תמר—the Isaiah translator has more likely relied on the Greek text of Jer 52:25.320

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

The primary clarification for the plus πρὸς κύριον τοῦ 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:

Jer 42(49):2

Τηλειωθεντες 
και προσευξασθησαν 
του των καταλειμμενων 
τουτων.

The feasability of the dependence of LXX Isa 37:4 on Jer 42(49):2 is sustained by the variant translation of the word δεηθήσεται in the former as περὶ τῶν καταλειμμενῶν τούτων, which may have been realized in analogy to the δεηθήσεται in Jer 42:2. The distinct vocabulary of the two Greek texts (δεηθήσει πρὸς κύριον τοῦ θεοῦ versus καταλειμμενῶν versus καταλοίπον) points in the direction of the Hebrew text of Jeremiah having served as an example for the Isaiah translator.

Isa 45:13

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

και οποστρεψηκαι 
την αποσιστηκην 
λαου μου 
Ισραηλ και Ιουδα, 
και οποστρεψηκαι 
τοις πατρισι πατριοι 
και κυριουσουσιν αυτησ.

For a further discussion of this plus, see sections 8.4.2.1 and 8.4.5.3.

Isa 57:20

The LXX of Isa 57:20 does not provide an equivalent to και ἀναπαύσασθαι οὐ δινήσουσαι.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 ἔσταν 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 μην is not a minus, but was read as μέν and represented by οὐτως.
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) ἐξέστησαν, ἐθυμώθησαν, Ἀναπαύσασθαι οὖ μὴ δύνανται.

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 בָּשׂ 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

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.\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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).

\textbf{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:

\textbf{Isa 14:19–20}

\begin{verbatim}
απαντατ ἡ χωλη τῆς ἡριτής σὺ δὲ μικρής ἐν τοῖς ὑπερσυν


can not train a thing righteous ὥσ νεκρός ἔβεβλυγμένος μετὰ πολλῶν τεθηκότων
\end{verbatim}


\textsuperscript{328} See Dorival, Harl and Munnich, \textit{La Bible grecque}, 100–101.

\textsuperscript{329} Seeligmann (\textit{Septuagint Version}, 74) mentions καὶ ἐπὶ ἡμῖν τὴν πάροικον σῶον 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 λοιποί οἱ τὴν παράλλασσαν κατοικοῦσσαν in LXX Isa 9:1, adopted from LXX Ezek 25:16 (see below); and καὶ ἐν τοῖς προθύροις ἔστησαν κρέας ἔσον καὶ τὰ βιβλία in LXX Isa 66:17, influenced by LXX Ezek 8:10.
καταλλαγήνων μαχαιρών καταβαίνοντων εἰς γῆν.  

Outside of Gen 37:31 on Joseph’s robe: “Then they took Joseph’s robe, and killed a goat, and dipped the robe in the blood.”

Ezek 16:6,22 and Isa 14:19 φύρμα (rob) in combination with σήμα only appears in 2 Kgdms 20:12 (φυρμένος ἐν τῷ σήματι; MT: מָכַר בֵּד), and Job 39:30(33).

For the image of a robe stained with blood, cf. also MT Isa 9:5 (ם ])->ן קתלד) לְשׁוֹפֶל מַגָּלָה בַּדִּיס). It is possible that the translator, in rendering 14:19, was influenced by this Hebrew wording; cf. its Greek translation by Aquila: καὶ Ἰακώβῳ Φιλίππῳ πεφυρμένον τῇ σφυραρίᾳ σα. 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.”

Seeligmann, Septuagint Version, 34.
Whereas the final line in the Hebrew (תַּתָּרָה נֶרֶנֶה בְּנוֹת) reads in translation “In little more than a year you will shudder, you complacent women,” the Greek offers ἡμέρας ἐνιαυτοῦ μνεῖαν ποιήσασθε ἐν ὀδύνη μετ’ ἐλπίδος—“Mention the days of a year in pain with hope.” Probably the translator has reached this translation by converting the verb form יֹתֵת (from יָתַה “to quiver,” “to be agitated”) into the semantically related ἐν ὀδύνη—“in pain”; in addition, he may have rendered the same verb by μνεῖαν ποιήσασθε, arrived at through the association with ἐνιαυτόν (changing the ἐ of ἐνιαυτόν into a Æ, and transposing the ἐ and the τ). 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).

Two additional links between Isa 32 and Ezek 16 are, firstly, the use of the form יָתֵת (Hif. יָתַה) in Ezek 16:43, which finds a parallel in יָתֵת (Qal יָתַה) 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: 
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 "remember the days" can likewise be found:

Isa 47:10 "γνωθί δική σου καὶ οὕτως τούτων..."

The Greek translation has been achieved by way of a twofold rendering of “your knowledge” as on the one hand γνωθί—based on a reading with ἡ (cf. 44:20), and on the other hand η πορνεία σου—deriving from ἡ ραπτική earlier in the same verse. The verb phrase “she led you astray” was probably rendered αἰσχύνη through a linking to ραπτική. 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

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 ἄνθρώπωι (whereas the Hebrew reads אֲנִי אֲפֶן—“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

333 Elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible μήτε is attested in Deut 32:7; Ps 143:5; Qoh 5:19; 11:8; Isa 63:11; and Lam 1:7. For μήτε, see Job 14:13 and Ps 110:4.
334 I follow here the reading of Rahlfs. In the Göttingen edition Ziegler gives ἡ πορνεία σου, but that reading is attested only by ms 233 and Tht.
335 HUB Isa, 216.
CHAPTER EIGHT

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:

LXX 57:7–9  έπ* ορος ψηλὸν και μετέωρον, εκείς ου κη ακτήν,
νεφές υφηλί τοῦ βου, κακείς ανεβίβασας θυσίας.
σκότες δὲ τῶν σταμβῶν τῆς θύρας σου,
εκείς μικρός μικρός σου·
ὁ θεος αὐτῶν ἐξελθεις, καὶ πολλῶν ἑποίησας τοὺς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν.
In LXX Isa 57:9 it is hard to discover the Hebrew source of the words καὶ ἐπλήθωνας τὴν πορνείαν σου μετ’ αὐτῶν. Perhaps they form an interpretation of the somewhat enigmatic clause τίνες άδικοι ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ 8, in which — “to broaden”— may have been connected with ἐπλήθωνας—“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.

8.4.4.2 Influence of other texts in Ezekiel

Isa 8:23(9:1)

The list of areas in Isa 8:23(9:1) has in the Greek been extended by, in the first place, τὰ μέρη τῆς Λουδαίας, and, in the second, οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ τῆς παραλίαν κατοικοῦντες. The latter words perhaps go back to the Hebrew ἡ παραλίαν κατοικοῦντες: while οἱ λοιποὶ may come from ἡ παραλίαν ἠπαθή, read as though it were ἠπαθή, read as though it were ἠπαθή. In spite of the fact that οἱ λοιποὶ and ἠπαθή are rather distant from each other in form, the translator may still have wanted to arrive at ἠπαθή 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.

Ezek 25:16

οὐδεὶς ἐγὼ ἐκτενῶ τὴν χεὶρά μου ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀλλοφύλους καὶ ἐξολοθρεύσας Κρήτας καὶ ἀπολῶ τοὺς καταλοίπους
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 τὴν παραλίαν 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 τήν παραλίαν κατοικοῦντες is likewise a plus. Moreover, LXX Ezekiel has not represented the Hebrew הים—this would have disturbed 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.

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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**

οἱ Δαμασκὸς ἄρθησεται ἀπὸ πόλεως
καὶ ἔσται εἰς πτώσιν, καταλελειμμένη εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα,

eἰς κοίτην ποιμνίων καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν,
καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ διώκων.

**Ezek 25:5**

καὶ δῶσω τὴν πόλιν τοῦ Αμμων εἰς νομίης καμήλων
καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς Αμμων εἰς νομήν προβάτων.

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:

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 ποιμνίων for sheep, LXX Ezekiel has προβάτων.

339 The omission of ἡμι 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.


341 HUB Isa, 65.
Isa 32:13–14

In Isa 32:14 καὶ οἴκους ἐπιθυμητοὺς 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 rendering of πλοῦσι πλουσία, οίκοι ἐγκαταλελειμένοι in 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

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 לְדֵי,³⁴⁴ the Isaiah translator could just as well have based his addition in Isa 32:14 on בְּרֵי מַטְחֵךְ, as he encountered it in the Hebrew text of Ezek 26:12.

Isa 33:15

The expression κρίσις αἰμάτος 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 בּר. A Hebrew parallel is contained in Ezek 7:23, where one finds the term מֵשֶׁפֶט דֶּרֶם בּר (“litigation about blood guilt”):³⁴⁵

Ezek 44:24

³⁴² A phrase comparable to οἴκους ἐπιθυμητοὺς 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 ἐπιθυμητοὺς 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 αἰμάτος (MT: בְּרָה) in LXX Ezek 33:2 (A) (B: רֹמְרַת); see Ziegler, Untersuchungen, 122.
Ezek 7:23

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 (ῥήμα ἐν κρίσιν ἀνά μέσον αἵμα αἵματος). Lastly, it is possible that κρίσις αἵματος was a common juridical term in his time.

Isa 34:12

The LXX of Isa 34:12 reflects a Hebrew text as though it were אֲדֹךְ עַזִּיְמֶשׁ. 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

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.  

Isa 44:25

The words “from his/their hearts” recur repeatedly in the Bible. 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

Alternatively, one could posit that LXX Ezekiel relies on LXX Isaiah, which would explain the former’s variant rendering of ἡνίκα by μεγιστάναι, and of ἀρχοντας by κατάρδιας. The wording οἱ ἀρχοντας αὐτής οὐκ ἔσονται in LXX Isaiah, however, rather suggests the influence of LXX Ezekiel (καὶ οὐκ ἔσονται ἔτι) on the Greek Isaiah.

The omission of ἡνίκα is likely to be a case of distributive rendering, see section 3.6.2b.

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

Ezek 33:24

Ezek 36:21

Ezek 36:22

Ezek 36:23

Jer 23:16

Isa 51:2

Isa 52:5

The somewhat cryptic Hebrew clause ־כָּלָה בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּמַחֲלֵת

καί σὺ, οί ἄνθρωποι, στήρισον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου

αἰτίας καὶ προφήτευσόν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶς

οὗτος λόγους τῶν προφητῶν,

ἀπὸ καρδίας αὐτῶν καὶ προφήτευσόν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶς

μὴ ἀκούετε τοὺς λόγους τῶν προφητῶν,

ὁ Ἰσραήλ ἐν τῷ ὑπεράκτιῳ ἡμῶν

καὶ καὶ ἐκάλεσα αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκάλεσα αὐτόν,

καὶ εὐλόγησα αὐτόν καὶ ἤγαπησα αὐτόν καὶ ἐπλήθυνα αὐτόν.

The phrasing βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι which LXX Isa 52:5 exhibits, is unprecedented in the LXX. Nevertheless, a related formulation, βεβηλῶ τὸ ὅνομά μου ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, can be observed several times in Ezek 36:

Aβρααµ Αβρααµ Αβρααµ Αβρααµ

—meaning “because one I have called,” or maybe “when he was one, I have called him”—has in LXX Isaiah been glossed by ὅτι εἶς ἦν, καὶ ἐκάλεσα αὐτὸν—“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

Eıs ὑν Ἀβρααµ καὶ κατέσχε τὴν γῆν

349 HUB Isa, 232. Targum and Peshitta reflect a text similar to the LXX.

350 Ziegler, Untersuchungen, 77; HUB Isa, 239. The expression βεβηλῶ τὸ ὅνομά μου ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν has no parallels elsewhere in the LXX.

351 Also compare Ezek 20:9,14,22; and ἐποίησα ὅπως τὸ ὅνομά μου τὸ παράτην μὴ βεβηλωθῇ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.
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). 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. 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 Dodekaprophoton and that this work reveals traces of its influence.”

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 αἰχμαλώσιαν 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 πολλὰ ἀλλόφυλα ἐγενέθη αὐτοῖς in LXX Isa 2:6, based on LXX Hos 5:7, and the translation by ταχύ ἐρχεται καὶ οὐ χρωμεί 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 σαβαωθ 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 νεώτατ, 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

καὶ αἱ γλώσσαι αὐτῶν μετὰ ἀνομίας,

τὰ πρὸς κύριον ἀπείθοντες·

διότι νῦν ἔτασπεν ὁ Κύριος ἢ 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 μετὰ ἀνομίας. Through the influence of Hos 5:5 the translator may have associated ἀπείθοντες (“the eyes of”) in Isa 3:8 with the verb ἔριν (“to humble”), on which grounds he rendered the noun by ἔτασπεν.\(^{357}\) 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

αἱ ὑπηρετὴν ἀπρίμοι,

καὶ ἱσραήλ οὐκ ἄπεστιν ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ,

διότι νῦν ἐξεπόρθεσεν Ἐφραίμ,


\(^{356}\) 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.
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 δόξα α/uni1F50τ/uni1FF6ν by himself, without the influence of Hosea, and merely encouraged by the resemblance of ὡς to ὡς. He could also have made a link to Isa 5:15:

Isa 5:15

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 have also 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) καὶ πόλεµον συντρίψαται 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 ἑξελεύσηται. The Greek text of Exod 15:3, conversely, has a plural πόλεµους. 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. Συντρίψαται and συντρίψει differ only in grammatical 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 existence after the translation of the Minor Prophets.362

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.
Whether πάρεστι γάρ renders ἂν Ἰσραήλ ("to hurry") or concerns a plus (while ἄν Ἰσραήλ was omitted because it overlaps with πάρεστι γάρ) can be disputed. In opposition to the first option is the fact that ἄν Ἰσραήλ 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:

The assumed linkage between the two texts is supported by the correspondence that the beginning of Joel 2:2 exhibits with Isa 8:22:

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:

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 ἄν Ἰσραήλ:

This equivalency at the same time supports the view that πάρεστι in Isa 8:1 is not a plus, but a translation of ἄν Ἰσραήλ.

Ziegler relates the distinct rendering of πάρεστι ναὶ Ἰσραήλ by πλήρης καταστασιμάτητάς ("full of a trampled") in LXX Isa 63:3 to Joel 4:13.364

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

μύρον εἰσπροεύσθη τιμάτε, διότι πλήρης ἢ ληνώς:

πίνων τίναι εὑροσούνην, πίνων οἴνων,

χρίσονται μύρον.

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

 masc the speech of makhteh shefach, έπεσονται εὐφροσύνην, πίνων οἴνων, καὶ τὰ πρώτα μύρα χρίσομενοι

In their description of a future feast on Mount Zion, the Hebrew and Greek versions show some differences. The noun μεθείσα ("feast") is in the LXX represented by πίνωνται, reflecting a verb form from the same root as the Hebrew שמחת. The first occurrence of שמחת ("fat things") was probably connected with שמחה and rendered by εὐφροσύνη, while the second occurrence of this word has received a more accurate semantic equivalent in μύρον ("oil"). The participle πλήρης ("full of marrow") appears to have generated χρίσονται ("to anoint"), while 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 πίνων οἴνων 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

οἱ πίνωντες τὸν διαλυμένον οἴνων καὶ τὰ πρώτα μύρα χρίσομενοι

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

καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ λαοῦ μου ἐπιστρέψει, αὸ 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 γνώστη υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου as καὶ τὴν

365 Of the combination of (κατά)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 ἠλίσθης (“he will let go”) as ἐπιστρέψει (“he will turn back”) could be clarified by that text.367

Amos 9:14 καὶ ἐπιστρέψει τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν λαοῦ μου Ισραήλ

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 תשוב, 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

This verse has already received consideration when we reflected on the formulation τραχαὶ ἡμέρας καὶ ἀπωλείαις. However, a similar expression appears in LXX Ps 13:7 and 52:7. 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 תשוב, as Wevers and Dogniez suggest. 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.

8.4.5.5 Micah

Isa 2:2

This verse has already received consideration when we reflected on the formulation ἡμέρας καὶ ἀπωλείαις and the possible influence that was exercised on it by the expression ἡμέρα ἀπωλείαις in Jer 18:17 and 26(46):2 (see section 8.4.3.3). Besides in these Jeremianic passages ἡμέρα ἀπωλείαις also figures in Deut 32:35 and in Obad 1:12,13:

Obad 1:12,13

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.

367 Seeligmann, Septuagint Version, 72. Zillesen (“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.


2:2 of τὸ ὄρος τοῦ κυρίου where the MT has ῥά βατίνιον. Ῥά βατίνιον, since virtually the same Greek phrase is found in LXX Mic 4:1. However, in that verse too τὸ ὄρος τοῦ κυρίου translates ῥά βατίνιον, with ῥά 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

Καὶ ἔσται ἐπ’ ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν
ἐμφανές τὸ ὄρος τοῦ κυρίου.
ἐν τοῖς τάξισι τῶν ὄρεων,
ἐν τοῖς ὄρεων ἐπὶ τὰς κορυφὰς τῶν ὄρεων.

Contrary to LXX Micah, LXX Isaiah does give a rendering of ῥά βατίνιον 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 ῥά βατίνιον by the more common one τὸ ὄρος τοῦ κυρίου. 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:

Isa 2:2 ἐμφανεῖ τὸ ὄρος τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ὁ οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῶν ὄρεων
Isa 2:3 Δεῦτε καὶ ἀναβῶμεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος κυρίου καὶ εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ λακωβ
Mic 4:1 ἐμφανεῖ τὸ ὄρος τοῦ κυρίου, ἐτοιμὸν ἐπὶ τὰς κορυφὰς τῶν ὄρεων
Mic 4:2 Δεῦτε ἀναβῶμεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος κυρίου καὶ εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ λακωβ

Isa 10:21

καὶ ἔσται τὸ καταλειφθὲν τοῦ λακωβ
ἐτίθεν θεοῦ ἀφθονοντα.

Words close to καὶ ἔσται τὸ καταλειφθὲν τοῦ λακωβ present themselves in LXX Mic 5:6–7:

Mic 5:6–7

ἦν ὁ οἶκος τοῦ κυρίου
καὶ ἔσται τὸ ὑπόλειμμα τοῦ λακωβ
ἐν τοῖς ἐθνοῖς ἐν μέσῳ λαῶν πολλῶν ὡς δρόσος ὡς ἐθνὸς
καὶ ἔσται τὸ ὑπόλειμμα τοῦ λακωβ
ἐν τοῖς ἐθνοῖς 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 ἔσται τὸ ὑπόλειμμα 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)

ἐνανόησις τοῦ οὕρανον,
τρόμος λήμψεται ἀπὸ σοῦ ὀρῆ,

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 οἶκου τοῦ κυρίου, see only 2 Chr 33:15.

372 Cf. sections 7.3.1.1e and 8.2.3.
The Hebrew words נחל כלגדא אמשם in Mic 1:4 also shows quite some overlap in vocabulary with these verses in LXX Isaiah:

Mic 1:4  

In view of the fact that the verb form τακησονται appears exactly the same in both LXX versions, and given the virtually identical phrases ως κηρος απο πυρος and ως κηρος απο προσωπου πυρος, this example might well support the dependency of LXX Isaiah on the Greek translation of Micah.

8.4.5.6 Habakkuk

The Greek text of Isa 13:22 calls to mind LXX Hab 2:3:

The congruence between the two Greek translations is considered by Seeligmann as evidence in favour of the reliance of LXX Isaiah on LXX Habakkuk. 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. This criticism is justified, for χρονισω is a common translation of יָּפָה in the Septuagint, 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.

The Hebrew words פורר מים הכרה (“who spread nets upon the water”) seem to have generated two Greek phrases: (a) οι βάλλοντες σαγήνας (“they who cast nets”) and (b) οι άμφιβολεις πενθησουσι. For an analysis of the translation, see section 8.4.2.1.

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.
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.
(“fishermen”). Although it 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”). The prepositional phrase περιβάλλω 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 ἀμφιβλήστρον (“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—ἀμφιβλήστρον—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
καὶ ποιῆσεις τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὡς τοὺς ἰχθῦας τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ὡς τὰ ἔρπετα τὰ οὐκ ἔχουσα ἡγούμενον.
συντέλειαν ἐν ἀγκίστρῳ ἀνέσπασε καὶ εἶλκεν αὐτόν ἐν ἀμφιβλήστρῳ
καὶ συνήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς σαγήναις αὐτοῦ.

Such a hypothesis would be advocated by the circumstance that the verb ἀμφιβάλλω and its derivatives 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 ἀμφιβολεῖς, 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. Yet, admittedly, the appearance in LXX Isaiah and LXX Habakkuk of three similar words in the domain of fishing could still be fortuitous.

8.4.5.7 Zephaniah

Isa 16:12
καὶ ἔσται εἰς τὸ ἐντραπῆναι σε, δότη ἐκοπίασε Μωαβ ἐπὶ τοῖς βωμοῖς
καὶ εἰσελέσθαι εἰς τὰ χειροποίητα αὐτῆς ὅστε προσεύξασθαι, καὶ οὐ μὴ δύνηται ἐξελέσθαι αὐτῶν.

A clause that is practically identical to οὐ μὴ δύνηται ἐξελέσθαι αὐτῶν in LXX Isa 16:12, and which likewise describes the inability of things valued by people to save them, comes up in LXX Zeph 1:8:

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378 See Ruth 3:9; 2 Kgs/4 Kgdms 8:15; and Ezek 32:3.
379 The nouns σαγήνη and ἀμφιβλήστρον, as well as the verb ἀμφιβάλλω are extant in LXX Hab 1:16–17 as well: ἕνεκεν τοῦτον θύσε τῇ σαγήνῃ αὐτοῦ καὶ θυμισε τῷ ἀμφιβλήστρῳ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῶ περίποσ μερίδα αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὰ βρῶματα αὐτοῦ ἐκλεκτά διὰ τοῦτο ἀμφιβολεῖ τῷ ἀμφιβλήστρον αὐτοῦ καί διὰ παντὸς ἀποκτένων 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.
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 χειροποιητὰ αὐτῶν). 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 εξελέσθαι αὐτῶν 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

κ α 

ήμερα γὰρ ἀνταποδόσεως ἐπῆλθεν αὐτοῖς, 

σὺν θαυμα μαθα 

καὶ ένιαυτός 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

πρὸ τοῦ ἐπελθεῖν ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς ήμέραν 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:

383 χειροποιητα is a noun in the neuter plural, therefore able to govern a plural as well as a singular verb. Elsewhere in LXX Isa χειροποιητα 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.
The words θυμόν (τῆς θυμιας) also feature in LXX Isa 13:13, and elsewhere in the Septuagint in almost twenty other places. The related expression θυμή (τοῦ θυμοῦ) comes up about thirty times. In the MT the equivalent expressions נזר וגו and נזר וגו are attested approximately forty times.


The expression ὁμοίωσα νῦν ὁμοίωσα νῦν ὁμοίωσα νῦν ὁμοίωσα τοῦ θεοῦ/μου—mirroring שבע בしゃ יהוה וגו—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

Within LXX Isaiah περιζώσασθε σάκκουσ σάκκου/σάκκου 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.

Perhaps the Isaiah translator based his insertion of χαράν μεγάλην on a Hebrew manuscript in which he read שמחה גלולה. Alternatively, the words may be an addition in assimilation to the phrase שמחה גלולה, 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 ἐφραίασάν. The expression χαίρω χαράν 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 τις ἐνήργησε καὶ ἐποίησε ταῦτα:

386 For a third explanation of this plus, see section 8.2.1.5.
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.

In the Greek Isaiah τὰ ἄγια 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.

The word couple “sons and daughters” has more than one hundred instances in the MT.

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 βλασφημεῖ—τὸ ὄνομά μου in Isa 52:5.

The Hebrew equivalent for חָוָל תִּרְדָּמֵה קָאָמְתָּ נְדַעְתָּ מִכְּרָעֲתִי 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.


387 IQSa has ἀπέστρεψα. It is unclear, though, whether the suspended yod belongs to either ἁγιος or ἀγιος; cf. section 12.3.1.1.
CHAPTER EIGHT

The verb phrase τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἀφ’ ὑμῶν τοῦ μὴ ἔλεησαι.

The interjection ἴδοὺ ἐγὼ 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 ἴδοὺ may be in adjustment to ἴδοὺ ἐγὼ 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 intertextuality, 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 prophetic 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.