The old Greek of Isaiah : an analysis of its pluses and minuses
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Chapter 9.

FREE TRANSLATION OF HEBREW IDIOMATIC AND GRAMMATICAL FEATURES

9.1 Introduction

In chapter 7 we discussed the Isaiah translator's way of dealing with one of the facets of Greek style, which concerned the ornamentation of the text through the use of rhetorical figures. In the present chapter another aspect of style will be considered, namely the aim to use the Greek language and its grammar correctly. In classical rhetoric this component is called "correctness." More precisely it denotes speaking or writing in a manner consistent with the conventions of vocabulary and syntax, grammar and usage that predominate in a given language.[1] Deviation from stylistic correctness was known as "barbarism"—the use of non-standard or foreign speech.[2] One of the forms in which this could occur was "Hebraism,"[3] which means that a Greek text would reflect unique grammatical and idiomatic features of the Hebrew. A Hebraistic use of language is typical of the Greek Bible, translated as it was from a Hebrew original by Jewish translators. One of the most well-known and extreme illustrations of this can be found in the work of Aquila. In the Septuagint also we often encounter Hebraisms,[4] even though they occur in varying numbers throughout the different books. Thackeray took this variable as the basis for classifying the Greek translations into three groups: ones written in "good κοινή Greek," those displaying "indifferent Greek," and versions that are "literal or unintelligent" with a style comparable to that of Theodotion. Among the latter group he included for instance Judges (B) and

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[1] Burton, "Silva Rhetoricae" (rhetoric.byu.edu).

[2] Burton, "Silva Rhetoricae" (rhetoric.byu.edu).

[3] One could also speak of "semiticism," thus including influence of the Aramaic language too.

[4] As e.g. Moulton and Thackeray emphasise, the "Hebraising" nature of the Septuagint—especially in its earlier works—lies not so much in the *incorrect* Greek rendering of certain Hebrew expressions, but rather in the prominent occurrence of certain correct, though unidiomatic Greek phrases, which nearly correspond to idiomatic expressions in the Hebrew. Even though parallels of most of these Greek expressions can be found in the papyri, in no other document than the Greek Bible they do appear in such a high frequency. An example is the interjection ἰδού as a rendering of הנה (see section 9.8.2 below). In the Hebrew Bible הנה is used abundantly, which has resulted in a large number of instances of its counterpart ἰδού in the LXX, even if in Greek ἰδού in fact belongs to vernacular speech (see Elias Bickerman, "The Septuagint as a Translation," in Studies in Jewish and Christian History [3 vols.; AGJU 9; Leiden: Brill, 1976], 1:187 n.55; repr. from PAAJR 28 [1959]). Not only the high frequency, but also the specific *usage* of certain—in themselves genuine Greek—expressions can turn them into Hebraisms, i.e. if the way in which they are used in the LXX differs syntactically or semantically from the manner in which they are employed in secular Koinē Greek. It was only in later Greek Bible translations that a considerable number of phrases were introduced for which parallels in Koinē had never existed at all. Those were applied in cases where Greek expressions close enough to the Hebrew were not available. This tendency towards literalism culminated in the work of Aquila. See Moulton, *Grammar*, 1:10–13; Thackeray, *Grammar*, 1:29–31; Raija Sollamo, "Some 'Improper' Prepositions, such as ἐνώπιον, ἐναντίον, ἔναντι, etc., in the Septuagint and Early Koinē Greek," *VT* 25 (1975): 781. For further discussion of Hebraism in the Septuagint, see e.g. Thackeray, *Grammar*, 1:25–55; Swete, *Introduction*, 299, 306–309; Ottley, *Handbook*, 160–167; Dorival, Harl and Munnich, *La Bible grecque*, 228–230; Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, "Zurück zur Hebraismenfrage," in *Studien zur Septuaginta. Robert Hanhart zu Ehren. Aus Anlaß seines 65. Geburtstages* (ed. Detlef Fraenkel, Udo Quast, and John W. Wevers; AAWG 190, MSU 20; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 35–51.

Lamentations, while he counted the Pentateuch in the first group. The LXX of Isaiah he reckoned as belonging to the first category as well.[5]

In the continuation of this chapter we will try to obtain a clearer picture of how the translator of LXX Isaiah dealt with typical Hebrew features. Did he principally translate them in a free way, producing good Koinē Greek, or did he mostly render them literally? We will in particular examine several specific Hebrew constructions which, as a result of the translator's decision on how to render them, have led to the occurrence of pluses and minuses in the translation.[6] These include the following topics:

- the asyndetic relative clause;
- the construct state;
- the retrospective pronoun or adverb in Hebrew relative clauses;
- the nominal suffix;
- the infinitive absolute construction;
- semi-prepositions;
- several idiomatic expressions in the Hebrew.

The translator's treatment of many other typical aspects of the Hebrew, such as the article and the conjunction ו, will be not be considered in this study.[7] Even though these are also relevant to the scope of the present subject, I have to limit myself to the issues mentioned.

9.2 The translation of the asyndetic relative clause

In classical Hebrew relative clauses[8] may be either syndetic (introduced by a relative particle אשר or שׁ) or asyndetic (without a relative particle). Asyndetic relative clauses are found especially in the poetical parts of Scripture, and in particular when the antecedent is undetermined.[9]

Because in Greek the relative pronoun is an essential part of the relative clause, in places where in the Hebrew a relative particle is missing, the Isaiah translator has usually supplemented it:

30:5	על־עם לאֹ־יועילו למו	πρὸς λαόν, ὃς οὐκ ὠφελήσει αὐτοὺς
30:6	על־עם לא יועילו	πρὸς ἔθνος ὃ οὐκ ὠφελήσει αὐτοὺς
30:9	בנים לאֹ־אבו שמוע תורת יהוה	υἱοὶ ψευδεῖς, οἳ οὐκ ἠβούλοντο ἀκούειν τὸν νόμον τοῦ θεοῦ
33:20	אהל בל־יצען	σκηναὶ αἳ οὐ μὴ σεισθῶσιν
42:16	והולכתי עורים בדרך לא ידעו	καὶ ἄξω τυφλοὺς ἐν ὁδῷ, ᾗ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν,

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[5] Thackeray, *Grammar*, 1:12–13.

[6] Strictly speaking, it is doubtful whether omissions and additions resulting from a free translation of Hebrew grammatical or idiomatic features may properly be called "pluses" and "minuses," or whether they are better perceived as part of a translation at a different linguistic level (e.g. translation at phrase rather than word level). In the present chapter I will nonetheless discuss such "pluses" and "minuses," because they can provide a valuable insight into the standard of Greek used by the LXX translator.

[7] For a discussion of the rendering of conjunctions in LXX Isaiah, see chapter 6.

[8] Sometimes called an "attributive clause," since in Hebrew a proper relative pronoun does not exist (cf. Lett §84).

[9] Joüon §158; Lett §84.

	בנתיבות לא־ידעו אדריכם	καὶ τρίβους, <u>οὓς</u> οὐκ ᾔδεισαν, πατῆσαι ποιήσω αὐτούς·
42:24	הלוא יהוה זו חטאנו לו	οὐχὶ ὁ θεός, <u>ᾧ</u> ἡμάρτοσαν αὐτῷ
43:21	עם־זו יצרתי לי	λαόν μου, <u>ὃν</u> περιεποιησάμην
44:1	וישראל בחרתי בו	καὶ Ισραηλ, <u>ὃν</u> ἐξελεξάμην·
44:2	וישרון בחרתי בו	καὶ ὁ ἠγαπημένος Ισραηλ, <u>ὃν</u> ἐξελεξάμην·
45:20	ומתפללים אל־אל לא יושיע	καὶ προσευχόμενοι ὡς πρὸς θεούς, <u>οἳ</u> οὐ σῴζουσιν.
48:17	בדרך תלך	τὴν ὁδόν, <u>ἐν ᾗ</u> πορεύσῃ ἐν αὐτῇ.[10]
50:11	ובזיקות בערתם	καὶ τῇ φλογί, <u>ᾗ</u> ἐξεκαύσατε·
51:1	הביטו אל־צור חצבתם	ἐμβλέψατε εἰς τὴν στερεὰν πέτραν, <u>ἣν</u> ἐλατομήσατε,
	ואל־מקבת בור נקרתם	καὶ εἰς τὸν βόθυνον τοῦ λάκκου, <u>ὃν</u> ὠρύξατε.
51:7	עם תורתי בלבם	λαός μου, <u>οὗ</u> ὁ νόμος μου ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν·
51:12	מאנוש ימות ומבן־אדם	ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπου θνητοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ υἱοῦ ἀνθρώπου,
	חציר ינתן	<u>οἳ</u> ὡσεὶ χόρτος ἐξηράνθησαν.
51:18	אין־מנהל לה מכל־בנים	καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ παρακαλῶν σε ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν τέκνων
	ילדה ואין מחזיק	σου, <u>ὧν</u> ἔτεκες, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ ἀντιλαμβανόμενος
	בידה מכל־בנים	τῆς χειρός σου οὐδὲ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν υἱῶν σου,
	גדלה	<u>ὧν</u> ὕψωσας.
54:17	וכל־לשון תקום־אתך למשפט	καὶ πᾶσα φωνή, <u>ᾗ</u> ἀναστήσεται ἐπὶ σὲ εἰς κρίσιν·
55:5	הן גוי לא־תדע תקרא	ἔθνη, <u>ἃ</u> οὐκ ᾔδεισάν σε, ἐπικαλέσονταί σε,
	וגוי לא־ידעוך אליך ירוצו	καὶ λαοί, <u>οἳ</u> οὐκ ἐπίστανταί σε, ἐπὶ σὲ καταφεύξονται
64:3(4)	עין לא־ראתה אלהים זולתך	οὐδὲ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἡμῶν εἶδον θεὸν πλὴν σοῦ
	יעשה למחכה־לו	<u>καὶ τὰ ἔργα σου, ἃ</u> ποιήσεις τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν ἔλεον.

Also when in the Hebrew it is doubtful whether—or even improbable that—a clause is an asyndetic relative one, the translator has sometimes supplied a relative pronoun. This has often happened close to a true instance of such a clause, which is exemplified by LXX Isa 30:6,31 (cf. 30:5,9); 41:10 (cf. 41:8); 42:9,22,23 (cf. 42:16,24); 43:19 (cf. 43:21); and 44:9 (cf. 44:1,2) below. It may be that in these latter cases the translator actually thought he had dealt with asyndesis. In other places, however, he will have created a relative clause on purpose, in view of the greater preference of the Greek language for subordination above parataxis:

1:21	איכה היתה לזונה קריה נאמנה	Πῶς ἐγένετο πόρνη πόλις πιστὴ Σιων,
	מלאתי משפט צדק ילין בה	πλήρης κρίσεως, <u>ἐν ᾗ</u> δικαιοσύνη ἐκοιμήθη ἐν αὐτῇ
6:6	ובידו רצפה	καὶ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ εἶχεν ἄνθρακα,
	במלקחים לקח מעל המזבח	<u>ὃν</u> τῇ λαβίδι ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου
7:20	בתער השכירה	τῷ ξυρῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ μεμεθυσμένῳ,
	בעברי נהר במלך אשור	<u>ὅ ἐστι</u> πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων
9:3(2)	הרבית הגוי לא	τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ λαοῦ,
	הגדלת השמחה	<u>ὃ</u> κατήγαγες ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ σου[11]
23:7	הזאת לכם עליזה	οὐχ αὕτη ἦν ὑμῶν ἡ ὕβρις
	מימי־קדם קדמתה	<u>ἡ</u> ἀπ᾿ ἀρχῆς

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[10] 1QIsa^a has בדרך אשר תלך בה; see section 12.3.1.1.

[11] The translator may have read הרגלת for הגדלת (cf. Scholz, *Alexandrinische Uebersetzung*, 27; Fischer, *In welcher Schrift*, 24), reading the clause as though it were הרגלת בשמחה (with the omission of לא), and considering these words as an attribute of הגוי.

23:11	ידו נטה על־הים	ἡ δὲ χείρ σου οὐκέτι ἰσχύει κατὰ θάλασσαν,
	הרגיז ממלכות	ἡ παροξύνουσα βασιλεῖς·
25:9	הנה אלהינו זה קוינו לו	Ἰδοὺ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ ἠλπίζομεν
30:6	אפעה ושרף	ἐκεῖθεν καὶ ἀσπίδες καὶ ἔκγονα ἀσπίδων
	מעופף ישאו על־כתף עירים חילהם	πετομένων, οἳ ἔφερον ἐπ᾽ ὄνων
	ועל־דבשת גמלים אוצרתם	καὶ καμήλων τὸν πλοῦτον αὐτῶν
30:31	כי־מקול יהוה יחת אשור	διὰ γὰρ φωνὴν κυρίου ἡττηθήσονται Ἀσσύριοι
	בשבט יכה	τῇ πληγῇ, ᾗ ἂν πατάξῃ αὐτούς.
40:13	ואיש עצתו	καὶ τίς σύμβουλος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο,
	יודיענו	ὃς συμβιβᾷ αὐτόν;
41:10	כי־אני אלהיך אמצתיך	ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι ὁ θεός σου ὁ ἐνισχύσας σε
42:9	וחדשות אני מגיד	καὶ καινὰ ἃ ἐγὼ ἀναγγελῶ
42:22	ובבתי כלאים החבאו	καὶ ἐν οἴκοις ἅμα, ὅπου ἔκρυψαν αὐτούς[12]
42:23	מי בכם יאזין זאת	τίς ἐν ὑμῖν, ὃς ἐνωτιεῖται ταῦτα
43:19	הנני עשה חדשה עתה תצמח	ἰδοὺ ποιῶ καινὰ ἃ νῦν ἀνατελεῖ
44:9	וחמודיהם	οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰ καταθύμια αὐτῶν,
	בל־יועילו	ἃ οὐκ ὠφελήσει αὐτούς·[13]
46:2	קרסו כרעו יחדו	καὶ πεινῶντι καὶ ἐκλελυμένῳ οὐκ ἰσχύοντι ἅμα,
	לא יכלו מלט משא	οἳ οὐ δυνήσονται σωθῆναι ἀπὸ πολέμου
59:8	נתיבותיהם עקשו להם כל דרך בה	αἱ γὰρ τρίβοι αὐτῶν διεστραμμέναι, ἃς διοδεύουσι
62:6	על־חומתיך ירושלם הפקדתי	καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τειχέων σου, Ιερουσαλημ, κατέστησα
	שמרים כל־היום וכל־הלילה	φύλακας ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ ὅλην τὴν νύκτα, οἳ
	תמיד לא יחשו המזכרים את־יהוה	διὰ τέλους οὐ σιωπήσονται μιμνησκόμενοι κυρίου.
66:3	גם־המה בחרו בדרכיהם	καὶ οὗτοι ἐξελέξαντο τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ
	ובשקוציהם נפשם חפצה	τὰ βδελύγματα αὐτῶν, ἃ ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτῶν ἠθέλησε[14]

On some occasions the translator has rendered the Hebrew asyndetic relative clause in an alternative way, for instance with the help of a participle (see 51:2 and 54:17 below), or by integrating it into the main clause (see 41:3; 42:16; and 61:10). Now and then the explanation for this may have been that he did not recognise the asyndesis (e.g. in the case of 42:1 and 61:10), but more often it was probably just a matter of style. In the examples below the Hebrew relative clause is shown in italics:

40:20	*להכין פסל לא ימוט*	πῶς στήσει αὐτοῦ εἰκόνα καὶ ἵνα μὴ σαλεύηται.
41:3	יעבור שלום	καὶ διελεύσεται ἐν εἰρήνῃ
	ארח ברגליו לא יבוא	ἡ ὁδὸς τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ.
42:1	*בחירי רצתה*	Ισραηλ ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου, προσεδέξατο αὐτὸν
	נפשי	ἡ ψυχή μου·[15]

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[12] The translator apparently read החבאו as a Hif. "they have hidden" rather than as a Hof. "they are hidden" (= MT).

[13] The translator may have perceived בל־יועילו as a relative clause under the influence of 30:5 (πρὸς λαόν, ὃς οὐκ ὠφελήσει αὐτούς), and 6 (πρὸς ἔθνος ὃ οὐκ ὠφελήσει αὐτούς); cf. also 57:12 τὴν δικαιοσύνην μου καὶ τὰ κακά σου, ἃ οὐκ ὠφελήσουσί σε.

[14] The MT gives: "and in their abominations their soul takes delight." The LXX has probably regarded נפשם חפצה as a relative clause analogous to 65:12 (ותעשו הרע בעיני ובאשר לא־חפצתי בחרתם / καὶ ἐποιήσατε τὸ πονηρὸν ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ καὶ ἃ οὐκ ἐβουλόμην ἐξελέξασθε) and 66:4 (ויעשו הרע בעיני ובאשר לא־חפצתי בחרו / καὶ ἐποίησαν τὸ πονηρὸν ἐναντίον μου καὶ ἃ οὐκ ἐβουλόμην ἐξελέξαντο).

42:16	אלה הדברים *עשיתם*	ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα ποιήσω
51:2	הביטו אל־אברהם אביכם	ἐμβλέψατε εἰς Αβρααμ τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν
	ואל־שרה *תחוללכם*	καὶ εἰς Σαρραν **τὴν ὠδίνουσαν ὑμᾶς·**
54:17	כל־כלי־יוצר עליך לא יצלח	πᾶν σκεῦος **φθαρτόν**. ἐπὶ σὲ οὐκ εὐοδώσω
61:10	כחתן *יכהן פאר*	ὡς νυμφίῳ περιέθηκέ <u>μοι</u> μίτραν
	וכבלה *תעדה כליה,*	καὶ ὡς νύμφην κατεκόσμησέ <u>με</u> κόσμῳ.[16]

9.3 The formation of a relative clause to replace a Hebrew construct state

Also when it is obvious that the Hebrew text does not contain a relative clause, the Isaiah translator has sometimes still created one. This he has done, for instance, so as to replace an apposition (see e.g. LXX Isa 1:1; 20:5; 26:9; and 48:12), or in order to transform two juxtaposed independent clauses into one complex clause including a subordinate one (see e.g. 9:5[6]; 36:14; 37:26; 44:16; and 57:12). Furthermore, the formation of a relative clause gave him a means of substituting Hebrew construct state constructions. He has made regular use of this tactic probably because translating all Hebrew construct states by equivalent Greek genitive constructions would give rise to a literalistic and Hebraistic tone. This is understandable from the perspective that whereas in Hebrew the *status constructus* can be employed to express many different relationships between two nouns, and appears in a high frequency, in Greek the genitive construction occurs much less often.[17] Especially when the second part of the construct state construction involves a verb, the translator has regularly altered it into a relative clause. Besides, he has often deleted the construct state when it embodies a notion of time (the day of…; the year of…; etc.): see 6:1; 7:17; 13:13; 14:28; 17:11 (2x); and 20:1 below:[18]

1:1	חזון ישעיהו בן־אמוץ	Ὅρασις, <u>ἣν εἶδεν</u> Ησαιας υἱὸς Αμως
6:1	בשנת־מות המלך עזיהו	τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, <u>οὗ</u> ἀπέθανεν Οζιας ὁ βασιλεύς
7:17	למיום סור־אפרים מעל יהודה	<u>ἀφ' ἧς</u> ἡμέρας ἀφεῖλεν Εφραιμ ἀπὸ Ιουδα
13:13	וביום חרון אפו	τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, <u>ᾗ ἂν ἐπέλθῃ</u> ὁ θυμὸς αὐτοῦ.

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[15] It is unclear whether רצתה נפשי in the Hebrew is a relative clause with as its antecedent בחירי, or an independent clause with an elliptic object. In any case, the translator makes an independent clause of it.

[16] While in the MT פאר יכהן is a relative clause with as its antecedent the groom (כחתן)—which results in the sentence "as a bridegroom who decks himself with a garland," the translator has understood כחתן יכהן פאר as one independent clause, with כחתן as an adverbial phrase ("like a groom") and with as its implicit subject God, implied in יכהן: "He has put on me a garland as on a bridegroom." In the same way he has interpreted וכבלה תעדה כליה as an independent clause, with its subject God implied in the verb תעדה ("he has adorned me with ornaments like a bride") rather than as a complex sentence including a subordinating clause ("and as a bride who adorns herself with her jewels").

[17] Other ways in which LXX Isaiah has rendered the Hebrew *status constructus* are, for instance, by means of an adjective (see e.g. 1:4; 2:6,20; 14:20), a preposition (see e.g. 10:32; 13:12; 22:24), or a verb (e.g. a participle) with an object or a subject (see e.g. 1:1,7,27; 9:3[4]; 12:6; 13:19; 14:23; 17:5; 19:9; 26:9).

[18] This happens particularly when in the temporal expression the second constituent of the construct state is a verb. When, however, expressions such as "the year of …," "the day of …" are followed by a noun and bear an eschatological connotation, they are generally translated in a literal way, see e.g. 10:3 ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς; 22:5 ἡμέρα ταραχῆς καὶ ἀπωλείας καὶ καταπατήματος καὶ πλάνησις; 34:8 ἡμέρα γὰρ κρίσεως κυρίου καὶ ἐνιαυτὸς ἀνταποδόσεως; 37:3 Ἡμέρα θλίψεως καὶ ὀνειδισμου …; 49:8 ἡμέρα σωτηρίας; 61:2 ἡμέραν ἀνταποδόσεως κρίσεως Σιων; 63:4 ἡμέρα γὰρ ἀνταποδόσεως … ἐνιαυτὸς λυτρώσεως. Occasionally the translator has found yet other solutions to render a construct state expressing the period or time in which something took place, e.g. by means of an adverb or an adjective; see 14:3; 30:26; 49:8; 58:5; and 61:2.

14:28	בשנת־מות המלך אחז	Τοῦ ἔτους, <u>οὗ</u> ἀπέθανεν Αχαζ ὁ βασιλεύς
17:11	ביום נטעך … ביום נחלה	τῇ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ, <u>ᾗ</u> ἂν φυτεύσῃς … <u>ᾗ</u> ἂν ἡμέρᾳ κληρώσῃ
18:7	אל־מקום שם־יהוה צבאות	εἰς τὸν τόπον, <u>οὗ</u> τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου σαβαωθ <u>ἐπεκλήθη</u>
20:1	בשנת בא תרתן אשדודה	Τοῦ ἔτους <u>οὗ</u> εἰσῆλθε Ταναθαν εἰς Ἄζωτον
29:1	הוי אריאל אריאל קרית חנה דוד	Οὐαὶ πόλις Αριηλ, <u>ἣν</u> Δαυιδ ἐπολέμησεν·
41:12	אנשי מצתך	τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, <u>οἳ</u> παροινήσουσιν εἰς σέ·
49:20	בני שכליך	οἱ υἱοί σου <u>οὓς</u> ἀπολώλεκας

9.4 The omission of the retrospective pronoun or adverb in the relative clause

A typical feature of the Hebrew relative clause is the so-called "retrospective pronoun," which is a nominal element in the relative clause that refers back to the antecedent. This pronoun is used in Hebrew because the relative particle אשר is not declinable, and thus cannot make reference to the antecedent itself. The retrospective pronoun may appear as a suffix to a verb, noun or pronoun (e.g. Gen 45:4 אני יוסף אחיכם אשר־מכרתם **אתי** מצרימה), but can also be attached to the preposition on which it is dependent (e.g. Exod 3:5 המקום אשר אתה עומד **עליו**). When the antecedent denotes a place, the preposition together with the retrospective pronoun is often replaced by the adverbs שם ("there"), שמה ("there") or משם ("from there"). The retrospective pronoun can also be omitted, which often happens specifically in poetry.[19]

Reference to the antecedent by means of a pronoun or an adverb is uncharacteristic of Indo-European languages. In these languages the relative pronoun itself can be declined and hence incorporates a referral to the antecedent in itself.[20] This explains why in the Greek translation of Isaiah the retrospective pronoun in the relative clause is usually not represented:[21]

5:28	אשר **חציו** שנונים	ὧν τὰ βέλη ὀξεῖά ἐστι
7:23	יהיה כל־מקום אשר יהיה־**שם**	πᾶς τόπος, οὗ ἐὰν ὦσι
	אלף גפן באלף כסף	χίλιαι ἄμπελοι χιλίων σίκλων
19:24–25	ברכה בקרב הארץ	εὐλογημένος ἐν τῇ γῇ,
	אשר **ברכו** יהוה צבאות	ἣν εὐλόγησε κύριος σαβαωθ
24:2	כנשה כאשר נשא **בו**	καὶ ὁ ὀφείλων ὡς ᾧ ὀφείλει.
30:13	כפרץ נפל נבעה בחומה נשגבה	ὡς τεῖχος πῖπτον παραχρῆμα πόλεως ὀχυρᾶς
	אשר־פתאם לפתע יבוא **שברה**	ἑαλωκυίας, ἧς παραχρῆμα πάρεστι τὸ πτῶμα
30:32	מטה מוסדה אשר יניח יהוה **עליו**	ἡ ἐλπὶς τῆς βοηθείας, ἐφ' ᾗ αὐτὸς ἐπεποίθει·[22]
37:4	את דברי רב־שקה	τοὺς λόγους Ραψακου,
	אשר **שלחו** מלך־אשור אדניו	οὓς ἀπέστειλε βασιλεὺς Ἀσσυρίων
41:8–9	יעקב אשר **בחרתיך**	παῖς μου Ιακωβ, ὃν ἐξελεξάμην,
	זרע אברהם אהבי אשר **החזקתיך**	σπέρμα Αβρααμ, ὃν ἠγάπησα, οὗ ἀντελαβόμην

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[19] Joüon §158c; Lett §84b.

[20] Joüon §158a*.

[21] See, however, BDR §297: "Die zusätzliche Hinzufügung von αὐτός zu einem Relativum ist eine durch das Semitische besonders nahegelegte, aber auch dem klass. und späteren Griechisch nich ganz unbekannte Nachlässigkeit."

[22] The LXX seems to have understood עליו as a retrospective pronoun, and יניח as "he will trust": "the hope of help *in which* he himself (הוא > יהוה) trusted." In the Hebrew, however, עליו is a plain prepositional object, not referring to the antecedent (= מטה מוסדה), but to Assur: "And every stroke of the staff of punishment that the LORD lays *upon him* …"

58:11	וכמוצא מים אשר לא־יכזבו **מימיו**	καὶ ὡς πηγὴ ἣν μὴ ἐξέλιπεν ὕδωρ
62:8	תירושך אשר יגעת **בו**	τὸν οἶνόν σου, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ ἐμόχθησας·

In other occurrences of the retrospective pronoun or adverb the translator has avoided the problem by removing the relative clause construction:

1:30	וכגנה <u>אשר־</u>מים אין <u>לה</u>	καὶ ὡς παράδεισος ὕδωρ μὴ ἔχων·
20:6	הנה־כה מבטנו <u>אשר־</u>נסנו <u>שם</u> לעזרה	Ἰδοὺ ἡμεῖς ἦμεν πεποιθότες τοῦ φυγεῖν εἰς αὐτοὺς εἰς βοήθειαν
23:8	<u>אשר</u> סחריה שרים כנעניה נכבדי־ארץ	οἱ ἔμποροι αὐτῆς ἔνδοξοι, ἄρχοντες τῆς γῆς.
28:4	<u>אשר</u> יראה הראה **אותה**	ὁ ἰδὼν αὐτὸ
49:3	עבדי־אתה ישראל <u>אשר־בך</u> אתפאר	Δοῦλός μου εἶ σύ, Ισραηλ, <u>καὶ</u> ἐν σοὶ δοξασθήσομαι
49:23	כי־אני יהוה <u>אשר</u> לא־יבשו <u>קוי</u>	ὅτι ἐγὼ κύριος, <u>καὶ</u> οὐκ αἰσχυνθήσῃ.
50:1	או מי מנושי <u>אשר־</u>מכרתי אתכם <u>לו</u>	ἢ τίνι ὑπόχρεῳ πέπρακα ὑμᾶς;
66:13	כאיש <u>אשר</u> אמו תנחמנ<u>ו</u>	ὡς εἴ τινα μήτηρ παρακαλέσει

In only three cases does the retrospective pronoun have an equivalent in LXX Isaiah. Two of these are found in Isa 37:

37:10	אל־ישאך אלהיך אשר אתה בוטח בו	Μή σε ἀπατάτω ὁ θεός σου, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ πεποιθὼς εἶ **ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ**
37:29	והשיבתיך בדרך אשר־באת בה	καὶ ἀποστρέψω σε τῇ ὁδῷ, ᾗ ἦλθες **ἐν αὐτῇ**.
62:2	וקרא לך שם חדש אשר פי יהוה יקבנו	καὶ καλέσει σε τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ καινόν, ὃ ὁ κύριος ὀνομάσει **αὐτό**.

In 1:21 the translator has apparently interpreted צדק ילין בה as an asyndetic relative clause with בה as a retrospective pronoun:

1:21	איכה היתה לזונה קריה נאמנה מלאתי משפט צדק ילין בה	Πῶς ἐγένετο πόρνη πόλις πιστὴ Σιων, πλήρης κρίσεως, <u>ἐν ᾗ</u> δικαιοσύνη ἐκοιμήθη **ἐν αὐτῇ**

Also in 8:20 the translator perceived a retrospective pronoun, although in the Hebrew לו does in fact not refer to the antecedent:

8:20	כדבר הזה אשר אין־לו שחר	ὡς τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο, περὶ οὗ οὐκ ἔστι δῶρα δοῦναι **περὶ αὐτοῦ**.

If Ziegler's punctuation is correct, in 37:34 the retrospective pronoun is represented in the Greek not in the relative clause, but in the main clause: "But by the way that he came, *by it* he will return." This would produce accurate Greek:[23]

37:34	בדרך אשר־בא **בה** ישוב	ἀλλὰ τῇ ὁδῷ, ᾗ ἦλθεν, **ἐν αὐτῇ** ἀποστραφήσεται·

In the case of LXX Isa 48:17 the retrospective pronoun is extra as compared to the MT:[24]

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[23] It is well thinkable, however, that Ziegler's punctuation is wrong in this case. In analogy to 37:29 (see above) one would expect in 37:34 ἀλλὰ τῇ ὁδῷ, ᾗ ἦλθεν **ἐν αὐτῇ,** ἀποστραφήσεται, i.e. with a literal rendering of the retrospective pronoun within the relative clause.

[24] It is possible that the translator had a *Vorlage* in front of him that included a retrospective pronoun, cf. 1QIsaᵃ מלמדכה להועיל הדריכה בדרך אשר תלך **בה**; see section 12.3.1.1.

48:17   מלמדך להועיל מדריכך   δέδειχά σοι τοῦ εὑρεῖν σε
                         בדרך תלך   τὴν ὁδόν, ἐν ᾗ πορεύσῃ **ἐν αὐτῇ**.

In contrast to the Greek Isaiah, some other books of the Septuagint do render the retrospective pronoun in the relative clause on a regular basis, despite the fact that this has generated pleonastic and unidiomatic Greek. This can be observed, for instance, in specific sections of the Pentateuch. Raija Sollamo has pointed out this phenomenon in her two articles on "the pleonastic use of the pronoun in connection with the relative pronoun in the Greek Pentateuch."[25] She has demonstrated that the retrospective pronoun or adverb[26] in the LXX of Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy is rendered literally in as many as seventy to eighty per cent of all of its occurrences. With regard to the LXX of Genesis and Exodus this applies to approximately fifty per cent.[27] Sollamo further notes that in Koinē Greek outside of the LXX the retrospective pronoun or adverb does occur, but only in some fourteen cases, which is minimal in comparison to its large number of attestations in the LXX.[28] The high frequency of the retrospective pronoun in the LXX can, in her view, be traced back to the translators' wish to render the Biblical text in an extremely literal way.

9.5 The omission of the genitive pronoun

In order to indicate that an unspecified person or thing is the possessor, origin, subject, object, or whole of something or someone, Koinē Greek most commonly uses a genitive form of the personal pronoun (μου, σου, αὐτοῦ, ἡμῶν, etc.). However, this genitive can sometimes be omitted, especially when the relationship between two entities—in particular that of possession—is obvious, and when the "owner" forms the subject of the clause. In such cases the pronoun is usually replaced by an article, which in Greek can equally serve to communicate that a thing or a person belongs to something or someone else, or that a necessary relationship exists between the two things or persons. Situations in which the omission of the genitive pronoun often takes place specifically, concern the naming of body parts, family members, and parts or measures of things.[29]

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[25] Raija Sollamo, "The Pleonastic Use of the Pronoun in Connection with the Relative Pronoun in the Greek Pentateuch," in *VII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies. Leuven 1989* (ed. Claude E. Cox; SCS 31; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1991), 75–85; idem, "The Pleonastic Use of the Pronoun in Connection with the Relative Pronoun in the LXX of Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy," in *VIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies. Paris 1992* (ed. Leonard Greenspoon and Olivier Munnich; SCS 41; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1995), 43–62. See also Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, "The Rendering of the Hebrew Relative Clause in the Greek Pentateuch," in *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (ed. Avigdor Shinan; 4 vols.; Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1975–1980), 1:405–406.

[26] Sollamo herself uses the term "resumptive pronoun."

[27] Sollamo, "Pleonastic Use of the Pronoun in the LXX of Leviticus," 60.

[28] Sollamo, "Pleonastic Use of the Pronoun in the Greek Pentateuch," 76–77. Some secular Koinē Greek instances which Sollamo mentions can be found in Diod. I 97,2; Ped.Dioscur. III 8,1; P. Oxy I 117,12–14; Plb. I 20,15; and P. Bad. II 43,6–8.

[29] Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, "Die Auslassung des Possessivpronomens im griechischen Pentateuch," *StudOr* 55 (1984): 279–280; see also Frankel, *Vorstudien*, 140.

In line with this, also the LXX of Isaiah has plenty of examples of Hebrew attributively functioning suffixes which are not reflected in the translation.[30] This has happened particularly on the following occasions:

a. Often when the governing noun consists of a body part (used either in a literal or in a metaphorical sense):

1:15	ובפרשכם **כפיכם**	ὅταν **τὰς χεῖρας** ἐκτείνητε πρός με
5:25	בכל־זאת לא־שב	καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις οὐκ ἀπεστράφη
	אפו ועוד **ידו** נטויה	ὁ **θυμός**, ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι ἡ **χεὶρ** ὑψηλή.
6:2	בשתים יכסה **פניו**	καὶ ταῖς μὲν δυσὶ κατεκάλυπτον **τὸ πρόσωπον**
	ובשתים יכסה **רגליו**	καὶ ταῖς δυσὶ κατεκάλυπτον **τοὺς πόδας**
6:6	**ובידו** רצפה	καὶ ἐν **τῇ χειρὶ** εἶχεν ἄνθρακα
6:10	פן־יראה **בעיניו ובאזניו** ישמע	μήποτε ἴδωσι **τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς** καὶ **τοῖς ὠσὶν** ἀκούσωσι
	ולבבו יבין	καὶ **τῇ καρδίᾳ** συνῶσι
9:11(12),20(21); 10:4 בכל־זאת	ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσιν
	לא־שב **אפו** ועוד **ידו** נטויה	οὐκ ἀπεστράφη ὁ **θυμός**, ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι ἡ **χεὶρ** ὑψηλή.
9:16(17)	בכל־זאת לא־שב **אפו**	ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις οὐκ ἀπεστράφη ὁ **θυμός**,
	ועוד **ידו** נטויה	ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι ἡ **χεὶρ** ὑψηλή.
10:14	ותמצא כקן **ידי** לחיל העמים	καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην καταλήμψομαι **τῇ χειρὶ** ὡς νοσσιὰν
10:32	ינפף **ידו**	**τῇ χειρὶ** παρακαλεῖτε
11:4	וברוח **שפתיו** ימית רשע	διὰ **χειλέων** ἀνελεῖ ἀσεβῆ·
11:5	והיה צדק אזור **מתניו**	καὶ ἔσται δικαιοσύνη ἐζωσμένος **τὴν ὀσφὺν**[31]
	והאמונה אזור **חלציו**	καὶ ἀληθείᾳ εἰλημένος **τὰς πλευράς**.
11:8	ושעשע יונק על־חר פתן	καὶ παιδίον νήπιον ἐπὶ τρώγλην ἀσπίδων
	ועל מאורת צפעוני גמול **ידו** הדה	καὶ ἐπὶ κοίτην ἐκγόνων ἀσπίδων **τὴν χεῖρα** ἐπιβαλεῖ.
11:14	אדום ומואב משלוח **ידם**	καὶ ἐπὶ Μωαβ πρῶτον **τὰς χεῖρας** ἐπιβαλοῦσιν
14:25	וסבלו מעל **שכמו** יסור	καὶ τὸ κῦδος αὐτῶν ἀπὸ **τῶν ὤμων** ἀφαιρεθήσεται.
14:27	**ידו** הנטויה ומי ישיבנה	καὶ **τὴν χεῖρα** τὴν ὑψηλὴν τίς ἀποστρέψει;
29:22	ולא עתה **פניו** יחורו	οὐδὲ νῦν **τὸ πρόσωπον** μεταβαλεῖ Ισραηλ·
33:14–15	נער **כפיו** מתמך בשחד	καὶ **τὰς χεῖρας** ἀποσειόμενος ἀπὸ δώρων,
	אטם **אזנו** משמע דמים	βαρύνων **τὰ ὦτα** ἵνα μὴ ἀκούσῃ κρίσιν αἵματος,
	ועצם **עיניו** מראות ברע	καμμύων **τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς** ἵνα μὴ ἴδῃ ἀδικίαν
38:15	והוא עשה אדדה כל־שנותי	καὶ ἀφείλατό μου
	על־מר **נפשי**	τὴν ὀδύνην **τῆς ψυχῆς**.
40:10	**וזרעו** משלה לו	καὶ ὁ **βραχίων** μετὰ κυριείας
40:12	מי־מדד **בשעלו** מים	Τίς ἐμέτρησε **τῇ χειρὶ** τὸ ὕδωρ
41:22	ונשימה **לבנו**	καὶ ἐπιστήσομεν **τὸν νοῦν**
45:1	אשר־החזקתי **בימינו**	οὗ ἐκράτησα **τῆς δεξιᾶς**
53:7	והוא נענה ולא יפתח־**פיו**	καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ τὸ κεκακῶσθαι οὐκ ἀνοίγει **τὸ στόμα**·
59:17	וכובע ישועה	καὶ περιέθετο περικεφαλαίαν σωτηρίου

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[30] At the same time, though, LXX Isaiah contains many genitive pronouns that are *pluses*, probably additions by the translator to make his text more explicit; see chapter 4 Explicitation.

[31] Rahlfs has τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ, which is supported by most witnesses (including A), and may thus be the more original reading.

| | בראשׁו | ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς |
| 60:5 | ופחד ורחב לבבֶךָ | καὶ ἐκστήσῃ τῇ **καρδίᾳ** |

Nevertheless, one can also find some instances where a genitive pronoun has been *added* to a body part (relatively often to καρδία):

44:20	רעה אפר לב הותל	γνῶτε ὅτι σποδὸς ἡ **καρδία** <u>αὐτῶν</u>
49:16	הן על־**כפים** חקתיך	ἰδοὺ ἐπὶ **τῶν χειρῶν** <u>μου</u> ἐζωγράφησά σου τὰ τείχη
53:3	וכמסתר **פנים** ממנו	ὅτι ἀπέστραπται τὸ **πρόσωπον** <u>αὐτοῦ</u>
57:4	על־מי תרחיבו **פה**	καὶ ἐπὶ τίνα ἠνοίξατε τὸ **στόμα** <u>ὑμῶν</u>;
	תאריכו **לשון**	καὶ ἐπὶ τίνα ἐχαλάσατε **τὴν γλῶσσαν** <u>ὑμῶν</u>;
59:2	וחטאותיכם הסתירו **פנים**	καὶ διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ὑμῶν ἀπέστρεψε τὸ **πρόσωπον**
	מכם משמוע	<u>αὐτοῦ</u> ἀφ' ὑμῶν τοῦ μὴ ἐλεῆσαι.
59:13	והגו **מלב** דברי־שקר	καὶ ἐμελετήσαμεν **ἀπὸ καρδίας** <u>ἡμῶν</u> λόγους ἀδίκους·
65:14	ואתם תצעקו מכאב **לב**	ὑμεῖς δὲ κεκράξεσθε διὰ τὸν πόνον **τῆς καρδίας** <u>ὑμῶν</u>
65:17	ולא תעלינה על־**לב**	οὐδ' οὐ μὴ ἐπέλθῃ <u>αὐτῶν</u> ἐπὶ **τὴν καρδίαν**

The supply of a pronoun to a body part may in several of the above cases be the outcome of harmonisation with a parallel or related phrase in the same verse—for instance as it concerns 37:23 (cf. עיניך), and 44:20 (cf. נפשו)—or of assimilation to a fixed Biblical phrase (see 53:3 and 59:2).[32]

b. Occasionally when the noun expresses an emotion, feature, or character trait of the person referred to by the suffix:

5:25	בכל־זאת לא־שב **אפו**	ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις οὐκ ἀπεστράφη ὁ **θυμός**
9:11(12),20(21); 10:4	בכל־זאת	ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσιν
	לא־שב **אפו**	οὐκ ἀπεστράφη ὁ **θυμός**
9:16(17)	בכל־זאת לא־שב **אפו**	ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις οὐκ ἀπεστράφη ὁ **θυμός**,
16:6	שמענו גאון־מואב גא מאד	Ἠκούσαμεν τὴν ὕβριν Μωαβ, ὑβριστὴς σφόδρα,
	גאותו וגאונו ועברתו	**τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν** ἐξῆρας.
30:27	בער **אפו**	καιόμενος ὁ **θυμός**
33:17	מלך **ביפיו** תחזינה עיניך	βασιλέα **μετὰ δόξης** ὄψεσθε
59:16	**וצדקתו** היא סמכתהו	καὶ **τῇ ἐλεημοσύνῃ** ἐστηρίσατο.
60:10	**וברצוני** רחמתיך	καὶ **διὰ ἔλεον** ἠγάπησά σε.
63:1	צעה ברב **כחו**	βίᾳ μετὰ **ἰσχύος**
63:3	ואדרכם **באפי**	καὶ κατεπάτησα αὐτοὺς **ἐν θυμῷ**

c. In other cases where the noun clearly forms a possession, part, object, or product of the person or thing referred to by the suffix:

11:1	ויצא חטר מגזע ישי	Καὶ ἐξελεύσεται ῥάβδος ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης Ιεσσαι,
	ונצר **משרשיו** יפרה	καὶ ἄνθος **ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης** ἀναβήσεται.
13:10	כי־כוכבי השמים	οἱ γὰρ ἀστέρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ὁ Ὠρίων
	וכסיליהם לא יהלו **אורם**	καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ **τὸ φῶς** οὐ δώσουσι
27:1	ביום ההוא יפקד יהוה **בחרבו**	Τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐπάξει ὁ θεὸς **τὴν μάχαιραν**

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[32] Cf. section 8.4.6.

37:1	וַיִּקְרַע אֶת־**בְּגָדָיו**	ἔσχισε **τὰ ἱμάτια**
37:24	בְּרֹב **רִכְבִּי** אֲנִי עָלִיתִי	Τῷ πλήθει **τῶν ἁρμάτων** ἐγὼ ἀνέβην
38:10	בִּדְמִי יָמַי אֵלֵכָה בְּשַׁעֲרֵי שְׁאוֹל	Ἐν τῷ ὕψει **τῶν ἡμερῶν** μου ἐν πύλαις ᾅδου
	פֻּקַּדְתִּי יֶתֶר **שְׁנוֹתָי**	καταλείψω **τὰ ἔτη τὰ ἐπίλοιπα.**
44:17	וּ**שְׁאֵרִיתוֹ** לְאֵל עָשָׂה לְפִסְלוֹ	τὸ δὲ **λοιπὸν** ἐποίησεν εἰς θεὸν γλυπτὸν
47:15	אֲשֶׁר יָגַעַתְּ סֹחֲרַיִךְ מִ**נְּעוּרַיִךְ**	ἐκοπίασας ἐν τῇ μεταβολῇ σου **ἐκ νεότητος**
54:16	וּמוֹצִיא כְלִי לְ**מַעֲשֵׂהוּ**	καὶ ἐκφέρων σκεῦος **εἰς ἔργον·**
59:21	וּ**דְבָרַי** אֲשֶׁר־שַׂמְתִּי בְּפִיךָ	καὶ **τὰ ῥήματα,** ἃ ἔδωκα εἰς τὸ στόμα σου
60:9	לְהָבִיא **בָנַיִךְ** מֵרָחוֹק	ἀγαγεῖν **τὰ τέκνα σου** μακρόθεν
	כַּסְפָּם וּזְהָבָם אִתָּם	καὶ **τὸν ἄργυρον** καὶ **τὸν χρυσὸν** μετ᾽ αὐτῶν
63:1	זֶה הָדוּר בִּ**לְבוּשׁוֹ**	οὕτως ὡραῖος **ἐν στολῇ**
65:25	וְאַרְיֵה כַּבָּקָר יֹאכַל־תֶּבֶן	καὶ λέων ὡς βοῦς φάγεται ἄχυρα,
	וְנָחָשׁ עָפָר לַ**חְמוֹ**	ὄφις δὲ γῆν ὡς **ἄρτον·**
66:4	וּ**מְגוּרֹתָם** אָבִיא לָהֶם	καὶ **τὰς ἁμαρτίας** ἀνταποδώσω αὐτοῖς·

Repeatedly suffixes that point back to "the world," "the land," or "the people," or to a specific name of a people have no equivalent in the Greek, probably because it is evident that the noun governing the suffix forms a component of that geographical or ethnical entity:

7:16	תֵּעָזֵב הָאֲדָמָה אֲשֶׁר אַתָּה קָץ	καὶ καταλειφθήσεται *ἡ γῆ,* ἣν σὺ φοβῇ
	מִפְּנֵי **שְׁנֵי מְלָכֶיהָ**	ἀπὸ προσώπου **τῶν δύο βασιλέων.**
13:9	לָשׂוּם הָאָרֶץ לְשַׁמָּה	θεῖναι *τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην* ἔρημον
	וְ**חַטָּאֶיהָ** יַשְׁמִיד מִמֶּנָּה	καὶ **τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς** ἀπολέσαι ἐξ αὐτῆς.[33]
14:17	שָׂם תֵּבֵל כַּמִּדְבָּר	ὁ θεὶς *τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην* ἔρημον
	וְ**עָרָיו** הָרַס **אֲסִירָיו**	καὶ **τὰς πόλεις** καθεῖλε, **τοὺς ἐν ἐπαγωγῇ**
	לֹא־פָתַח בָּיְתָה	οὐκ ἔλυσε.[34]
19:13	הִתְעוּ אֶת־מִצְרַיִם פִּנַּת **שְׁבָטֶיהָ**	καὶ πλανήσουσιν Αἴγυπτον κατὰ **φυλάς.**
24:20	נוֹעַ תָּנוּעַ אֶרֶץ כַּשִּׁכּוֹר	καὶ σεισθήσεται ὡς ὀπωροφυλάκιον *ἡ γῆ* ὡς ὁ
	... וְכָבַד עָלֶיהָ **פִּשְׁעָהּ**	μεθύων ... κατίσχυσε γὰρ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς **ἡ ἀνομία.**
26:21	וְגִלְּתָה הָאָרֶץ אֶת־דָּמֶיהָ	καὶ ἀνακαλύψει *ἡ γῆ* τὸ αἷμα αὐτῆς
	וְלֹא־תְכַסֶּה עוֹד עַל־**הֲרוּגֶיהָ**	καὶ οὐ κατακαλύψει **τοὺς ἀνῃρημένους.**
29:14	לָכֵן הִנְנִי יוֹסִף לְהַפְלִיא	ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ προσθήσω τοῦ μεταθεῖναι *τὸν*
	אֶת־הָעָם־הַזֶּה ... וְאָבְדָה חָכְמַת	*λαὸν τοῦτον* ... καὶ ἀπολῶ τὴν σοφίαν **τῶν**
	חֲכָמָיו וּבִינַת **נְבֹנָיו** תִּסְתַּתָּר	**σοφῶν** καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν **τῶν συνετῶν** κρύψω.
31:8	וְנָפַל אַשּׁוּר ...	καὶ πεσεῖται Ασσουρ ...
	וּ**בַחוּרָיו** לָמַס יִהְיוּ	**οἱ** δὲ **νεανίσκοι** ἔσονται εἰς ἥττημα
60:11	לְהָבִיא אֵלַיִךְ חֵיל גּוֹיִם	εἰσαγαγεῖν πρός σὲ δύναμιν *ἐθνῶν*
	וּ**מַלְכֵיהֶם** נְהוּגִים	καὶ **βασιλεῖς** ἀγομένους.

Likewise, suffixes making reference to "the heaven" have twice been omitted:

34:4	וְנָגֹלּוּ כַסֵּפֶר הַשָּׁמַיִם	καὶ ἑλιγήσεται ὁ οὐρανὸς ὡς βιβλίον,
	וְכָל־**צְבָאָם** יִבּוֹל כִּנְבֹל עָלֶה מִגֶּפֶן	καὶ **πάντα τὰ ἄστρα** πεσεῖται ὡς φύλλα ἐξ ἀμπέλου
45:12	אֲנִי יָדַי נָטוּ שָׁמַיִם	ἐγὼ τῇ χειρί μου ἐστερέωσα *τὸν οὐρανόν,*

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[33] 1QIsaᵃ has וחטאים ישמיד ממנה. Cf. Ps 104:35 יִתַּמּוּ חַטָּאִים מִן־הָאָרֶץ.

[34] The suffixes in עריו and אסירו might refer to the king of Assur (ὁ θεὶς …) rather than to the "world."

ἐγὼ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄστροις ἐνετειλάμην.   וכל־צבאם צויתי

In a few cases suffixes attached to ארץ itself are not rendered:

2:7–8	ותמלא **ארצו** סוסים …	καὶ ἐνεπλήσθη ἡ γῆ ἵππων … καὶ ἐνεπλήσθη ἡ γῆ
	ותמלא **ארצו** אלילים	βδελυγμάτων τῶν ἔργων τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν
34:7	ורותה **ארצם** מדם	καὶ μεθυσθήσεται ἡ γῆ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος
61:7	לכן **בארצם** משנה יירשו	οὕτως ἐκ δευτέρας κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν

In the following verses the suffix added to עם lacks a Greek counterpart. In all these cases עם stands for Israel, while the suffix alludes to God, which designates Israel as God's possession:

1:3	**עמי** לא התבונן	καὶ ὁ λαός με οὐ συνῆκεν.
3:14	יהוה במשפט יבוא	αὐτὸς κύριος εἰς κρίσιν ἥξει
	עם־זקני **עמו**	μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τοῦ λαοῦ
11:11	לקנות את־שאר **עמו**	τοῦ ζηλῶσαι τὸ καταλειφθὲν ὑπόλοιπον τοῦ λαοῦ
14:32	ובה יחסו עניי **עמו**	καὶ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ σωθήσονται οἱ ταπεινοὶ τοῦ λαοῦ.
25:8	וחרפת **עמו** יסיר	τὸ ὄνειδος τοῦ λαοῦ ἀφεῖλεν

e. Occasionally when the noun denotes the possessor, producer, or superior of the person or thing referred to by the suffix:

1:3	ידע שור **קנהו**	ἔγνω βοῦς τὸν κτησάμενον
8:4	קרא **אבי** ו**אמי**	καλεῖν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα
8:21	וקלל ב**מלכו** וב**אלהיו**	καὶ κακῶς ἐρεῖτε τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ τὰ παταχρα
24:2	והיה כעם ככהן כעבד כ**אדניו**	καὶ ἔσται ὁ λαὸς ὡς ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ ὁ παῖς ὡς ὁ κύριος
	כשפחה כ**גברתה**	καὶ ἡ θεράπαινα ὡς ἡ κυρία
29:16	כי־יאמר מעשה ל**עשהו** לא	μὴ ἐρεῖ τὸ πλάσμα τῷ πλάσαντι Οὐ σύ με ἔπλασας;
	עשני ויצר אמר ל**יוצרו** לא הבין	ἢ τὸ ποίημα τῷ ποιήσαντι Οὐ συνετῶς με ἐποίησας;

From this perspective possibly one can also understand the frequent absence of a genitive pronoun in LXX Isaiah where in the MT a suffix is joined to a divine title:[35]

1:10	האזינו תורת **אלהינו**	προσέχετε νόμον θεοῦ, λαὸς Γομορρας.
7:13	כי תלאו גם את־**אלהי**	καὶ πῶς κυρίῳ παρέχετε ἀγῶνα;
35:2	המה יראו כבוד־יהוה	καὶ ὁ λαός μου ὄψεται τὴν δόξαν κυρίου
	הדר **אלהינו**	καὶ τὸ ὕψος τοῦ θεοῦ.
40:1	יאמר **אלהיכם**	λέγει ὁ θεός.
50:10	וישען ב**אלהיו**	καὶ ἀντιστηρίσασθε ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ.
51:20	גערת **אלהיך**	ἐκλελυμένοι διὰ κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ.
51:22	כה־אמר **אדניך** יהוה	οὕτως λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς
52:10	את ישועת **אלהינו**	τὴν σωτηρίαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ.
57:21	אמר **אלהי**	εἶπε κύριος ὁ θεός.
59:2	כי אם־עונתיכם היו מבדלים	ἀλλὰ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ὑμῶν διιστῶσιν
	ביניכם לבין **אלהיכם**	ἀνὰ μέσον ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ

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[35] In a number of these cases—where in a neighbouring line a divine title also appears, but without a suffix—the omission of the suffix may better be related to the translator's wish to improve the parallelism between the two lines; see 1:10; 35:2; 50:10; 51:20; 52:10; 60:19; 61:6,10; and 66:9.

60:9	לשם יהוה אלהיך	διὰ τὸ ὄνομα **κυρίου** τὸ ἅγιον
60:19	והיה־לך יהוה לאור עולם	ἀλλ᾽ ἔσται σοι κύριος φῶς αἰώνιον
	ואלהיך לתפארתך	καὶ **ὁ θεὸς** δόξα σου.
61:6	ואתם כהני יהוה תקראו	ὑμεῖς δὲ ἱερεῖς κυρίου κληθήσεσθε,
	משרתי אלהינו יאמר לכם	λειτουργοὶ **θεοῦ**·
61:10	תגל נפשי באלהי	ἀγαλλιάσθω ἡ ψυχή μου ἐπὶ **τῷ κυρίῳ**·
62:5	ישיש עליך אלהיך	οὕτως εὐφρανθήσεται **κύριος** ἐπὶ σοί.
66:9	אמר אלהיך	εἶπεν **ὁ θεός**.

These sixteen instances are counterbalanced by about thirty other ones, in which the pronoun suffix in divine titles did receive a translation in the Greek Isaiah.[36]

f. When there is another specific relationship between two persons or two groups of people:

5:1	אשירה נא לידידי שירת דודי	Ἄισω δὴ **τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ** ᾆσμα **τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ**
	לכרמו כרם היה לידידי	**τῷ** ἀμπελῶνί μου. ἀμπελὼν ἐγενήθη **τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ**
24:23	ונגד זקניו כבוד	καὶ ἐνώπιον **τῶν πρεσβυτέρων** δοξασθήσεται.
37:24	ביד עבדיך חרפת אדני	ὅτι δι᾽ **ἀγγέλων** ὠνείδισας κύριον·
41:6	איש את־רעהו יעזרו	κρίνων ἕκαστος **τῷ πλησίον**
	ולאחיו יאמר חזק	καὶ **τῷ ἀδελφῷ** βοηθῆσαι
43:10	ועבדי אשר בחרתי	καὶ **ὁ παῖς**, ὃν ἐξελεξάμην
59:18	כעל גמלות כעל ישלם	ὡς ἀνταποδώσων ἀνταπόδοσιν
	חמה לצריו	ὄνειδος **τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις**.
66:6	קול יהוה משלם גמול	φωνὴ κυρίου ἀνταποδιδόντος ἀνταπόδοσιν **τοῖς**
	לאיביו	**ἀντικειμένοις**.

I could detect only one example of the omission of a pronoun suffix where the persons referred to by the suffix form the object of an action or a situation expressed by the noun:

63:8–9	ויהי להם למושיע	καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς εἰς σωτηρίαν
	בכל־צרתם לא צר	ἐκ πάσης θλίψεως.

By rendering the genitive pronoun in most instances, while sometimes leaving it out, the Isaiah translator remained close to a natural Greek style, given that in Greek the use or non-use of these pronouns for denoting relationships varies as well.

9.6 The omission of the infinitive absolute

The Hebrew infinitive absolute construction ("tautological infinitive")—in which the infinitive absolute is used in a nominal way, placed before or after a finite verb form of the same root, and thus expressing an emphatic nuance of that verb[37]—is particularly apt for illustrating how differently the various translators of the Septuagint have handled idiomatic aspects of the Hebrew. The construction is translated throughout the Septuagint in many ways

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[36] See LXX Isa 25:9; 26:13; 28:26; 35:4; 36:7; 37:4,10,20; 40:3,8,9; 41:10,13; 43:3; 48:17; 49:4,5; 51:15; 52:7; 54:6; 55:5; 58:2; 59:13; and 62:3. The genitive pronoun is a plus in 26:12; 30:18; 36:18; and 58:11,13.

[37] Joüon §123d.

variously ranging from very freely to very literally. Its LXX rendering has been examined by e.g. Thackeray, Sollamo and Tov,[38] who have noted the following methods of representing it:

    a. An extremely literal translation with the help of a Greek infinitive form. This can be found in only two places in the LXX, that is, in Josh 17:13 and Jer 44(51):25.

    b. A translation by way of an adverb (see e.g. Exod 15:1) or an adjective (see e.g. Num 13:30). This too is an unusual way of rendering the infinitive absolute, and occurs only sporadically in the LXX.

    c. Much more common is a translation by means of a finite verb form in combination with a Greek noun, mostly in the dative, from the same root as the verb (or sometimes from another root with the same meaning). This method can be observed especially often in the Greek Pentateuch. A similar construction is attested in Classical Greek (e.g. γάμῳ γαμεῖν in Herodotus),[39] notwithstanding that parallels of such a construction in Koinē Greek beyond the Septuagint are rare.[40]

    d. Next to a translation with a noun, the most usual LXX rendering of the infinitive absolute construction is by means of a finite verb form combined with a participle. Such a rendition occurs predominantly in the Greek versions of the later historical books of Scripture. According to Sollamo it produces "passable, although unidiomatic, Greek": "The participial constructions of the LXX under discussion show a formally correct Greek structure, but the semantic content can be correctly understood only on the basis of the underlying Hebrew expressions."[41]

    e. In about fifty cases the infinitive absolute construction is rendered in the LXX solely by a finite verb form, while a representation of the infinitive is missing.

    f. Sometimes the infinitive absolute construction can no longer be recognised because of a reformulation or rearrangement of the Hebrew text in the LXX.

The LXX of Isaiah contains examples of each of these representations, except for the extremely literal one involving a Greek infinitive. I will offer below a more detailed description of the way in which the Isaiah translator has dealt with the tautological infinitive in his translation.

a. Omission of the infinitive absolute

In comparison to other books of the Septuagint, LXX Isaiah includes relatively many instances in which the infinitive absolute has not received any rendering. This has happened in eleven cases, as compared to about sixty throughout the entire Septuagint:[42]

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[38] Henry St. John Thackeray, "Renderings of the Infinitive Absolute in the Septuagint," *JTS* 9 (1908): 597–601; idem, *Grammar*, 1:47–50; Raija Sollamo, "The LXX Renderings of the Infinitive Absolute Used with a Paronymous Finite Verb in the Pentateuch," in *La Septuaginta en la investigación contemporánea (V Congreso de la IOSCS)* (ed. Natalio Fernández Marcos; Textos y estudios "Cardenal Cisneros" 34; Madrid: Instituto "Arias Montano," 1985), 101–113; Emanuel Tov, "Renderings of Combinations of the Infinitive Absolute and Finite Verbs in the LXX. Their Nature and Distribution," in *Studien zur Septuaginta. Robert Hanhart zu Ehren. Aus Anlaß seines 65. Geburtstages* (ed. Detlef Fraenkel, Udo Quast, and John W. Wevers; AAWG 190, MSU 20; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 64–73. Cf. also Frankel, *Vorstudien*, 142–143.

[39] See Thackeray, *Grammar*, 1:50; Tov, "Infinitive Absolute," 65.

[40] Sollamo, "LXX Renderings," 106–107.

[41] Sollamo, "LXX Renderings," 105. Cf. also Bickerman, "The Septuagint as a Translation," 181.

[42] Tov, "Infinitive Absolute," 68 n.13.

22:7	והפרשים <u>שת</u> שתו השערה	οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς **ἐμφράξουσι** τὰς πύλας σου·
24:19–20	<u>מוֹט</u> התמוטטה ארץ <u>נוֹע</u> תנוע	**ἔκλινε** καὶ **σεισθήσεται** ὡς
	ארץ כשכור	ὀπωροφυλάκιον ἡ γῆ ὡς ὁ μεθύων
28:28	כי לא לנצח <u>אדוש ידושנו</u>	οὐ γὰρ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἐγὼ ὑμῖν **ὀργισθήσομαι**
31:5	כן <u>יגן</u> יהוה צבאות על־ירושלם <u>גנון</u>	οὕτως **ὑπερασπιεῖ** κύριος ὑπὲρ Ιερουσαλημ
35:2	<u>פרח</u> תפרח	καὶ **ἐξανθήσει**
36:15	<u>הצל</u> יצילנו יהוה	ὅτι **Ῥύσεται** ὑμᾶς ὁ θεός
40:30	ובחורים <u>כשול</u> יכשלו	καὶ ἐκλεκτοὶ **ἀνίσχυες ἔσονται**·
50:2	<u>הקצור</u> קצרה ידי מפדות	μὴ οὐκ **ἰσχύει** ἡ χείρ μου τοῦ ῥύσασθαι;
55:2	<u>שמעו שמוע</u> אלי	**ἀκούσατέ** μου
59:11	וכיונים <u>הגה נהגה</u>	καὶ ὡς περιστερὰ ἅμα **πορεύσονται**·

Compare also 26:3–4 where the translator may have interpreted בטוח as a tautological infinitive (whereas the MT perceives the form as a passive participle, starting a new sentence with בטחו, vocalised as an imperative):[43]

26:3–4	כי בך <u>בטוח</u> בטחו ביהוה עדי עד	ὅτι ἐπὶ σοὶ **ἤλπισαν**, κύριε, ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος

Besides that the lack of representation of the infinitive absolute could be the outcome of a translational choice, it might in some cases originate from the Hebrew parent text of the Greek Isaiah. As regards the LXX of the Pentateuch, Polak and Marquis mention as one explanation for the regular omission of the tautological infinitive the fact that in Post-exilic Hebrew this grammatical construction was largely unknown, and on those grounds may already have been left out from the Hebrew manuscript on which the Greek Pentateuch was based.[44] The same circumstance may have accounted for the instances in which the infinitive absolute is missing in the Greek translation of Isaiah. However, LXX Isaiah equally provides examples in which the tautological infinitive does receive a more or less literal rendering, demonstrating that the grammatical feature was still present in LXX Isaiah's *Vorlage*. If it were true that the scribe of LXX Isaiah's Hebrew manuscript removed the infinitive absolute construction because he was not familiar with it, one would rather expect him to have deleted it more or less consistently. Therefore, instead of indicating a different *Vorlage*, it seems more likely to me that the occasional omission of the tautological infinitive is simply the result of the Isaiah translator varying his way of rendering the construction, just as he did with the other grammatical and idiomatical aspects we have discussed earlier in this chapter. Sometimes he rendered them in a literal way, and at other times more liberally.

b. Translation by means of an adverb

In LXX Isaiah the infinitive absolute is only once reflected by an adverb:

56:3	<u>הבדל</u> יבדילני יהוה מעל עמו	Ἀφοριεῖ με **ἄρα** κύριος ἀπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ·

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[43] 1QIsaᵃ offers כי בכה בטחו ביהוה; cf. section 12.3.1.2.

[44] Polak and Marquis, *Minuses of the Septuagint*, 1:46.

c. Translation by means of a noun in the dative

Ten times the tautological infinitive is reproduced by a dative noun from a cognate root or from a root with the same meaning as the finite verb form:

6:9	שמעו שמוע	Ἀκοῇ ἀκούσετε
19:22	ונגף יהוה את־מצרים	καὶ **πατάξει** κύριος τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους
	נגף ורפוא	**πληγῇ** μεγάλῃ καὶ **ἰάσεται** αὐτοὺς **ἰάσει**
24:3	הבוק תבוק הארץ	**φθορᾷ φθαρήσεται** ἡ γῆ,
	והבוז תבוז	καὶ **προνομῇ προνομευθήσεται** ἡ γῆ·
24:19	רעה התרעעה הארץ	**ταραχῇ ταραχθήσεται** ἡ γῆ,
	פור התפוררה ארץ	καὶ **ἀπορίᾳ ἀπορηθήσεται** ἡ γῆ·
30:19	בכו לא־תבכה	καὶ Ιερουσαλημ **κλαυθμῷ ἔκλαυσεν**
60:12	והגוים חרב יחרבו	καὶ τὰ ἔθνη **ἐρημίᾳ ἐρημωθήσονται**.
61.10	שוש אשיש ביהוה	καὶ **εὐφροσύνῃ εὐφρανθήσονται** ἐπὶ κύριον.

c. Translation by means of a participle

In two places LXX Isaiah renders the infinitive absolute by a participle:

6:9	וראו ראו	καὶ **βλέποντες βλέψετε**
48:8	כי ידעתי בגוד תבגוד	ἔγνων γὰρ ὅτι **ἀθετῶν ἀθετήσεις**

This is much less often than in some other LXX translations such as 1–2 Kingdoms (approx. 40 times) and Jeremiah (approx. 26 times)

d. Variant translation

Regularly the infinitive absolute construction can no longer be recognised in the translation due to a rearrangement or reformulation of the Hebrew text. On some of these occasions either of the two parts of the infinitive absolute construction may have been misunderstood as a noun (22:17–18 and 54:15) or as a second finite form (30:19). Yet, instead of a misunderstanding, this may as well concern an intentional move by the translator so as to avoid a literal translation of the tautological infinitive:

3:16	הלוך וטפף תלכנה	καὶ τῇ πορείᾳ τῶν ποδῶν ἅμα σύρουσαι τοὺς χιτῶνας
22:17–18	ועטך עטה	καὶ ἀφελεῖ τὴν στολήν σου
	צנוף יצנפך צנפה	καὶ τὸν στέφανόν σου τὸν ἔνδοξον[45]
30:19	חנון יחנך	Ἐλέησόν με· ἐλεήσει σε …
54:15	הן גור יגור אפס מאותי	ἰδοὺ προσήλυτοι προσελεύσονταί σοι δι᾽ ἐμοῦ[46]

In sum, LXX Isaiah displays a forty-sixty ratio as regards the translation of the infinitive absolute construction. Eleven cases display a literal representation of the construction by

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[45] עטה was probably associated with Aramaic עדה Pa.—"to take away"—and on that basis rendered by a form of ἀφαιρέω. Either יצנפך or צנוף may have been related to צניף = "headband," which is close in meaning to στέφανος (cf. 62:3 στέφανος | διάδημα = עטרת | צנוף) (cf. Fischer, *In welcher Schrift*, 38; Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 85; HUB Isa 82). According to Ziegler (*Untersuchungen*, 85) ἔνδοξον may derive from צנפה, which the translator linked to הצבי.

[46] גור (inf. abs. of גור—"to sojourn") was most likely read as though it were גֵּר—"sojourner."

means of a noun in the dative or a participle, while seventeen places show a free rendering, with the infinitive absolute lacking an equivalent in the translation, being rendered by an adverb, or having been "dissolved" in a variant translation.

9.7 Translation of semi-prepositions

A number of Hebrew prepositions, such as for instance לפני, בקרב, בגלל, and למען, were originally composed of a noun with a prefixed preposition. In the course of time, these expressions came to function in a purely prepositional way, wholly or partially loosing the actual meaning of the noun they contain.[47] It is interesting from the perspective of translation technique to examine how such prepositions were rendered in the Septuagint, and whether or not the original noun is still reflected in the translation. This was also the interest of Sollamo, who has studied the rendition of, what she calls, "semiprepositions"[48] throughout the Greek Bible. The way in which semi-prepositions have been reproduced in the LXX she classifies into three categories:[49]

- *Slavish renderings*: The semi-preposition is translated in an extremely literal way, which entails that the original Hebrew noun is reflected by an equivalent noun in the Greek. Often this has led to a Hebraistic use of language, although some of the slavishly translated prepositional expressions do occur in the same form in secular Greek literature too.
- *Literal renderings*: Although the translator did not render the semi-preposition in a slavish way, he did still try to approximate quite closely to the Hebrew expression.
- *Free renderings*: The semi-preposition has been replaced by a common Greek preposition in which the meaning of the Hebrew noun cannot be recognised anymore.

Even though, admittedly, the non-translation in the LXX of the original Hebrew noun in semi-prepositional expressions can hardly be said to produce actual "omissions" or "minuses," in this paragraph I will still offer a brief analysis of the rendering of semi-prepositions in LXX Isaiah, because such an inquiry can give us a good insight into the translation style of its translator.

9.7.1 Semi-prepositions with פנים

a. לפני

The preposition לפני, which literally means "before the face of," occurs around thirty times in the Book of Isaiah. Only once has the LXX rendered the nominal component פנים by an

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[47] Raija Sollamo, *Renderings of Hebrew Semi-prepositions in the Septuagint* (AASF 19; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1979), 1; GKC §101.
[48] The term "semi-prepositions" Sollamo has adopted from Brockelmann, who uses the German term "Halbpräpositionen." Brockelmann wanted to express by employing this name the fact that these expressions consist partly of a preposition and partly of a noun; cf. Carl Brockelmann, *Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* (2 vols.; Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1908–1913), 2:383.
[49] Sollamo, *Semi-prepositions*, e.g. 3, 69.

independent Greek equivalent, namely in 62:11 where לפניו has generated πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ. In almost all other places לפני matches a plain Greek preposition:[50]

ἔμπροσθεν	43:10; 45:1(2x),2; 58:8
ἐναντίον	37:14; 40:10; 41:2; 53:2,7
ἐνώπιον	9:2(3); 38:3; 65:6; 66:22,23
ἔναντι	8:4; 23:18
ἀπέναντι	17:13
πρό	18:5
πρότερος	52:12

In the other books of the Septuagint a literalistic translation of לפני does not occur very often either. Of the total number of Scriptural instances of this preposition, not more than about thirteen per cent are represented by πρὸ προσώπου or κατὰ πρόσωπον.[51]

The rendering of לפני by ἐνώπιον is from an etymological point of view comparatively literal, in that ἐνώπιον is formed from the stem ωπ (from ὁράω—"to see") plus a prefixed preposition ἐν, which corresponds closely to the structure of לפני.[52] Yet, in itself ἐνώπιον can hardly be considered a Hebraism, as it is attested regularly in the Greek papyri. Only when it parallels לפני used in the sense of "in somebody's opinion" or is applied with a temporal function is it not in accordance with a genuine Greek employment of the preposition, since in Koinē Greek ἐνώπιον does not appear with those connotations.[53] This we do not encounter, however, in the LXX of Isaiah. When ἐνώπιον is a counterpart to לפני in LXX Isaiah, the Hebrew preposition consistently is used with a local force.

b. מפני

Also מפני (literally "away from the face of") figures around thirty times in MT Isaiah. Seventeen times the LXX translates the preposition in a free way, without reproducing the meaning of פנים:

7:2	כנוע עצי־יער	ὃν τρόπον ὅταν ἐν δρυμῷ ξύλον
	מפני־רוח	**ὑπὸ** πνεύματος σαλευθῇ.
10:27	וחבל על **מפני**־שמן	καὶ καταφθαρήσεται ὁ ζυγὸς **ἀπὸ** τῶν ὤμων ὑμῶν.
19:17	יפחד **מפני** עצת יהוה צבאות	φοβηθήσονται **διὰ** τὴν βουλήν
19:20	כי־יצעקו אל־יהוה	ὅτι κεκράξονται πρὸς κύριον
	מפני לחצים	**διὰ** τοὺς θλίβοντας αὐτούς
20:6	להנצל **מפני** מלך אשור	οἳ οὐκ ἐδύναντο σωθῆναι **ἀπὸ** βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων·
21:15	כי־**מפני** חרבות נדדו	**διὰ** τὸ πλῆθος τῶν φευγόντων καὶ **διὰ** τὸ πλῆθος
	מפני חרב נטושה	τῶν πλανωμένων καὶ **διὰ** τὸ πλῆθος τῆς μαχαίρας
	ו**מפני** קשת	καὶ **διὰ** τὸ πλῆθος τῶν τοξευμάτων τῶν
	דרוכה ו**מפני** כבד	διατεταμένων καὶ **διὰ** τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πεπτωκότων
	מלחמה	ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ.
26:17	**מפניך** יהוה	**διὰ** τὸν φόβον σου, κύριε.

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[50] In 42:16 לפניהם matches αὐτοῖς. In 17:13; 36:7; 37:27; 48:7; and 55:12 a representation of לפני is absent due to a larger omission, or a reformulation or rearrangement of the Hebrew text.
[51] Sollamo, *Semi-prepositions,* 13, 30–32.
[52] Sollamo, *Semi-prepositions*, 18–19.
[53] Sollamo, "Some 'Improper' Prepositions," 777–779.

30:11	השביתו **מפנינו** את־קדוש ישראל	καὶ ἀφέλετε **ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν** τὸν ἅγιον τοῦ Ισραηλ.
30:17	אלף אחד **מפני** גערת אחד **מפני** גערת חמשה תנסו	**διὰ** φωνὴν ἑνὸς φεύξονται χίλιοι, καὶ **διὰ** φωνὴν πέντε φεύξονται πολλοί
37:6	אל־תירא **מפני** הדברים	Μὴ φοβηθῇς **ἀπὸ** τῶν λόγων
63:19 (64:1)	**מפניך** הרים נזלו	τρόμος λήμψεται **ἀπὸ σοῦ** ὄρη
64:2(3)	**מפניך** הרים נזלו	τρόμος λήμψεται **ἀπὸ σοῦ** ὄρη

In thirteen cases, which is somewhat less than forty-five per cent, the semi-preposition is rendered in a literalistic manner, each time with the expression ἀπὸ προσώπου (except for 51:13 which offers τὸ πρόσωπον). In half of these instances the object of the preposition embodies a *person*, which allows a literal interpretation of פנים (see 7:16; 16:4; 17:9; 19:1; 63:12; and 64:1[2] below):

2:10,19,21	**מפני** פחד יהוה	**ἀπὸ προσώπου** τοῦ φόβου κυρίου
7:16	אשר אתה קץ **מפני** שני מלכיה	ἣν σὺ φοβῇ **ἀπὸ προσώπου** τῶν δύο βασιλέων.
16:4	הוי־סתר למו **מפני** שודד	ἔσονται σκέπη ὑμῖν **ἀπὸ προσώπου** διώκοντος
17:9	כעזובת החרש והאמיר אשר עזבו **מפני** בני ישראל	ὃν τρόπον ἐγκατέλιπον οἱ Αμορραῖοι καὶ οἱ Ευαῖοι **ἀπὸ προσώπου** τῶν υἱῶν Ισραηλ
19:1	ונעו אלילי מצרים **מפניו**	καὶ σεισθήσεται τὰ χειροποίητα Αἰγύπτου **ἀπὸ προσώπου** αὐτοῦ
19:16	וחרד ופחד **מפני** תנופת יד־יהוה צבאות	ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἐν τρόμῳ **ἀπὸ προσώπου** τῆς χειρὸς κυρίου σαβαωθ
31:8	ונס לו **מפני**־חרב	καὶ φεύξεται οὐκ **ἀπὸ προσώπου** μαχαίρας·
51:13	ותפחד תמיד כל־היום **מפני** חמת המציק	καὶ ἐφόβου ἀεὶ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας **τὸ πρόσωπον** τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θλίβοντός σε·
57:1	כי־**מפני** הרעה נאסף הצדיק	**ἀπὸ γὰρ προσώπου** ἀδικίας ἦρται ὁ δίκαιος·
63:12	בוקע מים **מפניהם**	κατίσχυσεν ὕδωρ **ἀπὸ προσώπου** αὐτοῦ
64:1(2)	**מפניך** גוים ירגזו	**ἀπὸ προσώπου** σου ἔθνη ταραχθήσονται.

In terms of percentage, the LXX Isaiah rate of literalistic translation of מפני is lower than that of the Septuagint as a whole, in which as much as sixty-five per cent of the occurrences of this preposition have generated ἀπὸ προσώπου.[54]

In Koinē Greek outside of the Septuagint the phrase ἀπὸ προσώπου has been used very sparingly. Despite this, Sollamo believes that it forms sound Koinē Greek, provided that the expression is used to render the *local* aspect of meaning of מפני ("away from" or "from"), and if the referent is a *person* (in LXX Isaiah, see 16:4? and 63:12). When, however, a *causal* מפני ("because of") is translated by ἀπὸ προσώπου (in LXX Isaiah, see 2:10,19,21; 7:16; 19:1,16; 31:8; and 64:1[2]) this does, in Sollamo's eyes, not accord with genuine Greek usage. As far as is known such a use is unparalleled in secular Greek literature.[55] In this aspect Sollamo disagrees with Moulton, who maintains that *all* prepositional compounds of προσώπον are forms of Semitism, notwithstanding the appearance of some of them in a few papyri.[56]

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[54] That is, 194 of the approx. 300 cases of מפני; see Sollamo, *Semi-prepositions*, 81.

[55] Sollamo, *Semi-prepositions*, 84.

[56] Moulton*, Grammar*, 3:279: "Prepositional compounds of προσώπον are undoubtedly a Semitism in spite of their occurrence in the papyri of ii/A.D. and one of iv/ A.D."

c. מלפני

מלפני ("away from before the face of") appears three times in Isaiah. The LXX has in all three places rendered it by a regular Greek expression:

41:26	מי־הגיד מראש ונדעה	τίς γὰρ ἀναγγελεῖ τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἵνα γνῶμεν,
	ומלפנים ונאמר צדיק	καὶ **τὰ ἔμπροσθεν**, καὶ ἐροῦμεν ὅτι ἀληθῆ ἐστιν;
48:19	ולא־ישמד שמו **מלפני**	οὐδὲ ἀπολεῖται τὸ ὄνομά σου **ἐνώπιόν μου**.
57:16	כי־רוח **מלפני** יעטוף	πνεῦμα γὰρ **παρ' ἐμοῦ** ἐξελεύσεται

d. על־פני

Of על־פני ("above/on the face of") we find four examples in Isaiah. In the LXX the preposition has twice disappeared on account of a reformulation of the Hebrew (19:8) and a larger omission (23:17), while in the other two cases it is translated freely:

18:2	השלח בים צירים	ὁ ἀποστέλλων ἐν θαλάσσῃ ὅμηρα
	ובכלי־גמא **על־פני**־מים	καὶ ἐπιστολὰς βυβλίνας **ἐπάνω** τοῦ ὕδατος·
65:3	העם המכעיסים אותי **על־פני**	ὁ λαὸς οὗτος ὁ παροξύνων με **ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ**
	תמיד	διὰ παντός[57]

9.7.2 Semi-prepositions with עינים

a. בעיני

בעיני ("in the eyes of") functions seven times as a semi-preposition in MT Isaiah.[58] In none of these cases is it reproduced in a literalistic way in the Greek. This is the more striking as in the entire Septuagint בעיני in almost thirty per cent (i.e. in 86 of its approx. 300 occurrences) did receive such an extremely literal rendering, namely by means of ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς.[59]

5:21	הוי חכמים **בעיניהם**	οὐαὶ οἱ συνετοὶ **ἐν ἑαυτοῖς**
38:3	והטוב **בעיניך** עשיתי	καὶ τὰ ἀρεστὰ **ἐνώπιόν σου** ἐποίησα·
43:4	מאשר יקרת **בעיני**	ἀφ' οὗ ἔντιμος ἐγένου **ἐναντίον μου**
49:5	ואכבד **בעיני** יהוה	καὶ δοξασθήσομαι **ἐναντίον** κυρίου
59:15	וירע **בעיניו**	καὶ οὐκ ἤρεσεν **αὐτῷ**
65:12	ותעשו הרע **בעיני**	καὶ ἐποιήσατε τὸ πονηρὸν **ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ**
66:4	ויעשו הרע **בעיני**	καὶ ἐποίησαν τὸ πονηρὸν **ἐναντίον** μου

b. לעיני

Twice in Isaiah the preposition לעיני ("before the eyes of") comes up. Both times it corresponds to ἐνώπιον in the Greek:

13:16	ועלליהם ירטשו **לעיניהם**	καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν **ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν** ῥάξουσι

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[57] A further example of a semi-preposition containing פנים in MT Isaiah concerns נגד פני. This form can be found only in 5:21, where it is translated ἐνώπιον in the LXX.

[58] In Isa 6:10 בעינו does not form a semi-preposition but a prepositional phrase in which עין functions in its literal sense of "eye": "so that they may not look *with their eyes*, and listen with their ears."

[59] This is mainly the case in the expressions "to do evil/good in the eyes of …," "it was evil/good in the eyes of …," and "to find mercy in the eyes of … ." See Sollamo, *Semi-prepositions*, 123, 125.

| 52:10 | חשׂף יהוה את־זרוע | καὶ ἀποκαλύψει κύριος τὸν βραχίονα αὐτοῦ τὸν |
| | קדשׁו **לעיני** כל־הגוים | ἅγιον **ἐνώπιον** πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν |

In the remainder of the LXX לעיני has regularly been translated in a literalistic way with the help of the noun ὀφθαλμός. This has happened in 34 out of its 107 attestations.[60]

9.7.3 Semi-prepositions with יד

a. ביד

ביד can serve as a semi-preposition, but also as a regular prepositional phrase in which the noun יד still bears its actual meaning of "hand." According to Sollamo it can be regarded as a semi-preposition "in all cases where the concrete sense of the noun יד 'hand' has weakened, or has adopted metaphorical connotations, or where the meaning 'hand' is no longer present at all."[61] When ביד has the status of a semi-preposition it is mostly used with a metaphorical local force ("in the power of"), or with an instrumental force ("by way of," "through").[62]

Of the ten Isaianic instances of ביד as a semi-preposition the word is three times rendered in a free way in the LXX, without the Greek echoing יד.[63] In all three cases ביד may bear its instrumental meaning "by way of," "through":[64]

20:2	בעת ההיא דבר יהוה **ביד** ישׁעיהו	τότε ἐλάλησε κύριος **πρὸς** Ησαιαν
37:24	**ביד** עבדיך חרפת אדני	ὅτι **δι'** ἀγγέλων ὠνείδισας κύριον·
64:6(7)	ותמוגנו **ביד**־עוננו	καὶ παρέδωκας ἡμᾶς **διὰ** τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν.

On six occasions ביד has prompted a literal translation which includes the noun χείρ. Each time the preposition carries a local force: "in the power of":

19:4	וסכרתי את־מצרים **ביד**	καὶ παραδώσω Αἴγυπτον **εἰς χεῖρας**
	אדנים קשׁה	ἀνθρώπων κυρίων σκληρῶν
22:21	וממשׁלתך אתן **בידו**	καὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν σου δώσω **εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ**
36:15	לא תנתן העיר הזאת **ביד**	καὶ οὐ μὴ παραδοθῇ ἡ πόλις αὕτη **ἐν χειρὶ**
	מלך אשׁור	βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων
37:10	לא תנתן ירושׁלם **ביד**	Οὐ μὴ παραδοθῇ Ιερουσαλημ **εἰς χεῖρας**
	מלך אשׁור	βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων.
47:6	ואתנם **בידך**	ἐγὼ ἔδωκα **εἰς τὴν χεῖρά σου**
51:23	ושׂמתיה **ביד**־מוגיך	καὶ ἐμβαλῶ αὐτὸ **εἰς τὰς χεῖρας** τῶν ἀδικησάντων σε

The number of literal translations of ביד in LXX Isaiah is comparable in percentage to that of the whole of the Septuagint, which in more than eighty per cent of its occurrences matches ביד to an expression with χείρ.

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[60] Sollamo, *Semi-prepositions*, 148.

[61] Sollamo, *Semi-prepositions*, 156.

[62] Sollamo, *Semi-prepositions*, 157; *HALOT* 1:388.

[63] In 51:23 it can be disputed whether ביד is a semi-preposition or not. In 53:10 ביד is absent due to a larger omission.

[64] In 64:6(7) it is doubtful whether the Hebrew uses ביד in the sense of "in the hands of" or as "through"; the first option may be more feasible. Yet, the LXX seems to have interpreted the preposition in the sense of "through," which equals διά in the Greek.

In Classical and in secular Koinē Greek related prepositional expressions with χεῖρ are employed occasionally in a (metaphorical) *local* sense, yet never in an instrumental sense.[65] Hence, in rendering ביד in a literal way only when it means "in the power of" the Isaiah translator has remained faithful to the prescriptions of a good Greek style. This is in contrast to other parts of the Greek Bible. In the entire Septuagint ביד *instrumenti* has still generated a translation which includes χεῖρ in almost eighty-five per cent of its instances.[66]

b. מיד

The semi-preposition מיד—literally "from the hand of"—incorporates, roughly speaking, two different aspects of meaning:

    a. After verbs such as "to deliver," "to flee," or "to deprive" it denotes "from the power/possession of."
    b. In connection with verbs such as "to demand," "to receive," or "to buy" it means "from (the side of)."[67]

In the Book of Isaiah מיד serves as a semi-preposition in eleven cases. Eight of these have generated an expression with χεῖρ in the Greek,[68] six of which concern מיד in its connotation of "from the power/possession of." מיד in the sense of "from (the side of)" is rendered in a literalistic way only in 1:12 and 40:2:

1:12	מי־בקש זאת מידכם	τίς γὰρ ἐξεζήτησε ταῦτα **ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ὑμῶν**;
36:18	ההצילו אלהי הגוים איש	μὴ ἐρρύσαντο οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἕκαστος
	את־ארצו מיד מלך אשור	τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν **ἐκ χειρὸς** βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων;
36:19	וכי־הצילו את־שמרון מידי	μὴ ἐδύναντο ῥύσασθαι Σαμάρειαν **ἐκ χειρός μου**;
36:20	מי בכל־אלהי הארצות האלה	τίς τῶν θεῶν πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν τούτων
	אשר־הצילו את־ארצם מידי	ἐρρύσατο τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ **ἐκ τῆς χειρός μου**,
	כי־יציל יהוה את־ירושלם מידי	ὅτι ῥύσεται ὁ θεὸς Ιερουσαλημ **ἐκ χειρός μου**;
37:20	הושיענו מידו	σῶσον ἡμᾶς **ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτῶν**
40:2	כי לקחה מיד יהוה כפלים	ὅτι ἐδέξατο **ἐκ χειρὸς** κυρίου διπλᾶ
	בכל־חטאתיה	τὰ ἁμαρτήματα αὐτῆς.
43:13	ואין מידי מציל	καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ **ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν μου** ἐξαιρούμενος·

Three times מיד is translated freely, without an equivalent for יד. This includes two cases in which מיד carries the denotation "from (the side of)" (37:14; 50:11), and one in which it indicates "from the power/possession of" (47:14):

37:14	ויקח חזקיהו את־הספרים	καὶ ἔλαβεν Εζεκιας τὸ βιβλίον
	מיד המלאכים	**παρὰ** τῶν ἀγγέλων
47:14	לא־יצילו את־נפשם **מיד** להבה	καὶ οὐ μὴ ἐξέλωνται τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν **ἐκ** φλογός·

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[65] Sollamo, *Semi-prepositions*, 157, 160.
[66] Sollamo, *Semi-prepositions*, 182.
[67] Sollamo, *Semi-prepositions*, 191; *HALOT* 1:387–388.
[68] Also in 51:17 and 22 מיד is translated with an expression containing χεῖρ, but in those verses the noun יד is probably meant in a literal sense, for which reason מיד cannot be considered a semi-preposition there.

50:11   מידי היתה־זאת לכם   δι' ἐμὲ ἐγένετο ταῦτα ὑμῖν

Also in the rest of the Septuagint מיד has more often received a free translation when it stands for "from (the side of)" than in its other connotation.[69]

In secular Greek the phrases ἐκ (τῶν) χειρῶν and ἐκ (τῆς) χειρός can be encountered as well. According to Sollamo they are suitable for both nuances of meaning of מיד, without producing unnatural Greek.[70] However, they are only employed when the referent is a living being.[71] The rendition of מיד in LXX Isaiah is in agreement with this. In all of the above examples of מיד being parallel to an expression with χείρ the reference is to a person, whereas in 47:14—where the referent is a "flame"—the semi-preposition is reproduced by ἐκ only.

c. תחת יד

The semi-preposition תחת יד appears only once in Isaiah. In the LXX it is represented by ὑπό:

3:6   **תחת ידך** הזאת והמכשלה   καὶ τὸ βρῶμα τὸ ἐμὸν **ὑπὸ σὲ** ἔστω.

9.7.4 Semi-prepositions with קרב

a. בקרב

Of the fifteen Isaianic occurrences of בקרב ("in the middle of") eleven are rendered without a Greek noun for "middle":[72]

- The original noun קרב is not reflected when בקרב is used purely in the sense of "in" (often as "the inward parts" of the body), without the literal meaning of קרב ("middle") being of significance in the context:

19:1   ולבב מצרים ימס **בקרבו**   καὶ ἡ καρδία αὐτῶν ἡττηθήσεται **ἐν αὐτοῖς**.

19:3   ונבקה רוח־מצרים   καὶ ταραχθήσεται τὸ πνεῦμα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων
          בקרבו   **ἐν αὐτοῖς**

19:14   יהוה מסך **בקרבה** רוח עועים   κύριος γὰρ ἐκέρασεν **αὐτοῖς** πνεῦμα πλανήσεως

29:23   כי בראתו ילדיו מעשה ידי   ἀλλ' ὅταν ἴδωσιν τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν τὰ ἔργα μου,
          בקרבו יקדישו שמי   **δι' ἐμὲ** ἁγιάσουσιν τὸ ὄνομά μου[73]

63:11   איה השם **בקרבו** את־רוח קדשו   ποῦ ἐστιν ὁ θεὶς **ἐν αὐτοῖς** τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον;

- As regards the translation of בקרב הארץ, the Greek consistently lacks any trace of the original noun:

5:8   **בקרב** הארץ   **ἐπὶ** τῆς γῆς

6:12   **בקרב** הארץ   **ἐπὶ** τῆς γῆς

7:22   **בקרב** הארץ   **ἐπὶ** τῆς γῆς

10:23   **בקרב** כל־הארץ   **ἐν** τῇ οἰκουμένη ὅλῃ

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[69] Throughout the entire Septuagint מיד with the meaning of "from (the side) of" is rendered freely in 22 per cent of its occurrences, while מיד in the sense of "from the power/possession of" is translated freely in only 10 per cent of its instances (Sollamo, *Semi-prepositions*, 202).

[70] Sollamo, *Semi-prepositions*, 193, 194.

[71] Sollamo, *Semi-prepositions*, 194.

[72] Twice an equivalent for בקרב is entirely absent in LXX Isa, that is in 25:11 and 26:9.

[73] The translator may have read בקרבי read instead of בקרבו.

| 19:24 | בקרב הארץ | ἐν τῇ γῇ |
| 24:13 | בקרב הארץ | ἐν τῇ γῇ |

Twice the translator has rendered בקרב literally by ἐν μέσῳ. In both cases קרב can be understood in its straightforward, local sense of "middle," "amidst," for which reason its literal translation has not resulted in an unidiomatic use of the Greek:

5:25	ותהי נבלתם כסוחה	καὶ ἐγενήθη τὰ θνησιμαῖα αὐτῶν ὡς κοπρία
	בקרב חוצות	ἐν μέσῳ ὁδοῦ.
12:6	כי־גדול בקרבך קדוש ישראל	ὅτι ὑψώθη ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ Ισραηλ ἐν μέσῳ σου.

b. מקרב

The one representation of מקרב in MT Isaiah has a literal counterpart in the Greek:

| 4:4 | ואת־דמי ירושלם ידיח מקרבה | καὶ τὸ αἷμα ἐκκαθαριεῖ ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν |

9.7.5 Semi-prepositions with תוך

a. בתוך

בתוך, the original meaning of which is similar to that of בקרב—"in the middle of," is used eight times in Isaiah. Its nominal component תוך is reflected in the LXX when the content of that noun ("middle") is relevant to the context and has a local aspect ("in the middle of," "amidst of"):[74]

5:2	ויבן מגדל בתוכו	καὶ ᾠκοδόμησα πύργον ἐν μέσῳ αὐτοῦ
6:5	ובתוך עם־טמא שפתים אנכי יושב	ἐν μέσῳ λαοῦ ἀκάθαρτα χείλη ἔχοντος ἐγὼ οἰκῶ
24:13	בתוך העמים	ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἐθνῶν
41:18	ובתוך בקעות מעינות	καὶ ἐν μέσῳ πεδίων πηγάς

Three times בתוך is translated without μέσος:

7:6	ונמליך מלך בתוכה	καὶ βασιλεύσομεν αὐτῆς
16:3	צלך בתוך צהרים	ἐν μεσημβρινῇ σκοτίᾳ
19:19	יהיה מזבח ליהוה	ἔσται θυσιαστήριον τῷ κυρίῳ
	בתוך ארץ מצרים	ἐν χώρᾳ Αἰγυπτίων

Throughout the entire Septuagint בתוך is in more than seventy per cent of its occurrences rendered literally by an expression including μέσος.[75]

b. מתוך

In Isaiah we find three examples of מתוך. In the Greek it is twice reproduced freely, a rendering of the noun תוך being absent:

| 24:18 | והעולה מתוך הפחת | ὁ δὲ ἐκβαίνων ἐκ τοῦ βοθύνου |
| 58:9 | אם־תסיר מתוכך מוטה | ἐὰν ἀφέλῃς ἀπὸ σοῦ σύνδεσμον |

Once מתוך has given rise to a literal translation:

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[74] בתוך is a minus in LXX Isa 61:9.
[75] Sollamo, *Semi-prepositions*, 263.

52:11   צאו מתוכה   ἐξέλθατε ἐκ μέσου αὐτῆς

9.7.6 Conclusion to 9.7

The rendition of semi-prepositions illustrates the ambiguity that typifies the translation technique of LXX Isaiah. Sometimes these prepositions have been rendered in a quite literal or even Hebraistic way—the meaning of the original noun being reflected in the Greek, while at other times they have received a free translation by a preposition only. Nonetheless, cases of a free translation seem to be in the majority. Of the semi-prepositions discussed above, almost seventy per cent have as their Greek counterparts a plain preposition. This is a higher rate than in many other books of the Septuagint, which have applied extremely literal translations of semi-prepositions much more often than LXX Isaiah.[76] Moreover, the Isaiah translator in rendering semi-prepositions usually seems to have taken into account the rules for a correct use of the Greek language. That is, he has represented them in a literal way almost solely when this in principle did not produce unidiomatic Greek (even though it may have generated *uncommon* Greek). This applies, for instance, to the rendering of ביד, which in LXX Isaiah is translated literally with the help of an expression containing χείρ exclusively when it denotes "in the possession of," in conformity with the use of prepositional expressions which include χείρ in secular Greek literature.

9.8 The omission of Hebrew idiomatic expressions and formulae

9.8.1 The omission of לאמר

The prepositional expression לאמר, which is composed of an infinitive construct with a prefixed preposition ל and literally means "in saying,"[77] is used in Hebrew to introduce direct speech, and thus usually comes after verbs of speaking. In the Book of Isaiah לאמר is utilised almost thirty times in this manner. The Greek translation of Isaiah renders this typical Hebrew phenomenon in the following ways:

-    With the help of a predicative participle of λέγω, for example λέγων—"saying." This has happened in fifty per cent of the instances of לאמר, i.e., in fourteen of the 28 cases.[78] Also outside of LXX Isaiah this is the Septuagint's most common rendering of לאמר. In secular Greek, however, a participle in the sense of "to speak" appears only sporadically after a finite verb of speaking.[79] The representation of לאמר by λέγων therefore seems to be the result of the LXX translators' attempt to render the Hebrew phrase with an

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[76] Sollamo gives for the relative frequency of "slavish renderings" in LXX Isaiah a rate of 30.9%. Of the 26 Biblical books she lists, sixteen have a rate of "slavish renderings" higher than this. The highest rate she observes is in LXX Jeremiah, being 80.4%. The relative frequency of *free* renderings in LXX Isaiah is 43.6%, in which this translation is number six in the priority list of "free translations." See Sollamo, *Semi-prepositions*, 281–282.

[77] Joüon §103b.

[78] Cf. 4:1; 7:2,5,10; 8:11; 9:8(9); 19:25; 20:2; 29:11; 36:18; 37:9,10,15; and 38:4. Cf. also 26:1 where λέγοντες—introducing direct speech—is a plus.

[79] For sources, see BDR §420.1. See also E. Kieckers, "Zur oratio recta in den indogermanischen Sprachen I," *Indogermanische Forschungen* 35 (1915): 34–41; Antonius Hilhorst, *Sémitismes et latinismes dans le Pasteur d'Hermas* (Nijmegen: Dekker & Van de Vegt, 1976), 78.

existing, albeit rare, Greek construction, which would approximate to לאמר as nearly as possible without being grammatically incorrect.

- By means of an independently used attributive participle of λέγω, such as ὁ λέγων—"he who says," or οἱ λέγοντες—"they who say." This is found in LXX Isa 30:21.
- By means of a finite verb form of λέγω, for instance καὶ εἶπεν. This way of rendering fits within the limits of a natural use of the Greek. In LXX Isaiah it occurs four times (see 3:7; 23:4; 29:12; and 37:21).
- By the conjunction ὅτι, thus used as a "ὅτι recitativum," in 36:15; 37:8; and 44:19. Also this rendition produces stylistically good Greek.[80]
- In six instances (which is more than twenty per cent of all of its attestations) לאמר seems to have been left out in the Greek Isaiah, namely in the following verses:

8:5	ויסף יהוה דבר אלי עוד לאמר	Καὶ προσέθετο κύριος λαλῆσαί μοι ἔτι
	יען כי מאס העם הזה ...	Διὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον ...
14:24	נשבע יהוה צבאות לאמר	τάδε λέγει κύριος σαβαωθ
	אם־לא כאשר דמיתי כן היתה	Ὃν τρόπον εἴρηκα, οὕτως ἔσται
16:14	ועתה דבר יהוה לאמר	καὶ νῦν λέγω
	בשלש שנים כשני שכיר ...	Ἐν τρισὶν ἔτεσιν ἐτῶν μισθωτοῦ ...
36:21	כי־מצות המלך היא לאמר	διὰ τὸ προστάξαι τὸν βασιλέα
	לא תענהו	μηδένα ἀποκριθῆναι.
37:10	כה תאמרון אל־חזקיהו	Οὕτως ἐρεῖτε Εζεκια
	מלך־יהודה לאמר אל־ישאך אלהיך	βασιλεῖ τῆς Ιουδαίας Μή σε ἀπατάτω ὁ θεός σου
56:3	ואל־יאמר בן־הנכר הנלוה אל־יהוה	μὴ λεγέτω ὁ ἀλλογενὴς ὁ προσκείμενος πρὸς
	לאמר הבדל יבדילני יהוה	κύριον Ἀφοριεῖ με ἄρα κύριος
	מעל עמו	ἀπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ·

The explanation for these omissions can possibly be found in the circumstance that whatever literal rendering with the help of λέγω the translator had given of לאמר, each one of them would have tended to give rise to a somewhat forced and pleonastic Greek formulation. Even though, as noted, a participle of a verb of speaking does occur now and then in secular Greek after a finite form of speaking to introduce what is going to be said, speech is most commonly announced by way of the conjunction ὅτι,[81] or simply indicated by a punctuation mark. So, although the translator gave a literal translation of לאמר in a considerable number of its cases, he may have *limited* the occurrence of this Hebraism by means of omitting לאמר now and then.

9.8.2 *The omission of* הנ(ו) *and* הן

a. הנה

In Hebrew the interjection הנה ("behold") serves to attract the attention of the listener to the words that follow.[82] The lexicon of Brown, Driver, and Briggs lists three ways in which the interjection appears:[83]

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[80] Cf. Aejmelaeus, "Ὅτι recitativum," 80–81.
[81] Cf. section 6.2.1b.
[82] Joüon §105d.
[83] BDB 243–244.

(a) Pointing to persons or things (e.g. Isa 6:8).

(b) Introducing clauses involving predication (e.g. Isa 7:14).

(c) … והנה in historical style, succeeding especially (but not exclusively) verbs of seeing or discovering, making the narrative vivid and achieving an effect of surprise on the reader (e.g. Isa 5:30 ונבט לארץ והנה־חשך צר).[84]

A Greek expression that parallels הנה is formed by ἰδού. In the Septuagint this word appears abundantly. In secular language, by contrast, the use of ἰδού was considered a vulgarism. It was employed frequently in colloquial speech but avoided as much as possible in literature. This clarifies why in the Greek papyri ἰδού is attested only a few times.[85]

Even if the widespread use of ἰδού in the Septuagint can be considered a Hebraism, the expression in itself cannot by definition be seen as grammatically incorrect. The situation changes, though, when the Greek as a rendering of והנה applied in the final one of the three above-mentioned functions of the Hebrew formula, offers the phrase καὶ ἰδού. On such occasions it is a question of an ungrammatical Greek construction, since this kind of use of ἰδού is foreign to Greek.[86] In secular Greek ἰδού is never even preceded by καί.[87] As rightly suggested by Elias Bickerman the unusualness of καὶ ἰδού also explains why that construction in the LXX of Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy in about sixty of the ninety occurrences of והנה has been avoided. Nonetheless, in the LXX of Genesis καὶ ἰδού can still be encountered in twenty places. According to Bickerman it has been utilised there with the purpose of dramatising the situation described.[88]

In the MT of Isaiah הנה features almost eighty times. If the word fulfils the first or second of the three functions mentioned above—which happens in about seventy cases—LXX Isaiah almost consistently translates הנה as ἰδού. Only in four places has the word received a different rendering,[89] while in the next six instances הנה is not represented at all:

38:7–8 הנני משיב את־צל המעלות	τὴν σκιὰν τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν, οὓς κατέβη ὁ ἥλιος,
אשר ירדה במעלות אחז	τοὺς δέκα ἀναβαθμοὺς τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρός σου,
בשמש אחרנית עשר מעלות	ἀποστρέψω τὸν ἥλιον τοὺς δέκα ἀναβαθμούς.[90]
41:27 ראשון לציון הנה הנם	ἀρχὴν Σιων δώσω
ולירושלם מבשר אתן	καὶ Ιερουσαλημ παρακαλέσω εἰς ὁδόν.[91]

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[84] For an extensive discussion of והנה, see M. Johannessohn, "Der Wahrnehmungssatz bei den Verben des Sehens in der hebräischen und griechischen Bibel," *ZVS* 64 (1937): 179–215; idem, "Das biblische καὶ ἰδού in der Erzählung samt seiner hebräischen Vorlage," *ZVS* 66 (1939): 145–195; 67 (1942): 30–84. According to Johannessohn והנה appears especially after clauses of observation, clauses in which a verb of movement occurs, and nominal clauses which announce the appearance of a person. In the Hebrew Bible the construction seems to develop into a mere "Verknüpfungsmittel zwischen zwei Geschehnissen" ("Das biblische καὶ ἰδού," *ZVS* 66 [1939]: 149).

[85] See Bickerman, "The Septuagint as a Translation," 187 n.55.

[86] Johannessohn, "Der Wahrnehmungssatz," 200; Peter Fiedler, *Die Formel "Und siehe" im Neuen Testament* (SANT 20; München: Kösel, 1969), 25; Bickerman, "The Septuagint as a Translation," 187; Hilhorst, *Sémitismes*, 153–154; BDR §442 n.15.

[87] Fiedler, *Die Formel "Und siehe"*, 21, 25; Hilhorst, *Sémitismes*, 154.

[88] Bickerman, "The Septuagint as a Translation," 187–188.

[89] A translation of הנה other than by ἰδού is found in 37:11 (ἢ οὐκ), 48:7 (ὅτι ναί), 52:6 (הנני /πάρειμι), and 65:1 (εἰμι).

[90] Perhaps הנני was skipped over by the translator together with the preceding words אשר דבר on account of an *aberratio oculi*: את־הדבר הזה אשר דבר הנני משיב את־צל; see section 11.3.

62:11	הנה יהוה השמיע	ἰδοὺ γὰρ κύριος ἐποίησεν ἀκουστὸν
	אל־קצה הארץ אמרו לבת־ציון	ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς Εἴπατε τῇ θυγατρὶ Σιων
	הנה ישעך בא <u>הנה</u>	Ἰδού σοι ὁ σωτὴρ παραγίνεται ἔχων
	שכרו אתו	τὸν ἑαυτοῦ μισθὸν[92]
65:1	אמרתי הנני <u>הנני</u>	εἶπα Ἰδού εἰμι[93]
65:17	כי־<u>הנני</u> בורא שמים חדשים	ἔσται γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς καινὸς

In 38:17 the entire clause in which הנה appears is absent in LXX Isaiah:

| 38:17 | <u>הנה לשלום מר־לי מר</u> ואתה חשקת נפשי | εἵλου γάρ μου τὴν ψυχήν |

הנה used in the third function—that is, as the narrative formula והנה—is attested in Isaiah fourteen times. Only in a minority of these cases does the LXX give a rendering by καὶ ἰδού:

5:26	ושרק לו מקצה הארץ	καὶ συριεῖ αὐτοῖς ἀπ᾽ ἄκρου τῆς γῆς,
	והנה מהרה קל יבוא	**καὶ ἰδοὺ** ταχὺ κούφως ἔρχονται·
5:30	ונבט לארץ **והנה**־חשך צר	καὶ ἐμβλέψονται εἰς τὴν γῆν, **καὶ ἰδοὺ** σκότος σκληρὸν
8:22	ואל־ארץ יביט	καὶ εἰς τὴν γῆν κάτω ἐμβλέψονται,
	והנה צרה וחשכה	**καὶ ἰδοὺ** θλῖψις καὶ στενοχωρία καὶ σκότος
21:8–9	אנכי עמד תמיד יומם	Ἔστην διὰ παντὸς ἡμέρας
	ועל־משמרתי אנכי נצב כל־הלילות	καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς παρεμβολῆς ἔστην ὅλην τὴν νύκτα,
	והנה־זה בא רכב איש צמד פרשים	**καὶ ἰδοὺ** αὐτὸς ἔρχεται ἀναβάτης συνωρίδος.

In both 5:30 and 8:22 there is mention of an actual *seeing*. Likewise, 21:8–9 speaks about a watcher who is peering from his post. This may have provided a justification for the translator to render והנה by καὶ ἰδού. In 5:26 the fact that והנה appears in a prophecy (in accordance with the second mentioned function of הנה) may have accounted for a translation with καὶ ἰδού.

Regularly the translator has replaced והנה by a verb phrase (see 5:7; 17:14; 22:13; 37:36; and 59:9 below), or a conjunction (5:7 and 29:8), or has not represented it at all (29:8 and 49:12):

5:7	ויקו למשפט **והנה** משפח	ἔμεινα τοῦ ποιῆσαι κρίσιν, **ἐποίησε δὲ** ἀνομίαν
	לצדקה **והנה** צעקה	καὶ οὐ δικαιοσύνην **ἀλλὰ** κραυγήν.
17:14	לעת ערב **והנה** בלהה	πρὸς ἑσπέραν **ἔσται** πένθος
22:13	**והנה** ששון ושמחה	**αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐποιήσαντο** εὐφροσύνην καὶ ἀγαλλίαμα
29:8	והיה כאשר יחלם הרעב **והנה**	καὶ ἔσονται ὡς οἱ ἐν ὕπνῳ πεινῶντες **καὶ** ἔσθοντες,
	אוכל והקיץ וריקה נפשו	καὶ ἐξαναστάντων μάταιον αὐτῶν τὸ ἐνύπνιον,
	וכאשר יחלם הצמא **והנה** שתה	καὶ ὃν τρόπον ἐνυπνιάζεται ὁ διψῶν **ὡς** πίνων
	והקיץ **והנה** עיף	καὶ ἐξαναστὰς ἔτι διψᾷ
37:36	וישכימו בבקר	καὶ ἐξαναστάντες τὸ πρωὶ
	והנה כלם פגרים מתים	**εὗρον** πάντα τὰ σώματα νεκρά.
49:12	הנה־אלה מרחוק יבאו	ἰδοὺ οὗτοι πόρρωθεν ἔρχονται,
	והנה־אלה מצפון ומים	οὗτοι ἀπὸ βορρᾶ

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[91] הנם was perhaps not omitted, but rendered by παρακαλέσω through the association with נחם (transposition of ח and נ, and change of gutturals).

[92] The third הנה may have been omitted for the sake of condensation or reduction of repetition (see sections 3.3.2 and 7.7).

[93] Probably deleted in order to eliminate the geminatio (see section 7.7).

59:9   נקוה לאור **והנה־חשך**   ὑπομεινάντων αὐτῶν φῶς **ἐγένετο** αὐτοῖς σκότος

In short, when הנה is used in a narrative context in the form of והנה, the Isaiah translator in the majority of cases has avoided a literal translation using καὶ ἰδού, thus escaping a Hebraistic and incorrect use of the Greek language. Nonetheless, in instances of הנה without waw and fulfilling other functions, he has mostly translated the interjection in a literal way by ἰδού, most likely in view of the fact that in such situations ἰδού could be applied in agreement with proper (albeit vernacular) Greek.[94]

b. הן

Just like הנה, הן also is a deictic interjection pointing to the word or phrase which it precedes.[95] In the Book of Isaiah it appears 27 times, thirteen times of which it is mirrored by ἰδού in the LXX.[96] In twelve places the Greek represents הן in a distinct way, practically always by εἰ—thus reflecting the Aramaic meaning of הן ("if")[97]—or by another conjunction.[98] In the remaining two instances הן does not have any match in the Greek text:

42:1   **הן** עבדי אתמד־בו   Ιακωβ ὁ παῖς μου, ἀντιλήμψομαι αὐτοῦ·
55:5   **הן** גוי לא־תדע תקרא   ἔθνη, ἃ οὐκ ᾔδεισάν σε, ἐπικαλέσονταί σε

In 42:1 הן may have been omitted so as to balance the parallelism with the ensuing line (בחירי רצתה נפשי), which does not start with הן either. The absence of הן in 55:5 might be related to the fact that already v.4 has been introduced by הן; perhaps the translator wanted to remove the repetition, or wished to draw the two verses together more closely by deleting הן.

All in all, it appears that the translator was apt not to reproduce הן by its literal counterpart ἰδού, but to render it in a variant way or to remove the interjection. In this way he avoided a rendition by ἰδού in more than half of the instances of הן. One reason for this could be that he may occasionally have interpreted הן according to its Aramaic sense—"if." This would elucidate the frequent translation of the Hebrew interjection with a Greek conjunction. Another reason might be that in this manner he deliberately attempted to reduce the number of occurrences of the vulgar expression ἰδού.

9.8.3 The omission of נא

נא is an interjection adding an entreating nuance to the word which it follows. It is used often with the volitive moods.[99] The Hebrew text of Isaiah contains seventeen instances of נא. In the Greek the particle is most commonly—that is, in fourteen cases—not represented.[100] Only in

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[94] A few times ἰδού even appears as a plus: see 26:1; 44:22 (ἰδοὺ γάρ; cf. the plus ἴδετε in 44:20); 49:6,18 (probably contextual harmonisation with 49:12,16,18,21,22); 60:4 (probably harmonisation with 49:12,18, and in parallelism to 60:4a); and 66:9 (contextual harmonisation with 66:12). In 41:28 ἰδού renders וארא. The plural imperative ἴδετε is a plus in 44:20 and 57:1.

[95] *HALOT* 1:251.

[96] See Isa 32:1; 33:7; 41:11; 49:16; 50:1,2,9,9,11; 54:15,16; 55:4; and 64:4(5).

[97] See 40:15 and 58:4. Also in 23:13 the word may have been interpreted in this way. In that verse the Greek text is elliptic, implying a conditional "if." Maybe this implicit "if" echoes הן understood as "if."

[98] Isa 23:13 καί; 40:15 καί; 41:24 ὅτι; 41:29 γάρ; 44:11 καί; 49:21 δέ; 56:3 ὅτι; 58:3 γάρ; 64:8(9) καὶ νῦν. In 59:1 הן has perhaps been read as the interrogative particle ה and is on those grounds translated Μή.

[99] Joüon §105c.

[100] See Isa 1:18; 5:3,5; 7:3; 19:12; 29:11,12; 36:4,8,11; 38:3; 47:13; 51:21; and 64:8(9).

three places does נא have a Greek counterpart: in Isa 5:1 δή, in 7:13 δή, and in 47:12 νῦν. Both renderings, by δή and by νῦν, can properly be used in Greek after an imperative: δή in order to attribute more urgency to the order,[101] and νῦν to express that a command has to be obeyed immediately.[102] Nevertheless, the stressing of an imperative by means of a particle occurs much less often in Greek than in Hebrew, which may have accounted for the frequent omission of נא in LXX Isaiah.

9.8.4 The omission of בֵּן in indications of descent

When the name of a person is accompanied by the notification of whose son or daughter he or she is, in Classical and Koinē Greek it is customary to express this relationship by way of a possessive genitive without υἱός or θυγάτηρ. The regular supply of υἱός in the Septuagint is rather Semitic than typically Greek.[103] This could explain why בֶּן used in patronyms is now and then not represented in LXX Isaiah:[104]

7:1	אחז בֶּן־יותם	Αχαζ τοῦ Ιωαθαμ
36:3	אליקים בֶּן־חלקיהו אשר על־הבית	Ελιακιμ ὁ τοῦ Χελκιου ὁ οἰκονόμος
36:3	ויואח בֶּן־אסף המזכיר	καὶ Ιωαχ ὁ τοῦ Ασαφ ὁ ὑπομνηματογράφος
36:22	אליקים בֶּן־חלקיהו אשר־על־הבית	Ελιακιμ ὁ τοῦ Χελκιου ὁ οἰκονόμος
36:22	ויואח בֶּן־אסף המזכיר	καὶ Ιωαχ ὁ τοῦ Ασαφ ὁ ὑπομνηματογράφος

However, the Isaiah translator usually did translate בֶּן in indications of descent. Of the 21 examples of such a use of the noun, he has provided υἱός fifteen times.[105] This includes seven occurrences of the phrase ישעיהו בן־אמוץ / Ησαιας υἱὸς Αμως.[106]

9.8.5 The omission of בֵּן when used with a meaning other than "son"

In addition to its primary meaning of "son," the noun בן can also have other connotations. If, for instance, it governs another noun, it can denote the membership of a nation (e.g. בני־ישראל), or that one belongs to a certain group or type, or it may introduce a quality or characteristic of someone.[107] In line with this, the Greek υἱός (or τέκνον) is also occasionally applied with one of these meanings. Yet, this is largely a form of Semiticism.[108] In LXX Isaiah we come across such a figurative use of υἱός and τέκνον quite often, not only where the Hebrew offers בני־ישראל,[109] but also in a number of other cases.[110] Notwithstanding this, in

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[101] Walter Bauer, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur* (rev. reprint of the 5th ed.; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1971), 353.

[102] Bauer, *Wörterbuch*, 1079.

[103] Moulton, *Grammar*, 3:207; BDR §162.

[104] In LXX Isa 20:2 an equivalent is missing to the entire apposition specifying Isaiah's descent, i.e. בן־אמוץ. The apposition may have been left out in harmonisation with places where the name of Isaiah appears without בן־אמוץ (cf. 7:3; 20:3; 37:5,6; 38:4,21), but its absence can also be due to a different *Vorlage*. In LXX Isa 7:5 the words אפרים ובן־רמליהו are missing.

[105] See LXX Isa 1:1; 2:1; 7:1(2x),4,6,9; 8:2,6; 13:1; 20:2; 37:2,21; 38:1; and 39:1.

[106] See LXX Isa 1:1; 2:1; 13:1; 20:2; 37:2,21; and 38:1.

[107] BDB 121; *HALOT* 1:138.

[108] Bauer, *Wörterbuch*, 1650; BDR §162.

[109] See 17:3,9; 27:12; and 66:20. This includes all occurrences of בני־ישראל in Isaiah, except for 31:6 where בני־ישראל is a minus in the LXX. Compare also the plus τῶν υἱῶν Ισραηλ in LXX Isa 45:25.

twelve places the noun has been glossed by a periphrastic translation or has simply been omitted in the Greek Isaiah:[111]

5:1	בקרן בן־שמן	ἐν κέρατι ἐν τόπῳ πίονι
11:14	את־בְּנֵי־קדם	καὶ τοὺς ἀφ᾽ ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν
14:12	בן־שחר	ὁ πρωὶ ἀνατέλλων
30:9	בנים לא־אבו שמוע תורת יהוה	οἳ οὐκ ἠβούλοντο ἀκούειν τὸν νόμον τοῦ θεοῦ
52:14	מבני אדם	ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
56:2	ובן־אדם	καὶ ἄνθρωπος
56:3	בן־הנכר	ὁ ἀλλογενὴς
56:6	ובני הנכר	καὶ τοῖς ἀλλογενέσι
60:10	בני־נכר	ἀλλογενεῖς
61:5	ובני נכר	καὶ ἀλλόφυλοι
65:20	הנער בן־מאה שנה	ὁ νέος ἑκατὸν ἐτῶν
65:20	בן־מאה שנה	ἑκατὸν ἐτῶν

9.9 Conclusion

In this chapter we have looked at the Isaiah translator's method of rendering a number of typical idiomatic and grammatical features of the Hebrew, with the purpose of finding out how literal or free he has been in translating his *Vorlage*. We have focused on those features that, if translated in a free way, would lead to a "plus" or a "minus" in the Greek (even if those terms are in fact not always properly applicable when dealing with a free translation). Our analysis has made clear that, as it concerns this subject, the Greek Isaiah is characterised by ambiguity. Sometimes it exhibits a free way of rendering, but about as often it translates typical Hebrew aspects in a very literal way, displaying a Hebraistic use of the Greek language. This double nature of LXX Isaiah is revealed in the outline below, where the features analysed—as far as they can be presented statistically—are divided into the categories "free" and "literal" as regards their translation:

Retrospective pronoun or adverb in the relative clause **approx**.
Literal translation (representation of the retrospective pronoun) 20 %
Free translation (omission of the retrospective pronoun or variant translation) 80 %

Infinitive absolute construction
Literal translation (translation of the infinitive by a noun or a participle) 40 %
Free translation (omission of the infinitive or translation by an adverb) 60 %

Semi-prepositions
Literal translation (representation of the original noun) 30%
Free translation (translation by a mere preposition) 70%

לאמר
Literal translation (translation by a participle form of λέγω) 40%

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[110] See 1:4; 11:14; 30:1,9; 51:12; 57:3; 60:14; and 62:8. Also compare the literal rendering of the figuratively used ילד in 57:4. In 19:11 בני is probably meant in a literal way.

[111] In LXX Isa 31:6 and 37:12 the entire phrase governed by בני / בן is absent.

Free translation (omission of לאמר or translation by ὅτι or a finite form of λέγω) 60%

והנה

Literal translation (translation of והנה by καὶ ἰδού) 30%

Free translation (omission of והנה or translation by a verb phrase or conjunction) 70%

בן־ *in indications of descent*

Literal translation (translation of בן־ as υἱός) 75%

Free translation (omission of בן־) 25%

בן־ *with a meaning other than "son"*

Literal translation (translation of בן־ as υἱός) 50%

Free translation (omission of בן or periphrastic translation) 50%

Total

Literal translation 40%

Free translation 60%

As can be seen, the ratio of literal and free translations of the features listed above is not far from fifty-fifty. A free rendering is only slightly overrepresented. Of course these statistics should not be taken too seriously, as the aspects that have been treated in the present chapter are just an arbitrary choice from the many Hebrew grammatical and idiomatic constructions that could have been examined for the same purpose, and hence they offer just a limited perspective on the translator's style of translation. Besides, they present a rather simplified picture of the material discussed. They conceal, for instance, the fact that the Isaiah translator, even when translating in a literalistic way, was usually still concerned to employ the Greek language in a grammatically correct way. Although he did not mind occasionally using uncommon, Hebraistic expressions, he tended only to apply them in a way in which they *could* be used in secular Greek as well. This is shown for instance by the translation of semi-prepositions, which he practically only rendered in a literalistic manner when this was going to result in an existing Greek construction. Also the rendering of הנה may exemplify this. This Hebrew interjection generated the equivalent ἰδού almost exclusively when this permitted a genuine usage of the Greek interjection.

The question remains as to *why* the Isaiah translator sometimes gave a free and at other times a literal translation. Was this variation purely random, or may there have been a purpose behind it? Might the translator, for instance, have translated in a literal way when he wanted to emphasise what was said? However interesting this issue is, further investigation has to be deferred to another study.