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Transformations in the Septuagint : towards an interaction of Septuagint studies and translation studies

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Transformations in the Septuagint

Towards an Interaction of Septuagint Studies and Translation Studies

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ABBREVIATIONS & SIGNS

BDB	Brown-Driver-Briggs, *Hebrew-English Lexicon*
BDR	Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf, *Grammatik des Ntl. Griechisch*
BHS	Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia
BIOSCS	Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies
BTL	Benjamins Translation Library
CEV	Contemporary English Version
GN	Gute Nachricht Bibel (1997)
HAL	Koehler-Baumgartner-Stamm, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon*
NJPS	Tanakh (Jewish Publication Society, 1985)
KAI	Donner-Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*
KJV	King James Version
LSJ	Liddell-Scott-Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon*
LXX	The Roman number for 70, common abbreviation for 'Septuaginta'
Luther	*Die gantze Heilige Schrifft Deudsch* (1545)
Migne, PG	J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Graeca* = Patrologiae cursus completus (…); Series Graeca, CLXI vol., Paris 1857ss.
MT	Masoretic Text, i.e. the traditional Hebrew text of the Old Testament, printed in nearly all critical editions.
NIV	New International Version
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
P. Ryl.	*Catalogue of the Greek Papyri of the John Rylands Library at Manchester*, Manchester 1911-
REB	Revised English Bible
SL	Source language
Smyth	H.W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (rev. 1956)
SVT	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
TEV	Today's English Version
THAT	Jenni/Westermann (ed.), *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament*
ThWNT	Kittel (ed.), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*
TL	Target language
TLG	Thesaurus Linguae Graecae
TOB	Traduction Oecuménique de la Bible
TWAT	Botterweck / Ringgren (ed.), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*
1QIsa[a]	Parry / Qimron (ed.), *The Qumran Isaiah Scroll*
º	first occurrence of a term explained in *Definitions and Concepts*

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Chapter 1

State of the question and purpose of this study

INTRODUCTION AND OUTLINE

The aim of this study is to promote interaction between Translation Studies and the study of the Septuagint with a keen eye to methodology. Questions of method are at the center of current discussion in both disciplines, as witness two symposia in a short period. In 2004 I attended the Leuven Colloquium on 'The Septuagint and Messianism'.[1] The central question was, to what extent messianic tendencies can be detected in the Septuagint. In other words, to what extent can we see the Septuagint as a document of its contemporary history? This presupposes the methodological question of how we can distinguish interpretative and linguistic factors. Likewise, the topic of the symposium held at the Collegium for Advanced Studies of Helsinki University (2005) was the hermeneutical triangle of 'Translation, Interpretation, Meaning'.[2] According to the invitation, it focused on methodological questions with respect to early translations: 'The issues that we hope to discuss and shed light on include the following: How can we recognise and describe interpretative elements in early translations? How can we analyse the influence of text-external factors such as the skopos (purpose)? What is the relationship of interpretation and dynamic equivalence?'
Translation Studies is a relatively recent discipline that consists of a variety of approaches for the study of translation. The Septuagint *is* a translation. It is, in fact, the most important translation of the pre-Christian era and intensively researched. But Septuagint Studies and Translation Studies lead separate lives. Although one of the first major translations, the Septuagint has largely been neglected by Translation Studies, and, although a translation, it has barely been studied with the help of methods from Translation Studies.
In this introductory chapter we will have a closer look at this situation and consider how Translation Studies and Septuagint Studies may profit from each other. As this study can only provide a modest beginning, I evaluate approaches from the field of Translation Studies with respect to their usefulness for the study of the Septuagint. Two approaches, historical Translation Studies and early Translation Studies, are singled out as the legs on which this study stands. Chapter Two is written from the perspective of historical Translation Studies and concentrates on translating and translations in Antiquity. It undercuts several generally held beliefs about e.g. Jewish views on language and Cicero's translation methods°. It shows that throughout Classical Antiquity the same (opposite) views of language and translation can be found everywhere, irrespective of language or religion.

[1] M.A. Knibb (ed.), *The Septuagint and Messianism*, (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium), Leuven (forthcoming).
[2] For the forthcoming online proceedings, see www.helsinki.fi/collegium.

Chapter Three presents an inventory of ºtransformations.[3] The labels have been drawn from early Translation Studies. Under each category I give a number of illustrations, taken from published modern translations. To demonstrate their validity for Antiquity, I have provided examples from ancient translations as well.
In chapters Four to Six I have analyzed three sections from the Septuagint, viz. Genesis 2, Isaiah 1 and Proverbs 6, with help of the just mentioned catalogue of transformations. The LXX-chapters have been chosen more or less at random, but the choice of books is deliberate. It is known that Genesis, Isaiah and Proverbs have been translated differently. At the same time the source texts used by the LXX-translators did not differ notably from MT, for all we know. Chapters Four to Six have the character of an in-depth interview. In social research, statistical methods of inquiry, such as polls or surveys, are often complemented by in-depth interviews. The advantage is that these yield a very good picture of backgrounds and motives, but the results of in-depth interviews cannot be generalized. The same holds true for the in-depth analysis of the three chapters.
The study ends with Conclusions and a summary in Dutch.

TRANSLATION STUDIES IN SEPTUAGINT STUDIES

The Septuagint is a collection of translations, dating from the third century BC to the first century AD.[4] The oldest among them is the Pentateuch, which according to the *Letter of Aristeas* was translated by seventy (Latin *septuaginta*) Jewish scholars. Later the name Septuagint was extended to the Greek Bible as a whole. The translation style of the different books varies from very literal to free and also *within* the individual books there is not always a consistent application of 'principles'.
There exists a considerable body of literature on the Septuagint, accessible through bibliographies[5] and introductions.[6] Works from Translation Studies, however, have nearly gone unnoticed. Jan de Waard has made efforts to absorb concepts and methods from Translation

[3] This term (and others marked with º) is explained in *Definitions and Concepts*.
[4] Editions: Swete (ed.), *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint*; Rahlfs (ed.), *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum*, Göttingen 1939ff.; C. Dogniez, M. Harl (ed.), *Le Pentateuque d'Alexandrie: texte grec et traduction* (La Bible d'Alexandrie), Paris 2001.
Translations of LXX into European languages: Brenton, *The Septuagint with Apocrypha: Greek and English*, London 1851 (numerous reprints). It is not based on a critical text and its renderings are often influenced by the meaning of the Hebrew. Further: *La Bible d'Alexandrie*, Paris 1986ff.; *Septuaginta Deutsch* at www.septuaginta-deutsch.de; NETS : *New English Translation of the Septuagint*, of the IOSCS, at http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets; *The Orthodox Study Bible* at www.lxx.org.
[5] Brock e.a., *Classified Bibliography to the Septuagint*; Dogniez, *Bibliography of the Septuagint.*
[6] G. Dorival, M. Harl, O. Munnich, *La bible grecque des Septante. Du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme ancien* (Initiations au christianisme ancien), Paris 1988; M.K.H. Peters, Septuagint, in: *Anchor Bible Dictionary* 5 (1992), 1093-1104; M. Cimosa, *Guida allo studio della Bibbia Greca (LXX). Storia - Lingua – Testi*, Roma 1995; K.J. Jobes, M. Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint*, Grand Rapids 2000 (truly makes good its title); N. Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context. Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible* (translated from Spanish by Wilfred G.E. Watson), Leiden 2001 [for advanced study]; F. Siegert, *Zwischen Hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament. Eine Einführung in die Septuaginta* (Münsteraner Judaistische Studien 9), Münster 2001; J.M. Dines, *The Septuagint* (Understanding the Bible and its World), London 2004; M. Tilly, *Einführung in die Septuaginta*, Darmstadt 2005.

Studies, but his articles have received little attention. He argues that the ancient Bible versions are *translations* and should be studied as such. Thus translations should first be studied 'nach den Methoden, Regeln und Gesetzen der *Übersetzungswissen-schaft*'. According to De Waard this is a matter of methodologial priorities.[7] In another article he presents a list of translation techniques° occurring in LXX-Ruth,[8] categorized according to five problem areas:

1 Explicitness Versus Implicitness of Information (of the categories 'participant', 'locative', 'instrument', 'ground', 'other information').
2 Implicitness Versus Explicitness of Information (of the categories 'participant', 'locative', 'other information').
3 Generic Versus Specific Information.
4 Adaptations (he distinguishes syntactical, chronological and cultural adaptations).
5 Figures of Speech (synecdoche, metaphor, euphemism).

De Waard's contributions offer a starting point for a more systematic description of transformations in the LXX. Such research has as yet not been conducted.[9] But the tide is turning. This can be deduced from some recent articles by Septuagint scholars who make a case for interdisciplinarity and use publications from the field of Translation Studies.[10] At the IOSCS Congress of 2004 in Leyden a panel session with Gideon Toury was devoted to interaction between Septuagint studies and Descriptive Translation Studies.[11] In January 2005 an interdisciplinary symposium was held at the Collegium for Advanced Studies of Helsinki University, where scholars approached translation in Antiquity and the Middle Ages from different perspectives.

In a certain way it is understandable that until now Septuagint Studies have hardly absorbed insights from Translation Studies, as study of the Septuagint began long before the emergence of Translation Studies. Septuagint scholars developed questions and methods of their own. The continually growing literature on the Septuagint can be subdivided into four areas of research. According to Martin Rösel these are:[12]

1 study of textual criticism and text history of the LXX;

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[7] J. de Waard, Gleiche Übersetzungsprobleme über zwei Jahrtausende, 63-64.

[8] J. de Waard, Translation Techniques Used by the Greek Translators of Ruth, *Biblica* 54 (1973), 499-515; idem, Old Greek Translation Techniques and the Modern Translator, *The Bible Translator* 41/3 (1990), 211-319 gives a similar presentation of translation techniques in LXX-Isaiah. In "Translation Techniques Used by the Greek Translators of Amos," *Biblica* 59 (1978), 340-350, De Waard gives a more extensive survey of translation techniques under the following headings: 1. Explicit Information, 2. Generic and Specific Information, 3. Components of Meaning, 4. Dynamic Referential Equivalents, 5. Stylistic Equivalents, 6. Figurative Extension of Meaning, 7. Figures of Speech, 8. Transformations (active / passive), 9. Restructuring of Discourse.

[9] Despite the subtitle of S. Olofsson, *The LXX Version. A Guide to the Translation Technique of the Septuagint* (Coniectanea Biblica OTS 30), Stockholm 1990, Olofsson studied the *backgrounds* of 'translation technique' (in the sense of translation method), but not individual transformations.

[10] Boyd-Taylor, The Evidentiary Value of Septuagintal Usage, 47-80 draws upon the work of Gideon Toury to elucidate the characteristics of linguistic interference and their disheartening implications for projects aiming at a lexicon of the Septuagint. B.G. Wright, Access to the Source: Cicero, Ben Sira, the Septuagint and their Audiences, *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 34 (2001), 1-27 also pleads for interdisciplinarity. He offers an analysis of the translational attitudes of Cicero, Ben Sira's grandson and the translators of the LXX-Pentateuch with help of historical Translation Studies.

[11] Prof. Pietersma informed me that the papers by A. Pietersma, G. Toury, C. Boyd-Taylor, B.G. Wright and S. Fraade will appear in BIOSCS 39 (2006).

[12] M. Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung der Auslegung*, 1-6.

2 study of translation techniques of separate books;
3 study of the LXX as a document of the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of biblical texts in Hellenistic Judaism;
4 study of the Septuagint as the Bible of ancient Jews and Christians.

The study of what is often called 'translation technique(s)' (nr. 2) has been surveyed by Emanuel Tov.[13] Depending on its point of departure, research has been developing along two lines. The first takes a Hebrew linguistic phenomenon and describes the various 'translation techniques' employed in rendering it. The second one starts with a type of 'translation technique' and investigates in which cases the procedure is used.[14] We will now briefly survey both lines of research.

Study of linguistic phenomena

A. Study of *lexemes*. Much attention has been payed to theological terms (often on behalf of New Testament research)[15] and divine names.[16] One possibility is to take a Hebrew word(field) and map the various Greek renderings. Scholars also go the other way round and map which Hebrew words have been rendered by one specific Greek lexeme.
B. Study of *syntactic phenomena*. Researchers in this line, notably the 'Helsinki school', take a syntactic phenomenon in Hebrew and survey the Greek renderings found in the Septuagint. The results are often statistically summarized. The huge amount of material permits a general overview of how the various books of the Bible have been translated.[17]

Study of 'translation techniques'

Several categories of translation techniques have been identified. Some of these I would call 'transformations' (e.g. homeophonic translation, transpositions), others are rather background terms (e.g. avoidance of anthropomorphisms, exegetical translation):

- *Homeophonic translation*, i.e. the rendering of a Hebrew word by a Greek term that sounds similar. It is debated whether the alleged instances really are phonological renderings or should be explained otherwise.[18]
- *Anaphoric translation* involves deliberate use of parallel passages in the same book or in another one.[19]
- *Transpositions* of words, sentences or complete verses.[20]

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[13] E. Tov, The Nature and Study of the Translation Technique of the LXX in the Past and Present, in: Cox (ed.), *VI Congress*, 337-359.
[14] B. Lemmelijn, Two Methodological Trails in Recent Studies on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint, in: Sollamo & Sipilä, *Helsinki Perspectives*, Göttingen 2001, 43-63 gives a different division: a school concentrating on "literalness" (Barr, Tov) on the one hand and scholars concentrating on "freedom" (the Helsinki school) on the other hand. Lemmelijn rightly stresses the necessity for Septuagint research of making clearer what "freedom of translation" is.
[15] G. Kittel (ed.), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament,* Stuttgart 1933-1974; see further Brock e.a., *Classified Bibliography*, 30-34, 34-37; Dogniez, *Bibliography*, 35-47.
[16] Cf. Brock e.a., *Classified Bibliography*, 37-39; Dogniez, *Bibliography*, 37-52.
[17] For publications see Brock e.a., *Classified Bibliography*, 25-28; Dogniez, *Bibliography*, 29-34., where the share of Finnish scholars (Aejmelaeus, Soisalon-Soininen, Sollamo) is clear.
[18] See Olofsson, *LXX Version,* 23-24 and the literature mentioned there.
[19] See e.g. Koenig, *L'herméneutique analogique*; H. Heater, *A LXX Translation Technique of the Book of Job* (CBQ Monograph Series 11), Washington 1982.

- *Translation of metaphors* Research has mainly focused on the questions how metaphorical denotations of God ('rock', 'shield') have been rendered in the Greek translation and whether there are theological underlying motives for it. [21]
- *Avoidance of anthropomorphisms / anthropopathisms* Passages in which human acts or feelings are attributed to God have received much attention. In a number of cases the Septuagint gives an abstract rendering for a concrete SL expression. It is debated whether these are theologically motivated softenings, based on a more abstract image of God, or transformations that are linguistically motivated.[22]
- *Stereotyping* The rendering of one Hebrew word with (in most cases) one Greek word is studied widely, due to its importance for text criticism. Less attention is given to the rendering of one Hebrew word by several Greek words or the rendering of several Hebrew words by one Greek word.[23]
- *'Exegetical translation'* There is a growing interest in the exegetical principles that have guided the translators. The question is whether or not exegetical translation is a translation technique.

The methodological importance of the study of translation techniques has often been stressed by Emanuel Tov. He notes that in the past scholars often used unexpected, non-literal Greek renderings to reconstruct Hebrew readings that differ from MT. Tov warns against such rash retroversion of presumed variants: 'one should first attempt to view deviations° as the result of inner-translational factors described here. Only after all possible translational explanations have been dismissed should one turn to the assumption that the translation represents a different reading from MT.'[24] Tov's own treatment of techniques is very general, though. Discussing the categories 'literal' and 'free', Tov restricts himself to characteristics of *literal* translation.[25] In Chapter V he presents some categories of translation techniques that also fall within the scope of literal translation. He calls them 'non-variants', i.e. 'deviations' that could go back to textual differences but equally well to grammatical and stylistic requirements of Greek:[26]

1 Addition or omission of καί 'and'.
2 Changes in grammatical number (singular/plural).
3 Addition or omission of pronouns.
4 Rendering of active verbs by passive forms and *vice versa*.
5 Unusual equivalents in the translation of prepositions.
6 Addition or omission of the article.

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[20] E.g., N. Leiter, The Translator's Hand in Transpositions? Notes on the LXX of Genesis 31, *Textus* 14 (1988), 105-130.
[21] E.g. S. Olofsson, *God is my Rock. A Study of Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis in the Septuagint* (Coniectanea Biblica OTS 31), Stockholm 1990 and the literature mentioned there.
[22] See Dorival, Harl, Munnich, *La bible grecque des Septante*, 214 and the relevant literature.
[23] For example, J.A.L. Lee, Equivocal and Stereotyped Renderings in the LXX, *Revue Biblique* 87 (1980), 104-117; N. Leiter, Assimilation and Dissimilation Techniques in the LXX in the Book of Balaam, *Textus* 12 (1985), 79-95; G. Marquis, Consistency of Lexical Equivalents as a Criterion for the Evaluation of Translation Technique as Exemplified in the LXX of Ezekiel, *VI Congress*, 405-424; S. Olofsson, Consistency as a Translation Technique, *SJOT* 6 (1992), 14-30.
[24] Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint*, 40. See also his article "The Nature and Study of the Translation Technique of the LXX in the Past and Present", *VI Congress*, 337-359.
[25] Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint*, 17-29.
[26] Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint*, 157-162.

State of the question and purpose of this study

In Chapter II three additional translation techniques that are more characteristic of free translation pass under review, this time under the heading of 'exegesis':[27]

1 Additions for the sake of readability or clarity.
2 Omissions of elements considered superfluous.
3 Exegetical substitutions, mostly for theological reasons.

The studies into the translation techniques in the Septuagint have increased our knowledge, but have also been criticized on two points. *First*, researchers sometimes take an approach that can be seen as 'generally atomistic, concerned with single words or phrases or parts of them. The question is only rarely raised as to how the translator possibly understood his Hebrew *Vorlage*, not merely single words or phrases, but the whole sentence, let alone the whole paragraph, chapter or book concerned.' [28] The atomistic approach stamps many studies in which some frequently occurring phenomenon is singled out. Due to the large amount of material it is then hard to explain decisions within their contexts. Often isolated examples are used, without a look at the context.[29] Yet in this way researchers block their way to an essential factor in explaining decisions. The notion of 'context' within LXX-studies has been insufficiently investigated over a long period of time. But fortunately this has changed rapidly.[30]

The *second* lacuna is that the study of 'free' translation techniques is conducted without adequate terminology, in contrast to literal translation, of which nature, logic and method have been agreed upon since James Barr's article 'The Typology of Literalism'. Renderings not recognized as literal are usually labeled 'free renderings'.[31] The use of this vague term is characteristic of the relatively isolated position of Septuagint Studies. Translation Studies has long categorized them. Within the framework of Septuagint Studies, few efforts have been made to classify 'free renderings', although the need is sometimes acknowledged.[32]

The lack of methodological clarity with respect to 'free renderings' in contrast to literal translation has several reasons:

1. It is literalness that lends the LXX the characteristics which distinguish it from original Greek texts. It is interesting for philologists to study the resulting Hebraisms.

2. Literalness is considered helpful for the purpose of textual criticism. The Hebrew source text of the LXX-translators, it is said, is more easily reconstructed from a literal translation than from a 'free translation'. When a literal translation is consistent enough, this assumption is valid. In that case unexpected renderings, which do not fit into the literal method, might point to a *Vorlage* that differs from MT. In methodological respect, however, free renderings require more attention. If one wants to determine whether a 'deviation' stems from a different *Vorlage*, it should first be excluded that the 'deviation' has its roots in translational factors. In order to do so we must know which techniques were used, how and why.

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[27] Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint*, 45-50.
[28] Muraoka, Hosea IV in the Septuagint Version, 24.
[29] Cf. the review of A. Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint* by J. de Waard in *Biblica* 65 (1984), 121-124.
[30] Witness e.g. Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung der Auslegung*; Van der Kooij, *The Oracle of Tyre*; Ekblad, *Isaiah's Servant Poems* etc.
[31] See, e.g. Aejmelaeus, What can we know, *On the Trail*, 94, where the lack of an adequate terminology causes some confusion; and more recently Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, passim.
[32] Aejmelaeus, What can we know, *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators*, 85.

3. Literal renderings are, Barr says, easier to study than 'free renderings'. He adds: 'Freedom in translation is not a tangible method, so suitably to be grasped and comprehended.'[33] It is one of the purposes of the present study to show that 'free renderings' *can* be grasped and comprehended. Although transformations were not always employed consistently, they often have a logic in their own right.
4. Certain 'free renderings' are sometimes regarded as raw material for the historian, viz. as visible traces of the translator, in which his (midrashic or actualizing) exegesis shows. This is why certain types of 'free renderings' have become a focus of interest for scholars who try to reconstruct the historical background of the Septuagint and the translators' Hellenistic and/or Jewish ideology. Yet this concern can easily miss the fact that free renderings are first of all *linguistic material*.
Insights from Translation Studies can offer a helpful correction to the methods used in Septuagint research, since they force the researcher to explain more precisely which 'free renderings' result from linguistic demands and which are the result of the translator's exegesis. As in textual criticism, here too the restriction is valid that a 'free rendering' can only be connected to the translator's way of thinking if it cannot be explained with translational factors.[34]

THE SEPTUAGINT IN TRANSLATION STUDIES

The academic study of translating and translations is of a fairly recent date. The emerging discipline counts several 'schools', of which the respective positions are developing at a high pace: 'in research terms, work published in the early 80s is already out of date.'[35] Several surveys have appeared that provide a helpful overview of the field of Translation Studies.[36] The newest development is the emergence of Interpreting Studies as a separate discipline.[37]
An outsider who wants to explore the field of Translation Studies will find it confusing. For example, work on translation sometimes gives the impression that it radically departs from its predecessors, thereby couching theories in a novel terminology, but a closer look may

[33] J. Barr, The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations (Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens 15, NAWG I, Phil-Hist. Kl.), Göttingen 1979, [7].
[34] Cf. also A. Aejmelaeus, Übersetzungstechnik und theologische Interpretation. Zur Methodik der Septuaginta-Forschung, in: E. Zenger (ed.), *Der Septuaginta-Psalter* (Herders biblische Studien 32), Freiburg i.B. 2001, 3-18.
[35] M. Baker, Linguistics and Cultural Studies. Complementary or Competing Paradigms in Translation Studies?, in: A. Lauer e.a. (eds.), *Übersetzungswissenschaft im Umbruch. Festschrift für Wolfram Wilss zum 70. Geburtstag*, Tübingen 1996, 15.
[36] Published after 1996: R. Stolze, *Übersetzungstheorien. Eine Einführung* (Narr Studienbücher), Tübingen (2. Auflage) 1997 [thorough, with a wide scope]; A. Chesterman, *Memes of Translation. The Spread of Ideas in Translation History* (BTL 22), Amsterdam / Philadelphia 1997 [a refreshing 'conceptual genealogy']; E. Gentzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories. Second Revised Edition* (Topics in Translation 21), Clevedon 2001 [critical and openly biased]; B. Hatim, *Teaching and Researching Translation* (Applied Linguistics in Action), London 2001 [general]; J. Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies. Theories and Applications*, London / New York 2001 [excellent introduction]; B. Hatim & J. Munday, *Translation. An Advanced Resource Book*, London / New York 2004 [combines thematic introduction with anthology; contains many examples].
[37] F. Pöchhacker & M. Schlesinger (ed.), *The Interpreting Studies Reader*, London 2002.

reveal that there is not so much difference altogether. Thus the age-old polarity *literal* versus *free* serves as the background of almost every book, only under different disguises:[38]

literal	↔ free
verbum de verbo	↔ sensus de sensu (Jerome)
verfremdend	↔ eindeutschend (Schleiermacher)
foreignizing	↔ domesticating (L. Venuti)
direct	↔ oblique (Vinay & Darbelnet)
direct	↔ indirect (E.-A. Gutt)
overt	↔ covert (J. House)
documentary	↔ instrumental (C. Nord)
semantic	↔ communicative (P. Newmark)
formal-equivalent	↔ dynamic-equivalent (E.A. Nida)
formal-correspondent	↔ functional-equivalent (Nida - De Waard)

Since its emergence in the 1950s Translation Studies has developed, roughly speaking, from attention to word level via attention to the sentence, discourse and style° to the sociocultural, literary, economic and political setting of translating. Work on translation has assumed an increasingly interdisciplinary and general character. This has certainly provided new insights, but it has led to a loss of thoroughness on the other hand.[39]

In the field of Translation Studies little attention has been paid to the Septuagint. It is useless to sum up the introductions, historical surveys, reference works and monographs that do not mention the Septuagint at all. In a major work of reference the Septuagint is only mentioned in passing.[40] But there are a few exceptions.

Barnstone's monograph spends one page on the Septuagint and seven on the *Letter of Aristeas* and its reception.[41] Delisle & Woodsworth present a short introduction not only into the *Letter of Aristeas*, but also into the background of the LXX (when, why, for whom and by whom), and conclude with a brief sketch of its reception and subsequent rejection in Judaism. The authors display familiarity with current literature on the LXX, but their paragraphs are apparently not designed to arouse interest in the study of the Septuagint, for they state curtly: 'In modern times, its primary value is in biblical scholarship.'[42]

Lefevere too pays some attention to the production of the Septuagint. The legend of its origin, the *Letter of Aristeas*, offers four basic dimensions, characteristic of the production of most translations: authority, expertise, trust and image.[43] The power of the patron (King Ptolemy), the status of the text (the Torah) and its writer ('the most absolute authority'),

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[38] For Septuagint scholars this may help to put A. Pietersma's labels 'isolated' versus 'contextual' (in: *Manual for NETS Translators*, Ada 1996) in the proper perspective.

[39] One illustration among many: A. Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (Translation Studies), London/New York 1992, 40 writes: '[T]he Aramaic Jesus Christ is supposed to have spoken did not have a copula. He can therefore never have said: "This is my body" when pointing at a loaf of bread. The copula was put in by translators for ideological rather than linguistic reasons.' Lefevere here connects a translational issue with the burden of the medieval controversy concerning the nature of Christ's presence in the eucharist, more than a thousand years later, in order to detect 'ideology' in translation.

[40] Baker (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, 23, 269.

[41] W. Barnstone, *The Poetics of Translation. History, Theory, Practice*, New Haven / London 1993, 165ff.

[42] Delisle & Woodsworth, *Translators through History* (BTL 13), Amsterdam / Philadelphia 1995, 164.

[43] A. Lefevere, 'Translation: Its Genealogy in the West', in: S. Bassnett & A. Lefevere, *Translation, History and Culture,* London / New York 1990, 14-15.

and the status of the target culture illustrate the role of *authority* in the production of the LXX. The identical results of the seventy translators are a claim to the *expertise* of the translators. The dimension of *trust* (in the experts) is involved, because the audience has to believe that the translation is a fair representation of the source text, a conviction which became problematic in the Jewish reception of the Septuagint. The fourth dimension is *image*, 'the image a translation creates of an original, its author, its literature, its culture.'[44]

The Septuagint is extensively discussed by Vermeer. He devotes a large section to early Jewish and Christian Bible translations.[45] Vermeer distinguishes several methods that were in use for the translation of sacred Scriptures. 'Morphematic translation', as practised by Aquilaº, logically arises from reverence for the sanctity of the original's *Wortlaut*. In his treatment of the Septuagint, Vermeer points to *Wörtlichkeit* (literalness) as its main characteristic.[46] Yet many passages have been translated quite freely. Vermeer lists five causes for deviations from the standard of literalness, apart from obligatory° shifts or errors:[47]

1 When the TL lacks a corresponding term, translation results in a change of meaning.

2 The cultural difference implies a changed function for the translated text, which the translator will (sometimes) take into account.

3 The text is translated for actual use in a (different) religious community: 'jede Rezeption (re)konstituiert erst ihren Text.'

4 The translation is the product of the translator's interpretation (which can radically differ from ours).

5 The 'dragoman method' (see below).

Behind those deviations, Vermeer says, stands the translators' conviction that they did not change the text, but produced a faithful rendering of its meaning for the situation in the target culture.

The stepmotherly treatment of the LXX can be explained: the modern student of translation finds the study of the LXX fraught with difficulties. *Firstly*, few researchers can read both Classical Greek and Biblical Hebrew. The current secondary literature is not very accessible to them: Septuagint research has its own terminology and methods, connected to theology and textual criticism. *Secondly*, Septuagint research is handicapped in several respects: there is no established source text; no native speakers can be consulted; little is known about the translators apart from a short note by Ben Sira's° translator and there are no documents in which the translators account for their method of translation. *In the third place*, the study of the LXX can hardly be called 'relevant' in the eyes of policy-makers and is less likely to attract subsidies or grants than research projects in Translation Studies.

Despite these difficulties I am convinced that the study of the Septuagint can contribute to Translation Studies. An interdisciplinary study can materially advance the knowledge of translation practice in pre-Ciceronian antiquity, if only by making Septuagint literature more accessible to translation researchers. The Septuagint as a major translation deserves its place within Translation Studies. The present study will show to what extent models and methods from Translation Studies are useful for the study of an ancient translation.

[44] Lefevere, 'Translation: Its Genealogy in the West', 15.
[45] Vermeer, *Skizzen zu einer Geschichte der Translation*, Bd. 1, 251-284.
[46] Vermeer, *Skizzen* I, 256-268.
[47] Vermeer, *Skizzen* I, 260-261.

APPROACHES IN TRANSLATION STUDIES AND THEIR USE FOR THE STUDY OF THE SEPTUAGINT

In this section we will evaluate approaches from the field of Translation Studies with respect to their usefulness for the study of the Septuagint.[48] Not every single approach or author can be covered. I have left out philosophical and hermeneutical approaches of translation as well as machine translating, for which I refer to the introductory literature. Note that surveys present different divisions of the field.

Process-oriented research, although still in its infancy, can offer much to the study of the LXX.[49] Septuagint scholars try to reconstruct what went on in the translators' minds. If there are universal elements in translators' behaviour, knowledge of them is essential for our understanding of the Septuagint. The idea that research into the thought processes and working methods of modern translators can shed light on the Septuagint may provoke some frowning on the part of Septuagint scholars. But we only need to remind ourselves of Milman Parry, who in the early decades of the 20th century recorded and studied oral epic poetry of Yugoslavian bards. His findings revolutionized the study of Homer.[50] A review of the 'dragoman hypothesis' will illustrate the usefulness of process-oriented research for LXX research.

A well-known theory in Septuagint studies claims that the working method of Egyptian 'dragomans' or commercial interpreters served as a model for the Septuagint translation which constituted an unprecedented enterprise. Now what is considered typical of the dragoman style? Rabin lists the following characteristics of the Septuagint which in his view are due to the dragoman technique: 1. non-appreciation of poetic diction, 2. the tendency to replace metaphors by plain statements, 3. omission of parts of the text, 4. mechanical renderings (*Verlegenheitsübersetzung*), 5. lack of consistency and 6. translating word for word without regard for the word order or the syntax of the target language.[51] It is of course possible to criticize this theory with the help of common sense. For example, that interpreters do not pay attention to poetic diction seems an obvious claim, but interpreters are seldom confronted with poetry. And replacement of metaphors we find in any written translation.

Since Rabin's article process-oriented research into translating and interpreting has emerged. Translators are trained to think aloud, so that the translation process could be tape-recorded, pairs of cooperating translators were filmed, the working methods of translators and interpreters were compared and other experiments were executed. The aim is to reconstruct what goes on in the 'black box' during the complex process of translating: *Was in den Köpfen von Übersetzern vorgeht*, as an important monograph by H.P. Krings is titled. The results are enlightening. The so-called 'features of the dragoman style' are by no means characteristic of interpreters versus translators, but of beginning versus professional

[48] An earlier version of this section tailored to LXX-scholars is: Th. van der Louw, Approaches in Translation Studies and Their Use for the Study of the Septuagint, in: Peters (ed.), *XII Congress*.

[49] Stolze, *Übersetzungstheorien*, Kap. 17. See also the articles 'Decision making in translation', 'Psycholinguistic/cognitive approaches' en 'Think-aloud protocols' in: Baker (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*.

[50] See 'Milman Parry' in: W.W. Briggs jr., W. M. Calder (eds.), *Classical scholarship: a biographical encyclopaedia* (Garland reference library of the humanities; vol. 928), New York 1990.

[51] C. Rabin, The Translation Process and the Character of the Septuagint, *Textus* 6 (1968), 22ff.

translators! They differ in the following respects. First, beginning translators are satisfied with lexical transfer ('sign-oriented') whereas professional translators reduce signs to sense° and accordingly translate meaning ('sense-oriented'). A second difference is that beginning translators focus on form rather than function whereas experienced translators pay attention to style and keep the needs of the target audience and the intended function of the translation continually in mind.[52] As a third difference, beginning translators limit their attention to word and sentence level, whereas professional translators exhibit a macrostructural text-awareness.[53] In the course of several experiments something wholly unexpected came to light. Researchers had taken for granted that beginning translators spend much time solving problems whereas the translation process of experienced translators is highly automatized. 'However, further research has shown that professional translators often identify more problems and spend more time and energy on solving them than language learners (…), a higher level of competence leads to heightened awareness of problems among professional translators.'[54] As a consequence they do not always work faster.

The features that modern research has brought to light regarding interpreting are of a social and cognitive nature and therefore independent of time, place or language. First, interpreters often work in a context where a difference of power exists between two parties, e.g. a general interrogating a captive. This can create a loyalty conflict for the interpreter and seriously harm the faithfulness of the translation.[55] Second, interpreters are subject to time pressure. They have no time to ponder about an ideal rendering. If they wait too long, this may harm the content of their 'output', because of the limited capacity of their short term memory; if they begin too quickly, this may result in mistakes.[56] This is the reason that consecutive interpreters in synagogues were instructed to translate one Torah verse before hearing and translating the next one.[57] Third, interpreters have a limited knowledge of the text to be translated, i.e. they do not always know how the speech, discussion or negotiation is going to evolve.[58] This is why they often operate at a lexical level. But, fourth, they have much more contextual communicative clues at their disposal: the goal of communication is clear, the parties stand face to face, it is possible to point to things you do not know the word for, e.g. an unknown herb, and there is always the possibility of asking for clarification. It will be clear at once that the setting of those preparing a written translation of the Hebrew Bible is not at all like the setting in oral interpreting.

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[52] R.T. Bell, Psycholinguistic / Cognitive approaches, in: *Routledge Encyclopaedia*, 189b; R. Jääskeläinen, Think-aloud protocols, in: *Routledge Encyclopaedia* 268b. See also R. Jääskeläinen and S. Tirkkonen-Condit, Automatised Processes in Professional vs. Non-Professional Translation: A Think-Aloud Protocol Study, in: S. Tirkkonen-Condit (ed.), *Empirical Research in Translation and Intercultural Studies* (Language in Performance 5), Tübingen 1991.

[53] K. Jonasson, Degree of Text Awareness in Professional vs. Non-Professional Translators, in: A. Beylard-Ozeroff, *Translators' Strategies and Creativity* (BTL 27), Amsterdam / Philadelphia 1998, 189-200.

[54] R. Jääskeläinen, Think-aloud protocols, in: *Routledge Encyclopaedia* 268b.

[55] See C. Wadensjö, *Interpreting as Interaction*, London / New York 1998.

[56] See R.T. Bell, *Translation and Translating. Theory and Practice* (Applied Linguistics and Language Study), London/New York 1991.

[57] Mishna *Megilla* 4.

[58] C. Wadensjö, Community interpreting, in: Baker (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, 33-37.

Interpreters do not consistently operate at a lexical level.[59] Of course many things can be translated literally, such as the goods to be traded, or the precise facts pertaining to a crime in a courtroom. But a good interpreter is a cultural broker. He must know what is culturally appropriate for either of his parties.[60] Vermeer summarizes the difference between interpreting and translation as 'Primat von Textsinn' versus 'Primat des Wortinhalts'.[61] This becomes clear when we consider what the task of an interpreter is. His task begins of course with the exchange of greetings, which are usually highly language-specific. He will not translate 'How do you do?' into German as 'Wie tun Sie tun?', but 'Wie geht es Ihnen?' or 'Angenehm!' The same holds true for idiomatic expressions, or curses or blessings, with which negotiations can end.

This is not to deny that translators and interpreters have many things in common. According to Séguinot both their working methods are characterized by 'three global strategies: a tendency to translate without interruption as long as possible, a tendency to correct surface errors immediately but leave errors involving meaning until a natural break occurs, and a tendency to leave the monitoring for qualitative errors in the text to the re-reading stages. It seems likely that these strategies are all related to the principle of least effort.'[62] Besides, a tendency to improve the source text is observable. When translators have a positive motivation and can indentify with the text, this will improve the quality of the translation.[63]

Process-oriented research makes use of experiments to test assumptions. This has never been done in Septuagint studies and it may sound odd to most Septuagint scholars. But it is not impossible. One could try to imitate the circumstances in which the Septuagint originated and, would Islamic law and custom permit it, have persons from e.g. the Moroccan community in the Netherlands translate passages from the Koran into Dutch. It would certainly be interesting to see how elements from the Koran would be handled by them. I would expect their translation to have traits in common with the Septuagint.

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[59] Cf. M. Schlesinger, Interpreting as a Cognitive Process, in: Tirkkonen-Condit & Jääskeläinen (ed.), *Tapping and Mapping*, 8f.; L. Gran, In-Training Development of Interpreting Strategies and Creativity, in: A. Beylard-Ozeroff et al. (ed.), *Translators' Strategies and Creativity* (BTL 27), Amsterdam / Philadelphia 1998, 155f.

[60] C.B. Roy, *Interpreting as a Discourse Process* (Oxford Studies in Sociolinguistics), New York / Oxford 2000. An anecdote from Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 39 shows how bridging of cross-cultural gaps can work out: "[T]here is the story of an interpreter who, having adapted "cricket" into "*Tour de France*" in a context referring to a particularly popular sport, was put on the spot when the French delegate then thanked the speaker for having referred to such a typically French sport. The interpreter then had to reverse the adaptation and speak of cricket to his English client."

[61] Vermeer, *Skizzen* I, 56. Antiquity presents the same picture. It is often said that Cicero denounced interpreters in general because they translated literally. But translating literally is not characteristic of interpreters generally, it is only the trade mark of *interpretes indiserti* 'clumsy interpreters', as Cicero calls them (De finibus 3, 15). Cicero, who studied at Rhodos and breathed in Greek, so to speak, addressed the senate of Syracuse in fluent Greek (Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 576). If *he* used an interpreter in Cilicia, this interpreter must have had the most excellent command of Greek thinkable. Although Snellman, *De interpretibus romanorum* I, 102, 154, leaves open the possibility that indigenous languages of Asia Minor made this interpreter necessary, it is not sure whether a citizen of the ruling Roman power would condescend to the study of a *barbara sermo*.

[62] C. Séguinot, The Translation Process. An Experimental Study, in: idem, *The Translation Process,* Toronto 1989, 36.

[63] M. Baker (ed.), *Routledge Encyclopaedia*, 168b.

The contributions of *early or linguistic Translation Studies* are useful for the study of the Septuagint, in my opinion.[64] In the early days of Translation Studies attention was mainly focused on word- and sentence-level. Authors identified and described 'shifts' that occur in the transfer from one language to another.[65] Transformations were categorized according to the semantic relationship they express: generalization ('spear' → 'weapon'), specification ('weapon' → 'spear'), omission, addition, explicitation, literal translation etc.
These labels are so useful, because, first, the transformations are micro-level phenomena, which in general suits the character of the LXX with its small translation units. A method that starts with the micro-level is essentially inductive (bottom-up) and is therefore less dependent on hypotheses about the intended function of the translation, the target culture etc. than other approaches. Secondly, categories of transformations are descriptive labels and can be fruitfully used in descriptive research. Those phenomena that have often been termed vaguely 'translation techniques' or 'free renderings' can now be categorized, counted and described. Thirdly, when we relate a Greek rendering to a recognized transformation, we implicitly acknowledge that the translator adopted a solution, which forces us to ask why this transformation was actually employed. Fourthly, the linguistic orientation of this method stipulates that linguistic explanations of certain renderings are sought before either text-critical or cultural and theological factors are called in. This procedure can offer a helpful correction to the methods used in Septuagint research, since they force the researcher to explain more precisely which 'free renderings' result from linguistic demands and which are the result of the translator's exegesis or a different parent text.

Models for *translation assessment* (as those provided by Reiss and House) would seem to be useful for the study of the Septuagint.[66] They provide a model for a multidimensional analysis of source texts which can serve as a criterion for the evaluation of a translation. This analysis includes aspects as text type, aim, style, content, context etc. However, such models are not really suitable for the study of the LXX, in my opinion. First of all, translation assessment proceeds from a normative starting point. It wants to improve the quality of translations by analysis of errors. This aim is not relevant in the case of an ancient translation. Secondly, contemporary models for translation assessment are based on a comprehensive source text analysis, which includes dimensions like text type, pragmatic function (aim), theme, style, register°, etc. Although such an analysis may be suitable for the evaluation of modern translations, it is improbable that the Septuagint translators started from such an analysis. It does not seem very sensible, therefore, to judge the LXX by the results of such a multi-dimensional analysis. In my opinion, this would betray a lack of cultural-historical awareness. In the case of Biblical Hebrew, next to nothing is known about its registers. Thirdly, it is very difficult to determine errors and their sources. The Septuagint translators did not share our concept of linguistics. From a modern perspective we could easily call certain renderings erroneous, which were perfectly legitimate according to the translators' understanding of language.

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[64] For a good introduction cf. Fawcett, *Linguistic Theories Explained.*
[65] Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies*, Ch. 4; Stolze, *Übersetzungstheorien*, Kap. 4-5. Authors in this line are Vinay & Darbelnet, Catford, Langeveld and Newmark.
[66] K. Reiss, *Möglichkeiten und Grenzen einer Übersetzungskritik*, München 1971; J. House, *A Model for Translation Quality Assessment*, Tübingen 1977; idem, *Translation Quality Assessment. A Model Revised*, Tübingen 1997; Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies*, 92ff.; Stolze, *Übersetzungstheorien*, 121ff.

Campbell's interesting study can serve as an example of what I mean.[67] For the purpose of assessment and training Campbell explores the characteristics of translated texts, produced by translation students who are not working into their mother tongue, but into the second language. I expected his findings would be relevant to the question whether translators of some LXX-books were native speakers of Greek or had acquired it as a second language. But throughout the whole monograph the ideal of a natural sounding target text is assumed, and the (normative) notion of 'text competence' is connected to target language conventions, close to the old notion of 'stylistic equivalence'. The characteristics or 'deficiencies' which Campbell notes have little significance within a literal translation strategy.

The *ideological approach* to translation,[68] which is sometimes nicknamed 'new prescriptivism', often seeks to change current practice and has little to contribute to the study of a 2000-year old translation. Nevertheless, it may be helpful in suggesting new areas of research. For example, how are readers being included or excluded in a translation? From the point of view of gender studies, the question could be raised whether gender stereotypes influenced the LXX-translators. Gender studies of modern Bible translation have appeared. But the risk is that ideological zeal sometimes results in rash 'exposure' of translators, without adequate discussion of the linguistic difficulties of the texts in question. This type of research should therefore base itself on a sound method.

The *functionalist approach*, originating in Germany, is decidedly non-descriptive, but tells the translator how to work.[69] A good translation is not 'a text that says the same thing in a different language'. The perspective is much wider, for the translator operates in a social context. There is a commissioner who needs the translation and pays for it, a target text producer, there is a source text, there are financial restrictions, target text recipients and the function the text is intended to fulfil (the *Skopos*). The act of translation is successful only when it adequately meets the intended function (*skoposadäquat*), no matter what it entails. Reiss and Vermeer put it radically: 'Für Translation gilt: Das Zweck heiligt die Mittel.'[70] The source text is no longer the norm. The Skopos of the target text is by definition different from the Skopos of the source text. 'Translatorial action' may therefore include adaptation, reworking and other kinds of changes.
Despite its prescriptive character the functionalist approach offers a conceptual framework that forces us to take into account the social and material reality in which the production of a translation is embedded. Also the emphasis on the determinative role of the function (*Skopos*) in the production of the translation is valuable for the study of the Septuagint. Scholars who are already working on similar lines might profit from a more consistent application of the functionalist model. It could be that the surprising alternation between Hebraisms and idiomatic renderings is related to the function of the LXX. The same holds true for exegetical renderings or the translators' treatment of anthropomorphisms, the omission or addition of phrases or passages etc. These elements could perhaps be brought together in a more comprehensive model, in which the function of the translation is a

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[67] S. Campbell, *Translation into the Second Language*, London / New York 1998.
[68] Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies*, Ch. 6-7; Gentzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories*, 30ff.; Hatim / Munday, *Advanced Resource Book*, Sections A13, B13, C13.
[69] C. Nord, *Translating as a Purposeful Activity. Functionalist Approaches Explained* (Translation Theories Explained 1), Manchester 1997.
[70] K. Reiss & H.J. Vermeer, *Grundlegung einer allgemeinen Translationstheorie*, Tübingen 1984, 101. These authors prefer 'Translat' over 'Übersetzung' and 'Translation' over 'Übersetzen'.

determinative factor. Of course, it is not one and the same function that governed each individual book of the Septuagint.
A major problem remains with regard to this. It is still widely believed that the LXX-Pentateuch had to fulfil a function in the Jewish community of Alexandria, but the exact nature of its function is a matter of debate.[71] Besides, a few scholars hold that the translation of the Torah was commissioned not by Jews, but by King Ptolemy II, as the *Letter of Aristeas* has it. Thus in Bickermann's view, the translators translated literally in order 'to express the otherness of the Mosaic revelation.'[72] Within a functionalist approach of the Septuagint, therefore, this uncertainty means that an *assumed* function has to serve as a working hypothesis, from which microlevel features should be explained. But the reverse is perhaps preferable: microlevel analysis can correct existing hypotheses about the *Skopos* of the Septuagint. To put it more plainly: we have theories enough, what we need are means of checking them on the microlevel.

The approach called *Descriptive Translation Studies*[73] seems to be an ideal tool for the descriptive study of the Septuagint. Let us apply the model of Gideon Toury,[74] its most systematic representative, to the Septuagint. We should begin the descriptive study of the Greek translations of various biblical books by analyzing their 'acceptability' in the light of the target culture, i.e. Greek-speaking Jewry in the Hellenistic period. Simple as its sounds, this starting point presupposes an extensive knowledge of the target culture that enables one to determine which standards a translated text had to meet in order to be considered 'acceptable'. For the Torah most scholars hold that Alexandrian Jewry was the target culture, but we know very little about the life and thoughts of that Jewish community. And in the case of a characteristic translation as LXX-Proverbs the place of origin is debated: Egypt, Palestine and Asia Minor have been suggested. It is therefore not surprising that Toury's own analyses are limited to translations from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The main drawback of his model for LXX studies is that it presupposes an intricate knowledge of both source and target culture. However, Toury's model features also a stage of a bottom-up analysis that less presupposes such prior knowledge.
The second step in Toury's model is the analysis of the 'adequacy' of the translation by way of comparison of source and target text, a procedure that is relevant to Septuagint studies and similar to what is already being done. The established (non-obligatory!) 'shifts'

[71] By way of illustration, J. Ribera Florit, Relación entre el targum y las versiones antiguas. Los targumes de Jeremías y Ezequiel comparados con LXX, Peshitta y Vulgata, *Estudios Biblicos* 52 (1994), 317-328 thinks the translators wanted to produce an intelligible text, reflecting an adequate interpretation of the source text, comparable to the targums. S. Olofsson, The Septuagint and Earlier Jewish Interpretative Tradition - Especially as Reflected in the Targums, *SJOT* 10 (1996), 197-216 holds that the Greek translation was read in the synagogue and that translators wanted to produce a kind of substitute source text.
[72] E. Bickermann, The Septuagint as a Translation, in: E. Bickermann, *Studies in Jewish and Christian History* (Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Judentums und des Urchristentums 9.1), Leiden 1976, 198. This hypothesis has now resurfaced in N. L. Collins, *The Library in Alexandria and the Bible in Greek* (SVT 82), Leiden 2000.
[73] Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies*, Ch. 7; Th. Hermans, *Translation in Systems. Descriptive and System-Oriented Approaches Explained* (Translation Theories Explained 7), Manchester 1999.
[74] G. Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (BTL 4), Amsterdam/Philadelphia 1995. Toury's and Van Leuven's approaches are discussed by Koster, *From World to World*, Chapter 4, who offers his own model of analysis, developed for the analysis of translated poetry.

should be related to one another in order to construct a hierarchy of translational norms.[75] I think this procedure offers many stimulating elements for students of the Septuagint, as the construction of such a hierarchy provides a more comprehensive framework than much current Septuagint research. The identification of non-obligatory, translator-specific shifts has to be carried out with great care. When you are in search of the translator's interpretation, you may easily be tempted to 'detect' translator-specific shifts, where simply the norms of the target language have been obeyed. This temptation already exists in the study of modern translations,[76] and is not surprisingly very common in Septuagint studies.
Toury's concept of 'assumed translation' could open a new area of research for Septuagint scholars. In his view, not merely factual translations, but 'assumed translations' should be object of descriptive study. Any text the target culture regards as translation should be studied as such. This means that pseudotranslations, original texts that are erroneously regarded as translations, have to be included. Pseudotranslations are revealing because they often deliberately display features that the target culture considers characteristic of translations. It might be that some biblical books that were probably directly written in Greek fall into this category, for example, Wisdom, 3-4 Maccabeans and the additions to Daniel and Jeremiah.[77] Of course it remains possible that one day a source text will be found.

The *communication-oriented contributions* by authors like Nida, Hatim & Mason, and Gutt,[78] with all their differences, are prescriptive in character and therefore cannot be taken over in their entirety for the study of an existing translation. Nevertheless, concepts from these approaches can be fruitfully applied to the study of individual passages in the LXX (e.g. reader response, register, semiotic value of signs, implicatures and explicatures).

The most recent development to be highlighted is *corpus-based Translation Studies*. This rapidly expanding area of research has been facilitated by the growing possibilities of computers and the storage of large amounts of data. Olohan's introduction provides an assessment of the contribution the use of corpora can make to the field.[79] She surveys studies that have been carried out and treats the methodological issues that arose. Therein lies its main interest for Septuagint studies. Olohan first discusses parallel corpora of modern languages, of which there exist various types (!). The alignment of parallel bilingual texts is matched by the CATSS-database of the Septuagint. She then focuses on the monolingual comparable corpus, i.e. a corpus of translations and comparable non-translations in the same language. As twin brothers to e.g. the British National Corpus (of original English texts) we can consider the online databases of TLG, Duke's papyri, Perseus etc. The question how to design and to maintain corpora is relevant to the providers of these databases. With help of numerous interesting examples it is shown what kind of

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[75] A further discussion of this concept in C. Schäffner (ed.), *Translation and Norms*, Clevedon 1999.
[76] See the detailed criticism on K. van Leuven's intricate model of comparison by Verstegen, *Vertaalkunde versus vertaalwetenschap*. On methodological grounds Van Leuven's model is criticized by Hermans, *Translation in Systems*, Chapter 5. But in my opinion the bottom-up starting point of Van Leuven is not appreciated enough.
[77] Harl, *La bible grecque des Septante*, 85.
[78] Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies*, Ch. 3, 6; Stolze, *Übersetzungstheorien*, Kap. 6; Gentzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories*, Ch. 3.
[79] M. Olohan, *Introducing Corpora in Translation Studies*, London / New York 2004. It closes with an overview of the resources available to researchers, including a bibliography with useful web-links.

questions can be asked to the corpora to reveal translation-specific or translator-specific features and what the findings contribute to the discussion of translation universals.
Because of her pedagogical interests it has not occurred to Olohan that corpus-based research could be applied to ancient translations, in our case to debated issues in LXX-studies, e.g. how pseudo-translations can be distinguished from real translations. Looking over the fence can save scholars from reinventing the wheel. That holds true for both sides.
The study of large corpora of translated text has led to the formulation of so-called translation universals. These are probabilistic maxims that inform us what has often been noticed and what is likely to happen in the transition from one language to another. Translation universals that have been proposed so far:[80]

- Translations tend to be longer than their source texts.
- Translations tend to contain interference, i.e. words or structures that are typical of the SL rather than of the TL.
- Language and style of translations tend to be more standardized than that of the source text.
- Translations tend to be simpler than their source texts, i.e. with less lexical variety, lower lexical density and more use of high-frequency items.
- In translations, dialectal differences are usually normalized.
- In translations, complex narrative voices are likely to be reduced.
- Translations tend to be more explicit than their source texts.
- Later translations tend to be closer to the source text than earlier versions of the same source text (debated).
- In translations, repetition tends to be reduced compared to the source texts.
- In translations, TL-specific items tend to be underrepresented.

As for *historical translation studies*, its relevance for the study of the Septuagint (and *vice versa*) is so evident that we can spare ourselves the trouble of explaining it.
To sum up, I believe that process-oriented research, early Translation Studies, the functionalist approach, historical Translation Studies, Descriptive Translation Studies and corpus-based Translation Studies can offer useful insights. From these early Translation Studies and historical Translation Studies are the most adequate for the study of the Septuagint.

[80] Chesterman, Hypotheses about Translation Universals, in: Hansen, *Claims, Changes and Challenges in TS*, 5, 8. See further Mauranen / Kujamäki, *Translation Universals. Do they exist?*

PRACTICAL REMARKS

I have used the critical Göttingen text is used and, if lacking, Rahlfs' edition. Whenever I refer to Hatch and Redpath's *Concordance to the Septuagint* the reader must keep in mind Tov's caveats.[81] In most cases these do not diminish the general validity of the references. Quotations in Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Greek and Latin are accompanied by English translations. For reasons of space I have refrained from translations in footnotes and tables.

[81] Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint*, 90-99.

Chapter 2

Translating and translations in Antiquity

INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the period that witnessed the birth of the Septuagint. The theoretical background of the LXX is difficult to reconstruct because 1. the translators left no account of their method and 2. it predates the earliest preserved theoretical utterances on translation. It is unlikely that the LXX-translators set to work with a preconceived 'translation theory' or that they possessed much experience in translation. But we may assume that the process of translating with all its questions and difficulties and the (critical) reception of their work forced the translators to develop systematic notions. In antiquity theoretical reflexion always originated from the practice of translation.[1] Since we lack written testimonies about views of language and translation held by the Septuagint translators, the present chapter pays attention to views of language and translation in the intellectual climate surrounding them. It will become clear that ancient views of translation were more diverse than is often assumed and that many practical aspects of language and translation were consciously reflected upon. This chapter illustrates purposes and backgrounds of translating, in other words, the *background* of the transformations described in the next chapter and the *aim* with which transformations were employed as instruments.

We will concentrate on the Hellenistic and early Roman eras, the periods most relevant for the study of the Septuagint. However, we will not handle this time span in a rigid way, since the scarcity of material makes it necessary to include pertinent documents from adjacent periods. I have left Jerome out of this study, because his way of translating and his utterances on translation, e.g. in his commentaries, demonstrate his constant dialogue with Septuagint renderings and thus presuppose the LXX.

In general, surveys of Translation Studies pay little attention to history. To be sure, introductions mention Cicero, Jerome, Luther and Schleiermacher with classical quotes, but there it ends. By way of exception, an elaborate discussion of 'Translation theory before the twentieth century' is offered by Munday.[2] However, there exists a considerable body of literature on the history of the theory and practice of translation, not only general historical works that include Classical Antiquity in its broadest sense,[3] but also monographs on translation in Antiquity.[4] These works have not been fully integrated in Translation Studies.

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[1] Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 19.

[2] Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies*, Chapter 2.

[3] L.G. Kelly, *The True Interpreter. A History of Translation Theory and Practice in the West*, Oxford 1979; M. Ballard, *De Ciceron à Benjamin. Traducteurs, traductions, réflexions* (Étude de la traduction), Lille 1992; R. van den Broeck, *Over de grenzen van het vertaalbare. Een historische verkenning in het gebied van de vertaaltheorie* (Nieuwe Cahiers voor Vertaalwetenschap 1), Antwerpen / Harmelen 1992 [Dutch]; D. Robinson (ed.), *Western Translation Theory from Herodotus to Nietzsche*, Manchester 1997 [historical anthology of seminal texts on translation]; J. Albrecht, *Literarische*

LANGUAGE AND PHILOSOPHY IN THE GREEK WORLD

Greek philosophers have left us next to no theoretical utterances on translation, but they did express themselves on language and the nature of meaning. I will give a short survey.[5]
Greek linguistics originated in a well-defined historical context. The fifth century BC was a century of major changes in the Greek world. City-states, notably Athens, experienced a transition from aristocracy to democracy. This brought new opportunities for citizens of the Greek *polis*, but at the same time these changes asked for special skills that would enable the citizen to function successfully in the city's democracy. Increasing intellectual questioning – even religious scepticism – made the gods recede into the background and helped humans to assert independence and freedom of action. The world was gradually demythologised. The withdrawal of the gods gave rise to the question: how can we know anything about the nature of reality? The phenomenon of constant change troubled the presocratic philosophers: if everything is in a flux, how is it possible to know anything fixed? These political and religious questions were taken up by philosophical schools.
The *Sophists* developed tools with which the citizen could successfully operate in the emerging democracy. Today we would call them 'communication specialists'. Protagoras is credited with the first division of 'speech acts': prayer/wish, question, answer and command. Truth was no longer imposed from above, as in the days of aristocracy or tyranny,

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Übersetzung. Geschichte, Theorie, kulturelle Wirkung, Darmstadt 1998; T. Naaijkens et al. (ed.), *Denken over vertalen. Tekstboek vertaalwetenschap*, Nijmegen 2004 [anthology in Dutch].

[4] W.I. Snellman, *De interpretibus romanorum deque linguae latinae cum aliis nationibus commercio* (tomus I & II), Lipsiae 1914/1919; H.E. Richter, *Übersetzen und Übersetzungen in der römischen Literatur*, Erlangen 1938 [short survey of translations into Latin from 300 BC to 600 AD]; H. Marti, *Übersetzer der Augustin-Zeit. Interpretation von Selbstzeugnissen* (Studia et testimonia antiqua XIV), München 1974; F.M. Rener, *Interpretatio. Language and Translation from Cicero to Tytler* (Approaches to Translation Studies 8), Amsterdam / Atlanta 1989 [Excellent. Counters the misconception that there existed no translation theories from Antiquity until Romanticism. 'It seems that the translators' prefaces and letters, their comments and particularly the 'commonplaces' presuppose a common set of norms with which their readers were so familiar that a "commonplace" expression of them was sufficient to catch their attention.' (5) The shared views of language and translation were a heritage of Classical Antiquity that held out until Von Humboldt. Elements of it lie scattered in prefaces, treatises and handbooks. 'By assembling the tesserae of this mosaic, a whole manual on translation has been compiled [sc. by Rener] which, though never written, nevertheless existed and was known to all translators and particularly to their critics.' (7)]; R. Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages. Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 11), Cambridge 1991 [not concerned 'with a narrow pragmatics or theory of translation' but 'seeks to show how translation is inscribed within a large disciplinary nexus, a historical intersection of hermeneutical practice and rhetorical theory' (p. 1), i.e. translation in the ongoing competition between rhetoric and hermeneutics; H.J. Vermeer, *Skizzen zu einer Geschichte der Translation*, Bd. I. *Anfänge - Von Mesopotamien bis Griechenland, Rom und das frühe Christentum bis Hieronymus* (Translatorisches Handeln Wissenschaft 6.1), Frankfurt 1992; A. Seele, *Römische Übersetzer, Nöte, Freiheiten, Absichten.* [builds a bridge between modern Translation Studies and classical philology]. Methodological: A. Pym, *Method in Translation History*, Manchester 1998.

[5] V. Law, *The History of Linguistics in Europe from Plato to 1600*, Cambridge 2003 and the literature mentioned at the end of each chapter; P.M. Seuren, *Western Linguistics. An Historical Introduction*, Oxford 1998; D. di Cesare, Die Geschmeidigkeit der Sprache. Zur Sprachauffassung und Sprachbetrachtung der Sophistik, in: Schmitter, *Geschichte der Sprachtheorie* 2, 87-118.

but it had to assert itself in the democratic process. Truth could be shared or strengthened by way of persuasion. Now the Sophists stressed the diversity of communicative situations: what is true in one situation can be quite beside the point or even false in another. Their interest lay in the effect of language in establishing situational truth. They did not study individual words, but their studies transcended word and sentence level and envisioned texts as a whole within their communicative situations.[6]

For *Plato* language was of paramount importance in the search for truth, but in a different way: '[i]f we can no longer take it for granted that we all have access to the same ultimate reality, then how can I be sure that when you talk about important issues like freedom and responsibility and prejudice, you mean the same realities that I do?'[7] Now according to Plato, anything on earth is an imperfect reflection of the world of Ideas. This concept is able to account for both the unchanging truth and the apparent diversity as we experience it. With help of the Socratic method people can be helped to recollect their prebirth knowledge of the world of Ideas. The next question is then, how is the world of Ideas accessed by means of language? This problem is analysed in Plato's *Cratylus*, a dialogue that deals with the 'truth of words', a question that is foreign to modern thought. Between the opposite views that words are purely conventional and that words are true, i.e. express the nature of what they denote°, Plato finds a middle road: words are mirrors of reality, but imperfect ones.[8] The relationship between words and reality must be unearthed, but there is a relationship, knowable with help of the intellect (νοῦς). Plato concentrated on the content of words, not on style and communication, as the Sophists did. Vermeer assumes this concern promoted literal translation.[9]

According to *Aristotle* the relation between words and things is a matter of convention, differing from one language to another. At the same time,

> ὧν μέντοι ταῦτα σημεῖα πρώτων, ταὐτὰ πᾶσι παθήματα τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ ὧν ταῦτα ὁμοιώματα πράγματα ἤδη ταὐτά.
> the mental affections themselves, of which these words are primarily signs, are the same for the whole of mankind, as are also the objects of which those affections are representations or likenesses, images, copies.[10]

In modern terms, we would call this a universalist° theory of language. The belief that all men are essentially similar whereas only their words differ, guarantees the possibility of translation and explains at the same time that words in a translation can be different from or more numerous than those of the original. Translation is not only possible *between* different languages, but also *within* a language, by expressing the same content with different words. Thus a corollary of the Aristotelian view of language is the distinction between content (*what* is said) and form (*how* it is said). Aristotle's main interest lay in language in actual use. His systematic essays are devoted to the role of language in thinking (logic) and in the expression of emotions (poetry, rhetoric). Neither Plato nor Aristotle were interested in

[6] A.-M. Rieu, Le moment sophistique: Protagoras et Gorgias, in: Schmitter, *Geschichte der Sprachtheorie* 2, 119-139; J. de Romilly, *The Great Sophists in Periclean Athens* (tr. Janet Lloyd), Oxford 1992.

[7] Law, *History of Linguistics*, 18.

[8] '[Der *Kratylos*] führt zu einer Depotenzierung des Namens', which leads to a separation between epistemology and linguistics. See T. Borsche, "Platon," in: Schmitter, *Geschichte der Sprachtheorie* 2, 151.

[9] Vermeer, *Skizzen* I, 127-154; but see Chapter 7 of this study.

[10] Aristotle, *De interpretatione* 16a, quoted in Rener, *Interpretatio*, 19.

language for its own sake. That was left for grammarians who were not in search of absolute truth.

Among scholars concerned with language there existed *two controversies* that were partly related. The first one went between advocates of nature (φύσις) and of convention (νόμος). Were laws and institutions, and, for that matter, language, grounded in nature or were they a product of convention? The 'naturalists', largely Stoics, pointed to onomatopoea to defend the natural relationship between word form and word meaning and by way of etymologies they tried to reconstruct the natural or most original forms of words. The etymologies they produced are often fanciful and amazing for the modern reader. The 'conventionalists', on the other hand, held that the relation between form and meaning was arbitrary, that it could change over time and vary between languages. This was essentially the position of Aristotle. The second controversy, between anomalists and analogists, is sometimes seen as a later development of the same issue. The reliability of its description by Varro, *De lingua latina* (1st century BC) is contested. As neither grammars nor dictionaries of Greek existed, the foundations of what we call grammar had to be developed from scratch, which partly explains the extreme viewpoints. The two positions came to be identified with two important centres of learning, Pergamon and Alexandria respectively.[11]

In Pergamon the *Stoics*, especially Chrysippus and Crates of Mallos, were theoretically interested in the nature of language and favoured anomaly.[12] They believed that no orderly classification of grammatical phenomena could be made because of the great number of irregularities (ἀνομαλίαι). Words as well as literature were seen as intrinsically related to nature, and therefore expressions of truth and virtue. This *apriori* was applied to the writings of Homer, the author *par excellence*. Morally disturbing or seemingly irrelevant passages could therefore not be taken literally, but were seen as hidden expressions of truth and virtue. This hidden relationship needed to be exposed, which they did by ingenious use of the already known allegorical method. Thus Homer became a teacher of Stoic doctrines.

In Alexandria the *analogists* were driven by the practical demands of textual and literary criticism.[13] The scholars assigned to the Library, collecting and cataloguing books, discovered that manuscripts of the same literary work displayed numerous minor and major differences. They produced scholarly editions with textcritical signs (e.g. the *obelus*). Scribal errors were corrected with help of analogous phrases or forms found in the same author (ἀναλογία). The principle of analogy was also used to explain unusual or exceptional forms. They also developed a form of literary criticism which could result in disputing the authorship of certain passages. An important methodological principle was e.g. Ὅμηρον ἐξ Ὁμήρου σαφηνίζειν 'explaining (difficult passages in) Homer with help of (related, less difficult passages in) Homer'. At the same time they acknowledged the existence of unique forms. The principle of analogy was thus a method of resolving difficulties, not an all-embracing language theory. They further sought to show that nouns and verbs were capable of classification into declensions and conjugations on the basis of similarity of form. Morphology was a fruitful area of research for the analogists.

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[11] Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I, 465ff. See also W. Ax, Sprache als Gegenstand der alexandrinischen und pergamenischen Philologie, in: Schmitter, *Geschichte der Sprachtheorie* 2, 275-301.

[12] See further I. Sluiter, Language and Thought in Stoic Philosophy, in: Auroux (ed.), *History of the Language Sciences*, 375-384.

[13] F. Lambert, La linguistique grecque chez les alexandrins, in: Auroux (ed.), *History of the Language Sciences*, 385-394. See further R.H. Robins, *A Short History of Linguistics*, London / New York 1997[4], Chapter 2; N. Wilson, Griechische Philologie im Altertum, in: H.-G. Nesselrath (ed.), *Einleitung in die griechische Philologie* (Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft), Stuttgart / Leipzig 1997.

A well-known Alexandrian scholar was Aristarchus of Samothrace, Librarian in the 2nd century BC, who wrote many commentaries on classical works. The probably best known Alexandrian grammarian is Dionysius of Thracia (c. 100 BC), whose treatise *Ars grammatica* (Τέχνη Γραμματική) has survived. It is a grammar, worked out according to analogical principles, based on the work of his Alexandrian predecessors, but it betrays some influence of Stoic linguistics too. Dionysius' treatise has deeply influenced western linguistics. For example, his division into word classes survives to the present day, with two later modifications: (a) adjectives were split off from the category of nouns; (b) verbs and participles were united into one category. And his division of παρεπόμενα 'accidences°' of nouns and verbs (number, gender, mood, tense etc.) has essentially remained the same. His definition of 'grammar' is as follows:

> Γραμματική ἐστιν ἐμπειρία τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεῦσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ λεγομένων. Μέρη δὲ αὐτῆς εἰσιν ἕξ. Πρῶτον ἀνάγνωσις ἐντριβὴς κατὰ προσῳδίαν, δεύτερον ἐξήγησις κατὰ τοὺς ἐνυπάρχοντας ποιητικοὺς τρόπους, τρίτον γλωσσῶν τε καὶ ἱστοριῶν πρόχειρος ἀπόδοσις, τέταρτον ἐτυμολογίας εὕρεσις, πέμπτον ἀναλογίας ἐκλογισμὸς, ἕκτον κρίσις ποιημάτων, ὁ δὴ κάλλιστόν ἐστι πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ.
> Grammar is the practical knowledge of the general usages of poets and prose writers. It has six parts: first, accurate reading (aloud) with due regard to the prosodies; second, explanation of the literary expressions in the works; third, the provision of notes on phraseology and subject matter; fourth, the discovery of etymologies; fifth, the working out of analogical regularities; sixth, the appreciation of literary compositions, which is the noblest part of grammar.[14]

It is actually a definition of linguistics in a broad sense. Grammar in the modern sense of the word is only treated by Dionysius in the fifth paragraph.

What the *Epicurean school* of philosophy thought about language was related to its ethics.[15] The supreme goal in life was believed to be ἀταραξία, an imperturbed state of mind. This could be attained by realizing that everything had a natural, i.e. material origin. The Epicurean world view was thoroughly materialistic and denied any form of divine guidance. Regarding language the Epicureans sought to demonstrate its purely natural origin, as opposed to beliefs about language as a divine gift or as the product of a mythical 'lawgiver'. They allowed, however, that once originated in a natural way, language had developed itself along the lines of human convention. Epicurean views on language seem to have had little practical consequences.

The *Sceptic school* of philosophy, finally, distinguished itself by its harsh criticism of all branches of rhetoric and grammar that were exercised in Antiquity, since they saw them as preposterous and vain attempts to gain knowledge of things that cannot be known properly. The Sceptics did not leave behind a theory of language. Their main representative, Sextus Empiricus (2nd century AD) only acknowledged that language, apart from its usefulness of reading and writing, could be used in a 'passive' way, by exchanging impressions of the soul, but denied that such an exchange could say anything about a real state of affairs.[16]

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[14] Translation from Robins, *A Short History of Linguistics*, 38. See further V. di Benedetto, Dionysius Thrax, in: Auroux (ed.), *History of the Language Sciences*, 394-400.

[15] M. Hossenfelder, Epikureer, in: Schmitter, *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft* 2, 217-237.

[16] R. Loredana Cardullo, Skeptiker und Neuplatoniker, in: Schmitter, *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft* 2, 238-272.

TRANSLATING AND TRANSLATIONS INTO GREEK

Although the amount of actual translations into Greek is nothing compared to what was translated into Latin, translated texts of different types survive.[17] Translations from Latin begin with the *senatus consulta*, the proceedings of the Roman Senate, which have been translated into Greek very literally.[18] A less rigid, but literal translation is found in the *Res gestae divi Augusti*.[19] Other Roman official documents, such as letters, exist in every style of translation. This does not point to a development in translation method, in my opinion, but is connected to the ethics of power and expresses consciousness of genre. Firstly, the decrees of the Roman senate emanated from the very heart of the Roman Empire and this kind of literal translation symbolizes how Greece was taken captive by Rome. It also explains why some Roman officials refused to speak Greek. The *Res gestae* of Augustus have been translated less literally because they are a form of imperial propaganda, i.e. a form of rhetoric that cannot afford being incomprehensible. Later on, when the power of Rome had become unchallenged, Roman histories could be translated into Greek quite freely: Rome had acknowledged the supremacy of Greek in the east and the choice of a translation method remained solely a matter of genre, like in Paeanius' translation (c. 400 AD) of Eutropius' *Ab urbe condita*.[20] Secondly, *senatus consulta* belonged to the genre of legal and administrative texts and had to be rendered carefully. Should any problem of understanding arise, Roman officials could offer explanations on the spot.[21]
In the first utterance on translation that we will discuss now, we also encounter the far-reaching influence of genre and function the translation strategy. It is a preface to the Greek version of the life of Imuthes-Asclepius by an Egyptian translator. The preface states the translation has a missionary goal of spreading the glory of Imuthes among speakers of Greek. But a literal translation of the book seemed inadequate to this purpose. Therefore – a feat for which the translator claims divine inspiration – the text had to be reworked:[22]

> Καὶ ἐν τῇ ὅλῃ γραφῇ τὸ μὲν ὕστερον προσεπλήρωσα, τὸ δὲ περίσσευον ἀφεῖλον, διήγημα δὲ που μακρολογούμενον συντόμως ἐλάλησα, καὶ ἀλλαττόλογον μῦθον ἅπαξ ἔφρασα, ὅθεν, δέσποτα, κατὰ τὴν σὴν εὐμένειαν ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν φρόνησιν τετελεσιουργῆσθαι τεκμαίρομαι τὴν βίβλον.
> And in the whole work I supplied what was mentioned in passing, I cut superfluous things, shortened verbose narrations and passages, and simplified complicated matters. Therefore, o Lord, I consider that I have been able to complete this book through your favour, not through my own intelligence.

A further treasure from Egypt is the Greek version of the Tefnut legend, preserved in a papyrus from the 3rd century AD. The Greek translation, written by a competent translator

[17] For school texts and interlinear papyri, see the § *Bilingual texts*.
[18] Reichmann, *Römische Literatur in gr. Übersetzung*, 17-19; R.K. Sherk, *Roman Documents from the Greek East. Senatus Consulta and Epistulae to the Age of Augustus*, Baltimore 1969, 13-19.
[19] Weber, *Res gestae divi Augusti*.
[20] Reichmann, *Römische Literatur in griechischer Übersetzung*, 62ff.
[21] Brock, Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity, 74.
[22] B.P. Grenfell, A.S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XI, London 1915, nr. 1381 (2nd century CE), lines 174-185 (editorial signs omitted), discussed in J. Leipoldt, Von Übersetzungen und Übersetzern, in: S. Morenz, *Aus Antike und Orient. Festschrift Wilhelm Schubart zum 75. Geburtstag*, Leipzig 1950. See also Brock, The Phenomenon of the Septuagint, 25-26.

according to its editor,[23] differs substantially from the demotic Leyden papyrus of the same story. It may be that the translator had a different source text, though it is not necessary to assume this. He may have adopted an adapting approach, similar to that in P. Oxy. 1381.[24] We will now have a closer look at a statement by the neoplatonist Iamblichus.[25] Although he lived in the 4th century AD, his ideas on translation are often quoted and connected to the preface to the Greek version of Ben Sira. Iamblichus defends the religious superiority of 'barbaric languages' like Egyptian with the argument, *inter alia*, that these languages are sacred and that much of the deep religious sense is lost in translation from Egyptian into Greek.[26] He expresses his reservations about translating religious texts:

> οὐδὲ γὰρ πάντως τὴν αὐτὴν διασώζει διάνοιαν μεθερμηνευόμενα τὰ ὀνόματα, ἀλλ' ἔστι τινὰ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔθνος ἰδιώματα, ἀδύνατα εἰς ἄλλο ἔθνος διὰ φωνῆς σημαίνεσθαι· ἔπειτα κἂν εἰ οἷόν τε αὐτὰ μεθερμηνεύειν, ἀλλὰ τήν γε δύναμιν οὐκέτι φυλάττει τὴν αὐτήν.[27]
>
> In translation words do not preserve exactly the same sense: each people has characteristics impossible to transfer from one language to another; thus, even though one can translate these words, they still do not preserve the same force.

Δύναμις is often rendered literally with 'force', and since we do not usually speak of the force of words, it is claimed to refer to a belief in a magical force of words.[28] We have therefore to trace the use of δύναμις in Greek. Plato's *Cratylus* touches upon this question, when Socrates asks Cratylus:

> τίνα ἡμῖν δύναμιν ἔχει τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τί φῶμεν αὐτὰ καλὸν ἀπεργάζεθαι;
> What is the function of names and when do we think they function optimally?
> [upon which Cratylus answers:]
> Διδάσκειν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ τοῦτο πάνυ ἁπλοῦ εἶναι, ὃς ἂν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐπίστηται, ἐπίστασθαι καὶ τὰ πράγματα.
> I think, Socrates, that their function is to instruct, and this is the simple truth, that he who knows the names knows also the things named.[29]

The best translation of δύναμις here is 'function'. Plato does not use δύναμις in the sense of 'magical force' of words, on the contrary, this whole idea is a viewpoint that Plato combats. Nor does he use δύναμις in the sense of rhetorical power.[30] In Plato as well as later writers,

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[23] S. West, The Greek version of the legend of Tefnut, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 55 (1969/70), 161-183. The papyrus is kept in the British Museum (inv. no. 274).

[24] R. Reitzenstein, *Die griechische Tefnutlegende* (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Ak. der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse), 1923.

[25] For more information see R. Loredana Cardullo, Skeptiker und Neuplatoniker, in: Schmitter, *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft* 2, 238-272.

[26] What Iamblichus did not realize (or did not write down) is that a similar loss of meaning would occur in translating from Greek into Hebrew or from Greek into Egyptian. The one-sidedness of this utterance gives it an esoteric ring: a certain language is proclaimed unique because its words are believed to be replete with meaning, which can only be lost in translation.

[27] Iamblichus, *De mysteriis Aegyptiorum* VII,5, from Jamblique, *Les mystères d'Égypte. Texte établi et traduit par Édouard des Places, S.J.* (Collection des universités de France), Paris 1966, English translation from Brock, Aspects of Translation Technique, 76.

[28] E.g. Veltri, *Tora für Talmai*, 143.

[29] Plato, *Cratylus* 435d, cf. also 493b (ed. H.N. Fowler).

[30] Not even in his discussions of rhetoric. *Gorgias* 447c, 456a, 460a speaks about the δύναμις τῆς ῥητορικῆς 'the power of rhetoric [as a craft]'.

the δύναμις of a word is its *meaning*.[31] In Iamblichus' text the term δύναμις is preluded by διάνοια 'sense', which appears as a synonym. Of course, in Iamblichus' neoplatonist thought, this meaning is of a divine origin.
Roman translation theory took over the concept of δύναμις into Latin *vis*. '[T]he notion of *vis* is normally connected with meaning and not with ornamentation, which is the province or rhetoric.'[32] Cicero clearly uses *vis* as a synonym of *sensus* 'meaning'. The antithesis between *verbum de verbo* and *sensus de senso* is expressed as follows by Cicero:

> *non verbum pro verbo necesse habui reddere, sed genus omne verborum vimque servavi*.[33]
> I did not consider it necessary to render word by word, but I retained the style of all words and their meaning.

In the *Corpus Hermeticum*, a collection of Greco-Egyptian esoteric tracts from the 1st – 4th centuries AD, we find the universalist view of language (XII, 13) with its assertion of translatability as well as the opposite view, where the divine Hermes, expresses reluctance towards translating religious texts from Egyptian into Greek (XVI, 1-2).[34] The latter passage rests on the notion of the 'effective word' (*wirksames Wort, parole efficace*). This is not expressed by δύναμις but by 'words full of effect' (φωναῖς μεσταῖς τῶν ἔργων).[35]

RHETORIC AND TRANSLATION IN ROME

About the translation practice in the Roman period we are fairly well informed. This is especially fortunate as the larger part of the Septuagint was translated within the same time span, and within the same cultural atmosphere, i.e. that of Hellenism. During the Roman era there was a massive effort to translate works from Greek into Latin. The popularity of translating was not accidental.[36] First, the Greek language could boast of a wealth of literature in all possible genres. As Rome became the dominant power in the Mediterranean, the comparatively embarrassing poverty of writings in Latin had to be supplied by translations from Greek, so as to provide the young empire with a literature in the native tongue. Secondly, translation was regarded as an indispensible exercise in rhetorical education. It was seen as a tool to develop the student's stylistic abilities. The student had to compete with the Greek original and to try to surpass it in stylistic quality (*aemulatio*).[37] This sense of competition resulted in a concept of translation that was much wider than it is today. It included adaptation and rewriting, omission and addition of words, sentences and

[31] Cf. LSJ 452b and the references, which I have checked.
[32] Rener, *Interpretatio*, 154. He allows that *vis* means 'impact' in Augustine's writings.
[33] De optimo genere oratorum, 14; see Marti, *Übersetzer der Augustin-Zeit*, 64. Cf. also the interesting passage from Seneca quoted by Marti 65 that contains the same word.
[34] See further Veltri, *Tora für Talmai*, 143f.
[35] Cf. C. Préaux, De la Grèce Classique à l'Égypte Hellénistique. Traduire ou ne pas traduire, *Chronique d'Égypte* 42 (1967), 369-383.
[36] Richter, *Übersetzen und Übersetzungen in der römischen Literatur*, 69-80.
[37] The cultural background was the Roman sense of cultural inferiority. In the post-classical period, when Latin literature could stand on its own feet, the concept of *aemulatio* lost its significance. See Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 9.

whole passages. Translators did not try to efface themselves but were very 'visible', while bilingual Romans regarded their products as metatexts, and enjoyed them as such.[38]
Although the Romans inherited much of their scholarly heritage from the Greeks, the field of translation was relatively untrodden. Young Romans received a bilingual education. Romans had to engage with Greek as a foreign language in a way Greeks had never had to engage with any other language. Several utterances on translation date from the Roman period, among them one that has become so famous that it is seldom missing from text-books. In *De optimo genere oratorum*,[39] which was meant as a preface to a translation of two speeches by Aeschines and Demosthenes, Cicero (106-43 BC) stresses that every orator shares the same supreme goal, i.e. to convince his audience. The purpose of his own translation is to provide students of rhetoric with two excellent examples they can follow. He then continues (§ 14):

> *nec converti ut interpres,[40] sed ut orator, sententiis isdem et earum formis tanquam figuris, verbis ad nostram consuetudinem aptis. In quibus non verbum pro verbo necesse habui reddere, sed genus onme verborum vimque servavi. Non enim ea me adnumerare lectori putavi oportere, sed tamquam appendere.*
> And I did not translate them as an interpreter, but as an orator, keeping the same ideas and the form, or as one might say, the 'figures' of thought, but in language which conforms to our usage. I did not hold it necessary to render word for word, but I preserved the general style and force of the language. For I did not think I ought to count them out to the reader like coins, but to pay them by weight, as it were.[41]

Further on Cicero again clarifies how he translated the two Attic orators (§ 23):

> *Quorum* [i.e. of Aeschines & Demosthenes] *ego orationes si, ut spero, ita expressero virtutibus utens illorum omnibus, id est sententiis et earum figuris et rerum ordine, verba persequens eatenus, ut ea non abhorreant a more nostro - quae si e Graecis omnia conversa non erunt, tamen ut generis eiusdem sint, elaboravimus - erit regula, ad quam eorum dirigantur orationes, qui Attice volent dicere.*
> If I shall succeed in rendering their speeches, as I hope, by retaining all their virtues, that is, the thoughts, the figures of thought and the order of the topics, and following the language only in so far as it does not depart from our idiom - if all the words are not literal translations of the Greek, we have at least tried to keep them within the same class or type - there will be a norm by which to measure the speeches of those who may wish to speak in the Attic manner.[42]

As Cicero's translation of the two speeches is lost, we do not know how translating *ut orator* 'as an orator' worked out in practice. It is certainly dangerous to generalize this statement into a general translator's precept, as if translating *ut orator* is at all times the sole approach. For we know that in his translations of Greek philosophers Cicero proceeds quite literally. One is equally mistaken – and endlessly repeating it certainly does not make

[38] Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 10-13. A case study: D.M. Possanza, *Translating the Heavens. Aratus, Germanicus, and the Poetics of Latin Translation* (Lang Classical Studies 14), New York 2004.
[39] A.S. Wilkins (ed.), *M. Tvlli Ciceronis Rhetorica*, tomus II, Oxford 1903 (reprint 1964).
[40] It should be emphasized that *interpres* meant 'interpreter, dragoman' in classical Latin, not 'translator', see Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 93. This is also the case in Horace's famous dictum *nec verbo verbum curabis reddere fidus / interpres* 'You should not render word by word, as a faithful interpreter does' (Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 94).
[41] Translation from Robinson, *Western Translation Theory*, 9. N.B. For 'force', cf. preceding section.
[42] Translation from Robinson, *Western Translation Theory*, 10.

it correct – that Cicero (or Antiquity in general), knew only two methods of translating, *ut orator* 'as an orator' and *ut interpres* 'as an interpreter'. He expressly denies that philosophers can be treated as playwrights,[43] which means that he applied different approaches to various literary genres. According to Springer's analysis[44] Cicero distinguishes three genres (text types), for which he follows different strategies: rhetoric (see above), poetry (competitive translation), and science and philosophy (literal translation). This represents the classical tripartite division into *rhetorica*, *poetica* and *historia*, which survives in text typologies up to the present day.[45] Cicero's *ut orator*-approach was designed for translating Attic orators. Had he translated Thucydides, he would have translated *ut historicus*, and Aristophanes *ut poeta.*

Cicero subscribes to a theory of language.[46] He shares the Aristotelian view of language, in which words are regarded as conventional signs of things ('verbum est signum rei'). Words express mental affections, which in turn refer° to external objects.

Given the importance of rhetoric as the 'applied linguistics' of Antiquity, it is worthwile to have a closer look at rhetoric and its relationship with translation. In classical education, the study of the professional use of language was divided into two *artes*, namely grammar and rhetoric, a division originating in the content-form dualism. 'The basic aspects were studied in grammar, whose function was to impart the instructions necessary for making communication possible. Once this was accomplished, rhetoric took over and provided the instructions for making communication effective.'[47] Grammar was the art of the *correct* use of language, whereas rhetoric was the art of the *successful* use of language in entertaining or persuading the audience.[48] This roughly corresponds to the modern division into semantics and syntax on the one hand and stylistics and pragmatics on the other hand.[49] The handbooks by Cicero and Quintilian absorbed much of earlier Greek thinking on the subject. Their works are summaries of previous experience and classical scholarship.

Grammar is traditionally concerned with the four constituents of speech: the letter, the syllable, the word and the sentence,[50] of which the last two are relevant for translation. Once the source text has been understood, the right words, which express the *res* of the source text with adequacy (*proprietas*), must be selected. Eligible words must be accepted parts of the vocabulary of a language (*puritas*). To be considered 'pure', words, according to Quintilian's four criteria,[51] have to be commonly known and understood[52] (*consuetudo*)

[43] Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 80-83.

[44] Quoted by Vermeer, *Skizzen* 1, 214. By audaciously utilizing the source material, whereby he equates rhetoric with 'translatorisches Handeln' (!), Vermeer (224-249) reconstructs from Cicero's oratorical writings a complete theory of translational text production, about which Cicero says little.

[45] Rener, *Interpretatio*, 172. Cf. K. Reiss' division into 'appellbetont', 'formbetont', 'inhaltsbetont'.

[46] Rener, *Interpretatio*, § 2.1.

[47] Rener, *Interpretatio*, 15.

[48] In a definition from a later period: *ars recte dicendi* versus *ars bene dicendi*, see Rener, *Interpretatio*, 151. We limit ourselves here to those aspects of rhetoric that are relevant for translation. A recent introduction to all (other) aspects of rhetoric in Antiquity is Andersen, *Im Garten der Rhetorik.* For the teaching of grammar and rhetoric in Hellenistic Egypt, see R. Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind. Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*, Princeton / Oxford 2001, Chapters 7-8.

[49] Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, presents the following division of translation difficulties: a. lexicon and semantics; b. syntax and stylistics; c. pragmatics. This is derived from modern semiotic division: semantics, syntax and pragmatics. I retain the distinctions found in the classical sources.

[50] Rener, *Interpretatio*, 37.

[51] Rener, *Interpretatio*, 58. Quintilian lived from ca. 35-96 AD, a century after Cicero.

if they want to convey a sense; they must be in long use (*vetustas*), not novel, preferably be used by renowned authors (*auctoritas*), and if possible, fit into the morphological and grammatical patterns of the language (*analogia*). Next to *proprietas* and *puritas*, the factor of *perspicuitas*, clarity to the addressee, governs the selection of words. From the selected words, a correct sentence has then to be construed in accordance with the rules of the language. Each language, however, possesses a large number of expressions that defy the above rules, namely idioms (*locutiones*).[53]

The task of *rhetoric* is to adorn the content in such a way that it will not only reach the addressee, but actually be effective with him. In the composition of a rhetorical text, this sets the goal for a second selection of words. Words can be selected with respect to their degree of grace (*elegantia*) and dignity (*dignitas*), i.e. their register in modern terms, their sound (including their rhythmic quality), and their emotional impact or connotations°.[54] For orators boredom was considered to be the main pitfall. They therefore strove to avoid repetitiousness and monotony, which would be the sure result of sticking to the *ordo naturalis*.[55] It was thus essential to employ variation of different kinds. Variation in the meaning of words (*tropi*) include e.g. metaphor (*verbum translatum*), metonymy, synecdoche and irony. It was also possible to vary within the syntactical order (*figurae*), or even to deviate from it deliberately in order to obtain special effects. Great attention was further paid to the construction of the sentence, especially a fine sentence ending,[56] and its connection to preceding and following sentences. A good intuition and a certain musical feeling were indispensable for this. Of course variation knew its limits, for unbounded variation would impede comprehension and thus the rhetorical purpose.[57] Certain conventions governed the style of a literary work. An important factor was the subject matter and its social standing, being elevated, neutral or low (*genus sublime, mediocre, humile*). A second limitation was imposed by the category of writing (text type, in modern terms). Three categories of writers were distinguished in Antiquity: *historici*, *oratores* and *poetae*. The personality of the author also influenced the style, although he was not regarded all-important, as it is in the 21th century.[58]

Now this system of ancient linguistics, grammar and rhetoric, was applied to translation. In the realm of grammar the *electio verborum* 'selection of words' was executed with help of Quintilian's criteria (see above). In this way many suitable equivalents could already be found for SL words. But when the lexicon of the target language lacked a word or expres-

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[52] In practice this meant: understood by the elite, who were mostly the intended readership. Quintilian states: *Ergo consuetudinem sermonis vocabo consensum eruditorum, sicut vivendi consensum bonorum* 'Thus by "what is common in speech" I understand the consensus of the elite'. He warns against taking the majority as criterion: *Quod plures faciunt (...) periculosissimum dabit praeceptum non oriationi modo, sed, quod maius est, vitae* 'The practice of the majority gives a very dangerous model, not only in speech, but, what is more, in life.' (Quoted in Rener, *Interpretatio*, 61ff.) This guideline was widely followed in all periods.

[53] This paragraph summarizes Rener, *Interpretatio*, 38-87. Cf. Andersen, *Garten der Rhetorik*, 64ff.

[54] Renaissance writers use sometimes *vis* in the sense of 'emotional impact'. But, according to Rener, *Interpretatio*, 154, 'The notion of *vis* is normally connected with meaning and not with ornamentation, which is the province of rhetoric.'

[55] Rener, *Interpretatio*, 157.

[56] This rhetorical preoccupation survives to this day as Functional Sentence Perspective.

[57] Rener, *Interpretatio*, 152-166. Andersen, *Im Garten der Rhetorik* 69ff. uses a somewhat different terminology.

[58] Rener, *Interpretatio*, 166-181.

sion meeting the above criteria for a concept of the source language (a 'lexical gap'), the translator was faced with a difficulty. Cicero describes in such a case four procedures:[59]

> *Nec tamen [1] exprimi verbum e verbo necesse erit, ut interpretes indiserti solent, dum sit [2] verbum quod idem declaret magis usitatum; equidem soleo etiam, [3] quod uno Graeci, si aliter non possum, idem pluribus verbis exponere. Et tamen puto concedi nobis oportere [4] ut Graeco verbo utamur, si quando minus occuret Latinum (...).*[60]
> Though all the same it need not be a hard and fast rule that every word shall be represented by [1] its exact counterpart, when there is [2] a more familiar word conveying the same meaning. That is the way of a clumsy interpreter. Indeed, my own practice is [3] to use several words to give what is expressed in Greek by one, if I cannot convey the sense otherwise. At the same time I hold that we may fairly claim the licence [4] to employ a Greek word when no Latin word is readily forthcoming.

In our terminology: [1] loan translation, [2] *Bedeutungslehnwort*, [3] 'addition' and explicitation, [4] borrowing or loan word.[61] It is clear that the decision as to which of these procedures to use depends on the (estimated) degree of education of the expected readership and their needs.[62] Since lemma's of SL and TL vocabulary do not neatly correspond, the translator sometimes has to resort to approximations. For example, when a SL word is polysemous, or when several TL synonyms exist, he is forced to modulations or lexical changes.[63] With respect to the construction of correct sentences in translation (the realm of syntax), the different grammars of two languages necessitate numerous transformations.[64] This holds also true for translation from Greek into Latin (e.g. the systems of declension and conjugation, definite article, role of participles, predominance of tempus or aspect). Cicero, who always aimed at naturalness, employed these transpositions or grammatical changes, as they are called in our terminology, very frequently.[65] Ambiguous phrases often had to give way to clear and unambiguous sentences, a tendency that can be observed in all sorts of modern translations as well. Cicero did not halt at obligatory transpositions, but endeav-

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[59] Rener's discussion of grammar and translation, *Interpretatio* 88ff., concentrates on later writers, especially Renaissance.

[60] De finibus 3, 15 (transl. H. Rackham), in: Cicero XVII [Loeb], Cambridge Mass. 1971, 230. 'Interpres' is an interpreter rather than a translator, see above and Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 93.

[61] Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, describes these four procedures as loan translation (25, 26-30), *Bedeutungslehnwort* (25, 30-33; she explains *Bedeutungslehnwort* as a TL word that receives a additional or new meaning by its use in the context of the translation), paraphrase (25, 34-36) and exotism (25, 36-40) each of which she illustrates with other relevant quotations from Cicero and numerous examples from translations by Cicero and others. Compare H.-J. Hartung, *Ciceros Methode bei der Übersetzung griechischer philosophischer Termini,* Hamburg 1970, 17-24. Rener, *Interpretatio*, speaks of neologism, which includes the *Bedeutungslehnwort* (104-108), circumlocution (108-112) and borrowing (99-103).

[62] For example, the translator had to decide when to insert clarifying additions or explicitations (Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 86-88).

[63] In Seele's terminology 'lexikalisch-semantische Modifikationen' (45), which are in her view illustrations of the liberties Roman translators took to adapt the text to their or their public's taste. But I find her discussion of this topic (40-45) confusing, as her examples are mostly drawn from poetical texts, where lexical choices are not purely governed by semantic considerations, but rather by all sorts of stylistic constraints.

[64] Rener, *Interpretatio*, 112-123, 138-142.

[65] The problem of divergent syntax was not expressly thematized in Cicero's surviving writings, but Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, (51-64) illustrates his techniques. All categories of grammatical changes the present study distinguishes are represented.

oured to make the sequence of thoughts more logical than it was in the original. Massive transformations are required in rendering idioms, proverbs and sayings, because a faithful translation of the words often does not result in the right sense.[66]

Although the primary sources that link translation and rhetoric to each other in a consistent and systematic way date only from the Renaissance,[67] they represent a current of tradition that goes back to Cicero. The fact that Cicero saw translating as the rhetorical exercise *par excellence* proves that beyond question. Being textual experts, translators need the same skills that orators need. Intimate knowledge of rhetoric is indispensable for the translator during the three phases that constitute the act of translation, *intelligi* 'understanding', *exponi* 'interpretation' and *converti* 'translating'.[68] The source text has to be analyzed from a rhetorical point of view, so that stylistic features can be recognized as such (stylistic level and its meaning, figures of style). The translator then decides whether it is desirable to transfer stylistic features, and if so, whether these can be realized on the spot or elsewhere in the target text (compensation[69]). He does so with a keen eye to text type (e.g. too much rhetorical embellishment can hinder understanding) and to the taste of his readership.

In modern and classical times alike the translation of metaphors has been a subject of interest. The different solutions that ancient translators adopted run parallel to present-day practices. In Latin translations roughly three different strategies for the rendering of metaphors can be found: reproduction of the image in Latin, substitution by a Latin metaphor conveying the same sense, non-metaphorical paraphrase (or deletion).[70] Another point of stylistic interest is metre and the restrictions it imposes on the translation of poetry. Given the competitive character of Roman translation, one would expect that this incited the translators to even more freedom towards their source text. It is, however, surprising to see that Cicero, in his verse translations, went to great length to retain key-words at macrostructurally important positions.[71]

The Roman translator's desire to surpass the source text (*aemulatio*), especially with respect to poems and plays, could entail the omission of elements that were considered difficult, unfit or superfluous, and the addition of elements that could outdo the original, ranging from words to larger passages.[72] These practices had significant effects on the macrostructure. *Aemulatio* also explains that the source text was sometimes corrected, so as to forestall criticism of the translation that could be launched against the source text.[73] Veritable plagiarism without source reference was rare.[74]

With respect to the readership, translation could fulfill three functions, depending on the text type. When Cicero translates Greek orators as a pedagogical model, he aims at *stil-*

[66] Rener, *Interpretatio*, 123-138; Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 70-71.
[67] Rener, *Interpretatio*, 182ff.
[68] Rener, *Interpretatio*, 183. It is the same tripartite division found by J. Barr, Guessing in the Septuagint, in: D. Fraenkel et al. (ed.), *Studien zur Septuaginta*, 20-21 and the one Van der Kooij, *Oracle of Tyre*, 115-118 connects with the *Letter of Aristeas*. It is sobering to realize that in the 20th century the same stages have been distinguished: '1. Erfassen der Vorlage, 2. Interpretation der Vorlage, 3. Umsetzung der Vorlage', in: J. Levý, *Die literarische Übersetzung. Theorie einer Kunstgattung*, Frankfurt 1969, 42.
[69] Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 69.
[70] Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 70-71.
[71] Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 71-74.
[72] Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 45-50.
[73] Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 76-79.
[74] Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 79-80.

istische Äquivalenz, as Seele calls it. The translation of Greek philosophers demands equivalence of content, whereas translated plays have to display *Wirkungsäquivalenz*.[75] As emerges from the sources, translators were eminently conscious of the pivotal role of the pragmatic function and the three different strategies to which it led.

BILINGUAL TEXTS

Bilingual texts offer insights into translation practice in the ancient world. They have the advantage, so it seems, of offering source text and target text at the same time. But unfortunately the picture is a little more complex. References to bilingual texts containing Latin have very recently been assembled by Adams,[76] and my own discussion will be limited to the question what bilingual texts can and cannot teach us about translation.

The oldest relevant bilingual text is the *Xanthos stele*, dating from about 358 BC, which is inscribed in Greek, Lycian and Aramaic and deals with the installation of a new cult. The Aramaic text dominates the stele because Aramaic was the official language of the Persian empire. But this does not mean that it was the source text. The initiative to the establishment of the new cult was taken by the locals, among whom this cult was already popular. The Greek and Lycian texts express this desire and it seems that the Aramaic text represents the imperial sanction of it. It seems that the Aramaic scribe used the Greek and Lycian texts and abbreviated them to compose the official act.[77] It would be very helpful if the relation between the Greek and Lycian could be cleared up by specialists in the field.

A further bilingual text is the Greek-Aramaic edict of the Buddhist king *Asoka* (ca. 268-233 BC). Before using a bilingual, it must of course be established that text A of a bingual served as source for text B. In the case of Asoka's edict the Greek and the Aramaic inscriptions are independent of each other. Since Asoka's other edicts are in Prakrit, it is probable that both texts they have been translated independently from a lost Prakrit original.[78]

Quite a number of bilingual texts come from Hellenistic Egypt,[79] the Rosetta Stone (196 BC) enjoying world fame. It is written in Greek and Egyptian, the latter in two varieties, hieratic and demotic. From a minute comparison of the Greek and Egyptian it appears that most of the transformations discussed in our next chapter are attested in the Rosetta Stone.[80] There is, however, a complication. Daumas' study of the translation techniques is based on the assumption that the Greek text was translated into Egyptian. Others think that the

[75] Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 80-86. See especially the early fragmentary remarks by Terence (ca. 195/190 - 159 BC).

[76] Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, Chapter 2.

[77] A. Dupont-Sommer, Le stèle trilingue récemment découverte au Lêtôon de Xanthos: le texte araméen, *Comptes rendes des séances de l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, Paris 1974, 138. Cf. in the same *comptes rendus*: H. Metzger, Le texte grec, 82-93 and E. Laroche, Le texte lycien, 115-125. The whole text is printed in KAI (2002), nr. 319.

[78] G.P. Carratelli & G. Garbini, *A bilingual Graeco-Aramaic Edict by Asoka. The First Greek Inscription Discovered in Afghanistan* (Serie Orientale Roma XXIX), Roma 1964. There exist also Prakrit-Greek bilinguals, cf. A. Christol, Les édits grecs d'Asoka: étude linguistique (1-2), *Journal Asiatique* 271 (1983), 25ff. and 278 (1990), 45ff. for the transformations employed in the Greek translation.

[79] F. Daumas, Les textes bilingues et trilingues, in: *Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique* (Bibliothèque d'Étude LXIV/3), 41-46.

[80] F. Daumas, *Les moyens d'expression du grec et de l'égyptien comparés dan les décrets de Canope et de Memphis*, Le Caire 1952.

hieroglyphic text formed the basis for the Demotic and Greek ones.[81] But according to more recent studies this is not possible, since in the Ptolemaic period hieroglyphs were fossilized whereas Demotic was the living variant of Egyptian. Therefore the Demotic version was probably produced first. But the text in all three versions is quite composite. For example, it seems that in passages steeped in Pharaonic ideology the hieroglyphic text holds the primacy and that the Greek and Demotic texts contain translations and interpretations of the Pharaonic titles and names. 'The record of the decree thus represents an intricate coalescence of three vital textual traditions, and the composition of the text cannot be reduced historically to a primary draft in one of the three scripts.'[82]

Bilingual texts have also been discovered among the Eyptian papyri. We will leave the bilingual glossaries or word lists aside[83] and start our discussion with interlinear texts. First there are interlinear texts in Homeric Greek, glossed in Koine Greek. We have for example a papyrus with Homer's *Iliad* where each line is alternated by a Koine translation. The Homer papyrus with its intralingual translation was used in schools, because Homer was difficult to read for the untrained pupil. In translation studies such a rewording is known as 'intralingual translation'.[84] Regarding the bilingual papyri in the strict sense I will limit myself to some illustrations. The first papyrus I would like to mention is a considerable fragment from Cicero's *Divinatio in Q. Caecilium*.[85] The Latin text contains glosses. Some are translations, e.g. *occulta* is glossed as *obscura*, some are exegetical, so *ille* is explained between the lines as *Verres* etc. There is one Greek gloss written between the lines, the others appear in the margin. Real translations are rare, e.g. *reperiare* is glossed as ευρεθης. Most other Greek glosses (some quite elaborate) are scholia expounding the text.

In our second papyrus a Latin fragment of Sallustius' *Catilinaria* is glossed in a way that comes close to interlinear translation.[86] Latin words have been glossed with Greek translations written just above them. This has been quite consistently done. The text between square brackets has been supplied from other copies of the *Catilinaria* and it is probable that these phrases were glossed as well. A fragment:

Recto (X, 4-5)

am[bitio]
κατηναγκασεν
[multos mortals falsos fie]ri subegit
εν τωι προχιρωι
[pectore, aliud in lingua i]n promptum habere

Verso (XI, 6-7)

ϊδια
[ri] ea, privatim et pupli[ce rapere, delubra spolia-]

[81] C. Lagier, *Autour de la pierre de Rosette*, Bruxelles 1927, 17.
[82] C. Andrews & S. Quirke, *The Rosetta Stone. Facsimile Drawings with Introduction and Translations*, London 1988, 9-10.
[83] See J. Kramer, *Glossaria bilinguia in papyris et membranis reperta* (Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 30), Bonn 1983; idem, *Glossaria bilinguia altera (c. gloss. biling. II)*, Leipzig 2001.
[84] Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies*, 5. For the Homeric fragment, see Pietersma, Interlinear Model, 348f.
[85] P. Ryl. 477 (5th century AD).
[86] PSI 110 = *Papiri greci e latini* I, Firenze 1912, nr. 110. A similar text is edited by C.H. Roberts, The Antinoë Fragment of Juvenal, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 21 (1935), [ca. 500 AD].

τα μικρα ϊερα
[re] sacra profanaque om[nia polluere.

The third relevant papyrus, which constitutes a stage between interlinear and full-fledged translation, is a copy of Vergil's *Aeneid* I.[87] It contains the Latin text and its Greek translation in two parallel columns. The text is very long so I will print a fragment (I, 236-238):[88]

hinc	απο τουτων
fore ductores	εσεσθαι ηγεμωνες
revocatò	ανακληθεντος
a sanguine Teucrì	απο ονοματος του Τευκρου
qui mare	οιτινες την θαλασσαν
qui terras	οιτινες χωρας
omni dicione	μια εν εξουσια
tenerent	κατεξουσιν
pollicitus	επηγγιλω
quae te genitor	τις σε γνωμη
sententia	ω γεννητωρ στρεψει
vertit hoc equidem	τουτου μεν ουν
occasum Troiae	την συμφοραν της Τροιας
tristesque ruinas	και πλημονας συμπτωσεις

According to the editor both columns have been written by the same experienced scribe. The text was probably copied 'for some scholastic purpose; but it is out of the question that a copy so finely written and on such a scale was the work of a schoolboy. It may perhaps have been a schoolmaster's copy or that of a private student of Vergil.' It seems probable indeed that this papyrus belongs to the schoolroom. The style of the Greek translation is not a sign of incompetence, but is devised as a student's aid. The word by word translation is not meant to replace the Latin, but to explain it.[89] The text is cut into tiny units that help the student to see which Greek word translates a Latin one. The translation cannot serve as an independent text, but of course someone could use the right column as the basis for a Greek Vergil translation. I would imagine that the most striking Latinisms would then be replaced, but that the syntax would remain thoroughly Latin, because the lay-out of the right column hinders an overview of syntactic structures and of the text as a whole.
On the analogy of these texts, Pietersma has recently made a case for interlinearity as a model that could have underlain the translators' approach in the LXX-Pentateuch.[90]

[87] There exist more papyri like this, sometimes confusingly called 'word-lists'. R.E. Gaebel, The Greek Word-Lists to Vergil and Cicero, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 52 (1969/70), 284-325 describes the particulars of a large number of such Latin-Greek papyri. See also the texts nrs. 8, 9, 10 in J. Kramer, *Glossaria bilinguia altera (c. gloss. biling. II)*, Leipzig 2001.
[88] P.Ryl. 478 (4th century AD). For the sake of convenience I have omitted editorial signs.
[89] Reichmann, *Römische Literatur in gr. Übersetzung*, 48. We also have translations from Greek by students of Latin, full of Latin language mistakes (P. Amh. II.26), discussed extensively by Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 725-750.
[90] Pietersma, Interlinear Model. See further our Conclusions to Genesis 2.

JEWISH VIEWS ON LANGUAGE AND TRANSLATION

From our survey of translation and views on language in Antiquity we have got an impression of the intellectual climate in which the Septuagint translators breathed. We know that Jews participated normally, even enthousiastically, in the Hellenistic society of Egypt.[91] We also know that there are striking similarities between Jewish and Hellenistic methods of interpretation, and that Alexandria is named as a place of contact.[92] But we have no records of scholarly encounters between Jews and Greeks. This is unfortunate, but we should not make the mistake of overemphasizing Greek thinking on language. The universalist and relativist° theories of language, for example, are in fact different extrapolations of everyday experiences with the phenomenon of language variety. Anyone thinking about similarities and differences between languages could come up with such views.

The oldest surviving Jewish statement on translation is the preface to the translation of the wisdom of Ben Sira. The Greek translation was made by the author's grandson towards the end of the second century BC. In his preface the translator makes the following statement:

> Παρακέκλησθε οὖν μετ' εὐνοίας καὶ προσοχῆς τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι καὶ συγγνώμην ἔχειν ἐφ' οἷς ἂν δοκῶμεν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν πεφιλοπονημένων τισὶν τῶν λέξεων ἀδυναμεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ἰσοδυναμεῖ αὐτὰ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς Εβραϊστὶ λεγόμενα καὶ ὅταν μεταχθῇ εἰς ἑτέραν γλῶσσαν· οὐ μόνον δὲ ταῦτα ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ νόμος καὶ αἱ προφητεῖαι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων οὐ μικρὰν ἔχει τὴν διαφορὰν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς λεγόμενα.
>
> You are asked, then, to read with sympathetic attention, and to make allowances wherever you think that, in spite of all the devoted work that has been put into the translation, some of the expressions I have used are inadequate. For what is said in Hebrew does not have the same meaning (lit. force) when translated into another tongue. Not only the present work, but even the law itself, as well as the prophets and the other writings, are not a little different when spoken in the original. (REB)

Many scholars take his statement 'as a purely rhetorical disclaimer that aims to head off any criticism of the work.'[93] This is correct, in my opinion. The central statement is that 'what is said in Hebrew does not have the same force (οὐκ ἰσοδυναμεῖ) when translated into another tongue.' Δύναμις lit. 'force' is *meaning*.[94] The verb ἰσοδυναμέω means literally 'to have the same force'[95] and is also used in the sense of 'to (counter)balance'.[96] In connection with language the verb ἰσοδυναμέω is: 'have the same meaning', as appears from the

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[91] J.M. Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt. From Rameses II to Emperor Hadrian*, Edinburgh 1995.

[92] D. Daube, Rabbinic Methods of Interpretation and Hellenistic Rhetoric, *Hebrew Union College Annual* 32 (1949), 239-264. The teachers of Hillel, who is credited with the Seven Principles of Torah Interpretation, are said to have studied and taught in Alexandria (p. 241).

[93] Wright, Access to the Source, 15. Wright himself proposes a new interpretation: Ben Sira's grandson wants to explain the difference between the idiomatic style of his preface and the Hebraistic Greek of his translation. But I daresay that he could have solved this 'problem' by not writing a preface at all…

[94] See our section on Translations and Translating into Greek (Iamblichus).

[95] Timaeus Locrus, *De natura mundi et animae* 95b, uses the term to describe the interrelationship of the different elements within the one world. It is translated as 'Gleichgewicht der Kraft' by the editor W. Marg (Leiden 1972).

[96] Polybius, *Histories* II, 56 says that he had to consult different points of view on what happened, ἵνα μὴ τὸ ψεῦδος ἐν τοῖς συγγράμμασιν ἰσοδυναμοῦν 'so that we will not give falsity the same chance as truth.'

references in the lexica. Philo too uses the verb in this sense. Having stated that Menasseh is Joseph's elder son, but the weaker one, he continues:

> Εἰκότως· καλεῖται γὰρ ἐκ λήθης, τὸ δὲ ἰσοδυναμοῦν ἐστι πρᾶγμα ἀναμνήσει.
> And rightly so, for he is called 'saved from oblivion', which has the same meaning as 'remembering'.[97]

Ben Sira's grandson says, then, that words in different languages do not have the same meaning. This sounds commonplace enough, and it is not surprising that scholars have tried to attribute a deeper sense to it. Wright, for example, holds that Ben Sira's passage is about 'rhetorical power or force', but this is unlikely. 'Rhetorical power' is not usually the meaning of δύναμις. It may be disappointing that we are dealing with a commonplace, but it has only become a commonplace *to us* in the light of 2000 years of translators' prefaces that express the thought that words in different languages do not have the same meaning in innumerable variations. For Ben Sira's grandson, who stood at the cradle of this commonplace, it may have been quite a discovery.

It has often been observed that there is a marked difference between the stylistic ease of the prologue and the Hebraistic Greek of the translation. That this is not due to a sudden inability to write good Greek goes without saying. The translator wrote Hebraistic Greek on purpose. He did his work for an interested circle[98] that cherished certain expectations, probably on the basis of their experiences with the LXX-Pentateuch.[99] It is not surprising that often the importance of the intended function is stressed in translators' prologues.

The *Letter of Aristeas* now deserves our attention, not as an accurate witness of historical events in the 3rd century BC, but as an expression of views of language and translation in 2nd century Alexandria.[100] It is remarkable that the letter, counting 322 paragraphs, devotes ample space to all kinds of details, but little to the actual work of translation. In ten paragraphs the author mentions the circumstances of the actual translation work: peace and quiet, good food, team work, daily rhythm, ritual purity and duration of the work.[101] On the completion of the work the translation is read aloud, the translators are praised, and by a ceremony of curses the text is shielded against revision.[102] The only clue the Letter give us regarding principles or strategy of translation[103] is 'accuracy' (§ 310) of the Septuagint. This term is often used in connection with literal translation. But that does not add anything to our knowledge of the LXX-Pentateuch we did not know already.

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[97] Philo, *De migratione Abrahami* 205.

[98] He wrote καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ παροικίᾳ βουλομένοις φιλομαθεῖν προκατασκευαζομένους τὰ ἤθη ἐννόμως βιοτεύειν 'also for the use of those who have made their home in a foreign land, and wish to study and so train themselves to live according to the law.' (REB)

[99] Cf. Wright, Access to the Source, 19; Van der Kooij, The Origin and Purpose of Some Bible Translations in Ancient Judaism, 213.

[100] For an introduction see Jobes-Silva, *Invitation*, 33-36 and T.M. de Wit-Tak, *De oorsprong van de Griekse Bijbel. De brief van Aristeas over het ontstaan van de Septuagint* (Christelijke bronnen 7), Kampen 1995 [Dutch]. Edition: M. Hadas (ed.), *Aristeas to Philocrates (Letter of Aristeas)*, New York 1973.

[101] *Aristeas to Philocrates* (ed. Hadas), 301-307.

[102] *Aristeas to Philocrates*, 308-311.

[103] An enigmatic and much debated remark about inaccurate existing manuscripts (Hebrew or Greek?) in *Aristeas to Philocrates* 30 is taken by some scholars to mean that the new translation should surpass existing Greek translations – indeed, the starting point of every translation. Cf. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study*, 51.

The Jewish scholar Philo of Alexandria (1st AD) absorbed many elements from Greek philosophy, notably Platonism and Stoicism. Philo's view of language is summarized as follows by Otte: 'In einem einzigen, ungeteilten Sein haben die Weltwirklichkeit, die Menschen und die Sprache als zeitlich vergangene und gegenwärtige ihre wesensmässige Begründung, weil sie als jeweilige Konkretionen dieses Seins gedacht sind. Die Qualität der jeweiligen Umwelt, des Menschen und der Sprache bemisst sich aus ihrer Nähe zum Sein. Die in den Phänomenen wirkende Kraft des Seins ist Massstab für die Gestalt und noetische Relevanz des Seienden:
1. Nur under der Wirksamkeit des Seins stehende Menschen können echte Sprache schaffen und verstehen.
2. Nur eine seinsgemässe Umwelt und Tradition stellt den Menschen in der Weise unter die Wirksamkeit des Seins, dass ihm das nötige Vorverständnis der echten Sprache zueignet, welches zum vollen Verständnis der echten Sprache führt.
Sprache, Mensch und Umwelt stehen in einem vom Sein bestimmten Korrelationsverhältnis, dessen variable Grössen Mensch und Umwelt, dessen konstante Grössen die schriftlichen Sprachzeugnisse sind. Das Verständnis echter Sprache verlangt deshalb eine ihr gemässe Umwelt und einen ihr gemässen Menschen. Die Idealität einer Umwelt vermittelt sich durch den Menschen in die zu schaffende Sprache.'[104]
Philo gives parallel accounts of three types of wise men who employed speech in its most adequate sense: the Therapeutae, the Essenes and the Septuagint translators.[105] The latter had ideal qualifications, lived in ideal surroundings, and worked with ideal hermeneutics. Were the above summary all we know of Philo, we could have deduced that he did not cherish a theory of easy translatability, since the conditions for true and real speech are so limited in his philosophy. But he had to account for the Greek translation of the Torah, which served as a source text for his biblical exegesis. Philo found the answer by extolling the Septuagint translation into an unparalleled and unrepeatable event.[106] It was commissioned by the most excellent representative of the most exalted dynasty. The task was entrusted to Jewish men who emerged from King Ptolemy's examinations as the wisest men on earth. They were given the most purified place, the Island of Pharos, among the four elements: earth, water, air and heaven.[107] These elements were the rough material of creation, with which the Torah opens, and at the same time hermeneutical catalysts.[108] In this primeval setting the translators,

> καθάπερ ἐνθουσιῶντες προεφήτευσαν, οὐκ ἄλλα ἄλλοι, τὰ δ' αὐτὰ πάντες ὀνόματα καὶ ῥήματα, ὥσπερ ὑποβολέως ἑκάστοις ἀοράτως ἐνεχοῦντος.
> as if inspired by God, became like prophets, not everyone with different words, but everyone with the same words and the same turns, as if an invisible prompter had dictated them.[109]

No word about translation so far! In fact, one gets the impression that Philo considered this event not a translation, but rather a re-enactment of the divine revelation.[110] Philo goes on

[104] Otte, *Sprachverständnis*, 12. In the summary 'Sprache' does not mean 'language' but 'speech'.
[105] Otte, *Das Sprachverständnis bei Philo von Alexandrien*, 11-43.
[106] *De vita Mosis* II, 25-45. See Otte, *Das Sprachverständnis bei Philo von Alexandrien*, 32-43.
[107] *De vita Mosis* II, 37.
[108] Otte, *Das Sprachverständnis bei Philo von Alexandrien*, 37, 96.
[109] *De vita Mosis* II, 37.
[110] Cf. S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study*, 40-41. Veltri, (Un)übersetzbarkeit 304, is therefore mistaken when he makes Philo believe in basic translatability.

to say that the choice of synonyms and stylistic variants (the normal procedures of translation) did not occupy the thoughts of the wise men. But with mathematic precision

> (φασί) συνεχθῆναι δ' εἰς ταὐτὸν κύρια κυρίοις ὀνόμασι, τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ τοῖς Χαλδαϊκοῖς, ἐναρμοσθέντα εὖ μάλα τοῖς δηλουμένοις πράγμασιν.[111]
> the appropriate Greek words rendered the appropriate Chaldaic [Hebrew] words, optimally adapted to the things that had to be explained.

This miraculous correspondence between the Hebrew and the Greek texts is confirmed by expert bilinguals, says Philo, who acknowledge the translators as ἱεροφάντας καὶ προφήτας 'mystery teachers and prophets'. Indeed, as Otte says, '[e]s geht nicht in erster Linie um die Gleichkeit der beiden sprachlichen Fassungen, sondern um die Identität von Sein und seinsgemässer Sprache in jeder der Fassungen, und erst auf Grund dieser Identität wird im zweiten Schritt die Gleichkeit der beiden sprachlichen Fassungen gefolgert.'[112] The implication of Philo's view is that for biblical exegesis recourse to the Hebrew text is not necessary and certainly not superior to an exegesis of the Greek text.

It would be a mistake to think that suchs views are typical of cosmopolitic diaspora Judaism and that rabbinic Judaism was more particularistic with respect to language. It is often thought that 'the' rabbinic view of language is characterized by the fundamental distinction between the 'holy tongue' (Hebrew) and other languages, which results in the concept of untranslatability. I leave rabbinic evaluations of the Septuagint aside[113] and focus on utterances about language and translation that seem to be independent of the LXX-reception.

Rabbinic literature indeed knows of a particularist view of language in its concept of לשון הקדש, the 'holy tongue',[114] especially in Palestine, where Hebrew held prestige as a religious language. It is a far shot to detect hermetic influence (Veltri), since this view is already attested in the *Book of Jubilees* (2nd century BC), which considers Hebrew the language of creation and revelation. After the Fall humans and animals lost their one unifying language. God brought knowledge of the language of creation back to Abraham by teaching him the Hebrew language and the interpretation of the holy books.[115] The fixation of the Hebrew biblical text made a kind of exegesis possible whereby details of spelling were subject to interpretation. Rabbi Akiva even drew exegesis from the (ornamental) crowns on the letters. If every detail of the Hebrew text was pervaded with meaning, it was surely impossible to believe in a 'transfer of meaning' from one language to another. This school of thought was very suspicious of translation. The existing translation of the Torah into Greek could not be made undone, so the next best option was revising the Greek text into as much formal correspondence with the details of the Hebrew as possible. The climax of this development is Aquila's Bible translation.[116] In a later stage the mystic belief emerged that the universe was created with the help of the Hebrew alphabet.

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[111] *De vita Mosis* II, 38.
[112] Otte, *Sprachverständnis*, 35.
[113] I refer to the extensive study by G. Veltri, *Eine Tora für den König Talmai.*
[114] Veltri, (Un)übersetzbarkeit, 313.
[115] Jubilees 3:28; 12:24-25, in: J.H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols. New York 1983-1985. For a discussion of this and more pertinent texts, see M. Rubin, The Language of Creation, 309ff.
[116] The *Gemara* (6th century AD) seeks to establish Aquila's translation method as the sole one and from this viewpoint discredits the Septuagint; see Veltri, *Tora für Talmai*, 213-216.

Next to this particularist view, the universalist view of language is attested in rabbinic sources. Some sayings have been recorded by Veltri,[117] but he missed one of the most radical assertions I know of. In a midrash on Exodus 20:1 'And God spoke all these words', the rabbis discuss several questions. Now according to Jewish tradition all nations of the world, seventy in total, were gathered at the foot of Mount Sinai. On that occasion the Holy One, blessed be He, invited every nation to accept his Torah, but in vain. Only the people of Israel would take it. Against this background we can understand the following saying:[118]

> ר׳ יוחנן אמר קול א׳ נחלק לז׳ קולות והם נתחלקים לע׳ לשון
> Rabbi Jochanan said: One voice was divided into 7 voices and these divided themselves into 70 languages.

In this Midrash, dating back to the 1st century AD,[119] there is no hint at the superiority of Hebrew. The divine speech is equally communicable into all languages, a universalist thought indeed.[120] In a later, different tradition it is said that the promulgation of the written Torah took place in four languages simultaneously: Hebrew, Latin, Arabic and Aramaic.[121] This is tantamount to saying that no language is divine. Indeed, Rabbi Yishmael (2nd century AD) stated squarely that the Torah speaks human language.[122] Rabbinic texts mention translations of liturgical texts. According to Veltri, rabbinic tradition approved of translation of the Torah into Greek and only opposed a written Greek text containing deviations from the Hebrew.[123] As is well known, already in the pre-Christian era there was a widespread practice of interpreting[124] for liturgical use, from which the Targums originate. They constitute a type of translation that directs all transformations towards the supreme goal of the liturgical function and so comes close to the Roman practice of rhetorical translation. The *meturgemans* employed additions, omissions,[125] embellishments,

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[117] Other universalist sayings are recorded in Veltri, (Un)übersetzbarkeit, 309ff.
[118] *Shemot Rabba / Exodus Rabba* 28.
[119] The Midrash is attributed to Rabbi Jochanan (3rd century AD), but it underlies the famous NT passage of Acts 2 and must hence be older. There a multiplication of languages takes place on the Feast of Weeks (Pentecost), at which the giving of the Torah (!) was celebrated (חג מתן תורה).
[120] A digression: one is reminded of the 'pure language' of the Jewish philosopher Walter Benjamin, which in his view is hidden, even fettered in texts 'bis ans messianische Ende': „Jene reine Sprache, die in die fremde gebannt ist, in der eigenen zu erlösen, die im Werk gefangene in der Umdichtung zu befreien, ist die Aufgabe des Übersetzers. (...) Die wahre Übersetzung ist durchscheinend, sie verdeckt nicht das Original, steht ihm nich im Licht, sondern lässt die reine Sprache, wie verstärkt durch ihr eigenes Medium, nur um so voller aufs Original fallen." However, by placing all weight upon form ('die Art des Meinens') instead of content ('das Gemeinte'), Benjamin ends up in the relativist camp and advocates literal translation. He therefore continues: „Das vermag vor allem Wörtlichkeit in der Übertragung der Syntax, und gerade sie erweist das Wort, nicht den Satz als das Urelement des Übersetzers. Denn der Satz ist die Mauer vor der Sprache des Originals, Wörtlichkeit die Arkade."
W. Benjamin, Die Aufgabe des Übersetzers [1923], in: H.J. Störig (ed.), *Das Problem des Übersetzens* (Wege der Forschung VIII), Darmstadt 1963, 155-169; English translation in: L. Venuti, *The Translation Studies Reader*, New York and London 2000, 15-25.
[121] *Sifre Deuteronomy* § 343, quoted in D.H. Aaron, The Doctrine of Hebrew Language, in: J. Neusner, A.J. Avery-Peck, *The Blackwell Companion to Judaism,* Oxford 2000, 268-287. For other rabbinic statements in this vein, see M. Rubin, The Language of Creation, 317f.
[122] H.L. Strack & G. Stemberger*, Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch* (7. Auflage), München 1982, 30f.
[123] Veltri, *Tora für Talmai*, 150. Cf. Aaron, The Doctrine of Hebrew Language, 277.
[124] Into Aramaic or other languages, see Veltri, *Tora für Talmai*, 180ff.
[125] Cf. the tradition in Mishna *Megilla* 4 about sensitive passages that are to be left untranslated.

interpretations of all kinds etc. The famous dictum by Rabbi Yehuda bar Ilai (2nd century AD) has to be understood in the light of this tradition:

> ר׳ יהודה אומר המתרגם פסוק כצורתו הרי זה בדאי והמוסיף עליו הרי זה מחיף ומגדף
> Rabbi Yehuda said: Who translates one verse literally is a falsifier, who adds anything is a blasphemer.[126]

This saying is transmitted in two passages dealing with translation of the Torah that are quite different and it is plausible to assume that the dictum has functioned independently.[127] It sounds radical but in fact it is quite balanced since it neither subscribes to literal translation nor to paraphrasing. Rabbi Yehuda condemns literal translation, or 'translating according to its exact form' as the Hebrew says. Since he was a pupil of Rabbi Akiva it may be that 'translating according to its exact form' means the highly form-oriented translation style that we know from Aquila, who also belonged to R. Akiva's school.[128] In that case the saying admits that a morphematic translator is 'falsifying', i.e. does not communicate correctly. Regarding illegitimate additions, Veltri explains them as additions 'auf eigene Faust' of the Torah interpreter that go beyond traditional interpretations or rabbinic authority.[129] Indeed, in the light of common targumic technique it is not plausible to assume that R. Yehudah's saying dismisses any kind of translation that contains additions, explicitations and interpretations, commonly known as 'free translation'. It seems to dismiss all too consistent adherence to either method: neither literal nor free translation is wholly satisfying. Literal translation is content with meaning transfer but does not build a bridge between the sense of the text and the situation of the audience, which was of course the main concern of the rabbis. Unbounded paraphrase is also condemned. Rabbi Yehuda does not say which method is then to be recommended, but from the targumic evidence we can gather that it must have been a kind of 'funktionsgerechtes Übersetzen' that was governed by the liturgical function of the translation.

CONCLUSIONS

Our survey of thoughts on language and translation in Antiquity presents a consistently diverse picture. The debate between the universalist and relativist views on language (with their implications for translation) went through all linguistic and religious communities we have discussed, not only the Greek, but also – which is little known – the Jewish. From Jewish translations and relevant reflections it emerges that Jewish views of language and translation were much more diverse than is often assumed. They ranged from the particularist notion of the holy tongue to the opposite, universalist language view. Within the latter framework the translation strategy was related to the intended function.

Throughout the Hellenistic period language was professionally studied in different contexts, originating in literary / textual criticism and rhetoric. Etymological, morphological and grammatical issues were studied. Word classes, for example, were known and it is no coincidence that adherence to word classes is an important feature of the bilingual Vergil

[126] Tosefta *Megilla* 4.41; Babylonian Talmud *Qiddushin* 49a.
[127] See Veltri, *Tora für Talmai* 209ff. for a discussion. The fact that Veltri in his interpretation of the two passages focuses on illegitimate paraphrasing but ignores the phrase 'who translates one verse literally is a falsifier' suggests that the connection of the saying with its context is secondary.
[128] D. Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila* (Suppl. Vetus Testamentum 10), Leiden 1963, 3-30.
[129] Veltri, *Tora für Talmai*, 209ff.

texts. The professional study of language for the purpose of rhetoric was highly developed. Sophists and orators showed high awareness of the decisive roles of target audience, text type, pragmatic function, style, metaphors etc. The art of *rhetorica* was applied to translation by the Romans. Most problems arising from today's practice of translation were already discussed as such by Roman translators. Roman translations range from very literal to very free, depending on the intended function of the texts. Translators, Cicero in particular, used three (not two) translation strategies, depending on the three classical text types and their intended function (*historia, poetica, rhetorica*).

The practice of translation yielded many insights. People involved in language differences discovered, for example, that lemmas in two languages never overlap (Cicero, Ben Sira's grandson). In Antiquity there were no advocates of either 'literal' or 'free' translation. Cicero and the translators of *Ben Sira's Wisdom* and the *Life of Imuthes* were conscious of the determining role of the intended function of the translated text, to which the method of translation was made subordinate. This explains the difference between various styles, ranging from the very free targums to the very literal bilingual Vergil texts, which could exist side by side. Bilingual texts open up a fruitful area in this respect.

Chapter 3

Inventory of transformations

INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the procedures translators use to solve their problems and to achieve their goals. We will not focus on how translators *should* work, but on how they *do* work. Every category is therefore illustrated with examples from both modern and ancient translations.[1] This shows that translation procedures have not changed over 2000 years. Modern linguistic labels can be applied to ancient translations with surprising ease.

The identification of transformations is only the first step. Apart from the helpful terminological refinement, the advantage of labelling is that it raises the real question, *why* do translators apply transformations.[2] The answer is obvious: because a literal translation does not work! Literal translation is always the easiest and fastest method. Even the 'free translator' proceeds literally most of the time, at least in prose and transformations are used to solve translational problems that would arise from a literal rendering. This has an important methodological implication. *Behind each transformation stands a literal rendering that has been rejected.*

Thus when we encounter a 'free rendering' we should not only categorize it as a transformation, but also investigate its rationale by studying the literal translation that was *not* chosen. In many cases the translational problem then surfaces. The rejected literal rendering – often there is more than one possibility – should be scrutinized first from a linguistic angle, then from the viewpoint of style, logic, communicative purpose, culture and world view / ideology.[3] This order should be kept, for we cannot point to ideology where simply the norms of the target language have been obeyed. We should also check whether the translator just takes the 'next-literal' rendering, or seizes the opportunity for farther reaching operations. If we suspect the latter, we should look at the rejected next-literal rendering too.

When we have found out for all transformations in a section on what levels the translator identified his translational problems, we get an impression of the translational *norms* that guided him.[4] The relationship between the motives behind the transformations will also reveal something about the hierarchy of these norms in the mind of the translator. Not that this *hierarchy* is always conscious. A beginning translator, for example, starts with unconscious assumptions about 'translating faithfully'. A hidden hierarchy will stamp his work.

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[1] With the examples of Vinay and Darbelnet this is not always the case, but the examples in the systematic part of their book are matched by examples from published translations in their discussion of translated passages at the end of the book.

[2] Cf. Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, 85.

[3] 'Man darf sich nicht vom ersten Eindruck der theologischen Exegese täuschen lassen'; A. Aejmelaeus, Von Sprache zur Theologie. Methodologische Überlegungen zur Theologie der Septuaginta (§ 3), in: Knibb, *Septuagint and Messianism.* On methodology cf. Th. van der Louw, Linguistic or Ideological Shifts?

[4] Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, 56ff., 93ff; C. Schäffner (ed.), *Translation and Norms*, Clevedon 1999.

Transformations, obligatory or not, can be employed for different reasons. The same sort of transformation can be used to arrive at a grammatically correct sentence or a natural sounding target text, to dispose of a nasty logical problem, to change the meaning of the source text or to excel it. What unites classical and modern translation practice is that translation serves communication. In other words, translators are concerned with bringing across (their interpretation of) semantic content and if possible, in an attractive way. Many translators are first concerned with content, only in the second instance with form.

A separate problem is posed by prose translators for whom the transfer of form is of first importance, even at the expense of intelligibility.[5] Often they try to imitate SL morphology in the TL. Such translations, like the version of Aquila and the decrees of the Roman Senate, could be called 'literal', but in fact they go beyond literalness, i.e. in the opposite direction compared to 'free translation'. For example, if a translator renders 'neulich', 'offensichtlich' and 'Kreissparkasse' with respectively 'newly', 'opensightedly' and 'circle-spare-cashbox' (see below), these are not literal but morphematic translations. Since I want to count transformations for statistical comparison, I cannot use 'morphematic translation' and 'graphological translation' (see below) as labels. If I would count them as transformations and process them statistically, I would have to list three transformations, whereas a text with the literal renderings 'recently', 'apparently' and 'regional bank' would get zero transformations. This would lead to a distorted picture.

How to deal with this issue? Although one could correctly consider morphematic and graphological translation as 'mirrored' or 'negative' transformations, it is not helpful to pursue this line of thinking, because it becomes difficult when you have to count them. Counting transformations that *could have been employed* is subjective, for it silently poses an ideal translation, a normative concept. Another possibility is *ranking* transformations. You could give transformations on the morphemic level a zero, transformations on word level a 1 or a 2 and transformations on sentence or discourse level higher figures. But it is difficult to rank all transformations appropriately and even if you would succeed, such ranking would entail a great deal of interpretation before entering figures into a chart. For the time being we have to accept that no suitable equipment to deal with the morphematic style of translating exists. This is because it is historically peripheral, whereas Translation Studies deals with mainstream translations.

For the sake of clarity I have mainly limited myself to prose translations and collected transformations that are fairly obvious. This does not mean that the examples below always represent the best possible renderings. Other renderings are also possible. If nineteen translators handle the same ST, this will result in 19 different translations.[6]

As process-oriented research has shown, transformations are not consciously applied by translators. They do not think: 'Antonymic° and converse° translations haven't worked, let me try a specification.' A translator is faced with a *problem* and solutions then come to mind, the ones requiring least effort first.[7] Larose rightly concludes: 'Or, les procédés dont

[5] For poetry, which we will leave out of the discussion, the (functional) rendering of formal features is of course always essential.

[6] Wilss, *Übersetzungswissenschaft*, 207 illustrates this with 19 different translations of the same sentence during an examination. Further on he lists 28 variants of the same sentence (255-257).

[7] Chesterman, *Memes of Translation*, 89-116. For translation as problem-solving see also P. Zabalbeascoa, *From Techniques to Types of Solutions*, in: A. Beeby et al. (ed.), *Investigating Translation* (BTL 32), Amsterdam / Philadelphia 2000, 117-127. For the 'minimax strategy' cf. Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies*, 62.

parlent Vinay et Darbelnet ne sont pas des algorithmes de traduction, mais des étiquettes apposées à des résultats.'[8]

From existing studies no categorization can be adopted unmodified for the purpose of the present study.[9] The classic by Vinay and Darbelnet, *Stylistique comparée du français et de l'anglais*, which has demonstrated its practical value so well that an English translation appeared in the 1990s,[10] distinguishes seven 'translation procedures':

1	emprunt	[borrowing]
2	calque	[calque]
3	traduction littérale	[literal translation]
4	transposition	[transposition]
5	modulation	[modulation]
6	équivalence	[equivalence]
7	adaptation	[adaptation]

This list has been criticized by Wilss: the seven categories are rather vague, covering too broad a range of phenomena and partly overlapping.[11] For our purpose, the limited number of seven categories is not enough. The 'translation techniques' listed by Peter Newmark are more numerous.[12] He distinguishes at least fifteen well-defined transformations, some of which do not occur in other lists. Although the labels are not ordered very well,[13] some of them suit our purpose.

The dissertation of the Dutch translator Arthur Langeveld,[14] widely used as a textbook for students of translation, provides no theoretical framework, but focuses on the practice of translation and limits itself to a description of differences between languages and of the most important 'transformations'. His classification is based on the work of the Russian scholars V.N. Komissarov and L.S. Barkhudarov.[15] It is Langeveld's presentation of translation techniques which I take as a point of departure. His categories are hierarchically ordered, which allows him to draw clear lines between transformations while simultaneously showing their interrelations. An outline of his classification:

A. The elements of ST and TT display a visible relationship
  1. grammatical changes
    a. change of word class
    b. change of syntactic structure

[8] Larose, *Théories contemporaines de la traduction*, Sillery 1989, 17. Cf. Fawcett, *Linguistic Theories Explained*, 51.

[9] Different classifications are listed in Fawcett, *Linguistic Theories Explained*, Chapter 4.

[10] Other works in this school of thought: A. Malblanc, *Pour une stylistique comparée du français et de l'allemand,* Paris 1944; (revised edition: Paris 1961); P. Scavée and P. Intravia, *Stylistique comparée du français et de l'italien*, Paris 1969. In A. Beeby et al. (ed.), *Investigating Translation* (BTL 32), Amsterdam / Philadelphia 2000 Spanish contributors give a positive reappraisal of Vinay & Darbelnet.

[11] Wilss, *Übersetzungswissenschaft*, Kap. V.

[12] P. Newmark, *A Textbook of Translation*, New York/London 1988.

[13] See the criticism by Stolze, *Übersetzungstheorien*, § 5.3.

[14] A. Langeveld, *Vertalen wat er staat. Aspecten van het vertalen*, Amsterdam 1988 [Dutch, with a summary in English]. This is an augmented edition of *Vertalen wat er staat,* Amsterdam/Antwerpen 1986/1994[4]. The page-numbering is based on the dissertation, the numbers between square brackets refer to the trade edition.

[15] Langeveld*, Vertalen wat er staat,* 14-15 [13-14] in chapter 5 of the dissertation [not in trade edition].

2. lexical changes
    a. concretization
    b. generalization
    c. cause - effect v.v.
    d. antonymic translation
3. additions
4. omissions
5. rearrangement of semantic features (componential analysis)

B. The relationship between ST and TT lies in the situation described

C. The relationship between ST and TT lies in their function in a situation
translation of idioms, associations
translation of the poetic, expressive and appellative functions of language

Admittedly, this classification has its shortcomings too. Section A. and B. deal with word and sentence level, whereas C. tries to incorporate elements from Reiss' text typology that imply a macrostructural analysis. I have extended Langeveld's sections A. and B. with supplementary categories, and replaced C. with a new set of labels from other sources. Here follows the outline of my own categorization.

Graphological translation

Phonological translation

Transcription / borrowing (loanword)

Loan translation / calque

Literal translation

Modulations or lexical changes
a. Antonymic translation
b. Converse translation
c. Translation of cause and effect v.v.
d. Specification
e. Generalization
f. Modification
g. Cultural 'equivalent'

Transpositions or grammatical changes
a. Change of accidence
b. Change of word class
c. Change of syntactic function
d. Change in word and clause order

'Addition'

'Omission'

Redistribution of semantic features

Situational translation

Idiomatic translation of idiom

Non-idiomatic translation

Explicitation

Implicitation

Anaphoric translation

Stylistic translation & compensation

Morphematic translation

CATEGORIES OF TRANSFORMATIONS

Phonological translation

In Catford's definition, the theoretical category of phonological translation is 'restricted translation in which the SL phonology of a text is replaced by equivalent TL phonology.'[16] As most translations are semantically oriented, pure phonological translation is exceptional. But there are cases where 'the translator attempts to reproduce at least some features of SL phonology in the TL text – i.e. performs a partial phonological translation [...].'[17]
Examples given by Catford (not from translated literature):

[English]	had	χεντ	[phonological translation into Greek]
[English]	platonic love	puratonik-kurabu	[into transcribed Japanese]

Transcription/borrowing (loanword)

Three kinds of transcription exist, depending on the degree of assimilation of the SL word to the TL system.
1. In languages that share the same writing system, SL lexemes in their original spelling may be copied into the TL (this is not usually called transcription). This happens, for example, with proper names of Spanish or French politicians in Dutch newspapers. Readers have to be aware that these names must be pronounced in a Spanish or French way. Many

[16] Catford, *Linguistic Theory*, 56.
[17] Catford, *Linguistic Theory*, 61. Whether it occurs in LXX is debated (see Chapter 1).

loanwords owe their existence to this procedure, in Dutch e.g. 'déjà-vu', 'enfant terrible', 'ghost-writer', 'computer', 'Vorlage' and 'Weltschmerz'.
2. Transcription in its commonly accepted sense is a transformation whereby the (supposed) pronunciation of an SL word (be it a proper name or a lexeme) is represented by means of the TL writing system and its conventions. This happens between languages with a different writing system. A student's word list with transcriptions of Latin words and their Greek counterparts has been found:

> ΑΙΚΟΥΣ (equus) = ΙΠΠΟΣ
> ΛΟΥΠΟΥΣ (lupus) = ΛΥΚΟΣ etc.[18]

For modern examples of transcribed proper names we only need to glance at a newspaper. Examples of transcribed nouns that have become loan words in English are 'datcha', 'perestroika' and 'sabbath', in Koine Greek δικτατούρα.[19] Cicero apologizes for using Greek loan words:

> *enitar, ut Latine loquar, nisi in huiusque modi verbis ut philosophiam aut rhetoricam aut physicam aut dialecticam appellem, quibus ut aliis multis consuetudo iam utitur pro Latinis.*
> Ich werde mich bemühen, Latein zu sprechen, ausser bei Wörtern wie Philosophie, Rhetorik, Physik oder Dialektik, die wie viele andere auch, der Sprachgebrauch schon wie Lateinische Wörter gebraucht.[20]

3. A third category is 'naturalized transcription', whereby the transcribed word is normalized, i.e. adapted to TL morphology. Examples of this are 'thatchérisme' (in French), 'Performanz' (in German), 'surfen' (in Dutch), and לטלפן 'to phone' (in Modern Hebrew), which probably originated as neologisms in translations. Examples in Koine Greek are κομέτιον (*comitium*),[21] Ἀκύλας (*Aquila*), in Latin e.g. *evangelizare* and *Ulixes* (Ὀδυσσεύς).

Loan translation/calque

A loan translation 'is a special kind of borrowing, whereby one language borrows an expression form of another, but then translates literally each of its elements.'[22] The device of loan translation, consciously applied in order to fill a lacuna in the TL, must be distinguished from morphological translation in those cases where no lexical lacuna exists. Many words that originated as loan translations became accepted lexemes in modern languages. In the following examples the left column gives the source language.

sky-scraper	Wolkenkratzer
Gastarbeiter	guest-worker
the man in the street	l'homme dans la rue
orbis (terrarum)	κύκλος[23]

[18] Reichmann, *Römische Literatur in gr. Übersetzung*, 54. For a discussion of Latin texts in Greek characters (and *vice versa*), see Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 40-63.
[19] Reichmann, *Römische Literatur in gr. Übersetzung*, 23. An extensive discussion of 'code-switching' in Cicero's writings is offered by Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, Ch. 3.
[20] Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 37, with her translation.
[21] Reichmann, *Römische Literatur in gr. Übersetzung*, 23; LSJ 975a.
[22] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 32.
[23] Reichmann, *Römische Literatur in gr. Übersetzung*, 30.

operam dare	ἐργασίαν διδόναι[24]
ἀδιάφορον	indifferens[25]

Literal translation

A literal translation is a transformation whereby a SL lexeme is rendered by its expected TL counterpart or lexical meaningº, while SL syntactic structures are substituted by formally corresponding ones. Literal translation not only occurs at the lexical, but also at the syntactic level. It is still a common device in modern translations, especially between closely related languages. In practice, only relatively short sentences allow for literal translation. The longer the sentence, the more likely it has to be adapted to the TL syntax.
Geographical names can be translated literally as well. Then we are dealing with the standard SL term for the same reality denoted by the TL term. For example, Arabic *misr* is commonly translated as 'Egypt', and῾Ελλάς as 'Greece'.

How many fish have you caught?	Wieviele Fische hast du gefangen?[26]
בְּרֵאשִׁית בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֵת הָאָרֶץ׃	In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth. (Genesis 1:1, REB)
Mais notre pourcentage du PNB consacré aux dépenses de l'enseignement supérieur est quand même plus grand que celui de presque tous nos voisins.	But our percentage of GNP devoted to expenditure on higher education is nevertheless greater than that of almost all our neighbours.[27]
Ter munus gladiatorum dedi meo nomine et quinquiens filiorum aut nepotum nomine, quibus muneribus depugnaverunt hominum circiter decem milia.	Τρὶς μονομαχίας ἔδωκα τῶι ἐμῶι ὀνόματι καὶ πεντάκις τῶν υἱῶν μου ἢ υἱωνῶν, ἐν αἷς μονομαχίαις ἐπύκτευσαν ὡς μύριοι.[28]
[Dreimal habe ich in meinem eigenen Namen Gladiatorenspiele veranstaltet und fünfmal in dem meiner Söhne oder Enkel; bei diesen Spielen kämpften etwa zehntausend Menschen.]	

Modulations or lexical changes

In Langeveld's definition, lexical changes are TL renderings of SL words or word groups which are not their normal 'equivalents' found in dictionaries.[29] A semantic change is called for when a literal translation results in a grammatically correct utterance, but one that is considered unsuitable, unidiomatic or awkward.

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[24] Reichmann, *Römische Literatur in gr. Übersetzung*, 18.
[25] Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 29.
[26] W. Wilss, *Übersetzungswissenschaft*, 115.
[27] Newmark, *Textbook*, 68.
[28] Weber, *Res gestae divi Augusti* 22 and Weber's translation.
[29] Langeveld, *Vertalen wat er staat*, 81: 'Regelmatig worden BT-woorden en -woordgroepen vertaald met DT-woorden of -woordgroepen die niet hun normale, in woordenboeken vastgelegde equivalenten zijn. Wij kunnen dan van lexicale veranderingen spreken.'

a. Antonymic translation

An antonymic translation is a transformation in which an SL element is rendered by its TL antonym plus a negation. For the sake of simplicity we do not distinguish between simple (e.g. dead/alive, hit/miss) and gradable° antonyms (e.g. rich/poor, fast/slow). English has many understatements that have to be translated antonymically into other European languages. The same holds true for Latin. Expressions like *nonnulli* 'not few' = 'many' and *haud ignotus* 'not unknown' = 'famous' ask for antonymic counterparts in Greek.

It does not seem unlikely	Il est fort probable[30]
He is no mean performer on the violin	Il joue supérieurement du violon[31]
Il ne tardera pas à rentrer.	He 'll be back in a moment.[32]
γένεσιν δὲ οὐκ ἔχον [not having an origin]	*carens generatione*[33] [lacking an origin]
… μὴ ἄλλο τι εἶναι τὸ αὐτὸ ἑαυτὸ κινοῦν ἢ ψυχή [that there is nothing that is moving itself except the soul]	*quae si est una ex omnibus. quae se ipse moveat…*[34] [the nature of the soul] which is unique. That which moves itself…

b. Converse translation

A converse translation is a transformation that renders SL phrases with their TL converse counterparts.[35]

Il sera distribué à chaque homme...	Each person will receive...[36]
The well-being of all nations depends in no small measure on the generation and distribution of energy.	Die Erzeugung und Verteilung von Energie bestimmt in nicht geringem Ausmaß den Wohlstand aller Nationen.[37]
As if he owned the house...	Comme si la maison lui appartenait...[38]
cum … Romani fame laborarent	λιμοῦ δὲ λοιπὸν συνέχοντος αὐτούς…[39]

[30] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 252.
[31] Newmark, *Textbook,* 89.
[32] Newmark, *Textbook,* 86.
[33] Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 53.
[34] Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 62.
[35] M.L. Klein, Converse Translation. A Targumic Technique, *Biblica* 57 (1976), 515-537 uses 'converse translation' when a SL expression is rendered by its opposite, a transformation that I have not found in modern literature.
[36] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 140.
[37] Wilss, *Übersetzungswissenschaft*, 113.
[38] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 251.

[since … the Romans were starving]	[a famine besides having afflicted them]

c. Translation of cause and effect and vice versa

A translation of cause and effect is a transformation whereby the TL rendering does not reflect exactly the same situation as the source text, but a situation which logically precedes the situation described in the ST or results from it.

[and gave an impresssion] of having only just got off a horse	[...] of hij zojuist aan het paardrijden was geweest [lit. of just having finished horseriding][40]
This baffles analysis	Ceci échappe à l'analyse[41]
firewood	bois de chauffage [heating = purpose of fire][42]
יקדש את מזבח [dedicated the altar]	τὸν βωμὸν ἀνέθηκεν[43] [erected the altar]
philosophiae deditus Stoicae [devoted to Stoic philosophy]	φιλοσοφίας τε ἦν ἐραστής, ὑπὸ τοῖς Στοϊκοῖς πεπαιδευμένος[44] [he was a lover of philosophy, *educated by* the Stoics]

d. Specification

Specification is a transformation in which a TL lexeme stands in a hyponymical[o] relationship to the SL lexeme it renders, or to put it more correctly, a transformation in which the TL lexeme stands in a hyponymical relationship to the 'literal translation' (the standard rendering) of an SL lexeme.

Le tableau est au mur	The picture hangs on the wall[45]
Lacks what? Franny said	In wat? vroeg Franny[46]
Sir	mon lieutenant / mon capitain / monsieur le Directeur etc.[47]
כִּי אִם־זְכַרְתַּנִי אִתְּךָ כַּאֲשֶׁר יִיטַב לָךְ וְעָשִׂיתָ־נָּא עִמָּדִי חָסֶד	When things go well with you, remember me and do me the kindness of bringing my case to

[39] Reichmann, *Römische Literatur in gr. Übersetzung*, 63.
[40] Langeveld, *Vertalen wat er staat*, 131 [84].
[41] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 251.
[42] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 89.
[43] KAI nr. 42 (4th century BC).
[44] Reichmann, *Römische Literatur in griechischer Übersetzung*, 67.
[45] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 53.
[46] Langeveld, *Vertalen wat er staat*, 128 [82].
[47] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 56. They give many other examples in Chapter 2.

וְהִזְכַּרְתַּנִי אֶל־פַּרְעֹה וְהוֹצֵאתַנִי מִן־הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה׃ [… help me to get out of this house.]	Pharaoh's notice; help me to get out of this prison. (Genesis 40:14, REB)
πλήρης σωμάτων θείων [(the sky): full of divine bodies]	*divinis corporibus onustum*[48] [loaded with divine bodies]
τοῦτο δὲ οὔτ' ἀπόλλυσθαι οὔτε γίγνεσθαι δυνατόν [but that cannot perish nor come into being]	*id autem nec nasci potest nec mori*[49] [but that cannot be born nor die]

e. Generalization

Generalization, the opposite of specification, is a transformation in which a TL lexeme stands in a hyperonymical° relationship to the SL lexeme which it renders, or to put it more correctly, a transformation in which the TL lexeme stands in a hyperonymical relationship to the standard rendering of a SL lexeme.

a confused buzz of voices	un bruit confus de voix[50]
On the way down from London to Brighton.	En allant de Londres à Brighton.[51]
virgines Vestales [Vestal virgins]	ἱέρειαι [priestesses][52]
ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν περίοδον ταύτην ἅτ' οὐδὲν ποδῶν δέον ἀσκελὲς καὶ ἄπουν αὐτὸ ἐγέννησεν. [And since for this revolution there was no need of feet he made it without legs and without feet.]	*ad hanc igitur conversionem, quae pedibus et gradu non egeret, ingrediendi membra non dedit.*[53] [For this revolution, therefore, that would not need feet nor footstep, he gave no limbs for moving on.]

f. Modification

A modification is a transformation whereby a SL word is rendered with a TL word that has the same kind of hyponymical relationship to a more generic term. In the first example, 'black' is rendered with its co-hyponym° 'blau(w)' [blue]. Of course this is a fixed expression, but change of colours can also occur for stylistic reasons:

> Thus I encouraged my translators to change colours freely when they ran out of synonyms. That a given coral or fish was red or yellow was not important, (in those seas, corals and fish come in all colours); what counted was that the same term would not be

[48] Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 57f.
[49] Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 61f.
[50] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 55.
[51] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 171.
[52] Reichmann, *Römische Literatur in griechischer Übersetzung*, 23.
[53] Cicero, *Timaeus* 34a (ed. Giomini).

repeated in the same context and that the reader, like the character, experienced extraordinary chromatic variety through lexical variety.' [54]

The second example offers a double modification. In our third example a logical relation ('therefore') is replaced by a temporal one ('c'est à partir de ce moment que') which is intended to fulfill the same function.

a black eye	[Du]. een blauw oog / [Germ.] ein blaues Auge
De ganzen zijn net onze tantes [The geese are like our aunts]	The ducks are like our cousins[55]
He read the book from cover to cover.	Il lut le livre de la première page à la dernière page.[56]
In fact, the more we advance in IT, the more we move into the domain of language and are *therefore* aware of the difficulties encountered by computers in the process of handling language.	En réalité, plus on avance dans le domaine des technologies de l'information, plus on se rapproche de celui de la langue et *c'est à partir de ce moment qu'*on devient véritablement conscient des difficultés que pose le traitement des langues naturelles pour l'informatique.[57]
τὸ γὰρ ἀεικίνητον ἀθάνατον [the always-moving is immortal]	*quod simper movetur, aeternum est*[58] (not: *immortale*) [what always moves is eternal]
ἀδύνατον οὖν θεῶν παισὶν ἀπιστεῖν [it is impossible to mistrust the children of gods]	*ac difficile factu est a deis ortis fidem non habere*[59] [and it is <u>difficult</u> not to believe in gods that have been born]

g. Cultural counterpart

A cultural counterpart is a transformation whereby 'a SL cultural word is translated by a TL cultural word.'[60] A Koine example is the conversion of Roman *milia passuum* into Greek στάδια.[61]

baccalauréat	A-level

[54] Eco, *Experiences in Translation*, 32.
[55] The translator explained why he resorted to these transformations; he did so in order to make alliterations and word plays possible in the rest of the poem: J.S. Holmes, *Translated! Papers on Literary Translation and translation Studies* (Approaches to Translation Studies 7), Amsterdam 1988, 15f.
[56] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 251.
[57] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 327.
[58] Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 61f.
[59] Cicero, *Timaeus* 40d (ed. Giomini).
[60] Newmark, *Textbook,* 82-83 (calls it 'cultural equivalent'), from which the first three examples come; the fourth I have adapted.
[61] Reichmann, *Römische Literatur in griechischer Übersetzung*, 85.

Palais Bourbon	(the French) Westminster
tea break	café-pause
schaatsen [as a typically Dutch sport]	cricket [as a typically English sport]
Jupiter Feretrius, Lares	Ζεὺς Τροπαιοφόρος, ἥρωες[62]
imperium dedit [he entrusted the empire]	ῥάβδους ἔδωκεν [he gave the sceptres]

Transpositions or grammatical changes

This category comprises transformations that change the grammatical appearance of words or the grammatical appearance of the sentence by assigning different functions to SL elements without necessarily introducing new or different meanings.
Langeveld divides 'grammaticale veranderingen' (grammatical changes) into two categories: *change of word class* and *change of syntactic structure*. But there are more grammatical changes than these two. A first additional subcategory would be *change of accidence*.[63] Langeveld, an experienced translator, seems to have omitted it because changes of accidence are mostly obligatory and part of his routine. A second additional subcategory in my opinion consists of *changes in word and clause order* (which Langeveld surprisingly sees as a separate category 'omzettingen'). Changes in word and clause order are often applied to obtain a grammatically correct or idiomatic word order as well as a correct sentence perspective. It is therefore justified to classify the changes in word and clause order as grammatical changes.

a. Change of 'accidence'

A change of accidence is a change in the outward appearance of a word. In European languages nouns may vary in person, number, gender and case, while verbs may vary in person, number, gender (in case of a participle), tense, aspect and modality. Translation from one language into another often entails many changes of accidence. It is obvious these are obligatory in most cases. They may be called for by the lexicon of the TL, like the change from singular to plural (vice versa) in the translation of 'furniture' with Fr. 'des meubles' and of 'trousers' with Du. 'broek'. These renderings are so obvious that you could classify them as 'literal translations'. Sometimes the TL demands an explicit choice with respect to the gender of a noun, e.g. when you are translating 'friend' into Modern Hebrew (חבר or חברה), or with respect to the cases of the noun (as in German or Russian).
Changes of accidence are often required by the TL grammar, as in 'die Polizei hat ... verhaftet' ← 'police have arrested...'. Obligatory changes between closely related languages are required in the translation of verbal tenses, as the works of Vinay & Darbelnet and Malblanc show. Not only grammar or lexis, but also style may call for a change of

[62] Latin names of deities who are renamed in Greek in the Monumentum Ancyranum, see Reichmann, *Römische Literatur in griechischer Übersetzung*, 21-22.
[63] Vinay and Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 115ff.

accidence, e.g. when a TL singular would be grammatically possible, but considered awkward.[64] But often changes of accidence are simply the corollary of more substantial transformations that are listed here, and should not be treated independently.

Troops can never be expected to fight on empty stomachs.	Il ne faut jamais demander aux troupes de se battre le ventre vide.[65] [sing./plur]
As soon as he comes, let me know.	Dès qu'il arrivera, prévenez-moi.[66] [pres./fut.]
Je suis ici depuis dix heures.	I have been here since ten.[67] [pres./pres.perf.]
Et, une demi-heure après, la pensée, qu'il était temps de chercher le sommeil, m'éveillait.	Und eine halbe Studen später wachte ich über den Gedanken auf, daß er nun Zeit sei den Schlaf zu suchen.[68] [ind./subj.]
ut alter eum coerceret[69]	ὥστε καταφεύγειν ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον [coni./inf.]
ὁ δὲ καὶ γενέσει καὶ ἀρετῇ προτέραν καὶ πρεσβυτέραν ψυχὴν σώματος ὡς δεσπότιν καὶ ἄρξουσαν ἀρξομένου ξυνεστήσατο [He made the soul in birth and in excellence earlier and elder than the body, to be its mistress and governor.]	*deus autem et ortu et virtute antiquiorem genuit animum eumque ut dominum atque imperantem oboediente praefecit corpori* [fem./masc.][70] [But God made the soul elder regarding origin and excellence and placed it above the body that should obey it as lord and master.]
φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος ἴσος θέοισιν [That man seems to me equal to gods]	*Ille mi par esse deo videtur*[71] [plur./sing.] [That man seems to me equal to a god]

b. Change of word class

A change of word class is a transformation in which the semantic content of an SL word, e.g. a verb, is expressed by a TL word of a different class, e.g. a noun or adverb. In translation, the semantic content of an SL word can be expressed by any TL word class. A change of word class does not occur in isolation but usually implies other transformations. The first example illustrates this: the verb 'flew' turns into a prepositional phrase ('en avion') and the preposition 'across' is rendered with a verb form (traversa').

Blériot flew across the Channel.	Blériot traversa la Manche en avion.[72]
J'aime Newport, ses arbres, ses avenues,	I love Newport, the trees, the avenues, the

[64] Cf., Deuteronomy 6, for example, where the Hebrew repeatedly shifts from second person singular to second person plural and back, which is closely followed by the *Einheitsübersetzung*, whereas GN for stylistic reasons renders the whole chapter in second person plural.
[65] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 250.
[66] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 131.
[67] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 133.
[68] Verstegen, *Vertaalkunde versus vertaalwetenschap*, 256-257.
[69] Reichmann, *Römische Literatur in griechischer Übersetzung*, 63.
[70] Cicero, *Timaeus* 34c (ed. Giomini). The gender of *animus* entails a masculine metaphor.
[71] Catullus' translation of a poem by Sappho, in: Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 46.
[72] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 104.

ses ponts.	bridges.[73] [pers.pron./art.]
He is an ardent believer in progress.	Er glaubt begeistert an den Fortschritt.[74] [adj./adverb]
This is a good example for a self-fulfilling prophecy.	Dies ist ein gutes Beispiel für die Eigendynamik einer Prognose.[75] [adj./ noun]
Je n'avais pas cessé en dormant de faire des réflexions sur ce que je venais de lire...	I had been thinking all the time, while I was asleep, of what I had just been reading...[76] [2x verb/adjunct]
He is reputedly the best man in the field.	Il passe pour le meilleur spécialiste dans ce domaine.[77] [adverb/verb]
With the loss of active allied support, the anti-bolshevist rebellion collapsed.	Privée de l'appui actif des Alliés, la révolte anti-bolchevique s'effondra.[78] [noun/verb; adj./noun]
post captam urbem [lit. after the taken city]	μετὰ τὴν ὑπὸ Γάλλοις γενομένην ἅλωσιν[79] [after its capture by the Gauls] [ptc./ noun]
Τί τὸ ὂν ἀεί, γένεσιν δὲ οὐκ ἔχον…; [What is that, which has always existed, but does not have an origin?]	*Quid est quod semper sit neque ullum habeat ortum… ?*[80] [ptc./coni.]

c. Change of syntactic function

A change of syntactic structure is a transformation whereby
a. the thematic roles° expressed by SL subject, (in)direct object, predicate and adjunct may take on a different syntactic function in the TL clause, or
b. the grammatical status of a whole SL clause is changed in the TL (e.g. main clause into subordinate clause). Transformations of this type usually involve changes in sentence perspective. This is the reason I include the transformation from active to passive (and vice versa) in this category.

Their bodies streamed with perspiration.	Het zweet gutste van hun lijven.[81] [subject/adjunct v.v.]
The last week has seen an intensification	[Gedurende] de afgelopen week is de diplomatie-

[73] C. Tatilon, *Traduire. Traduire. Pour une pédagogie de la traduction*, Toronto 1986, 70.
[74] Wilss, *Übersetzungswissenschaft*, 123.
[75] Wilss, *Übersetzungswissenschaft*, 117.
[76] Verstegen, *Vertaalkunde versus vertaalwetenschap*, 258.
[77] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 127.
[78] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 95.
[79] Reichmann, *Römische Literatur in griechischer Übersetzung*, 80.
[80] Plato's *Timaeus*, 27d, rendered by Cicero; Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 53. She devotes several pages (51ff.) to the grammatical difference between Greek and Latin and the transformations this entails in translation.
[81] Langeveld, *Vertalen wat er staat*, 124 [79].

of the diplomatic activity.	ke activiteit sterk toegenomen.[82] [subject/adjunct]
More markets for Canadian crude will have to be found if the industry is not to stagnate.	Le pétrole brut canadien devra trouver de nouveaux débouchés si l'on ne veut pas que l'industrie tombe dans le marasme.[83] [act./pass.; adjunct/subject]
The door is closed (automatically).	La porte se ferme (automatiquement).[84] [passive/middle]
It is impossible to solve the problem.	Das Problem ist unmöglich zu lösen.[85] [object/subject]
Die Tragödie wurde von dem Drama verdrängt.	Le drame a supplanté la tragédie.[86] [pass./act.]
Seeing a policeman coming around the corner, he rapidly disappeared from the scene.	Er sah einen Polizisten um die Ecke biegen und verschwand blitzschnell von der Bildfläche.[87] [subord./coord.clause]
cum … Romani fame laborarent [since … the Romans were starving]	λιμοῦ δὲ λοιπὸν συνέχοντος αὐτούς…[88] [a famine besides having afflicted them]
Mare pacavi a praedonibus. Eo bello servorum, qui fugerant a dominis suis et arma contra rem publicam ceperant, triginta fere millia capta dominis ad supplicium sumendum tradidi. [Das Meer habe ich von der Seeräuberplage befreit. In diesem Krieg habe ich von den Sklaven, die ihren Herrn entlaufen waren und Waffen wider den Staat ergriffen hatten, etwa dreissigtausend gefangen und ihren Besitzern zur Bestrafung übergeben.]	Θάλασσαν πειρατευομένην ὑπὸ ἀποστατῶν δούλων εἰρήνευσα· ἐξ ὧν τρεῖς που μυριάδας τοῖς δεσπόταις εἰς κόλασιν παρέδωκα.[89] [The sea, 'piratized' by rebellious slaves, I made peaceful. Three times ten thousand of them I surrendered to their masters for punishment.]

d. Change in word and clause order

The essence of this transformation is clear from its name. A change in word or clause order is often prompted by the preferred difference in word order between SL and TL, as the first two examples show. Even when a close adherence to the SL word or clause order is possi-

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[82] Langeveld, *Vertalen wat er staat*, 124 [79].
[83] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 216.
[84] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 136.
[85] Wilss, *Übersetzungswissenschaft*, 111.
[86] Malblanc, *Stylistique comparée du français et de l'allemand*, 230.
[87] Wilss, *Übersetzungswissenschaft*, 119.
[88] Reichmann, *Römische Literatur in griechischer Übersetzung*, 63.
[89] Weber, *Res gestae divi Augusti* 25 and Weber's German translation of the Latin.

ble in the TL, it may yield an unnatural result, because languages tend to give certain types of information different places within clauses.

A suburban train was derailed near London last night.	Gisteravond is bij Londen een forensentrein ontspoord.[90]
... and raised his hand when he saw me with the dignified gesture of a patriarch	... en toen hij mij zag hief hij zijn hand op met het waardige gebaar van een patriarch[91]
I came to Warley on a wet September morning with the sky the grey of Guiseley sandstone.	Es war an einem regnerischen Septembermorgen mit einem Himmel wie aus grauem Sandstein, als ich in Warley ankam.[92]
Wenn Humboldt den Auftrag erhielt, so war das meheren Faktoren zu verdanken.	Several factors were responsible for Humboldt's receiving the commission.[93]
Abstracts in any of the Congress languages, English, French, German or Russian, [should be sent to...]	Abstracts in einer beliebigen Konferenzsprache (Deutsch, Englisch, Französisch, Russisch) ...[94]
εἰ γὰρ ἔκ του ἀρχὴ γίγνοιτο, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι ἄρχη γίγνοιτο. [for if from something Beginning originates, it is not properly Beginning.]	*nec enim esset id principium, quod gigneretur aliunde.*[95] [nor is that Beginning, which originates elsewhere]
τοῦτο δὲ οὔτ' ἀπόλλυσθαι οὔτε γίγνεσθαι δυνατόν [but that cannot perish nor come into being]	*id autem nec nasci potest nec mori*[96] [but it cannot be born nor die]

'Addition'

The addition of semantic elements that are not present in the source text may be necessary when a literal translation results in an ungrammatical or unnatural target text (giving the impression that something has been omitted).
Grammmatical additions occur, firstly, when certain elements must *necessarily* be supplied according to the TL grammar. An example is the addition of a copula in a translation of a Hebrew verbless clause. Or some verbs may require an object in one language, whereas their standard equivalents in another language can do without or cannot have an object at all. A second category is constituted by *logical* additions. It may be that a literal translation results in a grammatically correct sentence, but one that displays a logical gap in the perception of the TL speakers. Most languages have a tendency to skip elements considered

[90] Langeveld, *Vertalen wat er staat*, 111 [70].
[91] Langeveld, *Vertalen wat er staat*, 118 [75].
[92] Wilss, *Übersetzungswissenschaft*, 170.
[93] Newmark, *Textbook,* 85.
[94] Unfortunately I lost my note where this example occurs. It shows the familiar element comes first.
[95] Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 61f.
[96] Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 61f.

evident or inessential, but differ in doing so. But apart from that, languages may differ in their concern for precision. A third category consists of additions that are designed to improve the source text and to adapt it to the taste of the TL readership. This kind of addition has been known from times immemorial and was especially popular in Antiquity.[97]

she turned around without a word	ze draaide zich zonder een woord *te zeggen* om[98]
He was shabby and careless [, with inkstains on the sleeves of his jacket.]	Hij was sjofel en onverzorgd *gekleed* [...][99]
Die Schüsse auf den amerikanischen Präsidenten Reagan	The shots *fired at* President Reagan[100]
the charge against him	l'accusation *portée* contre lui[101]
I shivered at the millions and immensities and secrecies of India.	J'avais le frisson *en songeant* aux multitudes, aux immensités et aux mystères de l'Inde.[102]
This proved very helpful.	Cette *mesure / initiative / démarche* a grandement facilité les choses.[103]
Τῶν δὲ δὴ τεττάρων ἓν ὅλον ἕκαστον εἴληφεν ἡ τοῦ κόσμου σύστασις [Now the making of the universe took up the whole bulk of each of these four elements.]	*earum autem quattuor rerum, quas supra dixi, sic in omni mundo partes omnes conlocatae sunt*[104] [Of these four elements, which I mentioned above, all parts are thus put together in the whole universe.]
post captam urbem [after the capture of the city]	μετὰ τὴν ὑπὸ Γάλλοις γενομένην ἅλωσιν[105] [after the capture *by the Gauls*]

'Omission'

'Omission' is the reverse of 'addition' and has the same subcategories: It may be prompted by *grammatical or lexical* needs. For example, it may be that the source text lists some synonyms which the translator cannot match in the TL. Or particles may be omitted that do not have counterparts in the TL. He may then substitute those synonyms by one TL lexeme (as in the first example). Omission is also used for *stylistic* reasons, when elements which are considered evident or irrelevant (as in the second example) are omitted in the TL. The translator may want to reduce redundancy in a verbose source text, because repetition or

[97] Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 45ff.
[98] Langeveld, *Vertalen wat er staat*, 140-141 [90].
[99] Langeveld, *Vertalen wat er staat*, 140 [90].
[100] Newmark, *Textbook,* 128.
[101] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 110.
[102] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 109.
[103] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 103.
[104] Timaeus 32c.
[105] Reichmann, *Römische Literatur in griechischer Übersetzung*, 80.

'superfluous' elements are not appreciated in the target culture. Tytler, echoing centuries of translation theory[106], encourages omissions for reasons of taste:

> 'It would show very little judgement in a translator, who should honour Patroclus with the epithet of 'godlike' while he is blowing the fire to roast an ox.'[107]

Here follow examples from different periods and languages.

for the comfort and convenience of our clients...	pour la commodité de notre clientèle...[108]
a thirty-cent ride on the <u>one-price</u> city-bus	een ritje van dertig cent met de stadsbus[109]
À un niveau encore inférieur, on trouve la Chapelle de la Vierge: elle est liée à un culte folklorique, issu de rochers à fleur de sol. Le cimetière local flanque ce bas sanctuaire, dédié à la Mère de Dieu.	Lower down still, surrounded by the local cemetery, there is a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary, though it is also linked to a traditional cult connected with come nearby rocks.[110]
Das kann auch wohl der Fall sein, denn jeder Historiker, wie ich nun einmal bin, ist, ja, eine Art redendes Gespenst aus der Vorzeit.	Et c'est bien possible, car tout historien - et je suis historien - est une sorte de fantôme qui parle du fond du passé.[111] [omission of German particles].
... wo man den Zug zu wechseln gezwungen ist.	... where you have to change.[112]
δεσμῶν δὲ κάλλιστος, ὃς ἂν αὑτὸν καὶ τὰ συνδούμενα ὅτι μάλιστα ἓν ποιῇ [The best of bonds it that which makes itself and those which it binds as complete a unity as possible.]	*sed vinculorum id est aptissimum atque pulcherrimum, quod ex se atque de iis, quae stringit, quam maxime unum efficit.*[113] [The most adequate and the most beautiful bond is that, which creates out of itself and out of the things it binds the most complete unity.]
θείαν ἀρχὴν ἤρξατο ἀπαύστου καὶ ἔμφρονος βίου πρὸς τὸν σύμπαντα χρόνον [she began a divine beginning of an endless and reasonable life <u>for always</u>.]	*divinum sempiternae sapientisque vitae induxit exordium.*[114] [it began an introduction of a perpetual and wise life]
ἐὰν οὖν, ὦ Σώκρατες, πολλὰ πολλῶν περὶ θεῶν καὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς γενέσεως μὴ	*quocirca si forte de deorum natura ortuque mundi disserentes minus id, quod avemus animo,*

[106] For omissions in Roman translations see Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 45ff.
[107] A.F. Tytler, *Essay on the Principles of Translation* [1791] (Everyman's Library 168), London / New York 1907, 32, quoted by Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 50.
[108] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 270.
[109] Langeveld, *Vertalen wat er staat*, 144 [93].
[110] Newmark, *Textbook,* 205, who criticizes the translator's 'improvements'.
[111] Malblanc, *Pour une stylistique comparée du français et de l'allemand*, 105.
[112] Verstegen, *Vertaalkunde versus vertaalwetenschap*, 228.
[113] Cicero, *Timaeus* 31c (ed. Giomini). Obligatory omission of ἄν. Note also the additions.
[114] Cicero, *Timaeus* 36e (ed. Giomini). The notion of 'endless' is considered redundant.

δυνατοὶ γιγνώμεθα πάντῃ πάντως αὐτοὺς ἑαυτοῖς ὁμολογουμένους λόγους καὶ ἀπηκριβωμένους ἀποδοῦναι, μὴ θαυμάσῃς	*consequemur, ut tota dilucide et plane exornata oratio sibi constet et ex omni parte secum ipsa consentiat, haut sane erit mirum*[115]
[If now, o Socrates, in our treatment of a great host of matters regarding the gods and the generation of the universe we prove unable to give accounts that are always in all respects self-consistent and perfectly exact, be not surprised.]	[Therefore, if perhaps, discussing the nature of the gods and the origin of the world, we do not attain fully what we strongly desire, viz. that the whole account, furnished simply and clearly, is consequent and completely consistent with itself, that will not be really surprising.]

Redistribution of semantic features[o]

Up to this point, relations between ST and TT could more or less be traced on word level. But redistribution of semantic features is a transformation whereby 'the source text is deconstructed into semantic elements below word level. These elements, semes, are then re-constructed into a target text which does not show correspondence at word level, but in its totality does have the same meaning as the source text.'[116]
The first example is a good illustration of complex redistribution of semantic features, where a relatively simple German sentence cannot be translated literally into a related language, Dutch. The notion 'Motorrad' is combined with the notion 'Fahrer-' into Dutch 'motorrijder', and 'Winter-' is transformed into a time adjunct, whereas '-pause' is expressed by the Dutch verb 'laten' ('leave'). The other examples show how redistribution of semantic features may result in either a circumlocution or in a remarkably terse rendering. The last example is a magnificent illustration of a complex semantic redistribution.

Die Winterpause für Motorrad ist eine vernünftige Fahrerentscheidung.	Motorrijders doen er verstandig aan hun voertuig 's winters in de stalling te laten.[117]
He has learned it by watching his neighbour doing it.	Er hat es seinem Nachbarn abgeguckt.[118]
a victimless crime	ein Verbrechen, bei dem außer dem Täter selbst niemand zu Schaden kommt[119]
Zersiedelung	haphazard (uncontrolled) building in rural areas[120]
signa	τὰ σημεῖα τὰ στρατιωτικά (σίγνα καλοῦσιν αὐτὰ Ῥωμαῖοι) ['the military standards, which the Romans call *signa*'] [121]

[115] Cicero, *Timaeus* 29c (ed. Giomini). Cicero removes the dialogical framework and omits the address of Socrates. Cf. Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 48.
[116] Langeveld, *Vertalen wat er staat*, 148 [96], my translation. Elaborate discussions of the use of componential analysis in translation can be found in Newmark, *Textbook* (Chapter 11) and Nida, *Toward a Science of Translating* (Chapter 5).
[117] Langeveld, *Vertalen wat er staat*, 159 [103-104].
[118] Wilss, *Übersetzungswissenschaft*, 117.
[119] Wilss, *Übersetzungswissenschaft*, 123.
[120] Wilss, *Übersetzungswissenschaft*, 123

ἥτις τὸ κάλλος ἀμείμητον εἶχε [she possessed a matchless beauty]	טב ושפיר יהוה [122]היך זי בר אינש לא דמע יהוה מן טבות [she was so excellent and beautiful that nobody could compare with her in excellence]
ὁ συνίστας [derjenige der [die Welt] zusammengesetzt hat]	*is qui haec machinatus sit* [or] *ille procreator mundi deus*[123]
quem grandaevum iam et cunctis amabilem diuturnitate et felicitate militiae (…), virum probum et morum veterum ac iucundae civilitatis, sed omnium litterarum expertem adeo ut ne elementa quidem prima earum nisi grandaevus et iam imperator acceperit. [un home déjà avancé en âge, apprécié de tous par la longueur et les succès de sa carrière militaire (...) C'était un homme honnête, fidèle à la tradition, d'une charmante courtoisie, mais si étranger à tous les arts libéraux qu'il ne reçut les tout premiers rudiments des lettres que dans son grand âge, alors qu'il était déjà empereur.]	ὃς ἐπίσημος μὲν ἦν ἐκ πολλῶν πολέμων καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτοὺς εὐτυχίας, ἀρετῆς δὲ ἐραστὴς οἵαν εἰκὸς τὸν ἐν ὅπλοις ὄντα ἐργάζεσθαι, ὅλης τῆς παλαιότητος εἰκών· παιδείας δὲ ἀμέτοχος τῆς ἐν λόγοις καὶ αὐτῶν ἄπειρος τῶν γραμμάτων πλὴν ὅσον τῆς τοιούτων ἐπεμελήθη γνώσεως ἀφ' οὗπερ ἐβασίλευσε.[124] [who, renowned by his numerous battles and his success in them, fond of such kindness which a man in arms can probably exercise, a personification of the old days; but without education in the arts and unfamiliar with learning, except for the knowledge of such (learning) which he took care to acquire once he had become emperor.]

Situational translation

The first type of situational translation is a transformation whereby the invariant of comparison lies in the situation that is described and not in a close semantic resemblance between source text and target text. In other words, the same situation is described from a different angle (the first three examples).
The second type of situational translation relates to a communicative situation. Many forms of communication are closely linked to situations in real life so that the wording of such utterances depends largely on convention. In these cases a literal translation is generally avoided in favour of an utterance that the TL would commonly use in that situation. Examples of this second category are signs, notices and forms of greeting, which are standardized in all languages (the last three examples).

His clothes hung loosely around him.	Il flottait dans ses vêtements.[125]

[121] Reichmann, *Römische Literatur in griechischer Übersetzung*, 78.
[122] KAI nr. 276. I am not sure whether or not Greek is the SL, but in either case the transformation can be put under this heading.
[123] Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 34 (Cicero's translation of *Timaeus*).
[124] Reichmann, *Römische Literatur in gr. Übersetzung*, 67-68, French translation from Eutrope, *Abrégé d'histoire Romaine. Texte établi et traduit par Joseph Hellegouarc'h* [sic] (Collections des universités de France), Paris 1999, I.20 (p.12).
[125] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 252.

Perrot joined them from the bungalow	Perrot kwam uit de huisdeur de veranda op.[126]
The accountant had brought out already a box of dominoes, and was toying architecturally with the bones.	De accountant had reeds een dominospel voor de dag gehaald en was druk bezig huisjes van de stenen te bouwen.[127]
Sorry, wrong number	Tut mir leid, falsch verbunden.[128]
Yours sincerely,	Veuillez agréer l'expression de mes sentiments les meilleurs,[129]
Ralentir. Traveaux	Slow. Men at work[130]
ἀρχῆς γὰρ δὴ ἀπολομένης οὔτε αὐτή ποτε ἔκ του οὔτε ἄλλο ἐξ ἐκείνης γενήσεται [for when Beginning ends, it does not originate from something nor does something else originate from it.]	*nam principium exstinctum nec ipsum ab alio renascetur nec ex se aluid creabit*[131] [for once extinguished Beginning is not born anew from something else nor will it create something out of itself.]

Idiomatic translation (of idiom)

Idiomatic translation is a transformation whereby SL proverbs, sayings, clichés and other idiomatic expressions are rendered with TL proverbs, sayings, clichés and idiomatic expressions that convey the same meaning, but have a very different surface structure.

You could have knocked me over with a feather.	Ik viel van mijn stoel [lit. I fell from my chair]
No fool like an old fool	Alter schützt vor Torheit nicht.[132]
En un clin d'oeil	Before you could say Jack Robinson[133]
as like as two peas	comme deux gouttes d'eau[134]
He has killed two birds with one stone.	Er hat zwei Fliegen mit einer Klappe geschlagen.[135]
יברך [may He bless]	ἰν τύχαι ἀγαθᾶι [for good luck][136]

[126] Langeveld, *Vertalen wat er staat*, 154 [100].
[127] Langeveld, *Vertalen wat er staat*, 154 [100].
[128] Wilss, *Übersetzungswissenschaft*, 206.
[129] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 287.
[130] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 1,6.
[131] Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 61f.
[132] Koller, *Einführung in die Übersetzungswissenschaft*, 101.
[133] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 41.
[134] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 253.
[135] Wilss, *Übersetzungswissenschaft*, 132.

Vicinius proconsul salutem dat magistratibus Cumas.	Οὐινίκιος [sic] χαίρειν λέγει ἄρχουσι Κυμαίων[137]

Non-idiomatic translation (of idiom)

Non-idiomatic translation is a transformation whereby SL proverbs, sayings, clichés and other idiomatic expressions (that cannot be translated literally) are neither rendered literally, nor by their TL idiomatic counterparts, but by a rendering of its sense. This may result in a stylistic loss.

We'll price ourselves out of the market.	Nous ne pourrons plus vendre si nous sommes trop exigeants.[138]
He lives on the wrong side of the track.	Il n'est pas de notre milieu.[139]
La moutarde lui monta au nez.	He lost his temper.[140]

Explicitation

An explicitation is a transformation whereby elements that are linguistically implicit in the source text are made explicit in the target text; or whereby an SL element, the intended meaning of which is considered unknown or unusual for the target audience, is rendered with a description or paraphrase of its meaning.
When the system of e.g. participant tracking differs, as between Hebrew and English, explicitation is frequently employed. In the third example, REB combines explicitation with implicitation. As Samuel speaks in the preceding verse 26, the translators probably considered it unnecessary or unnatural to repeat his name in verse 27. At the same time, 'Saul' is made explicit as the subject of the second action, which implies interpretation.

but it was only after a long silence, when he said, in a hesitating voice...	Het was pas na een lange stilte dat *Marlow*, dit keer aarzelend...[141]
וַיִּסֹּב שְׁמוּאֵל לָלֶכֶת וַיַּחֲזֵק בִּכְנַף־מְעִילוֹ וַיִּקָּרַע׃ [KJV: And as Samuel turned about to go away, he laid hold upon the skirt of his mantle, and it rent.]	As he turned to go, *Saul* caught the corner of his cloak and it tore. (1 Samuel 15:27, REB)
Ein einfacher junger Mensch reiste ... nach Davos-Platz im Graubündischen.	An unassuming young man was travelling... to Davos-Platz in the Canton of the Grisons.[142]

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[136] Closing blessing of an inscription, KAI nr. 39 (389 BC).
[137] Sherk, *Roman Documents from the Greek East*, 314 (editorial signs omitted).
[138] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 195.
[139] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 276.
[140] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 253.
[141] Langeveld, *Vertalen wat er staat*, 121 [77].
[142] Verstegen, *Vertaalkunde versus vertaalwetenschap*, 220, 222.

[Gorbatschow war nie in Kalifornien, nie in Hollywood, aber er versteht was von Public Relations.] Goebbels verstand auch was von Public Relations.	[...] Goebbels, one of those responsible for the crimes of the Hitler era, was an expert in public relations too.[143]
ad dicionem redegit [he brought them under rule]	Ῥωμαίων δέξασθαι δεσποτείαν ἠνάγκασε[144] [he forced them to accept Roman sovereignty]
Ich weiß, daß ein Katze dein Name ist [lit. tr. of Demotic]	ἐπίσταμαι ὅτι ἀθάνατον ὄνομά σου[145] [I know that your name is immortal]

Implicitation

An implicitation is a transformation whereby elements that are explicit in the source text are made implicit in the target text. This transformation is close to 'omission', the difference being that the information explicit in the source text is not deleted altogether, but recedes into the background while leaving traces in the target text, thus becoming implicit. So when 'one price city-bus' is rendered with 'stadsbus' (cf. 'omission' for this example), the target text omits the notion that all tickets have the same price. But when REB renders רות המאביה (lit. 'Ruth the Moabite') simply with 'Ruth' (Ruth 2:21), her Moabite descent is not erased, since it has already frequently been stressed in the first part of the narrative. What REB does here can be counted as an implicitation. When a noun or proper name is replaced by a pronoun, it can also be taken as an implicitation.

And then, when we'd finished talking about pigs, we started talking to the pigs.	Après avoir épuisé tous les sujets de conversation sur les porcs, nous leur avons adressé la parole...[146]
וַיֵּלֶךְ רְחַבְעָם שְׁכֶם כִּי שְׁכֶם בָּא כָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל לְהַמְלִיךְ אֹתוֹ׃ [KJV: And Rehoboam went to Shechem: for all Israel were come to Shechem to make him king.]	Rehoboam went to Shechem, for all Israel had gone <u>there</u> to make him king (1 Kings 12:1, REB)
Τὴν δὲ δὴ ψυχὴν οὐχ… ἐμηχανήσατο καὶ ὁ θεὸς νεωτέραν [but God did not construct the soul younger (than the body)]	*Sed animum haud… cum corpus ei effecisset, inchoavit*[147] [but <u>He</u> did not call the soul into being only when he made the body.]
In templis omnium civitatium provinciae Asiae victor ornamenta reposui. [In den Tempeln aller Städte <u>der Provinz</u>	Εἰς ναοὺς πασῶν πόλεων τῆς Ἀσίας νεικήσας τὰ ἀναθέματα ἀποκατέστησα[148] [In the temples of all cities of Asia I erected the

[143] A controversial statement by Helmut Kohl and its *Newsweek* translation, quoted by P. Kussmaul, *Training the Translator*, 69.
[144] Reichmann, *Römische Literatur in griechischer Übersetzung*, 71.
[145] Reitzenstein, *Die griechische Tefnutlegende*, 6.
[146] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 303.
[147] Cicero, *Timaeus* 34c (ed. Giomini). The omission of 'God' is not an omission in the sense of this study, since Cicero has mentioned God only the line before. Hence an implicitation.

Asien habe ich als Sieger die Kostbarkeiten wieder aufstellen lassen.]

votive offerings after my victory.]

Anaphoric translation

Anaphoric translation is a transformation whereby a TL element seems to be a rendering of an SL element elsewhere or is influenced by a related passage in the same book or from a different text. One could also call it 'intertextual translation'.
My first example unites Groningen and Jerusalem in a remarkable way. In a rhymed translation of Psalm 122 into the dialect of Groningen (a branch of Low Saxon) it says:[149]

Nou stoan wie ien joen poort te wachten,	*We are waiting in your gate,*
Jeruzelem, o pronkjewail,	*Jerusalem, o jewel,*
o wondermooi en staark gehail	*o beautiful and mighty town*
mit hoge muur en daipe grachten.	*with high walls and deep moats.*

The comparison of Jerusalem with a jewel is an overt reference to *Grönnens Laid*, the well-known Provincial Anthem:

Ain pronkjewail in golden raand, is Grönnen, stad en ommelaand!
A jewel set in gold is Groningen and the countryside around it!

It seems that the translator was carried away by this comparison and attributed to Jerusalem one more characteristic of Groningen, viz. its deep moats. A remarkable sort of flattery!
Some more examples of anaphoric translation:

Non, je n'ai pas perdu la foi!	No, I have not lost my faith.
[11 lines of prose]	[…]
Je n'ai pas perdu la foi.	No, I have not lost my faith.[150]

Οὐκ ἀφήσω ὑμᾶς ὀρφανούς, ἔρχομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς.	I will not leave you bereft; I am coming *back* to you. (John 14:18, REB)[151]
[NRSV: I will not leave you orphaned; I am coming to you.]	

Sometimes anaphoric translations can be part of a conscious strategy. Umberto Eco tells us how he urged translators to employ German, English etc. intertextual translations to make up for the loss of Italian references which will be hard to recognize for non-Italians:

Let me quote an example from my third novel, *The Island of the Day Before*. This novel is essentially based on a remake of the Baroque style and includes many implicit quotations from poets and writers of the time. Naturally, I urged my translators not to translate

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[148] Weber, *Res gestae divi Augusti* 24 and Weber's translation.
[149] From *Psaalms en Gezangen,* Groningen 1981.
[150] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 297.
[151] The wording 'coming *back*' is borrowed from John 14:3, where it does appear in Greek: καὶ ἐὰν πορευθῶ καὶ ἑτοιμάσω τόπον ὑμῖν, πάλιν ἔρχομαι καὶ παραλήμψομαι ὑμᾶς πρὸς ἐμαυτόν, ἵνα ὅπου εἰμὶ ἐγὼ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἦτε. It seems that the same anaphorical translation occurs in GN, John 21:22: Jesus antwortete ihm: »Wenn ich will, daß er so lange lebt, bis ich wiederkomme, was geht das *dich* an? Du sollst mir folgen!« It is noteworthy that some exegetes state explicitly that the concept of Christ's coming 'again' does not occur in the NT; see, e.g. R. Schnackenburg, *Das Johannesevangelium* (Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum NT IV/3), Freiburg 1975, 70.

literally, but to look for equivalents in their respective literatures of the seventeenth century whenever possible.[152]

Stylistic translation & compensation

A *stylistic translation* is a transformation whereby the correspondence between source text and target text is determined (mainly) by stylistic factors. A result of this is that semantic correspondence becomes secondary, especially in texts of which the form is very important, like in poetry.
In the first example, the acoustic ambiguity of 'tale'/'tail' is transferred into German without much loss of semantic content. In the second example the preservation of the alliteration calls for a change in semantic content, the tenor of the phrase remaining the same. The third and fourth examples illustrate how poetic form gains a growing hold on semantic content. In the fourth example the only correspondences are the notions SPAIN + WEATHER.
Compensation is a transformation whereby a TL stylistic element is introduced into the target text at a place where it does not occur in the source text, because a functional rendering of an SL stylistic element could not be realized at the same place. In the fifth example, the honorific and archaic connotation of the English pronoun 'thee' is not rendered with a corresponding French pronoun (which does not exist), but by 'ô', which has the same connotations. In the last example Schopenhauer's word-play on 'Gläubige' (faithful) and 'Gläubiger' (creditor) cannot be rendered adequately into Dutch. The translator rendered 'Glaube' not with its usual counterpart 'geloof', but with 'credo', thus creating a comparable pun in the first sentence.

'Mine is a long and sad tale', said the Mouse, turning to Alice, and sighing. 'It is a long tail, certainly', said Alice, looking down with wonder at the Mouse's tail [...]	'Was ich hinter mir habe, ist sehr lang und traurig', sagte die Maus, wandte sich zu Alice herum und seufzte. 'Allerdings, du hast was langes hinter dir', sagte Alice und schaute verwundert auf den langen, gewundenen Mauseschwanz [..][153]
...fanned by the flattery of murmuring machos	... umschmeichelt von bewundernden Blicken[154]
There was an Old Man of Nepaul From his horse had a terrible fall...	Ein alter Mann aus Wesel, der fiel von seinem Esel...[155]
The rain in Spain stays mainly in the plain.	Het Spaanse graan heeft de orkaan doorstaan.[156]
παῦλαν ἔχον κινήσεως, παῦλαν ἔχει ζωῆς	*quando finem habeat motus, vivendi finem habeat necesse est*[157]

[152] Eco, *Experiences in Translation*, 31-32.
[153] Koller, *Einführung in die Übersetzungswissenschaft*, 261.
[154] Kussmaul, *Training the Translator*, 42-43.
[155] Kussmaul, *Training the Translator*, 46-47.
[156] Langeveld, *Vertalen wat er staat*, 175-176 [115-116].

Excursus: The translation of metaphors

The translation of metaphors cannot be counted as a separate transformation, but rather constitutes a recognized problem area that allows various solutions. The following short discussion will limit itself to elements that are relevant for translation.

Two opposite approaches to the phenomenon of metaphor[158] are the literal language theory, which sees figurative language as a decoration of literal speech, and the cognitive semantics approach, which claims that all language is in a sense metaphorical. Both views are extreme, making the concept of metaphor too narrow and too wide respectively for treatment in a discussion of translation.

What is a metaphor and how does it work? It seems safe to say that a metaphor or a simile, e.g. 'John eats like a pig' is a kind of figurative language that makes it possible to transfer the properties of a known concept A (pig) to a less known concept B (John). According to Newmark, metaphors are employed to realize two purposes at the same time.[159] In the cognitive area, metaphor allows a speaker 'to describe [something] more comprehensively and concisely than is possible in literal or physical language.' The sentence 'John eats like a pig' conveys a wide range of implicatures in a very concise way, some stronger, others weaker: John eats too much, too fast, noisily and sloppily. This example also demonstrates that it is not always correct to speak about only one point of comparison, as often happens. In the aesthetic area, metaphors are often used to appeal to the senses, i.e. to please, to tease, to arouse interest etc.

Different terminologies exist to describe the different aspects of metaphor. In Newmark's terminology John is the 'object', the pig the 'image' and their similarities the 'sense'. Object and image are sometimes called 'target' and 'source' or 'tenor' and 'vehicle'.

Metaphors are commonly categorized according to their degree of conventionality.[160] First there are lexicalized or dead metaphors ('the foot of a mountain', 'in the face of these difficulties' etc.), which are no longer recognized as figurative. A second category consists of conventional or traditional metaphors, like 'fight like a lion', 'a jewel in the crown of his career' etc., that are still recognized as metaphorical. A third class of metaphors are the original or occasional metaphors that are invented by speakers or authors. This tripartite division (or a similar ones) is often mentioned in studies of translation, as translation difficulties are also related to the degree of conventionality of metaphors. It is believed that original, author-specific metaphors are easier to translate than highly conventional metaphors, because the latter are usually language-specific and culture-specific.[161] For the handling of metaphors in Roman translations I refer to Seele.[162]

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[157] In this fragment of Plato's *Phaedrus* Cicero employs a chiasm to compensate for the loss of other stylistic features; Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 62f. for this and other examples. See for more examples, Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 69ff.

[158] Cf. Saeed, *Semantics*, Chapter 11.

[159] Newmark, *Textbook,* 104.

[160] Newmark, *Textbook*, 108-110 and Koller, *Einführung in die Übersetzungswissenschaft*, 1992 (!), 254.

[161] Newmark, *Textbook,* 106 and R. van den Broeck, quoted by Koller, *Einführung* 154. Koller denies this with an appeal to a study of Swedish-German, the results of which are represented statistically.

[162] Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 70f.

Inventory of transformations

To render a metaphor, translators may resort to various transformations that have been discussed in the present chapter. I will illustrate this by a survey of the possible solutions given by Newmark.[163]

reproduction of the same image in the TL	(= literal translation)
reproduction of the same image plus its sense	(= explicitation)
replacement of the SL stock metaphor with another established TL image from the same sphere	(= idiomatic translation of idiom)
translation of a metaphor by a simile	(= 'addition')
translation of a metaphor by a simile plus its sense	(= 'addition' + explicitation)
conversion of a metaphor to its sense	(= explicitation)
deletion, if a metaphor is redundant or otiose	(= 'omission')
rendering of non-figurative language by a metaphor	(= compensation)

Combinations of transformations

Transformations occur in all kinds of combinations. Often a transformation entails other transformations in the same passage or elsewhere. To illustrate this, I will give two examples from modern translated literature.

We shot two, but then stopped, because the bullets that missed glanced off the rocks and the dirt, and sung off across the fields, and beyond the fields there were some trees along a watercourse, with a house, and we did not want to get into trouble from the stray bullets going towards the house.	Nous en tuâmes deux, mais jugeâmes ensuite prudent de nous arrêter, car les balles qui les manquaient ricochaient sur les rochers et sur la terre, et risquaient d'aller se perdre du côté d'une maison qu'on voyait au delà des champs, à proximité d'un cours d'eau bordé d'arbres, et nous aurions pu nous attirer des ennuis.[164]
He never said a clever thing, but he had a vein of brutal sarcasm which was not ineffective.	Er äußerte nie etwas besonders Gescheites, besaß aber eine ausgesprochene Begabung für brutale, sarkastische Bemerkungen, die gewöhnlich ins Schwarze trafen.[165]
In der Ansiedlungskonkurrenz der deutschen Industriegebiete nimmt das Saarland eine besondere Stellung ein.	The Saarland occupies a special position among the areas of Germany which are competing for the settlement of new industry.[166]

[163] Newmark, *Textbook,* 108ff.; a more adequate list in Newmark*, Approaches*, 88ff.
[164] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 242, from a French translation of Hemingway. Vinay & Darbelnet observe that the French translator paid attention to the development of thought and that he made the idea of risk more explicit.
[165] Wilss, *Übersetzungswissenschaft*, 167.
[166] Wilss, *Übersetzungswissenschaft*, 236-237, with analysis.

Excursus: Uncertain source text

The study of a 2000-year old translation poses problems that do not usually occur in the study of modern translations, such as the fact that we are dealing with languages that are no longer spoken, the fact that we have neither the original source text nor the original target text etc. But these differences are only relative. Text-critical questions do sometimes occur in modern Translation Studies. For example, when studying translations of, say, a Shakespeare play, we may face the question which critical edition the translator used or whether he used a critical edition at all. We are confronted by similar problems in the translation of less lofty texts. An example: the Instructions for Use of a stainless steel vacuum flask contain the following warnings in different European languages:[167]

(GB) CAUTIONS	(D) WICHTIGE HINWEISE	(E) ADVERTENCIAS
* Close the stopper tightly to prevent spilling * Keep bottle away from fire (...)	* Drücken Sie den Verschluss nicht zu kräftig in die Flasche, damit keine Flüssigkeit austritt * Halten Sie die Flasche von Feuer fern (...)	* Cierre el tapón ligeramente para evitar derramamientos * Mantenga la botella alejada del fuego (…)

The first warning in German and Spanish says the opposite of what it does in English! The relation with the source text thus seems problematic. Judged from the context ('to prevent spilling') the English text seems the most logical, although the other texts are not impossible. We will therefore consider the English wording as the original. The German translator apparently read 'close the stopper *lightly*'. If the translation was made by a software program 'lightly' was probably in the English text; in the case of a human translator he may also have misread 'lightly' for 'tightly'.

'NEGATIVE' OR 'MIRRORED' TRANSFORMATIONS

Graphological translation

In Catford's definition, graphological translation is 'restricted translation in which the SL graphology of a text is replaced by equivalent TL graphology'[168]. What is transferred to the TL is not semantic content or even sound, but 'graphic substance': the TL characters are chosen so as to resemble the SL characters of a certain word as closely as possible.
Catford's illustration is the rendering of Russian (Cyrillic) СПУТНИК into English (Roman) CHYTHNK. (A transcription would be SPUTNIK.) But it does occur in the textual tradition of the LXX: the copying of the divine name in some Greek manuscripts. The characters יהוה were subsequently interpreted as Greek ones and read as πιπι.[169]
This category is of theoretical interest. I am not aware of examples in modern translations.

[167] *Coleman*®, 0.75 liter, (made in Korea), which I bought in 1998. For the sake of the discussion I will leave out the possibility that the error originated in a Korean source text. Instructions for use constitute a large part of all translated text in the world.
[168] Catford, *Linguistic Theory*, 62.
[169] E. Würthwein, *Der Text des Alten Testaments*, Stuttgart 1988[5], 192f.

Morphematic translation

A morphematic translation is a transformation whereby the target text gives a possibly exact representation of the SL morphemes. The translation of semantic or stylistic meaning is secondary. Using semantic elements in order to represent SL morphology is the opposite of what is normally called translation, where SL grammar is abandoned to render the meaning in TL grammar. In modern translations it occurs only exceptionally, e.g. where English translators of Heidegger's works try to imitate some German compound words, thereby coining new English words ('disclosedness' on the analogy of 'Erschlossenheit').[170] For a light touch here follows a superb illustration systematic morphematic translation. To be sure, the text is no translation, but purports to be the attempt of a German official to write an English letter.[171]

> Order must be!
>
> Dear Peter,
> newly was I with the car in the town to besorrow me this and that for the holidays. Open-sightedly had many people this wonderbar idea. The town was namely pickpack full und no park-place in sight. Endly - with cooking motor - had I unhomely luck.
> The horsefoot thereby was, that I needed a park-disk. I did know, I had one from the circle-spare-cashbox last year, but where was that silly thing? I put the whole car on the head und promoted this to day's light: a lipstick and an off-broken comb, a long-seeked theatre-ticket and an ice-scratcher, a bullet-writer and a townplan from 1978 - but no park-disk. What do, spoke Zeus? I took simple a piece paper, wrote on it "Arriving 15:30" and let it sightbar in the car lie. Clever, not true?
> But know you, what loose was, when I came back - full bepacked and total outer breath? There stood a policeman and wrote up my number already. Said this friend and helper to me: That makes 20 marks forwarning's money, please-nice.
> [...]

This text illustrates several essential points of morphematic translation. First, it gives us a feeling how morphematic translation comes across to TL speakers. Second, it helps understand that this translation strategy, if executed in all seriousness, can only flow from the most weighty and overriding political, philosophical or religious reasons. Third, such a text cannot be rightly understood without the help of specialists. It is imaginable that specialists might spread such translations to make themselves indispensable or to secure their position. For Antiquity, the bilingual decrees of the Roman Senate display many instances of morphematic translation:[172]

adversus rem publicam [against the common interest]	ὑπεναντία τοῖς δημοσίοις πράγμασιν [inopposite the peoplish affairs]
quominus [lest = in order that not…]	ᾧ ἔλαττον (instead of ἵνα… μή) [through which less]

[170] Fawcett, *Linguistic Theories Explained*, 15. But this is limited to key terms.
[171] *Süddeutsche Zeitung* 26.9.1987, quoted from W. Wilss, *Knowledge and Skills in Translator Behavior* (BTL 15), Amsterdam / Philadelphia 1996, 132-133.
[172] Reichmann, *Römische Literatur in griechischer Übersetzung*, 2-3, 29ff., 36. These texts were likely to be interpreted on the spot by Roman officials; cf. Brock, Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity, 74.

METHOD OF ANALYSIS

For the study of pericopes in LXX-Isaiah Van der Kooij has proposed a 'method of analysis on several levels' which incorporates different points of interest (text-critical, exegetical).[173] I have taken his model as my point of departure while trying to extend and refine it on several points.

First, in contrast with Van der Kooij's model, the analysis of the LXX-translation as an independent text should *precede* a comparison with MT. If no independent meaning is given to the Greek translation, it is strictly speaking impossible to make a comparison with MT. Scholars are sometimes inclined to equate the meaning of the Greek with the (presumed) meaning of MT, for, they reason, the translators intended to render the meaning of the Hebrew faithfully into Greek. But there seems to be a growing tendency to interpret the Greek translation as a text in its own right and to ascribe Greek meanings to Greek words. This is our methodological starting-point,[174] although I recognize the difficulties involved, as in some cases Greek words do not make sense in the translated text unless we take recourse to the Hebrew original.[175] We must interpret and translate Greek words in meanings attested in Koine Greek and be very cautious to conclude that the translators had the 'intention' of expressing the meaning of the Hebrew in the sense a 20th century scholar gives to it.[176]

A second difference with Van der Kooij is the linguistic study of transformations as a separate phase, preceding text-critical or historical study of the 'deviations' in a passage. Obviously, if a 'deviation' has a grammatical or stylistic reason, there is no need to ascribe it to theological or text-critical factors. Transformations are labels for procedures designed to solve a problem the translator feels.[177] We must investigate on what levels the translator identified his translational problems. The relationship between the motives behind the transformations will reveal something about the (unconscious) hierarchy of norms in the mind of the translator.

These considerations result in the following model:

1 Study of the translation as an independent Greek text, grammatically, semantically and stylistically.

2 Study of the text of MT as it stands, grammatically, semantically and stylistically.

3 Comparison of LXX and MT. This consists of making an inventory of text-critical and translational 'deviations'.

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[173] A. van der Kooij, Accident or Method? On "Analogical" Interpretation in the Old Greek of Isaiah and in 1QIs[a], *Bibliotheca Orientalis* XLIII 3/4 (1986), 368-370 and idem, *The Oracle of Tyre*, 15-19.

[174] See for this methodological restriction Aejmelaeus, Translation Technique and Intention, *Trail* 72-76. A different approach is advocated by J. Lust, Translation Greek and the Lexicography of the Septuagint, *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 59 (1993), 109-120; E. Tov, Three Dimensions of LXX Words, *Revue Biblique* 83 (1976), 529-544.

[175] For the same point of view see Muraoka, Hosea IV in the Septuagint Version, 24-25; and T. Muraoka (ed.), *Melbourne Symposium on Septuagint Lexicography* (SCS 28), Atlanta 1990. In his contribution, Tov is less confident about the intention of the translators than he used to be.

[176] See the caveats expressed by A. Aejmelaeus, Translation Technique and the Intention of the Translator, in: Cox, *VII Congress*, 24-36 = Aejmelaeus, *On the Trail*, 65-76.

[177] Cf. the introduction to this chapter. Van der Louw, Linguistic or Ideological Shifts? sets this out in detail.

4 Identification and categorization of transformations. The question is then: what are the difficulties or problems the transformations are designed to solve and how do they cohere?
5 Study of the passage and its transformations in the context of the translated book as a whole.
6 Evaluation of text-critical findings.
7 Study of exegetical and ideological elements in the translation.

Presenting this method exhaustively on all levels is not feasible. That would imply an analysis of the Greek text, retelling its content, then an analysis of MT, retelling its content with the risk of stating the obvious, followed by a comparison of both. I have therefore taken a pragmatic approach. With respect to LXX I limited myself to semantic, grammatical and stylistic characteristics which are debated or which struck me as a reader. Observations about MT were limited to debated issues and to differences between ancient and modern 'lexicography'. In my presentation I have not separated the different phases too strictly. Thus the relation between transformations and the context of a book as a whole is dealt with when relevant. The same holds true for textual criticism. In general, topics are only raised when there seems to be a 'problem'.

A complication is that we do not possess the source text from which the Septuagint translators worked. From the point of view of Translation Studies it is inconceivable that a translation is compared to its presumed original when there is no critically established source text. The best way to overcome this problem is to *reconstruct* the source text. But the source text can only be reconstructed with a knowledge of the 'translation techniques'. So we find ourselves caught in circular reasoning. This has been called a hermeneutical circle. But if we are unwilling to give up, we should begin at one of the ends. Then, as Olofsson remarks, '[p]erhaps it is more to the point to call it a hermeneutical spiral, because if progress can be made in either of these two areas one is better off with the other area.'[178]

The point of departure of this thesis is that knowledge of transformations is necessary in order to reach conclusions about the source text of the Greek translators. We will therefore limit our discussions to biblical books of which previous research has made plausible that their *Vorlage* was very close to MT.

THE COMPARISON OF HEBREW AND GREEK

Regarding the delimitation of 'words', I take the common sense stand that equates words and lexemes. Thus I will consider וביתו as three 'words': ו-בית-ו 'and-his-house', and ביום as ב-ה-יום 'on-the-day'. As Hebrew and Greek differ so profoundly, myriads of transformations have taken place in the process of translation. Quite a number of them, however, are so evident that we will not discuss them. First, there are numerous 'changes of word class', e.g.

noun כל	→ collective pronoun πᾶς ('all, every, whole')
relative particle אשר	→ relative pronoun ὅ
אין lit. 'not-being'	→ οὐκ ἦν 'was not'

Hebrew conjunctions often occupy the first place of a clause, whereas Greek conjunctions like γάρ and δέ are postpositive. Such obligatory changes of word order will not be noted. Furthermore, the translation of suffixes with personal pronouns will be ignored, e.g. צבאם

[178] S. Olofsson, *The LXX Version*, 66.

'their [host]' (with suffix) → αὐτῶν their [furnishing]' (personal pronoun). Repeated transformations will be noted at their first occurrence, e.g. the frequent omission of the divine name in Genesis 2. Peculiarities that occur in the transcription of names constitute a object of study on their own and will not concern us, e.g. Eden → Edem, Hawila → Ewilat.

Chapter 4

Transformations in Genesis 2

INTRODUCTION

Before embarking on an in-depth translational analysis of Genesis 2 as outlined in the previous chapter, we will have a look at the Greek text in its own right and try to locate it within TL literature. Let us try to imagine what kind of impression the Greek text of Genesis 2 must have made on contemporaries by describing its characteristics. First of all, the majority of the clauses begins with καί, in other words, the syntax is marked by frequent co-ordination or parataxis.[1] In Koine Greek, parataxis was usual in simple narrative style, but not to this extent. It was deemed unelegant in Greek with its elaborate system of hypotaxis. Second, the word order (conjunction – verb – subject – object) deviates systematically from the normal Greek word order (see below). So in vss 1-3 already we find:

2:1 καὶ συνετελέσθησαν ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ
2:2 καὶ συνετέλεσεν ὁ θεὸς... τὰ ἔργα
2:3 καὶ ηὐλόγησεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἡμέραν
ὧν ἤρξατο ὁ θεὸς ποιῆσαι

In Greek this word order is unusual, being limited to *verba dicendi* (BDR § 472). Third, although real transgressions of grammar such as lack of agreement (2:4, 19) and a queer connection (between 2:4-5, 19) are rare, there are many abnormal features. Participant tracking is not always idiomatic (2:3, 16-17, 21). Numerous collocations are different from normal use and are exceptional or not attested elsewhere, as, e.g. the following constructions: πλάσσω 'to form' with double accusative, εἶναι with εἰς (2:24), ἐκεῖ οὗ (2:11), the frequent non-use of the copula (2:11-14, 23), βρώσει φάγῃ (2:16), pleonastic use of the pronoun (2:17, 19), pleonastic πᾶν 'all' (2:19), ἐπιβάλλω ἐπί (2:21). Fourth, apart from the neologism ἁγιάζω (2:3), the vocabulary reflects 3rd-century Koine Greek and does not contain lexemes that are marked as either vulgar or literary language. Some words, however, unproblematic in themselves, are used in a way that is not common, like εὐλογέω (2:3), κύριος for God (2:8), τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς 'the whole face of the earth' (2:6), οἰκοδομέω 'to build' (2:22). Fifth, Greek particles are notably absent.[2] Sixth, there are only two instances of a polished style, namely the word play in 2:9 and the use of the infinitive in 2:5.

Do subject matter, lexical and grammatical properties and style correspond to a category of writing known at the time? At the beginning of the 3rd century BC Demetrius of Phaleron, the first Librarian of Alexandria, distinguished four styles in his treatise *De elocutione*:

> Εἰσὶ δὲ τέτταρες οἱ ἁπλοῖ χαρακτῆρες, ἰσχνός, μεγαλοπρεπής, γλαφυρός, δεινός, καὶ λοιπὸν οἱ ἐκ τούτων μιγνύμενοι.

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[1] See A. Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint.*

[2] Underrepresentation of TL-specific items is a likely 'translation universal'. See S. Tirkkonen-Condit, Unique Items – over- or under-represented in translated language? in: Mauranen / Kujamäki (ed.), *Translation Universals. Do they exist?*, 177-184.

> The simple types of style are four in number: the 'plain,' the 'elevated,' the 'elegant' and the 'forcible'. In addition there are various combinations of these types.[3]

The elegant ('charming and cheerful') and the elevated ('elaborate and grandiose') styles need not detain us long, because they demand stylistic qualities that Genesis 2 lacks. The forcible style stands out by its brevity and conciseness, often verging on the obscure, and by the unexpected (§ 240ff.). Intelligent use of figures of style can contribute to force (§ 263ff.). With respect to vocabulary it is akin to the elevated style. Now Genesis 2 does not answer to this concise description of the forcible style.
The current and familiar vocabulary of Genesis 2 would suggest the plain style (§ 190). Other characteristics of the plain style are clarity and redundancy (§ 196ff.) which are present in Genesis 2 to a certain extent. Regarding word order Demetrius advises (§ 199):

> Καὶ ὅλως τῇ φυσικῇ τάξει τῶν ὀνομάτων χρηστέον, ὡς τὸ ' Ἐπίδαμνός ἐστι πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέοντι εἰς τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον·' πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὠνόμασται τὸ περὶ οὗ, δεύτερον δὲ ὃ τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὅτι πόλις, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐφεξῆς.
> In general, the natural order of the words should be followed, as in the sentence 'Epidamnus is a town on your right hand as you sail into the Ionian gulf.' First of all is mentioned the subject, which is then defined to be a town, and next come the other words in due succession.

We already saw how systematically Genesis 2 differs from the recommended word order. The many other irregularities we noted do not make the text easy to read and, as Demetrius says:

> πᾶν γὰρ τὸ παράσημον ἀσύνηθες καὶ οὐκ ἰδιωτικόν (...)
> τὸ γὰρ ἀσαφὲς καὶ ἀσύνηθες ἀπίθανον·
> Since all eccentricity is unfamiliar and extraordinary (§ 208)
> What is not lucid nor natural is not convincing (§ 221).

Since in spite of the plain vocabulary ease and naturalness of style cannot be found in Genesis 2, it does not conform to the plain style. In fact, it falls outside all categories described by Demetrius.
Our conclusion must be that for Greek readers of that time Genesis 2 was a very exotic text. Its many irregularities testify to massive Hebrew interference. Thackeray's intuitive judgement of the LXX-Pentateuch as 'good κοινή Greek'[4] is certainly incorrect for this chapter.

[3] Rhys Roberts (ed.), *Demetrius on Style*, § 36. English translations are by the editor.
In 20-10 BC Dionysius of Halicarnassus (ed. W. Rhys Roberts, London 1910) distinguished *three* modes of composition in *De compositione verborum*: σύνθεσις αὐστηρά 'austere composition', σύνθεσις γλαφυρά, 'elegant composition', σύνθεσις εὔκρατος 'well-blended composition'.
[4] Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*, 13.

GENESIS 2:1

Καὶ συνετελέσθησαν ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος αὐτῶν.
And the heaven and the earth were completed, and their whole orderly furnishing.

וַיְכֻלּוּ הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ וְכָל־צְבָאָם׃
And the heaven and the earth were completed, and their whole host.

Greek text It is difficult to determine what καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος αὐτῶν precisely means in the Greek text. LSJ describes four spheres of meaning for κόσμος: order; ornament, decoration; ruler, regulator; world-order, universe. These meanings appear in the various translations scholars present. Rösel translates it with 'Ordnung' and suggests a relationship with the final part of Plato's *Timaeus*, where συντελέω and κόσμος also occur together in the context of cosmogony. But we should not detach the lexeme κόσμος from its context. The text does not speak of '*the* kosmos', but of '*their* kosmos', i.e. the kosmos of heaven and earth.[5] A translation that seems to fit better is 'furnishing' ('Ausstattung, Einrichtung' in German), whether 'orderly', 'decorative' or perhaps both.[6]

Translation Συντελέω is a frequent rendering of כלה pi. in its meaning 'to complete' and, as appears from the concordance, of Hebrew words with related meanings.
In the phrase καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος αὐτῶν 'and their whole orderly furnishing' the definite article has been added. The addition is obligatory, because *πᾶς κόσμος αὐτῶν without the article would have meant something else: '*every* kosmos of theirs'.
The phrase καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος αὐτῶν 'and their whole orderly furnishing' renders וכל צבאם 'and their whole host'. There is some difference of opinion regarding the referential meaning of Hebrew **צבא** 'host, army'. Rösel thinks it here designates the heavenly bodies,[7] on the analogy of **צבא** השמים 'host of heaven'. However, our context does not speak of the host of heaven, but of **צבאם** '*their* host', i.e. the host of heaven *and earth*. Hence it must have the broader sense of 'everything that fills heaven and earth in an orderly way'. In the terminology of componential analysis° the notion of ORDERLY ARRANGEMENT is common to **צבא** and κόσμος. We are dealing with a 'modification'.

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[5] Similarly, an early Christian exegesis from F. Petit (ed.), *La Chaîne sur la Genèse* I, Leuven 1991, 129: Ἀντὶ τοῦ, ὁ καλλωπισμὸς αὐτῶν· οὐρανοῦ μέν, ὁ ἥλιος, ἡ σελήνη, τὰ ἄστρα, γῆς δέ, τὰ κτήνη, τὰ φυτά, τὰ ὕδατα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα.
[6] Harl's description of its meaning is close to ours: 'ordre, ordonnance, organisation, avec la connotation typiquement grecque d'ornement, de beauté', *La Genèse*, 98. Even closer is Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis*, 20 '[heaven and earth and] their equippage.'
[7] Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung,* 52 supports his view with a reference to C. Westermann, *Genesis* (Biblischer Kommentar I/1), 233 and G. von Rad, *Das erste Buch Mose* (Das Alte Testament Deutsch), 49, but these exegetes suggest a wider meaning for **צבא**, as including all beings in heaven and earth. Likewise A.S. van der Woude in THAT, ii, 501-502 'Durch Zeugma kann der Ausdruck [**צבא**] dann auch auf die Erde ausgeweitet werden (Gen 2,1 P).'

Now this transformation recently attracted a little flood of articles.[8] These start from the assumption that 'sich das hebräische Lexem צבא mit der lexikographisch allein massgeblichen Bedeutung „Heer" mit der griechischen Bezeichnung κόσμος in keiner Weise zur Deckung bringen lässt.'[9] This assumption is questionable since the common semantic component is ORDERLY ARRANGEMENT, as we saw. Von Mutius questions the Hebrew text itself: in his view צבאם 'the host of heaven *and earth*' cannot be right since, first, the Bible nowhere speaks about a 'host of the earth' and, second, 'Himmel und Erde verfügen schwerlich über ein gemeinsames Heer.'[10] I find this an over-confident statement about a text originating in a culture that is so far removed from ours. It is perfectly possible that צבאם 'the host of heaven and earth' in MT is a consciously coined phrase that puts the host of earth and the host of heaven on one level and thereby degrades the heavenly bodies, considered deities by Israel's neighbours. This would fit in with the demythologizing tendency that is so characteristic of Genesis 1.

Since the above mentioned presuppositions are questionable, I am not convinced by the urgency of the various text-critical and exegetical solutions that have been proposed with help of Egyptian or rabbinic writings. One exception: departing from a suggestion by Von Mutius, viz. that the *Vorlage* of LXX read צביאם 'their ornament', I would not exclude the possibility that the translator vocalized צְבִיאָם 'their ornament'.

But we have not yet described the translator's path from צבא 'host, army' to κόσμος 'orderly furnishing'. Why did he not provide a literal rendering, like the ones we find elsewhere?[11] Of course the translator could not use ἀστέρες 'stars', because the text speaks about 'the kosmos of heaven *and earth*'. A similar reason seems to underlie the translator's rejection of στρατία 'host, army'. In literally translated books we find στρατία τοῦ οὐρανοῦ 'host of heaven' denoting the heavenly bodies, but this becomes problematic when *ἡ στρατία αὐτῶν should mean 'the army of heaven *and earth*'. The stars can be called a heavenly army in a metaphorical sense, but an earthly army is too real to function as a metaphor. To speak of an 'army of the earth' is a bit too far-fetched in Greek. No Greek manuscript restored the 'army'.

GENESIS 2:2

Καὶ συνετέλεσεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἕκτῃ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, ἃ ἐποίησεν καὶ κατέπαυσεν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ, ὧν ἐποίησεν.

And God completed, on the sixth day, his works that he had done, and he rested on the seventh day from all his works that he had done.

[8] M. Görg, Das Übersetzungsproblem in Gen 2,1, *Biblische Notizen* 95 (1998), 5-11; M. Görg, Die Septuaginta im Kontext spätägyptischer Kultur; Von Mutius, Der hebräische Text von Genesis 2,1 im Licht der Septuaginta und der rabbinischen Schriftauslegung.

[9] Görg, Die Septuagint im Kontext..., 123.

[10] Von Mutius, Der hebräische Text von Genesis 2,1..., 107.

[11] Outside the Pentateuch we find צבא השמים 'host of heaven' translated with ἀστέρες 'stars', e.g. in Isaiah 34:4; 45:12; Jeremiah 8:2 (double translation); Daniel 8:10; and, more literally, with στρατία τοῦ οὐρανοῦ 3 Kingdoms (MT 1 Kings) 22:19; 2 Chronicles 33:3,5; Jeremiah 8:2; 19:13; Zephania 1:5; or with δύναμις τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, e.g. in 4 Kingdoms (MT 2 Kings) 17:16; 21:3.

וַיְכַל אֱלֹהִים בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי מְלַאכְתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה וַיִּשְׁבֹּת בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי מִכָּל־מְלַאכְתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה׃
And God completed, on the seventh day, his work that he had made, and he rested on the seventh day from all his works that he had made.

Greek text The genitive in ὧν ἐποίησεν is due to *attractio relativi* (Smyth § 2522, BDR § 294).

Translation The addition of the definite article before θεός makes it refer to the one God. Mere θεός would suggest that *a* god (from among a pantheon) created the world.[12]
The rendering ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἕκτῃ 'on the sixth day' is debated. It cannot be proved with certainty that it is a translation of ביום השביעי 'on the seventh day' (as MT), since it appears from the Samaritan Pentateuch that there existed manuscripts with the reading ביום הששי 'on the sixth day'. It is reasonable to assume that 'the seventh day', being more problematic, is the original reading, and that the halachic difficulty of God completing his creation and therefore working on Sabbath[13] was subsequently smoothed out in 'the sixth day' by copyists. It is possible that this was the reading of the Septuagint's *Vorlage*, but it is equally possible that the LXX-translator read ביום השביעי but harmonized this passage in the translation (modification), so that 'the exegetical tendency developed independently in all three sources.'[14] With the present state of our knowledge this question must remain open.
With the plural τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ 'his works' for singular מלאכתו 'his work' we encounter a change of accidence (number). It appears from Hatch & Redpath's concordance that plural ἔργα 'works' is a frequent rendering of מלאכה 'work', which occurs almost exclusively in singular. The Hebrew word means 'occupation, work' and mostly designates work of longer duration and habitual or professional occupations, to which the plural ἔργα rather than ἔργον corresponds.[15] In Genesis 2:2 מלאכה refers to the multitude of God's works in the creation of heaven and earth.
Καταπαύω, meaning 'to rest' when used intransitively, is used for good reasons. Other Greek verbs from the same semantic field° have shades of meaning that do not fit the context. Ἀαπαύομαι for example is often used of resting after a considerable effort and can even mean 'sleep'.[16] The use of this verb would portray God as being exhausted. The fact that καταπαύω can be construed with ἀπό provides an advantage over a further alternative, viz. παύομαι (+ genitive), because it enables the translator to render the Hebrew preposition מן 'from' with ἀπό, which guarantees closer adherence to the word classes of the original and its number of words.

[12] Cf. BDR § 254.1.
[13] See e.g. the medieval Jewish commentaries of Rashi and Ibn Ezra.
[14] Tov, *Text Critical Use*, 79. For a similar view see Rösel*, Übersetzung als Vollendung,* 53.
[15] Compare the examples adduced by LSJ s.v. ἔργον.
[16] LSJ s.v. ἀναπαύομαι. The verb is used of human resting in e.g. Exodus 20:11 (for שבת and נוח) and Deuteronomy 5:14 (for נוח).

GENESIS 2:3

Καὶ ηὐλόγησεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἑβδόμην καὶ ἡγίασεν αὐτήν, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῇ κατέπαυσεν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ, ὧν ἤρξατο ὁ θεὸς ποιῆσαι.
And God praised the seventh day and sanctified it, for in it he ceased from all his works, that God had started to do.

וַיְבָרֶךְ אֱלֹהִים אֶת־יוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי וַיְקַדֵּשׁ אֹתוֹ כִּי בוֹ שָׁבַת מִכָּל־מְלַאכְתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר־בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים לַעֲשׂוֹת׃ פ
And God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it, for on it he rested from all his work, that God had created to make.

Greek text The usual meaning of εὐλογέω is 'speak well of, praise' (LSJ), just as the related εὐλογητός means 'praised'. The sense of 'blessing' (with a god as subject) is, to the best of my knowledge, not attested in Greek writings that predate the LXX or are contemporary with it. In the New Testament and other Christian writings the additional sense of 'blessing' for εὐλογέω seems to have established itself. It is as yet uncertain whether the semantic extension of this lexeme was a conscious act of the Septuagint translators, or that they intensified a development that had already begun. The latter possibility seems to me the more probable, for the wide use of εὐλογέω in the sense 'to bless' speaks against the assumption of a 'semantic neologism'.
The verb εὐλογέω occurs earlier in LXX-Genesis, in 1:22 (cf. 1:26):

> καὶ ηὐλόγησεν αὐτὰ ὁ θεὸς λέγων· αὐξάνεσθε καὶ πληθύνεσθε καὶ πληρώσατε τὰ ὕδατα ἐν ταῖς θαλάσσαις καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ πληθυνέσθωσαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

In my opinion, it is perfectly possible to translate the Greek text without reference to the Hebrew as 'God *praised* them [sc. his creatures, as being perfect], saying: Increase and multiply...'[17] The translation 'God blessed them' does not convey a superior sense, because what follows is not a blessing but a command. This translation is also possible in 2:3.
The verb ἁγιάζω 'to sanctify' is rare. It is first attested in the Septuagint and appears further in literature dependent on it, such as the New Testament and Philo's writings. Whether the Septuagint translators coined a neologism is uncertain, but if so, the meaning of ἁγιάζω was easily guessed by its transparent etymology: 'to make sacred, hallow'.
The repetition of ὁ θεός 'God' at the end of the verse is redundant from the point of view of Greek grammar, as there cannot be doubt as to the subject of ἤρξατο 'began'. The explicit mentioning actually suggests a change of subject, so that this clause has a slightly confusing ring about it.[18]

Translation Since in the Septuagint εὐλογέω frequently renders ברך pi., traditionally translated as 'to bless', it is often assumed that εὐλογέω means 'to bless' when it renders

[17] Following Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung*, 46. T. Muraoka (ed.), *Melbourne Symposium on Septuagint Lexicography*, p. x (Muraoka) and 117: 'as long as possible we record the words of the LXX as if that text were a regular Greek text, explaining the words - conjecturally - in the way which a Greek reader would have taken them. Only when this procedure would lead to unrealistic results, when no feasible meaning can be derived from the Greek context, our knowledge about the translators' intention is invoked.' (Tov, quoted by Muraoka)
[18] Cf. Adrian's remarks about similar cases, discussed in Léonas, *Recherches*, 158ff.

ברך. The meaning 'to bless' (with a god as subject) was new or recent to εὐλογέω at the time of the LXX and is first attested there.[19] The normal meaning of εὐλογέω, however, is 'to praise'. And indeed it is sometimes used as a translation of verbs meaning 'to praise'.[20] But according to the lexica ברך pi. is also used in the sense 'to praise', as appears from its synonyms in poetic parallellism.[21] This means that the 'addition' of a new meaning, 'to bless', to εὐλογέω took place in the time of the Septuagint, and that this new use of the word was perhaps introduced in the Greek Genesis. It cannot be excluded, therefore, that the translator of Genesis intended εὐλογέω to retain its ordinary meaning in some places (see *Greek text*).

Ἁγιάζω 'to sanctify' was preferred to alternatives from the same semantic field, because it was in all likelihood a neologism that was free from associations with non-Jewish religions.[22] Since the Greek verb is a causative derived from the adjective, a formation parallel to that of the Hebrew verb, it can best be tagged as a loan translation.

The Greek rendering ὧν ἤρξατο ὁ θεὸς ποιῆσαι '[the works] that God had *begun* to do' is a surprising semantic deviation from אשר ברא אלהים לעשות 'that God had created to make / by making'. Before offering (theological) explanations it is necessary to ask what difficulty the translator actually faced. The translator had to solve a linguistic problem that originated in earlier decisions. 'Hintergrund dieser Wiedergabe ist das Aufeinandertreffen der Verben ברא und עשה, die bisher beide mit ποιέω übersetzt wurden.'[23] The translator was not wantonly inserting theology, for he could have done that at any place. It is also important to check the translator's options, since he had other solutions at his disposal. He could have rendered the phrase as *ὧν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός '[the works] that God had made'. He would then have reduced two Hebrew verbs to a single Greek verb, but that would have implied a deviation from the strategy of quantitative representation he had followed up till now. And if he had generalized ברא 'to create' (instead of עשה) into ἐποίησεν it would have been very difficult to render לעשות 'to make' with a Greek infinitive (try it ...). As the translator tried to retain the word classes of his original, he evidently did not consider this option suitable.[24] The only option that remained was a specific verb preceding the generic ποιέω and one that does not significantly modify the meaning of the latter, as would 'decided', 'planned' or 'wanted'. The translator chose 'to begin' which of course precedes 'to do'. Since 'peri-

[19] ThWNT II, 751 'Bei wenigen Wörtern der neutestamentlichen Sprache wird so deutlich wie bei εὐλογέω und εὐλογία daß sie ihren Gehalt nicht aus der Profan-Gräzität, sondern als Übersetzung hebräischer Wörter erhalten haben.' Compare the literature given in Rösel*, Übersetzung als Vollendung,* 46; Harl, *La Genèse*, 56.

[20] E.g. הלל pi., כבד pi., and ידה hif.

[21] HAL 153 relates several translations of ברך pi. to a central meaning: '1. Sbj. God: **segnen** = mit heilvoller Kraft begaben [...] - 2. segnen = als mit heilvoller Kraft begabt erklären [..] - 3. segnen = heilvolle Kraft anwünschen [...] - 4. Gott segnen = Gott als den Ursprung heilvoller Kraft bezeichnen = **Gott loben, preisen**.' According to THAT i, 354-355, the basic meaning of the root *b-r-k* is commonly described as "Heilskraft, heilschaffende Kraft", with reference to especially Arabic *baraka*.

[22] See Rösel*, Übersetzung als Vollendung,* 54.

[23] Rösel*, Übersetzung als Vollendung,* 54. The translator's decision to render ברא with ποιέω (instead of κτίζω, τίκτω etc.) was evidently well-considered, and did not admit of an exception in the book of Genesis. In Isaiah 41:20; 43:7; 45:8 the same translational difficulty occurs: עשה is there translated with ποιέω and ברא with καταδείκνυμι 'discover, invent, introduce'.

[24] A comparable objection can be raised against 'the works that God created *and* made' (KJV) or 'his work of creation' (REB) etc.

phrastic ἄρχομαι' was not uncommon from Xenophon onwards,[25] its meaning had somewhat faded and it did not really add anything substantial to our text. Strictly speaking, it is a 'translation of cause and effect'.

Translating is a decision-making process in which the freedom of choice is limited by the restrictions imposed by earlier decisions. The translator's strategy had narrowed down his options. Therefore, the choice of ἤρξατο 'began' is in my view intentional to a limited extent. The problem forced him to a transformation, but he could still choose between the alternatives. He probably chose 'began' over alternatives like 'decided', 'planned', 'wanted' because Genesis 2:3 is about completion, and ἄρχομαι, harking back to Ἐν ἀρχῇ 'In the beginning', underlines the fullness of completion. It is not necessary to claim with Cook that 'began' is an exegetical rendering pointing to the idea of continuous creation and preventing the misunderstanding that God completed his creation and then left it to itself.[26]

GENESIS 2:4

Αὕτη ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὅτε ἐγένετο, ᾗ ἡμέρᾳ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν

This [is] the book of origin of heaven and earth, when it originated in the day God made the heaven and the earth,

אֵלֶּה תוֹלְדוֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ בְּהִבָּרְאָם בְּיוֹם עֲשׂוֹת יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֶרֶץ וְשָׁמָיִם׃

These are the generations of heaven and earth in their being created. On the day the Lord God made earth and heaven,

Greek text There are different ways to interpret the syntax, as is shown by the various interpunctions that the text editions of Rahlfs and Göttingen and the translations by Rösel, Brenton and Harl offer.

The first clause of vs 4, Αὕτη … γῆς, is a nominal clause (i.e. without copula), as its parallel in 5:1 demonstrates. Such usage is possible in Koine (BDR § 127) and existed in classical Greek, though in more restricted cases (Smyth § 944).

The clause introduced by ὅτε 'when' belongs to the main clause that precedes it. It cannot function as the beginning of a new sentence, since it is not followed by a suitable apodosis.

Opinions are divided regarding the subject of ἐγένετο. An impersonal subject consisting of nouns coordinated by καί can be followed by a singular predicate (BDR § 153.1).[27] In this line of thought it is probable that οὐρανὸς καὶ γῆ constitute the subject of ἐγένετο and that we should translate with Brenton: 'This is the book of heaven and earth when *they* originated.' It is not necessary to assume an impersonal subject or to give γίνομαι an unusual meaning.[28]

Note the idiomatic use of the Greek article before οὐρανὸς καὶ γῆ. At the beginning of 2:4 the article is omitted: Αὕτη ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς. The brevity corresponds to

[25] Hilhorst, *Sémitismes et latinismes dans le Pasteur d'Hermas*, 68f.

[26] J. Cook, The Exegesis of Greek Genesis, 108ff. Cf. Harl, *La Genèse*, 99.

[27] Cf. 1 Corinthians 15:50 σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα… οὐ δύναται and other examples.

[28] As resp. Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung,* 55 ('als es entstand') and Harl ('quand il y eut génération') do.

the way in which Greek book titles were formulated.[29] This supports Harl's hypothesis that in 2:4 a new section begins, parallel to the Palestinian *seder*.[30] At the end of the verse the article is used anaphorically, as it refers back to the immediately preceding 'heaven and earth'.[31]

Translation The Greek translation of 2:4 offers several surprises. The first is the addition of 'the book' (lacking in Hebrew) and the ensuing change of number from plural אלה 'these' to singular Αὕτη 'this'. The second is the placing of the article before οὐρανὸς καὶ γῆ 'heaven and earth', which is the reverse of what we would expect. The third is a change of word order, as ארץ ושמים 'earth and heaven' is rendered with τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν 'heaven and earth'. The fourth is the rendering of בהבראם 'in their being created' by ὅτε ἐγένετο 'when it originated' (change of syntactic function, involving change of number, word class; generalization). The fifth is the omission of the divine name YHWH, normally rendered with κύριος 'Lord'.

Regarding the first problem, the addition of 'the book', Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* suggested in its apparatus that the translator found it in his Hebrew *Vorlage* (זה ספר תולדות 'This is the book of...'). But its successor BHS abandoned this suggestion, and rightly so, as it would involve the addition of a whole word and a different pronoun (or the reverse), which are not easily explained by copyists' errors. No text-critical evidence supporting a different source text has turned up so far. With most scholars we must assume that the addition is an anaphoric translation after 5:1. The question is: why was this done?

According to Rösel, תולדות has two meanings, generally 'succession of generations', but in 2:4 '*history* [of the origin of heaven and earth]'.[32] He says the latter sense is adequately rendered by the insertion of βίβλος. This explanation covers part of the problem, but it does not provide an answer to why the translator departed from his literal strategy.[33] Leaving aside the possibility of inaccuracy, we will now try to find an answer to this question.

In a number of Genesis passages we find תולדות + proper name, e.g. 6:9 'these are the successive generations of [i.e. springing from] Noach,' followed by a list of descendants. There LXX translates Αὗται δὲ αἱ γενέσεις Νωε 'these are the births of [i.e. from] Noe.'[34] Αὗται 'these' here refers to the names in 6:10ff. But in two passages we find a different translation, in 2:4 and 5:1, which we will discuss now. The latter reads:

> Αὕτη ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως ἀνθρώπων
> This is the book of the origin of human beings.

What does Αὕτη 'This' refer to here? On the analogy of 6:9 we could think it refers to the name list in 5:3ff. Βίβλος would then mean 'record, list', which is attested in papyri. Another possibility is that 'this' refers to the book of Genesis as a whole.[35] A fact which points to the latter option is that the translator avoided the more literal rendering:

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[29] E.g. Γένεσις κόσμου (title of LXX-Genesis in ms. A). Cf. Wevers, *Notes on ... Genesis*, 22.
[30] Harl, *La Genèse*, 35ff.
[31] Smyth § 1120b, BDR § 252. For the explanation of the article in this verse I am indebted to A. Rijksbaron, Professor of Greek at Amsterdam University.
[32] Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung,* 57; cf. HAL.
[33] It would run *Αὗται αἱ γενέσεις οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς 'These are the generations of heaven and earth.'
[34] See also Genesis 6:9; 10:1, 11; 11:27; 25:12, 19; 36:1,9; 37:2.
[35] It is interesting that regarding Matthew 1:1 the same dilemma occurs. There it is tied up with one's view on the genre of the gospel as a whole: was Matthew a 'compiler or editor' or an 'ancient

*Αὕτη ἡ βίβλος γενέσεων (τοῦ) Ἀδάμ
This is the book of the births from Adam.

What strikes us is the following: 1. From 2:18 onwards, the translator has rendered האדם 'the human being' (with article) as 'Adam'. But here, of all places, where אדם *without* article suggests a proper name, LXX provides a generic and plural rendering 'human beings'. 2. Whereas elsewhere the translator renders plural תולדות 'successive generations' with plural γενέσεις 'births', in 5:1 he chooses for singular γένεσις 'birth, origin'. Apparently the translator did not want to connect the introductory formula of 5:1 to the list of Adam's descendants, but to the book of Genesis as a whole.

Turning to Genesis 2:4, here too we find the translator avoiding a literal rendering.[36] It is not possible, as it would speak of the *offspring* of heaven and earth, an incorrect translation in the context, and suggest a polytheistic concept that the Jewish translators would avoid. The text clearly deals with the *origin* of heaven and earth, which is more adequately rendered by the singular γένεσις. But even then a literal translation would say that 'this [i.e. what follows] is the origin of heaven and earth.'[37] That would not fit into the context, for what follows in 2:4b ff. *presupposes* the existence of heaven and earth. Therefore I think that βίβλος 'book' was imported from 5:1 to make Αὕτη 'This' refer to the book of Genesis as a whole.

The second difficulty in Genesis 2:4 is the use of the article before οὐρανὸς καὶ γῆ 'heaven and earth'. In the beginning of the verse the Greek phrase lacks articles where Hebrew has them and at the end of the verse it is the other way round. All Hebrew manuscripts support MT in this regard, so the issue seems translational. The translator omits the article for stylistic reasons and adds the article for grammatical reasons (see *Greek text*), hence the 'omission' is optional and the 'addition' obligatory. In several other places, in LXX-Genesis and outside it, שמים וארץ without article has likewise been rendered with a phrase that does have the article.[38]

The third problem, inversion of word order, has its roots in the Hebrew text. It reads ארץ ושמים 'earth and heaven', whereas the normal Hebrew sequence is שמים וארץ 'heaven and earth', as we find in Genesis 1:1 and elsewhere. The latter is actually the reading found in the Samaritan Pentateuch, where it evidently has been harmonized. Likewise, οὐρανὸς καὶ γῆ 'heaven and earth' is the common word order in Greek,[39] the reverse order being less frequent. It is difficult to say whether the translators found the normal word order already in their text, or made a harmonization themselves.

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biographer'? For this question see the introduction of C.S. Keenan, *A Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*, Grand Rapids / Cambridge 1999. Newer exegetes tend to favour the second view. Cf. extensively W.D. Davies & D.C. Allison, *The Gospel according to St. Matthew* (ICC), Edinburgh 1988, 149-155, who after an elaborate discussion interpret Matthew 1:1 as a title for the whole gospel.

[36] *Αὗται αἱ γένεσεις οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς 'These are the births of heaven and earth.'

[37] Or Αὕτη 'This' could have referred to the feminine topic in 2:2-3: 'This [i.e. the seventh day] is the origin of heaven and earth.'

[38] Genesis 14:19 καὶ ηὐλόγησεν τὸν Αβραμ καὶ εἶπεν· εὐλογημένος Αβραμ τῷ θεῷ τῷ ὑψίστῳ ὃς ἔκτισεν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν (שמים וארץ). Similarly Genesis 14:22; Psalm 120 (MT 121):2; 123 (MT 124):8.

[39] For NT Greek, see Schmoller, *Handkonkordanz* s.v. γῆ. For Koine prose I used the TLG for queries. An illustration from Chrysippus, in: J. ab Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* II, 527.2 Κόσμον δ' εἶναί φησιν ὁ Χρύσιππος σύστημα ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις φύσεων. Cf. also Diodorus Siculus, Book I, 7,1 and 7. The reverse order is much less frequent.

The cause of the fourth unexpected rendering is the occurrence of two verbs that have hitherto been translated as ποιέω 'to make'. The translator kept ποιέω as the standard rendering of עשה 'to make' and rendered ברא 'to create' (in a reflexive-passive stem) by the intransitive verb γίνομαι 'come into being', which thanks to its generic meaning cannot interfere with the sense of ποιέω 'make' ('generalization').

The fifth problem we are concerned with is the rendering of the text-critically firmly supported יהוה אלהים 'YHWH God' with ὁ θεός 'God' in vss 4, 5, 7, 9, 19, 21, contrasted with the expected full rendering κύριος ὁ θεός 'the Lord God' in vss 8, 15, 16, 18, 22. As a rule, the Genesis translator sticks to θεός 'God' for אלהים 'God' and to κύριος 'Lord' for יהוה (YHWH), but he sometimes deviates from these standard equivalents. According to Rösel he does so deliberately, since deviations follow a pattern betraying a theological outlook:[40]

1 When κύριος e.g. announces or promises something, the same divine name is preferably used in connection with its fulfilment, even in contrast with MT.
2 Κύριος is preferred over θεός in connection with Israel and its forefathers.
3 There is a reluctance to link κύριος to acts of violence, punishment or injustice.

The variation in the first chapters of Genesis is explained by Rösel as follows: 'So wird in den Kapiteln 1 und 2 durchgehend der Schöpfergott als ὁ θεός bezeichnet, der sich der Schöpfung zuwendende Gott als κύριος ὁ θεός.'[41] And indeed it is plausible that the variation in the rendering of divine names can be accounted for in this way. But we could ask the question why there is variation at all. What Rösel offers here is a solution, not a problem analysis. We should first ask ourselves which problem the translator wanted to solve.

Regarding Genesis 2-3 I would suggest that the translator employed his strategy of variation between κύριος ὁ θεός 'the Lord God' and ὁ θεός 'God' because he was, as far as we know, the first to use κύριος as a divine name.[42] If the translator would have proceeded literally, the resulting text could have been misunderstood. Genesis 1:1-2:3 tells us that ὁ θεός 'God' created heaven and earth. Then Genesis 2:4-24 presents a second account, in which a character named κύριος ὁ θεός 'Lord God' makes a man and a woman and gives them instructions. That could have been misunderstood as speaking of two deities, the latter being the lord of the former. The translator therefore had to make sure that the reader would identify ὁ θεός and κύριος ὁ θεός as referring to one and the same God. This he did by means of alternating the two divine names.[43]

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[40] M. Rösel, Die Übersetzung der Gottesnamen in der Genesis-Septuaginta, in: D.R. Daniels, U. Gleßmer (ed.), *Ernten, was man sät* (Fs. K. Koch), Neukirchen-Vluyn 1991, 357-377.

[41] Rösel, Übersetzung als Vollendung, 58.

[42] ThWNT III, 1081. Κύριος was used with genitive in divine titles, like Ζεὺς ὁ πάντων κύριος (id., 1046). Much later, in the first century BC, the use of (absolute) κύριος as an apposition of divine names, e.g. Σεκνεβτῦνις ὁ κύριος θεός seems to have been established (id., 1048). But mere κύριος, without divine name, was novel, and this meant 'that the title is substituted for the name, and the implication is that the bearer is 'sovereign' in the absolute sense. There is no exact parallel to this in earlier or contemporary Greek' (C.H. Dodd quoted in ThWNT III, 1081). See also BDAG s.v. κύριος.

[43] Cf. Hendel, *The Text of Genesis 1-11*, 34. The novelty of κύριος as a divine name may also account for other renderings that Rösel explains by an appeal to the theology of the translators, e.g. Genesis 4:1 (κύριος could have been misunderstood as Eva's husband); 16:5 (the κύριος of both Hagar and Sara is Abraham) etc. A case like Genesis 38:7 could be explained as stylistic variation within one verse. In short, I think that a somewhat more differentiated picture emerges if one takes a closer look at the difficulties the translator was facing in each of these passages.

GENESIS 2:5

καὶ πᾶν χλωρὸν ἀγροῦ πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ πάντα χόρτον ἀγροῦ πρὸ τοῦ ἀνατεῖλαι, οὐ γὰρ ἔβρεξεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἦν ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν γῆν,
and every green of the field, before it originated upon the earth, and all grass of the field, before it grew, for God did not send rain upon the earth, and a human being was not there to till the earth,

וְכֹל֙ שִׂ֣יחַ הַשָּׂדֶ֔ה טֶ֥רֶם יִהְיֶ֖ה בָּאָ֑רֶץ וְכָל־עֵ֣שֶׂב הַשָּׂדֶ֔ה טֶ֥רֶם יִצְמָ֖ח כִּ֣י ׀ לֹ֣א הִמְטִ֣יר יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהִ֗ים עַל־הָאָ֙רֶץ֙ וְאָדָ֣ם אַ֔יִן לַעֲבֹ֖ד אֶת־הָֽאֲדָמָֽה׃
and all bush of the field was not yet on the earth and all herbage of the field had not yet sprung up, for the Lord God had not caused it to rain upon the earth, and there was no human being to till the earth,

Greek text The accusatives in this verse are grammatical objects of ἐποίησεν in 2:4.
In πᾶν χλωρὸν ἀγροῦ there is no article before ἀγροῦ because 'field' does not denote a specific field. The article is omitted 'in the case of words forming a class by themselves' (Smyth § 1141).
The verse contains two constructions with infinitives. The first is πρὸ τοῦ + inf., which may indicate a polished style (BDR § 398, 403). For ἐργάζεσθαι without preceding conjunction (like ἵνα, ὡς, ὥστε) see BDR § 390-391.
Ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν is an accusative because it expresses the downward movement of the rain.[44]
The picture of the Greek text is that God created green and grass before it sprang up. It did not spring up because God had not yet sent rain, and because man did not yet cultivate the soil. Apparently, then, God had created plants in the form of seeds waiting in the ground.

Translation The Greek translation offers a syntax quite different from its source text. In Hebrew the 'bush and herbage' are the subject of the clause, whereas in Greek they are the object of the verb ἐποίησεν 'made' of 2:4. The origin of this difference lies in all probability in the translator's interpretation of טרם. In lexica it is normally translated as 'not yet', which results in a translation as NRSV: 'when no plant of the field was yet in the earth and no herb of the field had yet sprung up'. Next to טרם a derived conjunction בטרם 'before, ere' exists. The distinction between both words is not always clear-cut. Sometimes the adverb טרם 'not yet' is used in the sense of the conjunction בטרם, 'before, ere'.[45] This is how the translator seems to have interpreted טרם here. Frankel sees this confusion of טרם and בטרם as a sign of haste.[46] I do not follow Rösel in his claim that the translator deliberately changed the syntactic structure.[47] He simply interpreted the Hebrew differently. Once טרם is translated as 'before, ere', the plants must be interpreted as the object of the verb in 2:4.

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[44] For a detailed discussion on βρέχω see Lee, *Lexical Study*, 122ff.
[45] BDB 382b, see among other texts Exodus 12:34.
[46] Frankel, *Über die Einflüsse der palästinischen Exegese*, 13.
[47] Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung,* 59 assumes a deliberate change, whereby the translator allegedly hinted at the Platonic dichotomy of the 'world of ideas' and the 'earthly world'.

It is also noteworthy that וכל שיח השדה טרם יהיה בארץ 'before every plant of the field *was* in the earth,' i.e. with finite verb, is translated as πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι, lit. 'all plant of the field[48] before *originating* on the earth,' i.e. with a Greek infinitive ('change of accidence'). This transformation became necessary since the translator had interpreted the syntax as explained above. Had πρίν or πρὶν ἤ 'before' with a finite verb been used, the subject of the temporal clause would have been God (subject of the main clause preceding it), or else, to avoid this, the translator would have had to resort to more complex transformations.
The twofold omission of the article before ἀγροῦ is due to Greek grammar. The semantic fields of Hebrew שדה and Greek ἀγρός correspond very well. Both can mean 'tilled land' and 'country' as opposed to towns.

GENESIS 2:6

πηγὴ δὲ ἀνέβαινεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐπότιζεν πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς.
but a well sprang up from the earth and watered the whole face of the earth.

וְאֵד יַעֲלֶה מִן־הָאָרֶץ וְהִשְׁקָה אֶת־כָּל־פְּנֵי־הָאֲדָמָה׃
and a stream would rise from the earth and would water the whole surface of the earth

Greek text The imperfects are used to express duration (BDR § 325ff.).[49]
The expression πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς 'the whole face of the earth' is strange. The meaning 'surface' that some lexica suggest is not attested in Greek outside the LXX and the literature influenced by it.[50] Usually τὸ νῶτον is used for 'surface'.

Translation The translator permitted himself a minor change of word order, rendering ואד 'and a stream' by πηγὴ δέ 'but a well' (instead of καὶ πηγή '*and* a well') in order to mark the contrast that stands out in the Hebrew text, between the 'rain' and the 'well', as most modern translations do.
My translation of אד by 'stream' is tentative, as its meaning is disputed.[51] We cannot say with certainty whether it is a transformation in the sense of this study.
The Greek verb ἀναβαίνω 'go up' is very frequent as a rendering of עלה 'go up' in a variety of contexts. Both verbs can denote any form of upward movement, so the use of ἀναβαίνω for the springing up of a well seems a good possibility.[52] By his literal translation the translator has preserved the exegetical difficulty of MT. Commentators have long wondered

[48] The construction is then a casus pendens, not uncommon in Hebrew, meaning 'before all plant...'.
[49] On the contrast between imperfect and aorist in LXX Greek, see further T.V. Evans, *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch*, 198ff.
[50] Lust, *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* and BDAG 888b give 'surface', with an eye to the Hebrew, but that meaning does not appear in LSJ and Moulton & Milligan, and rightly so. TLG finds the expression only five times in Philo's writings, where he quotes Genesis 2:6 (!).
[51] HALOT (English): 'Genesis 2:6 the subterranean **stream of fresh water**, groundwater (?), Job 36:27 and cj. 30 the **celestial stream** (:: alt. 'mist', Arab. *'ijad*).†' In Job 36:27 (translated in a different manner) אד is rendered by νεφέλη 'cloud'.
[52] LSJ gives 'rise (of rivers in flood)', but no collocation with a well. In Numbers 21:17 where a well is addressed עלי 'go up', the LXX interprets the imperative עלי as a preposition 'about'.

at the coherence of vss 5-6. If the absence of rain explains the absence of bushes and herbage, what then is the function of the mentioned stream (or flood)?[53]
The phrase τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς 'the face of the earth' is novel (see *Greek text*). The Hebrew פנים 'face, surface' occurs here as a noun and not in semi-prepositional use,[54] which probably induced the translators to render it with an independent Greek noun. But once πρόσωπον was introduced, it was increasingly employed as a translation of פנים, also in semi-prepositions.[55]

GENESIS 2:7

Καὶ ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον χοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν
And God formed the human being dust from the earth and blew upon his face the breath of life, and the human being became a living soul.

וַיִּיצֶר֙ יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהִ֔ים אֶת־הָאָדָ֖ם עָפָ֣ר מִן־הָאֲדָמָ֑ה וַיִּפַּ֤ח בְּאַפָּיו֙ נִשְׁמַ֣ת חַיִּ֔ים וַיְהִ֥י הָאָדָ֖ם לְנֶ֥פֶשׁ חַיָּֽה׃
[then] the Lord God formed the human being dust from the earth and breathed in his nostrils the breath of life, and the human being became a living soul.

Greek text Πλάσσω 'to form' is never construed with a double accusative outside LXX, to the best of my knowledge. Generally we find 'to form something ἐκ [material]'. The Göttingen apparatus shows how copyists tried to make the wording more idiomatic by a small addition:

καὶ ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, λαβὼν χοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς.
and God made the man, taking dust from the earth.

That χοῦς means 'dust' (and not 'soil'), as pointed out by Rösel, is confirmed by the use of ἀπό instead of ἐκ: God takes the dust 'from off' the earth, not soil 'out of' the earth.
The verb γίνομαι is rarely construed with εἰς. The combination does occur elsewhere, but it first became frequent with the Septuagint and the New Testament.[56]

Translation Πλάσσω renders the Hebrew יצר. Both mean 'to form'. When both verbs have the same range of meaning, one must conclude the translator has simply taken the obvious rendering. If so, it becomes daring to assume that the Greek verb was chosen because of its occurrence in Plato's *Timaeus*.[57]

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[53] Two recent answers are the following. G.J. Wenham, *Genesis 1-15* (Word Biblical Commentary), Waco 1987, 59: 'Without man to irrigate the land, the spring was useless'. H. Seebass, *Genesis 1 (Urgeschichte)*, Neukirchen 1996, 106: 'Das Tränken des Ackers bewirkt freilich nicht Pflanzenwachstum, sondern lediglich die Formbarkeit des »Staubs vom Acker« (V 7).'
[54] In a semipreposition: in Genesis 1:2 (על פני המים → ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου), 29 (על פני כל הארץ → ἐπάνω πάσης τῆς γῆς).
[55] E.g. 3:8 (מלפני יהוה → ἀπὸ προσώπου κυρίου); 3:19 (מעל פני האדמה → ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς) etc.
[56] LSJ 349b, 3; Harl, *La Genèse*, 75; Hilhorst, *Sémitismes et latinismes*, 74f.
[57] As Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung,* 60 urges.

As we saw above, πλάσσω 'to form' with a double accusative is not idiomatic. The translator adhered to the number of words of the Hebrew and refrained from adding a preposition or a participle, thus taking the unusual collocation for granted.
Ἐμφυσάω 'to blow in' seems a literal rendering of Hebrew נפח 'to breathe'.
The Greek text says that God blows into Adam's *face* (πρόσωπον), whereas the Hebrew speaks about God blowing into Adam's *nostrils* (באפיו). Harl suggests the latter was considered improper by the translator, whence he extended it to 'face'.[58] It is true that dictionaries list 'nose' as the first or 'original' meaning, but only the singular means 'nose'. The dual אפים means 'face', and HAL lists only Genesis 2:7 for the meaning 'nostrils'. So when the translator came by dual אפים in this verse, it was by no means self-evident to choose ῥίς 'nose' as a translation.[59]
The rendering of נשמת חיים 'breath of life' with πνοὴ ζωῆς 'breath of life' exhibits a close semantic correspondence. It is noteworthy that πνεῦμα 'wind, breath, spirit' is not used. The semantic field of this Greek noun corresponds to another Hebrew noun, רוח 'wind, spirit', and is therefore almost exclusively reserved for its rendering in Genesis.[60]
The rendering ψυχή 'life, soul, person' for נפש 'throat, breath, person' has led to a considerable debate. Biblical scholars have long held that ψυχή opens up to much more anthropological overtones than Hebrew נפש, as ψυχή is an important concept in the Greek belief in the immortal soul and testifies to dualism between body and soul, which is foreign to Israelite thought. There are scholars, however, who think that ψυχή and נפש surprisingly correspond in their semantic fields and that the use of ψυχή as rendering of נפש nowhere goes beyond the Hebrew meaning.[61] Besides, what *was* the Hebrew meaning, at least for the Alexandrian translators? We have to take into account the historical semantic development, i.e. the meaning of נפש had undergone a development in the Hellenistic period. Aejmelaeus has pointed out the possibility 'dass z.B. das hebräische Wort נפש allmählig dem griechischen ψυχή nähergekommen ist, nicht deswegen, weil die Septuaginta נפש mit ψυχή übersetzt, sondern weil das dualistische Menschenbild auch unter Juden Terrain gewonnen hat. Sprachen sind nicht unveränderlich, sondern sie sind in ständiger Bewegung.'[62] In any case, the use of ψυχή in Genesis 2:7 does not necessarily point to an *immortal* soul, because it is used in Genesis 1:20, 21, 24, 30 for the 'living soul' of animals. This use is known in Greek too.[63] It seems the expression was within the limits of possibility but that its massive use in Septuagint Greek caused interference by its frequency.
It is notable that the translator rendered היה ל 'become' with ἐγένετο εἰς, not common in Greek, probably through the desire to render the Hebrew phrase with two words.
The Hebrew wordplay *'adam – 'adamah* ('human being', 'earth') has not been reproduced or compensated in Greek.

[58] Harl, *La Genèse*, 101.
[59] Compare Lamentations 4:20 רוח אפינו → πνεῦμα προσώπου ἡμῶν.
[60] Genesis 1:2; 3:8; 6:3,17; 7:15; 8:1; 26:35; 41:38; 45:27.
[61] THAT i, 98-99; similarly TWAT V, 537f.; Harl, *La Genèse* 60-61.
[62] A. Aejmelaeus, Von Sprache zur Theologie. Methodologische Überlegungen zur Theologie der Septuaginta, in: M.A. Knibb (ed.), *The Septuagint and Messianism* (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium), Leuven (forthcoming).
[63] LSJ 2027b. Cf. the discussion of ψυχή in Chadwick, *Lexicographica Graeca*, 311-320.

GENESIS 2:8

Καὶ ἐφύτευσεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς παράδεισον ἐν Ἐδεμ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς καὶ ἔθετο ἐκεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὃν ἔπλασεν.
And the Lord God planted a park in Edem, to the east, and placed there the human being that he had formed.

וַיִּטַּע יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים גַּן־בְּעֵדֶן מִקֶּדֶם וַיָּשֶׂם שָׁם אֶת־הָאָדָם אֲשֶׁר יָצָר׃
And the Lord God planted a garden in Eden, to the east, and placed there the human being that he had formed.

Greek text The medial ἔθετο is used to indicate that God placed the human being there 'for himself', i.e. with a certain intention.

Translation For κύριος ὁ θεός 'the Lord God' see the discussion of 2:4.
Φυτεύω 'to plant' is a literal translation of Hebrew נטע 'to plant', and normal in the Septuagint. In Greek the word is often used of trees, especially fruit trees, and 'planting a park' seems to be a logical extension of this use.[64]
The Hebrew גן 'garden' covers the range of (at least) two Greek words:[65] κῆπος 'vegetable and flower garden' and παράδεισος 'orchard, garden of palms and fruit trees'.[66] In Ptolemaic Egypt many smaller παράδεισοι were effectively orchards, but the royal παράδεισοι were parks of enjoyment with all sorts of trees and animals.[67] The specific παράδεισος was chosen because of the context in Genesis 2-3, where no vegetables, but trees and animals are mentioned. This is clearly an obligatory transformation.
The Hebrew word עדן *'eden* is preceded by the preposition ב 'in' which marks it as a place name, 'Eden'. The translator transcribes it accordingly in 2:8, 10 and refrains from translating its meaning 'enjoyment', which he does later on.
The Greek verb τίθημι and its Hebrew counterpart שים have the same meaning, namely 'to put, place', and this pair serves as a stock equivalent throughout the Septuagint. But the sequel of this clause would have been more idiomatic Greek with ἐν αὐτῷ instead of ἐκεῖ. Then it would have read *καὶ ἔθετο τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὃν ἔπλασεν, ἐν αὐτῷ 'and he placed the human being he had formed in it'.[68] The present wording of LXX retains the number of words of the original.

[64] LXX-Pentateuch also uses this collocation in Genesis 9:20; Deuteronomy 28:30,39.
[65] Apart from Genesis 2-3, גן has been rendered 14x by κῆπος, 9x by παράδεισος and 1x by ἄμπελος according to Hatch & Redpath. Later Hebrew refined its terminology by borrowing *pardes* 'orchard'.
[66] See for this differentiation Harl, *La Genèse* 101, Moulton & Milligan s.v. κῆπος and παράδεισος. For a discussion of παράδεισος and 'orchard' as its rendering, see Lee, *Lexical Study*, 53-56. I think that 'park' is a good rendering, provided we keep in mind that those parks contained many fruit trees, unlike European parks.
[67] Cf. J.N. Bremmer, Paradise: from Persia, via Greece, into the Septuagint, in: G.P. Luttikhuizen (ed.), *Paradise Interpreted. Representations of Biblical Paradise in Judaism and Christianity* (Themes in Biblical Narrative 2), Leiden / Boston / Köln 1999, 11-16; G. Husson, Le paradis des délices (Genèse 3, 23-24), *Revue des Études grecques* 101 (1988), 64-73.
[68] Thus Eusebius of Emesa in F. Petit (ed.), *La Chaîne sur la Genèse* I, Leuven 1991, 167 quotes it.

GENESIS 2:9

Καὶ ἐξανέτειλεν ὁ θεὸς ἔτι ἐκ τῆς γῆς πᾶν ξύλον ὡραῖον εἰς ὅρασιν καὶ καλὸν εἰς βρῶσιν καὶ τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς ἐν μέσῳ τῷ παραδείσῳ καὶ τὸ ξύλον τοῦ εἰδέναι γνωστὸν καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ.
And God caused to spring up further from the earth every tree, beautiful to the sight and good for eating, and the tree of life in the middle of the park, and the tree of knowing what is knowable of good and evil.

וַיַּצְמַח יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים מִן־הָאֲדָמָה כָּל־עֵץ נֶחְמָד לְמַרְאֶה וְטוֹב לְמַאֲכָל
וְעֵץ הַחַיִּים בְּתוֹךְ הַגָּן וְעֵץ הַדַּעַת טוֹב וָרָע׃
And the Lord God caused to spring up from the earth every tree, pleasing to the sight and good for eating, and the tree of life in the middle of the garden, and the tree of knowing good and evil.

Greek text I agree with most commentators that ἔτι has to be taken here in its additive sense (LSJ: ἔτι 'Of Degree'). We should translate it by 'further' ('weiterhin' in German).[69] Ἔτι cannot be rendered with 'also',[70] and explanations based on this translation must be dismissed. The notion of 'also' would in Greek be expressed by καί, καὶ αὐτός etc.[71]
The phrase ὡραῖον εἰς ὅρασιν 'beautiful to the sight' represents a Greek figure of style, *paronomasia* in Smyth's terminology (§ 3040), though not an etymological one, as ὡραῖος is related to ὥρα 'period, time, hour' whereas ὅρασις derives from ὁράω 'to see'.
Βρῶσις here refers to the act of eating, in distinction to βρῶμα 'that which is eaten'.
Regarding the adjective γνωστός I agree with Harl and Rösel, who translate the Greek name of the second tree '[den] Baum zu wissen, was von Gut und Böse *erkennbar* ist'.[72]

Translation The Greek verb ἐξανατέλλω 'to cause to spring up from' as rendering of הצמיח is not especially notable.
Much has been written about the surprising 'addition' of ἔτι 'further'. It is not clear what is added to what in this verse. Harl's suggestion that the creation of trees in 2:9 is perhaps distinguished from the creation of the plants in 1:11-12 sounds a bit strange, as trees have already been created in 1:11-12. Rösel also explains ἔτι as additive, since it adds something new to the creation story of Genesis 1: 'Gott läßt zusätzlich, erneut Pflanzen und Tiere entstehen.' The translator is aware of the problem of the interrelationship of Genesis 1 and Genesis 2, nowadays regarded as two creation stories, and interprets them as subsequent phases of God's deeds.[73] Rösel's explanation plausibly points to the problem the translator faced, viz. the discrepancy with elements from the wider context of this verse, which he seeks to solve by a minimal addition. It is further possible that the twofold 'addition' of ἔτι

[69] Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung*, 56; compare Harl, *La Genèse*, 101f.; Woodhouse, English-Greek Dictionary 350f.
[70] Contra J. Cook, The Exegesis of the Greek Genesis, 111f.
[71] In LXX-Genesis, see e.g. 4:4; 19:35.
[72] Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung,* 63; Harl, *La Genèse*, 102; BDAG s.v. γνωστός.
[73] Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung,* 62f.

is related to the 'addition' in 2:3, 'the works that God *began* to do', as both 'additions' point to a second phase of God's creation after the 7-day scheme.[74]

The adjective ὡραῖος, related to ὥρα 'hour', means 'produced at the right season, ripe, beautiful'. It occurs 39 times in the LXX and renders a great variety of Hebrew words, often in connection to human, especially female, beauty[75] and sometimes in connection to products of nature. Its wide use speaks against my first impression that ὡραῖος was used deliberately in order to create a word-play. We are dealing with a change of word class, since strictly speaking Hebrew נחמד, literally 'desired, desirable', is a participle. A literal rendering with ἐπιθυμητός 'desired, desirable' is avoided here, because that would result in a strange collocation: *ἐπιθυμητός εἰς ὅρασιν.

In the literal rendering of מראה 'seeing, appearance' the translator prefers a noun over a verbal rendering because of his adherence to the word classes of the original.[76] It is interesting to see how the translator distinguishes between two meanings of מראה 'seeing, appearance', as required by Greek use: in Genesis 2:9 the tree is ὡραῖον εἰς ὅρασιν 'beautiful to the sight' and in 26:7 Rebecca is called ὡραία τῇ ὄψει 'beautiful in appearance'.

The concluding part of 2:9 confronts us with an unexpected addition. The Hebrew text speaks of 'the tree of the knowing of good and evil', but the Septuagint goes beyond this by speaking of τὸ ξύλον τοῦ εἰδέναι *γνωστὸν* καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ 'the tree of the knowing of *what is knowable of* good and evil'. Rösel considers it an exegetical rendering that deliberately limits the width of the original: the eating of this fruit does not give absolute knowledge, because man will be limited in his knowledge. 'Dies schließt ein, daß es Dimensionen von Gut und Böse gibt, die für Menschen nicht erkennbar sind.'[77] This conclusion is a bit rash. Let us first explore the phraseology of 'knowing good and evil' more fully. The phrase occurs four times in the book of Genesis.

2:9 τὸ ξύλον τοῦ εἰδέναι γνωστὸν καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ
2:17 ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν…
3:5 καὶ ἔσεσθε ὡς θεοὶ γινώσκοντες καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν
3:22 ὡς εἷς ἐξ ἡμῶν τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν

[English translation of LXX]
2:9 the tree of the knowing of *what is knowable of* good and evil
2:17 but from the tree of knowing good and evil...
3:5 and you will be as gods, knowing good and evil
3:22 [Adam has become] as one of us, to know good and evil

In 2:17; 3:5, 22 the Septuagint gives a literal rendering of the Hebrew. It would have been perfectly possible to translate *τὸ ξύλον τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν 'the tree of knowing good and evil' in 2:9 as well. Yet something was added to the translation of 2:9. Note that only the first occurrence of this phrase received a special treatment. I would propose that the rendering in 2:9 is meant as an interpretative aid to the remaining occurrences. In my opinion the translator wanted to make sure that 'knowing good and evil' was not interpreted as having practical experience with, i.e. being *infected* by good and evil, for that would have grave theological consequences in 3:22, but only 'knowing what is know-

[74] Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung*, 54.
[75] E.g. Genesis 26:7; 29:17; 39:6; Judith 8:7; Esther 2:7; Song 1:16; 2:14; 6:3.
[76] A verbal rendering occurs in Joshua 22:10 גדול למראה → [ᾠκοδόμησαν βωμὸν] μέγαν τοῦ ἰδεῖν.
[77] Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung,* 63; he also quotes Z. Frankel, *Über die Einflüsse*, 53.

able of good and evil'. The same issue is addressed by Targum Onkelos with its rendering in 2:9 'and the tree the eaters of whose fruits will wisely discern between good and evil.'

GENESIS 2:10

Ποταμὸς δὲ ἐκπορεύεται ἐξ Ἅδεμ ποτίζειν τὸν παράδεισον· ἐκεῖθεν ἀφορίζεται εἰς τέσσαρας ἀρχάς.
A river goes out from Edem to water the park; from there it is separated into four beginnings.

וְנָהָר֙ יֹצֵ֣א מֵעֵ֔דֶן לְהַשְׁקוֹת֙ אֶת־הַגָּ֔ן וּמִשָּׁ֖ם יִפָּ֣רֵד וְהָיָ֑ה לְאַרְבָּעָ֖ה רָאשִֽׁים׃
And a river went out from Eden to water the garden, and from there it is separated and becomes four heads.

Greek text Δέ functions to introduce an explanatory clause here, but a more elaborate one than the side remarks of 1:2 and 2:6.[78] Vss 10-14 thus become a kind of excursus with its own subdivisions.
The present tense is used in its normal function, i.e. to indicate a continuous state in the present time. It is no historical present, as this is usually limited to 'lively and dramatic narration' (Smyth § 1883; BDR § 321).

Translation The translator uses a present tense, ἐκπορεύεται 'goes out', to render the Hebrew יצא. The fact that the Greek present often renders a Hebrew participle[79] suggests that the translator interpreted the consonants like the Masoretes did, as the participle יֹצֵא 'going out'. The verb ἐκπορεύομαι 'go out' figures frequently as rendering of Hebrew יצא and deserves no special consideration.
The final clause of 2:10 contains some interesting details. First it is notable that in rendering Hebrew ומשם 'and from there' the translator omitted καί 'and'. He did this because the Hebrew text is not so clear as it seems to be at first sight. Does ἐκεῖθεν 'from there' refer back to Edem or to the park? In the former case the text says that a river flowed from Edem, branched into four rivers and the delta watered the garden. In the latter case the river first watered the garden and branched into four rivers *outside* the garden. Most exegetes choose the second option and so does our translator. It seems that by omitting the conjunction he wanted to make sure that ἐκεῖθεν 'from there' refers unambigiously to 'the park', implying that only outside the park the original river divided itself. Similar solutions to the ambiguity in the Masoretic text can be found in modern translations.[80]
A second notable feature is the verb ἀφορίζω 'mark off, separate'.[81] But why is a river separated? Some Greek copyists apparently wondered at it, replacing it by γίνεται 'be-

[78] LSJ s.v. δέ sub II.2.a; compare BDR § 447.1 'zur Einführung von Parenthesen'.
[79] T.V. Evans, *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch*, 119ff.
[80] NIV 'A river watering the garden flowed from Eden; from there it was separated into four headwaters.' GN: 'In Eden entspringt ein Strom. Er bewässert den Garten und teilt sich dann in vier Ströme.'
[81] See the translation of Harl, 'de là, il se sépare en quatre bras.' The sense of ἀφορίζω which Brenton ('thence it divides itself into...') and Rösel*, Übersetzung als Vollendung,* 56 suppose is not attested elsewhere, to the best of my knowledge.

comes'. Another idiomatic alternative could have been *ἐκεῖθεν σχίζεται 'from there [the river] is divided'.[82] To understand this we have to make a small digression into the Hebrew text of verse 10b: ומשם יפרד והיה לארבעה ראשים. Its literal meaning is rendered by KJV: 'and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads.' From a grammatical point of view this construction, *we... qatal... weqatal*, is a coordinated temporal clause expressing immediate succession.[83] From a lexical point of view, I would like to stress that for נפרד מן its normal meaning 'sich trennen von'[84] should be retained in Genesis 2:10. The Hebrew verb does not say that the river divides itself, but that it *parts* from the garden.

Regarding והיה לארבעה ראשים 'and becomes into four heads', this means according to most scholars that the river is divided into four branches ('heads') or new rivers ('heads' = 'beginnings'). We may paraphrase: when the river parts from the garden, it branches into four streams.

As far as ἀρχαί is concerned, I agree with M. Harl: 'Le mot *archaí* aux sens de commencement d'un chemin, ou ici d'un fleuve, n'est sans doute pas propre à la LXX.'[85] Thus the Greek text says that the river turns 'into four beginnings', i.e. four new rivers, which corresponds to one of the interpretations of the Hebrew text, as we saw above. The transformation into ἀρχαί is an obligatory modification, probably on the analogy of 1:1.

Now let us return to the LXX translation. The collocation ἀφορίζω εἰς occurs only in 4 Maccabees 3:20 were it says that gifts should 'be set apart for' the worship of gods. This does not seem helpful. It is more probable that ἀφορίζω εἰς is not a collocation but an elliptical construction, which is often attested for εἰς.[86] The river parts from the garden [and flows] into four beginnings. The ellipsis accounts for the omission of והיה 'and becomes'.

GENESIS 2:11

Ὄνομα τῷ ἑνὶ Φισών· οὗτος ὁ κυκλῶν πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν Εὐιλάτ, ἐκεῖ οὗ ἐστιν τὸ χρυσίον·
The name of the one [is] Phison; this [is the one] encircling the whole land of Ewilat, there where is the gold

שֵׁם הָאֶחָד פִּישׁוֹן הוּא הַסֹּבֵב אֵת כָּל־אֶרֶץ הַחֲוִילָה אֲשֶׁר־שָׁם הַזָּהָב׃
The name of the first is Pison; it encircles the whole land of Hawila, where there is the gold

Greek text The text speaks of the name 'of the one [river]', τῷ ἑνὶ [ποταμῷ] and not *τῷ προτέρῳ [ποταμῷ] 'the *first* [river]', which would have been idiomatic. Some scholars

[82] See from the examples in LSJ 1746a, Herodotus 2.17 ὁ Νεῖλος σχίζεται τριφασίας ὁδούς 'the Nile branches into three channels.'

[83] Joüon-Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, § 166b. It is debated whether this construction refers to past or present in this verse. Compare e.g. NIV with NRSV. This question can be left aside for the present discussion.

[84] HAL 906a, sub 2. It is not logical to assume a different meaning for exactly the same construction, 'sich teilen', in Genesis 2:4 (HAL). Of course this is an idiomatic German rendering, but it is not literally what the Hebrew verb means.

[85] Harl, *La Genèse*, 103. The sense 'branch of a river' is according to LSJ limited to Genesis 2:10 and remains doubtful.

[86] LSJ 491b, I.4. I thank Mr. Ilja Anthonissen, Almaty, for this suggestion.

consider this a Hebraism, whereas others point to parallels in Koine outside the Septuagint and the New Testament.[87]
In 2:11-14 the copula ἐστίν 'is' is lacking three times in the phrase ὄνομα τῷ … 'the name of... [is]...' According to Greek grammars, ἐστίν as copula can be omitted, though in a restricted number of cases, which does not include the present one (Smyth § 944; BDR § 127). Besides, in relative clauses introducing proper names the copula is usually lacking. So the third singular imperfect ἦν 'was' is usually lacking in the phrase ᾧ ὄνομα 'whose name [was]...' (BDR § 128). An example of this can be found in Luke 1:26, '... the angel Gabriel was sent from God to a city in Galilee called Nazareth [ᾗ ὄνομα Ναζαρέθ]. The missing copula could be ἦν or ἐστίν. Now, as the wording of the phrase under discussion in 2:11-14 neither falls under the restricted categories in which ἐστίν is usually lacking, nor can be a relative clause, it seems that the verbless clauses that introduce the names of the rivers are not the most natural ones.

Translation As we saw above, the translator extended the omission of the copula beyond its use in Greek. In deciding when to place a copula he followed his original, with a Hebraistic diction as a result. In 2:11-14 he omits ἐστίν wherever it would be a copula. Where the Hebrew does have a copula היה 'was' (past tense), he renders it with a full verb (e.g. 3:1; 4:2). But the translator could not stretch the boundaries of Greek grammar too much. Omitting ἐστίν was admissible as long as it was a copula, but when ἐστίν was not a copula but meant 'sich befinden', he was forced to 'add' ἐστίν where the Hebrew lacks a verb (2:11b):[88]

אשר שם הזהב ἐκεῖ οὗ ἐστιν τὸ χρυσίον
'where the gold [is]' 'there where the gold is.'

In this example we also come across a minor transformation, namely a change of word order and syntax: ἐκεῖ 'there' is removed from the subordinate clause and placed before the relative, the reverse of the Hebrew. This is a transformation by which the translator is able to adhere to the number of words of the Hebrew (he avoids **οὗ* ἐστιν τὸ χρυσίον) while at the same time avoiding a Hebraism (**οὗ* ἐστιν τὸ χρυσίον ἐκεῖ), an interesting illustration of the 'minimax strategy'. It is strange though, that later he seems to tolerate this type of Hebraism.[89]
For the addition of the article in πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν Εὐιλάτ 'the whole land of Ewilat', see 2:1.

GENESIS 2:12

τὸ δὲ χρυσίον τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης καλόν, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐστιν ὁ ἄνθραξ καὶ ὁ λίθος ὁ πράσινος
- the gold of that land [is] good - and there is the carbuncle and the leek-coloured stone.

[87] BDR § 247.1 n.3: "Den Hebraismus hat schon Josephus gefühlt: Ant. I 1,1 (I 29) αὕτη μέν ἂν εἴη πρώτη ἡμέρα. BDAG 293a, sub 4, considers it possible in Greek.
[88] Cf. I. Soisalon-Soininen, Die Wiedergabe des hebräischen Personalpronomens als Subjekt im griechischen Pentateuch, in: idem, *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax*, 77.
[89] Genesis 13:4; 20:13; 31:13 etc.

וּזְהַב הָאָרֶץ הַהִוא טֹוב שָׁם הַבְּדֹלַח וְאֶבֶן הַשֹּׁהַם׃
and the gold of that land is good; and there is the bdellium and the carnelian.

Greek text Within the excursus of vss 10-14 there is a side remark about the gold of Ewilat, introduced by δέ (see 2:10).
Καὶ ἐκει is written in full, i.e. without *crasis* (κἀκεῖ). 'Crasis is quite rare in LXX, and practically confined to some stereotyped combinations with καί.'[90] Frequent use of crasis betrays the ease of a native speaker and it is therefore not surprising that crasis became less abundant with the spread of Koine Greek as a lingua franca. With respect to translation, I would suggest that the use of crasis can be indicative of the degree of literalism. Literal translators tend to adhere to the number of words of the original and will not reduce two words to one, whereas translators who aim for idiomatic Greek will follow natural usage, just like original writers.[91]

Translation In verse 12 we find several elements that are consistent with those we found above, e.g. a change of word order (because of the postpositive particle δέ), a Hebraistic omission of the copula and an 'addition' of ἐστίν (not being a copula).

שם הבדלח καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐστιν ὁ ἄνθραξ
'there [is] the *bedolach*' '<u>and</u> there is the carbuncle'

A minor transformation is the 'addition' of καί 'and' in 12b (underlined in the above example). It probably serves to indicate more smoothly that the precious stones are added to the gold as the natural riches of Ewilat.
The Hebrew בדלח *bedolach* is usually interpreted as bdellium by modern scholars, and אבן השהם as carnelian.[92] The Septuagint renders these with ἄνθραξ 'carbuncle' and ὁ λίθος ὁ πράσινος 'the green stone' respectively, probably emerald (change of word class). The often confusing rendering of gems and minerals in the LXX and its revisions could be the subject of a study in itself,[93] and will not concern us here.

GENESIS 2:13

Καὶ ὄνομα τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ δευτέρῳ Γηών· οὗτος ὁ κυκλῶν πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν Αἰθιοπίας.
And the name of the second river [is] Geon; this [is the one] encircling the whole land of Ethiopia.

וְשֵׁם־הַנָּהָר הַשֵּׁנִי גִּיחֹון הֻוא הַסֹּובֵב אֵת כָּל־אֶרֶץ כּוּשׁ׃
And the name of the second river is Gihon; it encircles the whole land of Kush.

[90] H.St.J. Thackeray, *A Grammar of the OT in Greek*, § 9,11. According to BDR § 18 its occurrence in the papyri and the New Testament is rather limited. For Classical Greek, see Smyth § 68.
[91] The spread of κἄν could be illustrative for this: Leviticus 7:16; Wisdom 4:4; 9:6; 14:4; 15:12; Sirach 3:13; 9:13; 13:23; 14:7; 16:11; 23:11; 33:29; 4 Maccabees 2:8,9; 10:18; 18:14.
[92] See HAL 106b.
[93] See the elaborate survey of the problems as early as the 1920s by E. Levesque, Pierre précieuse, in: F. Vigouroux (ed.), *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Paris 1922.

Translation The translation of this verse is patterned after that of the preceding ones.
The rendering of כוש 'Kush' with Αἰθιοπία 'Ethiopia' is a literal translation of the same kind as Τίγρις for חדקל 'Hiddeqel' (2:13).

GENESIS 2:14

Καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ τρίτος Τίγρις· οὗτος ὁ πορευόμενος κατέναντι Ἀσσυρίων. Ὁ δὲ ποταμὸς ὁ τέταρτος οὗτος Εὐφράτης.
And the third river [is] Tigris; this [is the one] going opposite the Assyrians. And the fourth river, this [is] Euphrates.

וְשֵׁם הַנָּהָר הַשְּׁלִישִׁי חִדֶּקֶל הוּא הַהֹלֵךְ קִדְמַת אַשּׁוּר וְהַנָּהָר הָרְבִיעִי הוּא פְּרָת׃
And the name of the third river is Hiddekel; it goes to the east of Asshur. And the fourth river is Perat.

Greek text The Greek verb πορεύομαι 'to be driven or carried, to go' is used in collocation with a river, a collocation not attested elsewhere. But πορεύομαι has such a generic meaning that it cannot be termed impossible.
Before names of nations the article may be omitted (thus not *κατέναντι *τῶν* Ἀσσυρίων) according to Smyth § 1138; BDR § 262. Compare βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων (LSJ 309).

Translation The opening of the verse exhibits an interesting omission. LXX omits 'name':

ושם הנהר השלישי חדקל	καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ τρίτος Τίγρις
'and the *name* of the third river is Hiddeqel	'and the third river [is] Tigris'

What made the translator refrain from translating literally? The problem, in my view, is related to the different degrees of familiarity with the names of the two last rivers for the source and target audience.[94] The identification of Hebrew פרת 'Perat' with Εὐφράτης 'Euphrates' was easy enough (naturalized transcription).[95] The other river, *Hiddeqel*, was identified as Tigris by the translator on geographical grounds (distinct from Euphrates, close to Assyria). The name Tigris had been familiar for Greek readers since Herodotus.[96]
Now in most languages expressions like 'its name is X' commonly introduce a name that was not known before. A phrase like 'the capital of Egypt is called Cairo' sounds awkward to educated readers. We would say 'the capital of Egypt *is* Cairo.' Likewise it is better to say 'the third river is the Tigris,' which gives educated Greek readers the new information that the river Tigris, known to them, is one of the four rivers of paradise.
In fact the Hebrew does the same, but with different results. 'The name of the third river,' it says, 'is *Hiddeqel*,' but about the Euphrates, a river so familiar that it was sometimes even

[94] Similarly Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung,* 66.
[95] Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung*, 66f.
[96] Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung*, 66.

called '*the* river' by Israelites,[97] the writer could not say '*the name* of the fourth river is Perat (Euphrates).' So he wrote והנהר הרביעי הוא פרת 'and the fourth river *is* Perat.'

When the translator does not give a transcription of *Hiddeqel* but speaks of *Tigris*, we should consider this a literal translation, for he gives the accepted TL word for the same reality that the SL expresses. This points to the translator's concern for semantic transfer within the boundaries of a quantitative approach. Semantic transfer takes place at word level, not at syntactic level.

The Greek verb πορεύομαι 'to go' is practically identical in meaning with its counterpart הלך and occurs as its rendering in many places, which make up 15 columns in Hatch & Redpath. The translator preferred a standard 'equivalent' over a contextual rendering like ῥέω 'to flow'.[98] He also adhered to the word classes of the Hebrew, rendering a participle with a participle,[99] although it would have been more idiomatic to say *οὗτος πορεύεται… 'This [river] goes...,' which would have saved him an unnatural nominal clause as well.

The Hebrew text states that the Tigris runs קדמת אשור 'opposite / east of Asshur', using the name of the country. We would then expect *κατέναντι Ἀσσυρίας 'opposite Assyria'. In Greek the *people* are mentioned: the river runs κατέναντι Ἀσσυρίων 'opposite the Assyrians'. From a concordance we learn that Ἀσσυρία occurs only in 4 Maccabees 13:9, and further that LXX practically always speaks of 'Assyrians' in case of Hebrew *Asshur*, in literal and free translations alike.[100] I think, therefore, that this is a question of idiom rather than a historical reference,[101] and hence we should count it as an obligatory modification. The designation of geographical items is not always logical, like many things in languages. A similar mechanism is found in Dutch. It commonly speaks of 'de Britten' (the British) and 'Brits' (British), but never refers to 'Brittannië', while 'Groot-Brittannië' occurs only in formal speech.

The closing part of vs 14 again illustrates the translator's desire to adhere to the word classes of the original. The Hebrew offers a 'tripartite nominal clause' with a pronoun serving as a copula,[102] i.e. a clause of the type יהוה הוא האלהים 'the Lord is God' (lit. 'Yhwh-he-God'). Now the omission of a copula is in itself not unknown in Greek, but putting a pronoun instead of a copula in a sentence with an explicit subject is really a hard Hebraism.[103] I have not been able to trace it in any Greek grammar or lexicon, not even of the New Testament. It seems that the translator felt that he had gone too far, for after 2:19

[97] BDB 625b.

[98] See also, with a context of water, Joshua 4:18; 3 Kingdoms (MT 1 Kings) 18:35; Isaiah 8:6; Psalm 104 (MT 105):41. Hebrew הלך is rendered by ῥέω in Joel 4:18

[99] T.V. Evans, *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch*, 129ff.

[100] E.g. 4 Kingdoms (MT 2 Kings) 15:19 מלך אשור → βασιλεὺς Ἀσσυρίων Isaiah 7:17 בארץ אשור → ἐν χώρᾳ Ἀσσυρίων. Exceptions are the genealogy in Genesis 10:11, 22 where Ἀσσούρ appears as a proper name, and 25:3 where we find the transcription Ἀσσουριείμ.

[101] According to Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung,* 66 the translation possibly illustrates that the city of Asshur was no longer in existence.

[102] Joüon-Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* § 154i: 'The nominal clause of the standard type is a clause with two members: subject and predicate. In Hebrew, as in other Semitic languages, it may become a three-member clause with the addition of a third constituent which can be I) the pronoun of the third person; II) the adverbs of existence יֵשׁ and אין; III) the verb היה.'

[103] I. Soisalon-Soininen does not discuss such cases in „Die Wiedergabe des hebräischen Personalpronomens als Subjekt im griechischen Pentateuch" in: idem, *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax*. He rightly explains that the translator tolerated this kind of Hebraism because the alternative, the addition of words for the purpose of natural Greek, was abhorrent to him.

he abandoned this type of Hebraism and started to use ἐστίν as a copula.[104] An interesting illustration of his learning by doing.

GENESIS 2:15

Καὶ ἔλαβεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὃν ἔπλασεν, καὶ ἔθετο αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ φυλάσσειν.
And the Lord God took the human being that he had formed and placed him in the park to till it and to keep guard.

וַיִּקַּח יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָאָדָם וַיַּנִּחֵהוּ בְּגַן־עֵדֶן לְעָבְדָהּ וּלְשָׁמְרָהּ׃
And the Lord God took the human being and placed him in the garden of Eden to till it and to guard it.

Greek text Φυλάσσω without object means 'to keep guard' (LSJ 1961a).

Translation Concerning the addition of ὃν ἔπλασεν '[the man] which he had formed', I agree with Rösel that it harks back to vss 7-8.[105] It should thus be regarded as an anaphorical translation. But I do not believe that the addition was intentional. First, the addition is not really clarifying, as it is clear enough that the narrative takes up the thread of the man that had been created in 2:7-8. Second, the adherence to the word classes of the Hebrew in the preceding verse with its un-Greek results is difficult to reconcile with an intentional addition of a relative clause in 2:15. These represent two different translation strategies. It is more likely that the addition took place unintentionally: since the wording in 2:7-8 and 2:15 is very similar (παράδεισος, τίθημι, ἄνθρωπος, κύριος ὁ θεός) and since the verb ἔλαβεν 'took' suggests a manual action, it is plausible to assume that the phrase ὃν ἔπλασεν 'which he had formed' was also brought to the translator's mind.
The translation of Hebrew הניח 'to put down' with the slightly more generic τίθημι 'to put, place' is not remarkable, as there were not many alternatives at hand.[106]
More telling is the translation of גן עדן 'garden of *'eden*'. From modern Bible translations we know Eden as the name of the garden, but in Hebrew *'eden* is a noun meaning 'enjoyment, delicacy'. In 2:8 he LXX-translator took *'eden* as a place name because of the locative preposition 'a garden <u>in</u> *'eden*' (similarly in 2:10). In Genesis 3:23f. he offered no transcription, but translated the meaning of *'eden*, which fits well into the context. The idea that man is banned from enjoyment underlines the punishment:

> καὶ ἐξαπέστειλεν αὐτὸν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου τῆς τρυφῆς.
> and the Lord God sent him out of the park of luxury.[107]

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[104] See e.g. in nominal clauses with הוא as a copula, Genesis 2:14,19; 9:18; 17:12; 30:33; 31:16; 41:25,26; 42:6,14; 43:12,32; 45:20; 47:6; with הם as a copula Genesis 25:16; 34:21,23; 40:12,18. In 27:33 the translator omits the copula הוא in a question (BDR § 127.3).
[105] Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung,* 67; similarly Harl, *La Genèse*, 103.
[106] Alternatives that Muraoka's *Index* lists under הניח do not fit this context.
[107] Similarly Genesis 3:24. We also find the translated meaning in Ezekiel 36:35; Joel 2:3.

In 2:15 the translator rendered גן עדן 'garden of *'eden*' with mere παράδεισος 'park', thus omitting the notion of *'eden*. Why? A literal translation would have read:

> *καὶ ἔθετο αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τῆς τρυφῆς ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ φυλάσσειν.
> and He placed him in the garden of luxury to till it and to keep guard.

The term τρυφή 'luxury' in the translator's time functioned as the concept *par excellence* denoting the sumptuous court life and the immense wealth of the Ptolemies. From Ptolemy III Euergetes onwards (246 BC) they adopted the official epithet of Τρυφῶν 'the Luxurious',[108] which became a popular a proper name. This sheds light on the translator's problem in Genesis 2:15: the labour of a farmer and a guard are surely the opposites of luxury! To put it in a more scholarly way, a literal translation would have resulted in a semantic clash with the rest of the sentence, at least for the translator and his readership.[109]
It is remarkable that לעבדה ולשמרה 'to till it and to guard *it*' is rendered with ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ φυλάσσειν 'to till it and to keep guard,' i.e. with omission of the second pronoun. This issue is somewhat more complicated than it appears, for the interpretation hangs on the vocalization of the unpointed consonant text.[110] MT has לְעָבְדָהּ וּלְשָׁמְרָהּ 'to till it and to guard it', with feminine singular object suffixes. But this is strange, because the antecedent of the suffixes, גן 'garden', is masculine. It has long been suggested to make the suffixes masculine by reading לְעָבְדֹה וּלְשָׁמְרֹה. Yet a third possibility is לְעָבְדָה וּלְשָׁמְרָה 'to work and to keep guard', whereby the ה is not a suffix, but an ending of the infinitive construct.[111] I think the translator read his text along the latter vocalization. Then the transformation is not the omission of an object pronoun behind φυλάσσειν 'to guard', but the *addition* of αὐτόν 'it' behind ἐργάζεσθαι 'to work'. This addition was probably prompted by the wide range of meanings of ἐργάζεσθαι: 'to work (intransitive); to work at, produce, bring about, to till, to earn (transitive); to be made or built (passive sense, rare). A literal translation would run *ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ φυλάσσειν '[God placed the man in the park] to work and to keep guard'. Now this gives a semantically awkward overlap, since keeping guard is a type of work. The pronoun αὐτόν 'it' is added behind ἐργάζεσθαι 'to work' to make sure that man receives two tasks: working the park and keeping guard. Of course the translator could have added αὐτόν 'it' behind φυλάσσειν 'to guard' as well (as later copyists did), but he restricted his transformations to the necessary minimum. I think the explanation offered here is more probable than assuming that a second αὐτόν was part of the (lost) first Septuagint manuscript and was subsequently omitted in a very early stage of the transmission of the Greek text.

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[108] H. Heinen, Die Tryphè des Ptolemaios VIII. Euergetes II. Beobachtungen zum ptolemäischen Herrscherideal und zu einer römischen Gesandstschaft in Ägypten (140/39 v. Chr.), in: H. Heinen (ed.), *Althistorische Studien. Fs Hermann Bengtson* (Historia Einzelschriften 40), Wiesbaden 1983, 116-130. On Genesis 2:23 he says: 'So ist es denn die Tryphè, die sich den jüdischen Übersetzern als Inbegriff der paradiesischen Wonne anbietet' (122).
[109] Rösel's view, *Übersetzung als Vollendung,* 67, that the translator probably omitted *'eden* as superfluous, is not convincing. Such deletions do not fit into the style of translating.
[110] For details, see Hendel, *The Text of Genesis 1-11*, 44.
[111] Joüon-Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, § 49d. This occurs mostly with stative verbs (but Genesis 1:29, 30 לאכלה can be viewed as inf. cs.). At stake here is merely the possibility of this vocalization in the eyes of the translator.

GENESIS 2:16

Καὶ ἐνετείλατο κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἀδὰμ λέγων· ἀπὸ παντὸς ξύλου τοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ βρώσει φάγῃ,
And the Lord God commanded Adam saying: From every tree in the garden you (sg.) *may by eating eat,*

וַיְצַו יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים עַל־הָאָדָם לֵאמֹר מִכֹּל עֵץ־הַגָּן אָכֹל תֹּאכֵל׃
And the Lord God commanded the human being, saying: From every tree in the garden you may freely eat,

Greek text The pleonastic use of λέγων 'saying' after a verb of saying, e.g. ἔφη λέγων 'he spoke, saying', has its parallels already in Classical Greek (LSJ 1034, sub III,7). Its widespread use in the LXX, however, is a stylistic Hebraism (BDR § 420).
The finite verb forms φάγῃ and φάγεσθε are the Koine indicative future of ἔφαγον, which functions as aorist of ἐσθίω 'to eat' (LSJ 1911a). In this stage of the language, the future tense could be used for expressing strict commandments and prohibitions (BDR § 20.2).
A queer pleonasm is found in βρώσει φάγῃ, lit. 'by eating you shall eat'. Not surprisingly, copyists sometimes normalized it by omitting βρώσει. The dative βρώσει as it stands cannot be viewed as the object of φάγῃ because ἔφαγον is normally construed with accusative or genitive, and must therefore be seen as a dative of instrument (Smyth § 1505ff.; BDR § 195).[112]
The verb form ἔφαγον is not construed with partitive genitive, as had been the rule in Classical Greek. In Koine, the partitive genitive had receded in favour of circumlocutions with ἐκ and ἀπό (BDR § 164), just as is the case here.[113]

Translation It seems that ἐντέλλομαι 'to enjoin, command' has been chosen because it suggests a benevolent authority whereas compounds of -τάσσω express strict orders.[114] Ἐντέλλομαι fills five columns in the concordance as a rendering of צוה pi. 'to command', just as ἐντολή figures frequently as translation of מצוה, both meaning 'command(ment)'.
The Hebrew *'adam* 'human being' is here for the first time taken as a proper name, Adam, by the translator, although the definite article in Hebrew makes this interpretation improbable. It is sometimes said that only from Genesis 4:25; 5:1a onwards Adam appears clearly as a proper name. But we have to acknowledge that MT evidence is more complicated than that, witness the conjectural readings that HAL needs to uphold this distinction.[115] Here the LXX translator chose for a proper name, probably because the God deals with the narrative character as an individual in 2:16, 19ff. In 2:18 the Hebrew term figures in a universal truth, which justifies a rendering like 'it is not good for the human being to be alone.'

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[112] The translation in Harl, *La Genèse*, 102,104: '...tu prendras ta nourriture' (likewise Rösel*, Übersetzung als Vollendung,* 56) is a normalization and Brenton's rendering '... thou mayest freely eat' looks more like a translation of the Hebrew text.
[113] See I. Soisalon-Soininen, Die Wiedergabe des partitiven MIN im Griechischen Pentateuch, in: idem, *Studien zur Septuginta-Syntax*.
[114] Harl, *La Genèse*, 54, 103; Rösel*, Übersetzung als Vollendung,* 67.
[115] HAL 14b. In 2:20b, for instance, the expected article lacks in MT. For reception history cf. Loader, *The Septuagint, Sexuality and the New Testament*, 32-35.

A minor specification (of place) shows up in the translation of מכל עץ הגן 'from every tree of the garden', which is rendered as ἀπὸ παντὸς ξύλου τοῦ *ἐν τῷ* παραδείσῳ 'from every tree *in* the park'. The Hebrew construct state can express a variety of relationships between two nouns.[116] In Greek it is often possible to render these with a genitive, sometimes it is not, e.g. in 2:11, 13 where ὄνομα requires an obligatory dative. In 3:1 we find the same transformation as in 2:16 ('trees *in* the park'), joined by a similar specification, חית השדה 'the animals of the field' → τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς 'the animals *on* earth'.[117] In 3:2, however, the translator does not use ἐν but renders the construction literally, i.e. with a genitive (likewise in 3:8):

ἀπὸ καρποῦ ξύλου τοῦ παραδείσου φαγόμεθα
From the fruit of the tree(s) of the park we may eat…

It is notable that in 3:2, 8 ξύλον is used in its collective sense 'trees'. So the translator distinguishes between 'every single tree *in* the park' and 'the trees *of* the park'. This fine distinction is probably made for stylistic reasons.
The rationale behind the pleonasm βρώσει φάγῃ, lit. '[from every tree...] by eating you shall eat', is the translator's desire to give each Hebrew word a Greek counterpart, in spite of the fact that this one-by-one strategy is not really enlightening from a semantic point of view: the pleonasm does not make the text any clearer. Besides, the translator took a change of word class (infinitive absolute → noun) for granted. This tells something about his hierarchy of translation principles. It is interesting that the pleonasm βρώσει φάγῃ uses two different Greek roots. This is probably done because the translator prefers the participle of the present tense in such constructions.[118] The fact that the present participle of ἔφαγον does not exist forces him to employ a synonymous root. Out of the two possibilities βρωσ- and ἐσθι- he chose the former, because he had already used it to render אכל earlier in Genesis (1:29; 2:9).

GENESIS 2:17

ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν, οὐ φάγεσθε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ· ᾗ δ' ἂν ἡμέρᾳ φάγητε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε.
but from the tree of knowing good and evil, you (pl.) *shall not eat of it, but on the day that you* (pl.) *will eat of it, you* (pl.) *will die by death.*

וּמֵעֵ֣ץ הַדַּ֗עַת טֹוב֙ וָרָ֔ע לֹ֥א תֹאכַ֖ל מִמֶּ֑נּוּ כִּ֗י בְּיֹום֙ אֲכָלְךָ֣ מִמֶּ֔נּוּ מֹ֥ות תָּמֻֽות׃
but from the tree of knowing good and evil you shall not eat, because the day that you eat from it, you will certainly die.

[116] For their rendering into Greek, cf. I. Soisalon-Soininen, Verschiedene Wiedergaben der hebräischen Status-constructus-Verbindung im griechischen Pentateuch, in: idem, *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax*.
[117] Compare further 3:8, 22, 24.
[118] Tov, Renderings of Combinations of the Infinitive Absolute and Finite Verbs, 68. See also R. Sollamo, LXX Renderings of the Infinitive Absolute, 101-114.

Greek text The negation in οὐ φάγεσθε 'you shall not eat' (instead of μή) is used because it is linked to an indicative tense, viz. the prohibitive future tense (BDR § 427).
The phrase ᾗ δ' ἂν ἡμέρᾳ φάγητε… is an idiomatic abbreviation of ἐν δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ᾗ φάγητε. It is an 'incorporation of the antecedent in a relative clause' (Smyth § 2536ff.; BDR § 294.5). In a temporal clause referring to the future, subjunctive with ἄν is used (Smyth § 2399ff.).
It is debated whether the pleonastic use of the pronoun in ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ξύλου … οὐ φάγεσθε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ 'from the tree... you shall not eat *of it*' should be considered a Hebraism. In some recent publications Sollamo demonstrated its (scarce) occurrence in Koine. She concludes: 'From the figures presented above we see that one book of the Greek Pentateuch offers more instances than all the Koiné texts (outside the Bible) over a period of six hundred years'.[119] So the frequency of this construction is Hebraistic.

Translation The three verbs in this verse, which are grammatically plural, are singular in the Hebrew text (change of accidence: number). But why is a single individual addressed as if he were a couple? This transformation is the consequence of the seemingly innocent interpretation of האדם 'the human being' as a proper name, Adam. Had the translator adhered to ὁ ἄνθρωπος 'the human being', it would have been clear that future human beings, among them women, were included in the prohibition and thus held responsible for the sin in chapter 3, and the change of number would have been unnecessary. But since in Genesis 3 a woman is involved, she has to be included here. The change of number is thus a result of the translator's earlier decisions in the light of the text as a whole. The plural address is limited to 2:17. In the preceding verse, 2:16, the translator maintains the verb in singular, probably because it immediately follows the proper name Adam, also singular.
The translator renders כי *ki* different from many modern versions. This conjunction, introducing a postpositive subordinate clause, can mean 'for' or 'but'.[120] Now the text reads 'you shall not eat from it, *ki* the day that you eat from it, you will die.' Modern versions usually give it a causal sense, whereby the resulting causal clause expresses a threat: 'but you must not eat from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, *for* when you eat of it you will surely die' (NIV). The Septuagint translator interpreted כי as 'but', thus expressing an alternative: 'you shall not eat of it, *but* on the day that you will eat of it, you will die by death.'
The addition of ἄν is obligatory (see *Greek text*).
Regarding the paronomastic construction מות תמות 'you will certainly die' (lit. 'die die'), the translator renders it quite literally, θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε 'you will die by death,' i.e. with a noun and a finite verb from the same root. An even more literal rendering would have been *θανατούμενοι ἀποθανεῖσθε 'dying you will die', with participle and finite verb.[121] One could argue that the translator interpreted מות as a noun, 'death', but this seems improbable.[122] It is more likely that a participial rendering was susceptible of misunderstand-

[119] Sollamo, The Pleonastic Use of the Pronoun, 77f. BDR § 297 calls it a 'Nachlässigkeit.'
[120] BDB 473b, 474a.
[121] This rendering preponderates in 'literally' translated LXX-books, the other (with noun) in more 'freely' translated books; see Sollamo, LXX Renderings of the Infinitive Absolute, 110. Cf. 2:16.
[122] From other passages it becomes clear that Greek translators did recognize the infinitive absolute of the 'hollow roots' in such constructions: Leviticus 14:48; Jeremiah 6:15 etc.

ings[123] and a noun was preferred. But why with dative? The normal Greek expression is θάνατον (acc.) ἀποθνήσκω (lit. 'to die death'). I think the translator simply adhered to his mode of rendering this construction in the preceding verse (βρώσει φάγῃ). Another explanation is provided by Sollamo, who suggests that θάνατος means here 'death-sentence'.[124] And indeed, when legal texts state that someone should 'be put to death' or simply should 'die', the Greek translation always has the dative θανάτῳ 'by death' for the Hebrew infinitive absolute.[125]

GENESIS 2:18

Καὶ εἶπεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς οὐ καλὸν εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον μόνον· ποιήσωμεν αὐτῷ βοηθὸν κατ' αὐτόν.
And the Lord God said not good the being of human being alone; let us make for him a help corresponding to him.

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים לֹא־טוֹב הֱיוֹת הָאָדָם לְבַדּוֹ אֶעֱשֶׂה־לּוֹ עֵזֶר כְּנֶגְדּוֹ׃
And the Lord God said: It is not good that the human being is alone. Let me make a help as opposite to him.

Greek text The speech of God begins with indirect speech with the infinitive as subject (also called *accusativus cum infinitivo*). It may occur after verbs of saying, but is notably rare after εἶπον (Smyth § 2016f.; BDR § 396f.).
Should ποιήσωμεν be seen as a *pluralis maiestatis* ('let *me* make')? Such a use of the plural is virtually unknown in classical Greek. It does occur in Hellenistic papyri, but there it is always related to the *pluralis societatis*. So when a king says 'we', he has himself and his counsellors in mind. This means that the Greek verb form expresses a sense of plurality.[126]

Translation In vs 18 the translator's adherence to number of words, word classes and word order of his original is complete. This would not be surprising, had not a major transformation taken place on a deeper level, viz. a change of syntactic structure. This illustrates that the translator apparently found similarity at surface level more important than similarity in the deep structure of his original. Let us compare the syntax of the Hebrew and Greek texts:

ויאמר יהוה אלהים לא טוב היות האדם לבדו
and the Lord God said: "Not good [is] the being of the human-being alone."

Καὶ εἶπεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς οὐ καλὸν εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον μόνον
And the Lord God said not good to be the human-being alone.

[123] *Θανατούμενοι ἀποθανεῖσθε 'dying you will die' could be interpreted either as death by torture or as the opposite, mercy killing; see Sollamo, LXX Renderings of the Infinitive Absolute, 108.
[124] Sollamo, LXX Renderings of the Infinitive Absolute, 108, followed by Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung,* 68.
[125] E.g. Exodus 19:12; 21:12,15,16,17; 22:18; 31:14,15.
[126] Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri*, II/1, 42; Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, II, 243f.

In Hebrew we find direct speech, in Greek indirect speech. In Hebrew the infinitive construct is the subject of a nominal clause,[127] in Greek the infinitive is the object of the indirect discourse. A similar transformation is found in Genesis 29:19. Had the translator reproduced the direct speech, he would have written:

*Καὶ εἶπεν κύριος ὁ θεός· Οὐ καλόν ἐστιν ὅτι ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐστὶ μόνος
And the Lord God said: "It is not good that man is alone."

But this would have meant the addition of one or two words and a different word order. We do find such a transformation later on, in Genesis 30:15.

The Greek βοηθὸν κατ' αὐτόν 'a help corresponding to him' is a literal rendering of עזר כנגדו 'a help as over against him' (=suiting to him).[128] The semi-preposition כנגד is attested only here and in 2:20. There the same expression has been rendered as βοηθὸς ὅμοιος αὐτῷ 'a help like to himself'. A good explanation of this difference is offered by Rösel: 'Die Abweichung zwischen V. 18 und 20 läßt sich m.E. als Erklärung verstehen, weshalb die Tiere nicht als Hilfe des Menschen ausreichen: Sie sind dem Adam nicht ähnlich.'[129] Indeed, among the animals a help 'suited to man' could surely be found (e.g. domesticable animals), but not 'similar to him', so in 2:20 a more specific translation of the Hebrew preposition was desirable. Possibly the rabbinic principle of sense-adding repetition (לשון יתרה, cf. Proverbs 6:14) plays a role too.

An interesting transformation is the change of accidence (number) in אעשה 'let me make', rendered with ποιήσωμεν 'let *us* make'. Thus the wording of God's plan is harmonized to the plural in 1:26 ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον 'let us make a human being'. According to Harl this harmonization puts the creation of the woman on the same level as the creation of man.[130] This may indeed be an exegetical outcome, but it is not plausible to assume that egalitarianism made the translator 'deviate' from his original. First, it is exceptional that the translator, as we have known him until now, would insert a transformation where the Hebrew text poses no linguistic or exegetical problem at all. Second, the introduction of a plural God (or: God and his counsellors, see *Greek text*) is only bound to create theological difficulties for monotheistic readers. To put it more simply: the change of number creates problems but solves none. The only remaining explanation, in my view, is to count this as an anaphoric translation whereby the translator was unconsciously influenced by the wording of a parallel place.

GENESIS 2:19

Καὶ ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς ἔτι ἐκ τῆς γῆς πάντα τὰ θηρία τοῦ ἀγροῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἤγαγεν αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἰδεῖν τί καλέσει αὐτά, καὶ πᾶν ὃ ἂν ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸ Ἀδὰμ ψυχὴν ζῶσαν, τοῦτο ὄνομα αὐτῷ.

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[127] Joüon-Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* § 124.
[128] It is disputed whether βοηθός expresses more subordination than עזר or not. Cf. Loader, *The Septuagint, Sexuality and the New Testament*, 36.
[129] Rösel, Übersetzung als Vollendung, 69.
[130] Harl, *La Genèse*, 105; Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung,* 68 is more cautious.

And God formed further from the earth all animals of the field and all birds of the sky, and led them to Adam to see how he would call them; and all whatsoever Adam called it a living soul, that [became] his name.

וַיִּצֶר֩ יְהוָ֨ה אֱלֹהִ֜ים מִן־הָאֲדָמָ֗ה כָּל־חַיַּ֤ת הַשָּׂדֶה֙ וְאֵת֙ כָּל־עֹ֣וף הַשָּׁמַ֔יִם וַיָּבֵא֙ אֶל־הָאָדָ֔ם לִרְאֹ֖ות מַה־יִּקְרָא־לֹ֑ו וְכֹל֩ אֲשֶׁר֙ יִקְרָא־לֹ֣ו הָאָדָ֔ם נֶ֥פֶשׁ חַיָּ֖ה הִ֥וא שְׁמֹֽו׃

And the Lord God formed from the earth all animal(s) of the field and all bird(s) of the sky, and led them to the human being to see how he would call them; and however the human being called it a living soul, that would be its name.

Greek text In Koine the future is καλέσω (3rd person καλέσει) instead of Attic καλῶ (BDR § 74.1). Καλέω can be construed with a double accusative, as in Genesis 1:5 (Smyth § 1613).
Πᾶν 'all' is pleonastic, as the distributive sense is already sufficiently expressed by ὃ ἐὰν.
With Wevers' latest proposal[131] we read ἄν instead of the ἐάν of his Genesis-edition.
The closing part of the verse (beginning with καὶ πᾶν) has little grammatical connection with the preceding part. The pronoun αὐτό is used pleonastically (see 2:17) and has no antecedent of the same gender and number. The latter holds true for αὐτῷ as well.

Translation For the 'addition' of ἔτι 'further', see 2:9. It is interesting that one textual witness, the Samaritan Pentateuch, reads עוד 'further' in 2:19, but it is very difficult to prove that the LXX-translator found this reading in his original. The reading of the Samaritan Pentateuch and the 'addition' of the Septuagint may have originated independent of each other.[132]
Three times we find in this verse a change of accidence (number), where grammatically singular nouns denoting collectives are obligatorily rendered with Greek plural nouns:

חית השדה	θηρία	'animals'
עוף השמים	πετεινά	'birds'
לו	αὐτά	'them'

Πετεινά 'birds' is the most common rendering of עוף in the Septuagint. The alternative ὄρνις bird' is not used, probably because it had come to mean 'cock'.[133]
The Hebrew text lacks an object behind **ויבא** 'and [God] led'. An object is obligatory in Greek and has to be supplied: καὶ ἤγαγεν *αὐτὰ* πρὸς τὸν Ἀδάμ 'and [God] led *them* [i.e. the animals] to Adam' (addition).
The last part of the verse is difficult in Greek. This is not only caused by the translator's close adherence to the phrasing of his original, but also to difficulties in the Hebrew text. The first problem is the verbal form **יקרא**. It is vocalized and interpreted in two different ways, both of them attested in modern versions as well:[134]

'and however the human being *would call* the living soul, that [would be] its name,'
i.e. God's intention is formulated (like REB, NJPS);

[131] Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis*, 32.
[132] See Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung,* 69.
[133] See LSJ and BDAG 724a.
[134] For grammatical details see W.H. Gispen, *Genesis* I (Commentaar op het Oude Testament), Kampen 1974, 125f.

> 'and however the human being called the living soul, that [became] its name',
> i.e. the narrator continues to describe the past events (like NRSV, NIV).

The Septuagint translator chose the latter option and hence employed no transformation.
The second problem is the overloaded syntax. The text, rendered literally, reads:

> וכל אשר יקרא לו האדם נפש חיה הוא שמו
> and however the human being called it a living soul, that [became] his/its name.

The difficulties in this verse can be nicely illustrated with help of modern translations, which have also wrestled with it. A traditional rendering is found in NRSV:

> and whatever the man called every living creature, that was its name.

This rendering makes נפש חיה 'a living soul' the object. The problem is that נפש חיה 'a living soul', like its Greek counterpart ψυχὴ ζῶσα, is feminine, whereas the pronoun and the possessive suffix are masculine, so that the above rendering is in fact ungrammatical.
The French TOB has tried to solve this problem in an ingenious and untraditional way by interpreting נפש חיה 'a living soul' as the name the animals receive. The masculine elements now refer to the (masculine) classes of animal mentioned before:

> Tout ce que désigna l'homme avait pour nom «être vivant».

It is not surprising that scholars consider נפש חיה 'a living soul' a gloss and delete it (BHS). The sentence then becomes grammatically correct and understandable:

> and however the human being called it [i.e. each class of animals], that became his/its name.

How did the Septuagint translator handle these difficulties? Unlike his modern colleagues, he made no attempt at an smooth translation, but he reveals himself for a moment as a true 'devancier d'Aquilaº'. He transferred every single word from Hebrew into Greek without regard for the grammatical context.[135] Earlier in this verse, for example, he referred to the animals as a plural: ... τί καλέσει αὐτά 'to see, how he would call *them*'. But now he disregards this and writes αὐτό 'it', pleonastic as well by the way. Furthermore he refers to the feminine ψυχὴ ζῶσα 'living soul' with masculine αὐτῷ. We are dealing with a 'morphematic translation', one of the 'mirrored' transformations (cf. *Chapter 3*).

GENESIS 2:20

Καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Ἀδὰμ ὀνόματα πᾶσιν τοῖς κτήνεσιν καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς πετεινοῖς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς θηρίοις τοῦ ἀγροῦ, τῷ δὲ Ἀδὰμ οὐχ εὑρέθη βοηθὸς ὅμοιος αὐτῷ.
And Adam gave names to all cattle and to all birds of the sky and to all animals of the field, but for Adam was not found a help similar to him.

[135] This procedure has been described in Barr, Literalism, 290ff., 'If a text is really difficult and obscure to the translator, he may (...) decide to give a precise impression in Greek of the detailed form of the Hebrew, leaving it to his readers to work out, if they can, what the general purport of this may be.'

וַיִּקְרָא הָאָדָם שֵׁמוֹת לְכָל־הַבְּהֵמָה וּלְעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם וּלְכֹל חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה וּלְאָדָם לֹא־מָצָא עֵזֶר כְּנֶגְדּוֹ׃
And the human being gave names to all cattle and to all birds of the sky and to all animals of the field, but for the human being he did not find a help as opposite to him.

Greek text Like in 1:25, κτῆνος appears in its specific sense of 'cattle'.

Translation Like in 1:19, a Hebrew singular designation of a class of animals, בהמה 'cattle' is rendered by a plural κτήνη. It is an obligatory change of accidence (number).
In the Hebrew text the first man gives names to *all* cattle, *all* wild animals and לעוף השמים 'to *the* birds'. One should expect לכל עוף השמים 'to *all* birds', for this is clearly what is meant, while the threefold repetition of כל 'all' seems stylistically superior. It is therefore not surprising that the latter reading is found in some late Hebrew manuscripts. Likewise the Septuagint, as well as Aramaic, Syriac and Latin translations, give equivalents of '*all* birds'. The oldest Hebrew manuscripts, however, attest to the shorter reading. The question which reading the translators had before them is complicated. Since the fuller reading suggests itself so strongly from a semantic and stylistic point of view, it may have arisen in manuscripts and translations independently.
More certainty is permitted in the change of accidence from active to passive in the verse. It says that the first man gives names to all animals…

ולאדם לא מצא עזר כנגדו
but for the human being[136] *he* did not *find* a help as opposite to him

τῷ δὲ Ἀδὰμ οὐχ εὑρέθη βοηθὸς ὅμοιος αὐτῷ
but for Adam was not found find a help similar to him.

The grammatical problem is clear. Since it says 'for Adam' instead of 'for himself', it is improbable that Adam is the subject of the clause, at least in Greek. Because of a different system of participant tracking and the complex literary history of the text, such constructions are not uncommon in Hebrew.[137] In the Septuagint text it stands to reason to regard God as the subject of 'find', but as ὁ θεός God' was last mentioned quite a while ago, viz. at the beginning of 2:19, he cannot be referred to by a simple pronoun, or a resumptive verb. The translator was thus forced to either make 'God' explicit or to make the construction passive, thus *suggesting* that God is the agent°.
For the specification of כנגדו 'as opposite to him' into ὅμοιος αὐτῷ 'similar to him', see 2:18.

GENESIS 2:21

Καὶ ἐπέβαλεν ὁ θεὸς ἔκστασιν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ ὕπνωσεν καὶ ἔλαβεν μίαν τῶν πλευρῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνεπλήρωσεν σάρκα ἀντ' αὐτῆς.

[136] MT lacks the article, but this is only visible in vocalized manuscripts (cf. 2:16)
[137] E.g., Genesis 9:6, where God says: '... in the image of God He has made man'. In some languages such a self-designation is so strange that the verb is made passive (TEV, GN) or harmonized into first person (CEV). Also Genesis 9:16.

And God cast an unconsciousness upon Adam and he slept, and he took one of his ribs, and supplied flesh in its place.

וַיַּפֶּל֙ יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהִ֔ים תַּרְדֵּמָ֖ה עַל־הָאָדָ֑ם וַיִּישָׁ֗ן וַיִּקַּ֞ח אַחַ֤ת מִצַּלְעֹתָיו֙ וַיִּסְגֹּ֣ר בָּשָׂ֔ר תַּחְתֶּ֖נָּה׃

And the Lord God laid a torpor upon the human being and he slept, and he took one of his ribs, and closed flesh instead of it.

Greek text The verb ἐπιβάλλω is normally construed with dative (LSJ). The collocation with ἐπί is attested only in the Septuagint and the New Testament.[138]
What ἔκστασις denotes is a state in which man loses his presence of mind. This can be caused by e.g. terror or confusion.[139] In the present context its meaning is a torpor or trance causing drowsiness and sleep.[140]
The verb form ὕπνωσεν 'he slept' is rendered transitive by Rösel: '[Gott] ließ ihn einschlafen'. He finds a double change of subject unlikely, and therefore, in his view, God must be the subject of the verb, and hence, as it is impossible that God sleeps, the verb must be transitive. But a transitive translation must be dismissed. First, the context makes it clear enough that God does not sleep, so the translator saw no necessity to prevent an erroneous exegesis of it by an unambiguous translation (e.g. *ὡστε ὑπνοῦν). Second, the lack of a direct object speaks against it. Rösel silently introduces it in his German translation '[Gott] ließ ihn einschlafen'. In Greek a direct object is obligatory and we saw in 2:19 that the translator to sometimes supplied it. The translator simply follows the paratactic Hebrew syntax and takes subject changes for granted when they do not create grave misunderstandings.

Translation Ἔκστασις 'torpor' functions as rendering of Hebrew תרדמה, which modern versions translate as 'deep sleep'. If the latter is indeed the only meaning, the rendering should be counted a 'modification'. But the verbal root of תרדמה, viz. רדם, denotes not only sleep, but other sorts of unconsciousness as well. In Daniel 8:18 the prophet falls into a trance when God starts speaking to him.[141] It seems that the Septuagint translator was aware of the broader meaning of the root רדם, hence we are dealing with a literal translation.
That ἐπιβάλλω is accompanied by ἐπί and not by a dative was probably done to render the preposition על 'upon' with a Greek preposition for the sake of quantitative representation.
Just the opposite we see in ויקח אחת מצלעתיו 'he took one *from* (מן) his ribs,' rendered by ἔλαβεν μίαν τῶν πλευρῶν αὐτοῦ 'he took one of his ribs'. The Hebrew text has a partitive preposition, but the Greek 'omits' it and uses a partitive genitive instead. This 'omission' is obligatory, since it is demanded by Greek grammar: εἷς 'one' is followed by a genitive.[142]
The Hebrew phrase ויסגר בשר תחתנה 'and he closed flesh in its place' is a bit elliptic and has no parallels, as far as we know. But its meaning is clear: the place of the removed rib is filled with flesh. Like most modern translations, the Septuagint seeks to describe this reality, but in a wording different from the Hebrew. This transformation should be regarded as a situational translation. There is admittedly a high level of correspondence between ST

[138] BDAG 367-367.
[139] Genesis 27:33; Deuteronomy 28:28.
[140] See Harl, *La Genèse*, 105, 165 'une torpeur'; likewise Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung*, 70.
[141] HAL s.v. רדם ni. gives 'betäubt sein' for Daniel 8:18 (REB 'a trance'); 10:9; Psalm 76:7.
[142] Smyth § 1317a; BDR § 164.1.

and TT, but it would be mistaken to regard ἀναπληρόω 'to fill up' as semantically related to סגר 'to close'.[143] The rendering transcends word level.

GENESIS 2:22

Καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὴν πλευράν, ἣν ἔλαβεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδάμ, εἰς γυναῖκα καὶ ἤγαγεν αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀδάμ.
And the Lord God built the rib which he had taken from Adam into a woman, and led her to Adam.

וַיִּבֶן֙ יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהִ֔ים ׀ אֶת־הַצֵּלָ֗ע אֲשֶׁר־לָקַ֛ח מִן־הָאָדָ֖ם לְאִשָּׁ֑ה וַיְבִאֶ֖הָ אֶל־הָאָדָֽם׃
And the Lord God built the rib which he had taken from the human being into a woman, and led her to Adam.

Translation The Greek οἰκοδομέω 'to build' is almost a standard Septuagint rendering of Hebrew בנה 'to build', filling five columns of Hatch & Redpath's concordance. The meaning of the Greek verb is limited to building of houses, cities, bridges, altars etc. It can be used in a metaphorical sense ('to build or found upon something') but not in a generic sense ('to fashion').[144] With his choice for οἰκοδομέω in this collocation the translator moves beyond the semantic field of the Greek verb.[145] Some modern versions say that God 'made' or 'fashioned' the rib into a woman,[146] but as we saw earlier, the translator reserved the Greek counterparts of these English verbs for certain Hebrew words, viz. ποιέω 'to make' for עשה and ברא, and πλάσσω 'to form' for יצר. But it has to be admitted that the generic sense 'to form, fashion' is only attested in Genesis 2:22 for Hebrew as well.
The rest of the verse contains no matters that deserve discussion.

GENESIS 2:23

Καὶ εἶπεν Ἀδάμ· Τοῦτο νῦν ὀστοῦν ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων μου καὶ σὰρξ ἐκ τῆς σαρκός μου· αὕτη κληθήσεται γυνή, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς ἐλήμφθη.
And Adam said: This [is] now a bone from my bones and flesh from my flesh. She will be called 'woman' because she has been taken from her husband.

וַיֹּאמֶר֙ הָאָדָ֔ם זֹ֚את הַפַּ֣עַם עֶ֔צֶם מֵֽעַצְמַ֖י וּבָשָׂ֣ר מִבְּשָׂרִ֑י לְזֹ֤את יִקָּרֵא֙ אִשָּׁ֔ה כִּ֥י מֵאִ֖ישׁ לֻקְחָה־זֹּֽאת׃
And the human being said: This is this time a bone from my bones and flesh from my flesh. This one will be called woman because this one has been taken from a man.

[143] The verb סגר 'to close' is normally rendered by (derivatives of) κλείω 'to close'. See Muraoka's *Hebrew / Aramaic Index to the Septuagint.*
[144] LSJ s.v. οἰκοδομέω suggests a general sense 'fashion' with a misleading reference to 3 Kingdoms (MT 1 Kings) 6:36a. See also BDAG 696.
[145] Likewise Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung,* 71.
[146] NIV and NJPS respectively.

Greek text With τοῦτο (neuter) Adam designates the woman just created (feminine). For speakers of other languages this seems strange, but the neuter form already anticipates the neuter substantive ὀστοῦν 'bone.' In Greek, 'the demonstrative pronoun may agree in gender with a substantive predicated of it, if connected with the substantive by a copulative verb expressed or understood' (Smyth § 1239).
For the Hebraistic omission of the copula ἐστίν, see the discussion of 2:11ff.

Translation The feminine pronoun זאת 'this' is made into neuter (τοῦτο) for grammatical reasons (see above). We are dealing with an obligatory change of accidence (gender).
The Greek adverb νῦν 'now' renders הפעם 'this time' (obligatory change of word class).
The Hebrew wordplay *'ish* 'man' - *'isha* 'woman' is not rendered in the Greek text.[147]
An interesting addition shows up in the transformation מאיש 'from a man' → ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς 'from *her* husband (lit. man).' In cases like this it is always difficult to decide whether we are dealing with a transformation or whether the translator found מאישה 'from her husband' in his original. The latter reading exists in the Samaritan Pentateuch. This correspondence is remarkable and it is striking that in the next verse LXX and SamP correspond again. MT there has והיו לבשר אחד 'and they will be one flesh', LXX reads καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν 'and *the two* will be one flesh' (SamP משניהם). These two variant readings in 2:23 and 2:24 are difficult to explain linguistically. They seem to have a common source that was interested in making the monogamous tendency of the Hebrew text more explicit with the help of linguistic elements already present in the text. It is less likely that LXX and SamP developed these related readings independently. Our conclusion is that the Greek translator gave a literal translation of a Hebrew text that deviated from MT in these two cases.
The addition just discussed is paralleled by an omission of the closing pronoun זאת 'this one'. Or perhaps I could better say 'balanced', because in this way the number of words is changed as little as possible. Probably זאת 'this one' is omitted because it is both semantically superfluous and stylistically repetitious.

GENESIS 2:24

Ἕνεκεν τούτου καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν.
Therefore a human being will leave his father and his mother and he will cleave to his wife and the two will be one flesh.

עַל־כֵּן֙ יַעֲזַ֣ב־אִ֔ישׁ אֶת־אָבִ֖יו וְאֶת־אִמּ֑וֹ וְדָבַ֤ק בְּאִשְׁתּוֹ֙ וְהָי֣וּ לְבָשָׂ֔ר אֶחָֽד׃
That's why a man leaves his father and his mother and cleaves to his wife and they become one flesh.

Greek text The construction εἶναι εις is not attested in Greek before the Septuagint, and in the New Testament it occurs only in LXX quotations. The expression has never acquired full citizenship within Greek.[148]

[147] But compare the Vulgate: 'haec vocabitur virago quoniam de viro sumpta est.'

Translation Hebrew has two conjunctions that are often confused: על כן links explanation and fact, 'that is why...'; and לכן introduces a conclusion, 'therefore'.[149] The Septuagint translator interpreted על כן as if it meant 'therefore', hence no transformation. This interpretation is accompanied by an interpretation of the sentence as a commandment: 'a man shall leave his parents.'

In the Septuagint, עזב 'to leave' is rendered by various Greek verbs, the most frequent being ἐγκαταλείπω. But the latter verb often has the negative sense of 'leave behind, leave in the lurch',[150] which καταλείπω does not have. Of course a man should not leave his parents in the lurch.

A surprising transformation is the generalization from איש 'man' to ἄνθρωπος 'human being.' Since our text deals with the relationship between man and woman, we would expect that the translator would stick to his choice in vs 23, viz. rendering איש with ἀνήρ 'man.' Throughout the Septuagint איש 'man' is usually rendered with ἀνήρ 'man' and אדם 'human being' with ἄνθρωπος 'human being.' I believe that the translator must have had a good reason for his deviation from a standard rendering. Loader suggests the use of ἄνθρωπος in 1:26; 2:18 as a reason,[151] but there it renders Hebrew *'adam.* I rather think that ἄνθρωπος does not mean here 'human being' stricto sensu, but appears in its weakened sense 'someone.' As noted above, the LXX-translator interprets 2:24 as a commandment: a man *shall* leave his parents. Now in the legal parts of the Hebrew Bible many laws are introduced by the formula איש כי or איש ...כי 'When a man...' This formula is nowhere rendered with *ἐὰν δὲ ἀνήρ 'If a man...', but either with ἐάν τις 'If someone' or ἐὰν δὲ ἄνθρωπος 'If someone (lit. a human being).' Ἄνθρωπος in the sense of 'someone' is even used to introduce marriage laws, where clearly the man is subject.[152] But once a betrothal or a wedding has taken place in these laws, the LXX specifies the same Hebrew term as ἀνήρ, which thus appears in its specialized sense of 'husband'.[153] This sheds light on our Genesis-passage. In 2:23 the translator's *Vorlage* forced him to translate ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς 'from her husband', although we can only speak of 'husband' in a proleptical sense.[154] In 2:24, which describes a still unmarried man going to marry a woman, it is logical to use ἄνθρωπος.

The Hebrew את אביו ואת אמו 'his father and <u>his</u> mother' is rendered as τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα 'his father and mother', i.e. the pronoun is not repeated. It is grammatically possible to reproduce it in Greek, witness the many instances in the Septuagint. But style is a different story. The repetition of the possessive pronoun with co-ordinated items is a Hebraism that is strange and unidiomatic in good Koine, except in the case of a strong

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[148] Hilhorst, *Sémitismes et latinismes*, 74f.

[149] BDB 486-487. In spite of dictionaries this confusion persists even in modern translations (NIV).

[150] E.g. Genesis 24:27; 28:15; Deuteronomy 28:20 etc. The verb occurs > 100x in the LXX.

[151] W. Loader, *The Septuagint, Sexuality and the New Testament*, 39.

[152] Deuteronomy 21:15; 22:16ff., 23ff.; 23:1; 25:7ff. Compare also 1 Corinthians 7:1 καλὸν ἀνθρώπῳ γυναικὸς μὴ ἅπτεσθαι. And compare 1 Esdras 4:13ff, where Zorobabel in his eulogy of women contrasts 'men and women' (ἄνθρωποι καὶ γυναῖκες). For the weakened sense, see BDAG 81.

[153] Deuteronomy 22:23; 24:2ff; 25:5ff. In Deut. 22:16,18 ἄνθρωπος is used to express contempt.

[154] The fact that a strange, even comical element is introduced, viz. the 'proleptic husband', is an additional argument that the translator found it in his *Vorlage*.

emphasis.[155] A concern for naturalness seems to be emerging at the cost of quantitative representation.
With προσκολλάομαι πρός 'to stick to' for דבק ב 'to cleave to' we encounter an obligatory change of accidence (active → passive).
For οἱ δύο 'the two' going back to a different source test (no transformation), see 2:23.

GENESIS 2:25

Καὶ ἦσαν οἱ δύο γυμνοί, ὅ τε Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἠσχύνοντο.
And they were both naked, Adam and his wife, and they were not ashamed.

וַיִּהְיוּ שְׁנֵיהֶם עֲרוּמִּים הָאָדָם וְאִשְׁתּוֹ וְלֹא יִתְבֹּשָׁשׁוּ׃
And they were both naked, the human being and his wife, and they were not ashamed.

Greek text 'τὲ καί or τέ … καί often serves to unite complements, both similars and opposites (...) The two words or clauses thus united may show a contrast, or the second may be stronger than the first' (Smyth § 2974; also BDR § 444).

Translation This verse contains only one feature of interest, namely the addition of the particle τέ, which is difficult to render in English. Because τέ … καί provides a closer relationship than mere enumeration, it is preferred here, as 'Adam and *his* wife' belong together. When τέ is added, it improves the Greek style, when it is omitted the text is not really incorrect but sounds less natural. Hence the addition is not obligatory.[156]

CHART OF LITERALNESS IN GENESIS 2

Introductory remarks

What features are typical of literal translations? In his discussion of literalness in the Septuagint, Emanuel Tov mentions five 'criteria for the analysis of literal renderings':[157]

1 Internal consistency (lexical stereotyping)
2 The representation of the constituents of Hebrew words by individual Greek equivalents
3 Adherence to the Hebrew word order in the Greek
4 Quantitative representation

[155] R. Sollamo, The Koine Background for the Repetition and Non-Repetition of the Possessive Pronoun in Co-Ordinate Items, in: D. Fraenkel et al. (ed.), *Studien zur Septuaginta*, 52-63. See further Sollamo's monograph on this subject in the LXX-Pentateuch: *Repetition of the Possessive Pronouns*.
[156] Hatch & Redpath, *Concordance*, 1339b confirms that τέ is used more frequently in books originally written in Greek than in translated books; it is less frequent in 'literally' translated books than in 'free' translations.
[157] Tov, *Text-Critical Use*, 20ff.

5 Linguistic adequacy of lexical choices

These criteria have to be modified for our purpose. First, the 'representation of constituents', i.e. correspondence between the number of word segments in the Greek and the number of word segments in the Hebrew, is concerned with segments below word level, and is therefore a sub-category of 'quantitative representation of ST words'.[158] Second, 'linguistic adequacy of lexical choices' is no scholarly criterion, as Tov admits: '[B]ecause of its subjective nature, this criterion cannot be used profitably in the anlysis of translation units.' It is unhistorical, since it measures ancient translators to our modern understanding and disregards the different types of ancient and modern linguistics. Besides, this criterion says nothing about literalness, since literal and free translators alike are concerned with the transfer of semantic content and both can make mistakes in this respect. Third, a criterion must be added: 'adherence to the word classes of the original', as we know that in Alexandrian grammar word classes were distinguished and discussed as such.

This results in a list of four features that are typical of literal translations. These have in common that they describe adherence to the form of the source text, and this is indeed what has always been typical of literal translations:

1 Quantitative representation of segments
2 Adherence to ST word classes
3 Adherence to ST word order
4 Lexical stereotyping

I have measured the occurrence of these features in Genesis 2. The figure '0' means complete adherence to the form of the ST, '1' means one deviation from absolute literalness, viz. one change of word class or one change of word order. In the first column '-1' means that one element, e.g. a word or a suffix, has been omitted. Before processing our data into a chart, we must filter them to make the figures more reliable and significant.

Regarding *quantitative representation*, I exclude with Wright 'numbers, proper names, and words for which the standard translation equivalents cannot be quantitatively rendered. A good example is בין ['between'] which is almost always translated ἀνὰ μέσον or ἐν μέσῳ in Greek.'[159] Another example is the translation of אין lit. 'not-being' with οὐκ ἦν 'was not.' Furthermore I exclude the following obligatory changes:

- the omission of the *nota accusativi* את. I do so, as את is typical of prose texts. Otherwise the chart would perhaps suggest that prose texts contain larger numbers of omissions than poetic texts, while in general the opposite may be true.
- the addition of the Greek article in e.g. צבאם 'their-host' → ὁ κόσμος αὐτῶν 'the-furnishing-their.'
- the addition of the Greek article in אלהים 'God' → ὁ θεός 'the God.' The word 'God' occurs in the LXX very often, and the article is consistently added.

In the other three categories (word classes, word order, stereotyping), I have compared the remaining elements. For example, when in the column of 'quantitative representation' I have noted the omission of the divine name YHWH, I do not count it any more as a 'deviation from stereotyping.'

Regarding *word classes*, I exclude some obligatory changes of word class:

- צבאם 'their [host]' (with suffix) → αὐτῶν 'their [furnishing]' (personal pronoun)
- noun כל → collective pronoun πᾶς (both meaning 'all, every, whole')

[158] Wright, Quantitative Representation, 316.
[159] Wright, Quantitative Representation, 320.

- relative particle אשר → relative pronoun ὅ
- אין lit. 'not-being' → οὐκ ἦν 'was not' &c.

Other obligatory changes of word class have been included in the figures, so as to prevent subjectivity in this regard.

Regarding *word order*, the figure '1' in the chart means that two words have changed places.

Regarding *stereotyping* I add the following clarifications. What has been counted in this column is the stereotyping from the beginning of the book of Genesis and if already more than one rendering of Hebrew words has occurred,[160] I list the deviation from the majority rendering in the book of Genesis. Furthermore, I have not counted the stereotyping of prepositions. The use of prepositions is so language- and context-dependent that including them would harm the significance of the figures.[161]

0 = complete adherence to form of ST; 1, ...8 etc. = number of 'deviations'

verse	*Quantitative representation of segments*	*Adherence to ST word classes*	*Adherence to ST word order*	*Stereotyping*
1	0	0	0	0
2	0	0	0	0
3	- 1	0	0	1 [?]
4	+ 4 - 3**	2	0	1
5	+ 3 - 3**	0	1	1
6	0	0	1*	1*
7	- 1**	0	0	1
8	0	0	0	0
9	+ 2 - 1**	1	0	0
10	- 4	0	1*	1*
11	+ 1	0	1	0
12	+ 2	1	0	1*
13	0	0	0	0
14	- 1	0	1*	1*
15	+ 2 - 3	0	0	0
16	+ 2 - 1	2	0	2***
17	+ 2 - 1	2	2*	2*
18	0	0	0	0
19	+ 2 - 3**	0	0	1***
20	+ 1 - 1	2	1*	2***
21	+ 1 - 2**	0	0	1***
22	0	0	0	2***
23	+ 1 – 3	1	0	1***
24	+ 2 – 1	1	0	0

[160] E.g., בהמה 'cattle', rendered as τετράποδα 'quadrupeds' (1:24) and as κτήνη 'cattle' (1:25).

[161] For example, תחת 'under, instead of' is rendered as ὑποκάτω 'under' in Genesis 1:7 and as ἀντί 'instead of' in 2:21. It would clearly be nonsensical to count this as a lack of stereotyping. The same holds true for the diverse renderings of מן 'from' (ἐκ, ἀπό, mere genitive) and ב 'in, on.'

25	+ 2 – 1	0	0	1***
tot.	**+ 27 – 31**	**12**	**8**	**20**
average per word	**+ 0.08 – 0.09**	**0.04**	**0.02**	**0.06**

* included in this figure: one 'deviation' caused by postpositive δέ
** included in this figure: one omission of divine name YHWH
*** included in this figure: use of proper name 'Adam' instead of 'human being'
The total number of Hebrew words in Genesis 2 is **332**.

A. Quantitative representation

The translator's adherence to the number of words of his source text is very strong. Where he can choose between alternatives, he takes the Greek expression with the same number of words as the Hebrew (2:2, 21). Often the translator accepts unidiomatic Greek in order to keep the number of words of his source text (2:5, 7, 7, 7, 16, 16, 17, 19; 2:11f., 23). He departs from his strategy if it is grammatically obligatory (2:1, 17) and if he can remove a possible misunderstanding (2:4, 10). There are only two little minuses (of pronouns) where a quantitative representations would have been both semantically superfluous and stylistically repetitious (2:23, 24). These features result in a translation shorter than its original.

B. Adherence to the word classes of the original

The translator tries to retain the word classes of his original, even when it results in unnatural Greek (2:8, 14, 14). He permits himself a change of word class when this is clearly obligatory (2:21) or when quantitative representation is at risk (2:16).

C. Adherence to the word order of the original

The word order of the source text instead of that of the target language is closely followed.

D. Lexical stereotyping

The low figures indicate that the translator retains the lexical choices he made in Genesis 1, which suggests a consistent use of standard renderings. But we should note that it is easy to stereotype within a mere chapter or in Genesis 1-2. In the entire book the figures would of course be very different. There are other complications that make measuring lexical stereotyping a hazardous undertaking.[162] Consistency cannot be treated in a purely statistical way as an aspect of literalness if one disregards important factors which may influence the validity of the statistics. It is only with great reserve that I have filled in the fourth column.
Where the translator departs from stereotyped rendering it is for grammatical reasons (2:16 אכל → βρώσει), lexical reasons (2:24 איש → ἄνθρωπος) or, paradoxically, *because of* his wish to retain a stereotyped rendering (2:3 ברא → ἄρχομαι; 2:4 ברא → γίνομαι). In other

[162] Cf. S. Olofsson, Consistency as a Translation Technique, *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 6 (1992), 14-30; M.L. Wade, Evaluating Consistency in the Old Greek Bible, *BIOSCS* 33 (2000), 53-75.

words, the translator varies only when he is forced to do so. The cases just mentioned, when added to statistic material, would give an impression of 'freedom', whereas they are the very indication of literalness! In 2:22 we witness the 'birth' of a new standard rendering (בנה → οἰκοδομέω). Although it creates an awkward collocation in the present context, the translator clearly chose it because he saw that it would be an ideal standard rendering for future use in most of the Torah, which he was apparently familiar with.

CHART OF TRANSFORMATIONS IN GENESIS 2

The aspect on which the present study focuses is that 'free renderings' in the LXX are no longer elusive, but consist of transformations that can be described and counted.

vs.	*Hebrew*	*Greek*	*Obligatory*	*Non-obligatory*
1	שמים	οὐρανός	ch. of accidence	
	צבא	κόσμος		modification
2	אלהים	ὁ θεός		addition
	שביעי (?)	τῇ ἕκτῃ		modification [?]
	מלאכה	ἔργα	ch. of accidence	
3	ברא	ἄρχομαι		effect → cause
	קדש	ἁγιάζω		loan translation
4	--	βίβλος		anaphorical translation
	אלה תולדות	Αὕτη … γενέσεως	ch. of accidence	
	יהוה	--		omission
	ה	--		omission
	בהבראם	ὅτε ἐγένετο	ch. of syntactic function	generalization
	ארץ ושמים	τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν		ch. of word order
	--	τόν … τήν	addition	
5	השדה	- ἀγροῦ	omission	
	יהיה	γενέσθαι	ch. of accidence	
	יצמח	ἀνατεῖλαι	ch. of accidence	
6			--	--
7	אפיו	πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ	ch. of accidence	
8	גן	παράδεισος	specification	
9	--	ἔτι		addition
	נחמד	ὡραῖος		ch. of word class
	--	γνωστόν		addition
10	ומשם	- ἐκεῖθεν		omission
	והיה	--		omission
11	אשר־שם	ἐκεῖ οὗ		ch. of word order
	--	ἐστίν	addition	
	ראשים	ἀρχαί	modification	

12	--	ἐστίν	addition	
	--	καί		addition
	שהם	πράσινος		ch. of word class
13	כוש	Αἰθιοπία		literal translation
14	ושם	--		omission
	אשור	Ἀσσυρίοι	modification	
	חדקל	Τίγρις		literal translation
	פרת	Εὐφράτης		naturalized transcription
15	--	ὃν ἔπλασεν		anaphorical translation
	ויניחהו	καὶ ἔθετο	generalization	
	עדן	--		omission
	לעבדה	ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτόν		addition
16	עץ הגן	ξύλου τοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ		specification
	האדם	Αδάμ		specification
	אכל	βρώσει		ch. of word class
17	תאכל	φάγεσθε		)
	אכלך	φάγητε		}ch. of accidence
	תמות	ἀποθανεῖσθε		)
	--	ἄν	addition	
	מות	θανάτῳ		ch. of word class
18	*direct speech*	*A.c.I*		ch. of syntactic structure
	אעשה	ποιήσωμεν		anaphorical translation
19	-- (?)	ἔτι		addition [?]
	--	αὐτά	addition	
	--	ἄν	addition	
	עוף	πετεινά	)	
	חיה	θηρία	}ch. of accidence	
	לו	αὐτά	)	
	last clause			[morphematic translation not counted]
20	--	πᾶσιν		anaphorical translation
	מצא	εὑρέθη		ch. of accidence
	כנגדו	ὅμοιος		specification
21	תרדמה	ἔκστασις	literal translation	
	אחת מצלעתיו	μίαν τῶν πλευρῶν αὐτοῦ	omission (מן)	
	ויסגר בשר תחתנה	ἀνεπλήρωσεν σάρκα ἀντ' αὐτῆς		situational translation
22			--	--
23	זאת (1)	τοῦτο	ch. of accidence	
	הפעם	νῦν	ch. of word class	
	לזאת	- αὕτη	omission (ל)	

	זאת	-		omission
24	כן	τούτου	ch. of word class	
	איש	ἄνθρωπος	generalization	
	אמה	τὴν μητέρα -		omission (suffix)
25	--	τέ		addition
tot.			**(27)**	**37**[163]

The sum of non-obligatory transformations is 37, their average per Hebrew word is **0.11**. In the final conclusions to this study the averages will be compared to those of other chapters.

CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter I have discussed all non-obligatory transformations in Genesis 2. I did not exhaust the obligatory transformations since many are so obvious they do not need explanation. Therefore the figure '26' is not indicative. In our conclusions I focus on the non-obligatory transformations since only these account for differences between translations.

The translator finds *quantitative representation* so important that he is prepared to take transformations of other kinds for granted, e.g. changes of word order (2:11) or of syntactic structure (2:18). When forced to choose between a legible rendering of a sentence and a mere quantitative representation of it, he prefers the latter (2:19). In fact all irregularities noted in the *Introduction* flow from the translator's strong adherence to the form of the source text. Such cases make clear that the translator is primarily interested in rendering the surface structure of the ST. He is sign-oriented rather than sense-oriented, generally speaking. Nevertheless there is a concern for semantic transfer within the boundaries the translator imposed on himself, witness the translation (not transcription) of Hiddeqel and Kush with Tigris and Ethiopia respectively (2:13-14) and the avoidance of 'army of heaven and earth' (2:1).

Because of the very literal translation strategy the translational solutions do not transcend word level. Within these boundaries the translator occasionally employed minor transformations aiming at *naturalness*, such as the use of *attractio relativi* (2:2, 17), ellipsis (2:10), the article (2:4), the verbal tenses (2:6) and the middle voice (2:8, 10). The same holds true for 2:23, 24 where semantic and stylistic naturalness is at stake.

Some transformations are intended to *solve the difficulties or misunderstandings* that might be the result of a literal translation. This is why the translator uses the passive in 2:20 and clarifies in 2:9,19[?] the relationship with Genesis 1, and omits a conjunction in 2:10, 15 (semantic sensitivity on micro-level). In a few instances he makes the text clearer (anaphorical translation in 2:4, specification in 2:20). The translator takes unmarked subject changes for granted when they do not cause grave misunderstandings (2:21). Avoidance of possible misunderstandings seems also to be the reason for the introduction of recently or newly coined words (2:3) and the cautious way in which the translator introduces a word in a novel sense (2:3, 4). The translator removes problems and does not create them. So when he *introduces* a feature susceptible of misunderstanding, e.g. the plurality in God (2:18), it is likely to have arisen unconsciously. The same holds true for the other anaphorical translations in 2:15, 20 and for the change of word order in 2:4.

[163] I did not count transformations marked [?], viz. 2:2, 19 and the morphematic translation in 2:19.

Some transformations are the result of the translator's earlier decisions, e.g. the two unexpected renderings of ברא 'to create' in 2:3,4, the plural verbs in 2:17 and the change of word class in 2:16.

Few transformations for *stylistic* reasons have taken place and if they occur, they are concerned with minor elements like particles, conjunctions etc. In order to improve the style, καί and τέ are added (2:12, 25), and once we find a specification for this purpose (2:16). In 2:4 the translator omits the article to imitate the style of a book title. Word plays are not rendered (2:7, 23) and if a word play appears in translation, it seems accidental (2:9). The (few) transformations aiming at semantic transfer within boundaries, naturalness and good style probably mean that the translator had a good command of Greek. The heavy SL interference, a result of his method, does not allow us to judge his stylistic abilities.

There are transformations that betray the translator's sensitivity towards his target audience, their educational level and cultural assumptions, the omissions in 2:14 ('name') and 2:15 (Ptolemaic τρυφή 'luxury' ↔ toil). These transformations go beyond the source text, strictly speaking, but their semantic impact is practically nihil.

What is the share of transformations with an exegetical background, in other words, how often does the translator go *beyond the content of his source text*? The translator sometimes stresses ideas that are already present in the source text (the *one* God, 2:2).[164] It is noteworthy that the harmonization regarding the sabbath (2:4) cannot with certainty be attributed to the translator. There remains one transformation (addition) that conciously goes beyond the source text: in 2:9 'the tree of *what is knowable of* good and evil.' This is done to avoid a misinterpretation of 3:22. The extent of exegetical renderings is very limited. To speak of "Übersetzung als Vollendung der Auslegung," i.e. translation as interpretation *par excellence*, is in my view not justified as far as Genesis 2 is concerned.

In our discussion of 2:14, 18 we noted Hebraisms which the translator later abandoned. There are other indications that he developed a more idiomatic style in the course of his work. Brock already observed how the phrase וייטב בעיני 'it was good in the eyes of' occurs three times in Genesis, 'on the first two occasions it is rendered reasonably literally (but not pedantically so) by ἤρεσα/εν οἱ λόγοι/τὰ ῥήματα ἐναντίον (xxxiv 18, xli 37), but in xlv 16 it is paraphrased as ἐχάρη δὲ Φαραω.'[165] Although this would demand further research, I assume that the translator was learning by doing and that hence his working method developed in the course of his work, from highly literal to a more idiomatic approach. Regarding the book of Genesis I would venture the hypothesis that this development was intensified by the appearance of direct speech and dialogue after chapter 12. Direct speech calls for more naturalness than narrative discourse, since 'translationese' sounds less convincing in the mouth of the story's characters.[166] During my years as a Bible translator I often had the opportunity of observing such a development in my own translations and in those of colleagues whose work I had to check. In 1933 Baab found that the first part of Genesis contained more Hebraisms than the second part.[167] His division of the book into 1-15 and 26-50 is arbitrary, in my opinion, but his article contains interesting examples. Baab's conclusion that LXX-Genesis is the work of two translators is in fact not necessary, as his

[164] In 2:23, 24 the concept of monogamy is magnified, but it is probable that the two deviations were already present in the ST of the translator (see the discussion of these verses).

[165] Brock, The Phenomenon of the Septuagint, 33.

[166] Cf. the independent observations by Sollamo, *Repetition of the Possessive Pronouns*, 24

[167] O.J. Baab, A Theory of Two Translators for the Greek Genesis, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 52 (1933), 239-243.

findings can be interpreted as the development in the work of one and the same translator. Baab has borrowed the notion of two translators from Epiphanius (4th century AD) who tells us that each biblical book was handled by a pair of translators.[168] But this does not necessarily mean that the book of Genesis was split into two. Working in pairs is common in of Bible translation projects all over the world. In the cases known to me such pairs consist of one TL native speaker and one SL specialist.

Does the limited evidence of one chapter allow us a glimpse of the *target audience* of the translation? Apparently they do not know Hebrew. They read Greek, but they have to digest a text written in an uncommon style, with many unnatural turns. They have to cope with unmarked subject changes when these do not cause grave misunderstandings (2:21). A complete sentence with an irregular Hebrew grammatical structure is transferred literally into Greek, with no attempt to solve its exegetical problems for the readers (2:19). Only where a really false understanding of the text is possible, the translator comes to the aid of his readers (2:4, 10, 20). For the rest, there is only one place where a situational translation clarifies the Hebrew, but here the translator apparently was quite sure of the meaning to be rendered (2:21). The readers are familiar with the river Tigris (2:14). Alexandria, unanimously seen as the birth-place of the LXX-Pentateuch, is probably the background for the avoidance of the concept of Tryphe in connection with physical labour (2:15).

The unidiomatic Greek can be explained in different ways. It might be that the readership was well educated and able to understand a unidiomatic text. Perhaps they expected the Hebrew to shine through. In our days some people appreciate the *Verdeutschung der Schrift* by Buber and Rosenzweig for similar reasons, since they believe it gives them access to the flavour of the Hebrew. It is imaginable that a text retaining peculiarities of Hebrew was regarded as a substitute text and becomes a ground for exegesis itself. This is even probable: since we cannot call LXX-Genesis 2 a communicative translation there is work left for an *expositor*.[169]

Another explanation is offered by Pietersma's interlinear model. He sees the interlinearity of bilingual Latin – Greek papyri as a model that could have underlain the translators' approach in the LXX-Pentateuch.[170] This theory certainly deserves further thought. The particulars of the hypothesis should be borne out by careful analysis of larger textual units. It is the type of bilingual Vergil texts, viz. in two parallel columns, that could be connected with the origin of the Septuagint. I do not consider a real interlinear text, i.e. a continuous Hebrew text with Greek glosses above the words, a likely procedure, because Hebrew and Greek have different writing directions. Considerably more errors would flow from such a procedure than we now find in the LXX-Pentateuch. But Pietersma says that a Hebrew – Greek interlinear text need not have existed at all, which makes his proposal theoretical.[171] Presently I see two obstacles for his theory. First, the fact that bilingual papyri originated in schools leads Pietersma to the conclusion that it was 'the Hebrew text of the Bible that was studied in the Jewish school, with the Septuagint functioning as a crib.'[172] But we do not know of efforts to teach Hebrew in Alexandria, let alone with the big investments of a translation. The disappearance of Hebrew seems to have been accepted as a fact, as the translations testify. Then I would prefer the assumption that the LXX-Pentateuch func-

[168] Migne, *PG*, XLII, col. 241.
[169] Cf. Brock, Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity, 79.
[170] Pietersma, Interlinear Model. See further the section on bilingual texts in our Chapter 2.
[171] Pietersma, Interlinear Model, 350.
[172] Pietersma, Interlinear Model, 359.

tioned as a substitute source text and a basis for exegesis. The second obstacle is the translator's development we discovered. That his approach changed in the course of Genesis means that he became increasingly aware of the communicative setting of his translation and the consequences this should have for his strategy. If the translated text only had to function as a key to the Hebrew, the increasing communicative orientation is hard to explain. It better suits a text that has to stand on its own feet.
Finally we can conclude that in 2: 23-24 the translator started, in all likelihood, from a source text different from MT. In 2:2, 19 this is not probable, but possible.

Chapter 5

Transformations in Isaiah 1

INTRODUCTION

The Greek text of Isaiah was transmitted in the scriptio continua characteristic of prose. Indeed, metre, the touchstone of Greek poetry, is lacking. Isaiah 1 is incontestably prose. The translator's 'prosaic approach' accords with Jewish tradition, which gives a special treatment only to the so-called ספרי אמ"ת: Job, Proverbs and Psalms. Today scholars may agree that the Hebrew Isaiah is largely poetical, but the recognition of the Prophets as poetry is of a fairly recent date, the end of the 18th century.[1]

We can describe the *type* of prose and the impression it must have made on contemporaries. A notable phenomenon is the frequent parataxis (esp. 1:25-31), a feature deemed unelegant in Greek with its elaborate system of hypotaxis. In some places the use of prepositions is not idiomatic (1:16, 24). Participant tracking is quite enigmatic. An unnaturally frequent phenomenon is the the pleonastic pronoun (1:1, 14, 21). Strikingly *in*frequent are the Greek particles. Except for the neologisms ἐνωτίζομαι 'to give ear' (1:2) and ὁλοκαύτωμα 'whole-burnt-offering' (1:11), the vocabulary reflects Koine Greek of the 2nd century BC and does not contain lexemes that are marked as either vulgar or literary language. Some words, unproblematic in themselves, are used in a way that is not common.[2]

From a stylistic point of view the text does not stand out as ornate. We find a number of repeated patterns (1:4, 5, 6, 20, 23, 29, 30), but few chiasms (1:23, 25). Sound patterns are rare (1:11, 21). At the same time the chapter contains a number of forbidden *clausulae*, i.e. clause or sentence endings sounding like metrical feet of a certain type.[3] From Aristotle onwards teachers of rhetoric denounced the use of metrical feet in prose texts, especially at clause and sentence endings.[4] They recommended the use of a selected set of *clausulae* of five or six syllables to close the sentence. The permitted *clausulae* had in common that they did not sound like metrical feet that usually close a line. Paradoxically, *clausulae* sounding like the *beginning* of metrical lines were tolerated, so that e.g. αὐτοῖ δέ μ' ἠθέτησαν (1:3), sounding like the beginning of a iambic trimeter, is alright. In Isaiah 1 four *clausulae* sound like the ending of a dactylic hexameter and two like the ending of a iambic trimeter:

1:7 υμῶν πῦρἶκαῦστοῖ
1:17 δικαιῶσᾶτέ χῆρᾶν
1:21 νῦν δέ φὸνεῦταῖ
1:23 οῦ πρὸσέχῦντες

[1] The older view that the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah are prose was first recorded by the Greek church father Adrianus (5th century AD), cf. F. Goessling (ed.), *Adrians* ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ ΕΙΣ ΤΑΣ ΘΕΙΑΣ ΓΡΑΦΑΣ *aus neu aufgefundenen Handschriften*, Berlin 1887, 134.

[2] Πληθύνω 'to multiply X' in the sense of 'to do X often' (1:15), κρίσις in the sense of 'justice' (1:17), συντελέω 'to bring to an end' (1:28).

[3] Cf. our section on *Metre in Proverbs 6*.

[4] From Aristotle, *Rhetorica* 1408b to Quintilian, *Institutio*, IX, 4, 60. 72ff. Cf. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*, § 980-981; 991-992.

1:15 ετσἄκοῡσθματ ὕμῶν
1:16 τῶν πὸνηρῖων ὕμῶν

To which of the four styles of Demetrius of Phaleron does Isaiah 1 correspond? Clearly it does not conform to the 'elegant style'. It is no χαριεντισμὸς καὶ ἱλαρὸς λόγος 'charming and cheerful discourse' (§ 128[5]). Its subject matter, dealing with the God of Israel, his Law, the holy city of Jerusalem etc., would suggest the 'elevated style' (§ 75f.). But the composition suggests otherwise. There are no impressive long and rounded periods with subordinate clauses, whereas the repetition of parallel paratactic clauses creates the hiccup effect Demetrius chides (§ 45f.). Likewise, the vocabulary of the chapter is not so elaborate and grandiose as the elevated style demands, but, apart from some (semantic) neologisms, inconspicuous and plain.
Syntax and lexicon thus seem to point to the 'plain style', generally speaking. Nevertheless Isaiah 1 contains words falling outside the boundaries of the plain style (§ 191), like the compound word πυρίκαυστος 'fire-burnt' (1:7), and the neologisms ἐνωτίζομαι 'to give ear (1:2), σαβαωθ (1:9), ὁλοκαύτωμα 'whole-burnt-offering' (1:11), ἡμέρα μεγάλη 'the Great Day' (1:13). The chapter does possess the redundancy, clarity and avoidance of misunderstandings which plain style requires (§ 191, 196). With 'clear' I mean: to those familiar with Judaism. Dialogue and tone of Isaiah 1 are vivid (§ 209ff.). Word order is a different story. Although the word order characteristic of the plain style (§ 199) can be found in some passages (1:2, 3b, 7, 12a, 16f., 23, 26a), the rest of the chapter is pervaded with a different system. Many clauses begin with a verb, followed by subject, object and adjuncts, most notably in 1:3a, 12-14, 27-31. Not surprisingly, this is the normal word order in Hebrew.
Finally, regarding the 'forcible style', Isaiah 1 is sometimes phrased with vehement brevity forcibly impressing itself on the hearer, e.g. 1:4-5, 17, 21, 23. But to conform to the forcible style, a text requires brevity, conciseness verging on the obscure and avoidance of parallel clauses (§ 240ff.), thus the opposite of Isaiah 1. Forcible diction is akin to elevated diction, which is generally absent, as we saw.
Our conclusion must be that Isaiah 1 is quite an exotic text. Though closest to the plain style, it does not fit into contemporary categories. Of course the above observations are based on only one chapter. It would be worthwhile to compare my findings with a similar treatment of, say, Isaiah 65.

ISAIAH 1:1

Ὅρασις ἣν εἶδεν Ησαίας υἱὸς Αμως, ἣν εἶδε κατὰ τῆς Ιουδαίας καὶ κατὰ Ιερουσαλημ ἐν βασιλείᾳ Οζίου καὶ Ιωαθαμ καὶ Αχαζ καὶ Εζεκίου, οἳ ἐβασίλευσαν τῆς Ιουδαίας.
Vision which Isaiah son of Amos saw, which he saw against Judea and against Jerusalem in the reign of Ozias and Joatham and Achaz and Ezekias, who reigned over Judea.

חֲזוֹן יְשַׁעְיָהוּ בֶן־אָמוֹץ אֲשֶׁר חָזָה עַל־יְהוּדָה וִירוּשָׁלָ͏ִם בִּימֵי עֻזִּיָּהוּ יוֹתָם אָחָז יְחִזְקִיָּהוּ מַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה׃
Vision of Isaiah son of Amotz, which he saw concerning Judah and concerning Jerusalem in the days of Uzziahu, Jotham, Achaz and Yehizqiahu, kings of Judah.

[5] Rhys Roberts (ed.), *Demetrius on Style*.

Greek text Contrary to what LSJ suggests, ὅρασις in the sense of 'vision' is known from Hellenistic Greek outside Biblical literature (BDAG 719a).
LXX-Isaiah opens with ὅρασις 'vision', but elsewhere in the book, in superscriptions introducing prophetic oracles, also ὅραμα 'vision' occurs. Ὅρασις and ὅραμα are no synonyms: their morphemic structure points to a difference. Both words are derived from ὁράω 'to see'. Now as a rule, the suffix -σις refers to the action denoted by the verb in question, and the suffix -μα the resulting product.[6] So ὅρασις means 'seeing, vision as an act of sight' and ὅραμα 'spectacle, vision as that which is seen'.[7] Hence it is logical that in prophetical books ὅρασις is combined with genitives of proper nouns like Isaiah and Obadiah (who can actively see), and ὅραμα with genitives of objects like the desert and the city of Tyre (that can be seen).[8] It seems, however, that by the time of LXX-Isaiah the two nouns started to overlap. So we find in Isaiah 19:1 ὅρασις Αἰγύπτου and in 30:6 ὅρασις τῶν τετραπόδων.
The aorist εἶδεν 'saw' in 1:1 is known as the complexive aorist, which 'is used to survey at a glance the course of a past action from beginning to end' (Smyth § 1927; BDR § 332). The fact that Isaiah repeatedly saw visions during the reign of four succeeding kings is thus summarized into one action.[9]

Translation The translator probably chose ὅρασις 'vision' for two reasons. First, like Hebrew חזון 'vision', its etymology is transparent, derived from ὁράω 'to see.' Secondly, alternative Greek words were probably considered contaminated with pagan associations,[10] and thus sparingly used or avoided altogether throughout the Septuagint. It is noteworthy that ὄναρ and ὄνειρον, meaning 'dream', never occur as translation of חלום 'dream.' Ὅραμα was not used because Isaiah is the subject, not the object of seeing.
The Hebrew חזון ישעיהו 'vision of Isaiah' is not rendered literally into ὅρασις Ησαίου.[11] The semantic deep structure of 'Isaiah's vision' is 'ISAIAH SAW A VISION'.[12] The translator now makes this deep structure explicit into ὅρασις ἣν εἶδε Ησαίας 'the vision that Isaiah saw.' But we cannot count it as an explicitation, since the information is already explicit in the text, a bit further on. It is a non-obligatory transformation that assimilates the wording to the following phrase, i.e. an anaphorical translation. Why was it employed? I think the translator wanted the name Ησαίας to be introduced in the nominative, as it is not with certainty guessed from the genitive Ησαίου.[13] Another possibility is that the translator, who

[6] Cf. ἄκουσις 'hearing' / ἄκουσμα 'thing heard', ποίησις 'production' / ποίημα 'product', πρᾶξις / πρᾶγμα etc.
[7] LSJ 1244b; BDAG 718b; Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, 411a.
[8] Cf. Obadiah 1:1 ὅρασις Αβδιου; Nahum 1:1 βιβλίον ὁράσεως Ναουμ τοῦ Ελκεσαίου; and on the other hand Isaiah 21:1 τὸ ὅραμα τῆς ἐρήμου; 22:1; 23:1 τὸ ὅραμα Τύρου.
[9] This aorist occurs at the beginnings of prophetical books, .e.g. Jeremiah 1:2; Hosea 1:1; Amos 1:1.
[10] Cf. Woodhouse, *English-Greek Dictionary*, s.v. 'Vision': "*Apparition*: P. and V. φάσμα, εἰκών, εἴδωλον, φάντασμα V. σκία, ὄψις, δόκησις, *Dream:* P. and V. ὄναρ; *Waking vision:* P. and V. ὕπαρ."
[11] The genitive of Ησαίας is used in 2 Chronicles 32:32 ἐν τῇ προφητείᾳ Ησαίου υἱοῦ Αμως; Sirach 48:20; 4 Maccabees 18:14 and besides in Odes 5:9; 10:1.
[12] Nida's term for 'deep structure' is 'kernel'. Cf. *Toward a Science of Translating*, Chapter 4.
[13] It can be Ησαίας, Ησαίος, Ησαίου. Compare the confusion concerning the Greek name of Obadiah (Αβδιας, Αβδιου), described in M. Harl e.a. (ed.), *Les douze prophètes. Joël, Abdiou, Jonas, Naoum, Ambakoum, Sophonie* (La Bible d'Alexandrie 23. 4-9), Paris 1999, 85f.

sometimes used ὅρασις in the sense of 'vision as that which is seen,' avoided the misunderstanding that the genitive would suggest the object of seeing.

The preposition על does not have a negative ring here, but means 'concerning.' The first verse of the Hebrew Isaiah, with its enumeration of kings, functions as a superscription to the whole book, which contains both prophecies of doom and salvation. The neutral translation can be found in all modern versions known to me. So על יהודה וירושלם means neutrally 'concerning Judah and Jerusalem.' The Greek translator, however, varied his rendering of על according to the context. He rendered it neutrally, with περί + genitive, when the following prophecy is favourable (2:1), but he preferred a specification *in sensu malo*, with κατά + genitive, in case of a doom prophecy (1:1; 13:1 etc.). He repeated κατά 'against' before 'Jerusalem', because it is undeclinable.[14] It seems, then, that the Greek translator saw the message of the book of Isaiah primarily as prophecy of judgement. It is also possible that he connected 1:1 primarily with the threatening first chapter.

The Hebrew יהודה *Yehuda* is rendered in various ways; sometimes with the transcription Ιουδα 'Judah' (or Ιουδας) or with the naturalized transcription Ιουδαία 'Judea.' McLean has demonstrated for LXX-Jeremiah that its translator consistently prefers Ιουδα over Ιουδας and uses it to designate the *nation*, whereas he employs the naturalized transcription Ιουδαία 'Judea' to designate or personify the *land*.[15] McLean's observations are equally valid for Isaiah. Thus Ιουδα denotes the nation.[16] This category includes Ιουδα as a tribe (from which the nation sprang). In the Greek Pentateuch Ιουδα 'Judah' was the name of Jacob's son Judah and of the tribe named after him. The Isaiah translator follows this tradition and writes Ιουδα when the tribe is referred to. This is the case in the vicinity of names like Jacob, Israel, Ephraim, Menasseh.[17] Ιουδαία on the other hand functions as a geo-political designation for the land of Judah, e.g. in the vicinity of names like Assyria etc.[18] These observations can explain differentiation within the same context. So in 7:1 Achaz, the king of [the nation of] Ιουδα was threatened, by enemies who wanted to march towards 7:6 [the land of] Ιουδαία. A following prophecy recalled the days in which [the tribe of] Ephraim was taken from Juda. Compare also 7:1 'the king of [the nation of] Juda' with 'the king [of the land] of Judea' in other contexts. The use of the naturalized transcription Ιουδαία is in itself a sign of a 'domesticating tendency' in the translation. A literal version like 4 Kingdoms (MT 2 Kings) sticks to the transcription Ιουδα, whatever it refers to.

The transformation of מלכי יהודה 'kings of Juda' into οἳ ἐβασίλευσαν τῆς Ιουδαίας 'who reigned over Judea' is not obligatory, but is probably employed for stylistic reasons.[19]

The threefold addition of καί 'and' is obligatory, since some of the kings' names are declinable and others are not. We find this in literally translated books too (e.g. Hosea 1:1).

[14] Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 18.

[15] P.D. McLean, The Greek Translation of "Yehuda" in the Book of Jeremiah, *BIOSCS* 30 (1997), 45-80.

[16] In phrases like γῆ Ιουδα, πολεῖς Ιουδα 'land / cities of Judah' (7:1; 22:8; 26:1; 40:9), ἄνθρωπος Ιουδα 'a man of Judah' (5:3, 7).

[17] Isaiah 5:7; 7:1, 17; 9:20; 11:12, 13; 48:1; 65:9.

[18] Isaiah 1:1,1; 2:1; 3:1,8; 7:6; 8:8,23; 36:1; 37:10,31; 38:9; 44:26.

[19] A literal translation is less elegant, cf. Hosea 1:1 ἐν ἡμέραις Οζίου καὶ Ιωαθαμ καὶ Αχαζ καὶ Εζεκίου, βασιλέων Ιουδα.

ISAIAH 1:2

Ἄκουε οὐρανέ, καὶ ἐνωτίζου γῆ, ὅτι κύριος ἐλάλησεν· υἱοὺς ἐγέννησα καὶ ὕψωσα, αὐτοὶ δέ με ἠθέτησαν.
Listen, heaven, and give ear, earth, for the Lord has spoken: Sons I begat and lifted up, but they have set me at naught.

שִׁמְעוּ שָׁמַיִם וְהַאֲזִינִי אֶרֶץ כִּי יְהוָה דִּבֶּר בָּנִים גִּדַּלְתִּי וְרוֹמַמְתִּי וְהֵם פָּשְׁעוּ בִי׃
Listen, heavens, and give ear, earth, for the Lord has spoken: Sons I reared and brought up, and they have rebelled against me.

Greek text The compound ἐνωτίζομαι, of which the meaning 'to give ear' is easily guessed, is not attested before the LXX. It is almost certainly a neologism, coined by the translator of Genesis 4:23.[20]
The verb ὑψόω is listed in all dictionaries known to me as 'to lift up, exalt.' This meaning is also found in the Septuagint, where ὑψόω is frequent, as witness the 2 ½ columns in Hatch & Redpath's concordance. Brenton's translation 'to rear up' does not appear in any lexicon known to me. Yet in Isaiah 23:4 ὑψόω appears in a context that suggests 'to rear', contrary to its normal use:

> οὐκ ὤδινον οὐδὲ ἔτεκον οὐδὲ ἐξέθρεψα νεανίσκους οὐδὲ ὕψωσα παρθένους
> I have not been in labour, nor given birth, nor reared young men nor brought up virgins

and this is recognized by Eusebius of Caesarea.[21] But in Isaiah 1:2 the sense 'I reared' is not so easily wrenched from ὕψωσα. Thus Cyril of Alexandria remarks:

> Γεγέννηκα γάρ, φησίν, υἱούς, καὶ οὐ διὰ τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὕψωσα, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ἀνέθρεψα.[22]
> For I have begotten sons, he says, and not merely that, I have also 'lifted them up', which means 'reared them'.

The meaning 'to rear' of ὕψωσα had to be elucidated with help of an exegetical gloss. It was not obvious, but an attentive reader could guess here that in Hebrew the word for 'lifting up' could apparently also mean 'to rear' (cf. Proverbs 6:29). Indeed, Procopius of Gaza interprets 'lifting up' in the sense of 'giving a glorious position':

> … τὸ ὕψωσα, διὰ τὸ ἐξαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς μετὰ δόξης Αἰγύπτου, καὶ τοσαῦτα κατὰ τῶν λυπούντων ἐπιτέλεσαι παράδοξα.[23]
> 'Lifted up', because he led them out from Egypt with glory and because he accomplished so many miraculous deeds against their marauders.

To conclude, we must retain ὑψόω in its normal meaning 'giving an exalted position'.

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[20] The fact that ἐνωτίζομαι is construed with accusative (Genesis 4:23), dative (Exodus 15:26) and genitive (Psalm 16=MT 17:1) shows that its use was not guided by conventions.
[21] Eusebius of Caesarea (3rd century AD), *Commentarii in Isaiam* (Migne, PG 24), 253 διὰ τὸ μηκέτι ἔχειν οὓς θρέψει νεανίσκους καὶ παρθένους.
[22] Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam* (Migne, PG 70), 17.
[23] Procopius of Gaza [6th century AD], *Commentarii in Isaiam* (Migne, PG 87), 1828-1829. Such was also the opinion of the copyist of LXX ms. 93, who replaced ὕψωσα with ἐδόξασα 'I glorified [them]'.

Translation The translation of האזין 'to give ear' with ἐνωτίζομαι 'to give ear' was probably taken over from the Pentateuch. But how did this neologism originate at all? In Genesis 4:23 the translation of האזיני 'give ear' posed a little problem to the translator.

> Ἀδὰ καὶ Σελλα, ἀκούσατέ μου τῆς φωνῆς,
> γυναῖκες Λαμεχ, ἐνωτίσασθέ μου τοὺς λόγους
> Ada and Sella, hear my voice,
> wives of Lamech, give ear to my words.

The first line uses ἀκούω 'to hear, listen' and as Greek loves variation,[24] the translator did not want to employ the same verb again in the second line. He had to look for a synonym of ἀκούω. But several available synonyms are compounds of ἀκούω, that do not provide the required variation.[25] Of the remaining alternatives, the verb ἐνδέχομαι has the connotation of 'to accept, approve of, believe' and is thus semantically less appropriate. The classical κλύω 'to hear, give ear to' seems to have fallen in decline by the Hellenistic period. Its only occurrence in Koine Greek illustrates its use in language of entreaty,[26] which seems ill at place in an address by God to heaven and earth. The Genesis translator then coined a neologism whereby he imitated the pattern of האזין. This Hebrew verb is composed of the root אזן 'ear' in a causative stem (hif'il) so that the resulting meaning is: 'to make the ear work'. The Greek translator created the compound verb ἐν-ωτ-ίζ-ομαι, in which οὖς 'ear' (pl. ὦτα) is combined with the suffix -ίζω.[27] We should count it as a morphematic translation. Now the Isaiah translator adopted this neologism but used it with caution. He used ἐνωτίζομαι without object, in contrast to its use in more literally rendered books.[28] He even avoided constructions with object, by using synonyms (1:10; 8:9; 32:9) or inserting a preposition (51:4).

Now follows a transformation that is of interest for the question if the Septuagint translators sought to avoid anthropomorphic speech in relation to God. The Hebrew says בנים נדלתי 'I raised sons', but the Greek υἱοὺς ἐγέννησα means 'I [=God] *begat* sons'! This is so surprising that according to some scholars the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint must have differed from the Masoretic text. According to Ziegler the translator's parent text read בנים ילדתי 'I gave birth to sons' and he regards this reading as more original than MT: 'Wahrsch[einlich] liegt im MT tendenziöse Änderung vor, weil man Jahwe nicht die Tätigkeit des ילד [Gebären] zuschreiben wollte.'[29] This sounds plausible but is difficult to corroborate – for various reasons. First, Ziegler's cause has been weakened by the discovery of the Qumran scrolls. 1QIsa[a] supports MT. Second, is the idea of God bearing children really such a problem? We find this notion in other books.[30] And the image of Yhwh as father of his firstborn son Israel is well-known from the Bible.[31] All these cases have

[24] Cf. Reichmann, *Römische Literature in griechischer Übersetzung*, 24 on the Monumentum Ancyranum: '[D]er Übersetzer, um Eintönigkeit zu vermeiden, wechselt im Ausdruck, ein Streben, das, soweit es römische Einrichtungen betrifft, auch in der Kyreneninschrift zu erkennen ist.'
[25] For synonyms, see Woodhouse, *English-Greek Dictionary* s.v. 'Hear', 'Listen'.
[26] Κλῦθι μοι written on an amulet, see Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der gr. Papyrusurkunden* I, 809.
[27] Smyth § 866.6; BDR § 108.3. For other examples with -ίζω in LXX, see E. Tov, The Representation of Causative Aspects of the *Hiph'il* in the Septuagint, in: Tov, *The Greek and Hebrew Bible*, 198.
[28] E.g. Genesis 4:23; Exodus 15:26; Psalm 5:2; 16 (MT 17):1 etc.
[29] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 136; cf. recently Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 18.
[30] Deuteronomy 32:18; Psalm 2:7.
[31] E.g., Exodus 4:22; Hosea 11:1.

apparently survived copyists. Third, the LXX rendering can be explained in the context of the verse, since there is a semantic relationship between begetting and raising children.

The Hebrew line reads בנים גדלתי ורוממתי, which NIV renders as 'I reared children and brought them up'. The second verb, רומם (polel of רום 'to be high'), usually means 'to lift up, exalt' and sometimes 'to bring up'. And this is what we find in modern lexica.[32] But some centuries ago it was translated differently, thus e.g. by Luther: 'Jch habe Kinder aufferzogen vnd erhöhet.'[33] It is therefore far from certain that the LXX-translator shared the modern interpretation; he rather understood רומם in the sense of 'giving a high position' and translated this literally. The first verb, גדל pi., can mean 'to raise', a sense familiar to the Isaiah translator,[34] but it can also mean 'to give a high position' and then it has sometimes been rendered with ὑψόω.[35] If the translator held the latter view with respect to 1:2, it is clear that he could not use ὑψόω twice. But if he understood the former meaning, we might suppose that he wrote 'I begat them and gave them a high position' in order to express the totality of Yhwh's dealings with Israel. The translation of גדלתי 'I reared' with ἐγέννησα 'I begat' then expresses the cause for the effect. But it remains possible that Ziegler is right after all.

A change of word order occurs at the end of the verse, where פשעו בי 'rebelled against me' is rendered by με ἠθέτησαν 'denied me'. The translator puts the object pronoun before the verb in order to arrive at a natural word order, i.e. no enclitic in a final position. The Genesis translator avoids such changes.[36]

The verb פשעו with ב or מתחת often denotes the act by which vassals denounce their treaty with the suzerain and refuse to fulfill their obligations towards him.[37] Ἀθετέω means likewise 'set at naught a treaty, promise'.[38] In the LXX it also renders other Hebrew words that denote rebellion and treason (e.g. בגד, מרד). We count it as a literal translation.

ISAIAH 1:3

Ἔγνω βοῦς τὸν κτησάμενον καὶ ὄνος τὴν φάτνην τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ, Ισραηλ δέ με οὐκ ἔγνω καὶ ὁ λαός με οὐ συνῆκεν.

An ox knows the buyer and a donkey the crib of its master, but Israel does not know me, and the people take no notice of me.

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[32] For רומם (polel of רום 'to be high'), the meaning of 'raise children' is further attested in Isaiah 23:4. For the rest it means 'exalt people, raise the estimation of their value' or 'exalt, praise [God or people].' See HALOT s.v. רום. Some scholars find the meaning 'give an exalted position' also in Isaiah 1:2.

[33] This interpretation can be found from Jerome ('exaltavi') to R. David Qimchi and Calvin.

[34] Isaiah 23:4; 49:21 render it with ἐκτρέφω. Cf. also Hosea 9:12.

[35] Joshua 3:7; Isaiah 57:18. Cf. already Genesis 24:35; 26:13; 48:19 for the qal of גדל.

[36] See A. Wifstrand, *Die Stellung der enklitischen Personalpronomina bei den LXX* (K. Humanistiska vetenskapsssamfundets i Lund årsberättelse), Lund 1950 and R. Sollamo, The Place of the Enclitic Personal Pronouns in the Old Greek Psalter, in: Peters (ed.), *XII Congress*.

[37] E.g. 1 Kings 1:1; 3:5, 7; 8:20, 22.

[38] LSJ 31b; see also BDAG 24. It occurs often in papyri, see Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 199.

יָדַע שׁוֹר קֹנֵהוּ וַחֲמוֹר אֵבוּס בְּעָלָיו יִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא יָדַע עַמִּי לֹא הִתְבּוֹנָן׃
An ox knows its owner and a donkey the crib of its master; Israel does not know, and my people do not behave intelligently.

Greek text The saying about the ox and the donkey could be interpreted as a general truth and accordingly the aorist as a so-called gnomic aorist (Smyth § 1931f.; BDR § 333). But the aorist can more plausibly be explained as follows. With verbs of hearing, saying and learning the aorist is often used with a present time meaning (Smyth § 1885; LSJ 350a).
The text runs ἔγνω βοῦς τὸν κτησάμενον 'an ox knows the possessor', but in the second line, with regard to the donkey, it reads τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ 'of <u>its</u> master'. When the possessor is not to be mistaken, the article is placed before the substantive and the possessive or reflexive pronoun is omitted (Smyth § 1121; 1199). With κύριος, however, it is necessary to use a possessive pronoun in order to avoid confusion with κύριος 'the Lord'.

Translation Κτάομαι means 'to procure for oneself, buy' and occurs frequently as a rendering of קנה, which has the same meaning. But it is strange that Greek retained the participle, since participles function differently in Hebrew and Greek. In Greek each verbal tense has its own participles, which is not the case in Hebrew. It is therefore logical that the Hebrew participle can express more temporal stages than its Greek counterparts. In Hebrew the active participle קֹנֵה means literally 'buyer', but it can also mean "owner (the one who has bought),"[39] and this is clearly the sense required in our context: the ox knows its owner, because it is already acquainted with him. In Greek, the aorist participle in ἔγνω βοῦς τὸν κτησάμενον means 'the ox knows the one that has just bought it'. The sense of 'owner' can be expressed by the perfect participle κεκτημένος.[40] It seems, then, that the translator interpreted the Hebrew participle קֹנֵה as 'buyer', not 'owner', and translated it literally. The suffix is omitted for reasons of style (see *Greek text*).
The Greek text has more conjunctions than its source text. Δέ 'and, but' has been added to express the contrast which in Hebrew is marked by an asyndeton, and καί 'and' is added to give a smoother transition between the last two stichs, which thus become more parallel to the first two. This seems a requirement of Greek style. Addition of conjunctions also occurs in e.g. Greek translations of Eutropius.[41]
The reproach of Israel is put concisely in Hebrew: 'Israel does not know, and my people have no understanding.' The first verb, ידע 'to know', is rarely used without object, and the second, התבונן 'to behave intelligently, to direct one's attention (to)', is used intransitively. The lack of an object seems deliberately enigmatic, in order to arouse the question: 'what does Israel not know?' The answer has to be supplied from an interpretation of the context. This is not all too difficult, though. Commentators explain the text as follows: 'Ox and ass find their way to their stables; but Israel cares nothing for Yahweh, nor discerns that it owes everything to him.'[42] So Israel does not recognize Yhwh as its master and benefactor. The

[39] HALOT s.v. קנה; see also Joüon-Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, § 121f. So already Jerome ('possessorem suum') and all modern translations.
[40] See the meaningful transition from κτησάμενος to κεκτημένος in Leviticus 25:28, 30, 50.
[41] Reichmann, *Römische Literature in griechischer Übersetzung*, 64ff.
[42] Gray, *The Book of Isaiah I-XXXIX*, 10. Similarly, 90 years later, J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1-39. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (The Anchor Bible 19), New York / London 2000, 184.

twofold addition of μέ 'me' makes this explicit. The explicitation is non-obligatory, as γινώσκω 'to know' and 'to observe, understand' can be used without object.[43]
The rendering of Hebrew ידע 'to know' with γινώσκω is the most obvious choice and can be found frequently. But התבונן 'to behave intelligently, to direct one's attention (to)' is used in very different constructions and accordingly rendered with a variety of verbs in the Septuagint.[44] In Isaiah 1:3 the translator had already narrowed down his options. Because of the explicitation of μέ 'me' he had to select a transitive verb that could be construed with a person, even God, as object. Συνίημι 'to observe, understand' fits these criteria.[45]
MT speaks of עמי 'my people', which LXX reduces into ὁ λαός '*the* people'. The omission of the possessive pronoun 'my' seems to have a stylistic reason. A literal translation would have read *καὶ ὁ λαός μού με οὐ συνῆκεν 'and my people does not understand me'. A succession of three enclitic words is awkward.[46] The translator could have placed the object at the end: *καὶ ὁ λαός μου οὐ συνῆκεν με. This would have destroyed the parallelism with the preceding line. Besideds, the translator prefers the enclitic personal pronoun to precede the verb, as we saw in 1:2. The omission of the possessive pronoun is facilitated by Greek grammar, where the article can take the function of a possessive pronoun, when the possessor is not to be mistaken (see 1:3 *Greek text*). The name of 'Israel' has just been mentioned, and with it the notion of 'God's people'. Additions and omissions of personal pronouns with λαός also occur elsewhere in LXX-Isaiah, but I take this as a coincidence, as all those cases are accountable within their own contexts.[47]
The rendering of עם with λαός 'people' (1:3) and גוי with ἔθνος 'nation' (1:4) follows a pattern that, with some exceptions, can be found throughout the Septuagint. A glance in Hatch & Redpath's concordance shows that already in the Pentateuch ἔθνος is in most cases a translation of גוי. In Genesis we can even speak of a standard equivalent. Λαός, which fills 27 columns in the concordance, is in the overwhelming majority of the cases the rendering of עם. LXX-Isaiah conforms to this pattern.[48]

ISAIAH 1:4

Οὐαὶ ἔθνος ἁμαρτωλόν, λαὸς πλήρης ἁμαρτιῶν, σπέρμα πονηρόν, υἱοὶ ἄνομοι, ἐγκατελίπατε τὸν κύριον καὶ παρωργίσατε τὸν ἅγιον τοῦ Ισραηλ.

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[43] See e.g. BDAG s.v. γινώσκω, συνίημι.
[44] The verb stem התבונן, that occurs 32x in the Hebrew Bible, is rendered by 17 different Greek verbs according to Muraoka's *Index*.
[45] Συνίημι functions more than 60x as a rendering of the different stems of בין in the LXX. For statistics regarding LXX-Isaiah, see Ekblad, *Isaiah's Servant Poems*, 193.
[46] In the LXX I have not been able to find the succession μού με or σού σε. In Genesis 24:47; Jeremiah 2:13; 4:22 we find μού. ἐμε (belonging to two different clauses).
[47] Isaiah 3:13, 14; 10:6, 22; 14:20, 32; 25:8; 32:18; 35:2; 32:21; 48:21; 51:7; 62:10; 65:18 (private communication of Prof. A. van der Kooij). In e.g. 3:14 αὐτοῦ fulfils a double duty for the preceding λαός; 10:22 omits the 2nd person σου in order to adapt it to the surrounding context (3rd person); 14:20 constitutes a contextual interpretation; in 14:32 we find after 'Sion' a possessive use of the article like in 1:3; in 51:7 we deal with an anaphoric translation harking back to 51:4 etc.
[48] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 14f. Harl, *La Genèse*, 58f. For details regarding λαός (and ἔθνος) in LXX, see O. Montevecchi, LAOS. Linee di una ricerca storico-linguistica, 61ff.

Woe sinful nation, people full of sins, evil seed, lawless sons! You have forsaken the Lord and made angry the Holy One of Israel.

הוֹי גּוֹי חֹטֵא עַם כָּבֵד עָוֹן זֶרַע מְרֵעִים בָּנִים מַשְׁחִיתִים עָזְבוּ אֶת־יְהוָה נִאֲצוּ אֶת־קְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל נָזֹרוּ אָחוֹר׃
Woe sinning nation, people heavy of iniquity, seed of evildoers, perverting sons. They have forsaken the Lord, they have rejected the Holy One of Israel, they have become estranged backwards.

Greek text Οὐαί, an exclamation of pain and anger, is known from Hellenistic times onward. In Greek it was, however, used with dative. As a remark by Pseudo-Basilius on Isaiah 1:24 shows, the construction with nominative was regarded as interference.[49]
Regarding σπέρμα 'seed', it appears from the context that it designates the same entity as ἔθνος and λαός (people and nation). The use of σπέρμα in the sense of 'race, offspring' is known in Greek, especially in poetry (LSJ 1626b).

Translation The Hebrew interjection הוי, mostly a 'grievous threatening cry of the prophets',[50] is rendered by various Greek exclamations. It is once translated with οἴμ(μ)οι but this refers to the first person of the one who speaks (Jeremiah 22:18). The translator of Isaiah consistently renders הוי with οὐαί when it functions as an exclamation of threat.[51] Οὐαί was not coined but selected by the Septuagint translators. Hence it is not a transliteration but a 'literal translation', as Lowe has shown.[52] The use of exclamations and interjections is highly dependent on current use in a certain place, time and text type. This explains why classical alternatives like φεῦ, παπαῖ, ἰού, occurring in classical tragedies, are not used.
The translator turned the four pejorative epithets of Israel, which are grammatically different, into a uniform pattern of noun + adjective which is repeated four times. This operation, entailing changes of word class and accidence, enhances the rhetoric value of the sequence in Greek. Compare LXX with the more literal translation by Aquila:

> ἔθνος ἁμαρτωλόν, λαὸς βαρὺς ἀνομίᾳ, σπέρμα πονηρευομένων, υἱοὶ διαφθείροντες
> sinning nation, people heavy of lawlessness, seed of evildoers, destroying sons.

In semantic respect חטא corresponds very well with the root ἁμαρτ-, as both mean 'to miss, sin', and it is not surprising that this translation is more or less standard. A bit further on we find the same Greek root again in πλήρης ἁμαρτιῶν 'full of sins'. But ἁμαρτία 'sin' is this time a translation of עון. This Hebrew term is traditionally rendered with 'iniquity' (NRSV, REB) or 'guilt' (NIV). But in a number of places the singular rendering is inadequate, namely where עון refers to a plurality of misdeeds and stands in parallelism with synonyms that are indisputably plural,[53] or in a phrase like עון אבות 'the iniquity of the fathers'.[54] In the context of Isaiah 1:4 the adjective in עם כבד עון 'a people, heavy of iniquity' evokes the

[49] Hilhorst, *Sémitismes et latinismes dans le Pasteur d'Hermas*, 181.
[50] HAL, s.v. הוי.
[51] In 55:1 הוי opens an invitation and is not rendered. In 45:9-10 an interrogative pronoun renders הוי.
[52] A.D. Lowe, The Origin of οὐαί, *Hermathena* 105 (1967), 34-39.
[53] E.g. Jeremiah 30:15 (LXX 37:16); Ezekiel 21:29; Daniel 9:24; Hosea 8:13; 9:9; 13:12. In these places the Septuagint opted for a translation in plural. Modern versions sometimes do the same thing, most consistently a common language version like the Dutch *Groot Nieuws Bijbel.*
[54] Exodus 20:5; 34:7; Numbers 14:18; Deuteronomy 5:9; Jeremiah 14:20; 32(LXX 39):18. In these places the Septuagint gives a translation in plural, as do a number of modern translations.

notion of plurality. The translator decided to employ a plural noun, and this is in my opinion also the reason that he did not use ἀδικία 'injustice, wrongful act', for in good Greek the plural of this abstract noun is preferably avoided. It does occur in a number of Jewish Greek writings,[55] but it is notable that in the New Testament, where ἀδικία occurs frequently, we find only one instance of a plural form, in Hebrews 8:12, a LXX quotation. Literal translators do use the plural ἀδικίαι (e.g. 9x in Jeremiah), but the Isaiah translator avoids it and employs the plural only once (43:24), for good reasons. So, to avoid the plural ἀδικίαι 'injustices' the Isaiah translator resorts to ἁμαρτίαι 'sins'. We must add that the Greek language is poorer in verbs for sinning than the Hebrew, so that approximately 26 Hebrew expressions for 'sin' are reduced to 6 Greek terms.[56]

The frequently occurring Hebrew root רע(ע) 'bad, evil' is rendered either with κακός or with πονηρός throughout the LXX. Yet why does the translator choose the latter in this verse? The difference between these synonyms is highly idiomatic and shows that complete synonymy does not exist. Although in some contexts these words are interchangeable, it appears that πονηρός is more often used to express evil intention and that κακός denotes bad effect.[57] In original Greek writings, like those of the New Testament, we find that, among others, a man, a spirit and a generation are preferably called πονηρός, not κακός.[58] This explains the collocation σπέρμα πονηρόν 'evil seed [generation]'. As this rendering is semantically obvious, it is not necessary to claim that the translator chose it to designate Judah with the same epithet as the king of Babylon in 14:20.[59] The use of the same phrase in both contexts exists already in the Hebrew text.

The LXX does not give a literal translation of כבד עון with *βαρὺς ἀνομίᾳ '*heavy* of sins'.[60] Instead, the people are called πλήρης ἁμαρτιῶν 'full of sins' (modification). It seems that Greek admits of less idiomatic turns with 'heavy' than Hebrew and prefers other expressions. In Exodus 4:10, for example, Moses is called כבד לשון 'heavy of tongue', but in LXX he is βραδύγλωσσος 'slow of tongue'. In a later and more literal version like LXX-Ezekiel an exact literal translation is given and the prophet is called βαρύγλωσσος 'heavy of tongue' (3:5). The Isaiah translator uses πλήρης 'full' in 1:4, 11, 15, 21. It is possible that the use of πλήρης ἁμαρτιῶν 'full of sins' in 1:4 was intended to create a background against which the positive words of 1:21 πλήρης κρίσεως 'full of (righteous) judgement' stand out.

The epithet בנים משחיתים literally means 'corrupting sons' and is rendered as υἱοὶ ἄνομοι 'lawless sons'. How did this generalization come about? The Hebrew בנים משחיתים is probably shorthand for the idiom '[sons] corrupting their ways / deeds'.[61] When this idiom occurs unabbreviated, it is sometimes rendered literally, like in Genesis 6:12, κατέφθειρεν πᾶσα σὰρξ τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ 'all flesh had corrupted its way'. But if the shortened idiom is translated literally, into υἱοὶ διαφθείροντες, it comes to mean 'destroying [i.e. demolishing] sons'. This is easily misunderstood and was therefore already avoided by the translator of

[55] BDAG 20b.
[56] R. Knierim in THAT i, 548. It is simplistic to ascribe this solely to a "starke Thematisierung und Theoretisierung des alttestamentlichen Sündenbegriffes'.
[57] Louw & Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, I, 754.
[58] See for those collocations BDAG, s.v. πονηρός.
[59] Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 19.
[60] Βαρύς + dative occurs further only in LXX-Job 15:10.
[61] E.g. Genesis 6:12; Zephaniah 3:7; Psalm 14:1.

Deuteronomy.[62] Regarding the choice for ἄνομ-, Austermann has described factors that may have contributed to the popularity of a generic term like ἀνομία in the LXX-Psalter:[63]

- As the SL has more words for sins and transgressions than the TL, the use of generic terms relieves the translator from the task of trying to find different matching counterparts for each Hebrew term.
- The use of generic terms facilitates the translation work, especially when SL terms are not entirely clear.
- In search for Greek words denoting negative behaviour compounds with ἀ-privans are an obvious choice, and helpful to fill up lexical gaps.
- In texts were ὁ νόμος 'the Law' plays an important role, the use of ἀνομία 'lawlessness' creates a useful opposition.
- The term ἀνομία was borrowed from the LXX-Pentateuch.
- The use of ἀνομία creates new and useful intertextual relationships, between passages and between biblical books.
- Stylistic concerns, such as the need for variation, may have played a role.
- In a spiritual climate centering around the Law the term ἀνομία was the word *par excellence* for everything opposed to it.

In Isaiah the use of ἀνομ(ία) certainly contributes to the conceptual unity of chapter 1, for it occurs in 1:4, 5, 25, 28, 31 as a rendering of various terms, and another 50x in LXX-Isaiah as a whole.

The final part of the verse has been transformed from third person singular into second person singular, like in REB. This has been done to create a smooth transition to 1:5. Changes from second to third person and vice versa are frequent in prophetical books. They are notorious with translators, especially as their stylistic function in the Hebrew text is not always clear.[64]

The translator's handling of נאץ is notable. Modern lexica give as its meaning: qal 'to spurn', pi. 'to discard, reject'. Similar translations can be found throughout the Septuagint, but only in collocations where God is not the object.[65] Wherever in Hebrew God is 'rejected', the verb is rendered with παροξύνω 'to provoke, make angry'[66] or with its synonym παροργίζω. And where God's words or laws are 'rejected', the LXX uses βλασφημέω 'to blaspheme' (Isaiah 52:5). A similar picture emerges in the renderings of the synonymous verb מאס 'to spurn'. In the LXX-Pentateuch God or His words are not 'spurned' but 'disobeyed', 'disregarded' etc.[67] LXX-Isaiah follows this pattern: God and His words are the

[62] 4:16 פן־תשחתון ועשיתם → μὴ ἀνομήσητε καὶ ποιήσητε 'do not act lawlessly and make...'. Similarly 31:29.

[63] F. Austermann, ἀνομία im Septuaginta-Psalter. Ein Beitrag zum Verhältnis von Übersetzungsweise und Theologie, in Sollamo/Sipilä, *Helsinki Perspectives*, 99-137. Austermann's remarks hold true for translations into any language.

[64] For a recent contribution to the field, see L.J. de Regt, A Genre Feature in Biblical Prophecy and the Translator. Person Shift in Hosea, in: J.C. de Moor (ed.), *Past, Present, Future. The Deuteronomic History and the Prophets* (OTS 44), Leiden 2000, 230-250.

[65] It is rendered with ἀπωθέω 'to push away' Jeremiah 23:17; ἀθετέω 'to set at naught' 1 Kingdoms (MT 1 Samuel) 2:17; μυκτηρίζω 'to turn up the nose at' etc.

[66] Numbers 14:11, 23; 16:30; Deuteronomy 31:20; 32:19; (...) Isaiah 5:24; 60:14 etc.

[67] We find ἀπειθέω 'to disobey' in Leviticus 26:15; Numbers 11:20; ὑπεροράω 'to disregard' in Leviticus 26:43.

object of οὐκ ἐθέλω 'to desire not' (5:24) and ἀπειθέω 'to disobey' (30:12). But in more literally translated books we do find the harsh notion that God or His words are rejected.[68] So it emerges that the meaning of some verbs, which is retained in profane contexts, can be weakened in theologically sensitive sentences (modification).
An article has been added before 'Israel'. Sometimes Ισραηλ functions as a genitive without the article, e.g. in 1:24 οἱ ἰσχύοντες Ισραηλ 'the mighty ones of Israel'. Strictly speaking, the article is non-obligatory. But in 1:4 it is necessary to avoid the misreading *τὸν ἅγιον Ισραηλ 'the holy Israel'. At the same time the article makes it impossible in a manuscript without interpunction to read 'Israel' as a vocative that introduces 1:5.
The phrase נזרו אחור lit. 'they became estranged backwards' is unique and the collocation is strange. Most modern versions offer something more understandable like 'they have turned their backs on Him'. From other places it seems that זור II was not unknown to LXX-translators.[69] Yet the Isaiah translator omitted the phrase. This should not be explained with an appeal to textual criticism, as MT is firmly supported by all manuscripts.[70] But what else may have been the reason? In my view both semantic and stylistic reasons prompted the translator to omit the phrase in question. The phrase follows these two clauses:

ἐγκατελίπατε τὸν κύριον	You have forsaken the Lord
καὶ παρωργίσατε τὸν ἅγιον τοῦ Ισραηλ	and made angry the Holy One of Israel.

After these sharp reproaches a clause like 'you have turned your back on Him' does not tell us anything that is not already implied in the preceding two clauses. On the contrary, it is weaker. The translator apparently considered this a semantic and stylistic anticlimax and omitted it. Classical rhetoric advised against a series of phrases or clauses where a strong statement was followed by a weaker one, and it preferred a climactic order instead ('Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder').[71] It is interesting to note that in CEV the same phrase has been omitted.

ISAIAH 1:5

Τί ἔτι πληγῆτε προστιθέντες ἀνομίαν, πᾶσα κεφαλὴ εἰς πόνον καὶ πᾶσα καρδία εἰς λύπην;
Why should you be smitten further by increasing lawlessness, every head to pain and every heart to sorrow?

עַל מֶּה תֻכּוּ עוֹד תּוֹסִיפוּ סָרָה כָּל־רֹאשׁ לָחֳלִי וְכָל־לֵבָב דַּוָי׃
Why should you be smitten further, should you continue apostasy? The whole head to wound and the whole heart ill.

[68] We find e.g. ἀπωθέω 'to push away' in Jeremiah 6:19; ἀποδοκιμάζω 'to reject' in Jeremiah 8:9; ἐξουθενέω 'to set at nought' in 1 Kingdoms (MT 1 Samuel) 8:7; 10:19 etc.
[69] Psalm 57 (MT 58):4; 68 (MT 69):9; Ezekiel 14:5 render it with ἀπαλλοτριόομαι ἀπό 'to be alienated from.' Psalm 77 (MT 78):29 renders it with στερέομαι ἀπό to be deprived of'.
[70] Contra Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 53; Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 19.
[71] Quintilian, *Institutio*, VIII, 4, 4; IX, 4, 23. Cf. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*, § 403, 451.

Greek text Πληγῆτε, aorist passive of πλήσσω, functions as a deliberative subjunctive here (Smyth § 1805, 2639; BDR § 366). Such subjunctives are often found in rhetorical questions, e.g. τί ποιήσω; 'what shall I do?' = 'I don't know what to do'. Here the prophet asks τί ἔτι πληγῆτε 'why should you be smitten further?' = 'there is no reason that you should be smitten further'.
The second part of the verse is translated by Brenton as follows: 'The whole head is pained, and the whole heart sad.' This presupposes a syntax that is untypical of Greek, though. It is better to link both parts of the verse together, as I have done in the above translation, as this results in an elegant and understandable sentence. My interpunction deviates from Ziegler's edition, but we should bear in mind that interpunction is not found in manuscripts.

Translation Τί 'why' for על מה 'because of what' is the most obvious rendering and therefore a literal translation. The renderings ἐπὶ τί or ἕνεκεν τίνος, that are typical of literally translated books,[72] preserve the number of words of the Hebrew and tend to morphematic translation .
A minor change of word order occurs in the rendering of תכו עוד '[why] should you be smitten further?' with ἔτι πληγῆτε '[why] should you further be smitten?' Greek style demands that the adverb ἔτι precedes the element to which it belongs.
The Hebrew verb הכה (נכה hif.) 'to smite, strike, kill' is rendered here with πλήσσω 'to smite, strike', as often in the LXX. Sometimes the alternative πατάσσω 'to smite, strike, kill' is used, but the Septuagint translators often employ the latter to denote delivering a mortal blow, which is out of order in Isaiah 1:5, as it only deals with wounds.[73]
The translator turns the finite verb תוסיפו 'you add' into a participle προστιθέντες 'increasing' (change of accidence), which makes it subordinate to the question. Literal copying of the finite verb would result in a affirmative sentence, *τί ἔτι πληγῆτε προστίθετε ἀνομίαν 'why should you be smitten further? You increase lawlessness!'[74] At the same time the use of the participle enables the translator to avoid repeating the interrogative τί 'why'.
The translation of סרה 'apostasy' with ἀνομία 'lawlessness' is a generalization.[75] The translator could easily derive the meaning of סרה from סור 'to turn aside'.[76] Out of the seven instances of סרה 'apostasy' we find only one Greek rendering that expresses the idea of apostasy, albeit by means of a verb. In Deuteronomy 13:6 it is said of the idolater:

> ἐλάλησεν γὰρ πλανῆσαί σε ἀπὸ κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου
> for he has spoken to lead you astray from the Lord your God.

Now apostasy is always apostasy *from someone*. When the text mentions 'apostasy' without the prepositional phrase 'from someone', the noun סרה 'apostasy' is generalized in Greek.[77] This is the case in Isaiah 1:5. The use of ἀνομία 'lawlessness' harks back to 1:4 υἱοὶ ἄνομοι 'lawless sons'.

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[72] E.g. Numbers 22:32; Psalm 9:34 (MT 10:13); Malachi 2:13.
[73] E.g. Genesis 8:21; 32:11; Isaiah 37:38. Cf. Louw & Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon* I, 237.
[74] See KJV, for example.
[75] For statistics regarding ἀνομία, see Ekblad, *Isaiah's Servant Poems*, 219.
[76] Like BDB 964. HAL 726 derives it from סרר II 'störrisch sein'.
[77] Deuteronomy 19:16 ἀσέβεια 'impiety'; Isaiah 59:13 ἠπειθήσαμεν 'we have been disobedient'; 31:6.

The Hebrew כל ראש without article is ambiguous. According to normal grammar it means 'every head'. To express 'the whole head', the article is necessary: כל הראש, similarly to πᾶς in Greek.[78] But in Hebrew poetry the idea of 'the whole head' can be expressed without the article.[79] The Greek translator did not regard Isaiah as poetry. His rendering with πᾶσα κεφαλή 'every head' can be regarded as a literal translation.
Contextual influence can be detected in the rendering of two nouns for wounds and illness. The noun חלי, generally 'sickness', but in this context clearly meaning 'wound,'[80] is translated as πόνος 'pain'. In the same vein דוי 'ill' is rendered as λύπη 'pain, sorrow'.[81] The words for wounds and illness are translated with words that denote the feelings which are the result of them. This is a translation of cause and effect. Why is it employed? Probably because the rhetorical question focuses on the subjective side of Israel's situation: 'Why should you be smitten further?'
Although there is a significant correspondence in terminology between LXX-Isaiah 1:4-6 and chapter 53,[82] I believe that this correspondence is rather backward than forward. To put it more simply, it is probable that chapter 53 was translated with an eye on the Greek text of chapter 1. The translation of 1:4-6 can be explained without reference to chapter 53, as shown above.
The addition of εἰς in εἰς λύπην 'to sorrow, which makes it parallel to εἰς πόνον 'to pain', is another example of the translator's preference for stylistic uniformity.

ISAIAH 1:6

Ἀπὸ ποδῶν ἕως κεφαλῆς [ ] οὔτε τραῦμα οὔτε μώλωψ οὔτε πληγὴ φλεγμαίνουσα. Οὐκ ἔστι μάλαγμα ἐπιθεῖναι οὔτε ἔλαιον οὔτε καταδέσμους.
From feet to head [ ] neither wound nor bruise nor festering injury. It is impossible to apply an emollient or oil or bandages.

מִכַּף־רֶגֶל וְעַד־רֹאשׁ אֵין־בּוֹ מְתֹם פֶּצַע וְחַבּוּרָה וּמַכָּה טְרִיָּה לֹא־זֹרוּ וְלֹא חֻבָּשׁוּ וְלֹא רֻכְּכָה בַּשָּׁמֶן׃
From the sole of the foot to the head there is no soundness, [but] wound and bruise and fresh injury. They are neither pressed out nor bandaged, nor soothed with oil.

Greek text In classical Greek πληγή means 'blow', but here it appears from the context that it means 'wound caused by a blow'. This meaning developed in the Hellenistic period (BDAG 825).
The Greek text of the first sentence, though supported by the oldest manuscripts, is unsatisfying: the adjunct Ἀπὸ ποδῶν ἕως κεφαλῆς 'from feet to head' is not connected to the second part of the sentence. This second part, from οὔτε τραῦμα 'neither wound' on, seems to function like a subject, judged from its nominative case. The irregular syntax is unex-

[78] Smyth § 1174; Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri*, § 70.
[79] Joüon-Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew,* § 139e mentions Isaiah 1:5 as an example.
[80] We find the same meaning of חלי in Jeremiah 6:7, there rendered with πόνος too.
[81] דוי / דוה (1QIsa[a] דוה) was known as a term for illness in general and menstruation in particular. Cf. the renderings αἱμορροούση in Leviticus 15:33 e.a.; ἀποκαθημένη in Isaiah 30:22.
[82] See Ekblad*, Isaiah's Servant Poems*, 207f, 217 for details.

pected, as the rest of this chapter and of LXX-Isaiah as a whole is written in smooth and understandable Greek. Ottley interprets the syntax as follows:

> 'from feet to head, neither (to) wound, nor scar, nor inflamed hurt, is there any means to apply… &c.'[83]

Thus interpreted, the sentence could be understood as an anacoluthon (BDR § 466f.). Such anacolutha are usually accompanied by relative sentences or participles. In the LXX-Pentateuch's translation Greek they are the result of adherence to Hebrew sentence structure, like in Genesis 28:13. In Isaiah 1:6, however, the Greek text offers an anacoluthon where the Hebrew syntax is smooth, which is contrary to the translator's usual way. Besides, the interpretation of an anacoluthon cannot account for the awkward transition from (positive) 'from feet to head' to (negative) 'neither wound…'. It seems more plausible to assume that something has fallen out, at least a verb plus a negation. Indeed, according to Ziegler's apparatus a more complete sentence is offered by some manuscripts:

> Ἀπὸ ποδῶν ἕως κεφαλῆς οὐκ ἐστιν ἐν αὐτῷ ὁλοκληρία οὔτε τραῦμα οὔτε μώλωψ οὔτε πληγὴ φλεγμαίνουσα
> From feet to head there is no complete soundness in it, neither wound nor bruise nor festering blow.

But this addition does not fit into the Greek sentence at all, as Ottley already noted:
1. The antecedent of ἐν αὐτῷ 'in it' is obscure. It is therefore not surprising that manuscripts offer variants like ἐπ' αὐτῶν, ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἐπ' αὐτοῖς.
2. The transition from 'no complete soundness' to 'neither wound…' is illogical. One would expect: 'there is no complete soundness, but there are wounds…', a text which is presented by Symmachus°.
If we combine these syntactic observations with the date of those manuscripts, we have to agree with Ziegler that this addition is a secondary correction towards MT. It has been inserted without regard of the syntactical context. Surely, then, something different must be supplied. Let us try a suggestion in English:

> *From feet to head there is no injury, neither wound nor bruise nor festering blow.

If this were the correct sentence, the next sentence would have read: 'It is not *necessary* to… apply bandages'. But it says 'impossible', hence it is apparently necessary to apply bandages. I would propose that something different must be supplied:

> *Ἀπὸ ποδῶν ἕως κεφαλῆς οὐδὲν δύναται ἰαθῆναι, οὔτε τραῦμα οὔτε μώλωψ οὔτε πληγὴ φλεγμαίνουσα
> *From feet to head nothing can be healed, neither wound nor bruise nor festering blow.

In my view the underline phrase has fallen out by way of *homoioarcton*°: a copyist probably skipped this phrase because the next one begins with the same characters. The verse abounds in words beginning with οὐ- that could have caused an oversight:

> οὐδέν… οὔτε οὔτε… οὔτε… οὐκ… οὔτε… οὔτε

Ἐστί is used here in the sense of 'it is possible' (LSJ 488, VI). The translation 'there is no emollient…' is out of the question, as μάλαγμα, ἔλαιον and καταδέσμους are accusatives, the object of ἐπιθεῖναι.

[83] Ottley, *The Book of Isaiah* II, 106.

The noun μάλαγμα has the generic meaning 'emollient' (LSJ). Some scholars give it the specific meaning 'medicinal plaster',[84] but this is the same as calling every animal a cow. The famous physician Galen (2nd century AD) gives a definition of μάλαγμα that clearly demonstrates its generic meaning. He then discusses the different sorts of μαλάγματα 'emollients' and mentions among them the μαλακτικὴ ἔμπλαστρος 'soothing plaster or poultice' in Cap. V.[85] This is what we find in LXX-Ezekiel 30:21 too: the Lord has not merely broken, but 'crushed' Pharaoh's arm (συνέτριψα) and then it continues:

> οὐ κατεδέθη τοῦ δοθῆναι ἴασιν τοῦ δοθῆναι ἐπ' αὐτὸν μάλαγμα
> it has not been bound up to give healing, to give an emollient upon it.

The words for 'binding' in both Hebrew and Greek suggest that the emollient is a plaster in this context, but this does not appear from the word μάλαγμα itself. In papyri the word μάλαγμα occurs first in a series of medicinal prescriptions for the soothing of wounds in the mouth and appears also in a list of medicines between wax and galbanum.[86]

Translation The detailed מכף־רגל 'from the sole of the foot' has been generalized into ἀπὸ ποδῶν 'from the feet', which also entails a change of accidence (number). This is a stylistically motivated transformation that makes the wording more parallel. It is consequent to say

ἀπὸ ποδῶν ἕως κεφαλῆς	'from feet to head' *OR*
ἀπὸ ἴχνους πόδος ἕως κορυφῆς	'from the sole of the feet to the top of the head.'[87]

A literal translation, *ἀπὸ ἴχνους πόδος ἕως κεφαλῆς 'from the sole of the foot to the head', would not satisfy in stylistic respect.

It seems that אין־בו מתם 'there is no soundness', well attested by manuscripts, was originally rendered in Greek and fell out in an early stage of the transmission process (see *Greek text*). The word מֻתָּם in its masoretic vocalisation means 'soundness'. It was known to the translators of Psalms, who rendered it with ἴασις 'healing' in Psalm 37 (MT 38):4, 8, which lends support to the reconstruction that I have proposed above. The translator probably vocalized the Hebrew text as אין־בו מֵתֵם 'there is no healing one'.

The three words for injuries are literally translated:

- פצע and its rendering τραῦμα both mean 'wound'
- חבורה and its rendering μώλωψ both mean 'bruise'.[88]
- מכה and its rendering πληγή both mean 'wound caused by a blow'.

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[84] Lust e.a., *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint,* II, 289; Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* 2, 48 ('Heilpflaster').

[85] C. Galenus, *De compositione medicamentorum secundum genera*, Liber VII, Cap. 1 = C.G. Kühn (ed.), *Claudii Galeni opera omnia,* Tomus XIII, Leipzig 1827 (reprint Hildesheim 1965), 946f, 962. Cf. also R.J. Durling, *A Dictionary of Medical Terms in Galen* (Studies in Ancient Medicine 5), Leiden 1995, 229.

[86] M.-H. Marganne, *Inventaire analytique des papyrus grecs de médecine* (Hautes études du monde gréco-romain 12), Genève 1981, 162, 273.

[87] Cf. Deuteronomy 28:35; 3 Kingdoms (MT 2 Samuel) 14:25.

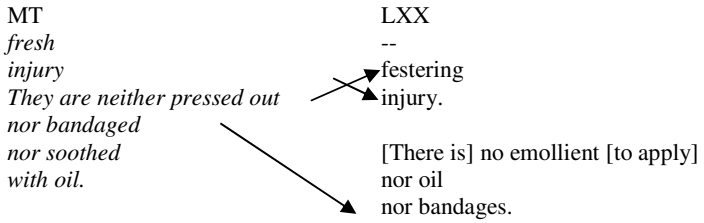
[88] This rendering is standard in the LXX, see Hatch & Redpath's *Concordance* 938a. The word pair may have been imported from LXX-Genesis 4:23; Exodus 21:25.

The latter part of Isaiah 1:6 has been completely restructured to meet the demands of logic and medical practice. Let us try to find out which problems may have prompted the translator to resort to such transformations. A literal translation of the Hebrew speaks of

> … fresh injuries, which have not been pressed out, nor bandaged, nor soothed with oil.

The *first problem* is one of general experience. A wound cannot be fresh and festering at the same time. This is a difficulty modern versions recognize and solve in different ways.[89] The LXX-translator solved it by omitting the notion of טרי 'fresh'[90] and translating לא־זרו[91] 'they have not been pressed out' as φλεγμαίνουσα 'festering'. This constitutes a translation of effect → cause, as festering of course precedes pressing out. At the same time this entails a change of syntactic function: the clause לא־זרו 'they have not been pressed out' is transformed into a participle, φλεγμαίνουσα 'festering' and moved upward as well.

The *second problem* is the order of medical treatment. The order in MT is climactic: 'the wounds are neither pressed out nor bandaged nor soothed with oil,' meaning: even soothing with oil, the very minimal treatment of wounds, is impossible. But viewed chronologically, the wounds are first bandaged and then soothed with oil according to the Hebrew text, the reverse of what normally happens. The translator normalized the order,[92] probably with an eye to his audience. Alexandria could boast of an unsurpassed medical school, so that 'Alexandrian' could stand for 'physician'.[93] The clause ולא חבשו 'and they were not bandaged' is transformed into ἐπιθεῖναι καταδέσμους 'to apply bandages' and mentioned after the oil, as the last act of the medical treatment. A more logical order can be found in modern versions too.[94] Further, the Hebrew mentions 'soothing with oil' as one act. But in the Septuagint the Hebrew phrase ולא רככה 'it was not soothed' is separated from the 'oil' and rendered as μάλαγμα 'emollient'.[95] To facilitate understanding I present a table in English:



[89] NIV, for example, speaks of 'open sores, not cleansed'. Here the notion of 'pressing out' is generalized to avoid the problem. NJPS, on the other hand, translates טרי 'fresh' as 'festering' (unlikely).

[90] This meaning is given by modern lexica, but it is not certain if the translator was familiar with it. Apart from Isaiah 1:6, the word occurs in Judges 15:15 where Simson's לחי־חמור טריה 'fresh jawbone of an ass' is rendered as σιαγόνα ὄνου ἐκρεριμμένην (A ἐρριμμένην) 'the jaw-bone of an ass that had been cast away'. The translator of LXX-Judges apparently derived טרי from Aramaic טרא 'to throw'.

[91] LXX most probably derived this, like BDB 267, from זור 'to press out', which occurs also in Judges 6:38, where Gideon 'wrings out' the dew from his fleece. It is possible that the translator vocalized the verbs in the second part of Isaiah 1:6 as passive forms, like MT, since 1QIsa[a] reads a *pu'al* by the plene writing in ולא חובשו.

[92] Already H.G.L. Williamson, Isaiah 1.11 and the Septuagint of Isaiah, 407.

[93] D. Sly, *Philo's Alexandria*, 155ff. Hellenistic writers took delight in showing their knowledge of medical discoveries, cf. Fowler, *The Hellenistic Aesthetic*, 110f.

[94] Like the Dutch *Groot Nieuws Bijbel* and the *New Living Translation*.

[95] The word רך 'tender, soft' is rendered as μαλακός in Job 40:27; Proverbs 25:15. In Ezekiel 30:21 μάλαγμα is a rendering of חתול 'windings', not of לחבשה, which is translated as δοθῆναι.

ISAIAH 1:7

Ἡ γῆ ὑμῶν ἔρημος, αἱ πόλεις ὑμῶν πυρίκαυστοι· τὴν χώραν ὑμῶν ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν, ἀλλότριοι κατεσθίουσιν αὐτήν, καὶ ἠρήμωται, κατεστραμμένη ὑπὸ λαῶν ἀλλοτρίων.
Your land is desolate, your cities fire-burnt! Your territory, in your presence, foreigners devour it, and it lies desolate, ruined by foreign peoples.

אַרְצְכֶם שְׁמָמָה עָרֵיכֶם שְׂרֻפוֹת אֵשׁ אַדְמַתְכֶם לְנֶגְדְּכֶם זָרִים אֹכְלִים אֹתָהּ וּשְׁמָמָה כְּמַהֲפֵכַת זָרִים׃
Your land is a wilderness, your cities are burnt by fire. Your territory, in your presence, strangers devour it, and a wilderness like the overthrow of strangers.

Greek text In Classical Greek ἔρημος wavered between two and three endings (BDR § 59.2), but the Hellenistic period tipped the balance in favour of two endings. In the LXX no feminine ending occurs.[96]
The first two clauses are verbless (see Genesis 2:4). Whether interference or not, in Greek the nominal clauses may be interpreted as exclamations (BDR § 127).
The meaning that is required for χώρα is 'territory'.[97] Other meanings as 'dry land' opposed to sea and 'countryside' opposed to towns are not suitable here.
Τὴν χώραν ὑμῶν functions here as an *accusativus pendens*, whereby αὐτήν is used pleonastically, strictly speaking. Pleonastic use of pronouns can often be found Koine Greek.[98] The frequency of such pleonastic pronouns, especially in combination with relative clauses, constitutes a statistical Hebraism, as they occur more frequently in translated than in original Greek. The next instance of this phenomenon can already be found in Isaiah 1:21.

Translation It is difficult to say whether the LXX-translator vocalized שממה as a noun, שְׁמָמָה 'wilderness', like MT, or as an adjective, שְׁמֵמָה 'desolate'. Since the Greek ἔρημος is in fact equally ambiguous (it can be either an adjective or a substantively used adjective) we will not count it as a transformation in the sense of this study.
The phrase שרפות אש 'burnt by fire' is compressed into one word, πυρίκαυστος 'fire-burnt'.[99] This transformation shows two things. First, the translator elegantly avoids circumlocutions, *κατακεκαυμέναι πυρί or *κατακεκαυμέναι ὑπὸ πυρός 'burnt by fire'. The latter occurs in Isaiah 9:18, where a concise adjective cannot be employed. Second, the translator does not satisfy himself with κατακεκαυμέναι 'burnt', but keeps the two elements FIRE + BURN visible.
Because both אדמה and χώρα mean 'territory' in this context,[100] we are dealing with a literal translation. This is in fact an incidental overlap between the two words, and this explains why χώρα is no standard rendering of אדמה throughout the Septuagint.
Ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν 'in your presence' has the same meaning as Hebrew לנגדכם and can be considered a literal translation of it.

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[96] Lust, *Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v. ἔρημος ("-ος, -η, -ον"), including its reference to the feminine form ἐρήμη in Genesis 12:9, where all manuscripts read ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, is mistaken.
[97] Cf. LSJ, Louw & Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon,* entry 1.79. Cf. Isaiah 7:18.
[98] Bakker, *Pronomen abundans and pronomen coniunctum*, 19f.
[99] Occurs only in LXX-Isaiah, 1:7; 9:4; 64:10.
[100] For אדמה, see BDB 9b, 5. 'land, territory, country'.

The final clause of 1:7 is somewhat strange in Hebrew, which has led to a slightly different text[101] and to an emendation by modern scholars who read 'Sodom' instead of 'strangers'. But LXX can only be understood as a translation of a consonant text that is identical to MT. The first word, surprisingly vocalized שְׁמָמָה 'wilderness' in MT, was probably vocalized as a verb שָׁמְמָה 'is desolate' by the Septuagint translator and translated literally as ἠρήμωται 'has been laid waste', whereby the perfect tense expresses the result: the utter desolation.

The rendering of כמהפכת זרים 'like the overthrow of strangers' with κατεστραμμένη ὑπὸ λαῶν ἀλλοτρίων 'ruined by foreign peoples' entails a number of transformations. First the translator removed the comparison. He probably did this because a literal translation of the comparison into Greek results in a sentence with a queer logic: 'it has been laid waste *as if* it had been overthrown by strangers.' 'As if' is ill at place, because the context makes clear that the country *has been* ruined by strangers.[102] We are dealing with a non-obligatory omission to improve the logic. The second transformation is a direct consequence of it. Once the comparison has disappeared, מהפכה 'overthrow' cannot be maintained as a noun, but must be transformed into a verb. The third transformation, the explicitation of ὑπό 'by' is then also necessary, for now one must choose whether 'overthrow of strangers' means 'overthrow *of* strangers by others' or 'overthrow *effected by* strangers', in other words, choose between a *genitivus objectivus* and a *genitivus subjectivus*. The fourth transformation is the explicitation of λαοί 'peoples'. The word λαός 'people' does not render a Hebrew word, which means that the choice for λαός 'people' was made consciously. Montevecchi has shown how the Septuagint follows Hellenistic usage in this respect. In the LXX λαός 'people' usually denotes Israel, whereas foreign nations are called ἔθνη. But sometimes a gentile people is referred to as λαός (singular). This happens 'quando un popolo è indicato come una comunità politica, vivente in una città o governata da un sovrano,' a use corresponding to papyrical findings.[103] Ἔθνος in plural, on the other hand, denotes, tribes, clans, nations, peoples, thus with a focus on what we would call 'ethnically homogenous groups'.[104] These observations, together with the historical situation described, explains why the Isaiah translator uses λαοί 'peoples': the country was destroyed by foreign armies, which are socio-political, not ethnic groups.

But we also have to ask: why was λαοί made explicit at all? For surely a mere ἀλλότριοι 'foreigners' is clear enough, as is shown a few words earlier: ἀλλότριοι κατεσθίουσιν αὐτήν 'foreigners [not: foreign nations] devour it'. The rationale has to be sought in semantics.[105] There is a nearly complete correspondence between the verbs הפך and καταστρέφω as both can mean 'to turn upside down' in a literal sense as well as 'to destroy'.[106] It seems that the translator added λαῶν 'nations' to indicate that the metaphorical language of

[101] 1QIsa[a], ושממו עליה כמאפכת זרים.

[102] The emended reading we find e.g. in REB, 'it is as desolate as Sodom after its overthrow' does not have this problem.

[103] O. Montevecchi, LAOS. Linee di una ricerca storico-linguistica, 63. Cf. BDAG s.v. ἔθνος 'a body of persons united by kinship, culture, and common traditions.'

[104] Cf. Louw & Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, entry 11.55, λαός as 'socio-political community'.

[105] It is not probable that the translator inserted λαῶν to avoid an awkward sequence of vowels at word boundaries, as I first thought, because such a sequence occurs also in Isaiah 5:24 (καυθήσεται καλάμη ὑπὸ ἄνθρακος).

[106] For 'to turn upside down', see 4 Kingdoms (MT 2 Kings) 21:13 (a jar); Job 18:4 (mountains); for destruction, see Genesis 19:21ff; Deuteronomy 29:22, where the text also deals with the destruction of Sodom, a reference which is also present in Isaiah 1:9; cf. Isaiah 13:19.

'foreigners devour it' stops here and that καταστρέφω must be understood in the sense of 'destruction', not of 'turning upside down'.

ISAIAH 1:8

Ἐγκαταλειφθήσεται ἡ θυγάτηρ Σιων ὡς σκηνὴ ἐν ἀμπελῶνι καὶ ὡς ὀπωροφυλάκιον ἐν σικυηράτῳ, ὡς πόλις πολιορκουμένη,
The daughter of Sion will be left alone as a tent in a vineyard and as a garden-watcher's hut in a cucumber bed, as a besieged city,

וְנוֹתְרָה בַת־צִיּוֹן כְּסֻכָּה בְכָרֶם כִּמְלוּנָה בְמִקְשָׁה כְּעִיר נְצוּרָה׃
And the daughter of Zion will be left alone as a booth in a vineyard, as a hut in a cucumber-field, as a besieged city.

Greek text In ἡ θυγάτηρ Σιων, the name Σιων functions as a genitive, 'daughter *of* Sion', as shown by related phrases.[107]
The word ἀμπελών 'vineyard' is surprisingly not attested before the Koine period.[108]

Translation There are two minor transformations regarding conjunctions. In Hebrew the verse begins with ו 'and', which introduces 1:8 as the result of the devastations described in 1:7. The LXX-translator omitted it, as he apparently thought that the shocking result in 1:8 would work better without preceding conjunction. In this respect Greek style shows similarities with modern European languages, as modern Bible translations attest. The καί 'and' that does appear in Greek might be an 'addition', as it is lacking from MT. We will not discuss it, however, since 1QIsa[a] reads וכמלונה '<u>and</u> like a hut'.
The rendering of ונותרה with ἐγκαταλειφθήσεται is a literal translation, as both mean 'will be left alone'. These verbs frequently figure as counterparts throughout the Septuagint.[109]
The translation of סכה 'booth' reveals a different mapping of lexemes related to non-permanent structures. The Hebrew סכה means 'booth made of boughs (and leaves)'. As far as I know, Greek has no exact counterpart to it. The Hebrew term is translated with the more generic σκηνή, which means 'place of shelter, freq. of temporary quarters in contrast to fixed abodes of solid construction, *tent, hut*' (BDAG 928). In most cases σκηνή denotes a 'tent', i.e. a structure of wooden poles and skins or tent-cloth, but it can also denote a 'booth', i.e. a structure of boughs and leaves. Dio Chrysostom (1st century AD) speaks of a σκηνὴ μάλα ἰσχυρῶν ξύλων 'a hut of very strong beams' (LSJ). The LXX-translators could then use σκηνή in the sense of 'booth' without problems.[110]

[107] Among others, Isaiah 47:1 θυγάτηρ Βαβυλῶνος … θυγάτηρ Χαλδαίων…
[108] Lee, *Lexical Study*, 107.
[109] I thus cannot follow Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 20, who sees here a 'Stichwortbezug zu V. 4 und vor allem zu 60, 14f.' For the verbal tense, see the discussion of 1:29.
[110] The Festival of Booths is called ἑορτὴ σκηνῶν in Leviticus 23:34 etc. Nehemia 8:15 tells how σκηναί were constructed from branches and leaves.

The transformation from מלונה 'hut, 'abode' to ὀπωροφυλάκιον 'garden-watcher's hut' is a specification that became necessary because the more generic term σκηνή 'tent, booth' had already been used in the previous line.
The Hebrew מקשה, when viewed as related to קשואים 'cucumbers' (Numbers 11:5), means 'cucumber-field' and σικυήρατον 'cucumber-bed' can be considered a literal translation.
A literal translation too is the rendering of כעיר נצורה. This phrase is interpreted by various modern scholars as 'like a besieged city', which is echoed by recent translations.[111] The LXX-translator obviously shared this interpretation.

ISAIAH 1:9

καὶ εἰ μὴ κύριος σαβαωθ ἐγκατέλιπεν ἡμῖν σπέρμα, ὡς Σοδομα ἂν ἐγενήθημεν καὶ ὡς Γομορρα ἂν ὡμοιώθημεν.
and unless the Lord Sabaoth had left us seed, we would have been like Sodoma and have become like Gomorra.

לוּלֵי יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת הוֹתִיר לָנוּ שָׂרִיד כִּמְעָט כִּסְדֹם הָיִינוּ לַעֲמֹרָה דָּמִינוּ׃ ס
Unless the Lord of hosts had left us a remnant – nearly – we would have been like Sodom and have become like Gomorra.

Greek text –

Translation Twice we find an addition of καί to smoothen the transition in Greek. The twofold 'addition' of ἄν, on the other hand, is obligatory (Smyth § 1786f.).
The rendering of ה׳ צבאות 'Yhwh of hosts' with κύριος σαβαωθ 'Lord *sabaoth*' contains a transcription to which much attention has been devoted. *Sabaoth* is typical of LXX-Isaiah, whereas other books use phrases like κύριος παντοκράτωρ 'almighty Lord' and κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων 'Lord of the powers'.[112] As the phrase does not occur in the Pentateuch, the Isaiah translator saw untrodden ground before him. Talshir presents the following development from a study of the manuscripts. The transcription *sabaoth* belongs to the first stage (LXX-Isaiah). At the second stage translators of other books focused on rendering the content, whereby some chose κύριος παντοκράτωρ 'almighty Lord' and a more literal school of translation, probably later, preferred κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων 'Lord of the powers' – according to Talshir. The question that remains is: *why* did the translator resort to a transcription? With his concern for a clear and understandable text, he must have had strong reasons for it.[113] I can think of several possibilities. The first is that the meaning of ה׳ צבאות was de-

[111] E.g., REB, NIV, Genesis. Probably the translator had a vocalization like MT in mind: 'a well guarded city' = 'an inaccessible, thus besieged city'. It is also possible to read the unvocalized form as נְצוּרָה (צור nif.) 'besieged', as proposed in HAL 952, but this is a *derivatio difficilior*.
[112] For details, see Z. Talshir, The Representation of the Divine Epithet צבאות in the Septuagint and the Accepted Division of the Books of Kingdoms, *Jewish Quarterly Review* 78 (1987), 57-75; B.N. Wambacq, *L'épithète divine Jahvé Seba'ôt. Étude philologique, historique et exégétique*, s.l. 1947 (on LXX-Isaiah, see p. 77ff.).
[113] His other transcriptions have a clear functions, e.g. as technical terms. We find σάββατον 'sabbath' (1:13); σικερα (Isaiah 5:22), a name of an exotic alcoholic beverage, like *vodka* in English; σωρεχ

bated among the translator's intended readership, as it is today, and that the translator did not want to estrange certain circles from his work. The second possibility is that he had to reckon with a belief that attributed a magical force to the divine epithet in its Hebrew form. We know of similar taboos in some Greek manuscripts where the divine name is even written in Hebrew characters. Some centuries later, Christian audiences could be shocked when divine and 'untranslatable words' like *amen, alleluia* and *sabaoth* were translated.[114]
The Hebrew שריד is commonly said to mean 'someone surviving or fleeing (from a battle or generally),'[115] but some scholars argue for 'remnant' and this is the meaning that was assumed by the earliest Bible translators.[116] What the text then says is: unless the Lord had allowed a remnant to survive (from the destruction mentioned in vss. 8-9), we would have become like Sodom and Gomorra (from which no one survived). The translation σπέρμα 'seed, offspring' stands in a close logical relationship with the source text (cause → effect), since a remnant is the seed from which the posterity of a nation springs. A literal translation was probably avoided because it results in a repetition of the same root.[117]
The Hebrew word כמעט 'nearly' is not rendered in the Septuagint, not even in manuscripts with many corrections towards MT. Although it appears in 1QIsa[a] as well, it is problematic. First it is unclear where it belongs syntactically. From the close grammatical parallel with Psalm 93 (MT 94):17 it appears that an obvious translation would be:

> Unless the Lord of hosts had left us a remnant, we would *nearly* have been like Sodom and have become like Gomorra,

but this destroys the simile. Already the Masoretic interpunction tried to ensure another, less likely interpretation:

> Unless the Lord of hosts had left us a remnant, *like a little*, we would have been like Sodom and have become like Gomorra.

This sounds more acceptable, but the phrase printed in italics can be missed, as it adds nothing. It is therefore no wonder that commentators have always wondered at כמעט 'nearly', and that Bible translations, from Jerome's Vulgate onwards, have not rendered it.
The rendering of דמינו with ὡμοιώθημεν is a literal translation, as both mean 'we would have become like'.

ISAIAH 1:10

'Ακούσατε λόγον κυρίου, ἄρχοντες Σοδομων· προσέχετε νόμον θεοῦ, λαὸς Γομορρας.

(5:2), which functions like the name of a vine-race, like *Riesling* in English. See further E. Tov, Transliterations of Hebrew words in the Greek Versions. A Further Characteristic of the Kaige-Th Revision? in: Tov, *The Greek and Hebrew Bible*, 501-512.

[114] Marti, *Übersetzer der Augustin-Zeit*, 106. He is probably right that the reason these words were considered 'untranslatable' was not only their semantic richness, but also their supposed magic quality and their popularity in Christian congregations. Incidents could occur when 'novelties' shocked the audience (pp. 136-137). The power of tradition (*consuetudo*) had to be reckoned with.

[115] HAL 1263b.

[116] See Kedar-Kopfstein, art. שׂריד in TWAT VII, 897ff.

[117] Cf. Aquila's translation ἐγκατέλιπεν λεῖμμα and 4 Kingdoms (MT 2 Kings) 10:11 ὥστε μὴ καταλιπεῖν αὐτοῦ κατάλειμμα.

Hear the word of the Lord, rulers of Sodoma, be attentive of the law of God, people of Gomorra!

שִׁמְעוּ דְבַר־יְהוָה קְצִינֵי סְדֹם הַאֲזִינוּ תּוֹרַת אֱלֹהֵינוּ עַם עֲמֹרָה׃
Hear the word of the Lord, rulers of Sodom, listen to the teaching of our God, people of Gomorra!

Greek text –

Translation The names of Sodom and Gomorra occur in a naturalized transcription, since they display the genitive case in this verse.
Unlike in 1:2, the verb האזין 'to listen' was not rendered as ἐνωτίζομαι 'to give ear to', because the translator avoided constructions of ἐνωτίζομαι + object (see 1:2).[118] Instead, the translator employed προσέχω 'to heed to'.
The possessive suffix in אלהינו '<u>our</u> God' is omitted in Greek. To find out why, let us compare the LXX with a modern version, e.g. *Gute Nachricht*:

> (10) Ihr Machthaber von Sodom, hört, was der HERR sagt! Du Volk von Gomorra, vernimm die Weisung unseres Gottes!
> (11) »Was soll ich mit euren vielen Opfern?« fragt der HERR.

As the quotation marks make clear, verse 10 introduces the direct speech of verse 11. The Hebrew word תורה *torah* denotes the immediately following divine speech, and can thus best be translated by 'teaching', as most modern English versions do. This rendering stays close to the primary meaning of *torah* 'teaching, direction'. *Torah* as God's law, written down by Moses, is perhaps adequate in other places, not here. Nevertheless, it seems that the tradition of translating *torah* with νόμος 'law'[119] was so deeply rooted that the Isaiah translator had no choice but to follow it. The consequence of this is that νόμος 'law' can no longer be viewed as an introduction by the prophet of God's direct speech in 1:11. Rather, 1:10 turns into a general appeal, and there is no longer any reason to assume a change of speaker between 1:10 and 1:11. The impression is, then, that God speaks in 1:10-11. And if God speaks in 1:10, it is clear why 'be attentive of the law of <u>our</u> God' cannot stand (in his mouth), and, hence, why the pronoun must be omitted. As this transformation can be explained text-immanently, theological explanations are out of order.[120]
The rendering of קציני סדם with ἄρχοντες Σοδομων can best be considered a literal translation, as both mean 'rulers of Sodom'. Admittedly ἄρχων functions as a rendering of more than thirty different Hebrew terms denoting leadership, which suggests a generalization, but it seems that קצין 'ruler' has a generic meaning too (see HAL). In Isaiah 3:6,7 the Hebrew term is rendered as ἀρχηγός 'leader'. In that context the word denotes a leader as an individual, and not a class of leading citizens, who are more appropriately called ἄρχοντες.

[118] For statistics regarding ἀκούω and προσέχω, see Ekblad, *Isaiah's Servant Poems*, 89ff.
[119] See A.F. Segal, Torah and *nomos* in Recent Scholarly Discussion, in: A.F. Segal, *The Other Judaisms of the Late Antiquity* (Brown Judaic Studies 127), Atlanta 1987, 131-145.
[120] E.g. Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 21 („unterstreicht... die Allgemeingültigkeit dieses Gesetzes"). Such may be the reception of the translated text, but not necessarily the translator's intention.

ISAIAH 1:11

Τί μοι πλῆθος τῶν θυσιῶν ὑμῶν; λέγει κύριος. Πλήρης εἰμὶ ὁλοκαυτωμάτων κριῶν καὶ στέαρ ἀρνῶν, καὶ αἷμα ταύρων καὶ τράγων οὐ βούλομαι.
Why to me the multitude of your sacrifices? – says the Lord. I am satiated of whole-burnt-offerings of rams; and the fat of lambs and the blood of bulls and he-goats I do not desire,

לָמָּה־לִּי רֹב־זִבְחֵיכֶם יֹאמַר יְהוָה שָׂבַעְתִּי עֹלוֹת אֵילִים וְחֵלֶב מְרִיאִים
וְדַם פָּרִים וּכְבָשִׂים וְעַתּוּדִים לֹא חָפָצְתִּי׃
Why to me the multitude of your sacrifices? – says the Lord. I am satiated of burnt-offerings of rams and the fat of fatlings, and the blood of bulls and sheep and he-goats I do not desire.

Greek text In lively questions the verb is sometimes omitted in Koine Greek when the meaning is easily supplied from the context (BDR § 127).

Translation The words for offerings, θυσία 'sacrifice' (זבח), ὁλοκαύτωμα 'whole-burnt-offering' (עולה), αἷμα 'blood' (דם), στέαρ 'fat' (חלב) are the normal renderings. We will consider them as literal translations.
The sacrificial animals receive a treatment of their own:

אילים	'rams'	(=)	κριοί 'rams'
מריאים	'fatlings'		ἄρνες 'lambs'
פרים	'bulls'	(=)	ταῦροι 'bulls'
כבשים	'sheep'		--
עתודים	'he-goats'	(=)	τράγοι 'he-goats'

The counterparts marked by (=) are translated literally in accordance with the LXX-Pentateuch. The deviations are of course interesting. First, the Hebrew פר 'bull' is rendered literally with ταῦρος 'bull', but in the LXX-Pentateuch we find mostly μόσχος 'young bull', only once ταῦρος (Genesis 32:15). It is difficult to guess why the translator used ταῦρος here. One explanation might be that in the Septuagint ταῦρος is used in contexts that stress a bull's strength and aggressiveness,[121] whereas sacrificial contexts prefer μόσχος 'young bull', roughly speaking. It seems to me that ταῦρος is intentionally used in prophetical texts that speak in a depreciatory manner about sacrifices.[122] Another possible explanation is stylistic: τράγοι καὶ ταύροι 'bucks and bulls' gives a nice alliteration and this word pair occurs throughout the LXX as a rendering of different Hebrew expressions and in original Greeks texts as well.[123]
The Hebrew term **מריא** is interpreted by some dictionaries as a generic term for a fatted animal.[124] Ancient translators took it dependent on the context to be a sheep or an ox.[125]

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[121] Exodus 21:28-36; Deuteronomy 33:17f.; Jeremiah 27 (MT 50):11; Psalm 21 (MT 22):12 etc., rendering different Hebrew terms.
[122] Psalm 49 (MT 50):13; Isaiah 1:11; cf. in the NT, Acts 14:13; Hebrews 9:13; 10:4.
[123] Deuteronomy 32:14; Psalm 49 (MT 50):13; Isaiah 1:11; 1 Esdras 8:63; Odes 2:14; Hebrews 9:13; 10:4.
[124] BDB 597a.
[125] Compare e.g. in the LXX 2 Samuel 6:13 with Ezekiel 39:18.

Now our text speaks of חלב מריאים 'the fat of fatlings'. As fat, especially a fat tail, was characteristic of sheep, it is understandable that the translator chose for 'lambs'.
The כבשים 'sheep' are omitted, probably because it is semantically superfluous. Only male sheep (male lambs and rams) were sacrificed, and these have already been mentioned in the Greek text. So כבשים 'sheep' can be omitted without semantic loss in Greek.[126]

ISAIAH 1:12

οὐδ' ἐὰν ἔρχησθε ὀφθῆναί μοι. Τίς γὰρ ἐξεζήτησε ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ὑμῶν; Πατεῖν τὴν αὐλήν μου
nor if you come to appear before me. Who has demanded those [offerings] from your hands? Treading my court

כִּי תָבֹאוּ לֵרָאוֹת פָּנָי מִי־בִקֵּשׁ זֹאת מִיֶּדְכֶם רְמֹס חַצֵרָי׃
If you come to appear [before] my face: who asked that from your hand, to tread my court?

Greek text In Koine Greek the meaning of ἔρχομαι, which originally meant 'to come' and 'to go', had been limited to 'to come' alone.[127]
Ἐκζητέω means here 'to look for something with a view to securing it, *desire, seek to get*' (BDAG 362b).

Translation The unpointed Hebrew text is most plausibly vocalized לִרְאוֹת פני 'to see My face'.[128] For theological reasons MT has the vocalization לֵרָאוֹת פני, resulting in the queer expression 'to appear my face'. This reading tradition was apparently authoritative to the LXX-translators, since we find a rendering with ὀφθῆναι 'to appear' everywhere.[129] This tradition predates the LXX and can therefore not be ascribed to the translators. But the queer collocation of the authoritative reading tradition was handled differently by various translators. In 1 Kingdoms (MT 1 Samuel) 1:22 the 'face' is rendered literally:

καὶ ὀφθήσεται τῷ προσώπῳ κυρίου
and he [Samuel] shall appear before the face of the Lord

This rendering, that we find also in Psalm 41 (MT 42):3, is typical of a later and more literal translation. In the LXX-Pentateuch we find more idiomatic renderings, because in Greek this expression is usually construed without προσώπον 'face', like in Exodus 23:15:

οὐκ ὀφθήσῃ ἐνώπιόν μου κενός
you shall not appear before Me with empty hands

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[126] Contra Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 22. H.G.L. Williamson, Isaiah 1.11 and the Septuagint of Isaiah, is not relevant to our discussion of this verse. Unfortunately, his observations are fragmentary and only partially correct, esp. on p. 409.
[127] Lee, *Lexical Study* 85.
[128] Gray, *Isaiah I-XXVI*, 24. See even Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament* 2, 3ff.
[129] Exodus 23:15; 34:20, 34, 24; Deuteronomy 16:16; 31:11; 1 Kingdoms (MT 1 Samuel) 1:22; Psalm 41 (MT 42):3.

Here the strange element פני is interpreted as if it were a semipreposition like לפני 'before' or אל פני 'before'. The latter one is indeed found in the same context in verse 17 of the same passage. In completely idiomatic Greek ὀφθῆναι + dative is sufficient,[130] as in 3 Kingdoms (MT 1 Kings) 3:16,

> τότε ὤφθησαν δύο γυναῖκες πόρναι τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ἔστησαν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ
> Then two prostitutes appeared before the king and stood before him.

The LXX gives an idiomatic rendering of the Hebrew תבאנה אל־המלך 'came to the king' and is not concerned with a proportional rendering of prepositions and active or passive. This underscores the fact that the Greek expression ὤφθησαν τῷ βασιλεῖ 'appeared before the king' has been chosen purely for its own sake. The Isaiah translator also uses this expression with a mere dative.

The most striking difference between MT and LXX lies in the syntax. This is remarkable, as the syntax of MT is not ambiguous or problematic. Its natural interpretation, reflected in the above working translation, is found in all Bible translations known to me, from Targum and Vulgate onwards, and in both Jewish and Christian commentaries. The Septuagint presents an interpretation of MT whereby the elements of the sentence are grouped differently throughout 1:12-14 and conjunctions with different functions are inserted. Now what prompted the Isaiah translator to depart from the most natural interpretation of the syntax? The Hebrew text says מי־בקש זאת מידכם 'who asked this from your hand?' The verb בקש pi. can be construed with different prepositions. The collocation בקש מן means 'to ask (a favour) from', but בקש מיד, lit. 'to ask from the hand of' means 'to exact payment from', 'to demand compensation from'.[131] In this line it is understandable that 'who asked this *from your hand*' is taken to refer to the just mentioned sacrificial animals. Such an interpretation can be supported by the Pentateuch, for which I give two examples. In Deuteronomy 12:6ff. certain offerings, probably first-fruits, are called 'contributions of your hand'. In Leviticus 7:30, the law of a fellowship- or peace-offering, it is prescribed for non-priestly Israelites:

> ידיו תביאינה את אשי ה׳ את־החלב על־החזה
> *With his own hands* he is to bring the offering made to the LORD by fire; he is to bring the fat, together with the breast… (NIV).

Because of the plurality of sacrifices mentioned it is logical that two changes of accidence (number) occur, viz. זאת 'this thing' → ταῦτα 'these things' and מידכם 'from your hand' → ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ὑμῶν 'from your hands'. To ensure that ταῦτα refers backwards, the translator adds the causal conjunction γάρ 'for'.

The Hebrew בקש pi. 'to seek, ask, exact' is rendered with 17 different Greek verbs throughout the LXX, according to Muraoka's Index. It is understandable that the translation of this verb is highly context-sensitive, depending on the thing asked, sought or demanded. Therefore we will not survey it here.

After the decisions the translator has made so far, he has no other choice but to link the last clause of 1:12 to 1:13, which is possible (cf. NJPS), but not normal in Hebrew:

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[130] See the examples in BDAG 719.

[131] See BDB 135a for the difference. Gray, *Isaiah I-XXVI*, 25 also saw the problem. He stresses: 'יד in such phrases is not *necessarily* literal,' for which he gives some examples.

(12) Πατεῖν τὴν αὐλήν μου (13) οὐ προσθήσεσθε
Treading my court, do not continue [that] = do not continue to tread my court

Regarding חצֵרַי 'my courts' (plural), we have to bear in mind that the Septuagint translators used an unpointed Hebrew text, so that τὴν αὐλήν μου 'my court' (singular) cannot be counted as a transformation. The translator read חצרי as singular 'my court'. It is nevertheless a choice, but one fully in line with the preceding part of the verse, as the translator has rendered it, viz. 'Who has demanded those [offerings] from your hands?' *The* court, i.e. the inner court of the temple, was the place were the sacrifices were brought. MT contains reproach to *all* visitors of the temple precincts.

ISAIAH 1:13

οὐ προσθήσεσθε. Ἐὰν φέρητε σεμίδαλιν, μάταιον· θυμίαμα βδέλυγμά μοί ἐστι· τὰς νουμηνίας ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ σάββατα καὶ ἡμέραν μεγάλην οὐκ ἀνέχομαι. Νηστείαν καὶ ἀργίαν
do not continue [that]. When you bring fine flour, it is vain; incense is an abomination to me; your New Moons and Sabbaths and a great day I do not bear. Fasting and not-working

לֹא תוֹסִיפוּ הָבִיא מִנְחַת־שָׁוְא קְטֹרֶת תּוֹעֵבָה הִיא לִי חֹדֶשׁ וְשַׁבָּת קְרֹא מִקְרָא לֹא־אוּכַל אָוֶן וַעֲצָרָה׃
Do not continue to bring meaningless gifts! They are a sacrifice of abomination to me. Your New Moon and Sabbath, the calling of a convocation I do not bear iniquity and a solemn assembly.

Greek text The term βδέλυγμα 'abomination' was for a long time considered unique to LXX and NT, but has now been found outside it.[132]
Although the plural form τὰ σάββατα[133] can denote a single Sabbath day (BDAG 909a), the parallel with τὰς νουμηνίας 'the New Moons', a festival that is less frequent than the Sabbath, makes it probable that we have here a genuine plural.

Translation The Hebrew term מנחה can mean 'gift', 'tribute', 'offering' in a general sense and has been rendered accordingly in Greek. In the Pentateuch it often occurs in the specialized sense of 'grain offering'. According to Leviticus 2:1ff. this grain offering consisted of σεμίδαλις 'fine flour'. In the context of Isaiah 1, dealing with temple and cult, the translator chose for a specification.[134]
With respect to syntax, we have already seen that the translator linked the first two words of 1:13 to 1:12. This had grave consequences for the translation of the rest of 1:13. The words הביא מנחת שוא 'to bring meaningless gifts' were now severed from their natural syntax. The rendering of this phrase then became a problem. With the phrase about the incense the translator was again on safe ground, where he could provide a literal representation of the Hebrew.[135] The translator then made the remaining three words הביא מנחת שוא

[132] Lee, *Lexical Study*, 47, n.1; cf. BDAG 172a.
[133] Perhaps a semi-plural as a loan word from Aramaic, see Lee, *Lexical Study* 16.
[134] This is not noted correctly in Hatch & Redpath's *Concordance* nor in Muraoka's *Index*.
[135] But cf. the interpretation by Gray, *Isaiah I-XXVI*, 25, reflected in the *New Jerusalem Bible* and the Dutch *NBG51*, where קטרת is interpreted not as incense, but as the smoke of the offerings in general.

into an independent sentence without regard for their grammatical form (transformations underlined):

הביא מנחת שוא	to bring meaningless gifts
Ἐὰν φέρητε σεμίδαλιν, μάταιον	<u>When you</u> bring fine flour, <u>it is vain</u>;

The translator added a conjunction, turned the verb into a second person plural, broke up the Hebrew construct state and gave the attributive noun שוא 'vanity'[136] the function of a predicate.

The final part of 1:13 has a difficult syntax: the verb לא אוכל 'I cannot bear' seems to have two objects and modern translations take pains to overcome this. The NIV inserts dashes, suggesting an anacoluthon. The *Gute Nachricht*, aiming for natural speech, needs several additions (underlined) to make decent German out of it:

> New Moons, Sabbaths and convocations -- I cannot bear your evil assemblies.
>
> <u>Ihr feiert</u> den Neumond, den Sabbat und andere Feste; ich kann sie nicht ausstehen, <u>solange ihr nicht von</u> euren Verbrechen <u>laßt</u>.

The Septuagint translator of Isaiah solved this problem by connecting νηστείαν καὶ ἀργίαν 'fasting and resting' to 1:14. (Verse divisions did not exist in ancient manuscripts.) But this connection forced the translator to add the conjunction καί 'and' at the beginning of 1:14.

The names of the Israelite festivals are singular in Hebrew, but they have a collective sense here. It is understandable that the Greek translator, followed by his modern colleagues, renders the names in plural (change of accidence). The addition of the possessive pronoun in τὰς νουμηνίας ὑμῶν '*your* New Moons' is an anaphoric translation, imported from 1:14. The translator probably wants to stress already in 1:13 the thought from 1:14, that the prophet is not denouncing the festivals as such but '*your* New Moons', i.e. 'the festivals the way you celebrate them'.

Before ἡμέραν μεγάλην 'great day' the conjuction καί 'and' is obligatorily added.

The transformation of קרא מקרא 'the calling of a convocation' into ἡμέραν μεγάλην 'a great day' is a complicated issue. First we have to look at the meaning of the Hebrew. The phrase מקרא קדש 'holy assembly' often occurs in the Pentateuch.[137] On the first and seventh day of Pesach, on Rosh Hashana (as it is called today), on the Day of Atonement and on the first and eighth day of the Feast of Tabernacles holy assemblies must be held according to Leviticus 23. Work is not permitted. The meaning of קרא מקרא in Isaiah 1:13 is then: the calling of such holy assemblies on the occasion of festivals. The translation '[Your Sabbaths, New Moons] *and other festivals*' that is common with Jewish and Christian commentators as well as in translations from Jerome to the present day, hits the mark. It seems probable that this was obvious to the Greek translator of Isaiah too. Now in the LXX-Pentateuch מקרא קדש 'holy assembly' is often rendered as (ἡμέρα) κλητὴ ἁγία '(a day) called holy'.[138] The Isaiah translator could not use this rendering, because the element קדש

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[136] In the rendering of שׁוא 'vanity' with μάταιον, the translator followed the LXX-Pentateuch (Exodus 20:7; 23:1; Deuteronomy 5:11, 20).

[137] Exodus 12:16; Leviticus 23:2f., 4, 7f., 27, 35f.; Numbers 28:18, 25f. 29:1, 7, 12.

[138] According to Lust, *Greek-English Lexicon* II, 258a, the Pentateuch translators vocalized it as מִקְרָא קדֹשׁ 'called holy' (participle pu'al). Some scholars still regard κλητή as a neologism meaning 'convocation' but this is questionable: in that case the Isaiah translator could have written καὶ τὰ σάββατα καὶ κλητὰς ἁγίας οὐκ ἀνέχομαι. See further the convincing and detailed discussion in

'holy' is lacking in 1:13. How did he solve this problem? The answer depends on how we interpret ἡμέρα μεγάλη 'great day'. The first possible explanation is that the translator opted for a *generalization*, ἡμέρα μεγάλη 'great day'. We know this expression also from John 7:37, where it denotes the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles. There has been a debate whether the seventh or the eighth day is meant. Barrett, after reviewing all arguments, arrives at a choice for the eighth day,[139] the day on which a holy assembly took place. The second possible explanation is *specification*. There are sources that testify to a specific meaning of ἡμέρα μεγάλη, viz. Day of Atonement. I give two quotes from early Christian literature (2nd century AD):

> καὶ ἐὰν μὴ σελήνη φανῇ, σάββατον οὐκ ἄγουσι τὸ λεγόμενον πρῶτον, οὐδὲ νεομηνίαν ἄγουσιν οὔτε ἄζυμα οὔτε ἑορτὴν οὔτε μεγάλην ἡμέραν
> and if there appears no moon, they do not observe a Sabbath called the first, nor do they observe a New Moon, nor Unleavened Bread, nor the Feast nor the Great Day.[140]

> ... sie beobachten die Sabbathe und die Neumonde und die ungesäuerten Brote und den grossen < Tag > und das Fasten und die Beschneidung und die Reinheit der Speisen.[141]

Its appearance among other annual festivals like Passover and the Feast of Tabernacles helps us to understand that ἡμέρα μεγάλη means here Day of Atonement. The church father Justin actually made Isaiah 1:13 deal with the Day of Atonement, for he reshapes our text in the following fashion:

> καὶ μεγάλην ἡμέραν νηστείας καὶ ἀργίαν οὐκ ἀνέχομαι[142]
> and a great day of fasting as well as not-working I do not bear
> [instead of:]
> καὶ ἡμέραν μεγάλην οὐκ ἀνέχομαι. Νηστείαν καὶ ἀργίαν
> and a great day I do not bear. Fasting and not-working…

With a reference to the sources just mentioned, Seeligmann states it is clear that by ἡμέρα μεγάλη the Septuagint translator means the Day of Atonement.[143] There are indications that support this view. First, the translator wants 'New Moon and Sabbath' to be understood

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excursus XI 'מקרא קדש in the Greek and Latin Bibles' in P. Walters (Katz), *The Text of the Septuagint. Its Corruptions and Their Emendation*, Cambridge 1973, 244-246.

[139] C.K. Barrett, *The Gospel According to St. John*, London 1955, 269; more recently F.J. Moloney, *The Gospel of John* (Sacra Pagina Series 4), Collegeville 1998, 256. To Barrett's arguments we can now add a new one from Isaiah 1:13, viz. that ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ μεγάλη 'the great day' is that day in which a מקרא קדש 'holy assembly' was held, which is the eighth day.

[140] 'The Feast' is almost certainly the Feast of Tabernacles, in accordance with the rabbinic חגא, while 'the Great Day' corresponds to יומא רבא. The quote is from the Praedicatio Petri, in Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata Buch I-VI* (ed. O. Stählin, L. Früchtel), Berlin 1960, 452 (Stromata VI, Chapter V).

[141] Translation of a Syriac manuscript by R. Seeberg, *Die Apologie des Aristides* (Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur, V, II), Erlangen und Leipzig 1893, 393. Note that the Syriac manuscript reads ܥܕܝ ܥܕܐ 'Great Fast' instead of ܥܕܝ ܥܕܐ 'Great Day'. The text printed here is emended by Seeberg.

[142] Justin's Apologia XXXVII, 5 in: E.J. Goodspeed, *Die ältesten Apologeten. Texte mit kürzen Einleitungen*, Göttingen 1915.

[143] Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah*, 102. Already suggested by Frankel, *Über die Einflüsse der palästinischen Exegese*, 98.

collectively, and he therefore renders it in plural: 'New Moons and Sabbaths'. He could have written likewise *ἡμέρας μεγάλας 'great days', but he keeps ἡμέραν μεγάλην singular, thus suggesting a specific day. Second, the absence of an article in Isaiah 1:13 as well as in the *Praedicatio Petri* may point to the use of ἡμέρα μεγάλη as a standard term, close to a proper name.[144] The question has then to be answered: why did the translator give such a specific translation and inserted the Day of Atonement in a reproaching context? The answer lies in the fact that the theme is right ritual without right behaviour. And of all Jewish festivals, the Day of Atonement is susceptible of ritualistic misuse. In every generation there may be people who 'stretch out their hands to the Lord and multiply their prayers' on Yom Kippur in order to receive atonement, while the day after 'their hands are full of blood' again. (Note the paraphrase of 1:15.) Seeligmann's theory can stand the test, in my opinion. It seems that the translator, forced to abandon a literal rendering in the style of the LXX-Pentateuch, availed himself of the opportunity to introduce a specification.

An intriguing deviation occurs in און ועצרה 'iniquity and a solemn assembly', attested in MT and 1QIsa[a], while the Septuagint reads νηστείαν καὶ ἀργίαν 'fasting and resting'. Isaiah 58, the chapter on fasting and right behaviour, does not give us a clue. Some scholars believe that the LXX reflects a more original Hebrew text and the opposing viewpoint holds that MT is original and that LXX was derived from it. A survey of the question is presented by Koenig, who belongs to the former camp.[145] His own proposal is that νηστεία 'fasting' represents a different Hebrew text, namely צום. This word always means 'fasting', but on the analogy of an Arabic root Koenig proposes a צום II, meaning 'iniquity'. What happened, in his view? In the original Hebrew text the prophet denounced several festivals, among them צום ועצרה 'fasting and solemn assemblies'. Since fasting had acquired an important role after the exile, a copyist found this condemnation annoying and interpreted צום I 'fasting' as צום II 'iniquity'. He then replaced what he considered an ambiguous homonym by the unambiguous און 'iniquity'. The resulting Hebrew text, represented by MT and 1QIsa[a], now denounced 'iniquity combined with solemn assemblies', surely a proposition that no one would disagree with – so far Koenig's hypothesis.[146]

The opposite viewpoint is that MT און ועצרה 'iniquity and a solemn assembly' is original. The Septuagint translators either gave an anaphoric translation after Joel 1:14; 2:15, where עצרה 'solemn assembly' and צום 'fasting' are likewise mentioned in one breath,[147] or they applied creative semantics in a way which is foreign to modern students.[148]

An evaluation of this issue is far from simple. We have to dig deeper. It seems to me that the two viewpoints differ regarding the following questions especially:

1 What were the motives for the change, in either theory?
2 By which mechanism did the change take place?

As to the first question, a theological softening of צום 'fasting' into און 'iniquity' is admittedly more probable than the reverse, as scholars have long recognized. Why should a translator have altered a condemnation of iniquity into a condemnation of fasting? It is not surprising that scholars who retain MT remain silent on this issue. They seem to assume that the rendering νηστεία 'fasting' was unconscious and therefore unmotivated. The

[144] Smyth § 1140; BDR § 254.
[145] Koenig, *L'herméneutique analogique*, 414-424.
[146] The idea that LXX reflects a more original Hebrew reading is shared by other scholars, among them Gray, *Isaiah I-XXVI*, 21.
[147] For references, see Koenig, *L'herméneutique analogique*, 417.
[148] Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 22 suggests that און was derived from ענה נפש and עצרה from עצל.

second question is more easily answered by these scholars as we saw. The change, they say, represents an anaphorical translation, imported from Joel. But now there is a silence in the opposite camp. In fact, Koenig's hypothesis about צום as a homonym is the only attempt to explain by which mechanism the change entered the text. However, I find Koenig's appeal to Arabic to postulate the existence of צום II 'iniquity' unconvincing. For with help of Arabic one can prove virtually everything, and besides, Hebrew really is in no dearth of words for sin and iniquity, so the 'discovery' of a new one strikes me as *recherché*. Another possible explanation is that a scribe simply replaced the condemnation of fasting with a condemnation of iniquity for theological reasons.[149] A third possibility is palaeographic. Since MT agrees with 1QIsa[a], the reading must have developed roughly before 100 BC. The graphic similarity of צום and און in ancient manuscripts may lie at the bottom of the replacement. First, although א and צ do not appear in textbooks as a pair of letters that are easily confused, their upper parts are similar, in print as well as in manuscripts. Confusion is not unthinkable, especially if the lower part is blurred.[150] Second, the change of נ, or more correctly נו, into מ can be documented (ligature), and vice versa.[151] In Hebrew manuscripts 'spaces between words were often very narrow and this accounts for some confusion.'[152] Thus a copyist could divide words differently from his original or he could (erroneously) repeat the beginning letter of a word at the end of the preceding word or vice versa.[153] Furthermore, the use of the final letters ן, ם, ף, ץ, ך developed gradually in the Persian period but they were not used consistently. Tov concludes from this that '[t]he orthographic conventions about the use of final letters […] allow us to disregard the final forms of מנצפ"כ in all Hebrew texts for purposes of reconstructing variants from the LXX and of comparing the Hebrew manuscripts with the ancient translations.'[154] If the original reading has been *צום ועצרה, the following scribal development is possible (from right to left):

(1QIsa[a]) און ועצרה < *אונועצרה < *צומועצרה

To conclude, assuming the priority of *צום ועצרה 'fasting and a solemn assembly' can answer more questions than assuming the priority of MT in this case. I am therefore inclined to believe that the Septuagint's parent text read *צום ועצרה, hence we are not dealing with a transformation.

The term עצרה / עצרת means 'solemn assembly, holiday'. The LXX-Pentateuch renders it as ἐξόδιον 'closing day' (of a festival).[155] This rendering does not fit into the context of Isaiah 1:13. The translator rendered it with ἀργία 'not-working' instead. We can regard it as a specification, as work was not permitted on holidays. It is also possible to assume that the translator derived the noun from עצר 'withdrawing from labour'.[156] In this case the transla-

[149] Such changes are attested, see Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 258ff.
[150] See F.M. Cross, Paleography and the Dead Sea Scrolls (esp. plates 9, 10), in P.W. Flint and J.C. Vanderkam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years. A Comprehensive Assessment* I, Leiden 1998, 379-402. From my experience beginning students of Hebrew sometimes confuse א and צ.
[151] Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 249; cf. Delitzsch, *Lese- und Schreibfehler*, 120f.
[152] Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 252.
[153] Delitzsch, *Lese- und Schreibfehler*, 15.
[154] Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint*, 145.
[155] Leviticus 23:26; Numbers 29:35; Deuteronomy 16:8. Cf. G. Dorival, *Les Nombres* (La Bible d'Alexandrie 4), Paris 1994, 509.
[156] HAL 824b, 825a.

tor took up the sense of this verb and rendered עצרה lit. 'stopping' literally with ἀργία (< ἄ-εργια 'not-working').

ISAIAH 1:14

καὶ τὰς νουμηνίας ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς ὑμῶν μισεῖ ἡ ψυχή μου· ἐγενήθητέ μοι εἰς πλησμονήν· οὐκέτι ἀνήσω τὰς ἁμαρτίας ὑμῶν·
and your New Moons and your festivals my soul hates; you have become to me unto satiety; I will not forgive your sins any more:

חָדְשֵׁיכֶם וּמוֹעֲדֵיכֶם שָׂנְאָה נַפְשִׁי הָיוּ עָלַי לָטֹרַח נִלְאֵיתִי נְשֹׂא׃
Your New Moons and your festivals my soul hates: they have become a burden to me, I am weary of bearing them.

Greek text –

Translation The first half of this verse is translated literally and needs no discussion, apart from the addition of καί (explained under 1:13). Note the Hebraistic repetition of the possessive pronoun (see Genesis 2:24).
The transformations in the second half of the verse are a consequence of the fact that the second half of 1:14 is seen by the Septuagint translator not as the continuation of the preceding words, but as a connection to 1:15. The reasons for this unexpected and unique interpretation are probably the following. First, the translator could know טרח from Deuteronomy 1:14 where it is rendered with κόπος, denoting the trouble caused by disputes among the Israelites. From this perspective it stands to reason to connect טרח to people rather than to festivals (as modern scholars do). Second, נלאיתי נשא 'I am weary of bearing/forgiving' can be seen as an anticipation of the parallel formulas 'I will hide my eyes from you' and 'I will not listen' in 1:15. Third, since the sequel of 1:14 is concerned with sins, it is not so far-fetched to take נשא in its possible meaning 'to forgive'.
This interpretation results in a change of accidence, as the translator had to adapt the third person היו 'they are' into ἐγενήθητε 'you are'. Such transitions frequently happen in prophetic literature, as we saw (1:4). In the framework of the LXX interpretation the explicitation of τὰς ἁμαρτίας ὑμῶν commends itself. It is linguistically obligatory.[157]
The translator interpreted טרח as 'trouble', as we saw, and softened it into πλησμονή 'satiety', probably for theological reasons: the Israelites are not a trouble or a hardship for God, but He has enough of their behaviour. Satiety is the stage which logically precedes feelings of trouble (effect → cause).
The transformation of נלאיתי 'I am weary of …' into οὐκέτι [ἀνήσω] 'I will no longer…' is an excellent example of a translation that gives the effect instead of the cause. The change of word class is a corollary of it.

[157] Already in Leviticus 4:20ff. the word ἁμαρτία is made explicit. In Numbers 14:20, the use of ἀνίημι without object is avoided in another way (ἵλεως αὐτοῖς εἰμι). That the object is obligatory precludes Wilk's claim, Vision wider Judäa, 23, that it is designed to refer to LXX-Joshua 24:19.

ISAIAH 1:15

ὅταν τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτείνητε πρός με, ἀποστρέψω τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου ἀφ' ὑμῶν· καὶ ἐὰν πληθύνητε τὴν δέησιν, οὐκ εἰσακούσομαι ὑμῶν· αἱ γὰρ χεῖρες ὑμῶν αἵματος πλήρεις.
when you stretch out the hands to me, I will turn away my eyes from you; and if you make many supplications, I will not listen to you, for your hands are full of blood.

וּבְפָרִשְׂכֶם כַּפֵּיכֶם אַעְלִים עֵינַי מִכֶּם גַּם כִּי־תַרְבּוּ תְפִלָּה אֵינֶנִי שֹׁמֵעַ יְדֵיכֶם דָּמִים מָלֵאוּ׃
When you stretch out your hands, I will hide my eyes from you; even if you multiply prayers, I will not listen. Your hands are full of blood;

Greek text –

Translation The first clause contains a series of minor transformations designed to create good Greek. In Hebrew it consists of preposition + infinitive, in Greek it becomes a temporal clause (obligatory change of syntactic structure). The verse does not begin with the conjunction καί ('omission'), as this verse does not add but *explains* how God's unwillingness to forgive works out. The translator does not render the possessive suffix in כפיכם '*your* hands' for reasons we are familiar with,[158] and כף lit. 'hollow hand' is generalized into χεῖρ 'hand, arm' (obligatory). Fourth, the predicate and object change positions in accordance with the demands of Greek syntax (BDR § 472). Finally the translator makes it clear that spreading out hands is a gesture of prayer, which he makes explicit, ὅταν τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτείνητε πρός με 'When you stretch out the hands to me'.
A modification takes place in the rendering of אעלים עיני מכם 'I will hide my eyes from you'. In Greek God does not hide his eyes, but turns them away (ἀποστρέψω). The Hebrew expression occurs in the Pentateuch but with a different meaning, which the LXX renders with ὑπεροράω 'to overlook' (Leviticus 20:4). This meaning does not fit here. It is probable that the Isaiah translator was inspired by the Hebrew expression for the hiding of the *face*, הסתר פנים, which the LXX-Pentateuch renders with ἀποστρέψω τὸ πρόσωπόν μου 'I will turn away my face'.[159]
Καί 'and, even' is the only possible rendering of גם 'even'.[160] So it is not immediately obvious whether καί means 'and' or 'even' here; the distinction is a matter of intonation.
A typically Hebrew idiom is הרבה תפלה 'to multiply prayer'. English would say 'to offer many prayers' or 'to pray frequently', thus expressing the idea of frequency with an adjective or an adverb. Greek does it likewise. It is then surprising to see that the translator refrained from a transformation but rendered literalle πληθύνητε τὴν δέησιν 'you multiply the prayer'. He probably was influenced by the LXX-Pentateuch, where the root רבה is consistently rendered with πληθύνω. But it seems that the translator, with his growing experience, regretted this Hebraism,[161] for later on we find idiomatic renderings like πολλὰ ᾄσον 'sing many songs' (23:16) and ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀφήσει τὰς ἁμαρτίας ὑμῶν 'he shall abun-

[158] See 1:3; Smyth § 1121, 1199. Surmising a different *Vorlage* (Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 23) is too quick.
[159] Deuteronomy 31:17, 18; 32:20, adopted in Isaiah 1:15; 8:17; 50:6; 53:3; 54:8; 57:17; 59:2; 64:7.
[160] Cf. Psalm 22(MT 23):4; Hosea 9:16 for similar renderings of גם כי.
[161] Cf. LSJ. The Hebraism is not found in the NT either.

dantly pardon your sins' (55:7). The Hebrew term for prayer, תפלה, which is most often rendered as προσευχή throughout the Septuagint, is here rendered with δέησις for contextual reasons. This more specific word for prayer focuses on the content: "that which is asked with urgency based on presumed need – 'request, plea, prayer'."[162] The need in the context of Isaiah 1 is the urgent national distress described in 1:5-8.
The specification of שמע 'hören' into εἰσακούω 'erhören' is obligatory and occurs very often in the LXX (3 columns in Hatch & Redpath). I deliberately give a German translation because Hebrew and English do not have this distinction. The explicitation of the object ὑμῶν 'to you' is obligatory, as in 1:19, 20.
The addition of the causal conjunction γάρ 'for' illustrates the translator's effort to create a coherent passage. As demanded by Greek grammar, the translator turns plural דמים lit. 'bloods, bloodshed' into singular αἷμα 'blood'. Only very literally translated books like Kingdoms and Psalms have plural αἵματα.[163]

ISAIAH 1:16

Λούσασθε, καθαροὶ γένεσθε, ἀφέλετε τὰς πονηρίας ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου, παύσασθε ἀπὸ τῶν πονηριῶν ὑμῶν,
Bathe, become clean, remove the evil deeds from your souls from before my eyes, stop with your evil deeds,

רַחֲצוּ֙ הִזַּכּ֔וּ הָסִ֥ירוּ רֹ֛עַ מַעַלְלֵיכֶ֖ם מִנֶּ֣גֶד עֵינָ֑י חִדְל֖וּ הָרֵֽעַ׃
Bathe, makes yourselves clean, remove the evil of your deeds before my eyes, stop doing evil.

Greek text Ἀπέναντι is rare in the Septuagint. It occurs only here and in 17:17, where chaff is driven away before the wind. This preposition expresses the notion of removal.
Παύομαι is normally construed with a genitive. The collocation with ἀπό is probably Hebraistic, as it occurs chiefly in literally translated books.

Translation The rendering of רחץ 'to wash, bathe' with λούομαι 'to bathe' is literal. Alternatives refer to specific forms of washing, viz. νίπτω of hands or feet and (ἐκ)πλύνω of linen and clothes (LSJ 1062a).
The translation of הזכו 'make yourselves clean' with καθαροὶ γένεσθε 'become clean' can be termed literal. A rendering of זכך, זך and זכה – it is not clear from which the LXX derived the above form – with καθαρός can be found elsewhere.[164]
The generic term רעׂ 'evil' is translated literally with a Greek word that is equally generic, viz. πονηρία, but with a change of accidence (number), because the context suggests that the people of Judah are charged with many sins.
The verb הסיר 'to take away, remove' is literally translated with ἀφαιρέω.

[162] Louw & Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, entry 33.171, cf. BDAG 213b. The term understandably often occurs in papyrus letters from Egypt.
[163] Once in a 'free translation', Proverbs 29:10, where perhaps 'streams of blood' (LSJ) is meant.
[164] Leviticus 24:2, 7; Job 8:6; 11:4; 15:15; 16:18(17); 25:5; 33:9; and καθαριόω in Lamentations 4:7.

The Hebrew term מעלל 'deed' was known to the translator (3:10). The resulting clause as a whole, however, has a Hebraistic ring:

ἀφέλετε τὰς πονηρίας ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν
remove the evil deeds from your souls

The transition from רע מעלליכם 'wickedness of your deeds' into '…evil deeds from your souls' is hard to explain within semantic categories. We saw that the Isaiah translator aims for idiomatic Greek. The presence of a distinct Hebraism suggests that he was trying to render a Hebrew expression literally. Govett has proposed that the translator read his Hebrew *Vorlage* not as הסירו רע מעלליכם 'remove the evil of your deeds', but as *הסירו רע מעל לבכם 'remove the evil from your heart', an explanation that has the beauty and the force of simplicity.[165] It is not probable that this reading ever existed in a manuscript, only in the translator's mind.[166] The *לב 'heart' was then rendered as ψυχή 'soul' (modification). As a rule, in the LXX-Pentateuch לב 'heart' is translated as καρδία 'heart', sometimes as νοῦς or διάνοια 'mind, attention,'[167] or yet differently but never as ψυχή 'soul'. The Isaiah translator follows his own instinct, though not consistently.[168] I would propose that the modification in 1:16 has to do with the sequence of body parts in 1:15-16:

כפיכם עיני ידיכם דמים *לבכם עיני
your hands, my eyes, your hands, blood, *your heart, my eyes.

In 6:10 we find a similar enumeration of body parts and there the translator gives a literal rendering (of the body parts, at least):

Ἐπαχύνθη γὰρ ἡ καρδία τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν αὐτῶν βαρέως ἤκουσαν καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκάμμυσαν, μήποτε ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν ἀκούσωσιν καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ συνῶσιν καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσιν καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς.
For the heart of this people has become fat, and with their ears they hear difficultly, and their eyes have they closed; lest they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and be converted, and I should heal them.

Before we can understand this metaphorical language, we have to understand its literal meaning: 'heart' is literal, 'fat' is literal, but the 'fattened heart' is a metaphor. To make the metaphor work, the translator renders its elements literally, and the metaphor of the 'fattened heart' comes home to the Greek reader thanks to the association of 'fat' with 'dull', which also exists in Greek. In Isaiah 1:16, however, we find a mixture of metaphorical and non-metaphorical language. 'Hands full of blood' is metaphorical. But *'remove the evil from your heart' is a mixture of metaphorical ('remove', 'heart') and non-metaphorical language ('evil'). Besides, the use of καρδία 'heart' in this context could cause unnecessary

[165] Quoted in Ottley, *The Book of Isaiah* II, 107. Taken up by Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah*, 54; Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 24. Koenig, *L'herméneutique analogique*, 109 with his curious theory was apparently unaware of this proposal.
[166] A 'pseudo-variant', in the terminology of Tov, *Text-Critical Use*, 162.
[167] Exodus 7:23; 9:21. Cf. Isaiah 10:7, 12.
[168] Isaiah 7:2, 2, 4; 10:7; 13:7; 24:7; 33:18; 42:25. (We nowhere find καρδία 'heart' as a rendering of נפש 'soul'.) In 7:2, 4; 13:7; 33:18 fear and in 24:7 (cf. 30:29; 65:14) joy are located in the ψυχή 'soul'. In 10:7 it seems that ψυχή 'soul' rather than καρδία 'heart' is used because it is closer to νοῦς 'mind'. The impression that the translator associates rational faculties with the ψυχή 'soul' is strengthened by 44:19, where דעת 'knowledge, understanding' becomes ψυχή in Greek (!). The rational faculty of attention is also at stake in 42:25 and may there explain the transition from לב 'heart' to ψυχή 'soul'.

speculations in the light of the contemporary debate on the nature of the soul. It could be read as support for the Stoic view of the heart as the reigning part (ἡγεμονικόν) of the soul. But it could also be connected with Plato's tripartite conception of the soul, whereby the brain (ἐγκέφαλος) constituted the regent part, whereas the heart was the seat of passions like courage and fear, and finally the belly the seat of the lowest animal drives.[169] In that light a literally translated text would get a Platonic ring by suggesting that evil is located in the heart and not in the rational brain. The translator avoided 'heart' and made the whole clause non-metaphorical by using a term that no one could object to:[170]

> ἀφέλετε τὰς πονηρίας ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν
> remove the evil deeds from your souls.

The translation of **מנגד עיני** 'from in front of my eyes' has been translated precisely with ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου. In the next line the translator took a Hebraism for granted, viz. παύομαι + ἀπό (where MT lacks a preposition!). The result is that ἀπό occurs thrice in succession: ἀπό, ἀπέναντι, ἀπό, perhaps for rhetorical effect.

ISAIAH 1:17

Μάθετε καλὸν ποιεῖν, ἐκζητήσατε κρίσιν, ῥύσασθε ἀδικούμενον, κρίνατε ὀρφανῷ καὶ δικαιώσατε χήραν,
Learn to do well, seek judgement diligently, deliver him that is suffering wrong, pronounce judgement for the orphan and do right to the widow,

לִמְדוּ הֵיטֵב דִּרְשׁוּ מִשְׁפָּט אַשְּׁרוּ חָמוֹץ שִׁפְטוּ יָתוֹם רִיבוּ אַלְמָנָה׃ ס
Learn to do well, seek justice, lead the oppressor straight [?], help the orphan to his right, plead the cause of the widow.

Greek text Ἐκζητέω means 'to exert effort to find out or learn something, *seek out, search for*' (BDAG 302). The nuance of considerable effort distinguishes it from ζητέω, as John Chrysostom noticed:[171]

> ὅπερ πολλοῦ πόνου δεῖται καὶ νηφούσης ψυχῆς. Διὸ καὶ Ἐκζητήσατε εἶπε.
> … which demands considerable effort and an attentive soul. That's why he said Ἐκζητήσατε.

Κρίσις normally means 'the act of making decisions and judgements'. Our context, however, demands a more abstract meaning: 'administration of what is right and fair, *right* in the sense of *justice / righteousness*' (BDAG 569b, 3). But the examples in BDAG are weak,

[169] The use of καρδία for 'intellect' was mainly restricted to Stoic philosophy, to which the translator apparently did not want to subscribe with a literal translation. The Stoic belief that the soul was governed by the heart had received hard blows since the discovery of the nerval system and its connections to the brain by the Alexandrian (!) scientists Erasistratus and Herophilus (c. 280 BC), but Chrysippus of Soloi (3rd century BC) continued to defend it. Cf. Tieleman, *Galen and Chrysippus on the Soul* (I thank Prof. Simo Knuuttila of Helsinki University for this reference). Neither did the translator subscribe to the opposite (Platonic) school by using ἐγκέφαλος 'brain'.
[170] Cf. what the translator did in 13:7; 35:2-4.
[171] Jean Chrysostome, *Commentaire sur Isaïe*, 74, with my own translation.

the majority drawn from the New Testament in Septuagint quotations. The abstract sense of righteousness is not convincingly attested in Greek. After centuries of exposure to Septuagint Greek, Cyril of Alexandria had to paraphrase it to get the message across:

> ἐκζητήσατε κρίσιν, τοῦτ' ἐστι, τὸ κρίνειν ὀρθῶς
> seek judgement diligently, which means judging *right*

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In normal Koine Greek the clause κρίνατε ὀρφανῷ means 'decide a dispute for the orphan'. In this context it has to be understood in the positive sense, but I doubt if a definition in this sense has to be part of a lexical entry, like in BDAG 569a, 6 'to ensure justice for someone, see to it that justice is done', with a mere reference to LXX-Isaiah 1:17! This evidence, taken from translation Greek, is really too meagre for that.
Regarding δικαιόω we know that it underwent an extension of meaning in the LXX compared to Koine Greek.[173] In normal Greek it means 'to deem right, claim' and 'to do a man justice', which most often means 'to punish' (LSJ). Doing right in the favourable sense of 'vindicating' or 'setting free' is a meaning that is only known to us through the Septuagint and the literature dependent on it. As a contextual meaning it can easily be guessed from some contexts without recourse to the Hebrew,[174] and apparently the semantic extension it requires became part of religious vocabulary. Greek church fathers did not explain it.

Translation As we saw above, κρίσις 'judgement' seems a bit ill at place in the Greek text. Why did the translator not choose for a more abstract counterpart of משפט 'judgement, justice'? Δίκη had to be left aside because it bears a strong connotation of 'vengeance', unsuitable in this context. A better alternative would be δικαιοσύνη 'justice'. But the strange thing is that it renders the frequent משפט 'justice' only in 61:8 and Proverbs 8:20; 16:11. I have the impression that the Isaiah translator did not use δικαιοσύνη 'justice' for משפט 'justice', because the former had already been reserved for צדק and צדקה, as appears from Hatch & Redpath's *Concordance*. Not only because of 1:21, but rather because the division of these 'equivalents' was a firmly rooted tradition from the LXX-Pentateuch.
The phrase אשרו חמוץ is rendered in most ancient and modern versions as 'encourage the oppressed' (NIV). Such must indeed be the meaning of the (unvocalized) phrase in our context. It seems not unlikely that the LXX-translator interpreted חמץ as 'to oppress' and translated it with the more generic ἀδικέω 'to treat unjustly', as we find also in Psalm 70(MT 71):4. The verb אשר can either mean I 'lead on, set right' or its homonym II 'to

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[172] Migne, *PG* 70, 45. John Chrysostom avoids κρίσις in his explanation, but uses τὸ δίκαιον 'what is right' instead , cf. Jean Chrysostome, *Commentaire sur Isaïe*, 74.
[173] Lee, *Lexical Study*, 51. N.M. Watson, Some Observations on the use of ΔΙΚΑΙΟΩ in the Septuagint, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 79 (1960), 255-266 is not really helpful, as its main concern lies in the sense of δικαιόω in Paul's letters.
[174] Exodus 23:7 ἀθῷον καὶ δίκαιον οὐκ ἀποκτενεῖς καὶ οὐ δικαιώσεις τὸν ἀσεβῆ ἕνεκεν δώρων 'you shall not execute an innocent and righteous person nor acquit the wicked because of gifts.' Cf. also Deuteronomy 25:1; Isaiah 5:23.
On the church fathers see T. Muraoka, On Septuagint Lexicography and Patristics, *Journal of Theological Studies* N.S. 35 (1984), 443ff.

pronounce happy, make happy'.[175] In either case the Greek rendering ῥύσασθε 'deliver' can be regarded as a generalization.
Before the last clause of 1:17 καί is added, which closes the series of clauses 1:16-17.
The verse closes with the curious ריבו אלמנה. The normal way of putting it would be ריבו ריב אלמנה 'plead the case of the widow'. The shortened idiom is exceptional and occurs only in Isaiah 1:17; 51:22. It is clear, however, that ריבו אלמנה must also mean 'plead the case of the widow' in the present context. If so, the rendering with δικαιώσατε χήραν 'do right to the widow' is a literal translation, although δικαόω is mostly used to render different verbs and renders ריב only twice (Isaiah 1:17; Micah 7:9). A literal translation can consist of an exceptional counterpart, which is often overlooked in statistical presentations of 'translation equivalents'.

ISAIAH 1:18

καὶ δεῦτε καὶ διελεγχθῶμεν, λέγει κύριος, καὶ ἐὰν ὦσιν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι ὑμῶν ὡς φοινικοῦν, ὡς χιόνα λευκανῶ, ἐὰν δὲ ὦσιν ὡς κόκκινον, ὡς ἔριον λευκανῶ.
and come [then] and let us dispute, says the Lord, and if your sins were like crimson, I will make them white as snow, if they were like scarlet, I will make them white as wool.

לְכוּ־נָא וְנִוָּכְחָה יֹאמַר יְהוָה אִם־יִהְיוּ חֲטָאֵיכֶם כַּשָּׁנִים כַּשֶּׁלֶג יַלְבִּינוּ אִם־יַאְדִּימוּ כַתּוֹלָע כַּצֶּמֶר יִהְיוּ׃
Come and let us dispute, says the Lord. If your sins were like scarlet, they will be white as snow, if they were red like crimson, they will be like wool.

Greek text –

Translation The Hebrew text contains a long-standing exegetical problem, to the solution of which the transformations (all non-obligatory) are connected: in verse 18a the Lord wants to bring Judah to justice before a court on account of its sins, and then unexpectedly a complete acquittal and a promise of forgiveness follows! This has given rise to various interpretations. Some commentators have supposed that 18b forms a *question* and should be paraphrased as follows: '(You commited so many sins!) Let us go to court together, says the Lord. Do you really think that your sins, red as they are, will become white as snow?'[176]
The Septuagint translator makes the surprising sequence of events more understandable by distinghuishing different stages, separated by added καί 'and'. In 1:2-16 the Lord accuses Judah of sins and hypocrisy, followed by a call to right behaviour in 2:17. The text continues in 1:18 καὶ δεῦτε 'and come [then]', which means in this context: after you have shown repentance by practising good deeds, *then* let us go to court together, says the Lord. After all that has been said, it is clear that the verdict will not be very favourable for Judah. But a second καί 'and' tells us what will happen *after* the trial when God offers a free pardon (transformations underlined):

[175] Rendered with μακαρίζω in Isaiah 3:12; 9:15. It is really far-fetched to suppose that the translator interpreted אשרו from הושיע, as Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 24 holds.
[176] An elaborate discussion of the problem can be found in Gray, *Isaiah I-XXVI*, 26-30.

καὶ ἐὰν ὦσιν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι ὑμῶν ὡς φοινικοῦν, ὡς χιόνα λευκανῶ,
ἐὰν δὲ ὦσιν ὡς κόκκινον, ὡς ἔριον λευκανῶ.
and if your sins were like crimson, I will make them white as snow,
if they were like scarlet, I will make them white as wool.

By the transformation from ילבינו 'will be white' into λευκανῶ 'I will make white', a translation giving the cause for the effect, the LXX-translator stresses that God himself will cleanse the people of their sins.
The rendering of יאדימו כתולע '[if they] were *red* as crimson' with ὦσιν … ὡς κόκκινον '[if they] were as crimson' constitutes an implicitation, for the notion RED is already expressed by κόκκινον 'crimson'. This transformation is obligatory, because שנים 'red stuffs' and תולע 'crimson-worm' are nouns, whereas φοινικοῦς 'crimson' and κόκκινος 'scarlet' are adjectives. And to say that something is 'as red as red' is gratuitous.

ISAIAH 1:19-20

(19) καὶ ἐὰν θέλητε καὶ εἰσακούσητέ μου, τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῆς γῆς φάγεσθε· (20) ἐὰν δὲ μὴ θέλητε μηδὲ εἰσακούσητέ μου, μάχαιρα ὑμᾶς κατέδεται· τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησεν ταῦτα.
(19) and if you want and listen to me, you will eat the richness of the land; (20) but if you do not want nor listen to me, the sword will devour you; for the mouth of the Lord has spoken these things.

אִם־תֹּאבוּ וּשְׁמַעְתֶּם טוּב הָאָרֶץ תֹּאכֵלוּ׃ וְאִם־תְּמָאֲנוּ וּמְרִיתֶם חֶרֶב תְּאֻכְלוּ כִּי פִי יְהוָה דִּבֵּר׃ ס
(19) If you want and listen to me, you will eat the richness of the land, (20) but if you refuse and rebel, you will be devoured by the sword, for the mouth of the Lord has spoken.

Greek text –

Translation The translator again adds καί 'and' in connection with the problem signalled under 1:18. It marks a next stage. After the promise of full pardon, the Lord promises wealth only if the people persist in their repentance.
The phrase אם־תאבו ושמעתם 'if you want and listen' is translated word for word into καὶ ἐὰν θέλητε καὶ εἰσακούσητε 'if you want and listen', although grammars tell us to translate the Hebrew idiom as 'if you want *to* listen'.[177]
The twofold addition of μου 'to me' after εἰσακούω 'listen' is obligatory (cf. 1:15).
A semantically literal translation combined with a change of accidence (number) occurs in the rendering of טוב with τὰ ἀγαθά (both meaning 'richness').
Verse 20 opens with a sequence of two antonymic translations:

'if you refuse' אם־תמאנו ἐὰν δὲ μὴ θέλητε 'if you do not want'
'and [if] you rebel' ומריתם μηδὲ εἰσακούσητε 'and [if] you do not listen'

[177] Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*, § 120e.

The rendering of מאן pi. 'to refuse' with οὐκ (ἐ)θέλω 'not to want'[178] served very well to bring out the opposition with 1:19 by using the same words. It was then a small step to provide an antonymic translation for the second verb too.
The phrase חֶרֶב תאכלו lit. 'the sword[179] – you will be eaten' is strange and emendations have been proposed to deal with it. But syntactic parallels exist [180] and it is clear that in this context it can mean little else than 'you will be eaten by the sword', which has then been transformed into active by the translator.
The addition of ταῦτα is not obligatory, since λαλέω 'to speak' can be used without object. It was probably added to point back to 1:18 λέγει κύριος 'says the Lord'.

ISAIAH 1:21

Πῶς ἐγένετο πόρνη, πόλις πιστὴ Σιων πλήρης κρίσεως, ἐν ᾗ δικαιοσύνη ἐκοιμήθη ἐν αὐτῇ, νῦν δὲ φονευταί.
How has the faithful city Sion become a prostitute, [a city] full of judgement. In it righteousness dwelled in her, but now murderers!

אֵיכָה֙ הָיְתָ֣ה לְזוֹנָ֔ה קִרְיָ֥ה נֶאֱמָנָ֖ה מְלֵאתִ֣י מִשְׁפָּ֑ט צֶ֚דֶק יָלִ֣ין בָּ֔הּ וְעַתָּ֖ה מְרַצְּחִֽים׃
How has the faithful city become a prostitute, [a city] full of justice, righteousness dwelled in her, but now murderers!

Greek text Πόλις + place name, though lacking the article, means '*the* city of Sion'.[181]
The most disturbing Hebraism so far seems ἐν ᾗ δικαιοσύνη ἐκοιμήθη ἐν αὐτῇ, a relative clause with a pleonastic pronoun. It is striking because already in the LXX-Pentateuch we find numerous instances where the pleonastic pronoun is omitted in accordance with Greek style.[182] In LXX-Isaiah we find the same in a majority of the cases: there are 224 relative pronouns, 8 of which are followed by a resumptive pleonastic pronoun.[183] This construction is rare in Classical Greek but more frequent in Koine. According to Bakker the increasing use of the pleonastic pronoun is caused by the weakening of the relative pronoun and its increasing use in the so-called 'relative connection'.[184] It is characteristic of *Zwischen-*

[178] Cf. Woodhouse, *English-Greek Lexicon*, s.v. 'Refuse'.
[179] There exists an old proposal to vocalize the text as חֶרֶב תֹּאכְלוּ 'you will eat carobs (food of poverty).' See Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle* 2, 7f. This sounds very convincing, in spite of Barthélemy's efforts to dismiss it. See also A. van der Kooij, Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible: Its Aim and Method, in: S.M. Paul, R.A. Kraft (eds.), *Emanuel. Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*, Leiden / Boston 2003, 733-734.
[180] Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*, § 121cd.
[181] Cf. Acts 11:5; 16:14; 27:8; 2 Peter 2:6.
[182] Sollamo, The Pleonastic Use of the Pronoun, 75-85.
[183] According to Ziegler's apparatus the pleonastic pronoun is stylistically corrected in a few manuscripts regarding Isaiah 42:24; 44:16; 51:7; 62:2. In 1:21; 8:20; 37:10; 48:17 (!) the pleonastic pronoun is attested by all manuscripts.
[184] Smyth § 2490; BDR § 293c. Bakker, *Pronomen abundans and pronomen coniunctum*, 11-33. In my opinion Sollamo, The Pleonastic Use of the Pronoun, 76f. is too strict in her selection of examples. With Bakker I would affirm that it is necessary to view the phenomenon in the broader context

schichtsprosa, influenced by both colloquial speech and literary style. Regarding its function, the *pronomen abundans*, which occurs only in non-restrictive relative clauses, is used for clearness' sake and in order to emphasize a certain word.
Bakker discusses LXX-Isaiah 1:21 and notes that the construction is used without counterpart in Hebrew (cf. also 48:17): 'It may not be by accident that the relat. clause is nonessential and can be viewed even as a relat. connection. The relat. clause is actually a principal sentence: the strong emphasis upon the contradistinction between what Sion was before and is now causes the relat. clause to be absolute'.[185]
The alliteration of π π π π π underscores the emotional appeal of the exclamation.

Translation Since it is not customary to construe γίνομαι with εἰς, as it is in Hebrew with היה ל 'to turn into', the preposition is dropped.[186]
Although the rendering of נאמן with πιστός is semantically literal, both meaning 'faithful', it constitutes a change of word class, since נאמן is a participle, strictly speaking.
The explicitation of Σιων 'Zion' is an anaphoric translation in accordance with 1:26-27. Not mentioning Zion at the beginning makes the following passages somewhat enigmatic. In Hebrew this is probably intentional. Delayed identification, a feature well known from prophetic poetry, makes the disclosure of the name Zion shocking to the audience.[187] In a written, and in addition to that translated text this may not work in the same way. The translator preferred clarity with respect to the theme of the passage.
On κρίσις 'judgement' for משפט 'justice' and δικαιοσύνη for צדק ('righteousness') see 1:17.
The addition of the relative pronoun ἐν ᾗ 'in which' creates a relative connection that imitates the *function* of the Hebrew contrastive (and chiastic) final sentence with Greek means (see *Greek text*).
The Greek alliteration may be a compensation for the *a*-assonance in Hebrew.

ISAIAH 1:22

Τὸ ἀργύριον ὑμῶν ἀδόκιμον, οἱ κάπηλοί σου μίσγουσι τὸν οἶνον ὕδατι.
Your (pl.) silver [is] unfit, your (sg.) retailers mix wine with water.

כַּסְפֵּךְ הָיָה לְסִיגִים סָבְאֵךְ מָהוּל בַּמָּיִם׃
Your silver has become dross, your drink mixed with water.

Greek text Verbless clauses are sometimes used with adjectives that pronounce a judgement on something, e.g. ἄξιος, δυνατός, δίκαιος, οἷος κτλ. (Smyth § 944).
The transition from ὑμῶν to σού is very awkward and cannot be explained in Greek, because the addressee does not change.

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of similar uses of the pronoun, and above all, to inquire after its function, an issue Sollamo leaves aside.
[185] Bakker, *Pronomen abundans and pronomen coniunctum*, 37f.
[186] LSJ 349b ii.3.c.
[187] Cf. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l´Ancien Testament* 2, 9f.

Translation In Hebrew a 2nd person feminine singular is addressed: the personified city of Jerusalem. The feminine element is obligatorily dropped as Greek σύ is not marked for gender. Notable is that the 2nd pers. sg. is first rendered with ὑμῶν 'your' (pl.) and then with σού 'your' (sg.). This has to be viewed in the context of the chapter, where the Hebrew text presents a complex picture:

1:4-20	2nd pers. pl.
1:22-26	2nd pers. sg.
1:27-29a	3rd pers. pl.
1:29b-30	2nd pers. pl.
1:31	3rd pers. sg.

Commentaries have often ignored these transitions and their function and origin are not always clear. But to translators such transitions, characteristic of prophetic literature, have long presented difficulties. The Greek translator followed the changes where they were not too abrupt. In 1:29b-30 he translated a 3rd pers. instead of a 2nd pers. so as to harmonize the addressees into a larger unified passage. Other ancient and modern versions have their own solutions to the problem.

What I would suggest is that the translator, who probably was theologically familiar with the Hebrew book of Isaiah, was not conscious of the many addressee transitions and the problems involved until he began his job. This sounds a bit queer, but we have only to remind ourselves that the *Numeruswechsel* in Deuteronomy escaped scholarly attention until 1894.[188] Thus the translator followed his source text in 1:4-20, writing 2nd pers. pl. When after 1:21 the direct address reappeared, he automatically continued in 2nd pers. pl. until he realized that the source text had changed to 2nd pers. singular. He did not go back to erase what he had written,[189] but changed to 2nd pers. sg. halfway the verse. With this occurrence his awareness of the problem was born, and he handled it more consciously in the rest of the chapter.

For סיגים (1QIsa[a] סוגים) lexica give 'dross'. The purport of the metaphor 'your silver has become dross' is more or less like *corruptio optimi pessima.* But it is also possible to interpret the verse in a non-metaphorical way. Then it becomes a condemnation of fraud. And this is what the Septuagint translator did, witness the second stich. In this literal interpretation it is strange to say that silver has become dross. Parallel to the second stich one would rather say that 'silver (or 'money') is *mixed* with dross', a rendering that indeed occurs (modification).[190] But since μίσγω 'to mix' was already reserved for mixing wine with water, the translator rendered the effect, ἀδόκιμος 'unfit', for the cause ('silver mixed with dross'). At the same time he dropped the copula היה 'to be' since it can be missed with adjectives that pronounce a judgement (see *Greek text*).

In Hebrew, like in Dutch 'versneden', wine can be מהול ('cut', i.e. diluted). Like English, Greek would prefer a more generic term, μίσγω 'to mix' (obligatory). The fact that the passive participle is turned into an active verb has to do with the addition of the 'retailers' to which we now turn.

The Hebrew סבא means 'alcoholic drink' and can refer to beer or wine. It is specified to οἶνος 'wine'. But then οἱ κάπηλοι 'the retailers' have been added. The reason lies neither in grammar nor in style, but in culture: since in Hellenistic times wine was mixed with water

[188] W. Staerk, *Das Deuteronomium*, Leipzig 1894; C. Steuernagel, *Der Rahmen des Deuteronomiums*, Berlin 1894.

[189] A puzzling feature that occurs often in LXX, cf. my conclusions to Proverbs 6.

[190] NBG51 of Isaiah 1:22; it occurs also in LXX-Ezekiel 22:18-19 for the same Hebrew phrase.

before drinking universally (2 Maccabees 15:39), a literal translation would not sound reproachful to Greek-speaking Jews.[191] To retain the reproach, the translator has introduced the retailers,[192] for selling diluted wine was an offence. In one breath the possessive pronoun 'your' was transferred from 'wine' to 'retailers' (change of syntactic function).

ISAIAH 1:23

Οἱ ἄρχοντές σου ἀπειθοῦσιν, κοινωνοὶ κλεπτῶν, ἀγαπῶντες δῶρα, διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα, ὀρφανοῖς οὐ κρίνοντες καὶ κρίσιν χηρῶν οὐ προσέχοντες.
your rulers disobey: partners of thieves, loving bribes, pursuing retribution, not judging orphans and not heeding the cause of the widows.

שָׂרַיִךְ סוֹרְרִים וְחַבְרֵי גַנָּבִים כֻּלּוֹ אֹהֵב שֹׁחַד וְרֹדֵף שַׁלְמֹנִים
יָתוֹם לֹא יִשְׁפֹּטוּ וְרִיב אַלְמָנָה לֹא־יָבוֹא אֲלֵיהֶם׃ פ
Your rulers are disobedient and partners of thieves. His totality loves a bribe and pursues retributions. They do not pronounce judgement for the orphan and the cause of the widow does not come to them.

Greek text For ὀρφανοῖς οὐ κρίνοντες see 1:17.

Translation The verb סרר is used in Deuteronomy 21:20 for a disobedient and rebellious son and rendered with ἀπειθέω 'to disobey'. I consider it a literal translation.[193]
The conjunction ו 'and' is omitted twice. The first case is not difficult to explain. In Hebrew the reproaches are ordered in three pairs. MT says 'your rulers are disobedient and partners of thieves.' But disobedience is not an offence on the same level as the other five reproaches. Rather, it is a general heading under which the other offences can be subsumed. Therefore the translator dropped the conjunction and interpreted the following five offences as examples of disobedience. REB and Genesis have dropped it as well. I ignore the second case because 1QIsa[a] lacks the conjunction too.
The use of כלו 'his totality; all of it' belongs to Hebrew idiom.[194] Often it does not agree in number with its antecedent. This apparently bothered the copyist of 1QIsa[a], who 'corrected' it into כולם 'all of *them*'. The translator dropped it. Had he rendered it with πάντες, he would have suggested that beside the leaders *everyone else* was loving bribes,[195] but the mention of the widow's cause makes it clear that the whole verse refers to the rulers.

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[191] Opinions differ regarding the question if in pre-Hellenistic Israel wine was mixed with water before consumption. TWAT III, 617 affirms it on the basis of MT-Isaiah 1:22 (!). Others deny it, pointing to texts that mention 'mixing' of wine (Isaiah 65:11; Proverbs 23:30). According to R. Frankel, *Wine and Oil Production in Antiquity in Israel and Other Mediterranean Countries*, Sheffield 1999, 198, 203 these terms refer to mixing with spices, and only in later Hebrew the verb מזג came to mean 'watering down wine.' The words מזג and מסך have been borrowed from Greece (μίσγω), as was the custom of mixed drinks. Cf. J.P. Brown, The Mediterranean Vocabulary of the Vine, *Vetus Testamentum* 19 (1969), 153.
[192] One need not take recourse, with Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 25, to text-critical suggestions.
[193] It occurs also in the identical phrase in Hosea 9:16 (a literally translated book).
[194] BDB 481b-482a, sub d. (b).
[195] Cf. NRSV 'Everyone loves a bribe' with REB 'every one *of them* loves a bribe'.

Once כלו is removed, it becomes logical to align the number of the participles ἀγαπῶντες … διώκοντες 'loving … pursuing' to the rest of the verse, i.e. plural. We find this change also in 1QIsa[a], in line with the change just mentioned.
Since both שחד and δῶρον can mean 'bribe', we are dealing with a literal translation. But the number has changed from singular to plural. This transformation, which is shared by NIV and NJPS, is employed because the rulers are fond of gifts, the more the better.
It is then remarkable that with the plural שלמנים 'retributions' the reverse happens: it is turned into singular ἀνταπόδομα 'retribution'. This transformation is strange *to us*, used as we are to parallelism. Because שחד means 'bribe' we take for granted that the parallel שלמנים must also mean 'gifts, bribes', as recorded by modern lexica. But the ancient translators did not necessarily reason likewise. The term שלמן is a hapax legomenon. A translator without dictionary must guess its meaning or derive it from a familiar root. Now שלם pi. means 'to repay, retribute' in both positive and negative sense: 'reward' or 'punishment'. The translator probably intended the second meaning. So John Chrysostom understood it:[196]

> Μνησικακοῦντες τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ἀνταποδοῦναι σπουδάζοντες τοῖς λελυπηκόσιν, ὅπερ μέγιστον κακίας εἶδος.
> Bearing malice to their enemies, they are eager to repay to those who have harmed them, which is the greatest kind of evil.

In this reading the two clauses 'loving bribes' and 'pursuing retribution' are not synonymous but contrastive. They illustrate the two sides of the *do ut des* coin. And if the clauses are not synonymous, there is no reason why both should contain plural nouns. The verb διώκω 'to pursue' already underlines the eagerness, adding a plural would be overdone, redundant. I would consider it a semantically literal translation with a non-obligatory change of number for reasons of elegance.[197]
The collective singulars יתום 'orphan' אלמנה 'widow' have been made plural. It is noteworthy that in 1:17 the translator still refrained from such a change of accidence.
The finite verbs ישפטו 'they judge' and יבוא 'it comes' reappear as participles to create a fourfold parallel syntax by the fourfold repetition of participles. We found a similar case of stylistic alignment in 1:4.
Regarding the widow MT literally says that 'the case of the widow does not come before them [the rulers].' Several versions have problems with this, apparently from the consideration that the text does not imply that widows never present their case before a judge, but that judges do not listen. So we find in REB 'and the widow's cause is never heard.'[198]
Together with the stylistic desire to obtain a participle here, we can understand why LXX resorted to a situational translation: κρίσιν χηρῶν οὐ προσέχοντες 'not heeding the cause of the widows'.

[196] Jean Chrysostome, *Commentaire sur Isaïe*, 84.
[197] Besides, the plural ἀνταπόδοματα is not attested before 800 AD, in Theodorus Studita, *Epistulae* (ed. G. Fatouros), Ep. 403, l. 6.
[198] Rashi makes sense of it by suggesting that orphans appeal in vain to the judges. They tell the widows, who then do not even take the trouble any more to obtain justice.

ISAIAH 1:24

Διὰ τοῦτο τάδε λέγει ὁ δεσπότης κύριος σαβαωθ· οὐαὶ οἱ ἰσχύοντες Ισραηλ. Οὐ παύσεται γάρ μου ὁ θυμὸς ἐν τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις καὶ κρίσιν ἐκ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μου ποιήσω
Therefore, this says the Master, the Lord Sabaoth: Woe the powerful men of Israel! For my wrath against my adversaries will not stop and I will execute judgement against my enemies.

לָכֵן נְאֻם הָאָדוֹן יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת אֲבִיר יִשְׂרָאֵל הוֹי אֶנָּחֲמָה מִצָּרָי וְאִנָּקְמָה מֵאוֹיְבָי׃
Therefore, says the Master, the Lord of hosts, the Mighty one of Israel: Woe, I will comfort myself from my adversaries and avenge myself on my enemies

Greek text Γάρ does not occupy the second but the third place. Postponement of γάρ is not infrequent after οὐ + lexeme. In general, postponement of postpositives is possible when the clause opens with a prepositive word.[199]
The use of ἐκ in the sense of 'performing justice *to*' is Hebraistic.[200]

Translation For οὐαί see 1:4 and for σαβαωθ see 1:9.
The prophetical quotation formula נאם יהוה 'oracle of YHWH' has been rendered in Genesis 22:16 with λέγει κύριος 'says the Lord' for the first time. The change of word class is obligatory because Indo-European languages usually mark a quote with the help of a *verbum dicendi*.
Τάδε 'this' is added here to introduce direct speech.[201] In the absence of punctuation it indicates that διὰ τοῦτο 'therefore' is part of the messenger formula and not of the divine speech. When λέγει κύριος 'says the Lord' stands in the middle of the divine speech, like in Isaiah 14:22 (1), it can do without τάδε 'this'.
Remarkable is the treatment of אביר ישראל (יעקב), which is elsewhere rendered literally as 'Mighty One of Israel (Jacob)'.[202] The translator must therefore have known it as a fixed expression. But strangely enough he has broken it up in the present verse:

אביר ישראל הוי	[says] the Mighty One of Israel: 'Woe…
οὐαὶ οἱ ἰσχύοντες Ισραηλ	[says:] 'Woe the mighty ones of Israel

The question has to been viewed in broader light. The great Qumran Isaiah scroll presents an identical introductory formula, but in the direct speech a text deviating from MT:[203]

הוה אנחם מצריו ואנקם מאובו
I will comfort myself from *his* adversaries and avenge myself on *his* enemies.

By changing the possessive suffixes into 3rd person the scribe is solving a problem of logic. Vss 21-23 describe injustice, corruption and oppression of widows and orphans. Then the

[199] J. Blomqvist, *Greek Particles in Hellenistic Prose*, Lund 1969, 108-109, 115
[200] Lust c.s, *Greek-English Lexicon* I, 133a.
[201] For the use in Koine of τάδε with reference to what follows, see BDAG 690a, 1.a. The Greek phrase also renders כה אמר יהוה quite often.
[202] Δυνάστης Ιακωβ Genesis 49:24; ἰσχύς Ιακωβ in Isaiah 49:26; 60:16 generalized as θεὸς Ισραηλ.
[203] Quoted according to Parry and Qimron. N.B. It differs slightly from the photograph.

text speaks about revenge. Revenge is a punishment of the evildoer by the one that has been harmed. Now what we find in in 1QIsa[a] is that the ones God promises to punish are '*his* (Israel's) enemies', i.e. the corrupt leaders. They are the enemies of the oppressed people. The copyist has thus made God's enemies into Israel's enemies. For translators going less far the central question is: 'who are God's enemies?' One could reply that the corrupt leaders violate God's will and are therefore his enemies. But this thought is only implicit. CEV makes it explicit to smoothen the transition. It does so by a different combination of the textual elements:

> and I make you a promise: You are now my enemy, and I will show my anger by taking revenge on you.

The same problem is addressed by Luther, who gives the following translation, accompanied by a marginal note:

> O Weh ich werde mich trösten durch meine Feinde / vnd mich rechen durch meine Feinde
> [(Durch) Das ist / meine Feinde die Chaldeer vnd ander Könige / müssen mich rechen an meinem Volck.]

Luther does not translate 'ich werde mich rächen *auf* meine Feinde', but '*durch* meine Feinde'. In his translation God's enemies are the foreign nations. God is the offended party and Israel the evildoer.
The Septuagint too clarifies the question who God's enemies are. They are not Israel as a whole, but only the unjust leaders. But the Septuagint does not get this interpretation across by different suffixes (1QIsa[a]) but by a creative combination of textual elements (change of word order). In the new text the direct speech starts with 'Woe the mighty ones of Israel' (change of accidence), which makes immediately clear that the unjust rulers are God's enemies and that not Israel as a nation is concerned. The added γάρ 'for, because' provides a causal transition to the explicit statement that the unjust rulers are God's enemies.
Thereby the word class is changed from the noun אביר 'strong one' to the verb ἰσχύω 'to be strong, powerful'. The Isaiah translator does the same in 5:22; 10:21; 22:3; 49:25, possibly because a verb highlights the actual execution of power rather than mere quality.
For אנחם 'I will comfort myself' one not easily finds counterparts. Some lexica give 'secure respite from' or 'obtain satisfaction from'. This meaning component of נחם (cf. Genesis 27:42) has psychological roots: by taking revenge one sets his mind at rest.[204] In a similar vein R. David Qimchi explains the text:

> עד שנחם כלומר שיכלה כעסו וינחם
> 'until he is comforted', meaning: until he has ended his wrath and is comforted.

It is interesting that Qimchi combines the same notions we find in the Septuagint, viz. ENDING and WRATH. Revenge means the end of wrath. But in LXX we read that God's wrath will *not* end, the very opposite!
How should this surprising rendering be explained? We must look at the treatment of the verb elsewhere. The first time נחם occurs in the Bible is in Genesis 6:6, 7:

> And the LORD was sorry that he had made humankind on the earth and it grieved him to his heart. 7 So the LORD said, "I will blot out from the earth the human beings I have created (…) for I am sorry that I have made them." (NRSV)

[204] Cf. Gray, *Isaiah I-XXVII*, 23.

The Septuagint, however, renders the verb differently:

> 6 Καὶ ἐνεθυμήθη ὁ θεὸς ὅτι ἐποίησεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ διενοήθη. 7 Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός· ἀπαλείψω τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν ἐποίησα ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς (...), ὅτι ἐθυμώθην ὅτι ἐποίησα αὐτούς.
>
> 6 And God was concerned (angry?)[205] that he made the human being on the earth and thought it over. 7 And God said: 'I will blot out the human being I have made from the face of the earth (…) for I am angry that I have made them.'

The avoidance of 'to be sorry' for נחם is due to a reluctance to ascribe repentance or change of mind to God.[206] Then I see two possibilities: either the translator employed a conscious modification into 'being angry' or he found an alternative derivation of נחם from חמם (or חום) 'to be warm' or יחם 'to be hot'.[207] In Isaiah 1:24 the translator could not work with the normal literal renderings of נחם. But he wanted to render the consonant material of the source text. Wilk is probably right that he rearranged אנחם (or perhaps אנחמה) 'I will comfort myself / repent' into אין נח חמה 'the anger does not rest'.[208] This means a literal translation.

The rendering of the preposition מן 'from' with ἐν lit. 'in' is obligatory. It seems that θυμός 'anger' is normally construed with ἐν.[209]

The Hebrew possessive suffix in מצרי 'against my adversaries' is not rendered *expressis verbis* in ἐν τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις 'against my enemies', not because the translator wanted to create a reference to Exodus 15:7,[210] but simply because in elegant Greek the pronoun is often omitted when the possessor cannot be mistaken (see 1:3 *Greek text*).

Since 'revenge' does not belong to the range of meanings of κρίσις 'judgement', we are dealing with a distinct modification of נקם 'revenge'. The root נקם is often rendered in Isaiah with κρίσις 'judgement', and only from 59:17 onwards with words meaning 'revenge, retribution'.[211] The latter lexemes are certainly present in Greek and the reason for the modification seems to be the desire to channel God's wrath through acknowledged procedures.[212] Revenge was apparently deemed too impulsive for God.

ISAIAH 1:25

וְאָשִׁיבָה יָדִי עָלַיִךְ καὶ ἐπάξω τὴν χεῖρά μου ἐπὶ σὲ
וְאֶצְרֹף כַּבֹּר סִיגָיִךְ καὶ πυρώσω σε εἰς καθαρόν,

[205] Cf. LSJ 567a, I, 2. Some mss. read θυμόομαι 'to be angry' here.

[206] Harl, *La Genèse*, 127. Cf. the rendering of the other verb. In more literally translated books נחם is rendered as μεταμέλομαι 'to regret' or μετανοέω 'to change one's mind', which means that the meaning of נחם was known.

[207] The noun חמה 'heat, rage' is sometimes rendered as θυμόω and often as θυμός.

[208] Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 26. The verb נוח 'to rest' and its derivates are often rendered with compounds of παύομαι.

[209] In Numbers 18:5 קצף על 'anger on/at' is rendered as θυμός ἐν. Cf. Muraoka, *Lexicon*, 263b.

[210] Thus Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 26.

[211] Ἐκδίκησις 59:17; ἀνταπόδοσις 61:2; 63:4. In 1:24 John Chrysostom glosses κρίσιν ποιήσω as κολάσω 'I will punish', cf. Jean Chrysostome, *Commentaire sur Isaïe*, 88.

[212] Cf. Proverbs 6:34 where the same modification sprouts from a changed cultural reality.

	τοὺς δὲ ἀπειθοῦντας ἀπολέσω
וְאָסִירָה כָּל־בְּדִילָיִךְ׃	καὶ ἀφελῶ πάντας ἀνόμους ἀπὸ σοῦ
	καὶ πάντας ὑπερηφάνους ταπεινώσω
and I will bring back my hand against you	*and I will bring my hand upon you*
and I will smelt away your dross as with lye	*and I will fire-purge you to purity,*
	but the inobedient ones I will destroy
and I will remove all your alloy.	*and I will remove all lawless ones from you*
	and all arrogant ones I will humble.

Greek text In 1:24b-31 we find an abnormally high frequency of paratactic καί, the result of SL interference.

For the English phrase 'to purity' the Greek text says εἰς καθαρόν, lit. 'to pure'. This is an ancient idiom that often replaces nouns.[213]

The last four clauses exhibit a double chiasm (verb – object; object – verb):

καὶ πυρώσω σε εἰς καθαρόν	καὶ ἀφελῶ πάντας ἀνόμους ἀπὸ σοῦ
x	x
τοὺς δὲ ἀπειθοῦντας ἀπολέσω	καὶ πάντας ὑπερηφάνους ταπεινώσω

Translation From a translational point of view this verse is a mixture. Semantic sense-orientedness is combined with syntactic interference. To make comparison easier, I have printed both texts side by side.

MT says ואשיבה ידי עליך lit. 'I will bring back my hand upon you', but some scholars suggest that in this idiom the notion BACK is absent, since it is hard to combine with the context.[214] It is thus understandable that the more literal ἐπιστρέψω τὴν χεῖρά μου[215] was avoided in favour of a generalization.

The preposition על 'against' is not necessarily used in a hostile sense. Ἐπί is definitely neutral, but it also occurs in hostile contexts (cf. the two last footnotes). I consider it a literal translation.

The Hebrew בֹּר is a homonym. According to modern lexica it occurs two times in the sense of 'potash, lye' (Isaiah 1:25; Job 9:30) and five times in the sense of 'purity'. The latter is rendered with the root καθαρ- 'pure, clean'.[216] 'Der Übersetzer kannte diese Bedeutung [Laugensalz] nicht und dachte deshalb an ברר = καθαρὸν εἶναι (ähnlich Job 9,30 χερσὶν ἀκαθαραῖς בְּבֹר כַּפָּי),' Ziegler says.[217] But this is hard to ascertain, because there is a translational problem: the double metaphor. The text speaks of 'smelting away dross as with lye'. 'Smelting' is a metaphor for purifying. 'Lye' is the second metaphor, but from a different realm. Chemically the combination of these metaphors is tantamount to saying: 'I will smelt away dross from silver as with soap'. Lye was not used in the refinement of silver.[218] The 'lye' points to the completeness of the purity that will be the result of the refining process. I would give the translator the benefit of the doubt and classify this transformation

[213] E.g. εἰς ἀγαθόν *Ilias* 9.102; ἐς ἀΐδιον Thucydides 2. 64.3; εἰς εὐθεῖαν Isaiah 40:4; εἰς κενόν Job 39:16; Isaiah 29:8; 2 Corinthians 6:1 (cf. BDR § 207.5).

[214] Gray, *Isaiah I-XXVII*, 34; HAL 1331a. It also occurs in Amos 1:8; Zecharia 13:7; Psalm 81:15.

[215] So Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus; Zacharia 13:7 S^3.

[216] 2 Kingdoms (MT 2 Samuel) 22:21, 24 // Psalm 17 (MT 18): 21, 25; Job 22:30.

[217] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 81.

[218] On smelting and cupellation of silver see W.L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, Philadelphia 1986, 230-232.

as an explicitation (viz. of the sense of the metaphor),[219] which harks back to 1:16. As a corollary the possessive suffix in סיגיך 'your dross' is rendered as an accusative pronoun in πυρώσω σε 'I will refine you'.

Up till now the translator has rendered the positive result of the refining-metaphor: purity. But refining also entails removing *im*purities. To render this side of the process, expressed by סיגים 'dross', the translator employs an additional stich, connected with adversative δέ: τοὺς δὲ ἀπειθοῦντας ἀπολέσω 'but the inobedient ones I will destroy'. It gives the sense of the implicitely suggested removal of the dross. To sum up: 1. the translator demetaphorized סיגים 'dross' into ἀπειθοῦντας 'inobedient ones', [220] which harks back to 1:23; 2. he made the removal explicit (ἀπολέσω);[221] 3. he retained the notion of refining (πυρώσω).

Of the last Hebrew clause, ואסירה כל בדיליך 'and I will remove all your alloy', some elements are easily recognizable in Greek. The two verbs for 'removing', הסיר and ἀφαιρέω are normal counterparts and כל is rendered with πάντες, both meaning 'all'. The translator had to continue the track of explicitation of metaphors. After his explicitation of סיגים 'dross' into ἀπειθοῦντας 'inobedient ones' he could not return and speak of 'alloy', of course. Therefore he rendered בדיליך 'your alloy' with what he perceived to be the sense of the 'impure elements in the silver', viz. 'the lawless' (harking back to 1:4 and pointing forward to 1:28, 31). As a consequence he transformed the possessive suffix in בדיליך 'your alloy' with a prepositional adjunct, ἀπὸ σοῦ, 'from you'.

The last Greek clause, καὶ πάντας ὑπερηφάνους ταπεινώσω 'and all arrogant ones I will humble' is without parallel in the Hebrew text. It has probably been taken from Scripture texts.[222] But why was it added? The added clause is preceded by a chiasm (see *Greek text*). Now its rhetorical function can be described as follows: 'Die Überkreuzstellung verstärkt durch die einrahmende Funktion des ersten und letzten Gliedes den kylischen, also periodenartigen Charakter der Kolon- oder Kommafolge, ja des einfachen Satzes.'[223] In other words: by its cyclic character a chiasm suggests completion. Without added clause the text would consist of a chiasm, followed by a single clause, καὶ ἀφελῶ πάντας ἀνόμους ἀπὸ σοῦ 'and I will remove all lawless ones from you'. Because of the preceding chiasm, but also because of the suggestion of Hebrew parallelism, it would be natural to take this single clause as the first member of a parallelism, of which the beginning of vs 26 would be the second one:

*and I will fire-purge you to purity,
but the disobedient ones I will destroy
and I will remove all lawless ones from you
and I will appoint your judges as before

[219] Cf. the Vulgate and Luther: 'vnd deinen schawm auffs lauterst fegen / vnd alle dein Zyn wegtun.'

[220] Cf. also A. van der Kooij, The Interpretation of Metaphorical Language: A Characteristic of LXX-Isaiah in: F. García Martínez and G.P. Luttikhuizen (eds.), *Jerusalem, Alexandria, Rome. Studies in Ancient Cultural Interaction in Honour of A. Hilhorst*, (JSJSup 82), Leiden 2003, 181. The suggestion made by Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 26 that the translator derived ἀπειθοῦντας 'inobedient ones' from סוגים (1QIsa[a]) is possible but not probable, since, first, it does not account for the elaboration of the notion of removal, and second, סוג is never rendered with ἀπειθέω.

[221] There is no reason to assume a different source text, as Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 26 does.

[222] The notion of the humbling of the arrogant also occurs in LXX-Psalm 17 (MT 18):28; 88 (MT 89):11; Isaiah 13:11; 29:20. Cf. Koenig, *L'herméneutique analogique*, 85f.

[223] Cf. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*, § 723, 800.

By the creation of a second chiasm the translator removed the misunderstanding and suggested a 'complete completion', thus providing a clear seam for the transition to the positive announcement in vs 26. The chiasms noted above are without parallel in MT, which means that the translator created them on purpose.

ISAIAH 1:26

καὶ ἐπιστήσω τοὺς κριτάς σου ὡς τὸ πρότερον καὶ τοὺς συμβούλους σου ὡς τὸ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κληθήσῃ πόλις δικαιοσύνης μητρόπολις πιστὴ Σιων.
and I will appoint your judges as before and your counsellors as from the beginning and after that you will be called a city of righteousness, faithful capital city Sion.

וְאָשִׁיבָה שֹׁפְטַיִךְ כְּבָרִאשֹׁנָה וְיֹעֲצַיִךְ כְּבַתְּחִלָּה אַחֲרֵי־כֵן יִקָּרֵא לָךְ עִיר הַצֶּדֶק קִרְיָה נֶאֱמָנָה׃
and I will bring back your judges as before and your counsellors as in the beginning; after that you will be called the city of righteousness, the faithful city.

Greek text –

Translation Where the Hebrew text speaks of 'bringing back' the judges (אשיבה), the Septuagint modifies it into 'appointing' (ἐπιστήσω) to avoid the misunderstanding that the old corrupt judges will be restored.
The preposition ב 'in' in the temporal adjunct כבראשונה, lit. 'as in earlier' is not rendered (obligatory omission). The second parallel adjunct of time, כבתחלה 'as in the beginning', changes the place of the article obligatorily[224] and modifies ב 'in' into ἀπό 'from' to indicate that there had been several righteous judges before the catastrophe.[225]
Καί 'and' is added to avoid confusion as to the syntactic place of μετὰ ταῦτα 'after that'.
In rendering עיר הצדק 'the city of righteousness', LXX omits the article: πόλις δικαιοσύνης '(a) city of righteousness'. This is obligatory, since a predicate lacks the article.[226]
A case of synonymy occupied the translator's mind at the end of the verse. Normally he would render both עיר and קריה with πόλις 'city'. But now that they occurred together, he did not want to repeat the same word, but provided a specification, μητρόπολις 'capital city' the second time.[227]
Finally we should note that the Septuagint took 'Zion' as the end of vs 26, whereas MT and modern versions regard it as the beginning of vs 27. As contemporary manuscripts, like 1QIsa[a], lack interpunction, they allow that interpretation. However, in the light of other changes in vs 27, this move is probably intentional (see below).

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[224] Cf. LSJ 252a, sub b; BDR § 255 n.5.
[225] As Jerome sums up: 'Iudices priores fuerunt Moyses, et Iesus filius Naue, et ceteri a quibus etiam liber scripturae sanctae nomen accepit; et postea Dauid et alii iusti reges' (*Commentariorum in Esaiam Libri I-XI*, ad loc).
[226] Smyth § 1150 with a similar example.
[227] For other solutions see Isaiah 22:2; Jeremia 30:31 (MT 49:25). In Ptolemaic Egypt a μητρόπολις was the capital city of a district (νόμος), cf. Rupprecht, *Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde*, 44.

ISAIAH 1:27

Μετὰ γὰρ κρίματος σωθήσεται ἡ αἰχμαλωσία αὐτῆς καὶ μετὰ ἐλεημοσύνης
For with justice her captives will be saved and with mercy

צִיּוֹן בְּמִשְׁפָּט תִּפָּדֶה וְשָׁבֶיהָ בִּצְדָקָה׃
Zion will be redeemed through justice, and her returning ones through righteousness

Greek text Αἰχμαλωσία denoting a group of captives is attested (BDAG 31b).

Translation We have already observed that the translator removed Σιων 'Zion' from vs 27. What could be the reason? What may have bothered the translator is illustrated by Jerome who gives a literal translation,

> *Sion in iudicio redimetur et reducent eam in iustitia.*
> Zion will be redeemed in judgement and they will bring her back in righteousness.

But in his commentary he provides the right understanding:[228]

> *Non omnes redimentur, nec omnes salui fient, sed reliquiae, de quibus et supra dictum est.*
> Not all shall be redeemed, nor shall all be saved, but the remnant about whom has been spoken above.

The Greek translator faced the same problem. A literal translation says that 'Zion' – suggesting *everyone* – will be saved, whereas vs 28 makes it clear that the lawless, the sinners and the forsakers of the Lord will perish. Salvation is only for the righteous remnant. The translator apparently judged that the right interpretation would not be too evident for his readership, so he enforced it by the transposition of 'Zion'.
The translator realized this operation was not enough, for a literal translation of the remaining text would still have Zion as its grammatical subject. So he took the second step and promoted 'the captives' to subject of the whole sentence by the omission of ו 'and'.
Regarding the addition of γάρ, a conjunction has to be added to avoid that Σιων 'Zion' is taken as the first word of the sentence of vs 27. Γάρ was chosen to show that vs 27f. explains how the return of justice to Jerusalem will happen.
Hebrew פדה means 'to redeem by paying ransom' but also 'to redeem' in a general sense. Literal translators prefer λυτρόω as its counterpart to suggest the specific meaning.[229] The Isaiah translator here employs generic σῴζω 'to save', which renders 7 Hebrew lexemes throughout Isaiah. In this case he probably chose it because of the context: 'being redeemed by ransom' is difficult to combine with 'judgement'.
The reason that LXX has ἡ αἰχμαλωσία αὐτῆς 'her captives' instead of שָׁבֶיהָ 'her returning ones' lies in its parent text. Unpointed שביה can also be read as שִׁבְיָהּ 'her captives'.
The translation of צדקה (traditionally 'righteousness') with ἐλεημοσύνη 'compassion' shows that the translator interpreted it here in the sense of 'compassion, generosity', known from

[228] Hieronymus, *Commentariorum in Esaiam Libri I-XI*, ad loc.
[229] E.g. Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion ad loc. The LXX-translator uses λυτρόω from Isaiah 35:9 onwards, mostly for גאל.

rabbinic Hebrew.[230] It is therefore a literal translation. In most cases he rendered it with δικαιοσύνη 'righteousness',[231] but some contexts demand a decidedly positive meaning. So in 61:10, a song of joy, he rendered צדקה with εὐφροσύνη 'gladness'. The choice for the rendering ἐλεημοσύνη 'compassion' in 28:17 is probably brought about by ελπίς 'hope' that stands out in the otherwise gloomy Greek text (28:15, 17, 18, 19). This also goes for 59:16, where Yhwh comes to the aid of his people, so the rendering fits well with the parallel nouns in the context. In 56:1 we find ἔλεος 'compassion' in a parallel to σωτήριον 'way of salvation'. It is thus justified to look for a contextual explanation regarding the choice of ἐλεημοσύνη 'compassion' for צדקה. As we saw above, several transformations in this verse serve to underline the twofold fate of 'Zion': the city will be purged and judges restored, but the sinners will be destroyed. Therefore it seems to me that 'compassion' here explains the use of σωθήσεται 'will be saved'.[232]
The normal rendering of משפט 'judgement, justice' in LXX-Isaiah is κρίσις 'judgement' (cf. 1:17). In 7 cases out of 42 it is translated with κρίμα 'judgement, justice'. In five cases κρίμα 'judgement, justice' is coupled with an abstract noun, notably δικαιοσύνη 'righteousness'.[233] And for the abstract sense κρίμα is more adequate than κρίσις, as we found in our discussion of 1:17.[234] This explains its use next to ἐλεημοσύνη 'compassion'.

ISAIAH 1:28

καὶ συντριβήσονται οἱ ἄνομοι καὶ οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἅμα καὶ οἱ ἐγκαταλείποντες τὸν κύριον συντελεσθήσονται.
and the lawless and the sinners will be crushed together and those who forsake the Lord will come to an end.

וְשֶׁבֶר פֹּשְׁעִים וְחַטָּאִים יַחְדָּו וְעֹזְבֵי יְהוָה יִכְלוּ׃

and crushing of criminals and sinners together and those who forsake the Lord will perish.

Translation In the first part of this quite literally translated verse the Hebrew text is a bit queer. Literally MT says וְשֶׁבֶר 'and crushing [of sinners…]' where we would expect a verb, like 'and sinners will be crushed'. Most versions give a verb for translational reasons. Textual emendations can be found in BHS and elsewhere. Some proposals actually fit into

[230] HAL 944a; THAT II, 520; Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 1263-1264. In Isaiah 1:27; 28:17; 59:16.
[231] In Isaiah 28 times out of 36; further צדקה is rendered as ἐλεημοσύνη (3 x), δίκαιος (2 x), κρίμα (1 x), ἔλεος (1 x), εὐφροσύνη (1 x). The related צֶדֶק is rendered with δικαιοσύνη 16 times out of 31.
[232] In midrashic language: מדת הדין ומדת הרחמים (justice and mercy). I have the impression that this consideration also stands behind the renderings in Psalm 32 (MT 33):5; 102 (MT 103):6.
[233] LXX-Isaiah 1:27; 5:16; 9:6 (and transposed, cf. app. cr.); 16:5; 32:16. Regarding the remaining two cases of the seven, in 10:2 the normal rendering κρίσις cannot be used for משפט because it has already been employed for מדין. In 28:26 an abstract sense seems to be inspired by σκληρότης 'stubbornness' in the next verse.
[234] Only in 59:9 we find a combination of κρίσις and δικαιοσύνη. Here κρίσις is used for משפט because it functions as a key word in the whole passage (59:4, 4, 8, 9, 11, 14, 15). Cf. also the observations in ThWNT III, 943-944.

the consonants of MT (=1QIsa[a]), viz. וְשִׁבַּר 'and He will crush' and וְשֻׁבַּר 'and … will be crushed'. We do not know how the translator read and interpreted his consonant text, possibly in the latter way and therefore I consider it a literal translation. Συντρίβω is the normal counterpart of שבר, both meaning 'to break, crush'.

The verb פשע, when used without preposition (cf. 1:2), means 'to behave as a criminal / rebel', according to modern lexica. Its active participle is rendered as οἱ ἄνομοι 'the lawless'. This generalization occurs 12 times in LXX-Isaiah and many times in other books. For the translational factors behind it see 1:4.

The phrase פשעים וחטאים 'rebels and sinners' lacks the article. In Hebrew poetry the article can be omitted more frequently than in prose. The Greek translator aimed for prose and provided the article in accordance with the Greek expressions in the context. I think that the addition of the anaphoric article is obligatory here,[235] since in the announcement of the divine punishment the 'rebels and sinners' refer back to the picture of vss 21-23.

For the phrase ἐγκαταλείπω τὸν κύριον 'to forsake the Lord' see 1:4.

The Hebrew כלה qal 'to be completed' can be used in the specific sense 'to perish' and the pi'el stem in the sense of 'to destroy, kill'. Lexica list Isaiah 1:28 and Zechariah 5:4 as the instances of this use.[236] But the belief that Greek συντελέω can also mean 'to kill' rests on the assumption that the Greek translators successfully transferred all semantic components to the Greek word ('Greek words with Hebrew meanings').[237] I consider this questionable. The alleged proof-texts are weak. Take 2 Kingdoms (2 Samuel) 21:5 and Ezekiel 5:12. Συντελέω 'to complete' must indeed denote destruction to the Greek reader, but only because the context with its synonyms suggests it. Finally Tobit 8:19 (S) is so Hebraizing that it tells us little about Greek usage. In my view συντελέω never had the sense of 'to kill, destroy'. If it had, then first of all among Greek-speaking, Septuagint-reading Christians. But John Chrysostom needs to *explain* συντελεσθήσονται! His entire commentary on the second clause of vs 28 reads:[238]

> Καὶ οἱ ἐγκαταλείποντες τὸν κύριον συντελεσθήσονται. - Οἱ δὲ ἀσεβεῖς, φησίν, ἀπολοῦνται.
> 'And those who forsake the Lord will come to an end.' – The impious ones, he says, will perish.

This example allows us two conclusions: first, that making a dictionary on the basis of translated texts is a dangerous undertaking,[239] and, second, that συντελέω means here 'to bring to an end', in accordance with normal Greek. What kind of transformation are we then dealing with? In my view there are two possibilities. The first one is that the translator employed συντελέω as a standard rendering of כלה qal 'to be completed', as we find in e.g. Genesis 2:1; and the second one is that the translator interpreted כלה qal in the sense of 'to be completed' and not necessarily as 'perishing', since the context describes the wasting away of the sinners in vss 29-31a and only in vs 31b their final destruction. Both cases would imply a literal translation.

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[235] Cf. 1:26, where the reverse happens.
[236] HAL 454b-455a, BDB 477b-478.
[237] See, e.g. LSJ 1726a, sub I.4 ('LXX'); Lust c.s., *Greek-English Lexicon*, 461a; Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 540b.
[238] Jean Chrysostome, *Commentaire sur Isaïe*, 92.
[239] Cf. Boyd-Taylor, The Evidentiary Value of Septuagintal Usage for Greek Lexicography, 47-80.

ISAIAH 1:29

διότι καταισχυνθήσονται ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰδώλοις αὐτῶν ἃ αὐτοὶ ἠβούλοντο καὶ ἐπησχύνθησαν ἐπὶ τοῖς κήποις αὐτῶν ἃ ἐπεθύμησαν
in view of the fact that they will be put to shame at their idols they used to prefer, and they have felt shame because of their gardens they desired

כִּי יֵבֹשׁוּ מֵאֵילִים אֲשֶׁר חֲמַדְתֶּם וְתַחְפְּרוּ מֵהַגַּנּוֹת אֲשֶׁר בְּחַרְתֶּם׃
for they will be ashamed at their gods which they desired and they will feel disgrace at the gardens they chose

Greek text According to Thackeray διότι is used instead of ὅτι after vowels to avoid hiatus (but cf. 1:2).[240] I have rather the impression that the more explicitly causal διότι is used to explain συντελεσθήσονται. The sinners will be come to an end, *in view of the fact that* (BDAG 251b) they will be put to shame, made sterile and finally destroyed.
The difference between καταισχύνω and ἐπαισχύνομαι is subtle. The former means 'to cause someone to be much ashamed – to humiliate, to disgrace, to put to shame' and the latter 'to experience or feel shame or disgrace because of a particular event or activity'.[241]
The verbal tenses are remarkable. We first find future + imperfect, and then surprisingly, in a seemingly parallel syntax, aorist + aorist! As Ziegler's apparatus shows, several witnesses present a smoother text, in which both parallel clauses are in future tense.
For the double augment in ἠβούλοντο (instead of ἐβούλοντο) see LSJ 325b.
The relative pronoun ἅ does not agree with its antecedent κῆποι. It is a rare *ad sensum* construction which occurs especially with neuter (Smyth § 2501d; BDR § 296.3). A grammatically correct agreement would refer back incorrectly:

*... ἐπὶ τοῖς κήποις αὐτῶν οὓς ἐπεθύμησαν
* … at the gardens of those whom they desired.

Translation The rendering of אלים 'gods'[242] with εἴδωλα 'images' can perhaps best be classified as a specification. It refers in a deprecatory way (to Jewish ears) to the cultic objects belonging to idol worship, doubtless for religious reasons. The article τοῖς has been added for syntactic parallelism with the second part of the verse.
Καταισχυνθήσονται ἐπί 'will be put to shame by reason of' is semantically a literal translation of יבשו 'will be ashamed, put to shame by reason of'.[243] It occurs often throughout the Septuagint. Other literal translations occur, e.g. αἰσχύνομαι 'to be ashamed' (frequent in LXX) and ἐπαισχύνομαι 'to be ashamed of'. But it seems that the literal revisors Aquila and Symmachus considered καταισχύνω a specification, since according to Ziegler's apparatus they 'corrected' it into αἰσχυνθήσονται 'will be ashamed'. The background of this 'correction' is the desire for consistency on word level (stereotyping). In their ideal בוש should be rendered with one Greek verb, αἰσχύνομαι 'to be ashamed'. The correction can also be

[240] H.St.J. Thackeray, *A Grammar of the OT in Greek*, § 9,12.
[241] Louw & Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, entries 25.194 and 25.193. On analogy with ἐπαισχύνομαι (BDAG 357b) and αἰσχύνομαι (LSJ 43b) also καταισχύνω can apparently be construed with ἐπί (cf. LXX-Jeremiah 10:14). In the literally translated LXX-books it is sometimes construed with ἀπό or ἐκ.
[242] The 1QIsa[a] reading אלים 'gods' for MT אילים '(sacred) oaks' was possibly in the LXX parent text.
[243] So HALOT s.v. בוש; BDB101b.

found in several manuscripts. I therefore believe Ziegler rightly considered καταισχύνω original. The translator probably chose it because αἰσχύνομαι means 'to feel shame or disgrace because of having done something wrong or something beneath one's dignity or social status,'[244] whereas καταισχύνω better expresses the idea of being disconcerted or disappointed because of false trust in something. A glance at Hatch & Redpath s.v. αἰσχύνομαι and a check in critical editions suggests that in quite a few cases it has replaced its derivates (ἐπι~, κατ~).[245] I have the impression that this root could serve as a starting point for studying revisional tendencies in manuscripts.

The verse has two words expressing wishes. The first, בחר 'to chose, elect', is rendered with βουλόμαι 'to want, prefer' and the second, חמד 'to desire', with ἐπιθυμέω. Judging from the usual renderings one would expect the reverse! Indeed I think the translator had the renderings change places. The reason is his choice for 'images' instead of 'gods'. Εἴδωλα 'images' does not qualify as an object of ἐπιθυμέω 'to desire', for the Judeans did not *desire* the images greatly, they possessed and worshipped them. The translator instead says that the Judeans used to prefer (ἠβούλοντο) the idols (over Yhwh, it suggests implicitely).

The shift from 2nd person plural to 3rd person plural (חמדתם 'you…' → ἠβούλοντο 'they…') harmonizes the participant reference to the context.[246]

The pronouns αὐτῶν 'their' and αὐτοί 'they' have been added in the first sentence, because both εἴδωλα 'gods' and the relative ἅ are neuter plural. Without the pronouns a misunderstanding lies at the door: *ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰδώλοις ἃ ἠβούλοντο '… at the idols who preferred…'

The second sentence does not need the pronouns, since κῆπος 'garden' is masculine. Nevertheless it receives αὐτῶν 'their' once, probably to make both sentences not too divergent.

The Hebrew גן 'garden' does not refer to fruit trees here, but to worshipped trees. Therefore the usual rendering κῆπος 'garden' is used instead of παράδεισος 'park' (cf. Genesis 2:8).

The aorist ἐπῃσχύνθησαν 'they have felt shame' raises the question why this puzzling transition to past tense (see *Greek text*) has been chosen here. A remark by Wilk on 1:8, 'Dem Tempuswechsel ins Futur (…) entspricht der gegenläufige Wechsel in V. 29b,'[247] may put us on the right track: how has the translator rendered the verbal tenses so far? The Hebrew imperative and iussive correspond to a Greek imperative in a natural way, the 'perfect' has been rendered with aorist (except in vs 11) and the 'imperfect' has been rendered with either present or future. Now the unvocalized parent text neither made a distinction between *we* + perfect (*weqatálti*) and perfect consecutive (*weqataltí*), nor between *we* + imperfect (*weyiqtol*) and imperfect consecutive (*wayyiqtol*). My impression is that the translator started with the working assumption that every *weqatalti* was a perfect consecutive (*weqataltí*), indicating future tense, and that every *wyqtl* was an imperfect consecutive, indicating past tense (*wayyiqtol*). He found *weqatalti* in 1:8, 19, 20; 2:2ff. and rendered the verb forms as future. In 5:14 he first rendered *weqatalti* with a past tense. Apparently he discovered only there that *weqatalti* may have different functions and may also refer to past situations (cf. 6:3). Similarly, he treated ותחפרו in vs 29 as an imperfect consecutive (וַתַּחפרו) and translated it as past tense. In 5:15f. he first rendered *w* + imperfect

[244] Louw & Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, entry 25.190.
[245] E.g. 2 Kingdoms (1 Samuel) 16:21; Psalm 6:11; Proverbs 20:4; Sirach 22:25; 24:22; Isaiah 50:7; Jeremiah 6:15; 17:13.
[246] For a full discussion see Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle* 2, 10-11.
[247] Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 21.

with future, not as an imperfect consecutive.[248] In my opinion this accounts for the otherwise puzzling change of verbal tense in 1:8, 29. It is not necessary to postulate actualizing exegesis in these verses.[249]

ISAIAH 1:30

Ἔσονται γὰρ ὡς τερέβινθος ἀποβεβληκυῖα τὰ φύλλα καὶ ὡς παράδεισος ὕδωρ μὴ ἔχων
For they will be like a terebinth that has shed its leaves and like a park having no water

כִּי תִהְיוּ כְּאֵלָה נֹבֶלֶת עָלֶהָ וְכִגַּנָּה אֲשֶׁר־מַיִם אֵין לָהּ׃
for you will be like an oak, withered of leafage, and like a garden that has no water

Greek text –

Translation The change of word order effected by γάρ is obligatory. For the shift from 2nd person plural to 3rd person plural see 1:29.
The rendering of אלה 'mighty tree, terebinth' with τερέβινθος is literal.[250]
The collective עלה 'leafage' is rendered with the plural φύλλα 'leaves' (obligatory). Compared to MT, the possessive element in עָלֶהָ 'her leafage' seems to have been dropped (cf. 1:3, 24). But since the parent text of LXX was unpointed, the translator may have interpreted the unpointed text as עָלֶה 'leafage'.
The Hebrew verb נבל 'to wither and fall' is rendered with a variety of words in LXX-Isaiah and throughout the Septuagint, as appears from Muraoka's *Index*. In those cases 'leaves' or 'flowers' are subject. But here we find a different construction, literally 'as a terebinth fading as regards its leaf'.[251] The tree is the subject of fading, viz. in respect of the leafage. Translations often make the leaves the subject of withering: 'like an oak whose leaf withers' (NRSV). The LXX-translator retained the subject and provided a converse translation, like GN*:* 'wie eine Eiche, die ihre Blätter verliert'. There is no reason to assume a different source text.[252]
For the rendering of גנה (= גן) 'garden' see our discussion of Genesis 2:8.
For the rendering of the typical Hebrew construction מים אין לה lit. 'not being water for her' with ὕδωρ μὴ ἔχων 'having no water', I refer to Proverbs 6:8. Semantically it is a literal translation, but the shift from relative clause to participle is a change of syntactic structure. A participle is more elegant here, as it gives a syntactic parallel with the preceding clause.

[248] I do not reckon 2:3 as the first case, since *w* + imperfect follows an imperative, so that the cohortative sense is suggested very strongly.
[249] As Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 33f., does.
[250] Cf. BDB 18b; Meyer / Donner, *Gesenius' Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch*, 60a.
[251] Gesenius-Kautzsch-Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar*, § 116i. Cf. NJPS.
[252] Contra Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 28.

ISAIAH 1:31

καὶ ἔσται ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτῶν ὡς καλάμη στιππύου καὶ αἱ ἐργασίαι αὐτῶν ὡς σπινθῆρες πυρός καὶ κατακαυθήσονται οἱ ἄνομοι καὶ οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἅμα καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ σβέσων.
and their might will be like a stalk of tow and their works as sparks of fire and the lawless and the sinners will burn together and there will be no one extinguishing.

וְהָיָה הֶחָסֹן לִנְעֹרֶת וּפָעֳלוֹ לְנִיצוֹץ וּבָעֲרוּ שְׁנֵיהֶם יַחְדָּו וְאֵין מְכַבֶּה׃ ס
and the strong one will be to tow and his work to a spark, and the two of them will burn together and no one will extinguish.

Greek text –

Translation Two words have been vocalized differently from MT, חסן and פעלו. The former has been taken as חֹסֶן 'strength' instead of חָסֹן 'the strong one' and the latter as פָּעֳלוֹ 'his work' instead of פֹּעֲלוֹ 'his worker'.[253]
The rendering of חֹסֶן with ἰσχύς is literal, as both mean 'strength'. It is followed by αὐτῶν 'their', but if this is an addition cannot be said with certainty, for the Qumran Isaiah scroll (1QIsa[a]) reads החסנכם 'their strength'. Although this is a conflate reading, the additional suffix apparently existed in at least one manuscript. For a transition from 2nd to 3rd person, explaining also the second αὐτῶν 'their' (change of number), see 1:29.
An immediate consequence of the plural pronouns is that פעל 'work' is turned into plural ἐργασίαι 'works', since it concerns the deeds of more than one person. And of course ניצוץ 'spark' then has to become σπινθῆρες 'sparks' (change of number).
Στιππύον 'tow' is a rendering of נערת 'tow', as in Judges 16:9 (B). Καλάμη 'stalk' is added to clarify that weakness and flammability are meant, not the strength of flax wrought into a rope. In Judges 16:9 this element is also in the Hebrew text.
To underline the metaphorical character of 'their strength will be like a stalk of tow', the translator makes it into a simile by rendering ל 'to' as ὡς 'like' twice (explicitation).
In the second clause πῦρ 'fire' is added for stylistic reasons to produce a parallel expression to the first: 'stalk of tow' // 'spark of fire'.[254]
An explicitation is the rendering of שניהם 'the two of them' with οἱ ἄνομοι καὶ οἱ ἁμαρτωλοί 'the lawless and the sinners', obviously taken from vs 28. When MT says that 'the two of them will burn together,' it is not very clear who are meant: the strong and his work or the tow and the spark. Some modern versions feel the same problem. They either give an explicitation, e.g. '*they and their work* shall burn together' (NRSV), or they turn שניהם 'the two of them' into a very general reference, e.g. 'they all go up in flames' (CEV, TEV, GN). Now the Septuagint cannot refer back to 'the strong … and his work', as it has rendered that as ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτῶν ... καὶ αἱ ἐργασίαι αὐτῶν 'their might and their works'. And it is awkward to say that 'their might and their work' will burn together. The repeated pronoun αὐτῶν 'their' refers back to the persons mentioned in vs 28 οἱ ἄνομοι καὶ οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἅμα 'the lawless and the sinners together'. The recurrence of יחדו > ἅμα 'together' in 1:28, 31 strengthens the suggestion that the same people are meant. It is therefore

[253] I refer to the elaborate discussion by Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle* 2, 11-13.
[254] So already Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 93.

understandable that the translator preferred this clear explicitation over the vague solution of some modern versions.
The last item of this chapter, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ σβέσων 'and there will be no one extinguishing', contains no transformation in the sense of this study. It is a literal rendering, occurring in all types of translations in the Septuagint.[255]

CHART OF LITERALNESS IN ISAIAH 1

(For a clarification of the four categories, see the introduction to the charts of Genesis 2.)

0 = complete adherence to form of source text
1, ...8 etc. = number of 'deviations'

vs.	*Quantitative representation of segments*	*Adherence to ST word classes*	*Adherence to ST word order*	*Stereotyping*
1	+ 8	1	0	0
2	0	0	2*	0
3	+ 4 – 2	0	0	0
4	+ 2 – 2	3	0	0
5	+ 1	1	1	0
6	+ 5 – 5	6	2	0
7	+ 2 – 1	3	0	0
8	0	0	0	0
9	+ 4 – 1	0	0	0
10	– 1	0	0	1
11	– 2	0	0	0
12	+ 2 – 1	0	0	0
13	+ 3	4	0	0
14	+ 4	1	0	0
15	+ 4 – 3	2	1	1
16	+ 3	1	0	1
17	+ 1	0	0	0
18	+ 3	0	0	0
19	+ 2	0	0	0
20	+ 2	0	1*	0
21	+ 3 – 1	1	1*	1
22	+ 3 – 3	1	1	1
23	– 3	0	0	0
24	+ 6 – 1	2	2	0
25	+ 8	2	2*	0
26	+ 1 – 2	1	0	2
27	+ 2 – 1	0	0	1

[255] Cf. literal renderings of similar phrases as καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ σβέσων (Isaiah 1:31; Jeremiah 4:4; 21:12), καὶ οὐκ ἔσται σοι ὁ βοηθῶν (Deuteronomy 28:29 etc.), καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ἐξαιρούμενος (Job 5:4 etc.).

28	+ 2	0	0	1
29	+ 3	0	0	0
30	– 2	0	1*	0
31	+ 8	0	0	0
total	**+ 86 – 31**	**28**	**14**	
average per word	**+ 0.2 – 0.09**	**0.08**	**0.04**	

* included in this figure: 'deviations' caused by postpositive δέ, γάρ
The total number of words in Isaiah 1:1-31 is 362.

A. Quantitative representation

The translation does not adhere strictly to the number of elements of its original. It contains many *added elements*, not only obligatory ones like ἄν (1:9), but also numerous conjunctions that have the function of forging a coherent text (1:3, 3, 4, 8, 9, 9, 12, 12, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 18, 19, 23, 24, 26, 27), clarifying pronouns (1:3, 3, 13, 16, 19, 20, 21, 24, 29, 29, 31), prepositions (1:1, 5, 16) and articles (1:28, 28, 31). Further additions relate to clarifications (1:1, 7, 7, 14, 15, 20, 21, 24, 25) or stylistic improvements (1:5, 31, 31). The translator's *omissions* are rarely obligatory, like the omission of the particle נא (1:18), or the omission of לך (1:26). Non-obligatory omissions relate to articles (1:26), conjunctions (1:8, 15, 27) and pronominal suffixes (1:3, 3, 10, 15, 24). The translator sometimes omits words and phrases that he considers semantically superfluous (1:4, 6, 6, 9, 11, 23). Additions outnumber omissions, so that the translation is longer than the original, which is in line with general experience, as we noted in the Conclusions to Genesis 2. It is further interesting to note that with the exception of 1:4, 25, 31 deviations from quantitative representation rarely affect content words[o].

B. Adherence to word classes

The translator sticks to the word classes of the original. Few changes of word class are obligatory (1:13, 15, 24, 26). Other changes of word class have been semantically (1:24, 25) or stylistically inspired (1:1, 4, 4, 4, 6, 7, 15, 25).

C. Adherence to word order

The word order of the original is closely followed. The few exceptions are obligatory (1:2, 20, 21, 25, 30), are demanded by style (1:5, 24) or are the corollary of other transformations (1:6, 25). Only in 1:24 a change of word order serves to solve a content problem. For the rest the Greek translation can be retraced to the Hebrew text almost word for word. In this respect LXX- Isaiah displays a high degree of literalness.

D. Stereotyping

Although the corpus of one chapter, especially the first one of a book, is too short to come to reliable conclusions, the data available suggest that the Isaiah translator is not concerned with rendering Hebrew lexemes consistently with particular Greek counterparts. Not surprisingly, lexemes like ארץ 'land', יד 'hand', יהוה 'Yhwh' have fixed counterparts. But for an easy lexeme like יום 'day' the translator makes no bones of a contextual transforma-

tion to βασιλεία ‘reign’ (1:1). Many Hebrew lexemes have varied renderings, such as בוא ‘to come’ (1:12, 23), היה ‘to be’ (1:9, 18, 22), האזין ‘to listen’ (1:2, 10), השיב ‘to bring back’ (1:25, 26), משפט ‘judgement’ (1:17, 21, 27), פשע ‘to rebel’ (1:2, 28), קריה ‘city’ (1:21, 26), שמע ‘to hear’ (1:2, 10, 15).

A number of Greek lexemes cover two or more Hebrew lexemes: ἄνομος ‘lawless’ (1:4, 25, 28, 31), ἐγκαταλείπω ‘to leave, forsake’ (1:8, 9, 28), εἰσακούω ‘to listen’ (1:15, 20), καθαρός ‘clean’ (1:16, 25), κρίσις ‘judgement’ (1:17, 21, 23, 24), πλήρης ‘full’ (1:4, 11, 15, 21) ψυχή ‘soul’ (1:14, 16*).

These data do not mean that the translator is inconsistent. His consistency lies in contextual sensitivity. At the same time differences in vocabulary, e.g. the poverty of the Greek lexicon for sin and iniquity compared to Hebrew, have caused lexical rearrangements. Finally a preference for certain words, e.g. ἄνομ- ‘lawless-’, may have played a role. The ST vocabulary creates new key word patterns and intertextual relationships.

Connected with this is the question whether the Isaiah translator was dependent on the lexicon of the LXX-Pentateuch. It is generally believed that this is so, but recently James Barr has subjected this conviction to a methodological scrutiny. He concludes that there is little reason to uphold that claim any longer.[256] My findings in Isaiah 1 underline Barr’s findings. Already in vss 1-20 I found more than 20 words that were rendered with Greek terms that have not been used for those Hebrew words in the LXX-Pentateuch. The translator gives pride of place to semantic nuances in his ST and not to pre-existing traditions. This explains the use of:

1:1	βασιλεύω ‘to be king’	← מֶלֶךְ ‘king’ (Pent. βασιλεύς)
1:2	γεννάω ‘to beget’	← גדל [?] ‘to raise’ (Pent. μεγαλύνω, τρέφω)
1:4	πλήρης ‘full’	← כבד ‘heavy’ (Pent. βαρύς)
	παροργίζω ‘to make angry’	← נאץ ‘to spurn’ (Pent. παροξύνω)
1:5	ἀνομία ‘lawlessness’	← סרה ‘apostasy’ (Pent. ἀσεβεία)
	πόνος ‘pain’	← חלי ‘illness, wound’ (Pent. μαλακία)
1:6	καταδέσμος ‘bandage’	← חבש ‘to bind’ (Pent. ‘to saddle’, ‘put on’)[257]
1:7	χώρα ‘territory’	← אדמה ‘territory’ (Pent. ‘soil, land’)
1:7	πυρίκαυστοι ‘fire-burnt’	← שרופת אש ‘burnt by fire’ (Pent. [ἐν] πυρὶ κατακαύω)
1:8	πολιορκέω ‘to besiege’	← נצר ‘to besiege’ (Pent. ‘to keep’)
	ἐγκαταλείπομαι ‘to be left behind’	← נותר ‘to be left alone’ (Pent. καταλείπομαι, ὑπολείπομαι)
1:9	ἐγκαταλείπω ‘to leave behind’	← הותיר ‘to leave’ (Pent. ἀπο-, κατα-, ὑπολείπω)
1:13	σεμίδαλις ‘fine flour	← מנחה ‘gift’ (Pent. δῶρον, θυσία)
	ἡμέρα μεγάλη ‘Great Day’	← מקרא קרא ‘calling assemblies’

[256] J. Barr, Did the Greek Pentateuch Really Serve as a Dictionary for the Translation of the Later Books? in: M.F.J. Baasten and W. Th. van Peursen, *Hamlet on a Hill. Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 118), Leuven 2003, 523-543. For the traditional view regarding Isaiah 1, cf. Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 30.

[257] In this table English words represent various Greek words with that meaning.

		(Pent. … κλητή)
	ἀργία ‘not-working’	← עצרה ‘solemn assembly’ (Pent. ἐξόδιον)
1:14	πλησμονή ‘satiety’	← טרח ‘trouble’ (Pent. κόπος)
	ἀνέχω ‘to bear’	← יכל ‘to be able’ (Pent. δύναμαι)
1:16	ψυχή ‘soul’	← לב ‘heart’ (Pent. καρδία)
1:17	δικαιόω ‘to do right’	← ריב ‘to plead the case’ (Pent. ‘to dispute’)
1:18	διελέγχομαι ‘to dispute’	← נוכח ‘to dispute’
		(Pent. ἀληθεύω [1x], hif. ἐλέγχω)
	φοινικοῦς ‘crimson’	← שני ‘scarlet’ (Pent. κόκκινος)
	λευκαίνω ‘to make white’	← היה ‘to be’ (Pent. εἰμί, γίνομαι).

The appearance of ὁλοκαύτωμα ‘whole-burnt-offering’ for עולה (1:11) seems to point to the LXX-Pentateuch, as it makes its entrance into written Greek just there. But we cannot claim the same for spoken language. It is quite likely that the myriads of Jewish diaspora pilgrims to Jerusalem, not to speak of the Hellenized elite in the city itself, possessed a Greek vocabulary for the handful of different offerings and sacrifices in the temple.

There are, however, two instances that seem to point to an existing tradition of ‘standard equivalents’. First, with respect to ἐνωτίζομαι ‘to give ear’ (1:2) for האזין ‘to give ear’, it is not likely that it was part of Jewish religious vocabulary in Greek. Second, Barr’s valuable observations should be refined with the thought that when an appropriate term is avoided in favour of a term that is taken out of its normal meaning, this may point to a pre-existing tradition. Κρίσις ‘judgement’ is used unidiomatically for of משפט ‘judgement, justice’ instead of a more abstract counterpart. The reason for this seems to be that in the LXX-Pentateuch or in another received translation practice δικαιοσύνη ‘justice’ had already been reserved for צדק and צדקה. The same holds true for νόμος ‘law’ (1:10).

CHART OF TRANSFORMATIONS IN ISAIAH 1

vs	*Hebrew*	*Greek*	*Obligatory*[258]	*Non-obligatory*
1	חזון ישעיהו	ὅρασις ἣν εἶδεν Ησαίας		anaphorical translation
	על־יהודה	κατὰ τῆς Ιουδαίας	specification	naturalized transcription
	וירושלם	καὶ κατὰ Ιερουσαλημ		addition
	-	καί… καί… καί…	addition	
	עזיהו יחזקיהו	Οζίας Εζεκίας	naturalized transcription	
	יותם אחז	Ιωαθαμ Αχαζ	transcription	
	בימי	ἐν βασιλείᾳ		specification
	מלכי יהודה	οἳ ἐβασίλευσαν τῆς Ιουδαίας		ch. of word class
2	שמים	οὐρανός	ch. of accidence	
	האזיני	ἐνωτίζομαι		[morphematic translation: not counted]

[258] Only a fraction of the obligatory transformations has been listed.

	גדלתי [?]	ἐγέννησα		effect → cause
	רוממתי	ὕψωσα	literal translation	
	פשעו בי	με ἠθέτησαν	literal translation	ch. of word order
3	קנהו	τὸν κτησάμενον	literal translation	omission
	בעליו	τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ	ch. of accidence	
	-	δέ	addition	
	-	με (2x)		explicitation
	-	καί	addition	
	עמי	ὁ λαός -	literal translation	omission
4	גוי	ἔθνος	literal translation	
	חטא	ἁμαρτωλόν		ch. of word class
	כבד	πλήρης		modification
	עון	ἁμαρτιῶν		ch. of accidence
	מרעים	πονηρόν		ch. of word class
	משחיתים	ἄνομοι		generalization / change of word class
	-	καί		addition
	עזבו	ἐγκατελίπατε		ch. of accidence
	נאצו	παρωργίσατε		ch. of accidence modification
	קדוש ישראל	τὸν ἅγιον τοῦ Ισραηλ		addition
	נזרו אחור	-		omission
5	על מה	τί	literal translation	
	תכו עוד	ἔτι πληγῆτε	literal translation	ch. of word order
	תוסיפו	προστιθέντες		ch. of accidence
	סרה	ἀνομίαν		generalization
	חלי	πόνος		translation of cause and effect
	דוי	εἰς λύπην		addition, translation of cause and effect
6	מכף רגל	ἀπὸ - ποδῶν		omission, ch. of accidence
	חבורה	μώλωψ	literal translation	
	פצע	τραῦμα	literal translation	
	מכה	πληγή	literal translation	
	טרי	-		omission
	לא־זרו	φλεγμαίνουσα		effect → cause
	second part			restructuring of discourse
7	אדמה	χώρα	literal translation	
	כ	-		omission
	מהפכה	κατεστραμμένη		ch. of word class
	-	ὑπό		explicitation
	-	λαός		explicitation
8	ו	-		
	נותרה	ἐγκαταλειφθήσεται	literal translation	
	סכה	σκηνή	generalization	
	-	καί		addition

	מלונה	ὀπωροφυλάκιον		generalization
	במקשה	ἐν σικυηράτῳ	literal translation	
	עיר נצורה	πόλις πολιορκουμένη	literal translation	
9	-	καί		addition
	צבאות	σαβαωθ		transcription
	שריד	σπέρμα		cause → effect
	כמעט	-		
	-	καί		addition
	-	ἄν (2x)	addition	
10	האזינו	προσέχετε	literal translation	
	קציני סדם עם עמרה	ἄρχοντες Σοδομων λαὸς Γομορρας	literal translation	naturalized transcription
	אלהינו	θεοῦ -		omission
11	וכבשים	-		omission
	מריאים	ἄρνες		specification
12	-	οὐδέ		addition
	פני	- μοι		omission
	-	γάρ		addition
	זאת	ταῦτα		ch. of accidence
	מידכם	ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ὑμῶν		ch. of accidence
	-	ἐάν		addition
13	הביא	φέρητε		ch. of accidence
	מנחה	σεμίδαλις		specification
	היא	ἐστί	ch. of word class	
	חדש ושבת	τὰς νουμηνίας ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ σάββατα	ch. of accidence (number)	
	-	ὑμῶν		anaphoric translation
	-	καὶ	addition	
	קרא מקרא	ἡμέραν μεγάλην		specification
	*צום	νηστεία	literal translation	
	עצרה	ἀργία	literal translation	
14	-	καί		addition
	היו	ἐγενήθητε		ch. of accidence
	טרח	πλησμονή		effect → cause
	נלאיתי	οὐκέτι		ch. of word class
	-	τὰς ἁμαρτίας ὑμῶν	explicitation	
15	ו	-		omission
	כפיכם	τὰς χεῖρας -	generalization	omission
	בפרשכם כפיכם	ὅταν ἐκτείνητε	ch. of syntactic structure	
	-	πρός με		explicitation
	אעלים עיני	ἀποστρέψω τὸ πρόσωπόν μου		modification
	תפלה	δέησις		specification
	שמע	εἰσακούω	specification	
	-	γάρ		addition
	דמים	αἷμα	ch. of accidence	

16	רע	τὰς πονηρίας		ch. of accidence
	מעל *לבכם	ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν		modification
	-	ἀπό		addition
	-	ὑμῶν		addition
17	אשרו	ῥύσασθε		generalization
	חמוץ	ἀδικούμενον		generalization
	-	καί	addition	
	ריבו	δικαιώσατε	literal translation	
18	-	καί (2x)		addition
	נא	-	omission	
	ילבינו	λευκανῶ		effect → cause
	יאדימו	ὧσιν	implicitation	
	-	δέ		addition
	יהיו	λευκανῶ		effect → cause
19	-	καί		addition
	-	μου	addition	
	טוב	τὰ ἀγαθά	change of accidence	
20	ואם־תמאנו	ἐὰν δὲ μὴ θέλητε		antonymic translation
	-	μου	addition	
	ומריתם	μηδὲ εἰσακούσητε		antonymic translation
	חרב תאכלו	μάχαιρα ὑμᾶς κατέδεται		passive → active
	-	ταῦτα		addition
21	ל	-	omission	
	נאמן	πιστός	ch. of word class	
	-	Σιων		explicitation
	-	ἐν ᾗ		addition
22	היה ל	-		omission
	סיגים	ἀδόκιμος		modification; cause → effect
	-ך	ὑμῶν		ch. of accidence
	-	οἱ κάπηλοι		addition
	-ך	σοῦ		change of syntactic function
	מהול	μίσγουσι		change of syntactic function
	סבא	οἶνος	generalization	
23	ו	-		omission
	כלו	-		omission
	אהב רדף	ἀγαπῶντες... διώκοντες		ch. of accidence
	שחד	δῶρα		ch. of accidence
	שלמנים	ἀνταπόδομα		ch. of accidence
	יתום אלמנה	ὀρφανοῖς... χηρῶν		ch. of accidence
	ישפטו	κρίνοντες		ch. of accidence
	לא יבוא אליהם	οὐ προσέχοντες		situational translation
24	נאם	λέγει	ch. of word class	
	-	τάδε		addition

	אביר ישראל הוי	οὐαὶ οἱ ἰσχύοντες Ισραηλ		ch. of word order; ch. of accidence
	-	γάρ		addition
	אנחמה	οὐ παύσεταί μου ὁ θυμός	literal translation	
	מצרי	ἐν τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις		omission (of suffix)
	ואנקמה	κρίσιν ποίησω		modification
25	ואשיבה	καὶ ἐπάξω		generalization
	על	ἐπί	literal translation	
	סיניך	τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας		explicitation
	-	δέ		addition
	ך-	σέ		ch. of word class
	כבר	εἰς καθαρόν		explicitation
	-	ἀπολέσω		explicitation
	בדיליך	ἀνόμους		explicitation
	ך-	ἀπὸ σοῦ		ch. of word class
	-	καὶ πάντας ὑπερήφανους ταπεινώσω		addition
26	אשיבה	ἐπιστήσω		modification
	כבראשונה	ὡς τὸ πρότερον	omission (prep.)	
	כבתחלה	ὡς τὸ ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς		modification (prep.)
	-	καί		addition
	עיר הצדק	πόλις δικαιοσύνης	omission (art.)	
	קריה	μητρόπολις		specification
27	-	γάρ		addition
	ו	-		omission
	-	καί		addition
28	ושבר	καὶ συντριβήσονται	literal translation	
	פשעים	οἱ ἄνομοι	addition (art.)	generalization
	יכלו	συντελεσθήσονται	literal translation	
29	מאלים	ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰδώλοις		specification, addition (art.)
	-	αὐτῶν... αὐτοί.. αὐτῶν		addition
	חמדתם בחרתם תהיו (30)	ἠβούλοντο, ἐπεθύμησαν, ἔσονται		change of accidence
	חמדתם	ἠβούλοντο		modification
	בחרתם	ἐπεθύμησαν		modification
30	נבלת	ἀποβεβληκυῖα		converse translation
	עלה	φύλλα	ch. of accidence	
	מים אין לה	ὕδωρ μὴ ἔχων		ch. of syntactic function
31	-	αὐτῶν		addition
	ל	ὡς		explicitation
	-	καλάμη		addition
	פעל ניצוץ	ἐργασίαι... σπινθῆρες		ch. of accidence
	-	πυρός		addition
	שניהם	οἱ ἄνομοι καὶ οἱ ἁμαρτωλοί		explicitation
tot			**53**	**136**

The total number of non-obligatory transformations in Isaiah 1 is **136**, their average number per Hebrew word is **0.27**.

CONCLUSIONS

Our discussion of the chart of literalness allows us to catch a glimpse of the translator's doings, but the decisive characteristics of the translation are not captured by that chart. We have to look at the non-obligatory transformations and study the rationale behind them.

The translator closely follows his source text. Literal translation constitutes his most important tool. His intention of adherence to the Hebrew text shows in the instances of SL *interference*. An example is πληθύνω 'to multiply X' in the sense of 'to do X often' (1:15), but apparently the translator had doubts about it, for later on he avoided this Hebraism. Another instance is συντελέω 'to bring to an end' (1:28). In spite of the translator's concern for style, the flavour of the chapter is Hebraistic. Word order and syntax reflect Hebrew rather than Greek usage. Examples are the striking parataxis in 1:24b-31, the use of prepositions (1:16, 24), the pleonastic pronoun (1:1, 14, 21) and interjections (1:4, 24). This indicates that the translator is partly sign-oriented and not sense-oriented in the full sense of the word.

On the other hand the translator aims for *naturalness*, as can be illustrated with hellenized names like Ιουδαία and Ησαίας (1:1). A few times the translator makes words change positions in order to arrive at a natural word order (1:2, 5, 15). And when a literal translation of words sounds unnatural, minor transformations result in a more elegant text, like the modification in 1:4, the generalization in 1:5, the omission in 1:12, the change of syntactic structure in 1:15. He omits possessive pronouns (1:3, 24) as is usual in Greek style, refrains from stereotyping when the collocation differs (1:9, 10). The translator knows to choose non-literal, but natural TL counterparts for lexemes (1:22, 29).

With respect to *semantics* we have seen that the translator analyses Hebrew expressions and renders them precisely. Examples of this are renderings of the prepositions in 1:7, 12, 16 and of the verbal tenses in 1:8, 29. At the same time he is sensitive to contextual nuances, as appears from renderings like δέησις (1:4), πόνος (1:5), πονηρός (1:15), ταῦρος (1:11) and plural rendering of collective singulars (1:13, 23, 23).

Clarity is a major concern of the translator. To that end he makes small elements (1:3, 13, 15, 21, 31) or phrases (1:14, 31) explicit. As a reverse, elements considered superfluous are sometimes omitted (1:3, 9, 11). The translator is interested in producing a coherent text with either clearly marked or smooth transitions, and so he frequently adds or omits conjunctions (1:3, 3, 4, 8, 8, 9, 9, 12, 12, 12, 13, 14, 15, 15, 17, 18, 18, 21, 22, 24, 24, 25, 26). A problem posed itself to the translator by the abrupt transitions from 2nd to 3rd person and vice versa. He tried to 'harmonize the participants' by removing these transitions for the sake of coherence (1:4, 14, 22, 23, 29, 31). The most radical transformation to mark a transition is the addition of a small clause in 1:25. Sometimes the translator renders the sense of the metaphor rather than its image (1:16, 25) for clearness' sake. A subtler instrument for digesting metaphors is turning a metonymy into a simile (1:31).

The translator is keen on transformations *preventing misunderstandings* which might arise from a literal translation. This is the rationale behind the generalization and the addition of

an article in 1:4, pronouns in 1:29, the change of accidence into a participle in 1:5[259] and the anaphorical translation that makes a nominative visible (1:1). The translator stresses the separate treatment of righteous and godless in 1:24, 26.

Common sense is also an important principle for the translator. He rearranges the medical treatment in 1:6, removes a metaphor which might sound ridiculous (1:7), divides the otherwise problematic content of 1:18 into stages, and rephrases the last words of 1:23. It is remarkable that the translator considers precision with respect to content words more important than with regard to the syntactic structure in which they function. He does not shrink from a different syntactic distribution of content words if that helps to avoid problems (1:13). Syntactically he goes to great lengths to do justice to the precise meaning of בקש מיד 'to demand *from the hand*' (1:12) or of טרח 'trouble' (1:14).

Some transformations are the result of earlier decisions. The clearest example is the literal interpretation of 'from the hand' (1:12), which leads to a series of syntactical shifts. Minor examples can be found in 1:12, 25, 29.

The translator occasionally goes beyond naturalness and aims for ease and beauty of *style*, which brings him within the realm of ancient rhetorica. The distinct Hebraic flavour of the text suggests that he was not applying rules from a rhetorical handbook to produce a natural Greek text, but rather unconsciously and unsystematically followed his intuitions. Some transformations are prompted by a concern for elegance (1:7, 23). In 1:22 the translator lends a lapidary taste to a clause. He tries to avoid repetition of lexemes (1:9, 26), as customary in Greek. On the other hand he loves repetition of parallel patterns and omits or adds small elements (1:1, 5, 6, 29, 31). Sometimes this entails a number of transformations (1:4, 20, 22, 23, 30), and in 1:17 the translator even seems to insert a Hebraism to arrive at a threefold repetition of ἀπό. We find quite a number of chiasms in the text, sometimes independent from Hebrew (1:25). The translator creates Greek prose and makes but little attempt at reproducing poetical features (e.g. alliteration in 1:11, 21). These preoccupations suggest that the translator wants to produce a readable and understandable text, most probably meant to be read aloud as an independent text.

A *cultural* issue surfaces in 1:22, where for the benefit of his audience the translator removes the suggestion that mixing wine with water was in itself objectionable.

What about passages where the translator goes *beyond his source text* in theological respect? Of course we should exclude the passages where he merely interprets his parent text in a way modern scholars would not do it. But since such interpretations of the unvocalized source text are possible, at least in the translator's type of linguistics, the translator does not go *beyond* his source text. Examples are different vocalization (1:6 מְחֻם, 12 לֵרָאוֹת 'to appear', 24 שֹׁבְיָהּ 'her captives'), different semantics (1:2 רומם 'to give a high position', 1:3 קֹנֵהּ 'buyer'), or reordering of consonants (1:24 אנחמה) etc. Further we need to filter out everything that can be explained on the basis of grammar, style, logic, communicative purpose and culture, in order to find the real theological changes. The many theological (and text-critical) changes Wilk attributes to the translator are unconvincing, due to an insufficiently refined method, and perhaps also to the shorthand character of his notes. The same holds true for many alleged instances of intertextual translations, i.e. transformations aiming at intertextual relationships with passages in the rest of Isaiah. With respect to the latter we must keep in mind that in translating intertextual reference operates backward rather than forward and by consequence is not very likely in a first chapter (cf. 1:5).

[259] At the same time the use of participles is characteristic of good Greek, so that the translator kills two birds with one stone by these relatively minor transformations (minimax strategy°).

The instances thus filtered are still interesting. Foreign gods are labelled 'idols' in a deprecative way (1:29). As a reverse, it seems that the epithet σαβαωθ for Israel's God is transcribed because of its theological sensitivity (1:9). In 1:13 the translator turns a generic expression into 'the great day', a specific reference to the Day of Atonement. But this does not tell us much, since the Day of Atonement is characteristic of Judaism in general. Perhaps the translator availed himself of the opportunity to warn against hypocritical observance of this holy day among his readership. More illustrative are the frequent instances where a changed concept of God comes to the fore. Mortal men do not spurn God, but make him angry (1:4); they are no trouble to him, but a satiety (1:14). The translator refuses to attribute regret to God (1:24). God does not hide his eyes - which might be explained as a lack of control or a refusal to be present - but turns them away (1:15). He stresses divine initiative in cleansing the people (1:18). Revenge is deemed too impulsive for God, he rather executes judgement on sinners (1:24). In 1:27 the translator transposes 'Zion' to avoid the suggestion that God will restore all inhabitants: no, he will only save the righteous. Where the translator makes a dualism of righteous vs. unrighteous stand out (1:13, 24, 25, 26-27) he is not really changing the content, but makes the underlying dualism explicit. In the chapter as a whole, let alone in Isaiah as a whole, such markings result in a considerable specification of the message.

The *translator* is a man of learning, familiar with his source text, with a good command of Hebrew. His knowledge of the Hebrew Isaiah is primarily religious. He is not yet conscious of linguistic peculiarities characterizing the first chapter, like the participant alternation. His transformations show that the translation has to function within the Jewish community. The translator is fluent in Greek and may be a native speaker. His Hebraisms should be explained by his 'method' or by existing terminology rather than by incompetence.

The translator's religious outlook is characterized by a high regard of Jewish Law. In 1:10 the translator sticks to νόμος 'Law' for תורה 'teaching', which forces him to omit a possessive pronoun. In 1:12 it seems that he interpreted מידכם 'from your hands' literally, linked it to offerings and took substantial syntactic transformations for granted. It may be that the seemingly favourite word ἀνομία 'lawlessness' is also linked to the translator's law-centered faith.

The *target audience* consisted of Greek-speaking Jews. This can be inferred not only from the subject matter, the exclusively Jewish setting of the text, e.g. 'when *you* come to appear before *Me* (the Lord)' and the place names, but also from the use of religious vocabulary like ἐνωτίζομαι 'to give ear (1:2), σαβαωθ (1:9), ὁλοκαύτωμα 'whole-burnt-offering' (1:11), ἡμέρα μεγάλη 'the Great Day' (1:13). These elements, together with the considerable stylistic interference, made the text unappealing and difficult for non-Jews.

The audience used Hebrew / Aramaic words like 'sabbath' and attached significance to the divine epithet σαβαωθ (1:9), the meaning of which was probably disputed. It may be that the theological softenings described above point to sensitivities in the audience rather than the translator's own. They were probably observant Jews with a lively interest in their religious tradition, because the religious elements are simply taken for granted and attempts to make the text attractive are not systematic. These men apparently took pains to procure a costly Isaiah scroll and to study it as a text in its own right. The number of transformations, especially addition and omission of clauses (1:4, 25), makes it improbable that it was read alongside the Hebrew original by this type of audience.

There is a consensus that the Isaiah translation originated in Alexandria. The renowned medical school and its influence could explain the attention to medical logic in 1:6. There may have been physicians in the Jewish community. In all likelihood part of the target

audience was well-to-do. In 1:22 the translator removes the suggestion that mixing wine with water was objectionable. This only makes sense if the translator or part of his audience did so. Now in Egypt wine was an imported luxury product which only the rich could afford. So only rich people could mix water with wine and only rich people had to be shielded against an unjust condemnation in this respect.

There is one place where a Hebrew reading different from MT should be supposed (1:13) and one place where the Septuagint text known to us is suspect (1:6).

Chapter 6

Transformations in Proverbs 6

INTRODUCTION: METRE AND STYLE

In a 1912 article attention was first drawn to the occurrence of metre in the Greek book of Proverbs.[1] Thackeray claimed to have discovered numerous instances of metrical arrangements of three kinds: iambs, dactylic hexameters and lines with 'hexametrical endings'. For our purpose study it is important to go into this matter, since metre is the most obvious characteristic of Greek poetry. Hence a regular use of metre is indicative of how far the translator went to clothe his target text in a Greek dress.

First we need to look at the boundaries of scansion. What is metrical poetry and what is not? In the scansion of verse-lines it is tempting to allow for all kinds of liberties to arrive at pure metrical stichs. Thackeray allowed himself such liberties in making short syllables long and long ones short to achieve metrical lines, and employed transpositions of words to the same effect. Later scholars criticized these liberties and rightly so.[2] In my opinion it is advisable to follow the classical rules regarding long and short syllables, elision, aphaeresis etc.,[3] since these remained in force throughout the Hellenistic period. Besides, I regard transposition of words, which Thackeray also employes, as a text-critical operation.

The Göttingen edition of LXX-Proverbs, that will be based on all manuscript evidence, is not yet available. This is a pity, for scansion depends on the smallest details. We would like to know more about elision, for example. In Rahlfs' text of Proverbs 6 it is sometimes indicated (6:11a, 13a, 16b, 22b, 28, 32), in other apparently similar cases it is not (e.g. 6:4a, 7b, 8B1, 9b, 11A2, 27, 33b). Perhaps different manuscripts have different 'systems', although we know that prose papyri are inconsistent regarding elision and the same holds true for papyrical poetical texts.[4]

But even with this handicap we can subscribe to D'Hamonville's conclusions that there is no attempt at regular metre throughout LXX-Proverbs and that metrical lines are incidental.[5] First, the lines are of varying length, the opposite of what we find in metrical poetry. Second, in numerous lines we do not find anything similar to a regular pattern of long and short syllables.[6] Third, metre is practically absent in the 'additions' (6:8A-C, 11A). If the translator had attempted to write metrical lines, he would have had a free hand to do so in his own additions. We can consider LXX-Proverbs a prose translation despite the stichic lay-out that copyists handed down.

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[1] Thackeray, The Poetry of the Greek Book of Proverbs, 46-66.

[2] Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint* III, 15; D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 92f.

[3] *Elision* (of final vowels) is the most frequently occurring procedure to avoid hiatus, a meeting of vowels. Much less frequent is *aphaeresis*, the dropping of an initial vowel.

[4] Mayser, *Grammatik der gr. Papyri* I, § 29.1 and 29.3 (with numerous examples): 'Im Vers wird die Elision häufig nicht geschrieben, auch wenn sie vom Metrum gefordert wird.' Cf. our discussion of LXX-Proverbs 6:13 where text-critical evidence proves the practice of elision during reading aloud.

[5] D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 98.

[6] Some lines, like 6:4, 25, 32, have a surprisingly long series of long syllables.

The combination of Greek prose and a stichic lay-out throughout 31 large chapters is bound to result in some iambic lines, for the iambic metre is the closest to the rhythm of ordinary speech, as was observed in antiquity. In his *Rhetoric* Aristotle advises the orator to use rhythmical speech, but to refrain from metre. He then characterizes the different metres:

> Τῶν δὲ ῥυθμῶν ὁ μὲν ἡρῷος σεμνὸς ἀλλὰ λεκτικῆς ἁρμονίας δεόμενος, ὁ δ' ἴαμβος αὐτή ἐστιν ἡ λέξις ἡ τῶν πολλῶν· διὸ μάλιστα πάντων τῶν μέτρων ἰαμβεῖα φθέγγονται λέγοντες. Δεῖ δὲ σεμνότητα γενέσθαι καὶ ἐκστῆσαι.
> Of the different rhythms the *heroic* [i.e. the dactylic hexameter] is dignified, but lacking the harmony of ordinary conversation; the *iambic* is the language of the many, wherefore of all metres it is most used in common speech. But [rhetorical] speech should be dignified and calculated to rouse the hearer.[7]

Iambic lines do occur in the Greek book of Proverbs. D'Hamonville signals a hundred instances of the *iambic trimeter* in some 1900 stichs (5%).[8] It got its name from the fact that it consists of three *metra* of two iambic feet each:

> ξῦλῶν| λἔλῦμἔ||νῶν πλἢ|θῦ̆ς οῦ̄κ|| ἄ̆ν ε῟ῡ|χἔρω̄ς[9]

In Proverbs 6 there are a few examples of the iambic trimeter:

> ἦκε῟ς| γᾰ̆ρ ε῟τς| χε῟τρᾰ́ς| κᾰ̆κῶν| δῐ̆ᾰ̆ σῡ̄ν| φῐ̆λῡ̄ν (6:3).[10]
>
> ὅτῐ̆ χαῖρε῟τ πᾶσῐ́ν οῖς μῐ́σε῟τ ὃ κῡ̄ρῐ̄ῦ̄ς
> σῦ̄ντρῖβε῟ται δὲ̆ δῖ' ᾰ̆κᾰ̆θᾶρσῐ́ᾶν ψῦ̆χῆς (6:16).
>
> ἔᾶν δ' ᾰ̆λῷ̄ ᾰ̆πῦ̆τε῟σε῟τ ε῟πτᾶπλᾶσῐ́ᾶ (6:31)

The iambic trimeter can be varied by omitting the final syllable (not mentioned by D'Hamonville).[11] It is then called *catalectic iambic trimeter*. By way of illustration I give a fragment of an epigram by Phalaecus:

> νῐ́κ῱̄ δῖαῡ̄λῦ̆ν. - ᾱ̆λλ' ἔγ῱̄ πᾰ́λαῖτῶν.
> - ἔγ῱̄ δὲ̆ πε῟ντᾶε῟θλῦ̆ν. - ᾱ̆λλ' ἔγ῱̄ πῡ̄ξ.[12]

Such lines occur more than once in Proverbs 6. For example (with elision):

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[7] *Rhetorica* 1408b (ed. J.H. Freese), with translation by Freese.
[8] D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 41, 94.
[9] Scymnus of Chios (2nd century BC), in: Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Nr. 244, T. 2, 33-44. The second foot displays *resolution*, i.e. replacement of a long syllable with two shorts, a common feature in iambic poetry. See West, *Introduction*, 25; Koster, *Métrique grecque*, 114-117. In the third foot the iamb is replaced by a spondee (two long syllables).
[10] Two remarks are called for. 1. The last position in a period may be occupied by a short syllable, even where one would expect a long one. This is known as *brevis in longo*, cf. West, *Greek Metre*, 4-5. 'In metrical schemes,' he adds, 'it is usual to show the final position as long in all cases (whether the pattern calls for a long or not.' Cf. also Maas, *Greek Metre*, 29. 2. In the fifth foot the iamb is replaced by an anapaest for variation, as often happens.
[11] Koster, *Métrique grecque*, 21 and esp. 118; West, *Introduction to Greek Metre*, 5. The (a)catalectic iambic trimeter and dimeter are also concisely discussed by the Alexandrian scholar Hephaestion (2nd century AD), see M. Consbruch (ed.), *Hephaestionis Enchiridion*, V, Lipsiae (Teubner) 1906; J.M. van Ophuijsen, *Hephaestion on Metre. A Translation and Commentary* (Mnemosyne, Bibliotheca classica Batava, supplementum 100), Leiden 1987.
[12] Early 3rd century BC; *AP* XIII, 5 = F. Buffière, *Anthologie grecque. Première partie: Anthologie Palatine*, tome XII (livres XIII-XV), Paris 1970, 15.

πᾰ̈γτ̄ς| γᾰ̈ρ τ̄σ|χῡ̄ρ᾽ ᾱ̔ν|δρῐ̆ τᾰ̈ τ̄|δῐ̆ᾰ̈ χετ̄|λῆ[13] (6:2).

πῐ̆θεῖνῆ δ᾽ ἔστ̄ιν πᾰ́σ̄ιν κατ̄ ἐπῐ̆δᾰ́ξ̄ος (6:8B).

ὀλῐ̆γ̄ον δ᾽ ἐνᾱ̓γκᾰ̈λ̄ιζῇ χ̔ερσ̄ιν στῆθῆ (6:10).

But these examples are not pure, since they contain spondaic feet at 'forbidden' places. Furthermore we find shorter iambic sequences, of four or five feet, like

κατ̄ ὡσπἔρ ὄρνἔῐ̆ον ἐκ πᾰ̈γῐ̆δ̄ος (6:5)[14]

οὐ̄ φετ̄σἔτατ̄ ἐν ῆμἔρᾁ κρῐ̆σἔῶ̄ς (6:34)[15]

The fluidity between natural Greek prose and iambic metre is nicely illustrated by the following line, which begins as prose but continues as a catalectic iambic trimeter:

ῆ δ᾽ ἐνδετᾰ̈ || ὡσπἔρ κᾰ̈κ̄ος δρᾰ̆μεῦ̄ς ᾰ̓παῦ̄τᾰ̆μᾰ̆λῆσετ̄ (6:11A).

Since the iambic metre with its alternation of short and long syllables (˘ ¯) is close to the ordinary speech, it is logical that the same holds true for the trochaic metre (¯ ˘). It will come as no surprise, then, that Proverbs 6 has some lines with a trochaic sequence too.[16] I might add that also in LXX- Isaiah 1 we find iambic and trochaic fragments.[17]
Although metre is unsystematic in Proverbs 6, it seems that the translator employed metrical techniques to achieve a rhetorical effect. In 6:4 for example, the first line, with its sequence of spondees and its predominance of [o]-sounds, breathes an atmosphere of drowsiness.[18] The second line on the other hand, with its resolution and anapaest, seems to symbolize resistance to falling asleep. In 6:5 the two closing anapaests seem to support the notion of 'escaping'. Likewise the rhythm of 6:11a, with its numerous short syllables and its closing anapaests, may underline the unexpectedness of the 'evil traveller':

ετ̄τ᾽ ἐμπᾰ̈ρᾰ̈γῐ̆νἔτατ̄ σοτ̄ ὡσπἔρ κᾰ̈κ̄ὸς ὁδοτ̄πᾰ̆ρᾰ̆ς ῆ πἔνῐ̆ᾱ̔.

The second type of metre that is mentioned in connection with LXX-Proverbs is the *dactylic hexameter*. But this belief is unfounded: there are no dactylic hexameters in Proverbs 6. I would even go further and state that there are no dactylic hexameters in the whole Greek book of Proverbs, despite Thackeray's contentions. If we abide by the classical rules and refrain from transpositions of words, the most regular hexameter that we can credit Thackeray with is the following example. The line he quotes, however, is a prose line with a dominantly iambic rhythm:

ὡ̄ν ατ̄ | τρῐ̆βοτ̄ | σκᾰ̆λῐ̆ατ̄ | κατ̄ κᾱ̔μ|πῠ̆λατ̄ | ατ̄ | τρᾰ̆χῐ̆ατ̄ | αῦ̄τὤν (2:15)

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[13] Elision of a case ending is normal. See an elegiac couplet by the Alexandrian poet Callimachus, *Epigrammata* XLII, 5-6 (3rd century BC): Ἐλθὼν δ᾽ οὐκ ἐβόησα, τίς ἢ τίνος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐφίλησα / τὴν φλιήν· εἰ τοῦτ᾽ ἐστ᾽ ἀδίκημ᾽ ἀδικέω. The first *iota* of ἴδια is long, because it is the middle of five short vowels (*media inter quinque*). See Koster, *Métrique grecque*, 38.
[14] See also (less pure) 6:4ab, 7b.
[15] See also 6:23 and (less pure) 6:20b.
[16] 6:8C2; and less pure 6:8A1, 8A3, 17b, 20a, 21b, 23b.
[17] Isaiah 1:2 αὐτοῖ̓ δἔ μ᾽ ἠθἔτ̄ησᾰ̈ν, 3 τσρᾰ̈ῆλ δἔ μ᾽ οὐκ ἔγνω̄ | κατ̄ ὃ λᾰ́ᾱ̔ς μ᾽ οὐ̄ σὐνῆκἔν, 4 λᾰ́ᾱ̔ς πλῆρῆς ᾰ̔μᾰ̄ρτῐ́ω̄ν etc.
[18] Cf. d'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 95.

In 2:16-17 Thackeray finds 'a practically complete hexameter'. To achieve this result he proposes three textual changes. First he proposes a different stichic boundary. He puts it, of all places, in the middle of the fixed expression κακὴ βουλή, 'evil counsel'. His second alteration is the aphaeresis of ἀπολείπουσα. The third and smallest change is reading ἀπολίπουσα instead of ἀπολείπουσα. Compare the original and the emended lines, the first by Rahlfs and the second by Thackeray:

… ⋯ κᾰ̈κῆ βοῦλῆ
ἣ ἄπδλεῖποῦσᾰ̈ δῖδᾱ̃σκᾰ̈λῖᾱ̃ν νέδτῆτδς

… ⋯ κᾰ̈κῆ
βοῦλῆ ἣ ’πδλῖποῦσᾰ̈ δῖδᾱ̃σκᾰ̈λῖᾱ̃ν νέδτῆτδς

To support his licences Thackeray sometimes makes incorrect use of Greek parallels. In 3:13 he scans the final phrase as δῖψῶσῇ πρδσνῆ̃ς. Making προσν- short is already impossible, but he also makes the long η short with a reference to a hexameter in Pseudo-Phocylides' *Sententiae* 197:

... μῆ δ’ ᾱ̃μπᾰ̈σῇ ᾱ̃νδῖχᾰ̈ νεῖκδς

It is true that the η is short in this instance, but this is so because the η immediately precedes another vowel, so that the rule *vocalis ante vocalem corripitur* applies.[19] Hence this 'parallel' cannot be adduced to support hexametrical scansion in Proverbs 3:13.

The idea of (fragments of) dactylic hexameters in Proverbs is thus difficult to defend on metrical grounds. But it is unlikely for another reason too. The different atmospheres that heroic and iambic poetry conveyed to the Greek reader make it very improbable that a 'iambic' text interspersed with dactylic fragments would have been composed. In Greek literature poetry running in dactylic hexameters (heroic) was reserved for lofty topics. It was the elected metre for the Jewish poets Theodotus and Philo Epicus, writing about Sichem and Jerusalem.[20] Heroic poetry rose far above the dealings of ordinary men and their speech, which was more aptly expressed in iambic poetry. As Aristotle says,

> Διεσπάσθη δὲ κατὰ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἤθη ἡ ποίησις· οἱ μὲν γὰρ σεμνότεροι τὰς καλὰς ἐμιμοῦντο, πράξεις καὶ τὰς τῶν τοιούτων, οἱ δὲ εὐτελέστεροι τὰς τῶν φαύλων, πρῶτον ψόγους ποιοῦντες, ὥσπερ ἕτεροι ὕμνους καὶ ἐγκώμια (...) ἐν οἷς κατὰ τὸ ἁρμόττον ἰαμβεῖον ἦλθε μέτρον, διὸ καὶ ἰαμβεῖον καλεῖται νῦν, ὅτι ἐν τῷ μέτρῳ τούτῳ ἰάμβιζον ἀλλήλους.[21]
>
> Poetry then split into two kinds according to the poet's nature. For the more serious poets represented fine doings and the doings of fine men, while those of a less exalted nature represented the actions of inferior men, at first writing satire just as the others at first wrote hymns and eulogies (…) For these the iambic metre was fittingly introduced and that is why it is stil called iambic, because it was the metre in which they lampooned [*iambizon*] each other.

[19] Koster, *Métrique grecque*, 34ff.
[20] Exceptions could be used for special effects. In one of his *Idylls*, the Alexandrian poet Theocritus (3rd century BC) attains a comical effect by making two lower middle-class women converse in hexametrical lines. See G. Zanker, *Realism in Alexandrian Poetry. A Literature and its Audience*, London 1987, 10-12; cf. also pp. 60, 185.
[21] *Poetica* 1448b (ed. W.H. Fyfe), with translation by Fyfe.

Consequently, heroic and iambic poetry have different styles and a different vocabulary. Since iambic metre is and should remain close to ordinary speech, compound words (διπλᾶ) and rare words (γλῶτται) should be avoided. These belong to other metrical genres:

> Καὶ ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἡρωικοῖς ἅπαντα χρήσιμα τὰ εἰρημένα, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἰαμβείοις διὰ τὸ ὅτι μάλιστα λέξιν μιμεῖσθαι ταῦτα ἁρμόττει τῶν ὀνομάτων ὅσοις κἂν ἐν ὅσοις λόγοις τις χρήσαιτο· ἔστι δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα τὸ κύριον καὶ μεταφορὰ καὶ κόσμος.[22]
> And indeed in heroic verse the above-mentioned [i.e. compound and rare words] are all useful; but since iambic verse is largely an imitation of speech, only those nouns are suitable which might be used in talking. These are the ordinary word, metaphor and ornament.

The fundamental difference between ordinary speech (and the iambic metre close to it) and heroic poetry makes it unlikely that fragments of dactylic lines would be used in a prose translation, other than for the purpose of quotation. Now we do find a compound word in LXX-Proverbs 30:18-19:

> οὐκ ἐπιγινώσκω… τρίβους νηὸς ποντοπορούσης
> I do not know… the paths of a sea-faring ship.

The word is often highlighted as a Homeric reminiscence, since it occurs in *Odyssey* XI, 11.[23] But the fact that this same example is quoted time and again also illustrates its uniqueness, so it seems safer to regard it as the exception that proves the rule, i.e. an erratic piece of heroic vocabulary.

The third type of metre to be discussed consists of what Thackeray calls 'hexametrical endings.' He lists a number of lines in which he identified dactylic feet in the closing syllables and labelled the dactylic endings as *versus paroemiacus*, the 'proverb verse'. This incorrect equation has caused confusion. A later scholar like Gerleman simply equates *versus paroemiaci* with 'hexametrical endings,[24] but Thackeray himself acknowledges that the *versus paroemiacus* is in fact an anapaestic (!) metre.[25] That this is so is confirmed by the Greek metrician Hephaestion who states:

> Τὸ δὲ δίμετρον καταληκτικὸν καλεῖται μὲν παροιμιακὸν διὰ τὸ παροιμίας τινὰς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέτρῳ εἶναι· πότε δ' Ἄρτεμις οὐκ ἐχόρευσεν· καὶ κόρκορος ἐν λαχάνοισιν· ἀλλὰ παροιμίαι εἰσι καὶ ἐπικαὶ καὶ ἰαμβικαὶ καὶ οὐ τούτου τοῦ μέτρου μόνου· ὥστ' οὐκ εἰκότως αὐτὸ μόνον παροιμιακὸν καλοῦσι.[26]
> The catalectic [anapaestic] dimeter is called *paroemiac* because some proverbs are in this metron,
> πŏτĕ δ' ᾱρ|τĕμĭς οῡκ| ĕχŏρεῡ|σĕν (*Paroemiographi* II, p. 229[27])
> κατ̄ κ̄ορ|κŏρŏς ε̄ν| λᾰχᾰνοτ̄|σῐν (*Paroemiographi* I, p. 100, 257)

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[22] *Poetica* 1459a (ed. W.H. Fyfe), with translation by Fyfe. Cf. *Rhetorica* 1404a διὰ τὸ τῷ λόγῳ τοῦτο [sc. τὸ ἰαμβεῖον] τῶν μέτρων ὁμοιότατων εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων.
[23] Inter alia, D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 98.
[24] Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint* III, 15.
[25] Thackeray, The Poetry of the Greek Book of Proverbs, 51.
[26] M. Consbruch (ed.), *Hephaestionis Enchiridion*, Lipsiae 1906, VIII, 6 (p. 26); translation by J.M. van Ophuijsen, *Hephaestion on Metre. A Translation and Commentary*, Leiden 1987, 84.
[27] The full title reads: E.L. a Leutsch & F.G. Schniedewin (eds.), *Corpus Paroemiographorum graecorum*, Vol. I-II, Göttingen 1839 (repr. Hildesheim 1965).

> but there are proverbs in dactylic hexameters and in iambic metre as well and not of this metron alone, so that it does not make sense that they call this metron alone paroemiac.

Some of the stichs which Thackeray calls *versus paroemiaci* indeed fit neatly into the scheme of the catalectic anapaestic dimeter:

κᾱρποτ̄| δ’ ᾰσε̆βω̄ν| ᾰπδ̆λοῡν|ταῡ (15:6)[28]

The endings of these examples *sound* like ‘hexametrical endings’, but they are anapaestic. Thackeray merges the two categories, because in the Greek version of Proverbs, he claims, ‘there is […] an almost complete absence of any approach to anapaestic rhythm.’[29] Here he is mistaken, since the anapaest figures as a variation of the iambic foot in the Greek Proverbs and is strikingly present in some verses (6:9-10).

If the *versus paroemiacus* is thus unveiled as anapaestic, what about the other sequences of seemingly dactylic feet? In my opinion these too should be seen in close connection with the natural speech rhythm and the closely related iambic metre. It is well known that for the purpose of variation a iambic foot (˘ ¯) can be replaced by an anapaest (˘ ˘ ¯) or a spondee (¯ ¯). When these variations are combined with the catalectic iambic trimeter, the result is a stich of which the anapaestic ending *sounds* as the final part of a dactylic hexameter (α, β), but which is different from a real hexameter with respect to the boundaries of metrical feet (γ):

α) πᾰ̈γτ̄ς| γᾰ̆ρ τ̄σ|χῠ̆ρ’ ᾱ̄ν|δρῐ̆ τᾰ̄ τ|δῐ̆ᾰ̄ χετ̄|λη̄ (6:2).

β) πδ̆θετ̄|νη̄ δ’ ε̆́σ|τ̄ῑν πᾰ́|σ̄ῑν κᾰ́| ε̆πῐδό|ξο̄ς (6:8B).

γ) ᾱ̄νδρᾰ̄ μοῐ̆| ε̄ννε̆́πε̆ | Μοῡσᾰ̄ πδ̆|λῡτρδ̆πδ̆|ν ο̄ς μ̆́αλᾰ̄| πδ́λλᾰ̄

A fair number of ‘hexametrical endings’ can thus be explained as variations on the iambic pattern. The remaining ones (6:8A2, 24a, 26a, 27, 28, 29a) are *clausulae* of two feet that stand at the end of unmetrical lines, fragments too small to evoke the atmosphere of the dactylic hexameter.

The presence of metrical fragments in a prose text helps us to determine what kind of text the translator produced according to the standards of his Greek-speaking audience. It cannot be classified as Greek poetry, for there is no regular metre. Nor is it prose in the normal sense of the word. For apart from stichic lay-out and paratactic syntax the text contains metrical feet, the so-called ‘forbidden’ *clausulae* at stich endings, among them:

[¯ ˘ ˘ ¯ ¯], sounding like the end of a dactylic hexameter;[30]
[˘ ˘ ¯ ˘ ˘ ¯], the double anapaest, sounding like the end of a dactylic pentameter;[31]
[¯ ˘ ¯ ˘ ¯], sounding like the end of a iambic line.[32]

[28] From Thackeray’s examples also Proverbs 10:11, 28 (ms.B); 11:23.
[29] Thackeray, The Poetry of the Greek Book of Proverbs, 51.
[30] Proverbs 6:8A2, 11A2, 17b, 18b, 24a, 26a, 27, 28, 29 (a striking sequence). Cf. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*, § 1046. This *clausula* is also virtually absent from Plato’s works, cf. L. Brandwood, Stylometry and chronology, in: R. Kraut, *The Cambridge Companion to Plato*, Cambridge 1992, 104.
[31] Proverbs 6:2b, 5b, 11a. Cf. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*, § 1029, 1.b.
[32] Proverbs 6:5a, 6c, 16ab. Cf. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*, § 1032, 1.

That Proverbs 6 is neither natural poetry nor natural prose does not necessarily mean that the translator had insufficient rhetoric schooling. Rather, it is a consequence of the dilemma that the nature of the Hebrew text posed to him, for an attempt to render the Hebrew Proverbs in prose breaks down on the isolated proverbs and sayings that make up the bulk of the text.[33] It is not possible to turn them into the continuous and coherent discourse that a prose text is expected to be. Most modern translations known to me have therefore opted for a stichic rendering. Once the translator had chosen for a stichic rendering, he no longer needed to heed to the rules of prose *clausulae*. Could he then turn the Hebrew Proverbs into Greek poetry? In principle he could have done so, but the use of metre entails severe constraints. It requires numerous transformations to fit the content of MT into the form of Greek metre.[34] Clearly this was a price the translator was not willing to pay.

The almost inevitable outcome, 'stichic prose', is a text of a hybrid nature. Its appearance suggests poetry, but it is not. My impression is that the translator, while writing prose, welcomed opportunities to give his text a poetical cachet, i.e. to make his text a bit more 'live up to its lay-out.' This explains both the significant number of metrical lines and the other stylistic features that have been noted by scholars.[35] When he could do so without much extra effort he included a metrical line, when he could create e.g. a pattern of assonance he did not resist it. 'Stichic prose' is a very rare genre in Greek literature, if it exists at all. Translations are no primary but 'secondary texts', and they have introduced 'secondary genres' into target cultures more than once.[36]

In the taxonomy of Demetrius' *De elocutione* the Greek text of Proverbs 6 would be a good example of the plain style, judged from its vocabulary (§ 190f.).[37] Only two words go beyond it, viz. the possessive pronoun σός (6:1, 3, 4, 21, 25) and the poetical ὄμμα 'eye'. Next to vocabulary, the rhythm, very close to iambic metre, is close to ordinary speech (§ 205!). Further its naturalness (§ 221f.), clarity (§ 197), vividness (§ 209) and its extensive use of conjunctions (§ 192) are indicators of its plain style. In several lines (6:11a, 11A, 15a, 16a, 19a, 23a, 30a, 32, 34a) the word order is different from the one Demetrius connects with the plain style and so even LXX-Proverbs does not escape the 'law of interfer-

[33] It seems that ancient Semitic languages have different conventions regarding the writing of poetry. Biblical Qumran manuscripts sometimes present poetical sections in continuous writing (we would call it 'prose lay-out'), sometimes stichometrically with two bicola per line, separated by white spaces. The latter practice is found in 4QProv^{a}, whereas in 4QProv^{b} the fragment from Proverbs 14 is written continuously. Both fragments (*Discoveries in the Judean Desert* XVI, nrs. 102 and 103) contain small portions from the Book of Proverbs, and neither of them contains Proverbs 6.
The Greek *Sentences of Sextus* (2nd century AD) are presented in a stichic lay-out, but in one manuscript the maxims form a continuous text, but with a clear punctuation and even the occasional use of red ink to mark initial letters. See H. Chadwick (ed.), *The Sentences of Sextus* (Texts and Studies. Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature V), Cambridge 1959.

[34] This can be seen in a translation attributed to Apollinaris of Laodicea (4th century AD), of the Book of Psalms in dactylic hexameters. Cf. Migne, *PG*, 33, 1313-1538; A. Ludwich (ed.), *Apollinarii Laodicensis metaphrasis Psalmorum*, Leipzig 1912. (I thank dr. A. Hilhorst for this reference.)

[35] E.g. in J.A.L. Lee, Translations of the Old Testament, I. Greek, in: S.E. Porter (ed.), *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period (330 B.C. – A.D. 400)*, Leiden 1997, 775-783.

[36] According to B. Hatim & I. Mason, *The Translator as Communicator*, London 1997, 1, a translation is 'an act of communication which attempts to relay, across cultural and linguistic boundaries, another act of communication'. For translated texts as 'secondary genres', see extensively L.J. de Vries, *Bijbelvertaling en primaire oraliteit*, Amsterdam 1998 [Dutch].

[37] The language of Proverbs 6 is certainly not aimed at a "lecteur de haut niveau" (D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 138).

ence'. Proverbs 6 possesses also a few elements typical of the elegant style, such as the gracious pictures (§ 133) of the gazelle (6:5), the ant and the bee (6:8) and interesting metaphors (§ 145f.), such as poverty as an evil traveller (6:11), education as a necklace (6:21). But dwelling on prostitution, adultery, punishment and shame (6:24-35) would not be considered elegant in Demetrius' terms.
We now turn to a detailed analysis of the entire chapter.

PROVERBS 6:1

Υἱέ, ἐὰν ἐγγυήσῃ σὸν φίλον,
παραδώσεις σὴν χεῖρα ἐχθρῷ.
Son, if you stand surety for a friend of yours,
you will deliver your hand to an enemy.

בְּנִי אִם־עָרַבְתָּ לְרֵעֶךָ
תָּקַעְתָּ לַזָּר כַּפֶּיךָ׃

My son, if you stand surety for your neighbour,
[if you] have struck your hands with a stranger,

Greek text Possessive adjectives like ἐμός and σός were on the retreat in Koine Greek, though not yet obsolete. Their use betrays 'eine gewisse literarische Bildung und stilistische Gewandtheit der Verfasser.'[38] Possessive adjectives are rare in translation Greek, and LXX-Proverbs accounts for half of the occurrences of ἐμός and σός in the Septuagint. They enable the translator to write a concise and rhythmical, sometimes metrical Greek.[39]
The second stich contains alliteration: παραδώσεις σὴν **χ**εῖ**ρ**α ἐ**χ**θ**ρ**ῷ.

Translation The Greek vocative υἱέ, 'son' renders בני '*my* son' (possessive element omitted). A literal translation, *υἱέ μου, is possible, but in the Septuagint it is rare.[40] Such is not the natural way to say it in Greek. Already in the LXX-Pentateuch בני 'my son' is therefore often rendered with τέκνον 'child' or υἱέ 'son'. These renderings display a non-obligatory omission of the possessive suffix.
As ערב and ἐγγυάομαι both mean 'to stand surety for someone' we are dealing with a literal translation.[41] Next, the expression תקע כפים 'strike hands' is rendered as παραδίδωμι χεῖρα 'to deliver a hand', in our terminology a cultural counterpart. In Greek culture the meaning of striking hands as a sign of giving a pledge was probably not known.[42] The translator overcomes this cultural difference in several ways throughout the book of Proverbs. In 6:1 he renders the 'striking of hands' with a modulation, he resorts to a generalization in 22:26 μὴ δίδου σεαυτὸν εἰς ἐγγύην 'do not give yourself as surety' and in 17:18 he interprets

[38] Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri* II, § 66.3.
[39] D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 72 (statistics), 94-95 (metre).
[40] E.g. 2 Kingdoms (MT 2 Samuel) 13:25 μὴ δή, υἱέ μου, μὴ πορευθῶμεν πάντες ἡμεῖς.
[41] For surety in Ptolemaic Egypt, see Rupprecht, *Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde*, 131.
[42] Woodhouse's *English-Greek Dictionary* does not mention 'Strike (hands)' nor 'Shake (hands)'. It has likewise disappeared from English versions except NIV. In Dutch versions the striking of hands has been retained, since it is still a common way of striking a deal, especially on cattle markets.

תקע כף as joyful clapping of hands – which it can also mean – and subsequently renders it as ἐπικροτεῖ καὶ ἐπιχαίρει ἑαυτῷ '[a foolish man] applauds and rejoices over himself'.
The most surprising feature of vs 1 is that its content has undergone a change. To understand the translator's motives we must investigate how two nouns have been rendered elsewhere. The first noun, רֵעַ, is often used in the sense of 'friend' in wisdom literature. Job, Proverbs and Ben Sira have φίλος 'friend' as the usual rendering of רֵעַ.[43] The second noun is זר 'stranger', which is normally rendered as ἀλλοτρίος 'foreign'.[44] A literal translation based on these renderings would have read:

*Υἱέ, ἐὰν ἐγγυήσῃ σὸν φίλον, παραδώσῃς σὴν χεῖρα ἀλλοτρίῳ,
*Son, if you stand surety for your friend,
[if] you deliver your hand to a foreigner, …

Adherence to standard renderings in this synonymous distich would have the result that the same person is first called a friend and then a stranger. Now very often רֵעַ has a more generic meaning than 'friend'. Traditionally rendered as 'your neighbour', this meaning appears in ancient and modern versions as 'someone else'.[45] Then the synonymous word-pair becomes 'someone else // stranger'. But this still overstrains common sense, because you do not stand surety for a stranger. The translational challenge is to bring the two stichs semantically in line. Modern versions translate זר, lit. 'stranger' with the neutral 'another', in line with its use in wisdom literature.[46] A different solution is translating the second stich as the apodosis of the first one:

Υἱέ, ἐὰν ἐγγυήσῃ σὸν φίλον, / παραδώσεις σὴν χεῖρα ἐχθρῷ.
Son, if you stand surety for your friend, / then you will deliver your hand to an enemy.

The word זר 'stranger' cannot be translated literally any more, since the person in question has already been called a friend, and a friend cannot be a stranger. It is therefore strengthened as ἐχθρός 'enemy' (specification). This transformation was perhaps chosen because it enables the translator to turn a synonymous line into a contrastive one. It entails a different interpretation, because the LXX has introduced a third party. Whereas MT speaks of only the addressee and his friend, the Septuagint adds the friend's creditors, who demand a bail and become the addressee's enemy because of the risks of standing bail.
Whether the change of accidence (number) from כפיך 'your hands' into σὴν χεῖρα 'your hand' can be considered a transformation is doubtful, since the singular can be found in Hebrew manuscripts as well.
The alliteration noted above might be a compensation for the suffix rhyme in the Hebrew: *lere'èkha – kappèkha*.[47]

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[43] Proverbs 14:20; 17:17; 19:4 are good examples of this use. In Proverbs 11:9, 12; 24:28 a rendering like πολίτης 'fellow citizen' is found.
[44] For the renderings of זר and the Hebrew words standing behind ἐχθρός in LXX-Proverbs, see Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*, 155-156. In the Pentateuch ἐχθρός does not render זר.
[45] HAL 1169b: 'רֵעַ meint ... denjenigen Menschen mit dem man durch die Lebensumstände zusammengeführt ist und zusammenlebt.' Cf. REB 'if you give yourself in pledge to another person.' So already Symmachus and Theodotion: πλησίον.
[46] E.g. NRSV, NIV, NJPS. Cf. THAT I, 521 (Proverbs 6:1; 11:15; 14:10; 20:16 etc.).
[47] On alliteration and compensation in LXX-Proverbs, cf. Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint* III, 12.

PROVERBS 6:2

Παγὶς γὰρ ἰσχυρὰ ἀνδρὶ τὰ ἴδια χείλη
καὶ ἁλίσκεται χείλεσιν ἰδίου στόματος.
For to a man his own lips are a strong snare,
and he is trapped by the lips of his own mouth.

נוֹקַשְׁתָּ בְאִמְרֵי־פִיךָ
נִלְכַּדְתָּ בְאִמְרֵי־פִיךָ׃

[if] you are trapped by the words of your mouth,
[if] you are caught by the words of your mouth,

Greek text The first stich lacks a verb. Verbless clauses are rare in Greek, but not in proverbs and sayings (Smyth § 944).
Note the alternating assonance of [a] and [i]: π**α**γ**ὶ**ς γ**ὰ**ρ **ἰ**σχυρ**ὰ ἀ**νδρ**ὶ τὰ ἴδι<u>α</u> χ**ει**λη. Through its euphony, together with its metrical qualities (see above), this line approaches original Greek poetry.

Translation MT is somewhat repetitive but textually well supported.
In syntactical respect, the Hebrew text continues the protasis of the conditional clause through 6:1-2. But the translator, as we saw, turned vs 1b into an apodosis. Consequently, he had to translate vs 2 as an independent sentence. This is an easy job, as is shown by Symmachus' later translation:

> Ἐπαγιδεύθης ἐν ῥήμασι στόματός σου
> καὶ ἑάλως ἐν ῥήμασι [...
> You have been trapped in the words of your mouth
> and you have been caught in the words […

Why, then, did the LXX-translator not choose for such a straightforward rendering? First, Symmachus' version does not fit into the Septuagint. For in the Septuagint 6:1 ends in the future tense, and a translation of 6:2 as offered by Symmachus' would incoherently jump into the aorist, indicating past tense.[48] The aorist was clearly no option in 6:2 after the decisions the translator had made in 6:1. But it seemed equally impractical to turn 6:2 into future tense, since vs 3 offers a piece of advice, phrased in imperatives, which presupposes that the danger described is reality, not future. The translator thus opted for a present tense in 6:2. The fact that this sounded pretty much like a general saying ('you become trapped…, you become caught…'), I would suggest, caused the translator to create a real general saying in the vein of 20:25, employing numerous non-obligatory transformations:

- The accidence is changed from second into third person singular.
- The addition of ἀνδρί 'to a man'.
- The Greek noun παγίς 'trap' renders the verb יקש 'to catch' (change of word class).[49]

[48] It is noteworthy that in the remaining fragments Symmachus in 6:1 has not φίλος 'friend', but πλησίον 'neighbour', and that in what is most probably his second stich of 6:1 the aorist is already used. Extant fragments of Symmachus can be found in Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt* II, 320.
[49] Παγίς does render the related noun מוקש 'trap' in the LXX (7x).

- The 'trap' is intensified into a '*strong* trap' by the addition of ἰσχυρός.

A second category of transformations is caused by the concern to avoid the repetition resulting from a literal translation. So באמרי פיך 'in the words of your mouth' receives two different renderings, τὰ ἴδια χείλη 'your own lips' and χείλεσιν ἰδίου στόματος 'by the lips of his own mouth'. This shows that metaphors ('lips' meaning 'utterance') are sometimes *introduced* in translation.[50]

A third category of transformations is for the sake of clarity:

- Twice ἴδιος '[your] own' renders a possessive suffix (not in LXX-Pentateuch).
- The conjunctions καί 'and' and γάρ 'for' are added.

The number of transformations is out of proportion with the translational difficulty under review. The translator does not merely solve problems, like the translators of Genesis and Isaiah, but creates his own text. Its contents are stronger and more general, and its style is more refined than that of the Hebrew. The first stich is pervaded with assonance where MT has none.

PROVERBS 6:3

Ποίει, υἱέ, ἃ ἐγώ σοι ἐντέλλομαι καὶ σῴζου
- ἥκεις γὰρ εἰς χεῖρας κακῶν διὰ σὸν φίλον -
ἴσθι* μὴ ἐκλυόμενος,
παρόξυνε δὲ καὶ τὸν φίλον σου ὃν ἐνεγυήσω·
Do, son, what I command you and save yourself,
for you have fallen into hands of evil men for the sake of your friend
be not failing, stir up your friend too for whom you have become surety!

עֲשֵׂה זֹּאת אֵפוֹא בְּנִי וְהִנָּצֵל
כִּי בָאתָ בְכַף־רֵעֶךָ
לֵךְ הִתְרַפֵּס וּרְהַב רֵעֶיךָ׃

Do this, therefore, my son, and save yourself,
for you have fallen into the hand of your neighbour.
Go, humble yourself and badger your neighbour.

Greek text The phrase παρόξυνε δὲ καὶ τὸν φίλον σου 'stir up your friend too' apparently means that the warned pledge-giver confronts his friend and renounces his consent to stand surety, thereby willingly arousing his friend's anger.

Several important manuscripts read ἴσθι 'be' for ἴθι 'go'.[51] From the point of view of Greek idiom the reading ἴσθι 'be' is preferable. Firstly, ἴθι 'go, come on' is often followed by a second imperative, not by a participle.[52] Secondly, the reading ἴσθι 'be (not disheartened)' fits better with the sequel: 'do not lose heart and stir up your friend *too*.' The notion

[50] See also De Waard, The Septuagint of Proverbs as a Translational Model?, 308. At the same time it is a counter-example to Tauberschmidt's claim that the translator adjusted parallelisms in the direction of closer correspondence.

[51] According to Swete's apparatus: Codex Vaticanus (B), corrected by a later hand into ἴθι (!); Codex Sinaiticus (S or א); Codex Alexandrinus (A).

[52] Cf. LSJ 489a, VI.

of καί ‘also, too’ is less easily explainable in a context with ἴθι ‘go’. We should consider the reading ἴσθι ‘be’ as original, whereas ἴθι ‘go’ is a later correction towards MT requiring minimal effort (erasure of σ).

Translation A number of common verbs has been translated literally with renderings that are found elsewhere in the LXX, עשה → ποίει ‘do’, באת → ἥκεις ‘you have come’, הנצל → σῴζου ‘save yourself’. Likewise some common nouns, בכף → εἰς χεῖρας ‘into the hands of’, רֵע → φίλος ‘friend’. Literal translation remain an important tool for the translator.
It is not apparent how אפוא ‘therefore’ has been rendered. Baumgartner assumes that the translator’s *Vorlage* did not read אפוא ‘therefore’, but אצוך ‘I command you,’[53] which was literally translated into ἃ ἐγώ σοι ἐντέλλομαι ‘what I command you’. Cook does not believe in a different *Vorlage*, but thinks that אפוא ‘therefore’ was (mis)read or interpreted in that way.[54] This is graphically improbable.[55] It is preferable to look for a translational explanation of the omission: אפוא ‘therefore’ goes untranslated since in the Greek text 6:3 is no longer a direct continuation of 6:2 (as it is in MT).[56] The omission of אפוא ‘therefore’ has to be viewed in the context of the large-scale rearrangement of particles and conjunctions in 6:1-5 and in LXX-Proverbs as a whole.
The simple phrase זאת עשה ‘do this’ is made explicit as ποίει ἃ ἐγώ σοι ἐντέλλομαι ‘do what I command you’. Normally, זאת and זה ‘this’ are rendered with οὗτος ‘this’ and its declined forms, especially τοῦτο. Now in MT זאת ‘this’ often refers to what follows. But since in idiomatic Greek τοῦτο generally refers to what precedes,[57] a literal translation *ποίει τοῦτο ‘do this’ might be taken to refer to 6:2 (being trapped by your own pledge). To avoid this, explicitation of the antecedent is employed.
In contrast to the Hebrew, χεῖρες ‘hands’ are plural because of Greek idiom.[58]
A remarkable transformation occurs in the following phrase:

> MT: you have fallen בכף רעך into the hand of someone else
> [*rendered as*]
> LXX: you have fallen εἰς χεῖρας κακῶν διὰ σὸν φίλον into the hands of evil men for the sake of your friend

We have to ask: what ‘problem’ led the translator to this transformation? In my opinion, it is rooted in the translator’s initial choice to render רֵע ‘someone else, neighbour’ as φίλος ‘friend’ in 6:1, and his introduction of a third party, the ‘enemy’. Now 6:3 contains a warning, but a literal translation like ‘you have fallen into the hands of your friend’ rather sounds like a reassurance. In the translator’s interpretation the poor addressee, who has agreed to stand surety, falls into the hands of the ‘enemy’. To align 6:3 to his version of 6:1 the translator provided a double translation of בכף רעך (unvocalized). He first interpreted רע

[53] Baumgartner, *Étude critique*, 66.
[54] Cook, The Septuagint of Proverbs, 158.
[55] So already Toy, *Proverbs* 129. Nor is it probable that אפוא has been taken as an abbreviation, cf. McKane, *Proverbs*, 323.
[56] That אפוא remains untranslated is also defended by Iaeger, *Observationes*, 49f.
[57] Smyth § 1245ff. But in the translated Greek of the LXX-Pentateuch, we find numerous instances of τοῦτο pointing forward.
[58] Cf. LSJ 1983b.

as רַע 'evil' so that the addressee now falls into the hands of 'evil men',[59] i.e. with a change of (number) to marke clear that the enemy is not the friend. At the same time he provided an interpretation of בכף רעך in line with 6:1, viz. as רֵעֲ 'friend', accompanied by a situational translation clarifying the circumstances: 'in the hand of your friend' = 'because you want to help your friend'. According to the lawbook of Ptolemaic Alexandria one could stand surety for an accused man to prevent his arrest preceding the trial. If someone who was found guilty wanted to appeal to a higher court, he could be released on bail pending the appeal.[60] If such an accused man would flee, he would leave his bail in serious difficulties with the keepers of the law.

The phrase לך התרפס means 'go, humble yourself' according to modern lexica. The verb רפס 'to trample' was known to the LXX-translator of Ezekiel 32:2; 34:18. The meaning of its hitpa'el stem is then: 'to let yourself be trampled' = 'to humble yourself'. In our context it means: 'Swallow your pride and ask your neighbour to be released from your pledge'. But the Greek translation has ἴσθι* μὴ ἐκλυόμενος, 'be not failing'. This rendering is several steps removed from the Hebrew. First, לך 'go' is omitted. Second, losing courage ('being disheartened') is quite different from losing glory ('humbling yourself'). Third, the translation has been made antonymical by the negation 'not'. This is strange from a translational viewpoint, for Greek is replete with words that express the desired sense. Why not simply θάρσει or ἀνδρίζου 'be courageous', ἴσθι εὐκάρδιος or the like? We may conclude that from a semantical and syntactical point of view these transformations are not obvious. Had the result been convincing, this would have been all right. But the Greek phrase sounds a bit laboured: ἴσθι* μὴ ἐκλυόμενος 'be not failing'. This becomes clearer by a comparison with more literal renderings of MT that are possible:

*πορεύου καὶ ταπεινώθητι	'go and humble yourself' [or, if need be:]
*πορεύου, ἀνδρίζου	'go, take courage'

The more literal alternatives are clearer, simpler and more natural! Why then did the translator leave these easy options aside to produce a somewhat laboured phrase? The answer might be that he had a different source text and that the laboured phrase results from a literal translation. In that case he *was* taking the easiest option. In fact, scholars have long suggested a conjectural Hebrew reading for this passage, אל תתרפה 'do not show yourself weak'.[61] I consider this reading plausible as a source text of the Septuagint and ἴσθι μὴ ἐκλυόμενος 'be not failing' its literal translation.[62]

The methodological significance of checking the translator's alternatives is thus underlined. It helps us to locate the 'problem'. Often a glance at more literal alternatives tells us why the translator rejected them and why he employed a transformation. But in this case the

[59] D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 191. Cf. the interchange in 19:6.

[60] Pap. Hal. 1, 127-129; 44-55, in: Graeca Halensis (ed.), *Dikaiomata. Auszüge aus alexandrinischen Gesetzen und Verordnungen* ..., Berlin 1913.

[61] See Baumgartner, *Étude critique*, 66 and BHS. The verb התרפה recurs in Proverbs 18:9; 24:10.

[62] The Hebrew hitpa'el or nif'al stems are frequently rendered by ἴσθι/γενοῦ 'be' + adjective / participle (e.g. Exodus 32:12; Numbers 5:19; Isaiah 1:16; Proverbs 22:24). In Proverbs 3:5 the translator prefers this construction over a literal rendering of a *verbum simplex*, probably to lend more poignancy to the exhortation: בטח אל יהוה 'trust in the Lord' which is rendered as ἴσθι πεποιθὼς ... ἐπὶ θεῷ 'be trusting… God'. Cf. Numbers 14:9; Isaiah 32:11; in Proverbs 6:6; 23:19 this construction is obligatory.

reverse holds true. The fact that the translation is less obvious than its alternatives brings us on the track of a difficulty, leading to a different source text.
The Hebrew phrase רהב רעיך 'press[63] your neighbour[64]' must mean in the context that our generous hero, who realizes that he is trapped by his consent to stand surety, goes to his neigbour and insists on being released from his pledge, thereby defying his neighour's anger or despair. In Greek, the pledge is not given to *someone*, but to *a friend*, and accordingly being released from the pledge requires a stronger verb: the friend has to be made angry (specification).
The addition of ὃν ἐνεγυήσω 'for whom you have become surety' apparently makes the nature of the 'friend' even clearer than it would be without it.[65]

PROVERBS 6:4

μὴ δῷς ὕπνον σοῖς ὄμμασιν
μηδὲ ἐπινυστάξῃς σοῖς βλεφάροις,
do not give sleep to your eyes,
nor fall asleep with your eyelids

אַל־תִּתֵּן שֵׁנָה לְעֵינֶיךָ
וּתְנוּמָה לְעַפְעַפֶּיךָ׃

Do not give sleep to your eyes,
nor slumber to your eyelids

Greek text The word ὄμμα 'eye' is typical of poetical Greek (BDAG 705b).
The dative that accompanies ἐπινυστάζω 'to fall asleep (over)' must here be viewed as an instrumental dative.

Translation The translator of LXX-Proverbs usually renders עין 'eye' with its standard rendering ὀφθαλμός (22x), but in several places he prefers the poetical word ὄμμα 'eye', a word that had not been used in the LXX-Pentateuch. In three places a form of ὄμμα (ὄμμασιν, ὀμμάτων) occupies the last position of a line (6:4; 7:2; 10:26), thereby forming a iambic sequence of [˘ – ˘ –].
The whole verse is translated quite literally, apart from one transformation. The Hebrew noun תנומה 'slumber'[66] is rendered with the verb ἐπινυστάζω 'to fall asleep' (change of word class).[67] Cook may be right that the translator chose to create a verb in the second line because the one Hebrew verb fulfils a double duty in the two lines. Suppletion of a second

[63] HAL 1113a 'bestürmen, zusetzen'.
[64] רעיך has the orthography of plural 'your neighbours', but it is a singular, a phenomenon that occurs with certain nouns. Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch-Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar*, § 93ss; BDB 945b.
[65] With Iaeger, *Observationes*, 50.
[66] For its renderings in LXX-Proverbs, see Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*, 159.
[67] Throughout the Septuagint תנומה 'slumber' is rendered with nouns as νυσταγμός (1x) and νύσταγμα (1x) and the verbal root נום 'to slumber' with νυστάζω (5x).

verb is indeed common practice with the translator of Proverbs.[68] Sometimes he refrains from doing so and it is not always clear why. In 5:9, where LXX lacks a second verb, the Hebrew syntactical construction is identical to 6:4, which makes it unclear what the rationale of the translator is.

PROVERBS 6:5

ἵνα σῴζῃ ὥσπερ δορκὰς ἐκ βρόχων
καὶ ὥσπερ ὄρνεον ἐκ παγίδος.
that you may save yourself as a gazelle from meshes (of a net)
and as a bird from a trap.

הִנָּצֵל כִּצְבִי מִיָּד
וְכִצִּפּוֹר מִיַּד יָקוּשׁ׃ פ

Save yourself as a gazelle from a hand
and as a bird from a snare.

Greek text O-sounds (ο and ω) are repeated throughout the verse (assonance).

Translation The relationship between vss. 4 and 5, which is implicit in MT, is made explicit in the Septuagint: (4) do not fall asleep, be diligent (5) *in order to* escape from the danger inherent in your pledge. The conjunction ἵνα is added and the Hebrew imperative transformed into a subjunctive. Transformations with a similar purpose can be found in modern translations, e.g. GN:

> [4] Gönne dir keine Ruhe, gönne deinen Augen keinen Schlaf, [5] bis du ihm entronnen bist
> wie eine Gazelle aus der Hand des Fallenstellers oder ein Vogel aus dem Netz.

The Hebrew phrase 'save yourself as a gazelle מיד from a hand' has been termed queer by earlier scholars and emendations have been proposed.[69] I agree that MT seems out of order, but I do not believe that the ancient Bible versions are of assistance in reconstructing a Hebrew text. The Hebrew source text of LXX-Proverbs might even have been more corrupt than MT itself. Let us imagine such an obscure text:

> *save yourself as a gazelle from X
> and as a bird from Y.

I would lay a bet against it that the Greek translation of the unreadable or incomprehensible expressions X and Y would have been very similar to what we find now. The Septuagint therefore does not point with certainty to a different Hebrew *Vorlage*. The word βρόχος with its plural genitive βρόχων seems to have been chosen because of its double o-sound, which fits well into the assonance of the whole verse. This assonance may serve as a compensation for the alliteration of the letter צ in Hebrew.

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[68] Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*, 159; see e.g. LXX-Proverbs 1:12, 33; 2:9; 5:10 (but 5:9!). For nouns, see De Waard, The Septuagint of Proverbs as a Translational Model?, 304f.
[69] E.g. Toy, *Proverbs*, 129-130; Baumgartner, *Étude critique*, 67 ; apparatus BHS.

In the second stich מיד יקוש, which means 'from the hand of a fowler' according to our modern lexica, is rendered as ἐκ παγίδος 'from a trap'. But it is not certain that the translator recognized יקוש as a noun, since he may also have regarded it as a passive form of יקש 'to lay a snare/trap'.[70] He may then have interpreted the whole phrase as 'from an instrument laid as trap', in short, a trap. In the latter case we are dealing with change of word class + omission.

PROVERBS 6:6

Ἴθι πρὸς τὸν μύρμηκα, ὦ ὀκνηρέ,
καὶ ζήλωσον ἰδὼν τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτοῦ
καὶ γενοῦ ἐκείνου σοφώτερος.
Go to the ant, o sluggard,
and become zealous seeing its ways
and become wiser than it.

לֵךְ־אֶל־נְמָלָה עָצֵל
רְאֵה דְרָכֶיהָ וַחֲכָם׃

Go to the ant, sluggard,
see her ways and become wise!

Greek text The imperative ἴθι 'go' is probably used to lend this phrase a solemn ring, since the verb ἰέναι 'to go' was practically obsolete in Hellenistic times, save for its use in compounds (BDR § 99.1).[71]
It is interesting to note the idiomatic use of ὦ (Smyth § 1284). When the sluggard is addressed in 6:6, ὦ indicates that these words are polite and well-meant, but the omission of ὦ in 6:9 shows contempt for the sluggard's incorrigible laziness.
What does ὁδοί mean in the Greek text? To take ὁδοί as 'ways, paths' seems inappropriate here. The sluggard should not study the 'ways' = routes that ants take to gather their food and building materials, but rather their unceasing diligence, i.e. their 'ways' in the sense of 'their habits'. This use of ὁδός is unknown in Greek and should therefore be considered a Hebraism. To be sure, Greek knows a metaphorical sense of ὁδός (singular) as 'life' and of (plural) ὁδοί as the two alternatives to choose from, but these meanings do not fit into the context of ants.[72]
The accusative τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτοῦ 'its ways' is the grammatical object of ἰδών 'seeing'.[73] The verb ζηλόω is used without object. It must mean 'become zealous', 'be kindled with zeal' (BDAG 427b).

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[70] Cf. Hosea 9:8 προφήτης παγὶς σκολιὰ ἐπὶ πάσας τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτοῦ 'the prophet is a crooked snare in all his ways,' whereby 'crooked snare' is a rendering of פח יקוש.
[71] Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus read πορεύου, not ἴθι in 6:3, 6.
[72] BDAG 691b. Cf. also LSJ's entry: I. *way*; II. *travelling, journeying*; III. 1. metaph. *way* or *manner*; 2. *a way of doing, speaking*; 3. *method, system*. This is proven by Adrian (5th century AD), who treats the peculiar use of ὁδός in LXX; see Léonas, *Recherches*, 166ff.
[73] Contra the translations by Brenton 'and see, and emulate his ways' and Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*, 162: 'and zealously observe (and) emulate its ways' (queer double translation).

Ἐκεῖνος is used here because it 'implies remoteness in place, time, or thought' (Smyth § 1257). Thus it is well suited to underline the contrast between the ant and the sluggard.
It is not immediately clear what the phrase καὶ γενοῦ ἐκείνου σοφώτερος 'and become wiser than it' means. Cook's summary 'man should be more productive than the animal'[74] is too general. According to the context the sluggard has to be kindled with zeal and to become wiser than the ant. This means that the sluggard should outdo the ant. Vs. 7-8 present themselves as an explanation (γάρ) of this statement: ants have neither agriculture nor leadership and are nevertheless able to store up food for the winter. The implication is that humans, who do have the advantage or the additional wisdom of agriculture and organization, should be able to outdo the ants in their care for times to come.
The last lines display a pervasive assonance of ου, combined with ο and ω, lying in the same phonetic range ('back rounded vowels'): καὶ ζήλωσον ἰδὼν τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ γενοῦ ἐκείνου σοφώτερος, probably as a compensation for the Hebrew alliteration of ל in the first stich.

Translation In Greek the definite article, lacking in Hebrew, is added before μύρμηκα 'ant', since the singular μύρμηξ 'denotes an entire class as distinguished from other classes' and therefore needs the generic article.[75] Likewise the vocative interjection ὦ is added, according to the rules of natural Greek. Throughout the Septuagint ὦ is mostly used to render various Hebrew interjections, and it occurs rarely without a corresponding interjection in Hebrew.[76]
The Hebrew adjective עצל is translated literally with ὀκνηρός 'lazy (one)', as often in LXX-Proverbs.[77]
The translator gives a literal, even Hebraistic rendering of דרכיה 'her ways', viz. τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτοῦ. Since ὁδός functions as a standard equivalent of דרך 'way' throughout the whole LXX, the translator of Proverbs had either become accustomed to its Hebraistic use, or he inadvertently let it pass.[78] It is, however, interesting to note that from chapter 9 onwards the translator starts to use circumlocutions or other idiomatic renderings instead of a literal ὁδός.[79] Compare the following rendering in 16:2:

πάντα τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ταπεινοῦ φανερὰ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ	← ... כל דרכי איש
all the deeds of the humble one are visible before God	← all the ways…

A problem for translators is the relative vagueness of the Hebrew in ראה דרכיה וחכם 'see her ways and become wise'. Various ancient versions felt the need of making explicit that 'seeing' does not mean a detached observation of ant life. '*Imitate* the ants,' the Peshitta° has (ܐܬܡܠ), and the Septuagint goes even further:

1 It adds ζήλωσον 'be kindled with zeal', thus creating a semantic opposition to 'sluggard'. The translator has a preference for antonymic couples.[80] A corollary of this

[74] Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*, 162.
[75] Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, § 1122-1124.
[76] Genesis 27:20; further only Proverbs 2:13; 6:6; 8:4.
[77] This rendering we find 9 times, next to ἀεργός (3x) and ἄφρων (1x).
[78] Examples of a Hebraistic use of ὁδός are LXX-Proverbs 1:31; 3:6, 31; 5:21; 7:27; 8:22; 10:9 etc.
[79] LXX-Proverbs 9:6; 10:29; 13:6; 16:2, 9; 21:2; 23:19; 31:1.
[80] D'Hamonville, *Proverbes*, 64 calls it 'surqualification bipolaire'.

explicitation is that the imperative ראה 'see' is transformed into a participle ἰδών 'seeing' (change of accidence).

2 Man should not become like the animals (ants), but become wiser than them (see *Greek text*), i.e. he should outdo them and thus rise above them. Since the notion of superiority is inserted, it can probably be called an addition.

The intimation that man should rise *above* the wisdom of animals is a departure from MT, which exhorts man to take lessons *from* the animal.[81] The use of animals as moral examples that humans should seek to surpass in order to become fully human is a *topos* in Hellenistic philosophy.[82] This non-obligatory transformation is therefore culturally significant.

PROVERBS 6:7

Ἐκείνῳ γὰρ γεωργίου μὴ ὑπάρχοντος
μηδὲ τὸν ἀναγκάζοντα ἔχων
μηδὲ ὑπὸ δεσπότην ὢν,
For, though to that (creature) belongs no field,
nor has it anyone forcing it
nor being under a ruler,

אֲשֶׁר אֵין־לָהּ קָצִין שֹׁטֵר וּמֹשֵׁל׃

although it has no chief, officer nor ruler,

Greek text The dative ἐκείνῳ is a case of *attractio inversa*, whereby the antecedent is attracted to the case of the relative.[83] It stands for ἐκείνος γὰρ, ᾧ…
The (concessive) genitive absolute is treated as if it were a normal relative clause, and is continued by nominative participles (*constructio ad sensum*). This construction is so idiomatic that it is not surprising manuscripts tried to make more normal Greek out of it.[84]
Γεωργίον means 'an area of land used for cultivation; cultivated land, field' according to the most recent lexicon.[85]
The first stich has alliteration of γ, ργ, ρχ. The second and third stich have rhyme (rare in Greek).[86]

Translation The translation of 6:7 contains obligatory and non-obligatory transformations, which will be discussed separately for the sake of clarity. To begin with the obligatory transformations, the relative particle אשר, commonly translated 'that, which' is transformed into the demonstrative pronoun ἐκείνος. The translator could not employ the relative pronoun ὅς because it would then be too far removed from its antecedent, 'the ant', and could erroneously be taken to refer to the addressed sluggard. It is therefore an obligatory change

[81] Contra Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*, 162 ('the translator does not deviate drastically from the intention of the Hebrew. The changes are thus only found on the semantic level.'[*sic*]).
[82] T. Gontier, *L'homme et l'animal. La philosophie antique*, Paris 1999, 38-70.
[83] Smyth § 2533; Mayser, *Grammatik der gr. Papyri*, § 160.III; BDR § 295.
[84] Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*, 163 sums them up.
[85] BDAG 195b. LSJ's sense of 'III. crop' is erroneous, based solely on LXX-Proverbs 24:5. With d'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 294 we should translate there γεωργίον μέγαλον as 'a large estate.'
[86] Other examples in Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint* III, 13f.

of word class. Most modern translations do something similar to deal with the Hebrew connective.

The rendering of אין לה lit. 'not-being for her = she has not' with οὐκ (μὴ) ὑπάρχω + dative can be counted a literal translation, which is often used for similar constructions in Hebrew.[87] The rendering ἔχω 'to have' in the second line is literal too. Sometimes several literal renderings of one SL item are possible.

If we turn to the non-obligatory transformations, we first note that the text of this verse has expanded from 6 words in Hebrew to 13 in Greek. As we turn to its content, a remarkable phenomenon is that according to the Septuagint ants lack agriculture, about which MT is silent. Why did the translator not stick more closely to his source text? A literal translation of the Hebrew, reconstructed with the help of renderings that we find elsewhere in the LXX, could have read:

> *Ἐκείνος γὰρ ἄρχοντα μηδὲ γραμματέα μηδὲ δυνάστην ἔχων, …
> That (animal), having no chief nor scribe nor ruler, …

I think this line contains features that the translator usually avoids. He does not like to copy synonymous parallelism into Greek,[88] and often avoids repetition of identical or synonymous words in Greek (see 6:2). Repetition is characteristic of Hebrew but awkward in Greek. Now MT has a series of three generic words for officials. The translator spreads them and increases the redundancy of the text. He takes the last two terms for officials and develops them into separate stichs. But he is cautious not to repeat the verb ἔχω 'to have'.

The unexpected rendering of קציץ 'officer' with γεωργίον 'field, husbandry' in the first stich is a scholarly challenge. De Lagarde proposes that the translator read Aramaic קטין, but neither he nor his followers explain what this word is supposed to mean.[89] Toy therefore discards this proposal and considers γεωργίον 'field' a free rendering of קציר 'harvest, crop', which was read instead of קצין 'officer'.[90] The rendering חצדא 'harvest' of the Targum and the Peshitta suggests that these translators read קציר 'harvest, crop'. With the present state of our knowledge this seems the most plausible explanation. But now we must ask: if the LXX-translator read קציר 'harvest, crop', why did he render it with γεωργίον 'field'? I think an answer can be found by looking at the following verse. In 6:8 it is said that ants gather food during the harvest. In a sense, then, ants have a harvest. In that sense you could also say that ants have crops, viz. the produce of their food-gathering. Now there arises a contradiction with 6:7 'ants do *not* have crops (or harvest)'. In a metaphorical sense ants have crops, in a literal sense they don't, for ants do not cultivate fields. And here the field comes in, for ants do not own fields. The shortest way to summarize the difference between the crops of men and the 'crops' of ants is: ants don't have land. Because a crop is

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[87] Even in the LXX-Pentateuch; see Hatch & Redpath's *Concordance*, 1406b-.

[88] Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint* III, 18f.; D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 61. For Tauberschmidt's claims to the contrary I refer to my forthcoming review of *Secondary Parallelism* in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 62 5/6 (2005).

[89] De Lagarde, *Anmerkungen*, 22. The word קטין 'cucumbers' does not fit into the context, and קֻטָּן 'summer flocks' (sing. קיטא), mentioned by Jastrow's *Dictionary* as occurring in the Targum of Proverbs 27:33, also seems unconvincing.

[90] Iaeger, *Observationes*, 50; Toy, *Proverbs*, 130. This reading may have existed in the translator's mind, not necessarily in manuscripts.

the yield of a field this transformation can be termed a translation of effect → cause.[91] If this reconstruction is correct, it tells us that the translator is not translating sentence by sentence, but looks ahead and takes the context into account.

In the second line the rendering of שֹׁטֵר 'scribe' with ἀναγκάζων 'one that forces' can be termed a generalization. Ἀναγκάζω 'to force, compel' is not easily matched to a Hebrew verb as its standard rendering. Not surprisingly, it only occurs in the freely translated LXX-books. Ἀναγκάζω renders different Hebrew verbs, and only in Proverbs 6:7 it renders שֹׁטֵר. In modern lexica its meaning is listed as 'office holder, civil servant', which may occasionally been specified into 'administrator'.[92] But it seems that LXX-translators thought the reverse: they regarded 'writer, scribe' as its primary meaning and rendered it practically everywhere as γραμματεύς 'scribe', even in Exodus 5:6ff (in the context of slave-driving). The very few exceptions are easily accounted for.[93] Now what is meant here is not that ants do not write, but that they lack organization. The translator of Proverbs now shows that he is sense-oriented rather than sign-oriented, translating the concept and not the word. The notion of POWER, which is inherent in the ancient 'scribe', is retained, but the notion of WRITING is omitted.

The third line of 6:7, μηδὲ ὑπὸ δεσπότην ὤν 'nor being under a ruler', presents the logical consequence of the Hebrew אין לה ... משל 'she has no ruler' (translation of cause → effect). By this transformation the translator presents the thought in a different garb than the previous line, thereby avoiding the monotony that a synonymous phrase would create in Greek.

The Greek rhyme may be advance compensation for the Hebrew rhyme in the following verse, but I think the rhyme is caused by the juxtaposition of two participles that mark these lines as subordinate clauses and thus point forward to 6:8, the main clause. The use of participles is one of the hallmarks of natural Greek, and their frequent presence in a translation whereof the source text lacks them points to an idiomatic style of translation.

PROVERBS 6:8

ἑτοιμάζεται θέρους τὴν τροφὴν
πολλήν τε ἐν τῷ ἀμήτῳ ποιεῖται τὴν παράθεσιν.
it prepares in summer its food
and at harvest-time it makes its provision abundant.

תָּכִין בַּקַּיִץ לַחְמָהּ
אָגְרָה בַּקָּצִיר מַאֲכָלָהּ׃

it prepares in summer its food
it gathers in the harvest-time its nourishment.

[91] Cf. the following transformation, which I happened to note on a bag of Lay's potato chips, flavour Cream and Chives (nr. NLB3001'85-412). The Dutch text reads: "Lay's selecteert nauwkeurig de beste aardappelen van het veld" [='from the field'], which the French renders as: "Lay's choisit méticuleusement les meilleures pommes de terre au moment de la récolte."

[92] HAL 1337b-1338a; BDB 1009b.

[93] In 2 Chronicles 26:11; 34:13 שֹׁטֵר has been rendered with κριτής, because γραμματεύς immediately precedes it as a rendering of סופר.

Greek text –

Translation The translation of 6:8 poses few problems. The rendering of some commonly occurring words corresponds to what we find elsewhere in the LXX.[94]
The possessive suffix is omitted twice, since in Greek it is superfluous (cf. Isaiah 1:3).
The fact that the second line is nearly synonymous to the first posed a problem to the translator. A stylistic variation like *συνάγει… τὰ βρώματα 'gathers its nourishments' (as in Genesis 41:35) apparently did not satisfy him,[95] and he found a rendering that expresses what ants do rather than imitating the words of the Hebrew. The Hebrew text says in 6:8b that ants 'gather in the harvest-time their nourishments'. What it implies is: during the harvest-time, when there is plenty of food, they gather food and store it so that they have something to eat in winter. The translator now depicts this situation with his own words: the ant ποιεῖται τὴν παράθεσιν 'makes its provisions' (situational translation). In his effort to increase the difference between the two lines, the translator also makes the second line stronger than the first by adding the word πολλήν 'abundant'.
In Hebrew we find wordplay in 6:7-8, with *qatsin – qayits – qatsir*. In 6:8 there is a remarkable concentration of [a]-sounds (12x). Possibly these features are compensated by the Greek alliteration of [t]-sounds (11x).

PROVERBS 6:8A-C

[A] ἢ πορεύθητι πρὸς τὴν μέλισσαν
καὶ μάθε ὡς ἐργάτις ἐστὶν
τήν τε ἐργασίαν ὡς σεμνὴν ποιεῖται,
[B] ἧς τοὺς πόνους βασιλεῖς καὶ ἰδιῶται πρὸς ὑγίειαν προσφέρονται,
ποθεινὴ δέ ἐστιν πᾶσιν καὶ ἐπίδοξος·
[C] καίπερ οὖσα τῇ ῥώμῃ ἀσθενής,
τὴν σοφίαν τιμήσασα προήχθη.
Or go to the bee
and learn how industrious she is
and how she performs her work as sacred,
whose products kings and commoners use for health
she is appreciated by all and held in high regard.
Though being weak in bodily strength,
by honouring wisdom she has obtained distinction.

Greek text This passage should not be summarized as 'Strength through Wisdom,'[96] since the notion of 'strength' is absent, but rather as 'Honour through Wisdom'.

Translation Proverbs 6:8A-C is a free addition of the translator without counterpart in Hebrew. The question *why* the translator added this passage, an issue which has received as

[94] Viz. the renderings: קציר → ἄμητος ('harvest'); להכין → ἑτοιμάζω ('to prepare'); קיץ → θέρος ('summer').
[95] Elswhere the translator also avoids synonymous parallellism. See d'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 61.
[96] Giese, Strength through Wisdom and the Bee in LXX-Prov 6,8a-c.

yet no attention, shall now receive our attention. In fact the answer is obvious: the translator thought that a large addition would make the text more interesting and more appealing to his target audience. Animal and plant life was a favourite *topos* in Hellistic art and literature.[97] In its warning against sloth, the Greek text points to the example of the ant, whose wisdom the sluggard should try to surpass. Though lacking agriculture or organization, the ant works hard to provide for the future. Now an even better example than ants can be impressed upon the sluggard, namely the bee:

1 Ants are strong (they carry loads several times their own weight), whereas bees are physically weak (τῇ ῥώμῃ ἀσθενής). Bees are thus more dependent on wisdom than ants.

2 Ants lack organization (6:7), whereas bees do have organization, described at length by Aristotle in his *Historia animalium*. The implicit thought seems to be that hierarchy and cooperation are signs of wisdom.

3 The work of ants benefits ants only, but the products of bees are appreciated by all, even by kings (βασιλεῖς), and they promote health (ὑγιεία). Thus the radius of bees' work is greater, so that bees are held in high regard (ἐπιδόξος, προήχθη).

Just as bees surpass ants, so the *example* of bees surpasses the *example* of ants. And in a sense the translator surpasses his source text, at least in the eyes of his audience with their admiration of bees.[98] The translator's working method is reminiscent of Roman *aemulatio*.

It is remarkable that this free addition is so completely in line with the drift of the source text. The translator has not employed this addition to introduce views of his own. A conservative Jew, for example – as some consider our translator to be – could have elaborated upon the ant as a model of a Torah-observant Jew, unceasing in good works. A hellenized Jew, on the other hand, could have compared ants and bees to the true sage, who gleans from different philosophical schools the most useful doctrines. An interesting Jewish-Hellenistic symbolism of bees is known to us. The Jewish author of *Joseph and Aseneth* (1st century BC) depicts a swarm of crowned bees, symbolizing priests, purifying Aseneth's mouth (16:17-23).[99] In apologetic boldness the author does not shrink from employing notions from Greek cults. That the translator of Proverbs refrains from riding hobby horses tells us that he has a sensitive mind and an excellent, probably trained eye for what does or does not fit into the context of the book he is translating.

The next question concerns the possible origin of the passage about the bee. The juxtaposition of ants and bees as industrious animals seems to have been a *topos* in Greek literature.[100] The mention of the bee in a warning against sloth can also be found in Pseudo-Phocylides, but direct borrowing is not probable: the only verbal agreement is the word μέλισσα 'bee'.[101] Gerleman first claimed that the translator of LXX-Proverbs is dependent of Aristotle's *Historia animalium*, where, he said, the life of the bee is treated immediately

[97] Fowler, *The Hellenistic Aesthetic*, Ch. II and IX, esp. pp. 31, 119

[98] In Hebrew culture bees were probably less appreciated; see Giese, Strength through Wisdom.

[99] G. Bohak, *"Joseph and Aseneth" and the Jewish temple in Heliopolis* (Early Judaism and its Literature 10), Atlanta 1996, 8ff. (I thank Prof. Van der Kooij for this reference.)

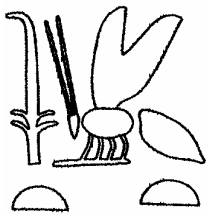
[100] In a scientific context: Aristotle, *Historia animalium* 622b, 20; in a hortatory context: Pseudo-Phocylides, *Sententiae* 164-174. D'Hamonville mentions Aristotle's *De partibus animalium* 650b, 26 and *De sensu* 444b, 11-12, but diligence is not at issue there. The former text deals with creatures that are bloodless, but nevertheless intelligent, and the latter text with creatures that do not have respiration, but are nevertheless sensitive to odours.

[101] See P.W. van der Horst, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides with Introduction and Commentary*, Leiden 1978, 222-225.

after the ant.[102] This theory has gone unquestioned but it is incorrect. Aristotle treats the bee (623b) after the spider (623a), not after the ant, whom he mentions only in passing in the introduction to his treatment of insects. There he mentions in one breath the ant, the bee, the hornet and the wasp as the most industrious animals (ἐργατικός 622b). Gerleman further says that Aristotle characterizes the bee as ἐργάτις 'industrious' and that this term is taken up by the Greek translator of Proverbs. But Gerleman has taken the term out of its context:

> Εἰσὶ δ' αἱ μικραὶ ἐργάτιδες μᾶλλον τῶν μεγάλων, ὥσπερ εἴρηται.
> The little bees, as has been said, are more industrious than the big ones. (627a)

This is not a characterization of bees, but a distinction between different kinds of bees. The fact that bees are industrious was so well-known that it is in my opinion implausible to suppose that a translator must have borrowed the term ἐργάτις 'industrious' from Aristotle. Aristotle presents a lengthy and technical discussion of bees, from which no significant term returns in LXX-Proverbs.



The passage about the bee may rather have an Egyptian origin. As is well-known, the Pharao was called 'Lord of Upper and Lower Egypt'. The royal title *njśwt bjt*, more than 3000 years old by the time of our translator, runs literally 'he of the reed and the bee'.[103] Its hieroglyph is depicted left. The reed was the symbol of Upper Egypt (the Nile bed) and the bee of Lower Egypt, the Delta and Oases, where Alexandria lay. This royal title survived well into the Hellenistic era and was transferred to the Ptolemaic Pharaoh, as is demonstrated by the trilingual Raphia decree, dating from 217 BC and written in Hieratic (hieroglyphs), Demotic and Greek and by the Memphis decree of 196 BC (the famous Rosetta Stone).[104] Historians report that both 'reed' and 'bee' could be used as a shorthand for 'Pharao'.[105] The Egyptian priest Chaeremon (1st century AD), explaining how hieroglyphic writing works, gives several examples, among which:

> ἔγραφον... ἀντὶ βασιλέως μέλισσαν
> they used to write 'bee' for 'king'.[106]

The function of Egyptian bee symbolism in LXX-Proverbs is not unambiguous, however. It may be a complimentary wink to the powers that be, but the stress on the diligence of bees and their profitable products may also be hortatory and critical of Ptolemaic kingship.[107] It suggests a wider readership than the Jewish community and a link to the court.

There are very few poetical features in the addition. Apart from the catalectic iambic trimeter discussed above (B2 πᾰθεΐνῃ δ' ἔστιν πᾶσιν κατ ἔπῐδόξος) and a trochaic line (C2), we find nothing special. One would have expected that the translator, unimpeded by the limitations of rendering the source text, would give his poetical fancy free rein. But this would have resulted in a stylistically uneven text, where vs 8A-C would have stood out as a poetical gem in a context of stichic prose, a result that the translator did not desire.

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[102] Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint* III, 31.
[103] Cf. the article 'Biene' in W. Helck / E. Otto, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* Wiesbaden 1972-.
[104] H.-J. Thissen, *Studien zum Raphiadekret* (Beiträge zur klass. Philologie 23), Meisenheim 1966, 37. The title is rendered into Greek as μεγάλου βασιλέως τῶν τε ἄνω καὶ τῶν κάτω χωρῶν.
[105] Cf. Thissen, *Studien zum Raphiadekret*, 38 for other references.
[106] Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Nr. 618/2. This is echoed by Ammianus Marcellinus (4th century AD): *per speciem apis indicant regem* (ed. W. Seyfarth), XVII, 4, 11.
[107] As in Seneca, *De clementia*, I, 19.

The combination of ἐργάτις and ἐργασία is an example of 'couplage étymologique'.[108]

PROVERBS 6:9

Ἕως τίνος, ὀκνηρέ, κατάκεισαι;
Πότε δὲ ἐξ ὕπνου ἐγερθήσῃ;
How long, sluggard, will you lie down?
When will you wake up from sleep?

עַד־מָתַי עָצֵל | תִּשְׁכָּב
מָתַי תָּקוּם מִשְּׁנָתֶךָ׃

How long, sluggard, will you lie down?
And when will you rise from your sleep?

Greek text –

Translation In the second stich the postpositive conjunction δέ is added. As in 6:2, the translator is not fond of asyndetic synonymous lines.
The literal rendering of עד מתי with ἕως τίνος 'how long?' (lit. 'until when?') conforms to the general picture in the Septuagint from the Pentateuch onwards.[109]
The Hebrew verb קום 'to rise' is rendered with a verb that denotes the stage *before* rising, viz. ἐγείρομαι 'to wake up' (translation of effect → cause). To be sure, Greek does have verbs that express 'getting up from bed,'[110] but these cannot be used since the text does not mention a bed. It says מתי תקום משנתך 'when will you get up from your *sleep?*' This cannot be rendered literally into Greek so that we are dealing with an obligatory transformation.
The possessive suffix in משנתך 'from <u>your</u> sleep' is not rendered in ἐξ ὕπνου 'from sleep'. Normally, prepositional expressions with ὕπνος the article and the possessive pronoun are not used in Greek.[111] With this omission the translator avoids a Hebraism. In literally translated books we do find the article in such expressions.[112]
A change of word order is found in the second stich, where the Greek words for 'sleep' and 'wake up' have changed positions compared to the Hebrew, probably to make the second stich syntactically parallel to the first (i.e. ending in a verb).

[108] D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 68-69 (it is characteristic of the translator).
[109] Ἕως τίνος renders עד מתי 8x and its synonym עד אנה 6x according to Hatch & Redpath.
[110] Ἀνίσταμαι, ἐξανίσταμαι, ἐπανατέλλω (poet.); see Woodhouse, *English-Greek Lexicon*, s.v. Rise. In the LXX, see e.g. Exodus 10:23 καὶ οὐκ ἐξανέστη οὐδεὶς ἐκ τῆς κοίτης αὐτοῦ τρεῖς ἡμέρας 'and no one got up from his bed during three days' (of Egyptian darkness); Exodus 21:18-19 etc.
[111] LSJ 1873a: ἐγεῖραί τινα ἐξ ὕπνου, ἐξ ὕπνου στῆναι, καθ' ὕπνον etc.
[112] Judges 16:14, 20; Zechariah 4:1; Job 14:12 (asterised hexaplaric addition). We also find ὕπνος with article and possessive pronoun when ὕπνος is used to express the notion of 'dream': καὶ ἰδοὺ ὁ ἀνήρ, ὃν εἶδον ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ μου τὴν ἀρχήν, Γαβριηλ 'and behold the man whom I had earlier seen in my dream, Gabriel' (Daniel LXX 9:21; MT: והאיש גבריאל אשר ראיתי בחזון בתחלה). Cf. Genesis 28:16; Jeremiah 38 (MT 31):26; Daniel 4:1.

PROVERBS 6:10

Ὀλίγον μὲν ὑπνοῖς, ὀλίγον δὲ κάθησαι, μικρὸν δὲ νυστάζεις,
ὀλίγον δὲ ἐναγκαλίζῃ χερσὶν στήθη·
You are sleeping a little, you also sit a little, you slumber a moment,
you hold a little your own breast with your arms

מְעַט שֵׁנוֹת מְעַט תְּנוּמוֹת
מְעַט חִבֶּק יָדַיִם לִשְׁכָּב׃

A little sleep, a little slumber,
a little folding of hands to lie down.

Greek text According to lexica κάθημαι does not have the generic meaning 'to rest', as Cook translates incorrectly.
Regarding μέν… δέ… we can say that its use had gradually diminished since the classical period, and in Koine Greek its use had become more intentional.[113] The pair of conjunctions μέν… δέ… is difficult to translate into English. Μέν harks back to 6:9, where sleeping is also mentioned, and δέ adds other forms of laziness. It could be paraphrased as follows: 'you sleep a little, as you are doing now, but you also sit lazily, you also slumber etc.'
The meaning of the last stich needs some clarification. The verb ἐναγκαλίζομαι means 'to embrace (for) oneself'. So the whole stich sounds literally: 'a little you embrace for yourself the breast[114] with arms.' This is a position that many people assume during sleep. Baumgartner vaguely suggests that στήθη is a real plural, denoting 'breasts'.[115] The picture would then be not laziness, but enjoyment in love. In the Septuagint, however, womens' breasts are called μάστοι, never στήθη.

Translation The Hebrew text is wholly asyndetic, but conjunctions are supplied in Greek (μέν… δέ… δέ… δέ…), as elsewhere in this chapter.
A change of word class occurs when the Hebrew nouns שנה 'sleep' and תנומה 'slumber' are transformed into verbs: ὑπνοῖς 'you sleep' and νυστάζεις 'you slumber'. The problem that the translator wanted to solve becomes clear with a glance at GN, where the underlined words have been added:

> »Nur ein kurzes Nickerchen«, <u>sagst du</u>, »nur einen Moment die Augen zumachen und die Hände in den Schoß legen.«

The translators want to make clearer that 6:10 presents the thoughts of the sluggard. The German and Greek translators have dealt with the same problem in slightly different ways.
The Greek clause ὀλίγον δὲ κάθησαι 'you sit a little' is without counterpart in Hebrew and seems to be an addition. Unnoticed by Cook, it has attracted the attention of earlier scholars. De Lagarde suggests that it renders מעט שבת 'a little sitting' in the translator's source text, and explains: 'diese worte sind dem vorhergehenden מעט שנות so ähnlich, dass sich denken liesse, sie seien vom schreiber des masoretischen archetypus um dieser ähnlichkeit

[113] BDR § 447; Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri* § 164.6.δ.
[114] As often, the plural στήθη is used with the meaning of singular στῆθος 'breast' (LSJ 1643b).
[115] Baumgartner, *Étude critique*, 69.

mit den vorgehenden willen übersehen worden.'[116] This sounds convincing, but let us have a look at De Lagarde's supposed source text:

*מעט שנות מעט שבת מעט תנומות	A little sleep, a little sitting, a little slumber,
מעט חבק ידים לשכב	a little folding of hands to lie down.

Firstly, the reconstructed first stich is abnormally long (6 accents) and differs too much from the second stich (4 accents).[117] Secondly, it is not probable that the series of three words denoting laziness would have two nouns (שנות and תנומות), interrupted by an infinitive (שבת). De Lagarde's theory is therefore implausible. Nor is it probable that ὀλίγον δὲ κάθησαι 'you sit a little' is a rendering of לשכב in the second stich, as Toy supposes.[118]
A different reconstruction has been offered by Iaeger.[119] He considers ὀλίγον δὲ κάθησαι 'you sit a little' a rendering of מעט תנומות 'a little slumber', because κάθημαι features here in the generic sense of 'laziness', as in Proverbs 3:24 (for שכב 'to lie down'). A revisor later added μικρὸν δὲ νυστάζεις 'you slumber a little' as a more literal rendering of מעט תנומות 'a little slumber'. According to Iaeger this also explains the variation between μικρόν and ὀλίγον. In my view a revisor should enter a hypothesis only when translational factors provide insufficient explanation. In the verse under discussion this is not the case. Besides, Iaeger has not taken into account Proverbs 24:33.
The translation of the parallel text in Proverbs 24:33 can help us to grasp the problem:

מְעַט שֵׁנוֹת	ὀλίγον νυστάζω
מְעַט תְּנוּמוֹת	ὀλίγον δὲ καθυπνῶ
מְעַט חִבֶּק יָדַיִם לִשְׁכָּב׃	ὀλίγον δὲ ἐναγκαλίζομαι χερσὶν στήθη
A little *sleep*,	I slumber a little,
a little slumber,	I *fall asleep*[120] a little,
a little folding of hands to lie down.	I hold a little my own breast with my arms

The order of the Hebrew text is: sleep – slumber – position of body during sleep. This is not really an orderly or logical arrangement (but such is not the concern of the Hebrew poetic lines, we may add). Now the translator has changed the order of sleeping and slumbering, probably because slumbering is the stage that precedes falling asleep. He has thus subjected the text to a logical order. Ἐναγκαλίζομαι χερσὶν στήθη "holding one's breast with one's arms" then refers to the position in which the sluggard sleeps, just as in the Hebrew text.
Armed with these observations we return to Proverbs 6:10. This text is identical to 24:33 and contains the same 'illogical' order. The translator has done something about that, but in contrast to 24:33 he has not tried to present a chronological order. For in 6:10 the order of sleeping and slumbering is the same as in MT, and καθυπνόω 'to fall asleep' is not used. Instead, the translator added ὀλίγον δὲ κάθησαι 'you sit a little' and thereby created an alternation of expressions denoting mental torpor and expressions denoting a lazy position of the body:

[116] De Lagarde, *Anmerkungen*, 23 (N.B. De Lagarde writes German without capital letters).
[117] Toy's remark "the Hebrew rhythm is against it" (*Proverbs*, 130) probably hints at this.
[118] Toy, *Proverbs*, 130.
[119] Iaeger, *Observationes*, 51.
[120] LSJ 837a 'to fall fast asleep'. Lust e.a., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* incorrectly gives 'to sleep' as the meaning of καθυπνόω, but this is clearly a result of attention to the (presumed) "intention of the translator" (who is believed to render the Hebrew text literally, if he can).

A: sleeping – B: sitting – A': slumbering – B': embracing one's own breast

This non-obligatory addition has another advantage: the Greek text now warns against another form of laziness, viz. sitting, which makes the warning more universally applicable. Why does the translator vary between the synonyms ὀλίγον and μικρόν 'a little'? In Proverbs 24:33 we just found a threefold repetition of ὀλίγον. Now repetition can be used as a figure of style, but repetitiousness may cause boredom, a notorious pitfall for orators in antiquity.[121] The translator tolerates a threefold repetition, but he apparently finds a fourfold repetition overdone. The alternation between ὀλίγον and μικρόν, both literal translations, is in my opinion employed to avoid repetitiousness. In Proverbs 30:18-19 the fourfold repetition of דרך 'way' is likewise varied in Greek.

Summarizing the relationship of Proverbs 6:10 and 24:33, we conclude that the same problem is solved in two different ways. In 6:10 the translator adds a phrase and employs a minor stylistic variation. Eighteen chapters later, in 24:33, the order of two verbs is reversed and this accomplishes all. The latter is more in line with the "minimax strategy."

The transformations in the second stich probably arise from an interpretation differing from what many modern scholars offer. The Hebrew text literally says: 'a little embracing of hands to lie down'. Now in modern Bible translations this is commonly rendered as 'folding of hands', which is a sign of lazy satisfaction.[122] But there have been scholars, and still are, who translate it as 'embracing'. Rashi, for example, glosses the expression with the French *embrasser*. Sexuality, this implies, keeps people from working diligently. The NJPS translation has followed Rashi's lead, but without the sexual connotation, which plays no role in the immediate context: 'A bit more hugging yourself in bed.' In fact this is very similar to what LXX offers! The differences between NJPS and LXX are:

1 NJPS has made the 'hands/arms' implicit (hugging is always done with arms).

2 As 'hugging yourself' is a bit strange,[123] the Greek translator has pictured the position to himself and tried to render the situation in Greek, which was more clearly rendered by adding 'breast' (situational translation).

3 LXX has implicitated לשכב 'to lie down' as superfluous, since 'embracing your own breast' already denotes a sleeping and thus lying position.[124]

PROVERBS 6:11 & 11A

Εἶτ' ἐμπαραγίνεταί σοι ὥσπερ κακὸς ὁδοιπόρος ἡ πενία
καὶ ἡ ἔνδεια ὥσπερ ἀγαθὸς δρομεύς.
[A] Ἐὰν δὲ ἄοκνος ἦς, ἥξει ὥσπερ πηγὴ ὁ ἀμητός σου,
ἡ δὲ ἔνδεια ὥσπερ κακὸς δρομεὺς ἀπαυτομολήσει.
Then [be sure!] poverty suddenly stands by you like an evil passer-by

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[121] Rener, *Interpretatio*, 157-158: 'One of the surest causes of boredom was supposed to be repetitiousness in all possible forms. This could entail repetition of words, for instance, or phrases as well as the recurrence of the same sentence structure.'

[122] The folding of hands, which occurs also in Ecclesiastes 4:5, is explained by Ibn Ezra as a gesture that denotes a refusal to exert oneself (שלא תינע).

[123] We should note that for NJPS naturalness is less important than for LXX-Proverbs.

[124] It is semantically and graphically improbable that לשכב 'to lie down' was read as לשדים 'to breasts' by the translator, as Baumgartner, *Étude critique*, 69 believes.

and want like a good runner.
But if you are diligent, your harvest will be there like a flowing spring,
and want will give up like a bad runner.

וּבָא־כִמְהַלֵּךְ רֵאשֶׁךָ וּמַחְסֹרְךָ כְּאִישׁ מָגֵן׃

And your poverty will come like a vagabond
and your want like a man-with-a-shield.

Greek text Ὁδοιπόρος means 'traveller', someone who passes by on the road. A κακὸς ὁδοιπόρος 'evil passer-by' is a traveller of mean character who avails himself of the opportunity to rob the sluggard (in the previous verse depicted as lying down and sleeping). The meaning of this first simile thus seems to be that poverty will come unexpectedly. A δρομεύς 'runner' is an athlete who runs in a competition, for example in the Olympic games.[125] The second simile says that poverty will come 'like a good runner', i.e. quickly.
The emotional appeal of these similes to the reader is underscored by the use of the present instead of the future tense. This 'present of anticipation' occurs in lively speech to indicate that a certain action is 'immediate, likely, certain or threatening' (Smyth § 1879; BDR § 323). In 11A the expected future tense is resumed.
The text of 6:11A needs a short discussion, since it is sometimes translated incorrectly and considered difficult.[126] In the first stich 'your harvest will *come* like a fountain' (Cook) sounds strange, but we should keep in mind that the verb ἥκω primarily means 'to be present'. Hence a more correct rendering is 'your harvest *will be there* like a flowing spring,'[127] which is more understandable as well. The second stich is commonly translated as 'want will desert like a bad runner', but what does this mean? The verb ἀπαυτομολέω indeed refers to soldiers deserting their army (LSJ). It can also be used metaphorically, viz. of deserting a practice or a conviction.[128] Used in the context of sports, the verb most probably means 'giving up in the middle of a race'. In the Greek world, a bad runner who gave up was derided and had to leave shamefacedly.[129] The simile as a whole means that once you are diligent, poverty will give up its race to overtake you.

Translation The Hebrew conjunction ו 'and', which expresses a generic transition, is specified into εἶτα 'then', a temporal adverb that expresses a more specific temporal and logical transition.
The Greek verb ἐμπαραγίνομαι 'to stand suddenly at one's side, to come in upon someone' is unique in Greek literature. The rendering of בוא 'to come, enter' with ἐμπαραγίνομαι constitutes a specification and occurs only here. A more literal translation, καὶ ἐλεύσεται

[125] Plato, *Leges* 822b. The comic poet Eupolis compares a good orator who beats his opponents to ἀγαθοὶ δρομῆς 'good runners' who leave their competitors behind. See R. Kassel & C. Austin, *Poetae Comici Graeci*, nr. 102 (94).
[126] McKane, *Proverbs*, 325 says: 'the additional element in LXX is inept, containing as it does two similes of more than dubious felicity – harvest is like a fountain and need like an evil courier.'
[127] D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 194. A collocation of ἥκω with food is found in LSJ 767b, II.1.
[128] After six of his brothers have been tortured to death because of their Jewishness, the seventh brother does not flinch, but declares Οὐκ ἀπαυτομολῶ τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου ἀριστείας 'I will not forsake the excellence of my brothers' (4 Maccabees 12:16). The verb is also used of bad style orators, who 'desert' to the other camp (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De oratoribus veteribus* 2).
[129] This can be inferred from Plato, *Respublica* 613b. He tells us how already imprudent runners, who had a flashing start and then fell back quickly, were the victims of derision.

'and [poverty] will come', would have suggested a slow advent of poverty and diminished the urgency. It seems that the translator has directed everything towards the highest emotional appeal, cf. the present of anticipation (see *Greek text*).
Where MT says ובא ראשך '*your* poverty will come', it is more natural to express it in Greek without a possessive pronoun: 'poverty will come *to you*' (ἐμπαραγίνεταί σοι). The dative σοί renders the possessive suffix in the second stich as well. This change of word class entails a change of word order.
The phrase ὥσπερ κακὸς ὁδοιπόρος 'like an evil passer-by' is a rendering of Hebrew כמהלך. To determine what sort of transformation has taken place we must have a look at the precise meaning of the Hebrew phrase. It is not entirely clear what the pi'el-stem of this verb means. Most recent scholars follow Jenni's proposal: 'ein Umhergehen ohne bestimmte Richtung bzw. mit wechselnder Richtung', which for Proverbs 6:11 results in the translation 'like a vagabond'.[130] Older exegetes commonly translated it as 'highwayman', i.e. a bandit who robs travellers and couches on public highways.[131] A third explanation of מהלך is simply 'traveller'.[132] The question is of course: how did the LXX-translators interpret מהלך? I think we can exclude 'vagabond', as this translation seems to be the fruit of modern research. The translation of מהלך as 'highwayman' is primarily based on the idea that the term must be semantically close (parallel) to איש מגן 'man-with-a-shield' in the second line, but it does not flow from the lexical meaning of מהלך. Besides, in the framework of the rhetorical transformations we noted above a 'highwayman' would have served the translator's purposes excellently. Had the translator believed it was the meaning of מהלך he would not have toned it down to 'traveller'. It seems therefore probable to assume that he interpreted מהלך as 'traveller', which we find also in the Vulgate (*viator*), and hence the translation is a literal one. But this rendering was certainly too pale, for what is the danger of a traveller? The translator therefore added κακός 'evil' to transform the traveller into an opportunistic robber.
A surprising transformation is the rendering of כאיש מגן 'like a man-with-a-shield' with ὥσπερ ἀγαθὸς δρομεύς 'like a good runner'.[133] The Greek text is clear and simple and so is the Hebrew.[134] To explain the Greek rendering it has been claimed that the translators had a different Hebrew text before them. But the dated proposals in this vein have rightly been refuted and have not resurfaced since.[135] Why did the Greek translator not give a literal translation of this phrase? Greek could boast of numerous words for different types of shields and several are attested in the Septuagint according to Muraoka's *Index*. In my opinion, the translator's problem was that a shield is a defensive weapon.[136] But the context in LXX-Proverbs 6:11 requires a word that points to an assailant. It is for this reason that all modern Bible translations known to me, with the exception of NJPS, have rendered the 'man-with-a-shield' as an aggressive character. This logic was not lost even upon Buber and Rosenzweig, who preferred 'ein gewappneter Mann' over a literal rendering in their

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[130] 'Wie ein Landstreicher': E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el*, Zürich 1968, 151-152.
[131] See Toy, *Proverbs*, 125 and the exegetes whom BDB 235a, sub 1. mentions.
[132] Cf. Ibn Ezra ad loc.: כאורח הבא שלא יודע עד בואו 'like an unexpected guest'.
[133] Iaeger, *Observationes*, 52 confesses he cannot at all think up a reason for this transformation.
[134] Alternative explanations of MT from related languages have been proposed, all of them irrelevant for explaining the Septuagint rendering. For a short survey see Fox, *Proverbs 1-9*, 217-218.
[135] Cf. Toy, *Proverbs*, 130. The parallel in Proverbs 24:34 has the same Hebrew phrase.
[136] In metaphorical contexts the Hebrew word for shield is often translated 'protection, protector' etc. Muraoka, *Index* s.v. מגן lists ἀντιλήπτωρ, ἀντιλήψις, βοήθεια, ὑπερασπίζειν, ὑπερασπισμός, -στής.

Verdeutschung der Schrift. We can now understand why the Greek translator abandoned the 'man-with-a-shield'. But whence did he get the 'good runner'? If the LXX-translator had adopted the solution of his later colleagues, the whole verse would have run as follows (in English translation):

> Then poverty suddenly stands by you like an evil passer-by
> and want like an [armed robber].

I would suggest that the Greek translator could not be content with such a verse. For it is a perfect example of synonymous parallelism, characteristic of Hebrew poetry. And we have seen that the translator does not like repetition of the same thought and on several occasions he modifies such verses.[137] The sudden advent of poverty 'as an evil passer-by' expresses danger and unexpectedness, its arrival 'as an armed robber' conveys the same, but in a somewhat stronger degree. My impression is that the Greek translator wanted to intensify the warning against sloth. To a sluggard poverty will come *unexpectedly*, yes, but it will also come *quickly*. I think therefore that once confronted with a translation problem (the awkwardness of the 'shield'), the Greek translator availed himself of the opportunity to introduce a semantic modification in order to strengthen his text.

It is interesting to compare 6:11 to 24:34, where the Hebrew text is very similar. One difference is that between כמהלך 'like a traveller' (6:11) and מתהלך 'walking' (24:34). Proverbs 24:34 runs as follows:

> Ἐὰν δὲ τοῦτο ποιῇς, ἥξει προπορευομένη ἡ πενία σου
> καὶ ἡ ἔνδειά σου ὥσπερ ἀγαθὸς δρομεύς
> If you do this, your poverty will be there before all
> and your want like a good runner.

> וּבָא־מִתְהַלֵּךְ רֵישֶׁךָ וּמַחְסֹרֶיךָ כְּאִישׁ מָגֵן׃
> And your poverty will come walking
> and your want like a man-with-a-shield.

The transitional clause ἐὰν δὲ τοῦτο ποιῇς 'If you do this' has been added to indicate that the speaker of 24:33 has finished and is now being addressed. It then reads ἥξει πρὸ πορευομένη ἡ πενία σου 'your poverty will be there before all', i.e. marching in advance as a vanguard (LSJ). This contains a transformation by which the relaxed picture of poverty that 'comes walking' is turned into something more threatening, as befits the context.[138] The addition of προπορευομένη 'as a vanguard' makes a specific verb (like ἐμπαραγίνομαι) superfluous, so the translator can use the more generic ἥκω 'to have come', which stays closer to the Hebrew. The possessive suffix in רישך '*your* poverty' is rendered with ἡ πενία σου, likewise more literally than in 6:11.

The second stich of 24:34 is not identical to 6:11, as Cook claims.[139] The former is slightly closer to the Hebrew, since it renders the possessive suffix: ἡ ἔνδειά σου '*your* want'. And last but not least, the addition of two complete stichs is found in 6:11A but not in 24:34.

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[137] See our discussion of Proverbs 6:7. Cf. further Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint* III, 18f. and D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 61.

[138] The fact that both LXX and MT lack a comparison ('like a …') makes it plausible that the parent text of LXX read מתהלך in 24:34, like MT.

[139] Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*, 172.

D'Hamonville is right in his conclusion that 'le traducteur se tient toutefois beaucoup plus proche du texte hébreu que dans le doublet que l'on trouve en 6,10-11.'[140]

Regarding 6:11A there is a consensus that it does not reflect a different Hebrew text longer than MT but is a product of the translator.[141] The question is, of course: why were these two stichs added? They do not really make the content of the preceding stichs clearer.[142] D'Hamonville hints that several additions in the Greek Proverbs have a structural function, marking the beginning or the end of a section.[143] Often these additions expand or explain the central message, introduce it more clearly or present a didactic contrast to it.[144] In my view this is also the function of 6:11A. It concludes vss 6-11A by presenting a positive contrast to the preceding warnings and making the message more explicit. The translator, who likes contrasts, frequently creates antitheses instead of the Hebrew synonymous parallelism or creates an antithesis of his own accord.[145] He does the same in this free addition. The risks of sloth (6:11) now stand in contrast to the blessings of being diligent (6:11A). The same antithesis can be found in another added verse, 11:16A:

> Πλούτου ὀκνηροὶ ἐνδεεῖς γίνονται, οἱ δὲ ἀνδρεῖοι ἐρείδονται πλούτῳ.
> Lazy men become destitute, but the manly are secure because of their wealth.

The section 6:6-11A now ends in a positive and unambigious statement of its message. In the nearly identical verse 24:34, which also ends a section, the translator did not resort to the same procedure, but applied a more modest transformation.

Now we need to address the question: How did the translator arrive at the exact wording of his addition? This is not instantly clear. The problem is that in syntactical respect the added stichs of 6:11A are close to the Hebrew text of 6:11, whereas the semantical content is not. It is therefore understandable that scholars have tried to establish a connection between 6:11A and the Hebrew text of 6:11. It has been suggested that the translator gives a second translation of the same Hebrew lines, either in an alternative interpretation (Mezzacasa) or with help of midrashic liberties (De Lagarde).[146] But I find their reconstructions of the

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[140] D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 302.

[141] Tov, Recensional Differences, 45-46, believes that De Lagarde suggests a different Hebrew source text for LXX, but this is not correct. For the right interpretation of De Lagarde's shorthand style see Baumgartner, *Étude critique*, 69.

[142] Contra Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*, 171.

[143] D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 52.

[144] For example LXX-Proverbs 1:7ab; 2:17a; 4:27AB; 8:21A; 9:18A-D; 16:30c; 24:22A-E.

[145] D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 71. See especially 17:5A; 18:22A.

[146] De Lagarde, *Anmerkungen*, 23 thinks the translator re-read the Hebrew text of 6:11 and transformed it into its opposite with the help of midrashic liberties (different word divisions, transpositions of letters etc.). In his view the translator reshaped the Hebrew material in the following fashion:

וּבָא־כִמְהַלֵּךְ רֵאשֶׁךָ וּמַחְסֹרְךָ כְּאִישׁ מָגֵן	(MT) Your poverty will come like a vagabond and your want like a man-with-a-shield.
וּבָא־כְּמוֹ חֵלֶךְ גְּדִישֶׁךָ וּמַחְסֹרְךָ כְּחָשׁ בְּאִישׁ נָמֹג	("LXX") Your stack of sheaves will come like a stream and your want will retreat like a bad man-in-haste.

Mezzacasa, *Proverbi di Salomone*, 61, 128 gives two proposals to illustrate how the translator might have reread the MT raw material of the first stich in an alternative way:

וּבָא־כְּמַהֲלַךְ רֹאשֶׁךָ	your harvest will come like a stream
וּבָא־כַּמַּה לְךָ רֹאשֶׁךָ	your harvest will come to you like water

translator's train of thought not very probable. Not only are the lexical assumptions behind them daring and unconvincing,[147] but more importantly, the Greek translator of Proverbs handles his source text with such a liberty that he does not need midrashic methods to create surprising additions nor do we need them to justify those additions.
In my view our problem of syntactical similarity and semantical difference can be explained better by the assumption that the translator composed his addition primarily as a contrast to the *Greek* text of 6:11. He followed its syntax and conceived the second stich of 6:11A as a conscious opposite to the second stich of 6:11. Thus

> 'and want (will suddenly stand by you) like a good runner' (11b)
> *was provided with the contrast:*
> 'and want will give up like a bad runner.' (11Ab)

The *first* stich of 6:11A, however, is not so easily explained. Its content, 'your harvest will be there as a flowing spring', is very surprising. It is difficult to connect it with any Hebrew or Greek element in the immediate context. Neither can I understand why in a free addition the translator came up with something so unexpected. Frankly, I am at a loss how to explain it. Earlier scholars have observed that 6:11A takes up vocabulary from the preceding context:[148] ἀμητός 'harvest' occurs in 6:8 and πηγή 'fountain' in 4:21; 5:15-18, whereas ἄοκνος 'diligent' seems to be a deliberately alliterating antithesis to ὀκνηρός 'lazy' (6:6, 9). It is an observation, no explanation. I leave this issue to the ingenuity of future scholars.
The content of 6:11A does not change the content of the section materially. It baffles me how Cook can claim that in 6:8A and 11A the translator 'addresse[s] the question of poverty from a religious perspective bringing wisdom into play and offers a religiously motivated solution to his reader, one that is in accordance with his Jewish-orientated stance.'[149] I can detect nothing specifically Jewish in this addition.

PROVERBS 6:12

Ἀνὴρ ἄφρων καὶ παράνομος πορεύεται ὁδοὺς οὐκ ἀγαθάς.
A foolish and lawless man walks in ways [that are] not good.

אָדָם ׀ בְּלִיַּעַל אִישׁ אָוֶן
הֹולֵךְ עִקְּשׁוּת פֶּה׃

A man of worthlessness, a man of iniquity
goes [with] crookedness of mouth,

Greek text The verse contains assonance of α and of the cluster voiceless labial + trill: ἀνὴρ ἄφρων καὶ παράνομος πορεύεται.

[147] For example, Mezzacasa's suggestion that the translator interpreted מַהֲלָךְ as 'course of water' → 'stream' is not impossible, but when he credits the translator with the interpretation of ראשך as 'your harvest' on the basis of Hosea 10:4, this overstrains our imagination. For in Hosea 10:4 ראש occurs in the sense of 'poisonous herb' (!) and is translated as ἄγρωστις 'dog's tooth grass', which is very much the opposite of a beneficial harvest.
[148] Tov, Recensional Differences, 45-46; D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 194-195.
[149] Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*, 171.

Translation The paragraph structure of 6:12ff. differs in Hebrew and Greek. The Hebrew text opens with its subject, the 'worthless and iniquitous man', followed by a number of predicates, in which parts of the body succeed each other: mouth – eyes – feet – fingers – heart (12b – 14a). The Greek translation presents 6:12 as a general characterization of the wicked man and then continues in 6:13 with a detailed description of his actions, introduced by ὁ δ' αὐτός 'the same man'. The latter interpretation is possible, though less likely from a structural point of view. It is probably connected with the omission of the 'mouth' (see below).

The Hebrew word איש 'man, someone' is in most cases translated as ἀνήρ 'man' in LXX-Proverbs, whereas אדם 'human being' is sometimes rendered as ἀνήρ 'man' and sometimes as ἄνθρωπος 'human being'. Especially in collocations with an attributive adjective the translator prefers ἀνήρ 'man'.[150] The latter is more natural in this context, more flexible in collocations and hence more frequent in the book as a whole. Therefore the choice of ἀνήρ 'man' is obvious. Since the Greek word renders two Hebrew words and the notion of 'man' is clearly present, it can be called a literal translation.

The omission of one word denoting 'man' is easily accounted for. Hebrew is forced to employ a word for 'man' twice in this stich because of the construct state ('a man *of* iniquity'). In Greek the qualifying nouns are more naturally expressed as adjectives (change of word class), so that one term for 'man' can be omitted without loss of meaning. The fact that construct states with qualifying nouns are usually rendered with adjectives even in literal translations helps us to consider this change of word class as obligatory.[151]

The nouns בליעל and און have undergone two transformations. Not only has their word class changed, but the semantic content as well. The word בליעל means 'worthlessness, wickedness'. In other books it has been translated with various terms for wickedness, among them παράνομος 'lawless' (11x),[152] but throughout LXX-Proverbs it is rendered as ἄφρων 'foolish'.[153] The word און 'iniquity, trouble' is rendered as παράνομος 'lawless' in 6:12 and 17:4, which is in line with the Greek words for evil that render it throughout LXX-Proverbs and the Septuagint as a whole. But a few passages render און 'iniquity, trouble' with words denoting folly.[154] So we find two things: the renderings of both בליעל and און are consistent with LXX-Proverbs, but the rendering of בליעל deviates from the rest of the Septuagint. It is not surprising, then, that some Greek manuscripts change the order of the adjectives into

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[150] In 11:7 ἀνδρὸς δικαίου, 12:23 ἀνὴρ συνετός, 12:27 ἀνὴρ καθαρός, 17:18 ἀνὴρ ἄφρων, 19:11 ἐλεήμων ἀνὴρ, all of them renderings of אדם. An exception can be found in 23:31, where יתאדם '[the wine] is red' is rendered as ὁμιλεῖτε ἀνθρώποις δικαίοις 'converse with righteous humans'.

[151] Cf. Genesis 46:32 אנשי מקנה → ἄνδρες κτηνοτρόφοι; Exodus 18:21 אנשי חיל אנשי מקנה → ἄνδρας δυνατούς… ἄνδρας δικαίους; 1 Kings 9:27 אנשי אניות → ἄνδρας ναυτικούς; Jeremiah 38:22 (LXX 38:22) אנשי שלמך → ἄνδρες εἰρηνικοί σου. But translations that have adopted literalism as a system are not afraid of such Hebraisms, cf. Ecclesiastes 12:3 אנשי החיל → ἄνδρες τῆς δυνάμεως (Aquila); Psalms 55 (LXX 54):24 אנשי דמים → ἄνδρες αἱμάτων) Cf. I. Soisalon-Soininen, Verschiedene Wiedergaben der hebräischen Status-constructus-Verbindung im griechischen Pentateuch, in: idem, *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax*, 64-65.

[152] For בליעל in MT and ancient versions, see D. Winton Thomas, בליעל in the Old Testament, in: J.N. Birdall, R.W. Thomson (eds.), *Biblical and Patristic Studies* (FS R.P. Casey), Freiburg 1963, 11-19.

[153] Proverbs 6:12; 16:27; 19:28.

[154] Hosea 6:8; Isaiah 31:2; 32:6; Ezekiel 11:2.

ἀνὴρ παράνομος καὶ ἄφρων 'a lawless and foolish man,'[155] so that בליעל is translated as παράνομος 'lawless', in line with the rest of the Septuagint.

How should we explain this? We have seen more than once that the Greek translator of Proverbs does not necessarily follow equivalents he found in other books. Since the renderings in Proverbs 6:12 are consistent within the book as a whole, there is no reason to suppose that the translator has inversed the renderings of בליעל and און. Regarding the rendering of בליעל 'worthlessness, wickedness' with ἄφρων 'foolish', it is not easy to determine what kind of transformation it is, for this depends on the translator's understanding of בליעל. It is possible that he interpreted it as בלי יעל 'useless' and then transformed 'useless' into 'insensible' (modification: different type of unsoundness), or, as בלי עול, 'without (God's) yoke, uncontrolled',[156] hence 'insensible' (translation of cause → effect). At the same time it seems that the favourite word ἄφρων 'foolish' is employed by the translator to lend LXX-Proverbs a certain conceptual unity. It renders numerous Hebrew lexemes as we saw, but a second indication for ἄφρων 'foolish' as a favourite word is that the translator has avoided several of its synonyms, such as ἀσύνετος, occurring 12x throughout the whole LXX, and μῶρος, occurring 28 times in Ben Sira (!). That ἄφρων 'foolish' renders און 'iniquity, trouble' is not wholly exceptional in the LXX, for we find it in two other places (Job 34:36; Isaiah 59:7).

The transformations in the second part of the verse are also interesting. There are two 'problems' that forced the translator to depart from a literal rendering. First, the phrase הולך עקשות פה (lit. 'goes crookedness of mouth') is a Hebrew idiom for gossiping.[157] The translator retained the notion of 'going' but πορεύομαι 'to go' asks for 'paths' as its natural sequel, and by way of coincidence the root עקש 'crooked, curbed' is often collocated with 'ways' and 'paths' too.[158] It is clear that the notion of 'ways' strongly suggested itself to the translator's mind. Therefore he imported ὁδοὺς οὐκ ἀγαθάς 'ways that are not good' from 16:29.[159] The second problem is the expression עקשות פה 'crookedness of mouth'. This does not denote a bodily disfiguration such as a twisted lip, but is a metaphorical expression referring to evil speech. For this reason most translations give the sense rather than the image.[160] I think the choice for a sense-oriented translation is promoted by the fact that the other parts of the body in 6:13-14 are not metaphorical, but literal: parts of the body convey a sign language. In contrast, a literal translation was possible in Proverbs 4:24, where the whole context is metaphorical, so that there is less danger of misunderstanding.

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[155] Cook, *Septuagint of Proverbs*, 173.

[156] Cf. the just mentioned article by D. Winton Thomas and the Babylonian Talmud, *Sanhedrin* 111b. This etymology was embraced by Jerome in the Vulgate of Judges 19:22 'venerunt viri civitatis filii Belial *id est absque iugo*' (the italics constitute an explicitation).

[157] Another expression for gossip or slander is likewise constructed with הלך 'to go', viz. הלך רכיל, cf. Leviticus 19:16; Jeremiah 6:28; 9:3; Proverbs 11:13 (notion of 'going' omitted in Greek); 20:19 (not rendered in LXX). N.B. I do not agree with Iaeger, *Observationes*, 52, who interprets the Hebrew expression in 6:12 as suggestive movements of the mouth, without actual speech.

[158] Isaiah 59:8; Proverbs 2:15; 10:9; 28:6, 18. In Proverbs 11:20 עקש 'curbed' has also attracted a 'way' (ὁδός, Hebrew לב), thus creating a form of repetition that the translator usually dislikes.

[159] Iaeger, *Observationes*, 52; Toy, *The Book of Proverbs*, 131; Baumgartner, *Étude critique*, 70. The word ἀγαθός 'good' is frequently added by the translator of Proverbs, cf. Hatch & Redpath's *Concordance*. Its addition contributes to the conceptual unity of LXX-Proverbs.

[160] Cf. translations so diverse as the Peshitta (ܕܒܥܘܬ ܦܘܡ, omitting 'mouth'), RSV ('crooked speech'), *Gute Nachricht* ('Lügen'), REB, NJPS etc.

The alliteration noted above might be a compensation for the Hebrew alliteration of *'aleph* and *'ayin* in the first stich.

PROVERBS 6:13

Ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἐννεύει ὀφθαλμῷ, σημαίνει δὲ ποδί,
διδάσκει δὲ ἐννεύμασιν δακτύλων.
The same [man] winks with an eye, gives signs with a foot,
teaches with signs of fingers.

קֹרֵץ בְּעֵינָו
מֹלֵל בְּרַגְלָו
מֹרֶה בְּאֶצְבְּעֹתָיו׃

winks with his eye,
speaks with his foot,
gives signs with his fingers.

Greek text The slight variant found in manuscripts,[161] viz. διδάσκει δὲ νεύμασιν instead of διδάσκει δὲ ἐννεύμασιν proves that elision of δέ was read, even when it was not written. For copulative δέ see Smyth § 2836; BDR § 447.f.
Alliteration of δ begins at the end of the first stich and continues well into the second stich.

Translation The addition of ὁ δ' αὐτός 'the same man' has become necessary because of the different syntactical structuring in the Greek text (see 6:12).
The verb קרץ, explained by HAL as 'das Auge zukneifen', was perhaps not interpreted by the LXX-translators in that sense.[162] I am inclined to regard it as a literal translation.
The verb מלל 'to speak' occurs at least four times in MT. In Aramaic, a language probably known to the translator,[163] it is a common verb. Modern lexica create a different entry for מלל 'to scrub, scrape', which is said to occur only in Proverbs 6:13. I doubt whether the LXX-translators shared this interpretation. I would assume that the translator rendered מלל 'to speak (with feet)' with σημαίνω 'to give signs'. This should be considered a specification, since giving signs is a kind of speaking.
Regarding the grammatical number of eyes and feet (singular or plural) there is a minor peculiarity that both scribes and translators have dealt with. The consonant text of Codex L reads ברגלו / בעינו 'with his foot / with his eye' (singular), which I regard as the reading of the parent text of the LXX and the original Hebrew reading. Now according to strict logic you can speak about 'his eyes' and 'his feet', but about 'his eye' and 'his foot' (singular) preferably when it has been mentioned before. When someone is said to wink 'with his eye', we can ask: with his left or his right eye? It is perhaps tempting to dismiss this type of reasoning as overstrained Western logic, but in several instances the Septuagint translators thought along this line. In some contexts where the Hebrew mentions 'your/his eye' or

[161] Among them Vaticanus and Alexandrinus; cf. Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*, 174.
[162] In Proverbs 6:13; 10:10; Psalm 34 (MT 35):19 it was translated ἐννεύω.
[163] Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint*, 179f.; Harl, *La bible grecque des Septante*, 224f.

'your/his foot'[164] it is clear that both eyes or both feet are meant. The translator consequently chose a plural rendering:

לא כהתה עינו	οὐκ ἠμαυρώθησαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ[165]
his eye was not dimmed	his eyes were not dimmed

In other contexts the same expressions refer to only one eye or foot without saying which eye or foot is referred to. In Deuteronomy 25:9 the translator recognized this problem and solved as follows:

וחלצה נעלו מעל רגלו	καὶ ὑπολύσει τὸ ὑπόδημα αὐτοῦ τὸ ἓν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποδὸς αὐτοῦ
he shall take off his sandal from his foot	shall take off his one sandal from his foot

We now return to Proverbs 6:13. The 'difficulty' in the consonant text, described above, has been handled in two different ways. Some Hebrew scribes have written קרץ בעיניו 'he winks with his eyes' and this reading has entered the margins of the Aleppo Codex (and BHS) as a Masoretic reading tradition (*qere*). The plural is also found in Peshitta and Vulgate. Hebrew scribes have also opted for plural in מלל ברגליו 'he gives signs with his feet' (also *qere*).[166] The second solution is found in the LXX: it retains the singular, but to solve the difficulty it has not rendered the possessive suffixes. The mischief-maker thus 'winks with an eye and gives signs with a foot'. For stylistic uniformity the translator also removed the possessive marker of אצבעתיו 'his fingers'.

The rendering of ירה hif. with διδάσκω (both meaning 'to teach') is no transformation in the sense of this study. The verb ירה hif. has been translated with διδάσκω 'to teach' in all three of its occurences in Proverbs.[167] The Hebrew verb denotes instruction in a wide sense, including showing the way to someone and giving signs,[168] and from Symmachus onwards (δακτυλοδεικτῶν) most translations speak about 'giving signs' rather than 'teaching'. For διδάσκω LSJ only gives 'to teach, instruct', but there are instances, admittedly later, where it has the wider sense of giving instructions with signs.[169]

In the Hebrew text the mischief-maker teaches 'with his fingers' (באצבעתיו), in the translation 'with *signs of* fingers' (ἐννεύμασιν δακτύλων). This looks like an addition for clarity, but neither grammatically nor semantically is there any reason for it.[170] It is again reward-

[164] With second and third person suffixes there is an orthographic difference between singular and plural.

[165] Deuteronomy 34:7. The same transformation in Genesis 8:9; Leviticus 21:20; Deuteronomy 8:4; 11:10; 28:35 etc.

[166] This choice is not popular in ancient translations, perhaps because it is difficult to give signs with two feet.

[167] Proverbs 4:4, 11; 6:13. (We leave aside 26:18 ירה hif. 'to shoot', a homonym.)

[168] Meyer / Donner, *Gesenius' Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch*, 495b, 3. Muraoka's *Index* lists some fifteen renderings of ירה hif. in the Septuagint.

[169] Libanius (4th century AD) describes the sad situation after the expulsion of rhetoric from the court. This has created judges who find every spoken word a waste of time and who give their instructions (διδάσκοντας) by a mere νεῦμα 'nod' (*Oratio* LXII, 43; ed. R. Foerster).

[170] The collocation of νεῦμα with διδάσκω (ἔννευμα is limited to LXX and the literature dependent on it) is found in two places. For the first, see previous footnote. In his *Babyloniaca* (ed. E. Habrich) Iamblichus the Syrian (2nd century AD) tells us how a horse was trained (διδάσκεται) to do everything, even the slightest movement (νεῦμα) on command (fragm. 1 = p. 7, line 24f.; the second instance of νεῦμα is added by the editor).

ing to imagine how the alternative without addition would have read, for this makes the rationale clear at once:

*... δὲ ποδί, διδάσκει δὲ δακτύλοις

It is a rare coincidence that a literal translation results in such a remarkable alliteration, but in this instance one feels overwhelmed. The ancient teachers of rhetoric knew that there is only a thin line between alliteration and cacophony.[171] Here the alliteration becomes tongue-breaking and suggests stammering. The addition of ἐννεύμασιν tones it down and makes it an acceptable, and still notable instance of alliteration. The alliteration is accidental and therefore no compensation for the pattern of assonance in Hebrew (thrice repeated *o-e-aw*).

PROVERBS 6:14

Διεστραμμένῃ δὲ καρδίᾳ τεκταίνεται κακὰ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ
ὁ τοιοῦτος ταραχὰς συνίστησιν πόλει.
With a perverted heart he devises bad things at every occasion
such a man organizes troubles to a city.

תַּהְפֻּכוֹת | בְּלִבּוֹ
חֹרֵשׁ רָע בְּכָל־עֵת
מְדָנִים יְשַׁלֵּחַ׃

Perversion [is] in his heart,
he devises evil at every time,
sends out strifes

Greek text A succession of κ and τ can be observed in the first stich.

Translation The Hebrew term תהפכות 'perversity, perversion' (plural of intensity) occurs 10 times in MT, of which 9 times in Proverbs. It is rendered 3 times with forms of the verb διαστρέφω 'to distort, pervert'. This semantically literal translation goes hand in hand with a syntactical change, viz. the replacement of a verbless clause (תהפכות בלבו 'perversion is in his heart') with an instrumental dative (διεστραμμένῃ καρδίᾳ 'with a perverted heart'). This has probably been done to avoid a change of subject in the series of the mischief-maker's activities. A similar transformation we find in RSV ('*with* perverted heart devises evil'). It is interesting that, unlike the translator of Isaiah 1:16, the Proverbs-translator maintains καρδία 'heart' in 6:14, 18, since both Stoics and Platonists could fit it into their systems.[172]
Regarding the interpretation of חרש in Proverbs 6:14 it seems to me that the LXX-translator did not share the derivation that is current nowadays. Modern lexica derive it from חרש 'to

[171] Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarische Rhetorik,* § 968-969, 975-976; cf. Demetrius, *De elocutione* (ed. Rhys Roberts) § 255, who connects it to the forcible style.
[172] Stoics would say that evil is produced by a disfunctioning heart, whereas Platonists would affirm that evil comes not from the rational brain, but from the irrational part below the neck. Cf. Tieleman, *Galen and Chrysippus on the Soul*, xxiv-xxv.

plough', to which a metaphorical sense is ascribed: 'to plough plans' > 'to devise plans'. I consider it more likely that the translator, confronted with the verb חרש in this context, related it to the well-known חָרָשׁ 'craftsman' and interpreted the verb in question as 'to create as a craftsman'.[173] In that case we are dealing with a literal translation, since both the Hebrew and the Greek term denote crafting and, metaphorically, devising plans.
The singular of רע 'evil' has been turned into plural κακά 'evil things' because it refers to doing evil on numerous occasions.[174]
The second Greek stich adds ὁ τοιοῦτος 'such a man', probably to create an apt concluding clause in the description of the mischief-maker. It is connected with the addition of ὁ δ' αὐτός in 6:12, whereby vss. 12-14 are restructured along the pattern of introduction – description – conclusion.
The last activity of the mischief-maker that is mentioned in 6:14 differs considerably in Hebrew and Greek:

מדנים ישלח	ταραχὰς συνίστησιν πόλει
he unchains strifes	he organizes troubles to a city

As organizing troubles to a city is a specific *sort* of 'unchaining strifes' we are dealing with a specification. But how has this difference come about? To arrive at a solution,[175] let us investigate the problem more closely: what would have been the problem with a translation of the sort we find in 6:19? We should keep in mind that in the interpretation of the translator this whole passage deals with the same man (see below). Now a more literal translation of 6:14 would have resulted in two very similar statements about the same man:

6:14 *ἐπιπέμπει κρίσεις	'he unchains lawsuits'
…	
6:19 ἐπιπέμπει κρίσεις ἀνὰ μέσον ἀδελφῶν	'he unchains lawsuits between brothers'

We have already discovered more than once that the translator avoids repetition of the same thought. This preference leads him, in my opinion, to a differentiation in his renderings. In 6:19 the mischief-maker sows dissension *between brothers*, i.e. in the private sphere, and therefore the translator related 6:14 to the public sphere, the organization of disturbances *in the city*.[176] In all probability the order is climactic, since inciting strifes between brothers was considered worse than anything else. The Rabbis explained Proverbs 6:16 ('Six are these that the Lord hates and seven are an abomination of his soul') as follows:[177]

ר׳ מאיר ורבנן ר׳ מאיר אומר שש ושבע הרי י"ג ורבנן אמרי שבע מקיימין
ושבע דכתיב זו שביעית שקשה כנגד כולם משלח מדנים בין אחים

[173] It is notable that חָרָשׁ 'craftsman' is rendered τέκτων a number of times throughout the LXX (sometimes ἀρχιτέκτων), and that the root of this word is related to τεκταίνω. It is also possible that the translator read the unpointed חרש as a noun.
[174] Similar transformations with 'good' and 'evil' in Proverbs 2:14; 12:20; 14:22; 31:12.
[175] For a survey of proposals with their evaluation I refer to Baumgartner, *Étude critique*, 70-71. His own explanation is that the translator, speaking about inciting strifes, felt tempted to tell *where* and *against whom* these strifes were incited.
[176] A period of social unrest coupled with prolonged dynastic strife between the Ptolemaic brothers occurred from 164-145 BC, precisely the period in which LXX-Proverbs is often dated for other reasons. Cf. G. Hölbl, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire*, London / New York 2001, 183ff.
[177] Leviticus (Wayyiqra) Rabba § 16,1.

> Rabbi Meir and the Rabbis [disagree]. Rabbi Meir says: Six plus seven makes thirteen. The Rabbis say: Seven in total. 'Seven' means here 'the seventh', for the seventh item is worst of all: unchaining strifes between brothers.

Such a handling of repetition (לשון יתרה) is characteristic of traditional Jewish exegesis. Rashi, for example, presents a similar differentiation of 6:14 and 6:19. The latter is about dissension between brothers and (hence) the former deals with dissension between man and his Creator according to Rashi. A similar strategy of differentiation can be found in Proverbs 16:28, where ישלח מדון 'sends out strife' is not rendered literally, since the notion of separating friends is already explicitly present at the end of the verse. The Hebrew expression is therefore generalized into διαπέμπεται κακά 'spreads evil':

> Ἀνὴρ σκολιὸς διαπέμπεται κακὰ καὶ λαμπτῆρα δόλου πυρσεύει κακοῖς καὶ διαχωρίζει φίλους.
> A perverse man spreads evil and will kindle a torch of deceit with evil, and he separates friends.

The translator has solved the 'problem' in Proverbs 6:14 with help of a specification. He could also have omitted the second Greek stich or he could have provided a modification, e.g. 'he sends slandering letters' or 'he blackmails'. In my opinion the choice for this particular specification is not accidental. Political stability could be seriously threatened by social or ethnic unrest. A warning against men who incite disturbances in the city was not meaningless in the context of Alexandria. In 203 BC the royal guardian Agathocles was murdered by a mob during violent disturbances (ταραχαί).[178] The Memphis Decree of 196 BC (the Rosetta Stone) proclaims amnesty for those who had taken part in disturbances (ταραχή).[179] Several periods of social and ethnic troubles are known from subsequent periods, until the term ταραχαί 'troubles' turns up in the writings of Philo, more than a century later, referring to the first outbursts of anti-Semitism in Egypt.[180]

PROVERBS 6:15

Διὰ τοῦτο ἐξαπίνης ἔρχεται ἡ ἀπώλεια αὐτοῦ,
διακοπὴ καὶ συντριβὴ ἀνίατος,
Therefore his destruction will suddenly come,
breach and incurable crushing,

עַל־כֵּ֗ן פִּתְאֹם֮ יָבוֹא֒ אֵידֹ֗ו
פֶּ֭תַע יִשָּׁבֵ֣ר וְאֵ֣ין מַרְפֵּֽא׃

Therefore his destruction will suddenly come,
in a moment he will be crushed and there will be no healing.

Greek text –

[178] Polybius, *Histories*, 15, 30, 10 and 15, 32, 7; Hölbl, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire*, 135.
[179] K. Sethe, *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, Leipzig 1904-1916, II, 179,4.
[180] Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium* § 90 and 113.

Translation The first stich (6:15a) lacks transformations in the sense of this study.
The second stich (6:15b) contains changes of a mainly syntactic nature. It is interesting that these are absent from the identical stich in Proverbs 29:1b. Because the verb form ישבר 'will be broken' corresponds with a noun (συντριβή 'ruin') in Greek, it has been suggested that the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint read ושבר '*and* a ruin').[181] I consider this unlikely. It is more likely to assume that the LXX-translator had a text before him that was identical to the Masoretic text. There are then two ways to reconstruct the translator's train of thought that made him arrive at the Greek wording. The first is to assume that he *misread* פתע ישבר 'suddenly he will be broken' (adverb + verb) as פתע ושבר 'suddenness and ruin' (noun + noun), which is a tiny little difference in graphic respect.[182] An alternative proposal, equally plausible, seeks the rationale in translational factors: literal translation of the second stich would cause confusion of participants in the verse as a whole. It would run as follows:

*ἐξαπίνης ἔρχεται ἡ ἀπώλεια αὐτοῦ, / … καὶ συντρίβεται…
*suddenly will come his destruction…/ and it will be crushed

Such a rendering leaves room for the reading that 'destruction' will be crushed. Making unambiguous that it is the mischief-maker who will be crushed demands transformations, for example the addition of a masculine pronoun: αὐτὸς συντρίβεται '*he* will be crushed'. The transformation of a verb into a noun (change of word class) is an obvious way to adjust the syntax of the second stich to that of the first and to remove the ambiguity.[183]
The presence of the noun συντριβή 'ruin' in the second stich can thus be accounted for in two different ways. But it is bound to lead to a further transformation. Once the second stich contains a noun that depends on the verb ἔρχεται 'will come' in the first stich, both stichs become one sentence and hence the repetition of a second word for 'suddenly' becomes superfluous:

*Therefore his destruction will suddenly come, unexpected(-ly/-ness) and incurable crushing.

However, the translator did not omit the superfluous פתע 'suddenly' but decided to render it in an alternative way. He turned it into a noun denoting a stage that logically precedes 'ruin' and at the same time expressing some kind of unexpectedness, viz. διακοπή 'breach' (modification).[184]
The last transformation is the rendering of the clause אין מרפא 'there will be no healing' with the adjective ἀνίατος 'incurable' (change of syntactic structure). It is non-obligatory, since we find literal renderings of it in Proverbs and elsewhere (cf. Isaiah 1:31).[185] It

[181] De Lagarde, *Anmerkungen*, 24; Toy, *Proverbs*, 132. Cf. Isaiah 1:28 for a similar question.
[182] Confusion of ו\י is common, cf. Tov, *Text-Critical Use*, 137. Iaeger, *Observationes*, 52 thinks the translator took פתע as a noun meaning *concisio et comminutio*, a suggestion taken over by J.F. Schleusner, *Novus Thesaurus Philologico-Criticus sive Lexicon in LXX*, Leipzig 1820/21, I, 557b-c with a reference to an Arabic root. But the presumed relationship with this Arabic root has been abandoned by later scholars, and the LXX-translators probably did not know Arabic.
[183] The same transformation can be found in NRSV. The opposite, viz. turning the noun of the first stich into a verb, figures in the Dutch *Nieuwe Bijbelvertaling* (2004).
[184] Διακοπή is always (12x) used to render derivates of the root פרץ 'bursting forth, breach' (BDB).
[185] Οὐκ ἔστιν ἴασις / ἴαμα / ἰατρεία in Proverbs 29:1 (again we notice that a transformation in chapter 6 is bolder than in the second half of the book); 2 Chronicles 21:18; 36:16.

probably originates in the stylistic concern to avoid a series of καί that connect phrases of different syntactic status.

PROVERBS 6:16

ὅτι χαίρει πᾶσιν οἷς μισεῖ ὁ κύριος,
συντρίβεται δὲ δι' ἀκαθαρσίαν ψυχῆς·
for he rejoices in everything the Lord hates,
and he is crushed because of uncleanness of soul.

שֵׁשׁ־הֵנָּה שָׂנֵא יְהוָה
וְשֶׁבַע תּוֹעֲבוֹת[186] נַפְשׁוֹ׃

Six are these that the Lord hates
and seven are an abomination of his soul:

Greek text Regarding the syntactic embedding of this verse I agree with D'Hamonville (contra Rahlfs' interpunction) that vss. 15 and 16 constitute one sentence. For the construction διὰ τοῦτο… ὅτι is common in Greek (Smyth § 2240), whereas an independent causal protasis introduced by ὅτι without a decent apodosis is an unlikely assumption.
D'Hamonville considers vss. 17-18 as a syntactically independent exclamation lacking a verb. But it stands more to reason to put a colon (: , in Greek ·) and not a period behind vs. 16 and to interpret vss. 17-18 as an elaboration of the 'uncleanness of soul'.
This verse displays a double iambic trimeter (see the section on metre). Its function is probably to underline the pivotal position of this verse between the two enumerative passages. It summarizes the origin and the destination of evil.

Translation There is a difference of opinion about the cause of the radical transformations we find in this verse. The majority of scholars have long claimed that the translator misread his *Vorlage*.[187] He did not recognize the numerical parallelism, they hold, and in the second stich he misread ושבע 'and seven' into נשבר or יִשָּׁבֵר 'he is crushed'. Recently, however, D'Hamonville dismissed the suggestion that the translator overlooked the numerical parallelism,[188] for Aquila°, Symmachus and Theodotion°, who lived a little later, did recognize it. Rather, he says, the numerous lexical agreements between vss. 12-15 and 17-19 induced the translator to unify vss. 12-19 by creating a transition in vs 16. For that purpose he dropped the numbers and made the ruin of the mischief-maker more explicit.
How should we judge the assumptions behind both positions? To begin with, I deem it improbable that the combination שבע // שש would have gone unrecognized as 6 // 7, since

[186] The MT consonant text reads plural תועבות 'abominations', whereas the vocalization suggests singular תועבת, a defective spelling that can be either singular or plural. Nonetheless, codices L and A lack a *ketiv / qere* marginal note, but it has been supplied by the editor of BHS. *Ketiv* and *qere* are often alternative readings presented side by side. In this case the *ketiv* with its plural is adapted to the number seven and hence I consider it a secondary development that makes the *qere* unambiguous. It is therefore plausible to assume that the reading תועבת existed in the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint.
[187] Iaeger, *Observationes*, 53, followed by all scholars up to D'Hamonville.
[188] D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 195.

numerical parallelisms are so frequent in the OT and in the book of Proverbs. Besides, misreading the second stich is unlikely, since ע and ר are not similar in manuscripts from the period in question. But if the last letter of ושבע 'and seven' was damaged in the translator's *Vorlage*, a misreading is possible. While the possibility of a damaged source manuscript cannot be excluded, we should only resort to it if there are more instances pointing to damage in this book. Should we then imagine that the translator consciously dropped the numerical parallelism to unify the passage? The suggestion itself is not unreasonable, for in our discussion of 6:14 we have already observed that vss. 14b and 19b have been attuned to each other. To arrive at a conclusion we will first have a glance at the treatment of number parallelism and then return to our text.

Number parallelism, widespread in Semitic poetry, is a variety of synonymous parallelism, but '[s]ince no number can have a synonym the only way to provide a corresponding component is to use a digit which is higher in value than the original.'[189] There are several problems involved in the translation of numerical word-pairs. Sometimes the numbers are not meant as exact figures, as in Amos 1-2, and several modern translations opt for a stylistically functional rendering, omitting the numbers. In cases where the numbers *are* meant literally, only one number (the first or the second) is intended in the context and the other one figures as a stylistic ornament of it. Now the fact that numbers can have 'synonyms' is language-specific. In European languages this phenomenon is rare, to say the least. To be sure, in the Septuagint numerical word-pairs are rendered literally by sign-oriented translators,[190] but sense-oriented translators look for alternative renderings. A frequently occurring solution is that the translator retains the first number as a cardinal number and transforms the second one into an ordinal number (change of word class), as in Proverbs 30:18:[191]

שְׁלֹשָׁה הֵמָּה נִפְלְאוּ מִמֶּנִּי	Τρία δέ ἐστιν ἀδύνατά μοι νοῆσαι
וְאַרְבָּעָה לֹא יְדַעְתִּים:	καὶ τὸ τέταρτον οὐκ ἐπιγινώσκω·
Three things are too wonderful for me	Three things are impossible for me to understand
and four I do not understand:	and the fourth I do not find out:

[in both MT and LXX there follows a list of four items]

In Hebrew the list of four items is preceded by two numbers (3 // 4), which cause confusion if literally translated. In Greek we find therefore only one number (4), split up in 3 + 1.

Let us now return to Proverbs 6:16. If the translator had applied the just mentioned transformation, this would have resulted in the following text (in English translation):

> * There are *six* things that the Lord hates
> and *the seventh* is an abomination of his soul.

It does not take much to imagine why a translator would hesitate to produce such a verse. For it suggests to speakers of Greek, with their more exact interpretation of numbers, that the Lord hates six things, whereas the Torah makes clear that there are many more things He hates. As is well known, Jewish tradition identifies 365 prohibitions in the Torah! This seems quite an understandable reason for a translator to drop the numbers altogether. D'Hamonville's suggestion that the translator consciously reshaped his text thus receives

[189] Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry*, 144ff.
[190] E.g. Amos 1-2, Micah 5:4; Psalm 61:12 (MT 62:11).
[191] The same transformation we find in e.g. Job 5:19; 33:14; 40:5; Sirach 23:16; 26:5, 28. The technique of interpretation reflected in this transformation is also found in *Leviticus Rabba* (see our discussion of Proverbs 6:14).

support. In the context of the book as a whole and in the light of the translator's approach I consider it more probable than the assumption of a misreading. It is noteworthy that in Proverbs 30:18ff. the translator is more modest in his transformations than in 6:16.

Once the translator had decided to drop the numbers, he did something which a modern translator would not do. He did not ignore the number שש 'six', but he accepted the graphic material as it stood and rendered it in an alternative way. He vocalized it as שָׂשׂ and then translated it literally as χαίρει 'he rejoices'. We find the same technique in Proverbs 30:1; 31:1, 4 where the translator suppresses the personal names and renders the graphic material in an alternative way. Such a manner of interpretation is known from midrashic exegesis.

What the translator did in the rest of the first stich is difficult to reconstruct. It seems that he took the three content words 'rejoice', 'hate' and 'Lord' as his building blocks for a new text and felt free to add (ὅτι 'for', πᾶσιν 'all') and remove (הנה 'these') smaller items to provide the cement.

The term תועבה 'abomination', which we find in the second stich, is consistently rendered as βδέλυγμα throughout the Septuagint, but not always in LXX-Proverbs. Βδέλυγμα means 'something that causes revulsion or extreme disgust, a "loathsome, destestable thing."'[192] It normally refers to actions and inanimate objects and this is probably the reason why the translator prefers alternative renderings of תועבה when humans are referred to, especially in contexts where the persons in question are also the subject of a verb.[193] In 3:32 the translator chose ἀκάθαρτος 'unclean' – in a moral sense, a meaning well-established in classical Greek – and in 6:16 he adhered to that root. It can be considered an antonymic translation.

In Hebrew we read נפשו 'his [the Lord's] soul', but Greek has only ψυχῆς 'of soul', which refers to the soul of the mischief-maker. After the translator had dropped the numerical parallelism and linked the first stich to actions of the mischief-maker, the consequence was that he had to do the same in the second stich. Again the translator treated the main elements of his source text as building blocks of a different content. But this time he could not leave the content words untouched. The Hebrew number שבע 'seven' he replaced with a verb, συντρίβω 'to crush', with which it lacks a semantical relationship. It is not even a modification, it is a replacement. Here we are nearing the limits of our approach, since this type of transformation is seldom found in modern translations.

It is difficult to say whether the translator has consciously provided a compensation for the omission of the number parallelism, but the double iambic trimeter makes this verse stand out in poetic respect.

PROVERBS 6:17

ὀφθαλμὸς ὑβριστοῦ, γλῶσσα ἄδικος,
χεῖρες ἐκχέουσαι αἷμα δικαίου
an eye of an insolent man, an unjust tongue,
hands that are shedding blood of the just,

[192] BDAG 172a.

[193] LXX-Proverbs 3:32; 11:20; 16:5; 17:15; 28:9. There are two exceptions in 16:22 and 29:27, perhaps due to the translator's increasing modesty with respect to transformations, combined with the fact that the 'detested persons' are not the subject of a verb in the context.

עֵינַיִם רָמוֹת לְשׁוֹן שָׁקֶר
וְיָדַיִם שֹׁפְכוֹת דָּם־נָקִי׃

high eyes, a tongue of falsehood
and hands that are shedding blood of the innocent,

Greek text The series of body parts in vss 17-18 begins asyndetically, but is carried forth by the conjunction καί 'and' from vs 18. In Greek, rich as it is in means of coordination, the asyndeton often fulfills a rhetoric function. '[D]as Polysyndeton ruft durch die Summierung den Eindruck von Grösse und Fülle hervor, das Asyndeton durch die Zerschneidung – die einzelnen Stücke kommen stossweise hervor – den der Lebendigkeit und Erregung' (BDR § 460). In a long enumeration asyndeton may suggest itself as the easiest way of expressing.

Translation The expression עינים רמות 'high eyes' is a Hebrew idiom meaning haughtiness. A literal translation sounds unnatural in Greek and even the literal translation of LXX-Psalms avoided it in Psalm 17 (MT 18):28:

ועינים רמות תשפיל	καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑπερηφάνων ταπεινώσεις
and you humble high eyes	and you will humble the eyes *of the proud*

For this reason it comes as no surprise that the translator of Proverbs 6:17 employed the same transformation (change of word class) in ὀφθαλμὸς ὑβριστοῦ 'the eye of an insolent man'. But it is noteworthy that in LXX-Proverbs 30:13 the idiom of 'high eyes' has been retained.

Where עינים רמות 'high eyes' is plural, the translation speaks about ὀφθαλμός 'an eye', a singular. It is difficult to find a reason for this via lexica and grammars, which means that we are dealing with a subtlety. I would suggest that the number has changed into singular because ὀφθαλμός here carries the connotation of a particular, haughty *look*. There are seven verses where a plural עינים 'eyes' turns out singular in translation and in some of them ὀφθαλμός seems to mean 'look' or '(power of) sight'.[194]

The rendering of רם 'high' as ὑβριστής 'insolent man' is also interesting from a semantical point of view. The noun has been derived from ὕβρις, a word that has entered English as a loan word. According to Fisher 'the essence of hybris is the deliberate infliction of dishonour and shame upon others. It is not, as is commonly thought, a special form of pride or self-confidence which offends the gods and is characteristic of tragic heroes.'[195] The deliberately damaging actions of the mischief-maker, described in vss 17-19, fit exactly into the meaning of ὕβρις just quoted. The use of ὑβριστής 'insolent man' can be explained as a contextual specification, since ὕβρις is a damaging *kind of* arrogance. The Hebrew word רם in its sense of 'arrogance' is usually translated with ὑψηλός 'high, arrogant' and words derived from the same root, or with ὑπερήφανος 'haughty'.

The phrase לשון שקר 'tongue of falsehood' is an example of the Hebrew *attributive construct state*. In Indo-European languages it is always rendered as noun + adjective. This means that the transformation of the noun שקר 'falsehood' into an adjective is an obligatory change of word class. Of course there are then several adjectives to choose from. Now שקר is often translated as 'lie' and hence one could think that ψεῦδος 'lie' or ψευδής 'false' are

[194] Psalm 100 (MT 101):5; Job 19:27; 29:15; 31:16; 40:24; Proverbs 28:27; Habakuk 1:13.
[195] N.R.E. Fisher, *HYBRIS. A Study in the Values of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greece*, Warminster 1992 (text on back cover); cf. Chadwick, *Lexicographica Graeca*, 292ff.

the literal translations and anything else represents a shift in meaning. But it is doubtful whether 'lie' is the primary meaning of שקר, as lexica show us.[196] In any case, it is striking that the LXX-renderings of שקר are by no means limited to the traditional 'lie'. According to Hatch & Redpath the translation of שקר 'falsehood' with ἄδικος 'unjust' occurs 32 times in the Septuagint, including the literally translated books of Psalms and Jeremiah. It had a tradition in the LXX-Pentateuch (4x). In Deuteronomy 19:18, for example, we find μάρτυς ἄδικος 'unjust witness' for עד שקר and that is exactly the rendering we find in Proverbs 6:19. From a semantical viewpoint this rendering is literal.[197] The translator of 6:17 could have rendered לשון שקר 'tongue of falsehood' as γλῶσσα ψευδής 'lying tongue', which would have been an even more literal translation. He did not do so, because in my opinion ψευδής 'false' is already reserved for כזב 'lies' in vs 19. And if ψευδής would have been used in vs 16, the purport of vs 19 would have been given away too early.

The second stich contains few transformations, but comes nevertheless close to being metrical. The conjunction ו 'and' is omitted to strenghtne the asyndetic enumeration (see *Greek text*).

The phrase דם נקי 'blood of the innocent'[198] has been rendered as αἷμα δικαίου 'blood of the just'. The Hebrew term differs from what we find in the LXX-Pentateuch. Greek has words for 'innocent', of which ἀναίτιος occurs 4 times in the Septuagint as a rendering of נקי 'innocent', and ἀθῷος 27 times, according to Hatch and Redpath. Those two words have been used by Symmachus and Aquila respectively. The transformation from 'innocent' to 'just' is a modification (or perhaps a specification). The translator prefers the word δικαίος 'just' because it contrasts with the γλῶσσα ἄδικος 'unjust tongue'. The contrast between the just and the unjust (or righteous versus unrighteous) is a pervading element in the Hebrew text of Proverbs, but the translator has increased the terminological unity of the book by expanding the use of δικαίος 'just' and ἄδικος 'unjust'.[199]

PROVERBS 6:18

καὶ καρδία τεκταινομένη λογισμοὺς κακοὺς
καὶ πόδες ἐπισπεύδοντες κακοποιεῖν·
and a heart devising evil thoughts
and feet hurrying on to commit evil;

[196] BDB 1055a sums up its meaning as 'deception, disappointment, falsehood.' TWAT viii, 466f. says: „Die Grundbedeutung scheint beim „trügerisch handeln" (im Unterschied zu „reden") zu liegen, wobei einerseits eine Absicht (treulos, Treubruch bis zu Vertragsbruch, Lüge), andererseits auch Unzuverlässigkeit (bis zu Unerheblichkeit, Nichtigkeit) erfasst werden kann."

[197] Cook's claim, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*, 177, 179, that this rendering represents a specific religious interpretation, should have been supported by suggesting which more adequate adjective the translator avoided.

[198] The phrase דם נקי, unpointed, can be interpreted as noun + adjective ('innocent blood') or as a construct state ('blood of the innocent'). Throughout MT we find both possibilities realized in vocalisation. Cf. more fully TWAT ii, 258.

[199] This contrasting word pair has been created in LXX-Proverbs 1:11; 10:31; 11:21; 12:17; 13:5, 23; 16:33; 17:23 (cf. D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 70); 29:27. D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 82, calls this phenomenen 'amplification thématique'.

לֵב חֹרֵשׁ מַחְשְׁבוֹת אָוֶן
רַגְלַיִם מְמַהֲרוֹת לָרוּץ לָרָעָה׃

a heart, devising thoughts of iniquity,
feet hurrying to run to evil;

Greek text This verse exhibits the same alliteration of κ as vs 14 with roughly the same lexemes. The second stich contains a series of π.

Translation For the twofold addition of καί 'and' I refer to our discussion of 6:17 and for the (literal) translation of חרש with τεκταίνομαι 'to devise' and לב with καρδία to 6:14.
The rendering of מחשבה / מחשבת with (δια)λογισμός constitutes a literal translation. Both words mean 'calculation' and hence also 'consideration, reasoning, thought'. The pair occurs as a 'standard equivalent' throughout the Septuagint.
The word און (77x), often translated as 'iniquity' or 'trouble' (see 6:12), is one of the many words for iniquity that Hebrew possesses. It does not properly match a single Greek lexeme, and in the Septuagint it is rendered with 20 different terms according to Muraoka's *Index*.[200] If it is true that the basic meaning of און is 'Unheilsmacht' and that it shows traces of a dynamistic world view,[201] then all Greek lexemes that render it are equally inadequate. Κακός 'bad, evil' is the most neutral rendering possible. This makes it difficult to consider it a consciously applied transformation. Perhaps it is safest to call it a literal translation.
In the second stich the translator has dropped לרוץ 'to run'. The Hebrew phrase is redundant, containing two words that denote speed: ממהרות לרוץ לרעה 'hurrying to run to evil'. A literal translation would sound a bit overdone and lack the neat alliteration that characterizes the Hebrew stich (the repetition of *r* and *l*). To compensate for this omission, the translator does not render מהר 'to hurry' with the expected standard rendering σπεύδω 'to hurry', but with an intensifying compound, ἐπισπεύδω 'to hurry *on*' (minor specification). For this reason I deem it improbable that לרוץ 'to run' was missing from the translator's *Vorlage*, as de Lagarde suggests.[202]
In Hebrew the feet run לרעה 'to evil', whereas in Greek they hurry κακοποιειν 'to *commit* evil'. It is obvious, however, that the Hebrew noun expresses the verbal idea of committing evil, and not that of hurrying to evil to watch an evil spectacle.[203] The translator has made the activity explicit, which entails a change of word class.
The Greek alliteration may be a compensation for the alliteration of *r* in Hebrew.

PROVERBS 6:19

ἐκκαίει ψεύδη μάρτυς ἄδικος
καὶ ἐπιπέμπει κρίσεις ἀνὰ μέσον ἀδελφῶν.

[200] The most frequent renderings are ἀνομία (26x), ἀδικία (8x), ἄνομος (5x), ἄτοπος (4x), κόπος (4x), μάταιος (4x), κακός (3x, outside the LXX-Pentateuch), ἄδικος (2x), ἄφρων (2x).
[201] THAT i, 82f.
[202] De Lagarde, *Anmerkungen*, 24. In his reconstruction the second stich would be shorter than the first one, which would be quite unusual in Hebrew poetry. Cf. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry*, 343.
[203] Cf. already Luther's rendering: 'Füsse die behende sind schaden zu *thun*.'

he kindles lies as a false witness
and unchains lawsuits between brothers.

יָפִיחַ כְּזָבִים עֵד שֶׁקֶר
וּמְשַׁלֵּחַ מְדָנִים בֵּין אַחִים׃

utters lies – a false witness
and someone who unchains quarrels between brothers.

Greek text It is not easy to discern how the syntax of this verse was intended by the translator. Despite its position at the end of the stich μάρτυς ἄδικος could be the subject. For in LXX-Proverbs we find several more instances of sentences that begin with a verb and end with the subject,[204] examples of syntactic interference. This might be the reason that Brenton translates 6:19 as an independent proverb: 'An unjust witness kindles falsehoods, and brings on quarrels between brethren.'
D'Hamonville interprets it as follows: 'Il attise des mensonges en témoin injuste et relance des procès entre frères.'[205] This interpretation of μάρτυς ἄδικος as a predicative adjunct is possible and it seems that those manuscripts that read ἐκκαίει δέ[206] have understood vs 19 in this vein. I consider this a reason for following D'Hamonville. This means that vs 19 is not an independent proverb, but a concluding and climactic remark about the mischief-maker with his unclean soul.
Κρίσις normally means 'judgement, decision, lawsuit'. For the second stich this results in a translation like: '[the mischief-maker] lets lawsuits loose between brothers'. This seems strange, for it is hard to imagine that an outsider (C) could be able to start a lawsuit between citizens A and B. It is therefore understandable that some scholars translate κρίσις here as 'dispute' or 'discord'.[207] This meaning is very rare, however. LSJ merely mentions two instances, of which in my opinion only one is convincing.[208] The non-forensic translation 'dispute' for κρίσις sounds attractive, but the first stich with its μάρτυς ἄδικος 'unjust witness' does suggest a forensic context. The verse probably has to be interpreted as follows. When mr. A drags mr. B before the court on a false accusation, mr. A has to produce a witness. When this witness speaks the truth, the case breaks down. When he lies, he is responsible for the continuation of the unjust trial. In that sense he can be said to 'let loose lawsuits between brothers', the more so since the existence of unjust witnesses in fact stimulates grudging brothers to lodge false accusations against each other.
The frequent use of the preposition ἀνὰ μέσον 'between' is characteristic of Hellenistic Greek (BDAG 57b).

Translation Vs 19a is identical to Proverbs 14:5b, both in Hebrew and in Greek.

[204] E.g. 11:2, 12; 14:21; 22:13; 27:2.
[205] D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 196.
[206] Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*, 179.
[207] Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*, 179; P. Géhin's translation of scholion 78 in Évagre le Pontique (Evagrius Ponticus, 4th century AD), *Scholies aux Proverbes* (Sources chrétiennes 340), Paris 1987.
[208] Herodotus, *Histories* 5.5: when a polygamous husband dies among the Crestonaeans, there arises a great κρίσις between his wives, and all relatives try to find out who the most beloved wife was (for she is to be burnt with her husband).

The first stich exhibits a syntax that does not completely suit its function as the sixth item in the list of abominations. One should expect מפיח כזבים 'someone who spreads quarrels…', with the same construction as in the second stich, i.e. with a participle instead of a finite verb. Leaving the question how the surprising syntax should be explained or emended to commentaries, we will see how translators have handled the 'problem'. It has been solved in two different ways:

1 The expected participle (or its equivalent in modern languages) has been employed in translation, e.g. 'proferentem mendacia testem fallacem' (Vulgate, cf. Dutch NBG-51).

2 The phrase יפיח כזבים 'he utters lies' is rendered as if it were an asyndetic relative clause describing the עד שקר 'false witness', e.g. 'a false witness who pours out lies' (NIV, so most modern versions).

The purpose of these transformations is to gear vs 19a into the list of seven abominations. But LXX does not have that need, since it has dropped the numbers 'six' and 'seven' (6:16). This enables the LXX-translator to reproduce the Hebrew syntax in 6:19 quite closely.

The verb הפיח (פוח hif.) means 'to breathe out, to exhale' and is secondarily also used to characterize human speech: 'to utter' or 'to incite, inflame'. (There is no need to postulate two separate roots, as HAL does.) In the first sense it is rendered as διαπνέω 'to blow through', in the second sense with different verbs denoting speech, among them ἐκκαίω 'to kindle' in the sense of 'to stimulate'.[209] The related root נפח means 'to breathe, to blow a fire' and it is known that ancient translators sometimes interchanged roots on the basis of a bi-radical conception.[210] Since the Greek rendering ἐκκαίω 'to kindle' presupposes the notion of fire, I would suggest that the translator interpreted יפיח כזבים as 'blowing the fire of lies'. Now the literal rendering φυσάω 'to blow [a fire]', unlike ῥιπίζω 'to fan', is not used metaphorically as far as I know. It seems that the translator kept to the notion of fire, but chose 'to kindle', denoting a stage that precedes 'blowing the fire' (translation of cause and effect v.v.).

For the literal translation of שקר 'falsehood' with ἄδικος 'unjust', see our discussion of 6:17.

Apart from the obligatory change of accidence (participle → finite verb), the rendering of משלח 'someone unchaining' with ἐπιπέμπει 'unchains' is surprisingly literal, especially in collocation with 'disputes'. Πέμπω 'to send' and its compounds are elsewhere used to render שלח in its different stems.

The Hebrewמדון (and/or מדין) means 'quarrel, strife' in a broad sense. It occurs 16 times in MT-Proverbs and a few times in other books. Its meaning 'quarrel' is recognized in most of the cases and expressed through a variety of renderings.[211] Now as we saw in our discussion of 6:14, the translator prefers variation in the rendering of identical phrases. Even if they are some chapters apart this is the case. Examples are the sayings about the quarrelsome wife (21:19; 25:24), or about the hothead causing strife (15:18; 28:25; 29:22). The

[209] Διαπνέω in Song of songs 2:17; 4:6, 16; in the second sense παρρησιάζομαι (Psalm 12:6), ἐπιδείκνυμι (Proverbs 12:17), ἐγκαλέω (Proverbs 19:5), ἐκκαίω (Proverbs 6:19; 14:5, 25; 19:9; 29:8). Cf. BDAG 303a ἐκκαίω 'to instigate something destructive'.

[210] Tov, *Text-Critical Use*, 174 and the literature mentioned there.

[211] Ἀντιλογία 'dispute' Psalm 79 (MT 80):7; Proverbs 18:18; μάχη/μάχιμος 'fight(ing)' Proverbs 15:18; 17:14; 21:19; 26:20; νεῖκος 'quarrel' Proverbs 10:12; 22:10; 29:22; λοίδορος 'abusive, slandering' Proverbs 25:24; 26:21; 27:15.

expression לשלח מדון 'unchaining strifes' occurs three times (6:14, 19; 16:28) and its rendering is also varied, but for contextual reasons. In 6:19 the translator could not give a literal rendering like διαπέμπεται νεῖκος / μάχας 'spreads quarrels', probably because the 'false witness' suggests a forensic context. The rendering κρίσις 'lawsuit' is a specific type of 'dispute', viz. forensic, so that we can call this transformation a specification.
The Greek verse contains no poetical elements, apart from being stichic. The translator apparently did not pay special stylistic attention to the closing stichs of a unit.

PROVERBS 6:20

Υἱέ, φύλασσε νόμους πατρός σου
καὶ μὴ ἀπώσῃ θεσμοὺς μητρός σου·
Son, keep the laws of your father
and do not reject the ordinances of your mother;

נְצֹר֣ בְּנִ֣י מִצְוַ֣ת אָבִ֑יךָ
וְאַל־תִּטֹּ֥שׁ תּוֹרַ֖ת אִמֶּֽךָ׃

Keep, my son, the instruction of your father
and do not reject the teaching of your mother

Greek text It is noteworthy that the first imperative is present tense, indicating duration, and the second imperative is an aorist, indicating the moment of rejection (BDR § 335).

Translation The first stich is very similar to 1:8a, the second stich is identical to 1:8b, both in Hebrew and in Greek. For the omission of the possessive suffix 'my', see 6:1.
The order of υἱέ φύλασσε 'son, keep…' is reversed compared to נצר בני 'keep, son'. As the vocatives in LXX-Proverbs can occupy the first or second place, dependent on the order in Hebrew, I think that this change of word order is deliberate. Υἱέ is put in front in order to mark the transition from the mischief-maker to the addressee. Several manuscripts have the reading φύλασσε υἱέ, which should be regarded as a correction towards the Hebrew.
Regarding the well-known term *torah* I will restrict myself to basic observations. It is related to הורה (ירה hif.) 'to instruct', often rendered as διδάσκω 'to teach' in the Septuagint, including Proverbs (4:4, 11; 6:13). Therefore the noun *torah* is sometimes translated as 'teaching' in modern versions. In the Septuagint, however, *torah* is nowhere rendered with words meaning 'instruction', but with words denoting commandments or law(s), among which νόμος 'law' stands out. This probably corresponds to the usage in the Alexandrian Jewish community, a tradition so strong that the translator of Proverbs did not deviate from it.[212] Now when νόμος in the sense of 'God's law' is consistently used for *torah*, this creates problems in passages where *torah* merely denotes human instruction. In Proverbs 6:20 adherence to the 'standard equivalents' would have resulted in the following translation:

*Υἱέ, φύλασσε ἐντολὴν πατρός σου
καὶ μὴ ἀπώσῃ νομὸν μητρός σου·

[212] For the meaning and association of both terms in the period of the LXX-translators, see A.F. Segal, Torah and *nomos* in Recent Scholarly Discussion, in: A.F. Segal, *The Other Judaisms of Late Antiquity* (Brown Judaic Studies 127), Atlanta 1987, 131-146.

Son, keep the commandment of your father
and do not reject the law of your mother;

Because the topic is not 'the Law' (singular) but parental instructions, it is understandable that the translator preferred to vocalize his source text as plural.[213] Thus it serves as a suitable antecedent for vs 21 'bind *them*…'. For the first stich a word was then needed on the same semantic level as νόμοι 'laws', which the translator found in θεσμός 'ordinance'.[214] In 1:8 he had already used this term, but in connection with the mother:

καὶ μὴ ἀπώσῃ θεσμοὺς μητρός σου
and do not reject the ordinances of your mother.

The translator copied this earlier rendering into 6:20b and thereby transposed νομούς 'laws' to the first stich.

PROVERBS 6:21

ἄφαψαι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ σῇ ψυχῇ διὰ παντὸς
καὶ ἐγκλοίωσαι ἐπὶ σῷ τραχήλῳ.
but bind them upon your soul always
and put [them] as a chain around your neck.

קָשְׁרֵם עַל־לִבֶּךָ תָּמִיד
עָנְדֵם עַל־גַּרְגְּרֹתֶיךָ׃

bind them upon your heart always,
put them around your neck.

Greek text For σός see 6:1. It is interesting that διὰ παντός 'always' follows the aorist imperative, which normally does not express duration. This is probably a *complexive aorist*, which summarizes at a glance an action from beginning to end. Such a collocation we find also in James 5:7 Μακροθυμήσατε οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ἕως τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ κυρίου, about which BDR § 337 observes: 'der Befehl gilt absolut bis zum Ende ohne Rücksicht auf die Dauer.'

Translation Δέ is added to create a contrast with vs 20b. In the second stich καί 'and' is added to make the bicolon parallel to the previous verse.
Notable is the rendering of לב 'heart' with ψυχή 'soul'. We encountered this transformation already in our discussion of Isaiah 1:16. In Proverbs 6:21 it is employed for partly the same

[213] The two words denoting 'commandment' and 'teaching' are singular in MT but plural in LXX. The unpointed *Vorlage* may have been interpreted as plural, as Baumgartner, *Étude critique*, 71 says.
[214] Philo often uses νόμος and θεσμός as synonyms, cf. *De opificio mundi* 61; *De specialibus legibus* I, 202; II, 13; *De cherubim* 106; *De somniis* 174 etc. In some passages θεσμός seems to represent a higher, more divine level than νόμος, according to F.H. Colson (ed.), *Philo IX* (Loeb Classical Library 363), London / Cambridge MA 1941, 509.

reason, problems with the metaphor.[215] To understand this, we have a look at the very similar Proverbs 7:3:

ἐπίγραψον δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ πλάτος τῆς καρδίας σου
'write them [my words] on the tablet of your heart.'

This metaphor is clear. Words can be written on a tablet, and writing on the tablet of your heart is a metaphor for memorizing. Now the metaphor of Proverbs 6:21a is clear in the Israelite context. Seals in different forms were often worn on a cord around the neck, so that the seal was close to the heart.[216] In the Hellenistic world seals were worn on rings, so that it is understandable that in Genesis 38:18 חותם 'seal' is rendered simply as δακτύλιος 'ring' and the 'cord' is turned into a 'necklace'. This cultural difference made the metaphor in Proverbs 6:21a difficult to understand. Therefore the translator wanted to assist a metaphorical understanding and turned לב 'heart' into ψυχή 'soul' (modification). It is interesting to note that such details betray something about differences in material culture.[217]
In the second stich the possessive suffix in ענדם 'bind *them*' is not rendered in Greek. The fact that manuscripts do not add it, as far as I know, suggests that this is no problem in Greek. Proverbs 7:3 does the same thing. The omission seems to avoid too great a syntactical similarity between the two stichs.
The rest of the verse is translated literally and in accordance with what we find elsewhere.

PROVERBS 6:22

Ἡνίκα ἂν περιπατῇς ἐπάγου αὐτήν, καὶ μετὰ σοῦ ἔστω·
ὡς δ' ἂν καθεύδῃς φυλασσέτω σε,
ἵνα ἐγειρομένῳ συλλαλῇ σοι,
Whenever you walk, bring her along and let her be with you;
when you sleep, let her guard you,
so that she speaks with you when you wake up,

בְּהִתְהַלֶּכְךָ תַּנְחֶה אֹתָךְ
בָּשָׁכְבְּךָ תִּשְׁמֹר עָלֶיךָ
וַהֲקִיצוֹתָ הִיא תְשִׂיחֶךָ׃

When you walk, she will guide you,
when you lie down, she will watch over you –
and when you wake up, she will speak with you

Greek text –

Translation The transformation of the preposition ב 'in' into a conjunction + ἄν (added) represents an obligatory change of syntactic structure (see our discussion of Isaiah 1:15).

[215] For LXX-Proverbs as a whole, see Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint* III, 26f.; De Waard, The Septuagint of Proverbs as a Translational Model?, 306.
[216] Genesis 38:18; Song of Songs 8:6. Cf. TWAT iii, 282ff.
[217] More in de Waard, The Septuagint of Proverbs as a Translational Model?, 306.

The Hebrew phrase תנחה אתך 'let her guide you' has been transformed into something quite different, viz. ἐπάγου αὐτήν, καὶ μετὰ σοῦ ἔστω 'bring her along and let her be with you'.[218] The reason is that in the Greek text the translator has produced so far a literal translation would not refer back to the law:

20 φύλασσε νόμους… θεσμούς… 21 ἄφαψαι αὐτούς… 22 *ἔπαξεί σε
20 keep laws… ordinances… 21 bind them… 22 ? will lead you

The Greek verb form ἐπάξει 'will lead' is not marked for gender. To make vs 22 refer to something, the translator needed at least a personal pronoun, e.g. αὐτοί 'they' to refer backward to the laws and ordinances or another pronoun to refer forward. What would he choose? It would be possible to have the laws, bound on the soul and fastened as a chain, guide a person, but it would be a bit awkward. But vs 23 provided the translator with the commandment as a lamp and a light, an excellent metaphor for expressing guidance, found elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible.[219] It is thus fully understandable that he chose the pronoun αὐτήν, pointing forward to ἐντολὴ νόμου 'the commandment of the law'.[220] He could not use it in the nominative αὐτή, since that would suggest both emphasis and a backward reference:[221] '*she* (the one we just mentioned) will guide you', which would retain the problem of the missing antecedent. Of course the translator could have solved this by making ὁ νόμος 'the law (will guide you)' explicit from vs 23. But explicitations are seldom used by our translator, at least compared to the frequency of 'additions' and 'omissions'. A modern translator would make a subject explicit,[222] but our ancient translator preferred a creative vocalization of the consonant text and preferred additions over an explicitation. He read תַּנְחֶה אִתָּךְ 'you guide her – with you'[223] and used these elements as building blocks for a full sentence, adding καί and ἔστω.

The Hebrew verb שכב 'to lie down' is rendered by the more specific καθεύδω 'to be lying asleep', obviously because 'watching over' makes more sense when someone is really asleep and off guard.

In rendering שמר with its literal counterpart φυλάσσω 'to guard, watch over' it is obligatory to omit על 'over', since φυλάσσω is construed without preposition.

What is phrased as a prediction in Hebrew ('she will… watch over you') has become a wish in Greek ('let her watch over you'), a change of accidence. This transformation turns the promise of reward into an exhortation, so that the hortatory passages of vss 20-21 and 25ff. now form a unified whole because the intervening section, vss 22-24, has now also become hortatory. The translator's objective of creating larger units was also operative in 6:12-19 (about the mischief-maker). We will not count this as a transformation, however,

[218] A problem has long been recognized by students of the Hebrew text, cf. Toy, *Proverbs*, 135: 'The *she* (RV. *it*) can hardly be understood to refer to the *instruction* of v.[23] (…); the writer passes silently to *wisdom* as subject, or else something (a line or couplet) has been lost from the text. – Some commentators, maintaining the order v.[22.23], gain an antecedent for *she* by inserting a line as first line: *wisdom will guide thee,* or, *seek wisdom, forsake it not* (…).' I find this 'problem' in the Hebrew text not very grave, for the verb form תנחה is clearly 3rd person feminine: 'she will lead you', and this can well refer back to *torah* in vs 20. Toy's solution is simple: he changes the order of vss 22-23.

[219] MT Psalm 119:105 'Your word is a lamp to my feet and a light for my path', cf. Psalm 43:3; Micah 7:8. A similar metaphor survives into John 8:12.

[220] Cf. Iaeger, *Observationes*, 53-54.

[221] BDR § 277.3; Smyth § 1194; 1204ff.

[222] Cf. REB 'Wherever you turn, *wisdom* will guide you'; GN: '*Diese Worte* werden dich... leiten'.

[223] With Iaeger, *Observationes*, 53-54.

since it is in principle possible to interpret the Hebrew verb forms as a cohortative, as Martin Luther did in his translation.
The third stich contains syntactic transformations. In Hebrew it is an asyndetical temporal clause: 'and [when] you wake up – she will speak with you'. In Greek it is the apodosis of a final clause: 'so that she will speak to you-waking-up.' It is difficult to guess the reason for this change. Could it be that the translator did not like the threefold repetition of the same syntactical structure? No, for in vs 25 he created such a repetition. I think there was no translational problem in this case, but the translator followed the change in the Hebrew syntax. Most modern versions present vs 22 as a threefold temporal clause and thus suggest that the three stichs have the same syntax in Hebrew. But in reality the Hebrew syntax of the first two stichs is the same, but the third one is varied (asyndetical). This probably suggested to the translator that the third stich had a different function. And since the verbal form, the so-called *perfect consecutive*, is often used to introduce the apodosis of final clauses in Hebrew, it is not surprising that the translator took this road.
The finite verb והקיצות 'and you will wake up' has been turned into a participle, ἐγειρομένῳ 'waking up', in order to avoid a double change of subject in the apodosis of the final clause. The Hebrew personal pronoun היא 'she' could be omitted because a feminine pronoun had already been used at the beginning of the verse.
It is noteworthy that the translation of Proverbs 6:22, a verse which reminds one of Deuteromy 6:7, does not take up the Greek vocabulary of that passage.

PROVERBS 6:23

ὅτι λύχνος ἐντολὴ νόμου καὶ φῶς
καὶ ὁδὸς ζωῆς ἔλεγχος καὶ παιδεία
for a lamp [is] the commandment of the law, and a light
and a path of life [is] reproof and instruction,

כִּי נֵר מִצְוָה וְתוֹרָה אוֹר
וְדֶרֶךְ חַיִּים תּוֹכְחוֹת מוּסָר׃

for a lamp is the commandment and the law is a light
and a path of life are reproofs for discipline,

Greek text This verse is concise, which lends it a proverbial cachet. To begin with, it is a verbless clause, suggesting a proverb or saying (Smyth § 944). Further, the missing articles before the subject are notable. Abstract nouns may lose the article when they denote something concrete (BDR § 258). This phenomenon can often be observed in Paul's letters, cf. his generic statement in Romans 3:20 διὰ γὰρ νόμου ἐπίγνωσις ἁμαρτίας.

Translation The suprising Greek text should neither be explained by assuming a different source text, כי נר מצות תורה ואור 'for a lamp is the commandment of the *torah* and a light', nor by assuming this to be the reading in the mind of the translator nor by claiming that the translator deliberately combined the words differently in order to create an clearer reference

to the Mosaic law.[224] It is more probable that he avoided a literal translation, since this would result in an inadmissible Greek sentence:

*ὅτι λύχνος ἐντολὴ καὶ νόμος φῶς[225]
lit. 'for lamp commandment and law light'.

Not only does this phrase contain an awkward double verbless clause, but the chiastic order makes it also difficult, at least for the hearer, to ascertain whether νόμος 'law' still belongs to the predicate or already introduces a new subject. The translator solved this problem by the simple transposition of the conjunction καί 'and' (change of syntactic function). In the second stich he did the same, probably to make both lines syntactically parallel.[226] An alternative solution would have been the addition of the copula ἐστίν, but apparently the translator appreciated the proverbial stamp of a verbless clause.
I do not think that the tenor of the verse is materially altered by this transformation. In Hebrew the first stich does not contain a pair of ontological statements, as if only the commandment is a lamp (not the Torah) and only the Torah as a whole (not the individual commandments) is a light. Of course the stich means that the Torah, including all its commandments, is a lamp and a light. The way in which the first stich is reshuffled strengthens the association with Psalm 118 (MT 119):105 for the educated reader, but it does not make the Law of Moses explicit, which could have been done easily, here and in other places. The international character of the Hebrew Proverbs has thus been preserved.
The word תוכחות (possibly תוכחת in the translator's parent text) has been translated literally with ἔλεγχος, both meaning 'reproof'. Is the rendering of מוסר 'discipline' with παιδεία 'rearing, education' also a literal translation? Although παιδεία does not generally mean 'chastising', the verb παιδεύω 'to rear, educate' can also refer to bodily chastising.[227] If this holds true of the verb, it is well possible that the related noun παιδεία can refer to chastising too. We may therefore consider it a literal translation.

PROVERBS 6:24

τοῦ διαφυλάσσειν σε ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ὑπάνδρου
καὶ ἀπὸ διαβολῆς γλώσσης ἀλλοτρίας.
to guard you carefully from the married woman
and from the slander of a foreign tongue.

[224] As respectively Mezzacasa, *Il libro dei Proverbi*, 128 (mistakenly quoting Iaeger, who is silent about vs 23); Baumgartner, *Étude critique*, 71f . and Cook, The Law of Moses, 454 hold.
[225] Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt*, mentions that Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion do have καὶ νόμος φῶς, but Field and his source Nobilius have no more than this fragment. This is not necessarily a verbless clause. It is possible, even probable that the first half of the line ran *[ὅτι λύχνος ἐντολή ἐστι] καὶ νόμος φῶς.
[226] Cf. Tauberschmidt, *Secondary Parallelism*, 77. REB does the same thing. BHS' proposal ומוסר is therefore not convincing.
[227] LSJ 1287a, III; BDAG 749. This meaning occurs in contemporary literature. The most striking example can be found in Luke 23:16, 22, where Pilate says: παιδεύσας οὖν αὐτὸν ἀπολύσω 'I will therefore flog him [Jesus] and let him go.' Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint* III, 46 is incorrect.

לִשְׁמָרְךָ מֵאִשָּׁת רָע
מֵחֲלֶקֶת לָשׁוֹן נָכְרִיָּה׃

to keep you from the evil woman,
from the flattery of a foreign tongue.

Greek text –

Translation The rendering of שמר 'to keep, guard' with διαφυλάσσω 'to guard *carefully*' constitutes a specification. Possibly it was employed for variation, since φυλάσσω 'to keep, guard' was already used some lines before (vs 22).[228]
Striking is the literal rendering τοῦ διαφυλάσσειν σε 'to guard you carefully', where we would expect something more elegant, e.g. a final clause like in 7:5. But the problem with a phrase like *ἵνα διαφυλάσσῃ σε… 'so that *it* will guard you well…' is that the subject becomes unclear: there are several nouns in vs 23 it could refer to.
Regarding MT רָע 'evil' scholars agree that the translator vocalized his consonant text as רֵעַ 'neighbour'. He did this because an adjective seldom appears in a construct state. A construct state normally connects two nouns and therefore the reading רֵעַ 'neighbour' is the most obvious. The transformation of רֵעַ 'neighbour' into ὕπανδρος 'married' constitutes a change of word class. Why was it needed? The translator apparently sensed that φίλος 'friend' (which he used in 6:1) is not appropriate here. Then the text would warn against adultery with the wife of your friend, implying that intercourse with wives of strangers is no problem.
The conjunction καί 'and' has been added because the second stich is not an apposition.
For חלקה lexica give 'smoothness' as its primary meaning. And this is what we find also in the oldest revisions of LXX. Theodotion and Symmachus rendered it as ἀπὸ λειογλώσσου ξένης 'from the smooth-tongued foreign woman'. Now the verb חלק 'to be smooth' is sometimes used in the sense of 'to flatter' (hif'il) and accordingly rendered in modern versions. But the Septuagint translators interpreted this root sometimes quite differently. In some cases they did not link 'smoothness of tongue' with flattery, but with deceit, like in Dutch.[229] In other cases they did not interpret חלק as 'to be smooth', but apparently saw its homonym, חלק 'to divide'.[230] By the time of the Mishna (2nd century AD) חלק had acquired the sense of 'to differ with, to object, to oppose'.[231] It is possible that the translator interpreted חלקת לשון נכריה as 'division caused by a foreign tongue'. Διαβάλλω is sometimes used in the sense of 'to set at variance, to cause a split between people'.[232] If this suggestion is adopted, διαβολή 'dividing people' is a literal translation.
The Hebrew term נכרי usually means 'foreign' in the sense of 'belonging to another people'. The book of Proverbs repeatedly warns against the 'foreign woman', but it is widely

[228] This variation seems operative also in Deuteronomy 7:12; Hosea 12:13-14; Zechariah 3:7 and probably Proverbs 2:8 (two different Hebrew verbs).
[229] Psalm 5:10 (ἐδολιοῦσαν); 11(MT 12):3 (δόλια); 35(MT 36):3 (ἐδόλωσεν); Proverbs 7:21 (βρόχοις).
[230] Hosea 10:2 (ἐμέρισαν); Psalm 54 (MT 55):22 (διεμερίσθησαν). For נחלק as 'to be divided into factions' see 1 Kings (LXX 3 Kingdoms) 16:21 (μερίζεται).
[231] Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 473. And מחלוקת means 'dissension, strife, faction' in Mishnaic Hebrew (Jastrow 762).
[232] LSJ 389b, III. Cf. the more elaborate discussion in Chadwick, *Lexicographica graeca*, 90, 94.

held that here נכריה means 'woman belonging to a fellow Israelite'.[233] It seems that the Septuagint translator took it in this sense and chose ἀλλοτρίος 'foreign, belonging to another' as its literal translation.

PROVERBS 6:25-26

25 Μή σε νικήσῃ κάλλους ἐπιθυμία
μηδὲ ἀγρευθῇς σοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς
μηδὲ συναρπασθῇς ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῆς βλεφάρων.
26 Τιμὴ γὰρ πόρνης ὅση καὶ ἑνὸς ἄρτου,
γυνὴ δὲ ἀνδρῶν τιμίας ψυχὰς ἀγρεύει

25 Let not desire for beauty overcome you
nor let yourself be caught by your eyes
nor let yourself be carried away by her eyelids.
26 For the cost of a prostitute is as little as that of just one [loaf of] bread
but for costly souls hunts a woman of men.

25 אַל־תַּחְמֹד יָפְיָהּ בִּלְבָבֶךָ
וְאַל־תִּקָּחֲךָ בְּעַפְעַפֶּיהָ׃
26 כִּי בְעַד־אִשָּׁה זוֹנָה עַד־כִּכַּר לָחֶם
וְאֵשֶׁת אִישׁ נֶפֶשׁ יְקָרָה תָּצוּד׃

25 Do not desire her beauty in your heart
and may she not take you with her eyelids,
26 for in exchange of a prostitute to a round-loaf of bread
and a wife-of-man hunts for a precious soul.

Greek text A new section begins with vs 25. The topic of the married woman has ended with vs 24 and the new section starts with a warning against the seductiveness of beauty.
The third stich is awkwardly connected to the first two:

1 It changes abruptly from σοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς '*your* eyes' to τῶν αὐτῆς βλεφάρων '*her* eyelids'.

2 The antecedent reference is confusing. Strictly speaking αὐτῆς refers to ἐπιθυμία 'desire', but it is clear that the text does not mean the eyelids of 'desire', but the eyelids of the married woman, a topic that has already been abandoned.

3 The variation in agentº construction is strange: dative versus ἀπό + genitive. In vs 25 the passive forms seem to mean 'allow oneself to be…' (Smyth § 1736). The use of ἀπό instead of ὑπό to indicate the agent in a passive construction is typical of post-classical Greek (BDR § 210; BDAG 107a).

The first stich of vs 26 is elliptic.[234] It would be more redundant to phrase it as τιμὴ γὰρ πόρνης τοσαύτη ἐστίν, ὅση τιμὴ καὶ ἑνὸς ἄρτου. But the demonstrative τοσαύτη has been omitted, as often happens (LSJ 1261b) and besides τιμή fulfils a function in the second clause too. Καί probably means here 'even so much as, just' (LSJ 837b, B) and draws

[233] THAT ii, 68.
[234] Private communication of Mr. Ilja Anthonissen, Almaty.

attention to the low cost of a prostitute. The sentence then means: the cost of a prostitute is so little as the cost of one loaf of bread.
A question is which logic the two stichs express. To put it grammatically: where does the genitive ἀνδρῶν belong, to γυνή (Cook) or to ψυχάς (D'Hamonville)? Should we translate

'… but a woman of men hunts for costly souls', *or*
'… but a woman hunts for the costly souls of men'[235] ?

The latter possibility results in a queer contrast, viz. prostitute versus woman. One would rather expect a contrast between a prostitute and a *married* woman (cf. NJPS and Ben Sira 26:22). But γυνή refers to a married woman only in contexts where a husband is mentioned.[236] And from a grammatical point of view it is not probable that ἀνδρῶν τιμίας ψυχάς would form a noun-phrase, since a noun without an article preceded by two attributes is very unlikely indeed.[237] The suggested stress on ἀνδρῶν 'men' would be semantically gratuitous ('who else?'). I think therefore that Cook's interpretation is preferable. If we paraphrase the first stich as 'the cost (τιμή) of a prostitute is as little as a loaf of bread', then the second stich says 'but *costly* (τιμίας) souls does the woman of men hunt for.'[238] The unique collocation γυνὴ ἀνδρῶν 'woman of men' must mean something like 'man-mad woman'.

Translation Verse 25 features remarkable transformations. The Hebrew feminine possessive suffixes have received a special treatment. As we saw above (*Greek text*), the translator started a new section in vs 25. In his view vss 25-26 do not deal with a married woman, but with a prostitute whose beauty can be seductive. The possessive markers '*her* beauty' / '*her* eyelids' were disturbing to him, since they refer back to the 'married woman'. The translator therefore dropped the first suffix in 'her beauty' and made the second one in 'her eyelids' refer to the addressee, σοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς '*your* eyes' (change of accidence). This change made it difficult to retain עפעפים 'eyelids', as 'to be caught by your own eyelids' is not really a convincing clause, which explains why the 'eyelids' were subsequently generalized into ὀφθαλμοί 'eyes'. After these decisions the remaining text of the first stich runs 'do not desire beauty in your heart.' The translator omitted לבב 'heart', which is not surprising, for we have seen earlier that LXX-translators had difficulties with a literal rendering. Probably he found the collocation 'desiring in your heart' too redundant. The otherwise literal NJPS had the same feeling and likewise omitted the 'heart', for it runs 'do not lust for her beauty'. But the translator could not write *μὴ ἐπιθυμήσῃς κάλλος 'do not desire beauty', for this sounds like a maxim, running against Greek ideals besides. So the transla-

[235] D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 196: 'car le prix d'une prostituée, c'est la valeur d'un pain, mais la femme prend au piège les âmes précieuses des hommes.' This interpretation of LXX can also be found in the *Codex Syrohexaplaris* (ed. Ceriani), a translation based upon the Septuagint:

ܕܢܦ̈ܫ ܕܝܩ̈ܪܬ ܕܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܢ̈ܫ ܢܨܕ ܘܐ ܕܒܥܠ ܕܐܢ̈ܬܬܗ ܐܝܬ ܕܐܦ ܠܚܡ ܕܚܕ ܠܚܝܐ

[236] E.g. Isaeus III, 13 (4th century BC) contrasts a courtisan and a married woman: Ὡς μὲν ἑταίρα ἥ τῷ βουλομένῳ καὶ οὐ γυνὴ τοῦ ἡμετέρου θείου… In Matthew 5:28 γυνή probably refers to a married woman. The husband is contextually present since Exodus 20:14, 17 is discussed. Cf. J. Gnilka, *Das Matthäusevangelium* (Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum NT I/1), 161.
[237] Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri*, §§ 65, 73.
[238] This position of the adjective in a phrase without article (τιμίας ψυχάς) is exceptional. It stresses the adjective as the main component of the phrase (BDR § 474.2.n.). Some manuscripts have normalized it; cf. Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*, 188.

tor gave the intention of the remaining text, viz. not to be *overcome* by desire for beauty. Since the heart is the seat of feelings and passions of the person as a whole, it may well be that μή σε νικήσῃ 'overcome *you*' is an effort to render לבב 'heart'. It is then a situational translation, one of the most complex transformations that we have encountered so far. The change of word class from חמד 'to desire' to ἐπιθυμία 'desire' (noun) is subsumed under the situational translation, not to be listed separately.

The rendering ἀγρεύω 'to hunt, catch, trap' is more specific than its Hebrew counterpart לקח 'to take' (normally rendered with λαμβάνω 'to take'). But here I would consider it an anaphoric translation since it anticipates on ἀγρεύω in 26b. It has the function of making the intended metaphor clearer than it would be with a form of λαμβάνω 'to take', especially in collocation with 'eyes'. The translator made the verb form passive, ἀγρευθῇς (change of syntactic function), as an active form would incorrectly refer back to ἐπιθυμία 'desire' as its subject.

The third stich does not fit into the context (cf. *Greek text*). The first two stichs go very well together, but the differences in the third stich make it unlikely that it sprang from the pen of the same translator. The differences rather point to a different, more literal concept of translation. The prepositional phrase ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῆς βλεφάρων 'by her eyelids' is an effort to adhere more closely to the number of lexemes in Hebrew and avoids the specification into 'eyes'. I agree with those scholars who think that the third stich is a revising retranslation of the second stich that became part of the text.[239] Still, the rendering of לקח 'to take' with συναρπάζω 'to drag away' (specification) and its passive verb form are concessions to the syntactic structure of the text as the revisor found it. What puzzles me, though, is the question why in the world revisors chose *this* stich to revise it toward the Hebrew text. In Proverbs 6 he could surely find more shocking transformations to be corrected, the first stich of this verse, for example. It might be that the 'minimax strategy' was also operating here: the Hebrew text is easy and a corrected rendering is easily written without too many consequences for the context. A literal revision of 25a, on the contrary, would have involved a good deal of trouble. It is a question which certainly invites further research.

Regarding 6:26, its first stich is difficult in Hebrew. The gist is clear, but the precise wording is not.[240] A literal translation is impossible. This fact hinders the use of the ancient versions for textual criticism. We can distinguish two main interpretations:

> …for a prostitute's fee [is] only a loaf of bread,
> but the wife of another stalks a man's very life (NRSV).

> …for the prostitute [reduces you to] a loaf of bread,
> and the adulteress preys upon your very life (NIV).

In short, the first interpretation says that a prostitute costs very little, the second stresses that visiting prostitutes can bring a man to poverty. The LXX-translator subscribed to the first one. The Hebrew preposition בעד can mean 'on behalf of, in exchange for' in some contexts,[241] and when this is adopted, the omission of a verb becomes problematic. Unlike

[239] De Lagarde, *Anmerkungen*, 24; Baumgartner, *Étude critique*, 72. Dr. Detlef Fraenkel (Göttingen) kindly informed me that the third stich is attested in all LXX-manuscripts.

[240] For a survey cf. P.-R. Berger, Zum Huren bereit bis hin zu einem Rundlaib Brot: Prov 6,26, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 99 (1987), 98-106.

[241] BDB126b. Some interpret it as a noun meaning 'exchange' or 'price', cf. HAL 135b.

the two English translations (square brackets) the LXX-translator did not supply a verb in his target text, but retained the nominal clause and adopted another solution. The semantic content of the preposition בעד 'in exchange for' was transferred to a noun, τιμή 'price', entailing a change of word class. The next preposition, עד 'to', often expresses degree and was here probably interpreted as 'at the highest'. This would result in the following stich: 'for the price of a prostitute [is equivalent to] a loaf of bread at its highest.' Now although the stich clearly has a hyperbolic sense, to state that a prostitute costs a loaf of bread *at its highest* may be felt as overdoing the hyperbole.[242] It is thus understandable that עד was omitted. The notion of equivalence in price was made explicit by ὅση. This comes in the place of the suppletion of a verb.

The phrase אשה זונה 'woman, prostitute' is translated with πόρνη 'prostitute', since this kind of redundant apposition is not natural in Greek. In literally translated books this obligatory omission is not applied (interference).

The term ככר לחם denotes a round loaf of bread. The shape of the bread is usually implicitated in the Septuagint (obligatory).[243] In Greek and Dutch you can say εἷς ἄρτος or 'een brood', whereas in Hebrew and English this sounds unnatural and you need to add 'piece of…' or something similar. So a noun is rendered as a number, whereby information concerning the shape is lost.

In the second stich the expression אשת איש 'married woman' (lit. 'woman of a man') was not rendered in an idiomatic way. Perhaps the phrase, which appears further in Leviticus 20:10 and became a fixed term in Jewish law, was unknown to the translator? I consider this unlikely. A second possibility is that the translator avoided γυνὴ γαμετή 'married woman' because in this context אשת איש 'married woman' does not mean *every* married woman, but only the *adulterous* one, a problem felt by modern versions.[244] But he could have written (γυνὴ) μοιχαλίς without any problem, as in 18:22; 24:55. I would rather suggest that the translator consciously reinterpreted the second stich, because the verse as a whole is permissive towards prostitution, a fact not missed by modern commentators. The stich seems to mean 'if you visit a prostitute, it will do you little damage apart from the loss of one loaf of bread, but…' It is not difficult to see why a Jewish translator would find this message disturbing.[245] He therefore did not translate the phrase אשת איש as a whole, but rendered its two members separately γυνὴ ἀνδρῶν 'woman of [many] men', thereby turning 'man' into plural.

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[242] The rich data from Rome and Pompeii (early imperial period) inform us that the current fees for prostitutes ranged between 2 and 16 *as*, whereas fashionable courtesans charged thousands. The price of a *modium* of grain (8 liter) was 24 *as* (without grinding and baking), of which soldiers received 5 a month. If soldiers consumed for 5 x 24 = 120 *as* grain a month, this makes 120:30 = 4 *as* a day (pure grain). A minimum fee of two *as* therefore cost half a soldier's daily grain ration. See B.E. Stumpp, *Prostitution in der römischen Antike*, Berlin 2001, 177-188. It seems reasonable to assume that the relationship between a prostitute's fee and the grain price was comparable in a metropolis like Alexandria, but the evidence is scanty.

[243] Exodus 29:23; Jeremiah 37 (MT 44):21; 1 Chronicles 16:3.

[244] NIV '… and the adulteress preys upon your very life'. Similarly TOB and TEV.

[245] Philo, e.g., denounces prostitutes and their customers in the most damning terms and claims on the basis of Deuteronomy 23:18 that Jewish law demands death penalty for prostitutes; *De Iosepho* 43, cf. *De specialibus legibus* III 51. Further *De spec. leg.* I 102, 104, 280. A lenient attitude towards prostitution was also found in the roman world. Horace, *Sermones* I, 2, 34 quotes a saying by Cato, praising a young man who satisfied his libido in a brothel instead of ruining the good name of a married woman.

The Hebrew נפש 'soul, life' was, as a consequence, also turned into plural (change of accidence). Finally it is remarkable that the word order of נפש יקרה 'costly soul' was reversed into τιμίας ψυχάς. As a matter of fact, when a noun lacks an article, the adjective comes behind it, both in Hebrew and in Greek. This non-obligatory transposition was therefore applied consciously. By placing the Greek adjective before the noun the translator wanted to stress the costliness to create a stronger contrast (see *Greek text*).

PROVERBS 6:27-28

Ἀποδήσει τις πῦρ ἐν κόλπῳ, τὰ δὲ ἱμάτια οὐ κατακαύσει,
ἢ περιπατήσει τις ἐπ' ἀνθράκων πυρός, τοὺς δὲ πόδας οὐ κατακαύσει;
Can someone bind fire in his garment-fold and not set his clothes on fire
or can someone walk on coals of fire and not burn his feet?

הֲיַחְתֶּה אִישׁ אֵשׁ בְּחֵיקוֹ וּבְגָדָיו לֹא תִשָּׂרַפְנָה׃
אִם־יְהַלֵּךְ אִישׁ עַל־הַגֶּחָלִים וְרַגְלָיו לֹא תִכָּוֶינָה׃
Can someone put fire in his garment-fold and will his clothes not catch fire
or can someone walk on coals and will his feet not burn?

Greek text For the future tense instead of optativus potentialis see BDR § 385.1.
Questions with οὐ expect the answer 'yes', whereas questions with μή expect the answer 'no' (Smyth § 2651; BDR § 427). The expected answer to the rhetorical question is κατακαύσει! '[of course] he will burn [his clothes]', which is equivalent to 'yes' (Smyth § 2680). Speakers of Western European languages, however, are inclined to reply 'no', since they perceive this question as follows: 'Can someone bind fire in his garment-fold without burning his clothes?' with the expected answer: 'No, that is impossible.'

Translation The interrogative particle -ה has no counterpart in Greek (obligatory omission).[246]
Κόλπος and its literal translation חיק have been rendered traditionally with 'bosom', but they refer in many places to the fold of the garment above the girdle, used as a pocket.[247]
The verb חתה, from which מחתה 'fire-pan' has been derived, refers to picking up coals of fire in its four occurences. But which meaning the LXX-translators attributed to it is difficult to say. This has two reasons. First, as not every language is blessed with a specific verb for 'picking up coals of fire', we can expect a variety of transformations (obligatory). In modern versions we find 'carry' ([R]SV), 'scoop' (NIV), 'rake' (NJPS), 'take' (KJV), 'behalten' (Luther). Likewise we find four different renderings in the Septuagint.[248] Second, even if no translator in history had ever grasped the true meaning of חתה, guessing would nevertheless have yielded the renderings just listed. For those are the renderings the context permits. We can therefore only conclude that the transformation is obligatory, but not categorize it. What the translators chose, ἀποδέω 'to tie up', fits well into the context.

[246] Πότερον… ἤ… introduces direct alternative questions. Cf. Smyth § 2626ff.; BDR § 440.
[247] BDAG 557a; HAL 300a.
[248] Καθαιρέω Psalm 51 (MT 52):7; ἀποδέω Proverbs 6:27; σωρεύω Proverbs 25:22; αἴρω Isaiah 30:14.

The translation of איש 'man, someone' with τις 'someone' is an obligatory change of word class.[249]
The possessive markers in חיקו '*his* garment-fold', בגדיו '*his* clothes' and רגליו '*his* feet' have been omitted since they are not necessary in Greek and would result in an unelegant sequence αὐτοῦ οὐ.[250] Since this is done consistently I count the three omissions as one.
The intransitive verb forms תשרפנה 'be burnt' and תכוינה 'be burnt, branded' have been rendered with the transitive κατακαύσει 'set on fire' (change of syntactic function), probably in order to avoid a double change of subject. We find the same in GN, NRSV, REB and NJPS. Thereby κατακαύσει 'will he… set on fire' renders both תשרפנה 'be burnt' (literal translation) and תכוינה 'be burnt, branded' (generalization). The latter verb is used in poetical texts, so its Greek prosaic rendering is stylistically less specific. But κατακαίω has an important advantage, which may help to explain both the generalization and the change to a transitive verb: οὐ κατακαύσει forms an anapaestic ending, in vs 27 even an anapaestic stich,[251] which underlines the proverbial character of these lines.
Regarding על הגחלים lit. 'on the coals', we note first that the typically Hebrew use of the article in such a phrase is not copied into Greek (obligatory omission), and second that the notion of 'fire', implicit in the Hebrew, is made explicit in Greek. We find the same transformation of גחלים 'coals' (without אש 'fire') in Proverbs 25:22, where English translations need an explicitation: 'heaping *burning* coals upon his head'. In Greek there is an additional need for the explicitation, as mere ἄνθραξ 'coal' can also mean 'precious stone, carbuncle', as in Genesis 1:12. When ἄνθραξ is immediately preceded or followed by words from the semantic field of 'fire', the meaning 'coal' is evoked and the explicitation is not necessary, but when the key to the right meaning is postponed, as in Proverbs 6:28, it is.[252]
The rest of the verse does not need special discussion.

PROVERBS 6:29

Οὕτως ὁ εἰσελθὼν πρὸς γυναῖκα ὕπανδρον
οὐκ ἀθῳωθήσεται οὐδὲ πᾶς ὁ ἁπτόμενος αὐτῆς.
Likewise who comes to a married woman
will not be held innocent, nor whoever touches her.

כֵּן ׀ הַבָּא אֶל־אֵשֶׁת רֵעֵהוּ
לֹא יִנָּקֶה כָּל־הַנֹּגֵעַ בָּהּ׃

So is who comes to the wife of his neighbour:
whoever touches her will not go unpunished.

[249] See our discussion of Genesis 2:24.
[250] See our discussion of Isaiah 1:3 (and references), 15; Proverbs 6:8.
[251] With elision it forms a catalectic anapaestic tetrameter: ἅπδδῆσετ τῖς πῦρ ἐν κᾱλπῷ τᾰ̃ δ' ῑμᾰτῑ' οῦ κᾰτᾰ̃καῡσετ;
[252] Not necessary in e.g. 2 Samuel 22:9; Job 41:12, 13; Proverbs 26:21.

Greek text An interesting case of lexicography is εἰσέρχομαι. It normally means 'to go in, come in, enter'. In the LXX-Pentateuch, however, it is said to occur in a more specialized sense, viz. '*to have sexual intercourse* (with πρός τινα)'.[253] Is this correct?
The first time εἰσέρχομαι πρός occurs in a sexual context is Genesis 16. There we read:

> 2 εἶπεν δὲ Σάρα πρὸς Αβράμ· … εἴσελθε οὖν πρὸς τὴν παιδίσκην μου ἵνα τεκνοποιήσῃς ἐξ αὐτῆς (…). 4 καὶ εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς Ἀγὰρ καὶ συνέλαβεν καὶ εἶδεν ὅτι ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχει καὶ ἠτιμάσθη ἡ κυρία ἐναντίον αὐτῆς.
> 2 And Sara said to Abram: … "Come to my maid-servant, that you may beget children through her." (…) 4 And he came to Agar and she conceived and she saw that she was pregnant and her mistress was dishonoured before her.

We cannot straightforwardly claim that εἰσέρχομαι πρός means 'to have sexual intercourse' in this passage. For apart from the un-Greek names this passage is composed of Greek words, but in an un-Greek style, as shown by e.g. the paratactic repetition of καί and a phrase like ἐναντίον αὐτῆς instead of ὑφ' αὐτῆς or αὐτῇ. And this is not the first instance of un-Greek style. By the time the reader of LXX-Genesis has reached chapter 16, he will be thoroughly aware that he is reading or listening to a text about an un-Greek subject matter whereby the Greek language mirrors many peculiarities of the Hebrew language. In our discussion of Genesis 2 we noted quite a number of them.[254] So when arriving at 16:2 a reader will certainly conclude that in this passage εἰσέρχομαι πρός has something to do with sexual intercourse, but in the light of his text experience so far he will also conclude that it is apparently a Hebrew euphemism for it. In this passage it is a clear example of a calque or loan translation, as scholars have long recognized.[255] But unlike εὐλογέω, which came to mean 'to bless', it has been an unsuccessful one, for I have found no original Greek text where εἰσέρχομαι πρός denotes sexual intercourse.
To return to Proverbs 6:29, the use of οὐδέ 'nor' suggests that the text makes a difference between two categories, viz.

ὁ εἰσελθὼν πρὸς γυναῖκα ὕπανδρον	'a man who comes to a married woman' *and*
πᾶς ὁ ἁπτόμενος αὐτῆς	'whoever touches her'.

Now ἅπτομαι + genitive means 'to touch, grasp' and for centuries it was an expression for having intercourse with a woman.[256] Because of the suggested differentiation the sexual overtones of the first stich are probably less clear or even absent. In my opinion the text first refers to getting close to a married woman, which is already dangerous, and then to having sexual intercourse with a woman.

Translation The lexemes in this verse have been translated are quite literally and display only few transformations worth mentioning. The rendering of אשת רעהו 'the wife of his neighbour' with γυνὴ ὕπανδρος 'married woman' constitutes a change of word class. The more literal rendering γυνὴ τοῦ φίλου αὐτοῦ 'wife of his friend' could not be used here (see 6:24).

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[253] Muraoka, *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, 154b.
[254] For a survey of Hebraisms in the Septuagint, see Siegert, *Zwischen Hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament*, 149-164.
[255] E.g. Harl, *La Genèse*, 70.
[256] LSJ 231; BDAG 126b.

The rendering of בוא אל with εἰσέρχομαι πρός is a literal translation, since both mean 'to come to'. In collocation with אשה 'a woman', however, the Hebrew verb *always* refers to sexual intercourse, whereas the Greek rendering does not. This nicely illustrates that literal translation sometimes misses the intended sense, as was the case in 6:1. But in this case the literal translation helps to create a climactic sequence with the second stich.
The seemingly minor addition of οὐδέ 'nor' changes the syntax of the verse. Its reason is that for the translator ὁ εἰσελθὼν πρὸς γυναῖκα ὕπανδρον 'a man who comes to a married woman' and πᾶς ὁ ἁπτόμενος αὐτῆς 'whoever touches her' are two different things: the second is more serious than the first. In the Hebrew text both הבא אל אשת רעהו 'who comes to another man's wife' and כל הנגע בה 'whoever touches her' refer to having intercourse. But the translator does not like synonymous parallelism.[257]

PROVERBS 6:30

Οὐ θαυμαστὸν ἐὰν ἁλῷ τις κλέπτων,
κλέπτει γὰρ ἵνα ἐμπλήσῃ τὴν ψυχὴν πεινῶν.
It is not admirable when someone is caught stealing,
for he steals so that he may fill his soul when hungry.

לֹא־יָבוּזוּ לַגַּנָּב כִּי יִגְנֹב
לְמַלֵּא נַפְשׁוֹ כִּי יִרְעָב׃

They do not despise a thief if he steals
to fill his 'soul' when he is hungry,

Greek text This verse is rendered by D'Hamonville as follows:[258]

> 'Pas de quoi s'étonner si quelqu'un est pris à voler :
> il vole pour rassasier son âme, affamé qu'il est ;
> (31) mais s'il est pris, …

If this is the correct translation, the Greek verse displays the following logic: it is not surprising when someone is caught in the act of stealing, for we are dealing with an occasional thief, who only steals out of hunger. Implicitly, then, it says: no wonder he is caught, because he is no experienced burglar. That D'Hamonville has downgraded γάρ to a colon does not alter this fact. But this logic makes the transition to the next verses unconvincing, for what is said about retribution (31) holds also true of an experienced thief, and the notion of experience is wholly irrelevant in the contrast with the adulterer (32). I think the root of this question is the translation of θαυμαστός. It is true that the *verb* θαυμάζω could mean both 'to wonder, marvel at, to be impressed by' in a neutral sense, and 'to admire, honour', but the adjective θαυμαστός and its adverb θαυμαστῶς had largely specialized to the positive connotation: 'admirable, wonderful'.[259] This yields a better coherence: (30) It is not admira-

[257] Modern European versions also struggle with this synonymy. Some translators omit parts of the second stich. *Gute Nachricht* has 'Ebensowenig kann man mit der Frau eines anderen schlafen, ohne die Strafe dafür zu bekommen. The notion of 'touching' is also omitted by CEV.
[258] D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 198; more outspokenly Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*, 190.
[259] LSJ; BDAG 445.

ble when someone is caught in the act of stealing, for he is stealing to satisfy his hunger (instead of working[260]). (31) If he is caught, he can escape by paying compensation. (32) But an adulterer sets his own life at stake.
Judged from the context, ψυχή 'soul, self' must denote 'hunger' or 'stomach'. This has very little precedents in Greek[261] and some scholars suggest a Hebraism.[262]

Translation The gist of the Hebrew text is quite different from what we just saw in the LXX. According to MT men do not despise (לא יבוזו) a thief who steals out of hunger, whereas the Septuagint calls that οὐ θαυμαστόν 'not admirable'. That is the opposite! The problem that prompted the translator to this drastic step was probably that the Hebrew text seems to excuse a starving thief. It is understandable that a translator, who wants his translation to guide his readership morally, would like to stress that such a theft, although pardonable, is still a transgression of the moral order. Jerome, for example, translates *non grandis est culpae*... 'it is not very guilty…'. There is guilt but not a big one. Likewise Luther: 'Es ist einem Diebe nicht so grosse schmach'. It is a disgrace but a minor one. To return to the Septuagint, it is possible that the translator did not agree with the lenient attitude of MT and turned the text into its opposite. But it is also possible that he interpreted vs 30 as an interrogative sentence: 'Will people not despise someone who steals out of hunger?' and then converted it into a positive statement. I prefer the latter explanation because it is attested elsewhere[263] and consider it a change of syntactic function (question → statement).
The phrase ἐὰν ἁλῷ 'when he is caught' has been added, probably for reasons of logic. The Hebrew text is perfectly understandable, but strictly speaking the whole issue of disgrace hangs on the thief being exposed. If the thief remains undiscovered and unsuspected, he will not lose his face and there is nothing to despise. The translator makes the notion of exposure, mentioned in vs 31, already explicit in vs 30.
The Hebrew word גַּנָּב 'thief' is not rendered with κλέπτης 'thief', as we would expect, but with τὶς κλέπτων 'someone stealing'. Jerome puts it even more casually: …*cum quis furatus fuerit* 'if someone happens to get stealing'. Since the translator's parent text was unvocalized, he may have read גנב as גֹּנֵב 'someone stealing'. The fact that we are dealing with an occasional thief rather than a professional, may have prompted this reading (cf. Exodus 22:6-7). Therefore I cannot count it as a transformation.
The second stich contains two changes of syntactic structure. For למלא נפשו 'to fill his "soul"' the translator prefers the more elegant final clause with ἵνα 'so that [he may fill…]' over a literal rendering with *τοῦ ἐμπλήσαι 'to fill'. The next change of syntactic structure is the rendering of the clause כי ירעב 'when he is hungry' with the participle πεινῶν 'hungry', lit. 'hungering'. Of course it would have been possible to translate more literally ἐὰν πείνᾳ 'if he is hungry', but this would place a conditional clause within a final clause that is

[260] Cf. the warning against sloth and the insistence on diligence in vss 6-11.
[261] Cf. Hilhorst, *Sémitismes et latinismes dans le Pasteur d'Hermas*, 138f. for classical parallels.
[262] LSJ; BDAG; Chadwick, *Lexicographica Graeca*, 311-320. In Proverbs 10:3; 25:25 and 27:7 ψυχή can be translated 'person'; mark the circumlocution in the latter verse!
[263] Cf. literature mentioned in Toy, *Proverbs*, 140; Fox, *Proverbs 1-9*, 234. Of the modern versions CEV shares this view: 'We don't put up with thieves, not even* with one who steals for something to eat. And thieves who get caught must pay back…' [**note*: or 'except']. For other examples of questions made affirmative (and *vice versa*), see De Waard, The Septuagint of Proverbs as a Translational Model?, 311.

a part of a causal stich, in short, it would contain many syntactical transitions in a short space.

PROVERBS 6:31

Ἐὰν δὲ ἁλῷ ἀποτείσει ἑπταπλάσια
καὶ πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ δοὺς ῥύσεται ἑαυτόν.
If he is caught, he will repay sevenfold
and giving everything he possesses he will save himself.

וְנִמְצָא יְשַׁלֵּם שִׁבְעָתָיִם
אֶת־כָּל־הוֹן בֵּיתוֹ יִתֵּן׃

And is he found, he will repay sevenfold,
all the wealth of his house will he give.

Translation In the first stich the use of ἐάν 'if' is obligatory, for the Hebrew parataxis in a conditional sentence cannot be copied into Greek.
The verbal stem נמצא 'to be found' is rendered with the more specific ἁλίσκομαι 'to be caught'. Though unnatural in the context of 'caught in the act', the law on theft in LXX-Exodus 21:37ff. uses the more literal εὑρίσκω 'to find'. The obligatory specification, ignored in Exodus, is employed in Proverbs 6:31.
Καί is added, as often, to smoothen the transition between the two stichs.
The word הון has been translated with 'property' and 'wealth' in LXX-Proverbs.[264] Now if someone has to give everything he has to compensate for his theft, he surely is no rich man. It seems that the translator found the terms 'wealth' and even 'property' a bit too grand for this context and he translated πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ 'everything possessed by him' (change of word class). He thereby had to drop ביתו 'his house', since *πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ 'everything possessed by his house' is no serious alternative.
With the added ῥύσεται ἑαυτόν 'will save himself', expressing a notion implicit in the Hebrew text, the translator prepares the contrast expressed by vs 32: a thief can save his life, but an adulterer kills himself. The finite verb יתן 'he will give' is thereby changed into δοὺς 'giving', a participle.

PROVERBS 6:32

Ὁ δὲ μοιχὸς δι' ἔνδειαν φρενῶν ἀπώλειαν τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ περιποιεῖται.
But the adulterer through lack of brains preserves destruction for his soul.

נֹאֵף אִשָּׁה חֲסַר־לֵב
מַשְׁחִית נַפְשׁוֹ הוּא יַעֲשֶׂנָּה׃

Who commits adultery with a woman [is] lacking brains,
he makes her [into] destruction for his life.

[264] E.g. κτῆσις 1:13; 8:18; 10:15; κτῆμα 12:27; ὕπαρξις 13:11; 18:11; 19:14; πλοῦτος 13:7; 19:4.

Greek text Ψυχή means 'soul' and should not be rendered as 'life' in this verse. In the Greek text the adulterer jeopardizes his soul, not his life, as the following verses show.

Translation It is possible to interpret the Hebrew verse as one clause:

A foolish adulterer makes her into destruction of his life

It is improbable, however, since most verses in Proverbs contain two stichs. The translator, who undoubtedly knew this, probably seized the opportunity to insert some variation into the long series of parallel distichs. He created one stich and therefore had to omit the personal pronoun הוא 'he'. I think therefore we are dealing with a conscious change of syntactic structure.

Δέ is added to stress the contrast with the preceding verse. MT does not have a conjunction here. Since ו 'and' is omnipresent in Hebrew, it is its absence that is contrastive.

The phrase נאף אשה 'who commits adultery with a woman' is rendered concisely with μοιχός 'adulterer'. In a paper I suggested that 'with a woman' was omitted to avoid the misunderstanding that extramarital homosexual relationships would seem to be excused.[265] But that Philo, *De decalogo* 168, subsumes pederasty under the commandment οὐ μοιχεύσεις 'thou shalt not commit adultery' is a question of conscious interpretation on Philo's part, I have to admit. It does not change the meaning of μοιχεύω which in Greek always denotes adultery of a man with a married woman.[266] Thus it is better to assume that 'with a woman' was implicitated because a literal translation ὁ δὲ μοιχεύων γυναῖκα[267] 'who commits adultery with a woman [kills himself]' is too redundant in Greek.

The most difficult issue in the Hebrew text is: what is the antecedent of יעשנה 'he makes *her*'? The literal translation printed above implies that the woman, with whom a man commits adultery, becomes the destruction of his life. But I found this simple interpretation only in TOB. Why do most other exegetes and translators prefer a different, less obvious exegesis? I have the impression that Western exegetes are unconsciously guided by their mother tongue. As we saw, the Greek translator made אשה 'woman' implicit and wrote μοιχός 'adulterer' instead. In this he is followed by nearly all Western translations known to me! And once 'woman' is implicitated, a feminine pronoun referring to her becomes obsolete. Therefore exegetes appeal to the fact that the Hebrew feminine can function as a neuter and they translate 'he who does *it*' (i.e. adultery). For the Greek translator this way out was not available because in Greek a pronoun would need the explicit antecedent μοιχεία 'adultery' and besides, a feminine pronoun would refer to ἀπώλεια 'destruction'. It is thus understandable that LXX, and afterwards the Peshitta, dropped the object suffix.

Once this is done משחית 'destruction' becomes automatically the direct object of עשה 'to make'. Regarding the derivation of this word, someone coming upon משחית will first take it as a participle, 'destroying, destroyer', and only familiarity with Hebrew Scriptures can inform him about its occurrence as a noun meaning 'destruction'.[268] Its rendering as ἀπώλεια 'destruction' is then a literal translation.

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[265] Van der Louw, Linguistic or Ideological Shifts?

[266] Also in Philo's writings, cf. *De specialibus legibus* IV, 85.

[267] Aquila has ὁ δὲ μοιχεύων γυναῖκα στερεῖται καρδίας. He recognized the nominal sentence.

[268] It occurs in Exodus 12:13; 2 Kings 22:13; Jeremiah 51:1, 25; Ezekiel 5:16; 9:6; 21:36; 25:15; Daniel 10:8; 2 Chronicles 20:23; 22:4.

A change of syntactic structure is the transition of the phrase חסר לב 'lacking heart (mind)' to δι' ἔνδειαν φρενῶν 'through lack of brains'. This was probably done because a literal translation would be syntactically unclear. It can be interpreted in two ways, which impedes recitation:

* Ὁ δὲ μοιχὸς ἐνδεὴς φρενῶν ἀπώλειαν τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ περιποιεῖται.
a. But the adulterer, being stupid, brings about destruction for his soul.[269]
b. But the adulterer is stupid, brings about destruction for his soul.

As in 6:21, 25 and Isaiah 1:16, the translator struggles with the different nuances of 'heart' in Hebrew and Greek. In Hebrew לב is the centre of the intellect, καρδία is rather the seat of the passions, and specifically so in the Platonic tripartite view of the soul. The desired notion is expressed in Greek by ἔνδεια φρενῶν 'lack of wits / brains (lit. midriff)', which constitutes a modification.[270]
The considerations guiding the LXX-translator were apparently so forceful that Jerome adopted them. Normally he would render MT quite literally, but in this case he translated the Septuagint, word for word.[271]

PROVERBS 6:33

Ὀδύνας τε καὶ ἀτιμίας ὑποφέρει,
τὸ δὲ ὄνειδος αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐξαλειφθήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.
He endures pains and dishonours
and his disgrace will not be wiped off in eternity.

נֶגַע־וְקָלוֹן יִמְצָא
וְחֶרְפָּתוֹ לֹא תִמָּחֶה׃

He will 'find' plague and shame
and his shame shall not be wiped off.

Greek text –

Translation The Hebrew נגע 'stroke, plague' is only here rendered as ὀδύνας 'pains', alliterating with ὄνειδος 'disgrace'. The Greek text stresses the subjective element, i.e. the pain felt by the adulterer as a consequence of his deeds. This transformation has no linguistic, but cultural roots. In the Hebrew text the adulterer jeopardizes his very נפש 'life' (32). He will literally suffer נגע 'strokes' (33) and become the target of the husband's נקם 'revenge' (34), which he cannot escape by paying כפר 'compensation' (35). This presupposes a society in which disputes were settled privately or in small-scale courts such as elders in the city-gate. An adulterer and the woman concerned were subject to the death penalty.[272]
In the Septuagint translation, however, the adulterer risks his ψυχή 'soul' (32). He will

[269] I thank Prof. T. Muraoka for his comments on an earlier draft of this passage.
[270] Cf. our discussion of Isaiah 1:16 and Tieleman, *Galen and Chrysippus on the Soul*.
[271] '… qui autem adulter est propter cordis inopiam perdet animam suam.'
[272] Leviticus 20:10; Deuteronomy 22:22ff.; Ezekiel 23:45ff.

suffer ὀδύνας τε καὶ ἀτιμίας 'pain and dishonour'. The outraged husband will bring him to trial, κρίσις (34) and a ransom may settle the affair legally, but it will not extinguish the husband's enmity. The Greek text presupposes a more centralized society with a professional law-court, in which an adulterer is punished but not killed.[273] The translator has culturally adapted the text to a new situation.

This also explains why ὀδύνας τε καὶ ἀτιμίας[274] 'pains and dishonours' are plural. Since LXX does not imply the execution of the adulterer, he will survive and feel pains and dishonours repeatedly. Τέ … καί constitutes a slight specification with regard to Hebrew ו 'and', usually translated with καί 'and'. It is used here to unite similar complements and is difficult to translate into English (Smyth § 2974).

The specification of **מצא** 'to find, experience' into ὑποφέρω 'to endure' is obligatory, since εὑρίσκω 'to find' does not express the notion of experiencing evil. The chosen term suggests longer duration besides, which fits well into the adaptation of this verse.

After what has been said it will be no surprise that the addition of εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα 'in eternity' stems from the translator. It is at odds with the Hebrew text, where the fate of the adulterer is sealed.[275]

PROVERBS 6:34

Μεστὸς γὰρ ζήλου θυμὸς ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς·
οὐ φείσεται ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως.
For the wrath of her husband is full of envy;
he will not spare in the day of judgement,

כִּי־קִנְאָה חֲמַת־גָּבֶר
וְלֹא־יַחְמֹל בְּיוֹם נָקָם׃

For jealousy [is] a man's fury
and he will not spare in the day of revenge.

Greek text –

Translation The translator probably interpreted unvocalized קנאה as קַנְאָה 'jealous' or קִנְאָה 'is jealous' (the Masoretic vocalization is not obvious). And since 'a man's fury is jealous' is a strange way of putting it, the translator wrote instead that the fury 'is full of jealousy' (change of word class). Jerome solved this problem by adding a conjunction:

quia zelus <u>et</u> furor viri non parcet…
'for the jealousy <u>and</u> fury of a man will not spare…'

[273] From Ben Sira 23:18-26, dealing with the consequences of adultery but silent about death penalty, it is usually concluded that the death penalty for adultery had become theoretical in Hellenistic times (except for cases of *Lynchjustiz*). This accords with Athenian sources stating that an adulterer may not be killed, e.g. Demosthenes, *Orationes* 23 (In Aristocratem), 53; Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 57,3. Cf. *Der neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike* 3, 900. The laws of Alexandria were based on Athenian law, cf. Rupprecht, *Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde*, 67.

[274] The Hebrew קלון is often rendered literally with ἀτιμία 'dishonour' (singular).

[275] With Baumgartner, *Étude critique*, 73-74 contra De Lagarde, *Anmerkungen* 25.

Although the generic גבר 'man' nowhere means 'husband', the stichs that follow here suggest that the deceived husband's revenge is described. Therefore versions like NIV and REB speak about 'husband' and LXX does the same by the addition of αὐτῆς '*her* man (= husband)'.
The translator omits the conjunction ו 'and' to indicate that the next three stichs elaborate vs 34a. In Hebrew aroused jealousy and revenge are mentioned in one breath, but since the Greek text does not speak about revenge any more, its coherence has changed. The Israelite נקם 'revenge' has now given way to an official κρίσις 'judgement, trial'. The translator's wish to present a actualized text in a changed society accounts for this non-obligatory modification.

PROVERBS 6:35

Οὐκ ἀνταλλάξεται οὐδενὸς λύτρου τὴν ἔχθραν
οὐδὲ μὴ διαλυθῇ πολλῶν δώρων.
He will not withdraw his enmity in exchange for a ransom
and he will certainly not put an end to it for many gifts.

לֹא־יִשָּׂא פְּנֵי כָל־כֹּפֶר
וְלֹא־יֹאבֶה כִּי תַרְבֶּה־שֹׁחַד׃ פ

He will not accept any compensation
and he will not be appeased even if you multiply bribe(s).

Greek text Διαλύομαι ἔχθραν / ἔχθρας 'to put an end to enmity' is a fixed collocation (LSJ 402b). It is followed by the genitive of price and value that often accompanies 'verbs signifying *to buy, sell, cost, value, exchange*' (Smyth § 1372f.). Although these verbs are missing, the notion of exchange is present.
Οὐ μή + aorist subjunctive expresses emphatic denial of future events (Smyth § 1804, 2755; BDR § 365).

Translation The Hebrew text is a bit strange. Literally it says 'he will not lift up the face of any compensation.' Now the idiom נשא פנים 'to lift up the face (of someone)' means showing consideration to someone, so that strictly speaking MT says here: 'he will not show consideration to any compensation'. Not surprising then, that with the same consonants the reading לא ישא פניך לכפר 'he will not show you consideration for compensation' has been proposed (BHS). This attractive conjectural reading was in all probability no part of the Septuagint's *Vorlage*. Because this conjecture could be rendered easily in Greek, we would have expected a more literal rending in that case. I think that the LXX-translator, like his modern colleagues, made most of his parent text and omitted the personal element פנים 'face' to concentrate on the כפר 'compensation'.
The remaining elements could have been rendered as

*οὐ(κ ἀπο)δέξεται οὐδένα λύτρον
'he will not accept any compensation'

but the translator stuck to his actualizing purpose. In the orderly trials of his days the husband would accept a compensation which would settle the matter legally, but the de-

ceived husband would of course never forget the offence. His enmity (ἔχθρα) against the adulterer would remain forever. The translator thus wrote

οὐκ ἀνταλλάξεται οὐδενὸς λύτρου τὴν ἔχθραν
'he will not withdraw for any compensation his enmity.'

The underlined transformations are specification, change of syntactic function and addition respectively.
In the context לא יאבה means 'he will not consent to a settlement'. But in the translator's society legal settlements of adultery were normal practice. He therefore related the husband's unrelenting attitude to a continuing *enmity*, as we saw. In the next stich the translator embroiders on this thread: neither the legal fine for adultery (λύτρον) nor additional gifts (δῶρα) will appease the deceived husband. The transformation of אבה 'to be appeased' into διαλύομαι 'to put an end to' represents a rendering of the effect for the cause. When viewed in isolation it entails no change of content, but because the Hebrew and the Greek verb forms are embedded in a different context, the gist of the passage differs considerably.
The word class of תרבה 'you will multiply' is changed into an adjective, πολλῶν 'many'. A literal rendering is possible but unnatural.[276] As a consequence the singular שחד 'bribe' is made plural into δῶρα 'gifts' and כי 'when' is omitted. Semantically the change from שחד 'bribe' to δῶρα 'gifts' constitutes a generalization. The bribe would be necessary to prevent the husband from demanding justice (death), but in the translator's context the financial settlement is taken for granted. The Septuagint only emphasizes that additional gifts will not change the husband's feelings.

CHART OF LITERALNESS IN PROVERBS 6:1-35

(For a clarification of the categories, see the introduction to the charts of Genesis 2.)

0 = complete adherence to form of Source Text
1, ...8 etc. = number of 'deviations'

verse number	*Quantitative representation*	*Adherence to ST word classes*	*Adherence to ST word order*	*Stereotyping*
1	+ 1 – 2	0	3	
2	+ 4 – 1	3	1	
3	+ 10 – 2	1	4*	n
4	0	4	2	o
5	+ 1	0	0	t
6	+ 5	1	0	
7	+ 6	2	1	m
8	+ 2 – 4	0	1	e
8A-C	+ 40			a

[276] See our discussion of Isaiah 1:15 and cf. LXX-Proverbs 9:11. Tauberschmidt, *Secondary Parallelism*, 78 explains the alterations 'in terms of the translator's general predilection for a more nearly parallel form (…) [they] give evidence of the translator's love of close correspondence.' In my view Tauberschmidt confuses parallelism as a result and parallelism as a principle.

9	+ 1 – 1	1	1	s
10	+ 7 – 1	2	0	u
11	+ 3 – 2	1	1	r
11A	+ 17			e
12	+ 2 – 1	0	0	d
13	+ 6 – 2	0	0	
14	– 1	1	0	
15	0	2	0	
16	+ 4 – 2	2	1*	
17	– 1	2	0	
18	+ 2 – 2	1	0	
19	0	0	0	
20	0	0	1	
21	+ 3 – 1	0	2	
22	+ 7 – 1	4	0	
23	+ 1	0	0	
24	+ 1	1	0	
25[277]	+ 1 – 2	2	2	
26	+ 1 – 2	2	2*	
27	– 3	1	1*	
28	+ 1 – 3	1	1*	
29	+ 1	1	0	
30	+ 3 – 3	2	1*	
31	+ 4 – 1	1	1	
32	+ 4 – 3	2	0	
33	+ 4	0	1*	
34	+ 2 – 1	1	1*	
35	+ 3 – 2	1	0	
total	**+ 149 – 43**	**42**	**15**	
average per word	**+ 0.49 – 0.14** without 8A, 11A: + 0.34 – 0.15	**0.14**	**0.10**	

* included in this figure: 'deviations' caused by postpositive δέ, γάρ
The total number of Hebrew words in Proverbs 6:1-35 is **302**.

A. Quantitative representation

Quantitative representation is no concern of the Proverbs translator. That he makes no bones about an embellishing addition of 40 words in 6:8A-C proves this.
Of course a good number of additions and omissions is obligatory, like the omission of the Hebrew question marker הֲ (6:27, 28), the addition of ἄν (6:1, 22), the use of the article etc. Beyond correctness, other small changes are dictated by a desire for a natural diction.
The aim for coherence of the text, visible in the translator's preoccupation with smooth transitions and clear contrasts, is responsible for many quantitative differences regarding conjunctions (6:2, 2, 3, 3, 5, 7, 7, 9, 10 etc.). Sometimes the translator creates coherence different from his source text.

[277] The 6 words I regard as added by a revisor are not included in this figure.

A major concern of the translator is an explicit message. The second largest addition, in 6:11A, has the function of making the central message more explicit at the end of a section. The translation brims with smaller additions of this kind (6:2, 4, 6, 8, 11, … 30, 31, 34 etc.). The text is given a wider application (6:10) whereas misunderstandings are cut at the root (e.g. 6:30, 32). Where a better example could make his text more convincing, the translator did not shrink from a very large addition (6:8A-C).
The verses that display a quantitative representation are exceptional (6:4, 19). They merely show that literal translation continues to be a tool for any translator. These observations suffice to show that on all textual levels the translator was unhindered by a preoccupation with quantitative representation.

B. Adherence to word classes

Compared to the Isaiah translator, who retains the ST word classes in roughly half of the verses, the Proverbs translator does so in one-third of the verses. Most of the changes are non-obligatory.

C. Adherence to word order

The translator does not deviate drastically from the ST word order. In half of the verses we find changes, but often these are obligatory, caused by postpositive δέ and γάρ. The translator changes the word order to make theme and rheme clearer and to mark transitions (6:7, 20). It seems that adherence to word order is not systematic but practical. It is the easiest way to translate when no serious problem comes up. The fact that word order is of no concern for the Proverbs translator is shown by his free use of the prepositive possessive pronoun σός, whereas Hebrew possessive markers are placed after the noun they belong to.

D. Stereotyping

Since Proverbs 6 is not one of the very first chapters, an investigation of the degree of stereotyping would have to take the whole book into account. This would exceed the boundaries of the present study. But in the case of Proverbs we do not need statistics to confirm what is well-known, namely that stereotyping is no concern of the translator. Within Proverbs 6 we gained the impression that the translator did not stick to stereotypes. His love of variation prevented him on many occasions from using the same rendering twice. So he varied, for example, the rendering of באמרי פיך 'in the words of your mouth' (6:2), מעט 'a little' (6:10). For basic lexemes spread over the chapter the translator employs different renderings, e.g. שכב 'to lie down' (6:10, 22), בוא 'to come' (6:3, 11, 15, 29), לב 'heart' (6:14 =18, 21, 32) and many more examples could be given. Where most translators understandably stick to stereotypes, viz, in the rendering of numbers, the translator of LXX-Proverbs removes them (6:16). It is clear that in all these instances other concerns (discussed in the Conclusions) were more weightier than stereotyping.

CHART OF TRANSFORMATIONS IN PROVERBS 6

vs.	*Hebrew*	*Greek*	*Obligatory*	*Non-obligatory*
1	בני	υἱέ		omission ('my')

	ערב	ἐγγυήσῃ	literal translation	
	ל	-	omission	
	תקעת	παραδώσεις		cultural counterpart
	זר	ἐχθρός		specification
	־ךָ ־ךָ	χ ρ χρ		compensation
2	נוקשת	παγίς		change of word class
	-	γάρ		addition
	-	ἰσχυρά		addition
	-	ἀνδρί		addition
	אמרים	χείλη (2x)		effect → cause
	־ך	ἴδια (2x)		change of word class
	-	καί		addition
	-	metre and assonance		compensation
3	אפוא	-		omission
	זאת	ἃ ἐγώ σοι ἐντέλλομαι		explicitation
	כי באת	ἥκεις γάρ	ch. of word order	
	בכף רעך	εἰς χεῖρας κακῶν		literal translation
		διὰ σὸν φίλον		situational translation
	*אל תתרפה	*ἴσθι μὴ ἐκλυόμενος	literal translation	
	רהב	παρόξυνε		specification
	-	καί		
	-	ὃν ἐνεγυήσω		addition
4	תנומה	ἐπινυστάζω		change of word class
5	-	ἵνα + subi.		explicitation
	מיד [?]	ἐκ βρόχων		specification; change of accidence
	מיד יקוש	ἐκ παγίδος		change of word class omission
	צ צ צ	ω-ω-ο-ο-ω-ω-ο-ο-ο		compensation
6	-	τόν	addition	
	-	ὦ	addition	
	עצל	ὀκνηρός	literal translation	
	-	καί		addition
	-	ζήλωσον		explicitation
	ראה	ἰδών		ch. of accidence
	חכם	γενοῦ ἐκείνου σοφώτερος		addition (underlined)
	ל ל ל ל	ου-ου-ου-ου		compensation
7	אשר	ἐκείνῳ	ch. of word class	
	אין לה	μὴ ὑπάρχοντος	literal translation	
	*קציר	γεωργίου		effect → cause
	שֹטֵר	ἀναγκάζων		generalization
	-	ἔχων		addition
	אין לה ...משל	ὑπὸ δεσπότην ὤν		cause → effect
		alliteration and rhyme		compensation
8	אגרה מאכלה	ποιεῖται τὴν παράθεσιν		situational translation
	-	πολλήν		addition

	ה	- (2x)		omission
	קין קציר קצין	τ τ θ τ τ ττ τ τ τ τ θ		compensation
8A-8C	-	ἢ πορεύθητι… προήχθη		addition (of 40 words)
9	-	δέ		addition
	תקום	ἐγερθήσῃ	effect → cause	
	משנתך	ἐξ ὕπνου		omission (of suffix)
	תקום משנתך	ἐξ ὕπνου ἐγερθήσῃ		ch. of word order
10	שנות	ὑπνοῖς		ch. of word class
	-	ὀλίγον δὲ κάθησαι		addition
	תנומות	νυστάζεις		ch. of word class
	-	μέν… δέ… δέ… δέ… δέ…		addition
	חבק ידים	ἐναγκαλίζῃ χερσὶν στήθη		situational translation
	לשכב	-		implicitation
11	ו	εἶτα		specification
	בא	ἐμπαραγίνεται		specification
	ראשך	… σοί …		ch. of word class
	-	κακός		addition
	מהלך	ὁδοιπόρος	literal translation	
	כאיש מנן	ὥσπερ ἀγαθὸς δρομεύς		modification
11A	-	Ἐὰν ... ἀπαυτομολήσει.		addition [of 17 words]
12	אדם / איש	ἀνήρ	literal translation	
	איש (?)	-		omission
	בליעל	ἄφρων	ch. of word class	modification (?)
	און	παράνομος	ch. of word class	specification
	א א ע א א	ἄφρων καὶ παράνομος πορεύεται		compensation
13	-	ὁ δ’ αὐτός		addition
	קרץ	ἐννεύει	literal translation	
	מלל	σημαίνει		
	בעינו	ὀφθαλμῷ		omission (of suffix)
	ברגלו	ποδί		omission (of suffix)
	-	δέ... δέ	addition?	
	-	ἐννεύμασιν		addition
	באצבעתיו	δακτύλων		omission (of suffix)
14	-	δέ		addition
	תהפכות בלבו	διεστραμμένῃ καρδίᾳ		ch. of syntactic structure
	חרש	τεκταίνω	literal translation	
	רע	κακά		change of accidence
	-	ὁ τοιοῦτος		addition
	מדנים ישלח	ταραχὰς συνίστησιν πόλει		specification
	-	κ τ κ τ τ κ κ τ κ		compensation
15	ישבר	συντριβή		ch. of word class

	פתע	διακοπή		modification
	ו	-		omission
	אין מרפא	ἀνίατος		ch. of synt. structure
16	-	ὅτι		addition
	שש	χαίρει	'literal' translation	
	-	πᾶσιν		addition
	הנה	-		omission
	שבע	συντρίβεται		modification
	-	διά		addition
	תועבה	ἀκαθαρσία		antonymic translation
	נפשו	ψυχῆς		omission (of suffix)
	number parallelism	metrical distich		compensation
17	עינים	ὀφθαλμός		change of accidence (number)
	רמות	ὑβριστοῦ		change of word class, specification
	שקר	ἄδικος	ch. of word class	
	ו	-		
	נקי	δικαίου		modification
18	-	καί (2x)		addition
	און	κακούς	literal translation	
	לרוץ	-		omission
	מהר	ἐπισπεύδω		specification
	ל	-		omission
	רעה	κακοποιεῖν		explicitation
	ר ר ר ר	κ κ τ κ τ κ κ, π π π π		compensation
19	יפיח	ἐκκαίει		effect → cause
	שקר	ἄδικος	ch. of word class	
	משלח	ἐπιπέμπει	ch. of accidence	
	מדנים	κρίσεις		specification
20	נצר בני	υἱέ, φύλασσε		change of word order
	מצות	νομούς		generalization
	תורת	θεσμούς	literal translation	
21	-	δέ		addition
	לב	ψυχή		modification
	-	καί		addition
	ענדם	ἐγκλοίωσαι		omission (of suffix)
22	בהתהלכך	ἡνίκ' ἄν περιπατῇς	ch. of syntactic structure	
	-	καί, ἔστω		addition
	בשכבך	ὡς ἂν καθεύδῃς	ch. of syntactic structure	
	שכב	καθεύδω		specification
	-	δέ		addition
	שמר על	φυλάσσω	omission (of preposition)	

	והקיצות	ἐγειρομένῳ		change of accidence
	היא	-		omission
23	ו	καί (2x)		change of syntactic function
	מוסר	παιδεία	literal translation	
24	שמר	διαφυλάσσω		specification
	רע	ὕπανδρος		change of word class
	-	καί		addition
	חלקה	διαβολή	literal translation	
	נכרי	ἀλλότριος	literal translation	
25	ה-	-		omission
	ה-	σοῖς		change of accidence
	עפעפים	ὀφθαλμοῖς		generalization
	אל תחמד יפי בלבבך	μή σε νικήσῃ κάλλους ἐπιθυμία		situational translation
	תקחך	ἀγρευθῇς		specification; change of syntactic function
25c		[revisional stich]		
26	אשה	-	omission	
	בעד	τιμή		ch. of word class
	עד	-		omission
	-	ὅση		explicitation
	ככר	εἷς		ch. of word class, implicitation
	אשת איש	γυνὴ ανδρῶν		non-idiomatic translation of idiom; change of accidence (number)
	נפש יקרה	τιμίας ψυχάς		ch. of accidence; ch. of word order
27-28	ה-	-	omission	
	חיק	κόλπος	literal translation	
	חתה	ἀποδέω		transformation not certain
	איש	τις	ch. of word class	
	חיקו בגדיו רגליו	κόλπῳ... ἱμάτια... πόδας		omission (of 'his')
	תשרפנה	κατακαύσει		ch. of syntactic function
	תכוינה	κατακαύσει		generalization; change of syntactic function
	על הגחלים	ἐπ' ἀνθράκων πυρός	omission (article)	explicitation
29	אשת רעהו	γυναῖκα ὕπανδρον		change of word class
	הבא אל	ὁ εἰσελθὼν πρός		literal translation
	-	οὐδέ		addition
30	לא יבוז	οὐ θαυμαστόν		ch. of syntactic structure
	-	ἐὰν ἁλῷ		explicitation

	למלא	ἵνα ἐμπλήσῃ		change of syntactic structure
	כי ירעב	* - πείνων		omission, change of syntactic structure
31	ונמצא	ἐὰν δὲ ἁλῷ	ch. of syntactic structure	
	נמצא	ἁλῷ	specification	
	-	καί		addition
	הון ביתו	τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ		change of word class; omission
	-	ῥύσεται ἑαυτόν		explicitation
	יתן	δοῦς		change of accidence
32	-	δέ		addition
	נאף ( ) יעשנה			change of syntactic structure
	נאף אשה	μοιχός		implicitation
	חסר לב	δι’ ἔνδειαν φρενῶν		change of syntactic structure; modification
	משחית	ἀπώλεια	literal translation	
	הוא	-		omission
	- נה	-		omission
33	נגע	ὀδύνη		cause → effect; ch. of accidence
	ו	τε καί		specification
	קלון	ἀτιμίας		change of accidence
	ימצא	ὑποφέρει	specification	
	-	εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα		addition
34	קנאה	μεστός… ζήλου		change of word class
	-	αὐτῆς		addition
	ו	-		omission
	נקם	κρίσεως		modification
35	פני	-	omission	
	כל כפר	οὐδενὸς λύτρου		ch. of syntactic function
	ישא	ἀνταλλάξεται		specification
	-	τὴν ἔχθραν		addition
	לא	οὐ… μή		specification
	יאבה	διαλυθῇ		cause → effect
	כי	-		omission
	תרבה	πολλῶν		ch. of word class
	שחד	δώρων		ch. of accidence

The total number of non-obligatory transformations is **165**, their average number per Hebrew word is **0.54**.

CONCLUSIONS

Although the translator of LXX-Proverbs has long been known as a free translator, literal translation constitutes the backbone of his work. The Hebrew and the Greek texts can roughly be aligned. Several verses are rendered almost word for word (6:4, 6a, 9, 13, 15a, 17-19, 20, 27-29a) and in some places the literal rendering even comes as a surprise (6:1, 6, 13, 19). According to some scholars LXX-Proverbs is free of Hebraisms[278] but this is exaggerated. Translations, even the most excellent ones, are seldom free of interference.[279]
But the few Hebraisms are certainly not characteristic of LXX-Proverbs, for *naturalness-was* a main concern for the translator and its realization has prompted many transformations. In other words, in many cases the translator accorded a higher priority to naturalness than to quantitative representation, adherence to word classes and stereotyping. Typically Greek are the omission of possessive pronouns (6:1, 8, 9, 20, 27, 28), the use of tenses (6:11, 20-21), the (non-)use of ὦ (6:6, 9) and the avoidance of un-Greek locutions (6:11, 12, 16, 17, 19, 23, 26, 35). The addition of clause connectors lends the text a natural form of cohesion in Greek, whereby clause relations are often made more explicit (6:5, 9, 10, 11, 14, 16, 17, 18, 21, 24, 31, 32).
Regarding *semantics* the translator is at times careful to render Hebrew details (6:22). He does not consider lexemes in isolation but often renders their contextual meaning (6:13, 14, 17, 31, 34). At the same time he goes beyond semantics in the narrow sense and displays sensitivity to connotations, e.g. of 'heart' in both languages (6:21, 25, 32).
Clarity is a major concern of the translator, as is attested by additions (6:3, 4), explicitations (6:6, 14, 22, 28, 31) and other transformations (6:10, 18, 24). His target text must be logical or made logical (6:1, 7, 10, 11, 13, 30). This concern also includes clarity with respect to cohesion. Transitions are clearly marked (6:1, 20) and cohesive elements are added functionally (6:7, 8A, 13, 14, 16). In two cases the translator goes to some length to forge cohesive unities where the source text displays transitional seams (6:16, 25-26).
The translator's efforts are not only devoted to clear sentences and paragraphs, but also aimed at clarity regarding the message as a whole. In 6:11A a distich is added to summarize the message in positive words at the end of the section. The other side of the coin is that textual elements prone to misinterpretation are made unambiguous, especially regarding moral issues (6:7, 15, 16, 24, 29, 26).
Quite a few transformations have their roots in earlier decisions (6:13, 15, 24, 26, 31, 32, 35). The clearest example is the reshaping of 6:1 that forces the translator to a series of changes in 6:2-3. Apparently he did not reconsider 6:2 to avoid unnecessary transformations in the following verses. This puzzling feature, which invites new research, occurs in other LXX-books as well. Creating a clear and appealing text was apparently more important to the Proverbs translator than expressing the exact sense of his parent text.
An interesting phenomenon we observed on various occasions (6:10, 11A, 16, 15, 17) is that the translator seems to have become more modest in his transformations in the course of the book. It has long been observed that the 'additions' in LXX-Proverbs are mainly concentrated in the first part of the book, especially in chapters 1-9. In later chapters the

[278] See D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 57.
[279] A. Mauranen, Corpora, universals and interference, in : Mauranen / Kujamäki (ed.), *Translation Universals. Do they exist?*, 65-82.

number of additions decreases.[280] This development is the reverse of what we observed in LXX-Genesis. To account for it, I would like to venture the following explanation. In the book of Proverbs the text changes in character. The long stretches of coherent text in Proverbs 1-9 lend themselves more easily to translational amplifications than the series of short sayings that make up the rest of the book. At the same time his growing experience enabled the translator to get his message across with subtler transformations. This tentative hypothesis deserves further research.

While presenting a clear and understandable message, the translator is also intent on presenting it *in an attractive way*. In his diction the translator aims at elegance, but only occasionally (6:1, 4, 9, 25, 30). In many places the text comes close to a iambic metre, although transformations for metrical purposes are rare (6:4, 27-28). There are many instances of alliteration and assonance, some of which are probably meant to compensate for the loss of stylistic features in Hebrew (6:1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 16, 18). An exaggerated alliteration, however, is toned down (6:13). It is also noteworthy that several verses are phrased in the style of Greek proverbs, with respect to metre (the frequent anapaestic ending) and with respect to syntax (6:2, 23, 26, 28). Such verses are 'so formulated as to imprint itself upon the memory (…) quotable and worthy to be quoted.'[281] The high place of attractiveness in the translator's hierarchy emerges directly from the stylistically inspired transformations. In fact, creating proverbs in Greek testifies to text-type awareness. The translator aims at 'equivalence' on the level of genre rather than at word level.

A concern for *ease* of reading and understanding plays a role where a double change of subject is avoided (6:22, 27-28). In 6:14 a transformation serves the unity of the enumeration. In 6:9 the distich is made syntactically parallel where it sounds good, but in 6:21 the reverse is done. In 6:30 a complex subordination is avoided.

The translator has a keen eye for the appeal of the text to the *reader or hearer*. He makes his text more lively at occasions (6:11, 22). He is averse of repetition, which might make the text dull and uninteresting, and he avoids it where he can (6:1, 2, 7, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14, 24, 29, 32), even over several verses (6:14b, 19b). Some of these examples are meant to turn synonymous parallelism into contrast. Where a contrast is present in the ST, the translator sometimes reinforces it (6:17, 26). Redundant or superfluous elements are dropped (6:10, 18, 22, 24). Understandably, lexical stereotyping is foreign to this approach.

The translator is sensitive to *cultural matters*. When an element is unknown to his readership the translator removes it with a transformation (6:21) or presents a cultural counterpart (6:1). The saying about the price of a prostitute (6:26) is made more acceptable, conforming to current market price. The passage about the legal consequences of adultery (6:33-35) is completely adapted to the situation of the translator's readership. Elements that do not fit into the received hierarchy of being are relegated to their proper place (6:6). In moral issues the translator draws clear lines. Where the Hebrew text takes prostitution for granted (6:26) or seems permissive towards theft out of hunger (6:30), he makes this reading impossible in the Greek text.

In the latter examples we see the translator going *beyond his source text*. In other instances he seizes the need for a transformation to create a text of his own (6:2, 16). But his adherence to the spirit of the source text is remarkable here. This also holds true for 6:8A-C, the largest addition, where the translator excels his source text with a large addition about the bee, but barely goes beyond it with respect to content; and for the second largest addition in

[280] D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 49, 52.
[281] Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint* III, 11.

6:11A. With respect to textual structure the translator does not shrink from changes. In two cases he goes to some length to forge cohesive unities where the source text displays clear transitions (6:16, 25-26). Use of favourite words can be assumed in 6:12.

The translator possessed an excellent, probably native fluency in Greek. Judging from the many stylistic details, the liveliness, the 'excelling' of the source text I think it probable he had had an education in rhetoric.[282] At the same time his work on Proverbs 6 suggests that he had a good command of Hebrew. Of course all chapters should be studied to confirm this.

In all likelihood the translator was Jewish, being of the opinion that a translated piece of Israelite wisdom would add something to the non-Jewish wisdom to which his readership had access. He wanted to present a crystal-clear text, with a clear message, not subject to misunderstandings. Especially passages with a moral implication have been made unambiguous, so that a libertinian interpretation is no longer possible. This gives us a clue not only to the translator's ethics, but also to the picture he had of his target audience. Apparently he judged part of his audience capable of libertinian tendencies. In general a free approach points to a high degree of consciousness. It indicates that the translator had a clear message, but his conscious handling of the text also shows that he had a very clear picture of what he perceived to be the needs of his target audience. I would suppose that he must have lived a considerable time among his audience to get acquainted with their way of life. He found they needed moral guidance, but the traditional wisdom of Proverbs in a literal translation would not appeal to his audience and needed to be made more attractive. In other words, he apprehended a definite risk of assimilation. The freedom and creativity of the Proverbs translation, meant to counteract this situation, is usually explained by pointing at the peripheral status of Proverbs in Judaism compared to the canonical Pentateuch. This type of reasoning presupposes that the translator could do what he liked because Proverbs was no 'sensitive text'. It is also possible that rival scholars / translators in his surroundings did not know enough Hebrew to 'find him out'. I think that a combination of these two factors is nearest to the truth. The translator must have felt quite confident to do what he did,[283] since trustworthiness of translation was a debated issue at the time, as is testified by the *Letter of Aristeas*, which, like LXX-Proverbs, dates from the middle of the 2nd century BC.

The translator chose his 'equivalents' freely, not committed to the lexicon of the Greek Pentateuch. Proverbs 6:22, the clearest parallel to a Torah verse (Deuteronomy 6:7), ignores its Greek vocabulary. Even in the choice of basic and common words like 'eyes' (6:4), 'scribe' (6:7), 'bread' (6:8), 'food' (6:8), 'to lie' (6:9), 'to come' (6:11) and with less common but important words like 'abomination' (6:16) and 'innocent' (6:17) the translator does not bother about the Pentateuchal Greek lexicon. This is surely remarkable for a translator who is sometimes called a conservative Jewish scribe.[284] Does this mean that the term νόμος 'law' in Proverbs did perhaps *not* refer to the Pentateuch? Cook claims the translator combined the Greek lexemes in such a way that he created clear references to the Mosaic Law.[285] I think a Jewish audience may indeed have linked νόμος 'law' to the Pentateuch, but in general that claim is exaggerated. The translator nowhere explicitly mentions

[282] D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 80f. notes the occurrence of oratorical vocabulary in other chapters.
[283] According to D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 134, the freedom points to an influential Jew, who enjoyed a certain immunity. This argument assumes that his audience could check his work.
[284] Cook, *Septuagint of Proverbs*, 318f. He does not define what he means by 'conservative Judaism'.
[285] Cook, The Law of Moses, 454, 456.

anything Jewish, and avoids mentioning Moses and the Torah. It is more correct to conclude with Dick that 'the LXX Proverbs does not compel the reader to think of the Mosaic Law (…). Unlike Ben Sira, Greek Proverbs seems to prefer a usage equally intelligible in the pagan and the Jewish Hellenistic worlds.'[286] On the basis of my own observations I would concur with Dick as far as Proverbs 6 is concerned. Although the translator was probably Jewish, his translation offers little proof for it. It is remarkable that even in the free additions (6:8A-C; 11A) there is no trace of Judaism beyond what the source text offers. The larger framework of the book suggests the same. Where the Hebrew book of Proverbs contains sayings of different sages, the Greek translation attributes the whole to King Solomon,[287] the most cosmopolitic king of Israel and son-in-law to a Pharaoh. The figure of Solomon would indeed be an adequate garb to present a piece of Israelite wisdom to the world's forum. At the same time the Greek Proverbs avoids much of the lexicon of Greek ethics and displays few instances that could support a theory of Stoic influence.[288] Dick concludes from these observations that 'Greek Proverbs thus resembles the λόγοι σοφῶν genre in Greek literature, which also seemed studiously to avoid particular philosophical *Tendenzen* in order to appeal to the largest readership possible.'[289] Although the primary target audience of the text seems to have been Jews in danger of assimilation to their Hellenistic environment, it is well conceivable that the translator wanted to finance the costly undertaking of his translation by selling copies to Greeks with a weak spot for 'Jewish philosophy'.[290]

The *place of origin* of the Proverbs translation is debated. Alexandria has long been taken for granted. This consensus was challenged by Dick, 'since [LXX-Proverbs] so radically avoids characteristic features of Hellenistic Jewish ethical texts written in that Egyptian city.'[291] He suggested Jerusalem as a place of origin. This was also Cook's standpoint for a long time, but his view has changed over the years. In 1999 he mentioned the possibility 'that, as in the case of Ben Sira, LXX Proverbs was translated in Alexandria by a Palestinian Jew', and thus '*for* Jews in Alexandria.[292]

Recently D'Hamonville has forcefully renewed the case for Alexandria.[293] My own analysis of the text yielded several hints at Alexandria as a background. *First*, the text of Proverbs 6 is close to the iambic metre. The use of the iambic trimeter, antiquity's light verse, for 'philosophical' texts originated in Alexandria. Its initiator was Apollodorus of Athens, who lived from 180 till after 120 BC and worked for a long time in Alexandria as a collaborator of Aristarchus the Librarian.[294] Apollodorus wrote a chronicle of the 1000 years after

[286] Dick, The Ethics of the Old Greek Book of Proverbs, 40f., 50.
[287] D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 33ff. R. Scoralick, Salomos griechische Gewänder, in: K. Löning, *Rettendes Wissen. Studien zum Fortgang weisheitlichen Denkens im Frühjudentum und im frühen Christentum* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament, Bd. 300), Münster 2002, 56, sees in Solomons sole authorship an anti-internationalist (!) retreat into Israel's wisdom sources.
[288] Dick, The Ethics of the Old Greek Book of Proverbs, 43-50.
[289] Dick, The Ethics of the Old Greek Book of Proverbs, 50.
[290] L.H. Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World. Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian*, Princeton 1993, esp. Chapter 7.
[291] Dick, The Ethics of the Old Greek Book of Proverbs, 50.
[292] Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*, 327; idem, The Law of Moses, 460; idem, La Bible d'Alexandrie, *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 28 (2002), 109.
[293] D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 24-25.
[294] R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from the Beginnings to the Hellenistic Age*, Oxford 1968, 253f. In stylistic respect Apollodorus' *Chronica* was a novelty: 'Απολλόδωρος (...) ἦρξε δὲ

the fall of Troy, which he dedicated to King Attalus II Philadelphus of Pergamum in 144/3 BC, just after his escape from Alexandria. The use of a popular metre for an elevated topic was thus an Alexandrian novelty when the translator of Proverbs set to work (ca. 150 BC). *Second*, in 6:14, 19 the text warns against 'organizing trouble to a city' and 'unchaining lawsuits between brothers' (= MT). These two dangers are part of life for a minority in a multi-ethnic metropolis, and certainly not chimerical, as history would show. *Third*, the addition about the bee (6:8A-C) possibly constitutes a reference to the Ptolemaic Pharao.

In this stage it is difficult to deduce more about the translator, I think. D'Hamonville claims that Aristobulus, who is called the Egyptian 'royal teacher' in 2 Maccabees 1-2, could serve as the type of man with the right position and world view to have translated Proverbs into Greek. He daringly suggests that 'Aristobulus' intended LXX-Proverbs as a book for the education of Ptolemaic princes. But since he hardly has arguments for it, we must await further corroboration of his thesis. It would be worth investigating whether the royal symbolism of the bee (6:8A-C) has parallels in LXX-Proverbs. My analysis so far points to Jews as the primary and Greeks as the secondary audience of the text.

Our investigation yielded unexpected *text-critical* results. In the Greek text of 6:25 we found a revisional addition. In 1:8 and 6:3 readings attested in manuscripts proved more original than Rahlfs' reading. With respect to the Hebrew text I would like to propose two changes (6:3, 7).

πρῶτος τῶν καλουμένων τραγιάμβων 'Apollodorus (…) began as the first one to write in what is called tragic iambus.' Cf. Suidas in Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Nr. 244, T.1. Pfeiffer, 255 notes that Suidas erroneously calls Apollodorus' iambic trimeters 'tragic'.

Chapter 7

Conclusions

GENERAL

The data from the transformation charts of the three Septuagint passages can be summarized as follows:

	Hebrew words	non-obligatory transformations	non-obligatory transformations per word
Genesis 2:1-25	332	37	0.11
Isaiah 1:1-31	362	136	0.37
Proverbs 6:1-35	302	165	0.54

The average density of non-obligatory transformations positions the three sections on a scale from literal to free. The freer, the more non-obligatory transformations. Genesis 2 emerges as the most literal, Proverbs 6 as the freest, and Isaiah 1 right of the middle. Regarding the books as a whole I found that the translation strategy of Genesis, exclusively sign-oriented in Genesis 2, seems to become freer in the course of the book, whereas the opposite holds true for Proverbs.

The position of Isaiah 1 is somewhat surprising. LXX-Isaiah is often named in one breath with Job and Proverbs as 'freely translated books'. But there are gradations in freedom. If we realize that the competence development of the Genesis translator requires a higher figure of non-obligatory transformations per word for Genesis as a whole – I would estimate 0.18 - 0.20 – this would position LXX-Isaiah 1 half-way.[1] Proverbs 6 is five times as free as Genesis 2.

The following chart shows how the non-obligatory transformations are distributed:

	Genesis 2		*Isaiah 1*		*Proverbs 6*	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Phonological translation						
Transcription / borrowing	1	2.7	3	2.2		
Loan translation	1	2.7				
Literal translation	2	5.4			2	1.2
a. Antonymic translation			2	1.8	1	0.6
b. Converse translation			1	0.7		
c. Translation of cause	1	2.7	9	6.6	6	3.6

[1] I found only one suggestion that the translator may have become freer in the course of the book (from 1:15). Prof. Van der Kooij informs me that chapters 2-35 display more freedom than the first one, whereas chapters 40ff. are again more literal. This is in line with G.B. Gray, The Greek Version of Isaiah: is it the work of a single translator?, *Journal of Theological Studies* 12 (1911), 286-293. Gray acknowledges the difficulties with statistics and with the many variant readings regarding the few expressions he surveyed.

and effect v.v.						
d. Specification	3	8.1	7	5.1	16	9.8
e. Generalization	1	2.7	7	5.1	4	2.4
f. Modification	1	2.7	10	7.4	8	4.8
g. Cultural 'equivalent'					1	0.6
a. Change of accidence	2	5.4	19	13.8	12	7.2
b. Change of word class	4	10.8	8	5.9	16	9.7
c. Change of syntactic function	1	2.7	5	3.7	11	6.7
d. Change in word and clause order	2	5.4	4	2.9	3	1.8
'Addition'	6	16.6	31	22.8	33	20.0
'Omission'	7	18.9	16	11.8	26	15.8
Redistribution of semantic features						
Situational translation	1	2.7	1	0.7	4	2.4
Idiomatic translation of idiom						
Non-idiomatic translation					1	0.6
Explicitation			11	8.0	8	4.8
Implicitation					3	1.8
Anaphoric translation	4	10.8	2	1.8		
Stylistic translation & compensation					10	6.0
TOTAL	37	100	136	100	165	100

Of course this chart has a relative value because of the limited text sections surveyed. Proper names, for example, are lacking from Proverbs 6, and so do transcriptions consequently. But the chart nevertheless offers some clues. It shows that those transformations which are the easiest to apply, viz. addition and omission, are by far the commonest in all three texts. The most complex transformation, redistribution of semantic features, is absent in all texts. Lexical changes boast a somewhat higher percentage in Isaiah 1 than in Proverbs 6. The latter, on the other hand, counts more transformations that dig deeper than surface level, such as situational translation, explicitation, implicitation as well as stylistically inspired compensation.

If we now compare the translators' priorities underlying the transformations, we note that literal translation constitutes the backbone of all three texts. Genesis 2 displays an extreme adherence to the form of the source text, Isaiah 1 follows the Hebrew text quite closely and Proverbs 6 reflects its parent text recognizably. All three texts contain interference, Genesis 2 in a massive degree, Isaiah 1 in considerable measure and Proverbs 6 noticable. In other words, concern for naturalness is negligible in Genesis 2, unsystematic in Isaiah 1 and important in Proverbs 6. The same order is valid for stylistic concerns.

In semantic respect, all three translators reflect their Hebrew source texts, but in different ways. In Genesis 2 the translator often opts for standard counterparts of lexemes. In Isaiah 1 we find a concern for precise renderings, combined with a bigger role of the context and the nuances it requires. The Proverbs translator is the most systematically intent on rendering contextual meanings, while keeping connotations in mind.

Conclusions

All three texts contain transformations that result from earlier decisions, four cases in Genesis 2, four in Isaiah 1 but with farther reaching consequences, and eleven in Proverbs 6.

In the choice of the great majority of lexical counterparts the translators of Isaiah 1 and Proverbs 6 show themselves independent of the vocabulary of the LXX-Pentateuch. Only few exceptions testify to (indirect) dependence.

Genesis 2 betrays little interest in clarity, but renderings capable of misunderstandings have been avoided. The latter concern of course returns in Isaiah 1 and Proverbs 6. Both texts show that clarity was an important focus of their translators. A difference is that in Isaiah 1 clarity is sought in the cohesion of sentences and a wish for common sense, whereas Proverbs 6 has incorporated this concern, but aims for clarity at a higher level, viz. coherence within the book as a whole and clarity regarding the message of the text.

Transformations bridging cultural differences are rare and of little impact in Genesis 2 and Isaiah 1, but frequent and substantial in Proverbs 6.

With respect to ideology the translator of Genesis 2 only once goes beyond the source text, to safeguard the correct interpretation of a verse in the next chapter. Isaiah 1 counts quite a number of ideologically coloured instances, all related to theological issues, notably anthropomorphic language relating to God. The translator of Proverbs 6 is comparatively modest. His ideological adaptations are limited to moral issues.

Compared to his colleagues of Genesis 2 and Isaiah 1, the translator of Proverbs stands out with his efforts to present a stylistically attractive text, coming closest to contemporary Greek literature in his frequent attention to sound patterns, euphony, and metrical fragments. His purpose is to get a message across to his target audience by increasing its appeal, and to that purpose he does not shrink from outdoing the source text.

Although the three texts in all likelihood originated in Alexandria, their characteristics point to different settings. Genesis 2 is not a communicative translation, but probably had to function as a substitute source text and a basis for exegesis. Isaiah 1 seems to be a religious text in its own right, destined for an interested Jewish audience with an established religious terminology. Proverbs 6 is a communicative translation, coined as an independent text underlining the appeal of Jewish wisdom first to Jewish, then to non-Jewish readers.

All three translators had a good command of Hebrew. The translators of Genesis 2 and Isaiah 1 both show fluency in Greek within the limits their method imposed to them. Proverbs 6 betrays an excellent command of Greek. Its translator was most probably rhetorically schooled. We can infer this from their work. The Greek text of Genesis 2 defies the basics of ancient *grammatica*. Its (semantic) neologisms conflict with the rule of *vetustas*, let alone *auctoritas*, its unusual collocations run counter to *consuetudo* and its word order is at odds with normal Greek. About rhetoric, then, we need not speak. To a lesser extent, the same holds true for LXX-Isaiah 1. Proverbs 6, however, generally conforms to the rules for the *electio verborum*, and far beyond that, penetrates into the realm of ancient *rhetorica*. The translator's handling of style is roughly consistent. He pays attention to *elegantia* and *dignitas*, sound (metrical fragments, sound patterns) and emotional impact of his text. He even comes close to Greek *locutiones* by the proverbial phrasing of some lines. At the same time this shows his text-type awareness. The addition about the bee approaches the Roman concept of *aemulatio*, which serves both the translator's pride and the appeal to the audience. The translator handles the text in a self-conscious and communication-oriented way.

Is it possible to deduce something about the translators' view of language from our findings? A general observation is that the translation strategies of our three sections are as different as those of the bilingual texts we saw and seem to reflect standpoints differing as widely as the opposite language views attested in Greek and Jewish thinking alike. But, more fundamentally, did the translators have a 'theory of language' at all? And how do we know? Vermeer claims the Platonic connection between words and concepts was an important driving force behind the hegemony of literal translation.[2] This might account for the very literal strategy of Genesis 2. But in my opinion it is doubtful whether the basis of literal translation in the Septuagint should be sought in Platonism. For relatively soon Plato's influence succumbed to that of other philosophers and Neoplatonism did not emerge until 100 AD. Some scholars put ideological literalism even later:

> Nicht der Philosoph, der alles übrige dem Streben nach Wahrheit unterordnet, sondern der Redner, der sich und seine Anliegen und die Anliegen deren, für die er spricht, vor seinen Zeitgenossen erfolgreich vertreten kann, dieser Meister des Wortes wird für viele Jahrhunderte zum Ideal der klassischen Bildung. Erst die „Christianisierung des Hellenismus", die mit der Konversion des begnadeten Redners Augustin seinen Höhepunkt erreicht, stürzt das rhetorische Ideal der antiken Bildung und installiert den christlich gedeuteten Platonismus als eine allgemeine Propädeutik für die Lehre vom ewigen Wort (λόγος / *verbum*) Gottes.[3]

I think we should not attribute a specific and conscious language view to the LXX translators too quickly. Theories of language, such as the universalist and relativist, are different extrapolations of everyday experiences with the phenomenon of language variety, and they are not connected to religion. One may start translating with assumptions about translating faithfully, which often comes down to word for word translation. Hands-on practice then leads to a reappraisal of unconsciously held assumptions, thus to a change of mind and to more systematic thinking about language and translation. In my view, this is what happened to the translator in the course of his work on Genesis.

It is difficult to come to grips with the Isaiah translator in this respect. From my limited data I cannot conclude with confidence whether his translation strategy developed throughout the book, but the question deserves further research. If LXX-Isaiah displays a general consistency, this could mean he already had some experience in translating. At the time he started working on Isaiah he possibly had settled on a workable 'strategy' of his own, combining philological, religious (exegetical) and communicative concerns, although not systematically, in our view.

The Proverbs translator was in all likelihood schooled in rhetoric, in the wide sense of text competence. He did not content himself with his education, but kept himself well posted of the latest trends, such as high-brow literature in popular guise (Apollodorus' iambic *Chronica*). He followed the latter within the limits he imposed upon himself. Rhetorical education meant a thorough acquaintance with all aspects of language and with scholarly thinking about it. Now the linguistic climate in Alexandria was in favour of 'conventionalism', which held that the relationship between signs and meaning was arbitrary. This is, not surprisingly, the universalist position of Aristotle. Adherents of the relativist language view, on the other hand, have usually opted for literal translation.

This study shows that the application of modern linguistic labels of translation procedures to an ancient translation like the LXX is a perfectly sensible procedure. As we have seen,

[2] Vermeer, *Skizzen* I, 127-154.

[3] T. Borsche, Platon, in: Schmitter, *Geschichte der Sprachtheorie* 2, 159.

the challenges and difficulties of translating from one language into another have always been essentially the same. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that what translators wrote in defence of their own work has changed little in the course of over 2000 years. Sometimes one hears the lament that in modern studies basically the same views are repeated. The problems encountered by Jerome, Luther, and Cicero are very recognizable for their 21st-century colleagues. Translators have always drawn on the same reservoir of translation procedures, and it is only the labels used in this study that are modern.[4]

Our study has yielded clear results regarding the candidates for translation universals that have been proposed so far on the basis of modern translations.
To begin with, the hypothesis that translations tend to be *longer than their source texts* seems disproved in Genesis 2. The Septuagint text is shorter than MT, as the sum of additions and omissions of semantic elements is + 27 – 30. But keep in mind: only one translationial decision accounts for this surprise. Because in Genesis 2 κύριος 'Lord' appears for the first time as a divine name, the translator alternates ὁ θεός and κύριος ὁ θεός, which entails a sixfold omission of YHWH. If this were not the case, the score would be + 27 – 24. This is modestly in line with the proposed translation universal. I expect that the later Genesis chapters conform more clearly to the expectations. The scores for Isaiah 1 (+ 86 – 31), let alone Proverbs 6 (+ 149 – 43) support it unambiguously.
That translations *tend to contain interference* is confirmed by all texts, in varying degrees.
Our next potential universal says that language and style of translations tend to be *more standardized* than that of source texts. In other words, a translated text exhibits a higher degree of lexical, grammatical and stylistic standardization compared to original texts in the TL than the source text compared to original texts in the SL. This proposed law of translation is not valid for the three LXX texts we studied. In Genesis 2 the high degree of grammatical and stylistic interference, combined with (semantic) neologisms renders the chapter all but standardized compared to TL literature. To a lesser degree the same holds true for Isaiah 1. The case of Proverbs 6 is less clear, if we regard MT-Proverbs as a typical example of Israelite wisdom literature, i.e. standard within its genre. LXX-Proverbs comes closest to being a natural Greek text of the three. But its steady parallelism and 'stichic prose', unusual in Greek, and the slight interference preclude labelling it as 'standardized'. There are other translations as well that do not confirm this potential universal, both from Antiquity and modernity. In general, foreignizing translation tends to break the 'law' under discussion. But nonetheless, it feels intuitively correct. I think this proposed universal should be nuanced with a variable, e.g. 'the more standardized the translation strategy (within TL translation discourse) that underlies a translated text, the more standardized its language and style will be compared to original TL texts.' This would account for two sorts of translations that do not fit into the proposed universal in its current form, namely, first, products of inexperienced translators, uninitiated into the TL standard translation discourse as they are, and second, foreignizing translations, which are the outcome of *apriori* decisions, consciously reacting against the prevailing discourse.
Did we find that our sections were *simpler than their source texts*, i.e. with less lexical variety, lower lexical density, more use of high-frequency items? In Genesis 2 we partly did. Against six cases where the Greek lexemes or phrases have a higher frequency than

[4] Compare J. de Waard, Gleiche Übersetzungsprobleme über zwei Jahrtausende, *Die Bibel in der Welt* 18 (1978), 63-64; Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, viii: ‚Der Übersetzungshistoriker kann also in der Antike die historische Basis für eine systematische Typologie von Übersetzungsverfahren finden.'

their Hebrew counterparts[5] I found only two examples to the contrary.[6] Lexical variety and lexical density barely decreased, due to the strong adherence to the form of the source text.[7] Isaiah 1 more clearly conforms to the candidate universal. An example of lexical variety reduction is the use of ἀνομ(ία) 'lawless-' in 1:4, 5, 25, 28, 31 as a rendering of various terms.[8] Lower lexical density (= increased redundance) is promoted by e.g. the repetition of κατά in 1:1 and by the numerous explicitations. Cases where Greek lexemes or phrases have a higher frequency than their Hebrew counterparts[9] are decidedly more numerous than counter-examples.[10] The translator of Proverbs 6, though sometimes adding high-frequency items,[11] is by no means a 'standardizer'. LXX-Proverbs boasts 155 (!) lexemes that do not occur elsewhere in the Septuagint, of which 30 are not previously attested in Greek (esp. compound words).[12] The translator has an impressive vocabulary and he wants us to know it. If we compare the Hebrew and Greek vocabularies of Proverbs 6, we find that cases where Greek lexemes or phrases have a higher frequency than their Hebrew counterparts on the one hand[13] and examples of the opposite on the other hand[14] are balanced. Regarding lexical variety, I found nine instances of lexical variety reduction[15] against eight of lexical variety growth.[16] In the limited section of one chapter this difference is not significant. It will be clear, then, that lexical density is not lower than in the source text. My conclusion is that the proposed translation universal of increased simplicity is partly confirmed in Genesis 2, clearly in Isaiah 1, but not in Proverbs 6. These findings end its status as a candidate

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[5] Viz. the rendering of ברא 'to create' with ποιέω 'to make' (1:1ff.), of בהבראם 'in their being created' by ὅτε ἐγένετο 'when it originated' (2:4), of צבא 'host' with κόσμος 'furnishing' (2:1), of אד 'stream' by πηγή 'well' and of הניח 'to put down' with τίθημι 'to place' (2:15). A syntagmatic example is the rendering of ארץ ושמים 'earth and heaven' with the normal order τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν 'heaven and earth' (2:4). N.B. Because of the small Hebrew corpus its frequency rates have limited value.

[6] Viz. the rendering of אכל 'eating' with βρώσει (2:16), which enhances lexical variety, and of קדש 'to sanctify' with the newly coined ἁγιάζω 'to sanctify' (2:3).

[7] On the one hand, γίνομαι renders both נברא (2:4) and היה (2:5), on the other hand איש is varied as ἀνήρ (2:23) and ἄνθρωπος (2:24).

[8] Other examples are ἐγκαταλείπω for עזב and נותר (1:4, 8), ἁμαρτ- for חטא and עון (1:4).

[9] Examples are 1:4 מרעים 'evil-doers' → πονηρός 'evil, bad'; 1:18 יאדימו 'will become red' → ὦσιν 'will be'; 1:20 ומריתם 'and if you rebel' → μηδὲ εἰσακούσητε 'and [if] you do not listen'; 1:22 סיגים 'dross' → ἀδόκιμος 'unfit'; 1:22 סבא 'drink' → οἶνος 'wine'; 1:23 שחד 'bribe' → δῶρα 'gifts'; 1:25 סיגיך 'dross' → τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας 'the inobedient ones'.

[10] Examples are 1:1 בימי 'in the days of' → ἐν βασιλείᾳ 'in the reign of'; 1:2 האזין 'to give ear' → ἐνωτίζομαι 'to give ear'; 1:9 צבאות 'hosts' → σαβαωθ 'Sabaoth'.

[11] Items without counterpart in Hebrew: 6:2 ἀνδρί; 6:6 ἐκεῖνος; 6:7 ἔχων; 6:8 πολλήν; 6:10; ὀλίγον δὲ κάθησαι; 6:11 κακός, ἀγαθός; 6:13 αὐτός; 6:14 τοιοῦτος, πόλει; 6:16 πᾶσιν; 6:28 πυρός; 6:34 αὐτῆς.

[12] D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 80f.

[13] Proverbs 6:12 בליעל → ἄφρων; 6:25 עפעפים → ὀφθαλμοῖς; 6:35 תרבה → πολλῶν; שחד → δώρων.

[14] Proverbs 6:7 אין לה → μὴ ὑπάρχοντος; 6:11 בא → ἐμπαραγίνεται; 6:19 רעה → κακοποιεῖν; 6:25 תקחך → ἀγρευθῇς; 6:35 ישא → ἀνταλλάξεται.

[15] Ἀνήρ (6:12 אדם, 6:26 איש, 6:34 גבר), ἐγείρομαι (6:9 קום, 6:22 הקיץ), κακός (6:3?, 14 רע; 6:18 און), κατακαύσει(6:28 תכוינה / תשרפנה); κρίσις (6:19 מדן, 6:34 נקם), ψυχή (6:21 לב, 6:16, 32 נפש); ὀφθάλμος (6:17 עין, 6:25 עפעפים), φυλάσσω (6:20 נצר, 6:22 שמר), ὑπάρχω (6:7 אין, 6:31 הון).

[16] אין לה → μὴ ὑπάρχοντος, ἔχων, ὑπό... ὧν (6:7); איש → ἀνήρ (6:12), τις (6:27-28), בוא → ἥκω (6:3, 11A), ἐμπαραγίνομαι (6:11), ἔρχομαι (6:15, 29); מעט → ὀλίγον, μικρόν (6:8); מצא → ἁλίσκομαι (6:31), ὑποφέρω (6:33), רע → φίλος (6:1), ὕπανδρος (6:24), שמר → φυλάσσω (6:22), διαφυλάσσω (6:24), and, finally, the rendering of the possessive suffix ך- with both σοῦ and σός.

universal. The universal, based on modern translations, is too general in my opinion. First, it does not take into account that literal translations are form-oriented, so that, for example, the combination of quantitative representation and stereotyping guarantees equal lexical density and equal lexical variety. Second, it ignores the stylistic value of repetition in both source and target language, for it is perfectly predictable that translations from an ancient Semitic language, where repetition is germane to good style, into an Indo-European language, where variation is preferred, will exhibit an *increase* of lexical variety. And this is especially true when the work is done by a rhetorically schooled translator. I would thus propose to rephrase the universal as follows: 'Sense-oriented translations between languages where the stylistic value of repetition is comparable, tend to exhibit less lexical variety, lower lexical density and more use of high-frequency items.'

With respect to *dialectal differences*, believed to be reduced in translations, these have not been found in our Hebrew sections.

The potential universal claiming that in translations *complex narrative voices are likely to be reduced* has been confirmed. The 'two creation stories' of Genesis 1-2 have been rendered as subsequent stages of God's deeds (2:9), in Isaiah 1 the complex participant shifts have been harmonized and the same holds true for Proverbs 6.

Translations tend to be *more explicit than their source texts*, it is said. Now higher explicitness is attained by transformations such as specifications, additions and, of course, explicitations. Naturally, free translations employ more of these transformations than literal ones. Genesis 2 contains only few and weak examples of this tendency, namely in 2:9 (addition of γνωστόν 'what is known of'), 10 (clearer), 16 ('trees *in* the garden). In Isaiah 1 and Proverbs 6 we found such a pronounced tendency towards greater explicitness that we need not repeat it here.

The only really debated candidate universal claims that *later translations tend to be closer to the source text than earlier versions* of the same source text. With respect to the Septuagint it is known that the revisions by Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion took place in opposite directions, most often towards a more precise reflection of its Hebrew source,[17] but also towards greater readability. Now in the present study we did not systematically compare the Septuagint to its revisions. But what is usually a handicap in LXX studies, viz. the huge number of manuscripts with their countless variant readings, is now an interesting means to verify the thesis under discussion. Variant readings can be seen as implicit, sometimes even unconscious judgements about the copied text. The Greek manuscript(s) to be reproduced was, naturally, *not* a Hebrew source text, but it is evident from variants that Hebrew texts were sometimes consulted during the copying process. Manuscripts contain corrections towards the form of the source text as well as corrections towards more idiomatic Greek.[18] Our conclusion must be that the evidence of the Septuagint, its revisions and manuscripts does not sustain the above mentioned translation universal. Our observations regarding ancient translations coincide with fresh research on modern translations.[19]

The proposed universal stating that in translations *repetition tends to be reduced* compared to the source texts now deserves our attention. With respect to translations from Hebrew, where repetition is an important cohesive and stylistic device, into Greek, where variation

[17] Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 143ff. More extensive: N. Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context.*

[18] From our study: closer to the Hebrew text are the variants mentioned under Isaiah 1:29; Proverbs 6:12, 20; for better Greek see Isaiah 1:6, 9, 21 (footnote); Proverbs 6:7, 30.

[19] O. Palopski & K. Koskinen, A thousand and one translations, in Hansen (ed.), *Claims, Changes and Challenges in Translation Studies*, 28-38.

is preferred, this universal is likely to be confirmed, but in a gratuitous way. This is the case in Isaiah 1, in my opinion, at least with respect to lexical repetition and to redundancy. The translator sometimes creates structural repetition for rhetorical purposes (1:4, 23). The translator of Proverbs 6 avoids repetition where he can. In Genesis 2 the translator's strong adherence to the form of the source text warrants preservation of repetition in a considerable degree. Nevertheless, he occasionally suppresses repetition (2:24). His sixfold omission of YHWH, strictly speaking, reduces repetition, though for a well-defined reason.

Our last translation universal claims that *TL-specific items tend to be underrepresented* in translated texts. Limiting ourselves to a few items that are specific for natural Greek texts, subordination or hypotaxis, high frequency of participles (of all tenses), use of subjunctive and optative moods and density of particles, it needs no corroboration that these are massively underrepresented in the three sections under review, though in varying degrees. This candidate universal has been confirmed.

METHODOLOGICAL

The method outlined in this study offers elements which can improve methodological accuracy for both the text-critical and ideological study of the Septuagint. I do not pretend it is all new. Many insights belong to the realm of common sense and have long been applied by scholars, e.g. 'when the Greek text contains a Hebraism which does not reflect MT, it may suggest either a variant reading in the *Vorlage* of LXX or a pseudo-variant°' (Isaiah 1:16).

All research begins with the 'deviations' between the Hebrew and Greek texts. Now if there is a deviation, it has a cause. There may have been a variant in the translator's parent text, it may have been a pseudo-variant, a misreading, different segmentation, vocalization or interpretation, or we may deal with a transformation. Usually a transformation has a semantic relationship with the source text. If this is not the case, a different source text or a deliberate change may be considered (cf. Isaiah 1:13). Insistence on the problem-oriented study of transformations is the thrust of the approach advocated here. Having labelled a transformation we must identify the 'problem' that prompted the translator to employ it. Often a reconstruction of the literal translation that was not chosen makes clear what the translational problem was. There are different types or levels of problems: lexical, grammatical, stylistic, logical, communicative, cultural and ideological. We should begin at the lowest level and if that yields nothing, ascend to the higher ones. A golden rule: low-level explanations take precedence over high-level ones. Obviously, if TL grammar or lexis forced the translator to a transformation, an appeal to culture or ideology is unjustified.

By the method the Septuagint is (preferably) approached, scholarship can be roughly divided into 'text-critics', 'exegetes', 'translation technicians' and 'receptionists' (p. 10). In chapters 4-6 we were in constant discussion with explanations offered by especially 'text-critics' and 'exegetes'. Neither approach came out as especially favoured by the application of our method. In many cases we discovered the translational problem at a low level and therefore had to reject high-level explanations offered by 'exegetes'. But we also found that quite a few transformations do have a cultural or ideological background – this contrary to 'translation technicians' who find it difficult to acknowledge such factors. With respect to textual criticism, we not only rejected unnecessary emendations, but also acknowledged that a different parent text for LXX is probable in Genesis 2:23-24 (possible in 2:2, 19), Isaiah 1:13 (possible in 1:2) and Proverbs 6:3, 7, which shows that our approach does not

amount to a rigid defense of MT.[20] Suggestions for a different parent text did not stand our methodological filter in Genesis 2:1, 4, Isaiah 1:16, 30 and Proverbs 6:3, 5, 15, 18, 35. The critical LXX text of Isaiah 1:16; Proverbs 6:25 proved to be suspect.

APPLICATION TO DEBATED PASSAGES

It can be fruitful to apply our method to some debated cases. Recently there was an argument between Rösel and Hendel about the text-critical value of LXX-Genesis, in which examples from Genesis 1 figured prominently.[21]

Since Genesis 1 immediately precedes Genesis 2 it was almost certainly done by the same translator. Before turning to Genesis 1, let us recapitulate our findings with respect to Genesis 2. We saw that the translator was reluctant to employ transformations. He only resorted to them when Greek grammar demanded it or when a literal translation created a serious problem. The translator did not *add* Hebraisms to the Greek text apart from those resulting from his Hebraizing strategy. We also found that the translator's competence underwent a development. In the course of the book he gradually started to employ transformations more freely.

Rösel warns against the use of isolated instances for the purpose of textual criticism. He rightly stresses that LXX-deviations have to be judged in the context of the translated book as a whole. I agree with his caveat against a fragmentary approach – a weakness of some 'translation technicians' too – and I want to carry it even further. His caveat is fine if the book as a whole is a monolith, but this need not be the case. In his articles, Rösel gleans instances of exegetical renderings and harmonizations from Genesis 49 and uses them as the key to the understanding of the first chapters, because, he says, the same interpretative translator is at work. This goes too far, I think, or rather it does not go far enough. It lacks nuance. For there are big differences between Genesis 2 and Genesis 49. The latter is poetry, the former prose; the latter is linguistically difficult, the former easy; the latter is difficult to interpret and at the same time incomprehensible without interpretation, the former is quite straightforward. Add to this the competence development the translator underwent throughout forty-nine chapters, and it will be obvious that his approach in Genesis 49 is different from that in Genesis 1-2.

But a further methodological restriction is appropriate. The creation story of Genesis 1 is brimming with repetitions of words, phrases and clauses. No matter what language we are copying in or translating into, be it Hebrew, Greek, Arabic or Dutch, the danger of parablepsis° is considerable. It is thus methodologically unsound to claim *a priori* that omissions should preferably be ascribed to one particular copy or version. Every case has to be studied on its own, which is a seasoned insight in textual criticism.

The first case under discussion is Genesis 1:9. MT reads God's command (the *Wortbericht*) as follows:

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[20] The attractiveness of such rigidity is obvious: it provides scholars at one blow with the conviction that we have the oldest text in our hands and the belief that everything that deviates from it directly points to the historical translator.

[21] Rösel, The Text-Critical Value of Septuagint-Genesis; Hendel, On the Text-Critical Value of Septuagint-Genesis; W.P. Brown, Reassessing the Text-Critical Value of Septuagint-Genesis 1. A Response to Martin Rösel, *BIOSCS* 32 (1999), 35-39.

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יִקָּווּ הַמַּיִם מִתַּחַת הַשָּׁמַיִם אֶל־מָקוֹם אֶחָד וְתֵרָאֶה הַיַּבָּשָׁה וַיְהִי־כֵן׃
And God said, "Let the waters under the heavens be gathered together to one place, and let the dry land appear." And it was so. (RSV)

The Septuagint renders this verse quite literally, but carries it forth with a long 'addition' reporting the execution of God's command (*Tatbericht*):

καὶ συνήχθη τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν καὶ ὤφθη ἡ ξηρά.
and the water under the heaven was gathered together to their places and dry land appeared.

The origin of this 'addition' is debated. Rösel is not the first to claim: '[T]his plus has to be judged as a result of the LXX's tendency towards harmonizing the texts.'[22] The translator, he says, observed that everywhere in Genesis 1 a *Wortbericht* is followed by a *Tatbericht*. In 1:9 he found that a *Tatbericht* was missing in Hebrew, so he supplied it for the purpose of consistency. Hendel, on the other hand, holds that the Septuagint rendered a Hebrew text that did include the *Tatbericht*. So he feels entitled to retrovert the Greek plus:[23]

ויקוו המים מתחת השמים אל מקויהם ותרא היבשה
and the waters under the heavens were gathered together to their places and the dry land appeared.

Leaving aside the Qumran evidence for a moment, we first ask: 'which transformation do we have here?' and 'what is the translational problem that prompted the translator to depart from his very literal approach in Genesis 1-2?' If we ask the first question to the theory that LXX here arose from a proto-MT, then we are dealing with an explicitation or perhaps an anaphoric translation. But the Hebrew text does not contain a linguistic 'problem', for MT is understandable and grammatically correct. Now the translator of Genesis 2 is preoccupied with quantitative representation, limits himself to *grammatica* and pays no attention to style. It is thus clear that such a radical departure from quantitative representation could only be called for by the most urgent translational problem. But there are neither problems nor possible misunderstandings, for καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως 'and it was so' makes it clear that God's command was executed anyway.

The contrary is true: it is the Greek 'addition' that contains a problem, as already Wellhausen observed.[24] The pseudo-dualis מים, traditionally 'waters' is regularly rendered as ὕδωρ 'water' throughout Genesis 1. This happens also in 1:9, but it says then that τὸ ὕδωρ 'the water' (singular) was gathered together εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν 'to their places.' This lack of agreement is inadmissible in Greek, but it is easily explained as an morphematic rendering that mirrors details of the Hebrew, in this case the plural suffix in אל מקויהם 'to their places'. Since the translator of Genesis 2 removes grammatical problems but does not introduce them, we may conclude with confidence that the *Tatbericht* was part of the Hebrew parent text underlying LXX.[25] There are two ways to account for the accidental omission of this line, haplography by either homoiarkton (ויק- ∩ ויק-) or homoio-

[22] Rösel, The Text-Critical Value of Septuagint-Genesis, 65; similarly Wevers, *Notes on… Genesis*, ad loc. and earlier commentators like Westermann and Seebass.
[23] Hendel, *The Text of Genesis 1-11*, 120-121. Cf. already BHS.
[24] Quoted in Hendel, On the Text-Critical Value of Septuagint-Genesis, 33f.
[25] With Tov, The Nature and Background of Harmonizations, *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 31 (1985), 22. This conclusion is supported by 4QGen^{k}, belittled by Rösel.

teleuton° (היבשה ∩ היבשה).[26] This outcome undermines the image of the translator as a 'harmonizer', which is important for the rest of Genesis 1.

The next verse figuring in the BIOSCS debate, LXX-Genesis 1:20, contains a small plus. Between the *Wortbericht* of vs 20 and the *Tatbericht* of vs 21 the Greek text has the refrain καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως 'and it was so', which lacks from MT. It can be called an anaphorical translation. Now in our discussion of Genesis 2 we encountered some anaphorical translations, so that we must allow the possibility that it originated from the translator.[27] And this is what both Rösel and Hendel defend. BHS, on the other hand, suggests to retrovert it as ויהי כן 'and it was so'.

In this case there exists a translational problem: ישרצו המים lit. 'let the waters swarm [with living creatures]' cannot be translated literally, since in Greek, as in English, only living creatures can be the subject of 'swarming'.[28] Since water is the subject here, the translator needed an alternative and for this he was probably inspired by 1:24 'Let the earth *bring forth* [living creatures]'. This notion, expressed by תוצא in Hebrew, could be literally translated with ἐξαγαγέτω 'let [the earth] bring forth'. It is well conceivable that the translator, gleaning a lexeme from vs 24, also took over the phrase ויהי כן 'and it was so' from there, perhaps unconsciously.

An evaluation is not easy. On the one hand, MT represents the *lectio difficilior*. On the other hand, ויהי כן 'and it was so' would fit so admirably into MT that it could have flowed from the writer's own pen. We cannot exclude there existed an earlier text containing the clause. But is difficult to explain MT on this basis. It is hard to see how only ויהי כן 'and it was so' could have been dropped by way of parablepsis. I think with some reserve that the translational viewpoint tips the scale in favour of a real transformation on the part of LXX. This last example, just as the complex issue of the 'sixth' versus 'seventh' day in Genesis 2:1, illustrates that problem-oriented study cannot solve each and every problem.[29]

Not only the ideological and historical approach to the Septuagint, but also textual criticism can profit from the methodological refinement. Let me begin with a relatively simple example from Isaiah 36:11, quoted in Tov's widely used textbooks as a specimen of a 'reliable retroversion'.[30] It is the direct speech of Judean officials to their Aramean enemies, besieging Jerusalem. The Judeans want to conduct talks in Aramaic. Here follow MT and LXX, accompanied by my German translation, as English obscures the point:

> אַל־תְּדַבֵּר אֵלֵינוּ יְהוּדִית בְּאָזְנֵי הָעָם אֲשֶׁר עַל־הַחוֹמָה׃
> Sprich vor den Ohren *des Volkes* auf der Mauer nicht judäisch mit uns!
>
> Μὴ λάλει πρὸς ἡμᾶς Ιουδαϊστί καὶ ἵνα τί λαλεῖς εἰς τὰ ὦτα τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ τείχει
> Sprich nicht judäisch mit uns! Und warum sprichst du vor den Ohren *der Menschen* auf der Mauer?

Tov finds the rendering of עם 'Volk' with ἄνθρωποι 'Menschen' surprising, because it is normally rendered with λαός 'Volk'. He claims the Septuagint departed from a different

[26] Hendel, *The Text of Genesis 1-11*, 27, 120.
[27] Vss 5 ὃν ἔπλασεν 'whom he had formed', 8 ποιήσωμεν 'let *us* make', 20 addition of 'all' (?).
[28] Then rendered with κινέομαι (Genesis 7:21; 8:17).
[29] Cf. the complex issue of the sixth versus seventh day in Genesis 2:1.
[30] Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 131, 260; Tov, *Text-Critical Use*, 18, 76.

Hebrew text, viz. באזני האנשים אשר על החומה 'vor den Ohren *der Menschen* auf der Mauer'. Tov considers this retroversion reliable, because such a reading is now attested in 1QIsa[a]: באוזני האנשים היושבים על החומה 'vor den Ohren der Menschen, die auf der Mauer sassen'. I am afraid my esteemed teacher is a bit rash here. Our method requires that we first apply the translational filter, asking: 'which transformation are we dealing with?' and 'what is the translational problem it had to solve?'

Possibility A: If the parent text of the Septuagint was similar to MT, the transformation from עם 'Volk' to ἄνθρωποι 'Menschen' would be a specification. It was then probably employed because עם 'Volk' does not refer to the nation as a whole, but only to the citizens on the wall, who do not understand Aramaic. Hebrew uses collective designations quite frequently where Greek would prefer a plural.[31] From a translational point of view, then, we can identify the 'problems' that prompted the transformation.

Possibility B: If LXX departed from a text like 1QIsa[a], the translator omitted היושבים 'who were sitting'. The only reason he could have done so is to avoid a literal repetition of the phrase that recurs in vs 12 where it reads πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς καθημένους ἐπὶ τῷ τείχει 'zu den Menschen, die auf der Mauer sitzen.' But two arguments run against this. First, if the translator found the repetition disturbing, he would rather have rendered the 'sitting' in vs 11 and made it implicit in vs 12 where the phrase returned. But second, it is questionable whether repetition would be disturbing at all, because vs 12 is the direct speech of the Aramean general, responding to vs 11, and meaningfully repeating the item.

To summarize the logic of each text: LXX can very well be explained on the basis of MT, much less on the basis of 1QIsa[a]. The variant from this Qumran manuscript can be explained as harmonization towards vs 12, as Tov does, but also along semantic lines ('not the whole people, but only the commoners'), as presented above. This conclusion robs textbooks of a fine example of a 'reliable retroversion', but examples that stand the filter will be more convincing.

Our questionary can also assist in the evaluation of alternative translations of the same text. In Leviticus 26:2-16 we have such a situation. An eclectic edition of the 'original' Septuagint by Wevers exists, side by side with a Qumran fragment of the passage, called 4QLXXLev[a].[32] This fragment, constituting roughly one-third of a column,[33] contains 15 variant readings vis-à-vis Wevers' text. Extrapolation would then suggest 45 (!) variant readings for the whole column.

Wevers considered the Qumran fragment a stylistic and communicative revision of the original, literal Septuagint and accepted no Qumran readings in his edited text. Ulrich, on the other hand, holds that 4QLXXLev[a] penetrates beyond the oldest witnesses and sees Wevers' text as a literalist revision towards MT.[34] The first difference is in Leviticus 26:4, where Wevers' text (LXX[ed]) runs as follows:

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[31] E.g. in the same narrative section, 37:32, שְׁאֵרִית וּפְלֵיטָה → οἱ καταλελειμμένοι καὶ οἱ σῳζόμενοι.

[32] J.W. Wevers (ed.), *Leviticus* (Septuaginta, Vetus Testamentum Graece Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum, vol. III), Göttingen 1986. 4QLXXLev[a] has been published by E. Ulrich in *Discoveries in the Judean Desert*, Volume IX, Oxford 1992.

[33] Ulrich's edition counts 421 (partly) readable letters, while the whole column (= fragment, supplied by Wevers' text) counts 1287 letters.

[34] Ulrich, The Septuagint Manuscripts from Qumran, 183, followed by Tov, The Greek Biblical Texts.

> ... δώσω τὸν ὑετὸν ὑμῖν ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ γῆ δώσει τὰ γενήματα αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ ξύλα τῶν πεδίων ἀποδώσει τὸν καρπὸν αὐτῶν
> … I will give the rain to you in its season and the land will give its produce and the trees of the fields will yield their fruit.

The text of 4QLXXLev[a] reads:

> [... δώσω τὸν ὑετὸν τ]ῇι γῇι ὑμῶν ἐν καιρῶι αὐ[τοῦ καὶ ἡ γῆ δώσει]
> [τὰ γενήματα αὐτῆς κ]αὶ τὸ ξύλινον καρ[πόν]
> … I will give the rain to t]he land in its season [and the land will give its produce a]nd the arboreal fru[it.

The Masoretic text reads:

> וְנָתַתִּי גִּשְׁמֵיכֶם בְּעִתָּם וְנָתְנָה הָאָרֶץ יְבוּלָהּ וְעֵץ הַשָּׂדֶה יִתֵּן פִּרְיוֹ׃
> …I will give your rains in their season, and the land will give its produce, and the tree of the field will give its fruit.

The first transformation we find in LXX[ed] is a change of word class, גשמיכם 'your rains' → τὸν ὑετὸν ὑμῖν 'rain to you' (I ignore the change of accidence). The problem behind it is that Hebrew can express the indirect object by means of a possessive suffix,[35] where Greek prefers a dative.[36] Now if we take 4QLXXLev[a] as a revision of LXX[ed], we should ask: what disturbing element had to be smoothed out? The only irregular feature is the place of ὑμῖν 'to you' *behind* the object. Many manuscripts correct this by placing it *before* the object. This is a correction according to the minimax strategy. What we find in 4QLXXLev[a] goes beyond that, in other words, it is not easy to account for as a revision.

The transformation in 4QLXXLev[a] is either an addition, viz. of τῇ γῇ 'the earth', or an anaphoric translation after Deuteronomy 11:14; 28:12, 24.[37] The translator who did this saw two problems: the indirect object expressed by a suffix, noted above, and one of logic. The Lord gives rain to *the people* ('you'), and *the land* gives its produce. Saying that the Lord gives rain to the land and the land yields its produce is smoother and does not mention an unnecessary link. A modern version like GN omits the indirect object for reasons of logic. If LXX[ed] is a revision of 4QLXXLev[a], the problem that prompted it was the formal difference with MT and the desire to conform the translation more closely to it.

In the same verse there is another difference between LXX[ed] and 4QLXXLev[a]. Whereas the former translates literally, the latter speaks about τὸ ξύλινον καρ[πόν 'the arboreal fruit'.[38] According to LSJ this expression denotes fruit, wine and oil as opposed to καρπὸς ξηρός 'dry fruit' (cereals). It entails a change of word class, עץ 'tree, wood' → ξύλινον 'arboreal, wooden', and implies a change of syntactic structure in the lost part of the verse (left empty by Ulrich). Again this transformation smoothes out the logical chain and pursues the road taken by the first transformation. God gives rain to the *earth*, so it is the earth – not the trees – that yields fruit. This is quite a rational type of logic, which betrays a concern to

[35] Joüon-Muraoka § 129h, where our text is quoted.
[36] Cf. the renderings in Exodus 2:9; Deuteronomy 11:14; 28:12, 24; Psalm 20 (LXX 19):3 etc.
[37] In theory it is possible to assume a different *Vorlage*, viz. מטר ארצכם, as Ulrich, The Septuagint Manuscripts from Qumran, 168 mentions in passing, but it is graphically difficult and must be supported by other harmonizing tendencies.
[38] An alternative *Vorlage* with מפרי העץ is not probable, implying a complete reworking of the verse.

present a digestible text to the target audience.[39] The rendering is unusual and may be ancient, pointing to a stage preceding revisional stereotyping,[40] although the opposite possibility cannot be ruled out.

In the next verse, 26:5, this is different. The verse describes the abundant harvests Israel will receive when it serves the Lord. LXX^{ed} offers a literal translation once more:

> Καὶ καταλήμψεται ὑμῖν ὁ ἀλοητὸς τὸν τρύγητον καὶ ὁ τρύγητος καταλήμψεται τὸν σπόρον καὶ φάγεσθε τὸν ἄρτον ὑμῶν εἰς πλησμονήν.
> And your threshing shall overtake the vintage, and your vintage shall overtake your sowing; and ye shall eat your bread to the full.

> 4QLXXLev^{a}
> [καταλήμψεται ὑμῖν] ὁ ἄμητος[τὸν τρύγητον καὶ ὁ τρύγητος]
> [καταλήμψεται τὸν σ]πόρον κα[ὶ φά]γεσθ[ε τὸν ἄρτον ὑμῶν εἰς]
> [πλησμονὴν καὶ κ]ατοικήσ[ετε μετὰ ἀσφαλείας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὑμῶν.]
> And your harvest shall overtake the vintage, and your vintage shall overtake your sowing; and ye shall eat your bread to the full.

> MT
> וְהִשִּׂיג לָכֶם דַּיִשׁ אֶת־בָּצִיר וּבָצִיר יַשִּׂיג אֶת־זָרַע וַאֲכַלְתֶּם לַחְמְכֶם לָשֹׂבַע וִישַׁבְתֶּם לָבֶטַח בְּאַרְצְכֶם׃
> Threshing will last till vintage, and vintage till sowing; you will eat bread to the full and live secure in your land.

With respect to the transformation attested in 4QLXXLev^{a}, Vaticanus and Alexandrinus, דיש 'threshing' → ἄμητος 'harvest (time)', there is a distinct semantical relationship (generalization), which in principle points to a translator rather than a copyist.[41] It was prompted by the difference in semantic level: the Hebrew text alternates semantically low-level and high-level lexemes. It would be more consistent (or rigorous) to speak of either 'threshing and wine-pressing' or of 'grain harvest and fruit harvest', their respective hyperonyms. That the translator smoothes this out points to a strong concern for ease of understanding.

Is LXX^{ed} here a revision of 4QLXXLev^{a} or *vice versa*? If LXX^{ed} is original with its literal translation, Ulrich notes, the variant ἄμητός 'harvest (time)' is difficult to explain except as a revision toward an undocumented Hebrew variant.[42] But there is another difficulty with this position. The variants found in 4QLXXLev^{a}, we saw, have parallels in modern common language translations of MT in their concern for easy digestibility. It is easy to imagine how such a translator may have worked on the basis of MT. He worked from a language incomprehensible to his readership anyhow, so he made the target text as readable as possible. On the other hand, if the copyist of 4QLXXLev^{a} was reworking LXX^{ed} or a similar text, he must have found in practice that LXX^{ed} was not comprehensible enough. This is no credible assumption, in my view, for in the cases just discussed LXX^{ed} presents a perfectly understandable text. Judging from LXX^{ed} one could even say that the quest for readability by the copyist of 4QLXXLev^{a} is exaggerated. It must have entailed a large

[39] Alternative attempts at a more logical chain in this verse can be found in the Dutch *Groot Nieuws Bijbel* (1983) and CEV.

[40] Tov, The Greek Bibilical Texts, 109.

[41] It is found in modern versions that certainly do not offer retroverted Qumran fragments. Cf. the solution in TEV, 'Your crops will be so plentiful that you will still be harvesting grain when it is time to pick grapes, and you will still be picking grapes when it is time to plant grain.'

[42] Ulrich, The Septuagint Manuscripts from Qumran, 170. For both graphical and stylistic (repetitiousness with בציר) reasons I deem a reading קציר 'harvest' very unlikely.

investment of papyrus, ink, time and energy to achieve a small improvement in readability. This imaginary copyist/revisor would then figure as the strongest counter-example to the minimax strategy we discovered yet. The opposite procedure, a revision towards MT, is explainable by religious motives: a stricter alignment to the authoritative Masoretic Text.[43]
In vs 6 4QLXXLev[a] and other manuscripts keep the clause order of MT, but LXX[ed] surprisingly contains a major change: the underlined clause has been transposed from the end of vs 6 to the beginning. Ulrich states at the outset that 'the best way to explain the variant positions in [LXX manuscripts] is to see the problem at the Hebrew stage.'[44] A rash claim, if we realize that *five* different possibilities are represented in the *Greek* manuscript tradition, as appears from Wevers' apparatus:

4QLXXLev[a] + a number of mss (≈ MT)
[καὶ δώσω ϵ]ἰρήνην ἐν τ[ῇ γῇ ὑμῶν]καὶ [κοιμηθήσεσθϵ καὶ]
[οὐκ ἔσται ὁ]ἐκφοβῶν ὑμᾶς κ[αὶ ἀ]πολῶ[θηρία πονηρὰ ἐκ τῆς]
[γῆς ὑμῶν κ]αὶ πόλεμος οὐ δι[ελε]ύσετ[αι διὰ τῆς γῆς ὑμῶν]
and I will give peace in your land, and you will lie down, and no one will make you afraid; and I will destroy the evil beasts out of your land and war will not pass through your land.

LXX[ed]
καὶ πόλεμος οὐ διελεύσεται διὰ τῆς γῆς ὑμῶν καὶ δώσω εἰρήνην ἐν τῇ γῇ ὑμῶν καὶ κοιμηθήσεσθε καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὑμᾶς ὁ ἐκφοβῶν καὶ ἀπολῶ θηρία πονηρὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὑμῶν

d[-44] 54-75´ *t* Aeth
[-] καὶ δώσω εἰρήνην ἐν τῇ γῇ ὑμῶν καὶ κοιμηθήσεσθε καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὑμᾶς ὁ ἐκφοβῶν καὶ ἀπολῶ θηρία πονηρὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὑμῶν [-]

56[mg]
καὶ δώσω εἰρήνην ἐν τῇ γῇ ὑμῶν καὶ πόλεμος οὐ διελεύσεται διὰ τῆς γῆς ὑμῶν καὶ κοιμηθήσεσθε καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὑμᾶς ὁ ἐκφοβῶν καὶ ἀπολῶ θηρία πονηρὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὑμῶν

A B[mg] F M' and many minusc. mss.
καὶ πόλεμος οὐ διελεύσεται διὰ τῆς γῆς ὑμῶν καὶ δώσω εἰρήνην ἐν τῇ γῇ ὑμῶν καὶ κοιμηθήσεσθε καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὑμᾶς ὁ ἐκφοβῶν καὶ ἀπολῶ θηρία πονηρὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὑμῶν καὶ πόλεμος οὐ διελεύσεται διὰ τῆς γῆς ὑμῶν

The latter conflated reading is the result of revision and need not detain us here. Some manuscripts and the Ethiopian translation of LXX lack the clause altogether, probably due to parablepsis (homoioteleuton τῆς γῆς ὑμῶν ∩ τῆς γῆς ὑμῶν).
What caused the transposition of LXX[ed], to my mind, is the rendering of חרב 'sword', which occurs successively in vss 6, 7, 8. The translator did not accept the personification of the sword which is depicted as 'passing through your land'. He rendered the sense for the image and translated חרב 'sword' as πόλεμος 'war'. This is the transformation in 4QLXXLev[a], which makes an understandable rendering at clause level. But, once you have decided to use πόλεμος 'war' it becomes attractive to couple it to its antonym εἰρήνη 'peace', either before (LXX[ed]) or after it (56[mg]). This suggests that LXX[ed] is an inner-Greek

[43] Cf. also Tov, The Greek Biblical Texts, 106.
[44] Ulrich, The Septuagint Manuscripts from Qumran, 170 and, more cautiously, Tov, The Greek Biblical Texts, 109f.

improvement of coherence and makes. That πόλεμος triggered the displacement speaks against a different parent text.
Jumping over the two minor variants in vss 6, 8, we find another difference in vs 9:

LXX[ed]
καὶ ἐπιβλέψω ἐφ' ὑμᾶς καὶ αὐξανῶ ὑμᾶς καὶ πληθυνῶ ὑμᾶς καὶ στήσω τὴν διαθήκην μου μεθ' ὑμῶν
And I will turn to you and I will increase you and multiply you and I will erect my covenant with you.

4QLXXLev[a]
[ ]ι καὶ ἐπιβλέψω ἐφ' ὑμᾶς [καὶ αὐξανῶ ὑμᾶς καὶ πληθυνῶ ὑμᾶς]
[καὶ ἐσται μο]υ ἡ διαθήκη ἐν ὑμῖν [ ]
And I will turn to you and [I will increase you and multiply you and there will be] my covenant among you.

MT
וּפָנִיתִי אֲלֵיכֶם וְהִפְרֵיתִי אֶתְכֶם וְהִרְבֵּיתִי אֶתְכֶם וַהֲקִימֹתִי אֶת־בְּרִיתִי אִתְּכֶם׃
And I will turn to you and I will increase you and multiply you and I will erect [= keep] my covenant with you.

While LXX[ed] translates literally, 4QLXXLev[a] contains a change of word order (possessive – noun) and a change of syntactic structure: the covenant has now become subject instead of object, while the Lord as an agent has been made implicit. Before resorting to conjectural reconstructions of a different *Vorlage*, we must ask: what is the problem? The most frequent literal rendering of הקים is ἵστημι 'to erect'. But here that would wrongly suggest that there had not been a covenant before (translational problem). The required meaning is of course 'I will *keep* my covenant with you' and this is what we find in modern versions. Similar renderings also occur in the Septuagint occasionally.[45] The difference comes down to a contextual versus a stereotyped rendering. Since a translational problem can be identified, it is not likely that 4QLXXLev[a] is based on a Hebrew variant, as Ulrich claims.[46]
We cannot exhaust the question concerning the relationship between 4QLXXLev[a], LXX[ed] and the Hebrew witnesses here. Nevertheless, I hope the above examples have shown that

[45] Numbers 23:19, Deuteronomy 27:26, Jeremiah 44 (MT 51):25 (ἐμμένω [ἐν]); 1 Kingdoms (MT 1 Samuel) 15:11 (τηρέω). Therefore the missing text did not necessarily read [καὶ ἔσται μο]υ ἡ διαθήκη ἐν ὑμῖν but possibly [καὶ ἐμμενεῖ μο]υ ἡ διαθήκη ἐν ὑμῖν.
[46] Ulrich, Septuagint Manuscripts from Qumran, 171. Tov, The Greek Biblical Texts, 107 does not follow Ulrich, for different reasons.

the problem-oriented study of transformations can advance text-critical argumentation in several directions.

Definitions and concepts

Words occurring for the first time in the text are marked by an (º).

Accidence The 'accidental form' of a word is opposed to its 'fundamental form' as appearing in dictionaries.[1]

Agent See 'Thematic roles'.

Antonymy (simple, gradable) See 'Structural semantics'.

Aquila A Jewish translator of the Hebrew Bible (2nd century AD), known for his extremely source-language oriented approach.

Ben Sira A deutero-canonical Biblical book (=Jesus Sirach, Ecclesiastes), of which Greek and Hebrew texts have survived.

Co-hyponymy See 'Structural semantics'.

Componential analysis is an analytical approach to lexical meaning that 'describes word meanings as a combination of elementary meaning components called "semantic features".'[2] The approach is especially useful for the analysis of the meaning of semantically related words. Its results can be schematically presented, which gives easy insight into the correspondences and the differences between the terms in question.

'man'	HUMAN	MALE	ADULT
'woman'	HUMAN	FEMALE	ADULT
'boy'	HUMAN	MALE	NOT ADULT
'girl'	HUMAN	FEMALE	NOT ADULT

In this table, the items in small capitals constitute the 'atomic concepts' which make up the meaning of the lexemes, the 'molecular concept' in Lyons' terms.[3]
In its present form componential analysis came up after 1950, but the idea of universal, semantically primitive meanings has ancient roots in philosophical tradition (Leibniz). After decades of popularity, recent scholars have become increasingly critical of the theory, if they do not dismiss it altogether. Criticism has concentrated on the following points:[4]

- The idea of universal atomic concepts is debatable. Besides, there is no reason why a language should not make use of non-universal sense-components.
- It is very difficult to define the atomic concepts. The analysis of 'father' in PARENT + MALE raises the question whether PARENT really is a universal semantic concept. Intuitively, we recognize 'father' as a semantically more 'primitive' term.
- How the atomic concepts work together to produce the meaning of a lexeme is a complex question. It does not suffice to list components in tables. The components of,

[1] Vinay & Darbelnet, *Stylistique comparée*, 115.
[2] Asher, *Encyclopaedia of Language and Linguistics* 2, 648.
[3] Lyons, *Semantics*, 317.
[4] See the discussion in Lyons, *Semantics*, 317-335.

for example, the verb 'to kill' must be structured in a very specific way in order to produce the meaning of the lexeme: (CAUSE(BECOME(NOT(ALIVE)))).[5]

- Componential analysis cannot be applied to the entire lexicon of a language. It has proven its practical value in the analysis of limited classes of lexemes such as kinship terms, furniture, verbs of motion etc.

Nevertheless, componential analysis has been influential in the field of translation theory. Different languages do not combine the same sense-components in their lexemes in the same way. Hence, when the translator seeks to translate *meaning,* word for word translation is often impossible. This insight was already common knowledge in antiquity, but componential analysis brought it home with attractive clarity. To benefit from its advantages, we need not subscribe to the theory in its entirety.

Connotation It is common to distinguish between 'objective' and 'subjective' components of meaning. These used to be known as denotation and connotation. Recent authors distinguish between descriptive (denotation), expressive and social or appellative meaning, parallel to Bühler's functional model of language (*Information, Ausdruck, Appell*). For our purpose we content ourselves with Lyons' distinction between descriptive and expressive (or socio-expressive) meaning.[6] Dimensions of socio-expressive meaning are e.g. → register, sociolect, dialect, medium (written vs. spoken), frequency, emotional evaluation.

Content words Verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs, as opposed to conjunctions, particles, prepositions.

Converses See 'Structural semantics'.

Denotation, as defined by Lyons, is the relationship between a word and a class of entities in the world. The denotatum of the word 'organ' is that class of musical instruments that are correctly called 'organ'.[7] Compare 'sense' and 'reference'.

Deviation A TL rendering of a source text element which is not its literal or expected counterpart.

Equivalent A problematic and hotly debated term, mostly avoided in the present study.

Homoioteleuton / homoioarkton See 'Parablepsis'.

Hyponymy / Hyperonymy See 'Structural semantics'.

Lexical meaning of a word is its context-independent sense, which a speaker acquires by means of its use in previous contexts. Strictly speaking, the context-independent sense is a theoretical construct and therefore difficult to pin down, because words always occur in contexts. But for speakers of many languages words seem to have a psychological reality ('words have meanings'). The context then plays a role in adding or selecting the right information. So, for example, when the English 'house' is translated with German 'Haus', I

[5] Lyons, *Semantics*, 321.
[6] Lyons, *Linguistic Semantics*, 64.
[7] See Lyons, *Semantics*, 206-215; Saeed, *Semantics* 23-24.

would call this a rendering of its lexical meaning (a literal translation), whereas 'Dynastie' or 'Firma' are contextual renderings (non-literal translations).[8]

Minimax strategy 'The translator resolves for that one of the possible solutions which promises a maximum of effect with a minimum of effort.'[9]

Obligatory *versus* non-obligatory When transformations are due to the differences in two language systems, they are called obligatory. Transformations that are due to the translator's own style and preferences are called optional or non-obligatory.[10] Usually the difference is easy to discern, but in some cases a decision remains doubtful.

Peshitta Syriac Bible translation, dating from the 2nd century AD at its earliest.

Parablepsis Scribal oversight resulting in the omission of a part of the text and caused by the repetition of one or more words in the same context in an identical or similar way. When the identical elements occur at the beginning of the omitted section, it is called *homoioarcton*, and when the identical elements occur at the end of the omitted section, it is called *homoioteleuton* (or *homoeo~*).[11]

Pseudo-variant A Hebrew reading which seems a logical retroversion from a deviating LXX, but never existed in a manuscript, only in the translator's mind.[12]

Reference, as defined by Lyons, is the relationship between a word and a specific entity in the world. When I say 'I demonstrated the organ to my colleagues', then 'the organ' refers to the Schnitger-organ of the Aa-kerk in Groningen.[13] Cf. 'denotation', 'sense'.

Register is the level of language, in which utterances can be clothed. Compare the descending register in the following examples: 'would you be so kind as to refrain from unnecessary communication' with 'Please be silent' or 'shut up!' There are many different attempts to categorize human language in registers, e.g. frozen - formal - neutral - informal - colloquial. The concept of register is known under different names.[14]

Relativist view of language The 'relativists' hold that a any particular language is inextricably linked to a way of thinking. A language thus expresses a world view. This belief became especially popular in German Romanticism and its most famous representatives are Sapir & Whorf. Carried to its extreme, this theory considers translation impossible.[15]

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[8] Cf. P. Cotterell & M. Turner, *Linguistics and Biblical Interpretation*, London 1989, 124. See also B. Kedar, *Biblische Semantik*, 61-62, 70-71, 118.
[9] Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies*, 62.
[10] See Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies*, 59. More on this or similar distinctions in Koster, *From World to World*, Chapter 5.
[11] Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 238-240.
[12] Tov, *Text-Critical Use*, 167ff.
[13] Lyons, *Semantics*, 177-196; Saeed, *Semantics,* 23vv.
[14] Saeed, *Semantics* 65. Hatim & Mason*, Discourse and the Translator* 46ff., speak of 'tenor of discourse'.
[15] See Stolze, *Übersetzungstheorien*, Kap. 2 'Relativistisch orientierte Theorien.'

Semantic field See 'Structural semantics'.

Sense Like 'reference' and 'denotation', 'sense' is an important term in the description of meaning. Many scholars (e.g. Lyons) use 'sense' for what is commonly called 'meaning'. Sense is distinct from reference, as is seen in the classical example 'The Morning Star is the Evening Star'. Both terms have the same reference (i.e. the planet Venus), but differ in sense. Reference relates an expression to the real world, sense relates it to mental representations.[16]

Shifts See 'Transformations'.

Structural Semantics The theory of structural semantics is an approach in the description of meaning. It departs from two presuppositions:
1. 'The semantic value of lexemes cannot be described in isolation, but can only be properly demarcated by contrasting the item with (semantically) related items.'
2. 'The vocabulary of a language is not an unordered list of elements, but should be conceived as a structural network'.[17] Hence this theory tries to distinguish between various meaning relations between lexemes. A set of semantically related lexemes is called a semantic field.[18] All semantic fields together make up the lexicon or vocabulary. Between lexemes there exist two types of relations, roughly speaking.
A. *Hierarchical relations*. Some lexemes are more specific than others, e.g. 'cow' is more specific than 'animal', which is a more generic term. Thus ''cow' is a hyponym of 'animal', 'rose' is a hyponym of 'flower', and so on; and further, that 'rose', 'tulip', 'daffodil' etc., since each is a hyponym of 'flower', are co-hyponyms (of the same lexeme).'[19]
In general, a hyponymical relation can be detected by the formula '*x* is a kind (sort/type) of *y*'.[20] To give a few examples: 'drizzle' is a kind of rain, 'villa' is a type of house.
The counterpart of hyponymy is 'hyperonymy' (or 'hypernymy'). If 'cow' is a hyponym of 'animal', it follows that 'animal' is a hyperonym of 'cow'.[21]
To be distinguished from hyponymy is meronymy[22] (a part-whole relation), also called pars pro toto. As an arm is a part of the body, the lexeme 'arm' is a meronym of 'body'.
B. *Contrastive relations*. There are various forms of semantic opposition. Lexemes of the first category are called simple antonyms,[23] i.e. words that are ungradable or binary opposites. Examples are dead/alive, hit/miss, male/female. The second group, gradable antonyms, consists of pairs 'where the positive of one term does not necessarily imply the negative of the other, e.g. *rich/poor, fast/slow, young/old, beautiful/ugly*.'[24] Words of the third category are converses,[25] i.e. words that describe the same relation from opposite viewpoints, e.g. buy/sell, husband/wife, employer/employee, above/below.

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[16] Lyons, *Semantics,* 197-206; Saeed, *Semantics,* 30vv.
[17] Asher, *Encyclopaedia of Language and Linguistics* 8, 4358-9.
[18] Lyons, *Semantics*, 250-269.
[19] Lyons, *Semantics*, 291.
[20] Lyons, *Semantics*, 292.
[21] Asher, *Encyclopaedia of Language and Linguistics* 3, 1624-1625 s.v. 'Hyponymy and Hyperonymy'.
[22] Saeed, *Semantics*, 70.
[23] Saeed, *Semantics*, 66; 'complementary' in Lyons' terminology. Lyons, *Semantics*, 279-280.
[24] Saeed, *Semantics*, 67; 'antonymy' in Lyons' terminology.
[25] Saeed, *Semantics*, 67.

The fourth category, limited to verbs of movement, is reverses[26] or 'directional opposition' as Lyons calls it. Examples are arrive/depart, push/pull, ascend/descend.
Not all semantic relations can be interpreted in terms of hierarchy or contrast. The challenge of describing multiple meaning relations in a systematic way has been taken up by componential analysis.

Style A popular common-sense definition sounds like 'style is a way of saying something'. Although everyone roughly understands what style is, the definition of style is a hotly debated issue in the scholarly world. An influential textbook expressly refrains from giving a definition, because there are already too many.[27]
Three approaches to style are generally distinguished.[28] The first one is the dualistic approach: style is the mantle, in which the content is clothed, which implies a radical distinction between form and content. The second approach is monistic and claims that style and content are inseparable; every linguistic utterance is stylistically meaningful. The third approach is called variational or pluralistic: style is every feature in a text that is characteristic of it and marks it off from other texts. All three approaches add something to our comprehension of style, which makes it difficult to select a 'correct' one. One of the major problems in stylometry, once style is viewed as variation, is the question which text(s) should be taken as a norm from which stylistic choices can be said to deviate. For the purpose of the present study we follow Hatim & Mason's division in user-related and use-related variation.[29] The dimensions of *user-related* variation are geographical (dialect, accents), temporal (archaic vs. modern), social (upper-class speech, cyber-talk). The *use-related* variations are, in their terminology, field of discourse (better known as pragmatic function, the purpose of a text), tenor of discourse (better known as 'register', the language resulting from the speaker's attitude towards his addressee) and mode of discourse (oral, written etc.). We can add the individual stylistic features, which include figures of style.

Symmachus A Jewish (-Christian?) translator of the Pentateuch (2nd century AD), who combined careful semantic rendering with smoothness of diction.

Thematic roles In the study of sentence semantics much attention has been paid to a speaker's description of a situation. Saeed gives the following example:

> Gina raised the car with a jack.

and comments: 'This sentence identifies three entities, *Gina, the car* and *a jack*, related by the action described by the verb *raise*. The sentence portrays these entities in specific roles: Gina is the entity responsible for initiating and carrying out the action, the car is acted upon and has its position changed by the action, and the jack is the means by which Gina is able to cause the action.'[30]

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[26] Saeed, *Semantics*, 67.
[27] G.N. Leech & M.H. Short, *Style in Fiction. A Linguistic Introduction to English Fictional Prose* (English Language Series 13), London 1986[5], 38.
[28] Leech & Short, *Style in Fiction*, 24ff. See also J. van Luxemburg e.a., *Inleiding in de literatuurwetenschap*, Muiderberg 1985[4], 150ff.
[29] B. Hatim & I. Mason, *Discourse and the Translator* (Language in Social Life Series 2), London / New York 1990, Ch. 3.
[30] Saeed, *Semantics*, 139.

Such roles are called 'thematic (/semantic) roles' or 'deep cases'. Scholars are divided about the number of semantic roles that should be distinguished as well as about their names. Most authors seem to agree upon the following basic roles: 'agent', 'patient', 'locus', 'time', 'instrument'.[31] The list can be modified, as in Saeed: 'agent', 'patient', 'theme', 'experiencer', 'beneficiary', 'instrument', 'location', 'goal' and 'source'.[32]
The determination of a semantic role depends on its definition. If we define an agent as a deliberate initiator of an action, we must call the poison an instrument in the following example:

The poison killed Albert.

In this example, neither the agent (e.g. a murderer) nor the time or the locus are mentioned. This concept of thematic roles can be used to distinguish between the level of semantics and the level of syntax *and* to mediate between these levels.[33] Although the concept of thematic roles is linked to a theoretical framework, it is compatible with other approaches.
The distinction between semantics and syntax is important in translation. An example will illustrate this:

In 1917 Jerusalem was taken by Allenby.

The grammatical subject, governing the predicate, is 'Jerusalem' but this does not imply that Jerusalem initiated the action described by the verb. Jerusalem is the patient and Allenby is the agent. Subject and agent will often coincide, but not always. The syntactic relation is not necessarily parallel to the semantic relation. Now speakers are at liberty to describe situations as they want. They may delete elements, as in:

Jerusalem was taken.

Depending on the possibilities of the language, thematic roles can theoretically take on any grammatical form.

Last year has seen an intensification of the peace talks.

In this English example, time is expressed by the subject, which is very unusual in Dutch. Thematic relations therefore have to take on a different grammatical form in a Dutch translation. Especially the category of voice (active, middle, passive) is a tool that enables speakers to vary in their syntactical representation of thematic roles. For example:

He was awarded a prize. (subject expresses 'recipient')

It goes without saying that languages differ in their voice system, so translators are liable to introduce changes of voice, in order to reach a natural way of expressing in the TL.[34]

Theodotion A Jewish translator of the Scriptures of debated existence, who supposedly lived in the late 2nd century and whose translations are quite literal.

Translation techniques are called 'transformations' in this study. Some scholars employ the term in the sense of 'translation method'.[35]

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[31] Asher, *Encyclopaedia of Language and Linguistics* 2, 460.
[32] Saeed, *Semantics*, 140-141.
[33] See the discussion and literature in Saeed, *Semantics*, Chapters 6 and 9.
[34] Chapter 11 in Newmark, *Textbook*, is devoted to the application of case grammar to translation.
[35] I. Soisalon-Soininen, Zurück zur Hebraismenfrage, in: D. Fraenkel et al. (ed.), *Studien zur Septuaginta*, 35.

Translation method ('Übersetzungsweise')
A translation method is an overall approach that has consciously or unconsciously been followed in the translation of a particular text. A translation method is the outcome of certain principles and expresses itself in the way transformations have been applied. A method need not be a consistent and systematic approach.[36]

Transformations or shifts are changes (linguistic or other) with respect to an invariant core that occur in translation from source text to target text.

Universalist view of language This view holds that languages differ, but that thinking and feeling are universal, which guarantees the possibility of translation.[37]

[36] Cf. inter alia J. Fraser, What Do Real Translators Do?, in: Tirkkonen-Condit & Jääskeläinen (ed.), *Tapping and Mapping*, 111f.
[37] Stolze, *Übersetzungstheorien*, Kap. 3 'Zeichentheorien und universalistische Übersetzungstheorie.'

Nederlandse samenvatting

De Septuaginta (LXX) is een verzameling vertalingen van bijbelboeken die door Grieks sprekende joden uit het Hebreeuws zijn vertaald. Rond 250 v. Chr. voltooide men de vertaling van de Tora te Alexandrië, en in de drie eeuwen erna volgden de overige boeken van het Oude Testament. De vertalingen variëren van zeer letterlijk tot vrij.
Ik ben in de Septuaginta geïnteresseerd geraakt door mijn werk aan de Nieuwe Bijbelvertaling. In commentaren en in wetenschappelijke tekstuitgaven zag ik vaak dat er voorstellen werden gedaan tot wijziging van de Masoretische tekst (de Hebreeuwse 'standaardeditie' [=MT]) met een beroep op de Septuaginta. Het was mijn collega's en mij vaak duidelijk dat het niet altijd betekende dat de Septuaginta-vertalers afwijkende Hebreeuwse tekst voor zich hadden, maar dat zij een vertaaltransformatie toegepast hadden.
De term vertaaltransformatie is afkomstig uit de vertaalwetenschap. Omdat de Septuaginta een vertaling van de bijbel is, zou je verwachten dat theologen en vertaalwetenschappers de handen ineen zouden slaan om haar beter te kunnen bestuderen. Het omgekeerde is echter het geval. Het onderzoek van de Septuaginta is grotendeels het domein van theologen, die de afgelopen decennia geen kennis hebben genomen van vertaalwetenschap. Hiervoor zijn ze gedeeltelijk verontschuldigd door het soms ontoegankelijk jargon. Uiteraard is er door hen wel het nodige onderzoek verricht. Er is door de zgn. Helsinki-school studie gemaakt van syntactische verschijnselen in het Hebreeuws en hun weergave in het Grieks. Ook 'vertaaltechnieken' hebben aandacht gekregen. Meer energie is echter gestoken in het verschijnsel letterlijkheid, omdat men hiervoor gemakkelijk de computer kan gebruiken en deze insteek perspectief lijkt te bieden voor de tekstkritiek. Immers, bij letterlijke vertalingen is de kans groter dat je een afwijkende lezing kunt terugvertalen naar een afwijkende Hebreeuwse tekst. Niet-letterlijke vertalingen worden vaak betiteld als 'vrije weergaven', zonder dat men categorieën uit de vertaalwetenschap gebruikt.
Vertaalwetenschappers op hun beurt, die doorgaans Grieks noch Hebreeuws kennen, hebben de Septuaginta, de belangrijkste vertaling uit de oudheid, links laten liggen en zich meestal beperkt tot een vermelding van de Aristeas-legende omtrent de 70 vertalers. Er zijn echter tekenen die erop wijzen dat het tij keert en dat er een kruisbestuiving tussen Septuaginta-onderzoek en vertaalwetenschap op komst is. De onderhavige studie wil daaraan een bijdrage leveren.
De vertaalwetenschap (*Translation Studies*) bestaat uit een aantal benaderingen, ieder met haar eigen terminologie. Voor het onderzoek van de Septuaginta is niet elke benadering even relevant.
Het *proces-georiënteerde onderzoek* verricht experimenten (via o.a. de 'hardop-denk-methode') om erachter te komen wat er zich in het brein van de vertaler afspeelt tijdens het vertaalproces. Ook heeft men onderzoek verricht naar de verschillen in werkwijze tussen tolken en vertalers. De resultaten hiervan zijn boeiend. Veel Septuagint-geleerden zijn er jarenlang vanuit gegaan dat de LXX-vertalers de Egyptische handelstolken als hun voorbeeld hebben genomen toen ze aan hun werk begonnen; zo vertoont volgens Rabins theorie de Septuaginta allerlei kenmerken die typerend zijn voor tolken. Echter, volgens het proces-georiënteerde onderzoek zijn deze helemaal niet kenmerkend voor tolken tegenover vertalers, maar voor beginnende tegenover gevorderde vertalers!
De *linguïstische vertaalwetenschap* van de pioniers uit grofweg 1960-1980 biedt mijns inziens veel aanknopingspunten voor het Septuaginta-onderzoek. Zij opereert op woordniveau, wat ten eerste goed past bij de kleine vertaaleenheden die de LXX-vertalers hanteer-

den, en ten tweede de mogelijkheid biedt om allerlei macrotekstuele aspecten (stijl van een tekst, functie, doelgroep), die in de latere vertaalwetenschap ontwikkeld zijn voor de studie van moderne vertalingen, even te laten liggen.
De *vertaalkritische benadering* is niet relevant voor de Septuaginta, omdat het niet onze taak is om te beoordelen, maar te beschrijven. Met beoordelingen leggen we te gemakkelijk onze moderne ideeën op aan vertalers die 2200 jaar geleden vanuit hun eigen vooronderstellingen werkten. Hetzelfde geldt voor de *ideologiekritische benaderingen.*
De *functionalistische vertaaltheorie* heeft veel aandacht voor de maatschappelijke inbedding van vertalingen: wie betaalt?, wat is de doelgroep?, wat is de beoogde functie? enz. Verschillende begrippen uit deze benadering kunnen toegepast worden op de Septuaginta.
De *Descriptive Translation Studies* ('beschrijvende vertaalwetenschap') van m.n. Gideon Toury lijkt op het eerste gezicht veel te bieden. Deze methode is echter ontwikkeld voor de bestudering van hedendaagse vertalingen en leunt op een enorme kennis van de doelcultuur. Maar die kennis hebben we niet in het geval van de Septuaginta. Niettemin levert deze benadering enkele verfijningen voor procedures die door onderzoekers van de Septuagint al toegepast worden. Ook Toury's aandacht voor 'pseudovertalingen' is vernieuwend.
Computertoepassingen, zoals het doorzoeken van grote gegevensbestanden met bronteksten en vertalingen, bieden interessante mogelijkheden voor het Septuaginta-onderzoek, waar Hebreeuwse teksten en Griekse vertalingen evenals de gehele Griekse literatuur uit de oudheid al digitaal beschikbaar zijn. Vooral op het gebied van vraagstellingen (met welke kan men de computerbestanden het beste onderzoeken) kan men van elkaar leren.
Tenslotte behoeft de relevantie van de *historische vertaalwetenschap* geen betoog.
Uit de bovengenoemde benaderingen heb ik voor mijn studie vooral gebruik gemaakt van de historische vertaalwetenschap en de linguïstische of vroege vertaalwetenschap.
Hoe meer teksten er onderzocht zijn, hoe meer materiaal men heeft om zgn. 'vertaalwetmatigheden' (*translation universals*) op te stellen, dat wil zeggen, te voorspellen welke verschijnselen zich hoogstwaarschijnlijk zullen voordoen bij elke willekeurige omzetting van brontekst naar doeltekst. De vraag is natuurlijk of deze vrij recente 'universele vertaalwetten' ook bevestigd worden in het onderzoek van een serie vertalingen uit de oudheid, waarvan deze studie een voorbeeld is.
[Hoofdstuk 2] Uit een verkenning van opvattingen over taal en vertalen in de oudheid blijkt dat onder Grieken, Romeinen, Egyptenaren en joden dezelfde meningsverschillen heersten over het wezen van taal en vertaalbaarheid. De scheidslijnen tussen taalopvattingen gingen dwars door religieuze gemeenschappen heen.
In de Hellenistische tijd (de eeuwen na Alexander de Grote, † 323 v.C.) werd taal door specialisten bestudeerd in verschillende contexten, bijvoorbeeld tekstkritiek, literaire kritiek en retorica. Men bestudeerde etymologie (herkomst van woorden), vormleer en grammatica. Men had besef van woordsoorten, en het is geen toeval dat handhaving van woordsoorten een belangrijk kenmerk van de (letterlijke) tweetalige Vergilius-papyri was. De taalbeheersing en taalbeschrijving in het kader van de welsprekendheid (retorica) waren hoogontwikkeld. Sofisten, redenaars en andere taalspecialisten gingen uitdrukkelijk in op het belang van doelgroep, de drie genres (*historia, poetica, rhetorica*), pragmatische functie (beoogd doel van de tekst), beeldspraak enzovoorts.
Veel opvattingen kwamen rechtstreeks voort uit de praktijk van het vertalen. Geleerden die twee talen beheersten kwamen tot de ontdekking dat woorden uit verschillende talen nooit exacte dezelfde betekenis dekken (bijvoorbeeld Cicero en de kleinzoon van Ben Sira [Jezus Sirach]). Anders dan vaak gedacht, waren er in de oudheid geen eenzijdige verdedigers van óf letterlijk óf vrij vertalen. Nee, Griekse, Romeinse en joodse vertalers waren zich bewust

van de beslissende rol van de beoogde functie van de vertaalde tekst, en stemden hun vertaalmethode daarop af. Dit verklaart de grote verschillen tussen de vertaalde genres, van de zeer vrije targoems tot de zeer letterlijke Vergilius-vertalingen, die zonder problemen naast elkaar konden bestaan.
De Romeinen pasten de inzichten uit retorica toe op vertalen. Vrijwel alle kwesties die in de moderne vertaalpraktijk aan de orde komen werden door Romeinse vertalers besproken.
[Hoofdstuk 3] Vertaaltransformaties zijn inhoudelijke of structurele veranderingen die optreden bij het vertaalproces. Wanneer je bijvoorbeeld in het Nederlands zegt dat iemand na een vechtpartij 'een blauw oog' heeft, vertaal je dat in goed Engels met 'a black eye' [= een zwart oog]. Strikt genomen verandert daarbij de kleur en dat noemen we een transformatie. In de oudere vertaalwetenschap werd een groot aantal transformaties onderscheiden, al naar gelang de betekenisrelatie tussen het brontaalwoord en de doeltaalterm. Een voorbeeld van een lexicale verandering (verandering in woordbetekenis): wanneer 'speer' wordt weergegeven met de algemenere term 'wapen', noemen we dit een generalisatie, wanneer het omgekeerde gebeurt, een specificatie. Voorbeelden van grammaticale transformaties zijn veranderingen in zinsbouw, woordsoort, woordvolgorde enz. Het uitvoerige overzicht toont dat er vanaf de oudheid tot nu dezelfde transformaties werden toegepast en dat het geen verschil maakt welke talen erbij betrokken zijn.
Waar het nu in mijn methode om gaat is niet dat elke vertaalverandering een etiket krijgt opgeplakt (stap 1), maar dat je de *reden* van de transformatie op het spoor komt (stap 2). Een vertaaltransformatie wordt namelijk altijd toegepast omdat een letterlijke vertaling niet werkt in de ogen van een vertaler. Wanneer we dus een verrassende 'vrije' vertaling tegenkomen, moeten we eerst de verworpen letterlijke vertaling bekijken. Vaak zien we dan snel genoeg wat het vertaalprobleem was en waarom de vertaler een transformatie inzette. Wanneer dan blijkt dat eisen van de doeltaal een rol hebben gespeeld, wordt een theologische verklaring ongeloofwaardig. Als we nu een flink stuk tekst gedetailleerd hebben geanalyseerd op de twee vragen 'wat zijn de transformaties' en 'waarom zijn ze toegepast', krijgen we inzicht in de niveaus waarop de vertaler zijn vertaalproblemen onderscheidde. De ene vertaler past transformaties toe als het grammaticaal niet anders kan, de volgende wil een fraaie tekst bieden die vooral begrijpelijk is, de derde wil de tekst aanpassen aan een nieuwe situatie. Genoemde aandachtspunten hoeven elkaar overigens niet uit te sluiten.
Bij de bottom-up analyse van teksten, d.w.z. de analyse van teksten op het laagste niveau, het woordniveau, heb ik steeds eerst de Griekse tekst op zichzelf bestudeerd en vervolgens pas de Hebreeuwse. Ik deel namelijk niet de aanname dat de vertaler wel bedoeld zal hebben 'de betekenis van het Hebreeuws weer te geven.' Daarna volgt de vergelijking tussen LXX en MT, het benoemen van transformaties, het achterhalen van de oorzaak. Pas in en na dit stadium komen theologische en tekstkritische kwesties aan de orde.
De hoofdstukken 4-6 bevatten een uitvoerige en gedetailleerde analyse van Genesis 2, Jesaja 1 en Spreuken 6 volgens de gekozen methode. Deze drie bijbelboeken zijn gekozen omdat uit eerder onderzoek al bekend was dat de Hebreeuwse tekst die de LXX-vertalers gebruikten weinig verschilde van de Masoretische tekst, wat een zinvolle vergelijking tussen de Hebreeuwse en de Griekse tekst mogelijk maakt. Bovendien – dat wisten we ook – is elk van de drie bijbelboeken tot stand gekomen volgens een eigen vertaal-'strategie'. De keuze van de hoofdstukken binnen de bijbelboeken is vrij willekeurig.
[Hoofdstuk 4] De tekst van LXX-Genesis 2 is Grieks dat sterk afwijkt van oorspronkelijk Griekse teksten, doordat de vertaler zeer letterlijk heeft vertaald. Hij heeft in principe elk woord met één woord weergegeven (kwantitative representatie), hij heeft sterk vastgehouden aan woordsoorten van het origineel, aan de woordvolgorde. Over stereotypering (vaak

'concordantie' genoemd) is het moeilijk een uitspraak te doen in zo'n klein tekstgedeelte. De vertaler geeft dus de oppervlaktestructuur van de tekst weer. Hij past weinig transformaties toe. Als hij het doet, is het om mogelijke misverstanden te vermijden, zelden vanwege stijl of communicatie. In één geval (2:9) voegt de vertaler zijn eigen uitleg toe. In enkele gevallen is een afwijkende Hebreeuwse tekst mogelijk. Het doel van de vertaling is waarschijnlijk geweest een vervangende brontekst en basis voor bijbeluitleg te vormen voor joden in Alexandrië. Een onverwacht resultaat van dit onderzoek is de bevinding dat de vertaler zich al doende ontwikkelt. Aanvankelijke hebraïstische weergaven die hem niet bevallen vermijdt hij verderop, waardoor de vertaling in de loop van het boek Genesis steeds natuurlijker wordt.

[Hoofdstuk 5] De tekst van LXX-Jesaja 1 is Grieks waar het Hebreeuws herkenbaar doorheen schijnt. De vertaler heeft zijn brontekst op de voet gevolgd. Dat wil niet zeggen dat er sprake is van een één-op-één-strategie, want hij voegt vaak kleinere en soms grotere elementen toe die de natuurlijkheid, de duidelijkheid en de samenhang ten goede moeten komen. Ook laat de vertaler elementen weg, soms om vergelijkbare redenen, maar ook wel omdat hij die overbodig acht. De vertaler heeft de Hebreeuwse woordvolgorde vrijwel gehandhaafd in het Grieks. Ook houdt hij vast aan de woordsoorten van het origineel. De vertaler lijkt niet te stereotyperen binnen Jesaja 1 omdat hij let op de betekenis van een woord binnen de context. Bovendien voelt hij zich niet gebonden aan de standaardweergaven van bepaalde woorden binnen de LXX-Pentateuch. De vertaler past vrij veel transformaties toe. Hij doet dit vooral omwille van natuurlijkheid, contextuele nuance, duidelijkheid, samenhang, logica, en om misverstanden te vermijden. Er zijn ook enkele transformaties om theologische redenen, met name in passages die emoties of eigenschappen van God beschrijven. In 1:13 introduceert de vertaler de 'Grote Dag', een uitdrukking voor de Grote Verzoendag. Met veel andere aanwijzigen suggereert dit dat hij een religieuze jood is. De vertaling was waarschijnlijk bestemd voor joden die zich aan de wet hielden en zich wilden verdiepen in hun traditie en haar relevantie voor hun eigen tijd.

[Hoofdstuk 6] De tekst van LXX-Spreuken 6 komt heel dicht bij natuurlijk Grieks. Opvallend in de handschriften is dat de tekst niet als proza, maar in versregels is overgeleverd. De regels zijn ritmisch en op verschillende plaatsen is er een herkenbaar jambisch metrum – hoewel niet systematisch, zoals dat zou horen in Griekse dichtkunst. Aangezien jamben kenmerkend waren voor laagdrempelige literatuur, wijst dit erop dat de vertaler zijn tekst aantrekkelijk wilde maken. Ondanks de vrijheden vormt letterlijk vertalen nog steeds de ruggengraat van de tekst. De vertaler is niet geïnteresseerd in kwantitatieve representatie ('één-op-één'). Dit blijkt het duidelijkst in 6:8A-C, waar hij na 'ga tot de mier, gij luiaard' een passage van 40 woorden over de bij heeft toegevoegd. De vertaler vindt de bij een nog beter voorbeeld dan de mier en hij aarzelt niet om de tekst in dit opzicht te verfraaien. In 6:11A vinden we een toegevoegd vers waarin de boodschap van de passage positief wordt geformuleerd. Verder zijn er talrijke toevoegingen omwille van samenhang en duidelijkheid. De vertaler is niet per se gebonden aan de woordsoorten van het origineel en volgt de woordvolgorde alleen omdat en voorzover het gemakkelijk is. Hij vertaalt niet stereotiep en volgt evenmin de weergaven uit de LXX-Pentateuch. De vertaler past veel transformaties toe. Hij doet dit om de contextuele betekenis en soms de connotaties van woorden weer te kunnen geven, omwille van de duidelijkheid, om mogelijke misverstanden, vooral op ethisch gebied, te vermijden, om de samenhang van de tekst te vergroten en haar boodschap helder voor het voetlicht te brengen, en vooral om deze toegankelijk te maken. De vertaler houdt rekening met cultuurverschillen. Veel wijst erop dat de vertaling in eerste instantie was bedoeld als aantrekkelijke religieuze tekst voor Griekssprekende joden die van hun

wortels vervreemd dreigden te raken, en vervolgens voor andere geïnteresseerde lezers. De vertaling bevat nauwelijks specifiek-joodse elementen. De vertaler was een retorisch geschoolde jood uit Alexandrië met een open oor voor cultuur en literatuur van zijn dagen.
[Conclusies] Uit een statistische vergelijking blijkt dat Genesis 2 de letterlijkste vertaling is, Spreuken 6 de vrijste en dat Jesaja 1 zich tussen het midden en Spreuken bevindt. Brengen we in rekening dat de Genesis-vertaler zich ontwikkeld heeft (zie boven), dan is Genesis als geheel minder letterlijk dan Genesis 2. Dan bevindt zich Jesaja 1 dus halverwege Genesis en Spreuken 6. De ontwikkeling van de Genesis-vertaler betekent bovendien dat de vertaler zich op de praktijk oriënteerde en niet werkte vanuit een reeds vastliggende (ver)taalvisie. Van de Jesaja-vertaler kan ik dit moeilijk vaststellen. De Spreuken-vertaler deelde waarschijnlijk de universalistische taalvisie van Aristoteles, zoals die in Alexandrië opgeld deed.
Ons onderzoek laat zien dat de volgende door eerdere onderzoekers voorgestelde 'vertaalwetmatigheden' in de Septuaginta bevestigd worden:

- Vertalingen zijn over het algemeen langer dan het origineel.
- Vertalingen bevatten meestal in meerdere of mindere mate interferentie (de brontaal schemert soms door de vertaling heen).
- In vertalingen worden tekstuele naden en 'narratieve stemmen' over het algemeen weggewerkt. (Hieronder kunnen we verstaan sporen van redacties, bronnen, lastige overgangen of perspectiefwisselingen).
- Vertalingen zijn meestal explicieter dan het origineel.
- Vertalingen bevatten minder typische doeltaal-elementen dan natuurlijke teksten in de doeltaal.
- Vertalingen bevatten meestal minder herhaling dan het origineel.

Een aantal andere 'wetmatigheden' moet gecorrigeerd worden. Dat vertalingen over het algemeen meer standaard taalgebruik dan het origineel zouden bevatten, klopt niet voor Genesis 2. Zeer letterlijke vertalers volgen de brontekst immers in formeel opzicht op de voet. Men kan beter stellen dat, hoe gangbaarder de vertaalstrategie is binnen de doelcultuur, hoe gangbaarder het taalgebruik waarschijnlijk zal zijn. De stelling dat vertalingen over het algemeen eenvoudiger zijn en minder variatie bevatten dan de brontekst behoeft ook nuancering. Spreuken 6 bevat bijv. veel meer variatie dan de brontekst. De 'wetmatigheid' in kwestie kan beter als volgt geherformuleerd worden: Betekenis-gerichte vertalingen tussen talen waar woordherhaling een vergelijkbare status heeft, hebben over het algemeen een kleinere woordenschat, minder lexicale dichtheid en grijpen sneller naar veel voorkomende uitdrukkingen. Tenslotte, de omstreden 'wetmatigheid' dat latere vertalingen van dezelfde tekst meestal letterlijker zijn dan de eerste blijkt niet te kloppen.
De toepassing van mijn analysemodel levert een filter waarmee taalkundige factoren kunnen worden onderscheiden van stilistische, culturele, theologische en tekstkritische. Het is dus niet zo dat alles eenzijdig met behulp van vertaalfactoren wordt verklaard. Deze studie heeft bijvoorbeeld aannemelijk gemaakt dat de brontekst van de LXX-vertalers op enkele plaatsen afweek van de Masoretische tekst en stelt ook een enkele wijziging van de Göttingen-editie voor. De hier toegepaste methode kan een gezonde correctie bieden op benaderingen die 'afwijkingen' tussen de Septuaginta en MT al te snel als exegetisch-theologisch geïnspireerd verklaren of die meteen een afwijkende Hebreeuwse tekst aannemen. Tevens kan de methode verhelderend werken om de verhouding van twee vertalingen van dezelfde tekst tot elkaar te bepalen.

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Curriculum Vitae

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