LXX Isaiah 24:1-26:6 as interpretation and translation : a methodological discussion

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LXX Isaiah 24:1-26:6 as Interpretation and Translation: A Methodological Discussion

by

W. de Angelo Cunha

LXX Isaiah 24:1-26:6 as Interpretation and Translation: A Methodological Discussion

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To Katie

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PREFACE

It is a great pleasure to thank those who made the completion of this project possible. I would like to mention here prof.dr. T. Muraoka, from whose immense expertise and kind criticisms I took great learning. Above all, I dedicate this book to my wife, Katie, who followed and stayed with me in a distant and strange land to the both of us. My studies could not have been completed without her friendship, support, motivation, and love.

ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations follow, for the most part, P. H. Alexander, ed., et al., *The SBL Handbook of Style for Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies* (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 1999). Otherwise, they were taken from *Theologische Realenzyklopädie Abkürzungsverzeichnis*, 2., überarbeitete und erweiterte Auflage, zusammengestellt von S. M. Schwertner (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1994). In a few cases, the conventions suggested in SBL's *Handbook* were adapted for clarity sake. In others, abbreviations were produced anew. They are all reproduced below for easy of reference.

ArBib	The Aramaic Bible
ATA	Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen
BHK	*Biblia Hebraica,* ed. R. Kittel
BHS	*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*
Bib	*Biblica*
BIOSCS	*Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament. Edited by M. Noth and H. W. Wolff
BTL	Benjamins Translation Library
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CTAT	Barthélemy, D. *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament.* 4 vols.; Orbis biblicus et Orientalis 47. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986.
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
GELS	Muraoka, T. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Louvain: Peeters, 2009).
GKC	*Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar.* Edited by E. Kautzsch. Translated by A. E. Cowley. 2d. ed. Oxford, 1910
HALOT	Koehler, L., W. Baumgartner, and J. J. Stamm, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Translated and edited under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson. 4 vols. Leiden, 1994–1999

HRCS	Hatch, E. and H. A. Redpath. *Concordance to the Septuagint and Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament*. 2 vols. Oxford, 1897. Suppl., 1906. Reprint, 3 vols. in 2, Grand Rapids, 1983
HUB	M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, ed. *The Hebrew University Bible. The Book of Isaiah.* Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1995
IBHS	*An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax.* B. K. Waltke and M. O'Connor. Winona Lake, Indiana, 1990
ICC	International Critical Commentary
JEOL	*Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap (Genootschap) Ex oriente lux*
Joüon-Muraoka	Joüon, P. *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew.* Translated and revised by T. Muraoka. 2 vols. Subsidia biblica 14/1–2. Rome, 1991
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
LEH	Lust, J., E. Eynikel, and K. Hauspie, *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*. 2nd rev. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003.
LSJ	Liddell, H. G., R. Scott, H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon.* 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford, 1996
LXX	Septuagint
LXX.D.	*Septuaginta Deutsch. Das griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung*. Edited by W. Kraus and M. Karrer. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2009.
MM	Moulton, J. H., and G. Milligan. *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament.* London, 1930. Reprint, Peabody, Mass., 1997
MT	Masoretic text
MVEOL	Mededelingen en verhandelingen van her Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux"
NAWG	*Nachrichten (von) der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*
NETS	*A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under*

	That Title. Edited by A. Pietersma and B. G. Wright. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OtSt	*Oudtestamentische Studiën*
RB	*Revue biblique*
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SubBi	*Subsidia biblica*
Text	*Textus*
VT	Vetus Testamentum
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
VWGTh	Veröffentlichungen der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Theologie
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
α'	Aquila
θ'	Theodotion
σ'	Symmachus

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the history of research on LXX Isa and discusses the research questions, methodology, contribution, and scope of the present work. The review of monographs and works dealing specifically with LXX Isa will inform the reader of its main developments since its very inception to the present time. It also offers a good background to the research questions that will occupy the present inquiry.

In its initial stage, research on LXX Isa focused mostly on its *Vorlage* and assumed that a very different Hebrew text from MT once lay behind the Greek. After almost a decade, scholars started to show a more cautious approach to the textual-critical use of LXX Isa, calling attention to the personality of the translator. Since then this phrase has been used extensively has acquired two main emphasis. In its initial stage, the "personality of the translator" referred to translation style, which was seen as rather free. In a later period, the same expression would denote not only translation style but also the translator's theology. What follows below is an attempt to present those developments.

Following the review of the research history, this chapter turns to the research questions and methodology that will be the main topic of this monograph. Justification as to why LXX Isa 24:1-26:6 was chosen as the corpus to illustrate a methodological discussion of LXX Isa will then follow.

THE CONTOURS OF LXX ISA'S RESEARCH HISTORY

LXX Isa and Its Vorlage

The very first monograph on LXX Isa was A. Scholz's *Die alexandrinische Uebersetzung des Buches Jesaias*.[1] In this work, Scholz strongly argued that the translator's *Vorlage* was in fact different from

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[1] A. Scholz, *Die alexandrinische Uebersetzung des Buches Jesaias* (Würzburg, Druck von Leo Woerl, 1880).

the Hebrew text preserved in MT. It was full of errors because of the way it was produced, namely, through dictation. Scholz postulated that, while one person read the Hebrew aloud, another wrote it down. An unclear diction led the recorder to insert Hebrew words with similar sounds onto his copied text. For Scholz, this model of production accounted for what he viewed as several errors in LXX Isa. Conversely, the translator was not responsible for those errors as he worked with great care and could not have possibly made so many mistakes. Consequently, Scholz viewed an unclear diction, due to similarities between certain Hebrew consonants, as the main cause for the errors found in the Greek translation.[2]

To give a few examples from LXX Isa 24:1-26:6, Scholz clamed that ἠσχύνθησαν "they were ashamed" (Isa 24:9) for MT's בשיר "with the song" reflects a Hebrew *Vorlage* that mistakenly read יבשו "they were ashamed." יבשו/בשיר's similar sounds produced the reading יבשו in the translator's *Vorlage*, who then rendered it with ἠσχύνθησαν. Scholz also claimed that certain Hebrew consonants of similar shapes, such as *rêš* and *dālet*, *wāw* and *yôd*, caused some mistakes. For instance, πτωχός "poor" in Isa 25:3 is in place of MT's עז "strong." For Scholz, the translator's *Vorlage* read עני "poor," which was an error that resulted from the similarities of the consonants *zayin* and *nûn*.[3] In no way did Scholz consider that the translator himself may have been responsible for those differences. Instead, they were already in the translator's *Vorlage*, which for him varied from MT.

Scholz's different *Vorlage* hypothesis did not receive wide acceptance and was rejected in the early stages of LXX Isa's research.[4]

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[2] Scholz, *Jesaias*, 15-16.

[3] Scholz, *Jesaias*, 29, 30.

[4] In a few cases, however, a few scholars used the hypothesis of a different *Vorlage* to account for some of LXX Isa's departure from the Hebrew. See e.g., H. W. Sheppard, "ΤΟΥ ΣΙΛΩΑΜ - הַשִּׁלֹחַ Isa. viii 6," *JTS* 16 (1915): 414-416; A. Vaccari, "ΠΟΛΙΣ ΑΣΕΔΕΚ IS. 19, 18," *Bib* 2 (1921), 353-356; P. Katz, "Notes on the Septuagint," *JTS* 47 (1946), 30-33; A. Vaccari, "Parole Rovesciate e Critiche Errate nella Bibbia Ebraica" in *Studi Orientalistici in Onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida* (Pubblicazioni Dell'Istituto Per L'Oriente 54;

Beginning with E. Liebmann, the focus shifted from the text behind the Greek to the translator in front of his *Vorlage*. The following questions became important: first, what was the style of the translation? Second, what was the level of the translator's knowledge of the Hebrew language? And, third, did the translator leave traces of his ideology in his translation?

LXX Isa and the Personality of the Translator: Translation Style

In 1902, Liebmann began a series of articles devoted to a text-critical discussion of MT Isa 24-27 by comparing it with its ancient witnesses. His main contribution was his plea that the "personality of the translator(s)" should be taken into account before using their translation(s) for text critical purposes. By this, he meant that a careful study of each translation's style must precede any proposals for a different Hebrew *Vorlage* behind them.[5]

Focusing mainly on LXX Isa, Liebmann was interested in the following three questions: first, how well did the translator know the Hebrew language? Second, what was the style of his translation? And, third, does the translator betray an influence from his worldview?[6] As for the translator's familiarity with Hebrew, Liebmann concluded that the translator's lexical and grammatical knowledge was good. Although the translator had some difficulties with the tenses of some Hebrew verbs, his familiarity with the Hebrew language was still commendable.[7]

As for the translation style, Liebmann paid attention to questions of "additions" and "omissions," sentence composition, differences in the

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Roma: Istituto Per L'Oriente, 1956), 2:553-566; the critical apparatus of the BHS.

[5] cf. E. Liebmann, "Der Text zu Jesaia 24-27," *ZAW* 22 (1902), 6, 7.

[6] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 26.

[7] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 28, 39. For a detailed discussion, cf. pp. 27-39. In the same year, H. B. Swete (*An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* [Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2003; reprint of 1902 edition], 315-316), expressed a completely different view of the Isa translator, when he stated that "the Psalms and more especially the Book of Isaiah shew obvious signs of incompetence."

number of verbal forms, the conjunction καί, the definite article, pronominal suffixes, and the use of prepositions. He concluded that LXX Isa does not carry any weight for textual criticism concerning sentence composition, the differences in the number of verbal forms, and additions. Contrarily, LXX Isa may have some text-critical value in its use of certain Greek words, certain uses of καί, the definite article, pronominal suffixes and prepositions.[8]

Finally, Liebmann pointed to a few cases where the translator's "dogmatic views" were responsible for some of LXX Isa's divergences from the Hebrew. The translator's usage of διά "on account of" for תחת "under" in Isa 24:5 and ὅτι ἡμάρτοσαν "they sinned" for ויאשמו "they became guilty" in Isa 24:6 all point to the translator's ideology. The more so as, in Liebmann's view, ἀφανίζω "to destroy" could have been used to translate ויאשמו.[9]

The year of 1902 saw another important publication. In his "Bemerkungen zur alexandrinischen Übersetzung des Jesaja (c. 40-66),"[10] Zillessen tried to show that related phraseology in MT Isa 40-66 is the reason behind many of LXX Isa's departures. He argued the translator borrowed phrases from elsewhere in the book for his translation of certain verses. In these cases, LXX Isa would have no bearing in MT's corrections.[11] Zillessen proposed that LXX Isa carried out two types of corrections in light of related phrases in Isa 40-66. The first type was some sort of improvement of the Hebrew and some examples are Isa 40:5 (cp. 52:10); 41:6 (cp. 41:5); 42:1 (cp. 45:4); 46:11 (cp. 48:15); 48:16 (cp. 45:19). The second were cases where the Greek reworked, altered, even replaced the Hebrew due to related phraseology. Some examples of this type are 41:28 (cp. 63:5); 42:4 (cp. 11:2; 51:5); 44:23 (cp. 52:9); 45:8 (cp. 44:23; 49:13). Moreover, Zillessen also identified seven cases outside Isa 40-66 that influenced translations in LXX Isa 40-66. Of these seven, three come from outside the book of Isa (cf. Exo 17:6 [cp. Isa 48:21]; Amos 9:14 [cp. Isa 45:13]; Ps 37:6 [cp. Isa

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[8] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 45.

[9] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 49.

[10] A. Zillessen, "Bemerkungen zur alexandrinischen Übersetzung des Jesaja (c. 40-66)" *ZAW* 22 (1902): 238-263.

[11] cf. Zillessen, "Bemerkungen," 240.

51:5]). The others come from the book of Isa itself (cf. 42:4 [cp. 11:2]; 45:9 [cp. 28:24; 29:16]; 61: 7 [cp. 35:10]).[12]

Zillessen also discussed whether the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the translator or the translator himself was the source of the differences in LXX Isa 40-66. He claimed that in a few cases the Hebrew seemed to be the source that motivated the changes; in most cases, however, the source of the change was found in the translation itself. Still much indebted to viewing LXX Isa's value for textual-criticism, Zillessen conjectured whether a precursor form of the *Vorlage*, supplied, for instance, with interlinear parallel sentences, was behind the translator's changes.[13] Later on, Ziegler would pick up on Zillessen's conjecture of "interlinear parallel sentences" to develop his theory of glosses in the margin of the translator's *Vorlage*.[14]

In 1904, R. R. Ottley also addressed the differences between the MT and LXX. Contrary to Scholz's previous research, Ottley discarded the idea that a different *Vorlage* once lay behind the Greek. Instead, he argued LXX Isa's divergences originated with the translator's faulty knowledge of the Hebrew language.[15] Although he conjectured the translator may have used an illegible manuscript, he saw the translator's imperfect knowledge of the Hebrew as the main cause for LXX Isa's departures.[16] For instance, Ottley claimed that "often we can see the

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[12] cf. Zillessen, "Bemerkungen," 261.

[13] cf. Ibid.

[14] J. Koenig, *L'herméneutique analogique du judaïsme antique d'après les témoins textuels d'Isaïe* (VTSup 33; Leiden: Brill, 1982), 24.

[15] R. R. Ottley, *The Book of Isaiah According to the Septuagint (Codex Alexandrinus)* (London: C. J. Clay and Sons, 1904-1906), 1:49: "in Isaiah I find it hard to see that the LXX gives any proof at all (unless in a few isolated exceptions) of an older or superior Hebrew text; because the translators seem to have been so constantly mistaken in reading their Hebrew, or unable to translate it, as to deprive their witness of all authority."

[16] Ottley, *Isaiah*, 1:50: "The failures of the translator (or translators) in reading his original may have been largely justified by illegibility of MSS., and very likely by abbreviations also; the actual script may have been very difficult. But over and above all this, it seems as if his knowledge of Hebrew was imperfect; and if this was so, he may have thought that he saw before him not

translator losing his clue, and going gradually astray," citing LXX Isa 24:23 is one example. He suggested τακήσεται "it will melt, dissolve" (Isa 24:23a) resulted from the translator's faulty rendering of בושה "it will be ashamed" with πεσεῖται "it will fall" in the parallel clause of Isa 24:23b.[17] Differences explained as mistakes, misreading or guessing abound in Ottley's work.[18]

Four years before Ziegler's monumental work, J. Fischer devoted attention to the *Vorlage* behind LXX Isa. Against F. Wutz, whose work argued the LXX translators worked from a H text that had been transcribed into Greek, Fischer argued that the *Vorlage* behind LXX Isa was a consonantal Hebrew text.[19] Noticing that the characteristic feature of LXX Isa is its shorter text when compared to MT,[20] Fischer discussed the question of how to account for this phenomenon. He then paid great attention to the style of the translation. Basically, he offered four explanations: minuses in the Greek text itself; translator's intentional minuses; translator's contraction of words or phrases; gaps in the translator's *Vorlage*. Although Fischer argued that a gap in the translator's *Vorlage* should not be denied, he strongly emphasized that, in general, the differences between LXX Isa's *Vorlage* and MT were not that significant and that their nature was clear. By this, he meant that a different *Vorlage* is mostly not the reason for LXX Isa's divergence from the Hebrew. Instead, the translator should be taken as responsible for the differences between LXX Isa and MT.[21] To prove his point, Fischer proceeded to a discussion of translation style.

Fischer argued the method of translation was not a word for word rendition but, rather, a free translation. The aim of the translator was to bring the meaning of his text into Greek. Fischer also argued that

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merely something different from reality, but something such as no skilled Hebrew writer would have written."

[17] cf. Ottley, *Isaiah,* 1:50; 2:224.

[18] cf. e.g., Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:222, 225. In vol. 1:51, Ottley characterized the "mistakes and misreadings" in LXX Isa as "so numerous."

[19] J. Fischer, *In welcher Schrift lag das Buch Isaias den LXX vor?* (BZAW 56; Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1930), III.

[20] cf. Fischer, *In welcher Schrift*, 6.

[21] cf. Fischer, *In welcher Schrift*, 8.

in places where his *Vorlage* was easy to translate, the translation was more literal. Contrarily, the translation was freer in places where the *Vorlage* was difficult to render. In those places, the translator struggled to make the meaning of his text clear, making use of the context to clarify it. For example, Fischer pointed to Isa 33:18, where the translator read אֶת־הַמִּגְדָּלִים "the towers" as את המגדלים "the ones being caused to be great" and, in the light of the context, rendered it with τοὺς τρεφομένους "the ones being caused to grow up."[22]

Furthermore, Fischer stressed that a free translation style characterizes LXX Isa.[23] In Isa 10:26, for example, ἐν τόπῳ θλίψεως "in the place of affliction" renders בצור עורב. For him, the translator interpreted the image of "raven" (עורב) as a cipher for unhappiness. A free translation style included also free exegesis as in the rendition of שרשך "your root" with τὸ σπέρμα σου "your seed" (Isa 14:30). The elimination of anthropomorphism was another aspect of LXX Isa's free translation style. Fischer explained פלא יועץ אל גבור with μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος (Isa 9:5) as due, perhaps, to the translator's ignoring גבור. Finally, he argued the translation is filled with many additions to clarify the Hebrew.[24]

Moreover, Fischer argued the translator deliberately exchanged, added or omitted certain consonants in his *Vorlage*. For instance, the rendition of נואלו "they acted foolishly" with ἐξέλιπον "they fell" (Isa 19:13) reflects the verbal form נלאו "they grew weary." In this case, the translator omitted the consonant *waw* to produce the meaning "they fell." There are also other places where the translator added (cf. 24:14; 25:2-3; 26:17-18; 27:1), omitted (cf. 25:11; 26:9) or changed the order of a consonant, especially when it had the same shape as ד and ר.[25]

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[22] cf. Fischer, *In welcher Schrift*, 9, 10.

[23] With Fischer, the view of the translation style as free had considerably changed from Swete's 1902 (cf. *An Introduction*, 324) claim that the LXX Isa translation was so literal as to render "entire sentences" as "unintelligible."

[24] cf. Fischer, *In welcher Schrift*, 11.

[25] Fischer, *In welcher Schrift*, 10-11.

Fischer also argued the translator frequently used his knowledge of Aramaic for his translation. He gave several examples confirming this feature.[26] He claimed that the translator was an expert in the Aramaic language, being his living language, and that he had a better control of it than of Hebrew.[27]

After Fischer, J. Ziegler published, in 1934, his groundbreaking monograph on LXX Isa.[28] In this study, Ziegler addressed the fundamental question of the relation between MT and LXX Isa. For him, it essentially entailed two alternatives: first, the translator had an identical *Vorlage* to MT; or, second, the translator's source-text markedly diverged from MT.[29]

In doing so, Ziegler proposed, together with Liebmann and Fischer, that an evaluation of LXX Isa's relation to MT must pay attention to the translation style. In this respect, he discussed at length, among other things, matters such as minuses and pluses, the translator's handling of comparisons, his use of related phraseology throughout the translation, and the translator's lexical choices vis-à-vis his Alexandrian background. He categorically argued that a free translation style characterizes LXX Isa and that this translation has much in common with LXX Job/Prov and the *targumim*.[30] Rather than a word for word translation, Ziegler viewed the translator as someone who paid attention to the context during the production of his translation.

A case in point is the translator's handling of difficult Hebrew words, for which he reached to the context for help. For instance, the noun נשף "dawn, crepuscule" was rendered as τὸ ὀψε "late in the day, in

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[26] cf. Fischer, *In welcher Schrift*, 9. Later, A. van der Kooij (*Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches: ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte des Alten Testaments* [OBO 35; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981], 69) would doubt Fischer's claim that the translator utilized his Aramaic knowledge "very often."

[27] cf. Fischer, *In welcher Schrift*, 10.

[28] J. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias* (ATA 12/3: Münster: 1934).

[29] cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 1.

[30] cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 7.

the evening" because of τὸ πρωί "in the morning" at the beginning of the verse (Isa 5:11). Similarly, ἡ ψυχή was used for the difficult נשף to create a parallel with ἡ καρδία at the beginning of the verse (Isa 21:4).[31] Thus, the translator did not produce his work mechanically. He, rather, paid careful attention to both the immediate and broader contexts of a given passage.

In his discussion of LXX's minuses, Ziegler argued that for the most part they originated with the translator himself, who intentionally and unintentionally left words out of his translation. Most importantly, Ziegler claimed that the translator did not feel restricted to his *Vorlage* in a strict way and that he was not producing a literal word for word translation.[32] In fact, Ziegler assumed that the translator's *Vorlage* was identical to MT, excepting a few cases.[33]

In his discussion of "Gegenseitige Beeinflussung sinnverwandter Stellen in der Js-LXX," Ziegler advanced his main thesis that the translator had a sufficiently good general knowledge of the book of Isa as a whole and that the exegesis of several related phrases may clarify several divergences. The reason is that many of the Greek's differences from MT originated with the translator's technique of rendering one passage in the light of another in the book. In his own words:

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[31] cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 9. For more examples, cf. pp. 9-12.

[32] cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 46-47: "Hier erhebt sich die Frage: Hat die LXX bereits in ihrer Vorlage die betreffenden Versteile und Worte nicht gelesen? Wie oben bemerkt worden ist, hat Fischer richtig erkannt, daß LXX-Vorlage und MT sich nicht weit voneinander entfernen; doch besteht kein Zweifel, daß in unserem MT manche Versteile und glossenartige Bemerkungen stehen, die LXX noch nicht gelesen hat. Jedoch geht bei dem größten Teil des Minus die Ursache auf den Übers. selbst zurück; er hat oftmals Satzteile und Worte absichtlich und unabsichtlich ausgelassen… Der Js-Übers. fühlte sich nicht strenge an seine Vorlage gebunden und hatte auch keineswegs die Absicht, wörtlich und genau, Wort für Wort zu übersetzen; deshalb har er einfach schwierige, seltene Wörter ausgelassen, manche Sätze verkürzt und zusammengezogen." For a recent, systematic study of LXX Isa's minus and pluses, confirming Ziegler's conclusions above, cf. M. van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah: An Analysis of its Pluses and Minuses* (Ph.D. diss.; Universiteit Leiden, 2010).

[33] cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 22.

> Der Js. Übers. scheint überhaupt sein Buch sehr gut dem Inhalte nach im Gedächtnis gehabt zu haben; denn es begegnen viele Wiedergaben, die sich nur auf Grund der Exegese nach sinnverwandten Stellen erklären lassen. Gerade bei der Js-LXX darf irgendein Wort oder eine Wendung, die vom MT abweicht, nicht aus dem Zusammenhang genommen werden und für sich allein betrachtet worden, sondern muß nach dem ganzen Kontext der Stelle und ihren Parallelen gewertet werden; erst so läßt sich manche Differenz der LXX gegenüber dem MT erklären.[34]

Ziegler devoted about forty pages to a discussion of LXX Isa 1-66, pointing to cases where the translation of one passage was influenced by another. With the programmatic statement above, he advanced LXX Isa's research significantly by highlighting that the translator made use of his knowledge of the content of the whole book for his rendition of particular passages.

In the last chapter of his book, "Der alexandrinisch-ägyptische Hintergrund der Js-LXX," Ziegler argued that LXX Isa must also be studied in the context of the Alexandrian-Egyptian world. For him, the translator attempted to produce a translation that would be comprehensible to Alexandrian Jews and, in doing so, resorted to the lexicon of his homeland. LXX Isa, thus, acquired a new meaning in Greek clothes. This implied, so argued Ziegler, that a proper understanding of LXX Isa requires an acquaintance with the cultural world of the translator.[35] For instance, in the light of papyri documents, Ziegler argued that ἀνίημι in LXX Isa 27:10 means "to abandon" as the same verb appears in P. Tebt. I 72, 36, dating from the second cent. B.C.E., with this meaning: γῆν ἀνιέναι εἰς νομάς "to abandon the land as pasturage."[36] This example and others point to the importance of comparing LXX Isa with contemporary papyri texts.[37]

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[34] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 135.

[35] cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 175-177.

[36] cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 180.

[37] For recent research on the cultural context of LXX Isa in the light of contemporary papyri literature, cf. M. N. van der Meer, "Trendy Translations in the Septuagint of Isaiah: A Study of the Vocabulary of the Greek Isaiah 3,18-23

LXX Isa and the Personality of the Translator: The Translator's Theology

The year of 1934 also witnessed to an influential shift of focus in LXX Isa research with K. F. Euler's study of LXX Isa 53. The value of Euler's work consists in its methodology. Rather than being interested in LXX Isa 53 as a translational text, Euler focused on it as a text in its own right. Instead of taking LXX Isa 53 as a text that reflects faithfully the ideology of its *Vorlage*, Euler wanted to study LXX Isa 53 as a text that communicates its own ideas. He thus made a distinction between LXX Isa as a translational text and as a text in its own right. In the latter capacity, Euler viewed LXX Isa as as reflecting the translator's particular beliefs. As he put it:

> Wenn im ersten Teil der Arbeit eine Übersetzung und Erklärung des LXX-Textes von Jes 53 gegeben wird, so ist der eben bezeichnete Gesichtspunkt bestimmend gewesen, den LXX-Text als selbständigen Text zu betrachten und nicht als einen Übersetzungstext, der die Gedanken des hebräischen Textes nur wortgetreu wiedergäbe. Der Text als übersetzter Text bleibt unberücksichtigt; hier ist er selbständiger Text, der bestimmte und verständliche Aussagen macht.[38]

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in the Light of Contemporary Sources," in *Die Septuaginta – Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 20. - 23. Juli 2006* (WUNT 219; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 581-596; idem, "Papyrological Perspectives on the Septuagint of Isaiah," in *The Old Greek of Isaiah: Issues and Perspectives. Papers read at the Conference on the Septuagint of Isaiah, held in Leiden 10-11 April 2008* (eds. A. van der Kooij and M. N. van der Meer; CBET 55; Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 107-133; idem, "Visions from Memphis and Leontopolis: The Phenomenon of the Vision Reports in the Greek Isaiah in the light of Contemporary Accounts from Hellenistic Egypt," in *Isaiah in Context: Studies in Honour of Arie van der Kooij on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (eds. M. N. van der Meer et al., VTSup 138; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 281-316.

[38] K. F. Euler, *Die Verkündigung vom leidenden Gottesknecht aus Jes 53 in der Griechischen Bibel* (BWA[N]T 66; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1934), 2.

Euler claimed further that LXX Isa 53 as a text in its own right carries an ideology of its own, independent from its H *Vorlage*:

> Es war ja verschiedentlich schon betont worden, daß der LXX-Text, obwohl er ein übersetzter Text ist, durchaus selbständig ist in seinem Gedankeninhalt… Denn die Übersetzung kann beeinflußt sein von einem schon vorherrschenden Glauben hinsichtlich des Ebed, der in den Kreisen, aus denen die LXX stammt, beheimatet ist. Ebenso wie Targum und rabbinische Literatur in dieser Hinsicht eine bestimmte Meinung vertreten, könnten ja auch die LXX-Übersetzer eine solche haben, die sie durch ihre Übersetzung zum Ausdruck bringen.[39]

Euler's work represented a major shift in emphasis on LXX Isa studies. Rather than studying LXX Isa as a translation, focusing on translation style as had so often been done before the year of 1934, Euler argued it should be studied as a text in its own right that may carry its own independent ideology. After Euler's publication, one notices in retrospect that scholars began to be more and more interested not only on translation style but much more LXX Isa's ideology.

In 1948, I. L. Seeligmann published his "The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of Its Problems." This work, which would become his *opus magnum*, has rightly been deemed "the most significant attempt to use the Septuagint as evidence of Jewish theology."[40] Seeligmann characterized LXX Isa as a work that reflected the translator's personal views and his surrounding context:

> The translation of Isaiah is characterized in numerous places not only by a fairly considerable independence of the Hebrew text, but also by the fact that it evinces an equally marked influence from the surrounding cultural atmosphere, as well as expressing the author's personal views. This translation, in fact, is almost the only one among

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[39] Euler, *Die Verkündigung*, 10.

[40] cf. K. H. Jobes and M. Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 2000), 102.

the various parts of the Septuagint which repeatedly reflects contemporaneous history.[41]

Seeligmann would see reflected in LXX Isa events from the Maccabean period, other "contemporaneous and parallel political developments in the territories bordering on Palestine," the history of Ptolemaic Egypt, as well as events of the broader Hellenistic history.[42] Pertaining to the Maccabean period, he discovered allusions to Antiochus IV Epiphanes (cf. Isa 14:18-20), Onias III (cf. Isa 8:8), Jewish emigration to Egypt (cf. Isa 10:24), a Philistinian fleet that Jews used for trading voyages (cf. Isa 11:14), anti-Jewish movements in Phoenician cities during the Maccabean wars and reference to 2nd century B.C.E expansion of the Nabatean state (cf. Isa 15:7ff).[43] On the history of Ptolemaic Egypt, he found mentioning of the situation of Ptolemaic Egypt after Antiochus Epiphanes' campaigns (cf. Isa 22:5) and of Ethiopian support for Egyptian rebels against the Ptolemeans (cf. Isa 20:5).[44] As for the broader Hellenistic history, Seeligmann saw in the phrase "ships of Carthage" in LXX Isa 23 a reference to Carthage's attempt to become an agrarian state after the destruction of its shipping and trade.[45] For him, therefore, LXX Isa was full of references to its historical period. This was a phenomenon that could only be explained from the perspective of contemporization.[46]

It is important to point out that Seeligmann believed that one can only find the translator's references to historical allusions or expressions

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[41] I. L. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah. A Discussion of Its Problems* (MVEOL 9; Leiden: Brill, 1948), 4. Reprinted in I. L. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah and Cognates Studies* (ed. R. Hanhart and H. Spieckermann; FAT 40; Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2004). See also pp. 79, 82 and idem, "Problemen en perspectieven in het moderne Septuaginta-onderzoek," *JEOL* 6-8 (1939-1942), 390b-390e. For an English translation of this article, cf. "Problems and Perspectives in Modern Septuagint Research," *Text* 15 (1990): 169-232.

[42] cf. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 89, 90.

[43] cf. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 83-89. See also idem, "Problemen," 390d-390e.

[44] cf. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 89-90.

[45] cf. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 91.

[46] cf. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 79.

of his beliefs in places where his translation was free. Talking about LXX Isa's departures from its Hebrew source, Seeligmann claimed that

> they [= inconsistencies] also entitle us to try, on our part, to discover, in isolated, free renderings, certain historical allusions or expressions of the translator's own views and ideas; also in those places where these insertions appear to constitute an element alien to the main context.[47]

Seeligmann argued that the translator had an atomistic approach to his *Vorlage*. Much like "a… feature in the most ancient Jewish exegesis," that he introduced interpretations of words or phrases into his translation without paying attention to the immediate context. For that reason, Seeligmann found it unlikely "to discover logical connexions in any chapter or part of a chapter in our Septuagint-text."[48] This last statement, as it will be seen below, is at odds with his claim that both literal and free translations reflect the translator's ideology.

Seeligmann further elaborated on the "personal views" of LXX Isa's author in the last chapter of his dissertation, entitled "the Translation as a Document of Jewish-Alexandrian Theology." He discussed the methodology that must be used in writing a history of "Jewish-Alexandrian theology." For him, the sources of the translator's religious notions can be found both in the Bible itself and in Jewish traditions of the time as well as in the Hellenistic worldview.[49] Therefore, both literal and free renderings are important sources of the translator's

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[47] Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 41. However, Seeligmann viewed literal translations as important as free ones for the reconstruction of the translator's "religious notions." As he put it on p. 95, "passages that were translated literally in a given book of the Septuagint, are of equal importance as free paraphrases: both represent fragments of the religious notions of the translator concerned."

[48] cf. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 41.

[49] cf. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 95: "The sources of information at our disposal are insufficient for the writing of a history of Jewish-Alexandrian theology. We may say, however, that although its content is for the most part derived from the Bible, it also contains later elements which have their origin partly in popular Jewish traditions that grew outside, and simultaneously with, the Bible and gradually became authoritative, and partly in conscious or unconscious borrowing from the Hellenistic thought-world."

theology as "both represent fragments of the religious notions of the translator concerned."[50] However, Seeligmann decided to focus only on those places where the translation differed ideologically from its source text. He did not intend to write a history of the religious notions of the translator, which included a study of both literal and free renderings, but "to indicate the differences between those embodied in the translation and in the original."[51] Different from his predecessors, he used the term "personality of the translator" to designate a study not only of translation technique, as it had been so usual until his day, but also of the translator's theological concepts.[52]

In his discussion of the translator's theological notions, Seeligmann focused on the translator's ideas about God, Torah, and Israel, which form "the nuclear idea of every Jewish-theological conception."[53] He found nuances of the translator's views on God in the epithets he used, such as the more usual κύριος for אלהים/אדני instead of the less frequent δεσπότης; the use of δίκαιος, δικαιοσύνη, and ἔλεος; and the non-translation of צור as an epithet for God to avoid any hint at approving stone worshipping.[54] Terms as εὐσεβής, εὐσέβεια, δικαιοσύνη, ἔνδοξος, νόμος, ἀνομέω and cognate, all function as windows into the translator's religious ideas about virtuosity and Torah.[55] Seeligmann also

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[50] Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 95.

[51] Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 95.

[52] cf. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 96: "the personality of the translator and his spiritual background." In light of Seeligmann's discussion on pp. 95-96, "spiritual background" stands for the religious concepts of the translator. At the conclusion of chapter 4, on p. 120, Seeligmann refers to the "translator's personality or… mental images."

[53] Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 96. See also idem, "Problemen, 389: "De beschrijving van de theologie der vertalers zal - zooals die van iedere Joodsche theologie - gegroepeerd moeten worden, om de begrippen: God, Israël - hierbij ook Messiaansche idee als nationale verlossingskracht - en Thorah."

[54] cf. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 97-103. See also idem, "Problemen," 390a: "Dat de vaak voorkomende metaphoor van God als Rots of Steen op geen enkele plaats letterlijk wordt vertaald wortelt misschien ten deele in het apologetische streven ook den schijn van instemming met steenvereering te ontgaan."

[55] cf. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 103-109.

found ample evidence for the translator's view of prophecy as "the revelation of an age-old plan" that is "bound to be fulfilled."[56]

Further, Seeligmann argued the translator had a particular view of exile and diaspora that differed from the Hebrew. Whereas the latter views the exile as a consequence of God's just punishment, the translator views it as the result of "an injustice visited on Israel because of the superior might of other peoples."[57] Exile as an injustice and oppression coupled with a "yearning for national deliverance"[58] shaped the translator's work. LXX Isa consistently uses the term ἀδικέω "in regard to the oppressors to whom the Jewish people are subjected" for several Hebrew terms.[59] The diaspora feeling can also be seen in the "veneration of national symbols" like Zion and Jerusalem and in the "constant yearning for liberation."[60] The use of σωτηρία, σῴζω, σωτήριον for different Hebrew lexemes indicated that the translator viewed their meaning as primarily of "liberation from a powerful political enemy," "escape from a great political disaster," and "deliverance from exile."[61] Seeligmann further noted that the concepts of σῴζω and cognates occur "in close connexion with one of the most notable thoughts in Isaiah's preaching, *i.e.* the proclamation of the return of the Remnant of Israel"[62] (cf. the parallel occurrence of σῴζω/cognates and κατάλειμμα/καταλείπω in Isa 10:20, 22; 37:32). The translator further identified the "Remnant of the people of Israel with the Jewish diaspora in Hellenistic Egypt" and also in Mesopotamia (cf. Isa 11:16; 19:24-25).[63] Because the translation of Isa betrays unique ideas that differ from MT, Seeligmann argued that a study of the "personality of the translator" involved not only translation style but also the translator's theology. And the ideology of the translator would indeed become the general focus of later works.

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[56] cf. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 109-110.

[57] Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 111.

[58] Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 116.

[59] cf. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 111 and also p. 112.

[60] Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 113.

[61] Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 114.

[62] Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 115.

[63] cf. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 116, 117.

In 1951, L. H. Brockington published an important article that dealt with the translator's interest in the theme of δόξα. This term appears 68x in LXX Isa but translates כבוד only 28x. The high frequency of δόξα is striking in comparison with other LXX books that translate the *Tanach*. There δόξα occurs 270x and translates כבוד 180x. The difference in statistics is of 2/3 for LXX books and 7/17 for LXX Isa. Brockington argued that δόξα had a theological significance for the translator and that it "was associated, directly or indirectly, with God's redemptive work among men."[64] Substantiation for Brockington's claim of the soteriological meaning of δόξα can be found in places where the translator introduced it where his *Vorlage* referred to "salvation" (cf. e.g., Isa 12:2; 44:23). The opposite also proves Brockington's point. In Isa 40:5; 60:1-7, for instance, the translator introduced σωτηρία as his *Vorlage* referred to "glory."[65] Brockington saw the "individuality of the translator" in his increased use of δόξα as a concept denoting salvation.[66]

Following, J. Coste published an article on LXX Isa 25:1-5, in which he made important methodological points. He approached LXX Isa 25:1-5 as a "translational" text, as a literary unit, as a text expressing certain beliefs, and as a text that functions as a channel for revelation.[67] As a translation, he concluded that LXX Isa 25:1-5 showed itself "comme un échec presque complet."[68] Contrarily, when studied in its own right,[69] LXX Isa 25:1-5 presented itself as an ordered and coherent text. He further concluded that LXX Isa 25:1-5, as a literary and conceptual text, shows that an active interpretive plan was already at work even before its translation had started. This interpretive plan reflected the translator's personal piety and faith.[70]

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[64] L. H. Brockington, "The Greek Translator of Isaiah and His Interest in ΔΟΞΑ," *VT* 1/1 (1951), 26.

[65] For details, cf. Brockington, "ΔΟΞΑ," 30-32.

[66] cf. Brockington, "ΔΟΞΑ," 31.

[67] cf. J. Coste, "Le texte grec d'Isaïe XXV, 1-5," *RB* 61 (1954), 37.

[68] Coste, "Le texte grec," 50.

[69] A similar approach had already been advanced for LXX Isa 52:13-53:12, see the discussion above of Euler, *Die Verkündigung*.

[70] cf. Coste, "Le texte grec," 51.

As a text that expresses the translator's "personal piety and faith," Coste characterized LXX Isa 25:1-5 as a messianic thanksgiving song that celebrates the destruction of the wicked and the deliverance of the Israelites, who will recognize the Lord in Zion.[71] In his lexical analysis, he claimed the themes of poverty and deliverance, on one hand, and expectation and messianic gift, on the other, are the themes of LXX Isa 25:1-5. As such, he viewed it as the "song of the poor," which reflects a spiritual movement in Judaism that brought the concepts of poverty and humility to the fore of its religious faith.[72] For Coste, therefore, LXX Isa 25:1-5, as a text in its own, betrayed the translator's ideology.

After Coste, the Portuguese scholar J. C. M. das Neves sought to recover the theology of the translator in his study of LXX Isa 24.[73] He approached this text in three levels. The first discussed the exegesis and theology of MT Isa 24; the second paid attention to "philological differences" between MT and LXX; and the third discussed the exegesis and theology of LXX Isa 24.[74]

Das Neves understood that the translator's religious conceptions determined his translation and the text as a literary unit. On the level of translation, das Neves noted that the translator sometimes read the Hebrew in slightly different ways from MT/1QIsaᵃ. Note, for instance, ὁ λαός ὁ πτωχός "the poor people" for עז עם "the strong people," reflecting a reading of MT as עם עני. This and many other examples suggested to das Neves that the Isa translator was well acquainted with the Hebrew language and manipulated it to express his religious beliefs.[75]

The level of the literary unit concerns, for das Neves, the translator's reading method. For him, "re-readings" and "actualizations"

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[71] cf. Coste, "Le texte grec," 51.

[72] cf. Coste, "Le texte grec," 59-60.

[73] J. C. M. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega dos Setenta no Livro de Isaías (Cap. 24 de Isaías)* (Lisbon: Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 1973).

[74] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 265.

[75] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 266. For more examples, see pp. 265-266.

are essential for the Isa translator. The former consists in reading the Hebrew in a different way from the original. The latter in finding the fulfillment of former prophecies in the events of the translator's time.[76] These two methods combined are used to express the translator's religious views about two contemporary Jewish groups: the pro and contra hellenization.[77]

The core of LXX Isa 24's theology is the existence of two opposite groups in the translator's time, one supporting Antiochus Epiphanes' policies in Jerusalem and another resisting them. Das Neves expressed this clearly:

> Em todo o text, como se vê, perpassa sempre a mesma mentalidade de *actualização*, tendo por base as duas facções de judeus: os ímpios que se aliam aos inimigos na sua política e os fiéis ao jahvismo, prontos a sofrer com amor e com alegria e até mesmo a morrer *com morte de fogo* (Is. 9, 3-5; p. 232 s), o que nos indica tratar-se de espírito originado numa facção religiosa.[78]

Das Neves identified several themes related to the group faithful to Yahweh. This group is found in dispersion in Egypt (cf. LXX Isa 18: 2, 7; 25:5; 27:12; 33:17; 41:9a, 2, 5: 45:22; 49:6; 52:10; 62:11) and is expecting its redemption (cf. LXX Isa 33:13; 41:1; 45:16, 22; 48:20; 49:1, 6; 51:5; 52:10; 60:9; 62:11). He further pointed out that this group in dispersion is sometimes referred to as the ones "left, spared" (cf. LXX Isa 4:2; 10:17, 11:10; 21; 19; 13:12; 20:6; 28:5, 6-28), the "poor" (cf. LXX Isa 25:1-5) and the "humiliated" (cf. LXX Isa 26:3). Related to the "poor" are concepts such as "joy" (εὐφροσύνη), glory (δόξα), and

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[76] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 268. For das Neves' more detailed discussion of actualization in comparison with Dan and the *pesharim*, see idem, "A Teologia dos Setenta no Livro de Isaías," *Itinerarium* 43 (1964), 26-28.

[77] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 268, 269.

[78] das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 269. See also his "A Teologia dos Setenta," 19, 21.

righteousness (δικαιοσύνη). The "spared-poor-humiliated" group shares an eschatological hope for the messianic Jerusalem.[79]

Contrarily, the party of unfaithful Jews is denominated by terms like πλούσιος/πλοῦτος, with the exception of LXX Isa 32:18; 33:20; ἁμαρτωλός, a concept that is more emphasized in the LXX than in MT; ἄρχοντες,[80] who are in fact referred to with the term ἁμαρτωλός above; βουλή/μάταια as the expression of political aspects devised by the ἄρχοντες; ἔθνη, although this term can also refer to the faithful people of God; and the present Jerusalem in its situation of impiety.[81] It is necessary to note that das Neves is not saying that the terms above in all their occurrences in LXX Isa always refer to either the faithful or the unfaithful group. Instead, he noted that these terms seem to be associated with one or the other group at several places in LXX Isa.

In his analysis of LXX Isa 24, das Neves arrived at the following important conclusions: first, he noted that there are substantial differences between MT and LXX. He argued that it is not possible to explain these differences as errors of a paleographical nature only, such

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[79] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 269-274. For a more detailed discussion of das Neves' view of the "remnant" in LXX Isa, see idem, "Isaías 7,14 no Texto Massorético e no Texto Grego: A obra de Joachim Becker," *Didaskalia* 2 (1972), 106. Here das Neves summarized the theology of the "remnant" in LXX Isa as follows: 1. While MT speaks of the rest of "trees" or of the people in general terms, LXX refer to the "remnant" as a religious concept, as the faithful and pious class among the people. It also applies daily metaphors as agriculture, for instance, in a personal way and with reference to the "remnant" of Israel; 2. The "remnant" in LXX Isa is characterized as "poor" and "small" (cf. LXX Isa 24:6); 3. Whenever MT refers to the "remnant" as a specific class and in religious terms, the Greek tends to emphasize those references; 4. The "remnant" relates to the people in diaspora in Egypt that will return with gladness to Zion after their redemption; and, 5. This "remnant" suffers injustice by the wicked class of the people; however, those injustices are considered to be from God, who uses them to purify, sanctify, preparing them for future messianic happiness.

[80] For a more in depth discussion of ἄρχοντες in LXX Isa, see F. Raurell, "'Archontes' en la Interpretació Midràshica d'Is-LXX" *Revista Catalana de Teologia* 1 (1976), 315-374.

[81] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 274-275.

as confusion of consonants, omissions, dittography, etc. Contrarily, he found in those differences the "personality of the translator." He also noted that the Greek text, when studied in its own, presents its own well-defined thought. This "well-defined thought" can only be extracted by paying careful attention to the smallest particularities of the text. The differences between MT and LXX originate in the translator's religious views rather than in a faulty understanding of the Hebrew text.[82] LXX Isa is, thus, a theological interpretation of the Hebrew, made necessary by the historical and religious actualizations of that period.[83]

Another important article that highlighted aspects of the social and political environment of LXX Isa was one Frederic Raurell published in 1976 entitled "'Archontes' en la interpretació midráshica d'Is-LXX."[84] He called attention to the social background of Palestinian Jews in the 2nd century B.C.E., who lived under the oppressive control of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. He interpreted ἄρχοντες (Isa 3:4, 14; 14:5) as designating leaders of the Jewish community in Jerusalem favoring Antiochus IV's policy of hellenization. Specifically, the ἄρχοντες were economic oppressors of the poor (πτωχός) who inflicting harsh taxes (cf. ἀπαιτῶν in Isa 3:12; 14:4).[85] The reason for harsh taxation was war

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[82] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 265. On p. 43, das Neves claimed that the differences between the Hebrew and the Greek can be found in the "mentalidade teológica do nosso tradutor." The reason is that LXX Isa is more an interpretation than a translation.

[83] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 278. For a critical review of das Neves, see Raurell, "La teologia de Js-LXX en un studio reciente," *Estudios Franciscanos* 76 (1975), 409-421.

[84] cf. Raurell, "'Archontes,'" 315-374.

[85] For the theme of economic exploitation in LXX Isa, cf. R. L. Troxel, "Economic Plunder as a Leitmotif in LXX-Isaiah," *Bib* 83 (2002), 375-391; idem, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation and Interpretation: The Strategies of the Translator of the Septuagint of Isaiah* (JSJSup 124; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 201-209. In his article "Economic Plunder," Troxel identified the harsh taxation under the Seleucids as the background of the motif of "economic plunder" in LXX Isa, as is clear from his statement on p. 390: "This leitmotif accords with the broad consensus that LXX-Isa was translated in the second quarter of the second century B.C.E., when Seleucid domination of Jerusalem and Judea was being thrown off. The level of taxes under the Hellenists had become repressive, making relief from Seleucid taxation a significant consequence of the revolt.

indemnities that Antiochus IV had to pay to the Romans.[86] Thus, the translator's employment of the term ἄρχοντες reflected his oppressive socio-political situation under Antiochus IV's control of Jerusalem.

In 1979, J. W. Olley made an important contribution to LXX Isa studies. The purpose of his monograph was to study how the translator understood passages in which the root צדק occurs as well as the "intended meaning of δικαιοσύνη and related words."[87] With such a study, Olley tried to discuss the question of the extent to which the translator's use of δικαιοσύνη and its cognates can be characterized as Jewish Greek.[88] Specifically, he sought to investigate why the translator "used certain words and what meaning he saw in those words in their context."[89] He assumed that

> the translators believed that the words and structures they used were at least reasonably capable of conveying the meaning they saw in the original, allowing for individual theological views and linguistic abilities. This does not mean that they necessarily agreed with the meaning they saw.[90]

Olley called for a contextual study of δικαιοσύνη and cognates in their LXX literary contexts. He warned that "one cannot assume that, because a particular Hebrew word is 'usually' rendered by a particular Greek word, therefore there is considerable semantic overlap." Further, he claimed that "unusual" renderings must be analyzed in their literary

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That seems a likely explanation for the translator's preoccupation with economic plunder as the supreme crime of the people's rulers, with removal of such oppression constituting a signal feature of divine deliverance."

[86] cf. Raurell, "'Archontes'," 365: "Les elevades indemnitzacions de guerra que els selèucides havien de pagar als romans les hagueren de pagar els pobres súbdits jueus. Per aquestes mateixes raons econòmiques els selèucides intentaren apoderar-se dels tresors del temple. Aquest intent sembla que fracassà al principi; tanmateix, el 175, Antíoc IV Epifanés va deposar el sumo sacerdot legítim i vengué dues vegades el càrrec als dos millor licitadors."

[87] J. W. Olley, *'Righteousness' in the Septuagint of Isaiah: A Contextual Study* (SBLSCS; Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1979), 1.

[88] cf. Olley, *'Righteousness'*, 1.

[89] Olley, *'Righteousness'*, 11.

[90] Olley, *'Righteousness'*, 5.

context, under the assumption "that the translator intended his reading to make sense."[91]

Olley concluded that "while the fact that he [the translator] uses δικαιο-words is due to צדק in MT, this is not simply a case of 'automatic response translation' since no instance has been found where this leads to a meaning unrecognizable on the basis of secular Greek usage."[92] Even though Olley conceded that some "meanings do however undergo slight semantic expansion due to their usage within a Jewish theological framework,"[93] they do not constitute "'Jewish Greek' but rather Greek words with some new associations added due to the Jewish context."[94]

Finally, Olley uncovered a "consistent picture of some aspects of the translator's theology and technique" in the latter's "linguistic preferences."[95] He pointed out that the translator, while following the precedent in the Pentateuch in his use of ἀσεβής for רשע, he also employs "ἀσεβής for other roots when reference is to Israel's enemies" and as a description of its oppressors.[96] On the other hand, the translator usually reserves ἀνομ-words as a reference to Israel and "more generally to wrongdoing and wrongdoers."[97] Finally, ἀδικ-words are employed to describe actions of oppression either by "Israel's leaders" or by others "who have attacked and oppressed Israel (cf. Isa 10:20; 21:3; 23:12; 25:3f; 51:23; 65:25)."[98]

Olley summarized the translator's theology as follows: first, because "acts of oppression by rulers and judges and attacks on other nations are, as in secular Greek understanding, 'unjust,'" the translator employs ἀδικ-words. Ἀσεβ-words would not be appropriate in those contexts. Second, given the oppressor's nature as "wrongdoers" and "their failure to serve the Lord," the translator employs ἀσεβ-words to

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[91] Olley, *'Righteousness'*, 125.
[92] Olley, *'Righteousness'*, 125.
[93] Olley, *'Righteousness'*, 125-126.
[94] Olley, *'Righteousness'*, 126.
[95] Olley, *'Righteousness'*, 122.
[96] Olley, *'Righteousness'*, 122.
[97] Olley, *'Righteousness'*, 122.
[98] Olley, *'Righteousness'*, 122.

describe them as they are most appropriate for those contexts. And, third, the translator reserves ἀνομ-words to refer to "Israel's disobedience of the law of God."[99] Detecting the translator's theology in his careful contextual study of the translator's linguistic preferences, Olley advanced the translator's theology as the reason for some of his lexical choices.

In 1981, A. van der Kooij engaged in an important discussion of the proper methodological use of the ancient versions (LXX, 1QIsa[a], 1QIsa[b], θ', α', σ', Targ., Pesh., and Vulg.) for the textual criticism of MT Isa. He argued that a study of the textual witnesses in their own milieu must precede any text-critical work.[100] In his analysis of LXX Isa, van der Kooij focused on passages where fulfillment-interpretation played an important role, intending to provide a better understanding of the character of LXX Isa, its translator and his background.[101] Much like his predecessors, he paid attention to the translator's theology and his historical background while speaking of the "character of LXX Isa."

Van der Kooij identified several cases of fulfillment-interpretation in LXX Isa. He argued the translator often interpreted references to the "king" of Assyria or Babylon as a cipher for the Seleucid kings Antiochus III/IV (cf. Isa 8:7; 10:9, 10; 14:19-20, 22-27).[102] He further identified two steps in the translator's reworking of Isa 22:5-11. For him, the differences between MT and LXX Isa 22:5-11 reflect events occurring in Jerusalem around 167 B.C.E. At the same time, some of the divergences in that same passage were due to the translator's allusions to reparations that had been previously carried out

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[99] Olley, *'Righteousness'*, 123.

[100] A. van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 1: "Dabei kann es aber schon aus Raumgründen nicht die Absicht sein, die Textzeugen des Jesajabuches umfassend zu behandeln. Es soll vielmehr versucht werden diejenige Aspekte zu beleuchten, die für die textkritische Auswertung der Textzeugen wichtig sein, wie: Gründe und Ursachen textlicher Unterschiede zwischen den Textzeugen und dem masoretischen Text (MT), den Ort der Textzeugen innerhalb der Textgeschichte und das Milieu, in dem sie entstanden sein."

[101] cf. van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 34.

[102] cf. van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 34-43.

under the high priest Simon (c. 200 B.C.E.).[103] Likewise, LXX Isa 8:8's departures find their cause in the translator, who interpreted it as a reference to Antiochus IV's deposition of Onias III as the high priest in Jerusalem.[104] The phrase πόλις-ασεδεκ for עיר ההרס (Isa 19:18) was used to legitimize the temple in Leontopolis, making useless any assertions that עיר הצדק or קיר הסרח were in the translator's *Vorlage*.[105] Finally, van der Kooij also identified a negative reference to Menelaus and a positive one to Alcimus in LXX Isa 22:16-18, 20-25 respectively.[106]

Van der Kooij's work contributed greatly to a discussion of the translator's identity. For him, the translator must be seen as a member of

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[103] cf. van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 49: "die Unterschiede zwischen MT (= meistens Q^a) und LXX Jes 22,5-11 finden ihre beste Erklärung durch die Annahme, dass der Übersetzer in diesen Versen auf Ereignisse in Jerusalem im Jahr 167 v.Chr. und auf Wiederherstellungsarbeiten zur Zeit des Hohenpriesters Simon anspielt."

[104] cf. van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 52. Van der Kooij has changed his view that LXX Isa 8:8 referred to the time of the translator, asserting that it instead refers to the time of Isaiah, cf. van der Kooij, "LXX-Isaiah 8:9 and the Issue of Fulfilment-Interpretation," *Adamantius* 13 (2007), 23; idem, "The Septuagint of Isaiah and the Mode of Reading Prophecies in Early Judaism" in *Septuaginta - Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten: Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 20.-23. Julie 2006* (ed. Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus; WUNT 219; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 602.

[105] cf. van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 55. See also idem, "The Old Greek of Isaiah 19:16-25: Translation and Interpretation" in *VI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognates Studies: Jerusalem 1986* (ed. Claude E. Cox; SBLSCS 23; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 136-137. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 68, had advanced that the translator's *Vorlage* attested to עיר הצדק. Vaccari, "ΠΟΛΙΣ ΑΣΕΔΕΚ," 356; "Parole Rovesciate," 560, 562-564 had argued that הסרח was in the translator's *Vorlage*. The translator then read הסרח as הסדח by changing the ר into a ד. He then transcribed הסדח with ασεδεκ. Vaccari pointed out that the use of κ for ח is common with several examples. Recently Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 170-171 resorted to Vaccari's explanation to argue against van der Kooij's proposal that the translator used πόλις-ασεδεκ to legitimize the Leontopolis temple. Against Vaccari, however, it must be noted that there is no textual evidence that the translator's *Vorlage* read הסרח, cf. 1QIsa^a/4QIsa^b: עיר החרס.

[106] cf. van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 59, 60.

the Oniad priesthood circles in Jerusalem, as a scribe, and as a priest. Van der Kooij argued that the translator advocated for the legitimacy of the Leontopolis temple with his rendering πόλις-ασεδεκ in LXX Isa 19:18. The translator's divergent rendering τοῦ ἰδεῖν ὁδὸν Αἰγύπτου/ בדרך מצרים in Isa 10:24 indicates he approved of Onias IV's escape to Egypt by occasion of Antiochus IV's oppression of Jerusalem in 167 B.C.E. This piece of evidence led van der Kooij to view Onias IV as the author of LXX Isa.[107] Whereas LXX Isa's provenance is in Leontopolis, the translator's is Jerusalem. The Jerusalem provenance of the translator implied he was acquainted with traditions and events there.[108]

Van der Kooij also viewed the translator as a scribe based on his translation method ("*Art und Weise*").[109] The translator's borrowing from the Torah and the Prophets shows that he was well acquainted with those books. Likewise, his intra-harmonization with passages from H Isa also points to his solid knowledge of that book.[110] Van der Kooij also found evidence that the translator viewed himself as a scribe in his unique use of γραμματικός for ספר in LXX Isa 33:18. He argued the translator compared himself to the Alexandrian γραμματικοί, who were occupied with philological and etymological matters, as well as with the reading and interpretation of literary texts. Like them, the translator was equally engaged in the reading and interpretation of H Isa.[111]

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[107] cf. van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 331.

[108] cf. van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 60-61.

[109] cf. van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 62: "Die Art und Weise, mit der der Übersetzer mit dem Text des Jesajabuches umgeht, macht deutlich, dass er ein *Schriftgelehrter* war" (italics his). For van der Kooij's more detailed discussion of the translator as a scribe, cf. his *The Oracle of Tyre: The Septuagint of Isaiah 23 as Version and Vision* (VTSup 71; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 112-123; idem, "Perspectives on the Study of the Septuagint: Who are the Translators?" in *Perspectives in the Study of the Old Testament and Early Judaism (*ed. F. G. Martínez and E. Noort; VTSup 73; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 219-224.

[110] cf. van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 62-63.

[111] cf. van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 63. It is interesting to note that van der Kooij does not make much of γραμματικός in LXX Isa 33:18 in his later publications, cf. his passing notes in *The Oracle*, 115; "Perspectives on the Study of the Septuagint," 221. Accepting van der Kooij's view of the translator as a γραμματικός, Troxel (cf. *LXX-Isaiah*, *passim*) advanced that LXX Isa should be studied in light of the γραμματικοί's work in Alexandria. In short, he

Finally, van der Kooij also considered the translator to be a priest. He found evidence for his view in the advocacy for the Oniad Leontopolis temple in LXX Isa 19:18 and the addition of ἱερεῖς in Isa 40:2.[112] As a priest, the translator read Isa from the perspective of fulfillment-interpretation and found in the 2ⁿᵈ B.C.E. the fulfillment of Isaianic announcements.[113] The translator's reading mode was based in his belief that the last days (cf. τὰ ἐπερχόμενα/τὰ ἔσχατα in LXX Isa 41:22; 44:7; 45:11; 46:10) of Isa had started. In this sense, the translator of Isa may be compared to the authors of Dan and certain Qumran documents. Although LXX Isa was produced in Egypt, the link between Leontopolis and Qumran is found in the Jerusalemite background of the translator.[114] The translator's bent to fulfillment-interpretation was also based on his view of Isa as a vision (cf. חזון/ὅρασις in Isa 1:1 and משׂא/ὅραμα in Isa 22:1).[115]

Picking up on the research developed by Zillessen and Ziegler, which showed that the translator borrowed phraseology from elsewhere in Isa or outside it, J. Koenig devoted a full fledge discussion of borrowings in LXX Isa. He rejected Ottley's claim that the translator introduced the wording of a particular passage into another

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proposed the translator, like the γραμματικοί, was only concerned with linguistic and contextual interpretation. Only very rarely was the translator involved in fulfillment-interpretation. Although Troxel denied van der Kooij's opinion that the translator's use of γραμματικός is self-referential, he proceeded to construct a view of the translator that by and large resembles van der Kooij's scribal model, cf. D. A. Baer, review of R. L. Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation and Interpretation: The Strategies of the Translator of the Septuagint of Isaiah, VT* 60 (2010), 302.

[112] cf. van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 64-65.

[113] cf. cf. van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 95-96, 330-331.

[114] cf. van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 64. In his *LXX-Isaiah*, 20, Troxel criticized van der Kooij for comparing LXX Isa with the *pesharim* on the basis that the former was produced in Egypt and the latter in Palestine. However, Troxel did not discuss van der Kooij's view of the translator's Palestinian origin, which would allow for a fruitful comparison of LXX Isa with documents from Qumran.

[115] cf. van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 64.

unconsciously, accidentally and unintentionally.[116] Rather, for him, the translator consciously borrowed phraseology from elsewhere due to an ideological or historical reason.[117]

For instance, Koenig argued that the plus καὶ οἰκοδομήσωμεν ἑαυτοῖς πύργον in Isa 9:9 reflects the historical milieu of the Samaritan schism in the translator's time. He argued the plus above originated with a borrowing from Gen 11:3-4. This borrowing reflects the translator's systematic analogical reading of his Scriptures prompted by the occurrence of נבנה and לבנים in Gen 11:3,4 and Isa 9:9.[118] Thus, Koenig viewed the changes in LXX Isa 9:9 as rooted in the historical motif of the Samaritan schism.[119]

Koenig further argued that the original circumstances of the Isaianic prophecy in Isa 9:11 were lost in the eyes of the translator. He pointed out that

> depuis le VIIIe siècle, les oracles d'Is, comme ceux des autres prophètes, avaient acquis une omnivalence temporelle qui permettait d'en tirer des enseignements applicables à des époques autres que celle de leur origine.

Consequently, the mention of Samaria in the Hebrew Isa evoked in the translator's mind, as a Jew, the Samaritan schism.[120]

Koenig also discussed what he termed the "religious conditions" that favored the use of "analogical hermeneutics." Although Hellenistic

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[116] cf. Koenig, *L'herméneutique*, 6-8.

[117] cf. Koenig, *L'herméneutique*, 102: "L'herméneutique ouvre la voie de la solution historique. Elle avertit que la transformation méthodique du texte, étant donné les teneurs, doit nécessairement être en rapport avec un motif idéologique d'envergure."

[118] cf. Koenig, *L'herméneutique*, 90.

[119] cf. Koenig, *L'herméneutique*, 101.

[120] cf. Koenig, *L'herméneutique*, 101: "Du temps de G ce que la mention de Samarie évoquait nécessairement dans l'esprit d'un juif, qu'il fût palestinien ou membre de la diaspora, c'était *le schisme samaritain*" (italics his).

influence on the production of the LXX is undeniable,[121] Koenig pointed out that the weight of the religious tradition of Judaism and its mode of thinking is also paramount. He noted that the sacralization of the prophetic writings consisted in their use of earlier prophetic oracles that would be applicable to contemporary and even future events. For him, the same process took place in the sacralization of the LXX, sacralization which would have profited greatly from an "analogical hermeneutic" method of reading the Scripture.[122]

Like the prophetic writings' application of earlier prophecies to a later period, Koenig observed that LXX Isa applied the H to its contemporary history. The translator used "Carthage" for "Tarsis" in Isa 23:1, 10; saw the "Assyrians" in the Hebrew as a cipher for the "Syrians" in the Seleucid period; interpreted the Philistines as a reference to Palestinian coastal Greek cities in the translator's time, etc. He noted that all these typological changes attest to an actualizing. He even compared LXX Isa's reading-mode with the *pesharim*, claiming that

> l'adaptation grecque d'Is est l'une des manifestations qui illustrent un grand courant de spéculation oraculaire sur les Écrits traditionnels d'Israël. Le livre de Daniel et divers écrits de Qumrân, en premier lieu le Habaquq, en sont d'autres témoins.[123]

For Koenig, thus, the translator's theology or historical milieu can be detected in his recourse to Scriptural borrowings.

In 1998, van der Kooij produced a monograph on LXX Isa 23 focusing his attention its coherence as a text in its own right. He approached LXX Isa 23 as a text in two levels: first, in comparison with MT and then in its own right. As a text in its own right, van der Kooij probed whether LXX Isa 23 presents a coherent message or whether "significant renderings and passages in the LXX text make sense in relation to each other."[124] Furthermore, he also focused on whether LXX

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[121] cf. Koenig, *L'herméneutique*, 33, 49.
[122] Koenig, *L'herméneutique*, 33-35.
[123] Koenig, *L'herméneutique*, 45.
[124] cf. van der Kooij, *The Oracle*, 75. He had already raised the issue of coherence in his earlier publications, cf. idem, "Die Septuaginta Jesajas als

Isa 23 "not only constitutes, as a translation, a transformation from the linguistic point of view, but also a transformation in the sense of reinterpretation of the temporal application of an ancient prophecy." The question for him was the translator's hermeneutics: "did the translator aim at producing a version of an ancient prophecy which would make sense as an oracle at his time?"[125]

At the end of his study, van der Kooij concluded as follows:

The Greek text in its own right turns out to be a coherent text to a large extent, syntactically, stylistically and semantically. Significant renderings and passages appear to be related to each other. It points to a translator who aimed at producing a meaningful text. The main difference between MT and LXX, on the level of contents, has to do with the presence and contextual function of "Carthage" in the Greek text. In contrast to MT which is about a destruction of Tyre, LXX refers to a destruction of Carthage with its serious consequences for Tyre.[126]

Following his investigation of LXX Isa 23 as a text in its own right, van der Kooij addressed the question as to why this text differs from its Hebrew counterpart as far as its content is concerned. For him, the answer is in the translator's reading mode. In short, the translator read Isa 23 from the perspective of fulfillment interpretation, interpreting "the 'signs' of his time on the basis of ancestral, prophetical books, in our case the book of Isaiah, in order to help his people survive in hard times and to give them, at least the pious ones, hope for the future."[127] Van der Kooij further pointed to the historical-political events that form the background for LXX Isa 23:

Dokument Jüdischer Exegese. - Einige Notizen zu LXX - Jes. 7" in *Übersetzung und Deutung* (Nijkerk, Holland: Uitgeverij G. F. Callenbach: 1977), 93, 99; idem, *Textzeugen*, 33-34.

[125] van der Kooij, *The Oracle*, 18.

[126] van der Kooij, *The Oracle*, 87.

[127] van der Kooij, *The Oracle*, 109. See also idem, "Zur Theologie des Jesajabuches in der Septuaginta," in *Theologische Probleme der Septuaginta und der hellenistischen Hermeneutik* (ed. H. G. Reventlow; VWGTh 11; Gütersloher: Kaiser, 1997), 16.

- the destruction of Carthage, which the Romans brought about in 146 B.C.E.;
- the Parthian invasion of Babylonia, which was "presumably understood as a sign of the nearby breakdown of the Seleucid empire;"
- Tyre's involvement, "in some way or another, in the Hellenization of the city and temple of Jerusalem."[128]

Finally, van der Kooij further situated LXX Isa's reading mode in the context of other Jewish and non-Jewish writings of the 2nd century B.C.E. In general lines, he highlighted two main aspects involved in the reading of prophecies in that period. First, prophecy was seen as a prediction that had not yet been fulfilled; and, second, the interpretation of prophecies was restricted "to persons of the highest scholarly level of the time." As he put it:

> In short, in the Hellenistic period the mode of reading prophecies as predictions about the recent past, the present and the near future of the reader/interpreter was the prevailing one. The corresponding interpretation of prophecies was a matter of wisdom and scholarship of a specific nature, an ability which was thought to be the privilege of wise men of the highest level within the society of the time.[129]

Another important study appeared in 1999, which focused on an exegetical and theological study of Isa's so-called "servant songs." Important for our purposes was E. R. Ekblad Jr.'s evaluations of the causes of the divergences between MT and LXX of Isa 42:1-8; 49:1-9a; 50:4-11; 52:13-53:12. He claimed that most of the divergences found in the LXX were evidence of "a coherent theology and consistent exegetical

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[128] van der Kooij, *The Oracle*, 109.

[129] van der Kooij, *The Oracle*, 93. See also his "Theologie," 15: "Es liegen mehrere Texte vor, die darauf hinweisen, daß schriftgelehrte Juden zur Entstehungszeit der LXX die Prophezeiungen Jesajas als Vorhersagen lasen und deuteten, genauso wie es später der Fall ist im Neue Testament, Targum Jonatan zu den Propheten und in der frühchristlichen Exegese" and "Ferner spiegeln Stellen wie Sirach 36,14f. und Tobit 14,5 nicht nur ein lebendiges Interesse an den prophetischen Weissagungen und Erwartungen wider, sonder machen zugleich klar, daß man die Prophezeiungen auf die (nahe) Zukunft bezogen verstand."

method."[130] He urged caution in using the LXX Isa's variant readings to reconstruct the translator's *Vorlage*. Rather, he called for an evaluation of those divergences in the light of the whole book of Isa "because the LXX's word choice is determined by contextual and intertextual exegesis." More importantly, Ekblad concluded that

> the selection of a given word in the LXX is often determined by its semantic rapport… with other words in other texts which the translator saw as linked for the purpose of clarifying meaning. Scripture is used to interpret and clarify Scripture.[131]

As recent as 2008, R. L. Troxel published his *LXX-Isaiah as Translation and Interpretation: the Strategies of the Translator of the Septuagint of Isaiah*, a monograph that in his opinion "lays the foundation for a new view of the translator's work."[132] The purpose was to challenge what the author describes as a consensus that has lasted for the past fifty years:

> The sketch of the translator of Isaiah promoted by many scholars over the past fifty years (that he deliberately infused his translation with the beliefs and issues of his day) is… based on undisciplined associations between unique phraseology in the book and significant events known from the second century B.C.E.[133]

To reevaluate this *status quo*, Troxel argued that it is necessary to take other aspects into consideration:

> In order to reevaluate this portrayal, however, we must consider how translation was conceived in the Hellenistic era, how ancient scholars (especially those in the Alexandrian Museum) studied and used revered texts, and how to determine if a distinctive Greek locution is based on a reading in the translator's *Vorlage* at variance with the one in MT, or

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[130] E. R. Ekblad Jr., *Isaiah's Servant Poems according to the Septuagint: An Exegetical and Theological Study* (CBET 23; Leuven: Peeters, 1999), 268.

[131] Ekblad Jr., *Isaiah's Servant Poems*, 268.

[132] Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, ix.

[133] Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, ix.

even whether we have sufficient evidence to draw a conclusion in every case.[134]

The first chapter, "The Translator of Isaiah," discussed the translator's identity. This question relates to how the translator approached his work.[135] Troxel justified this quest with Ziegler's observation that LXX Isa, in contrast to other LXX books, brings with it the particular imprint of the translator. In other words, the personality of the translator has to be taken into account in evaluations of the relation between LXX Isa with MT Isa. Because the translator often infuses "Isaiah's oracles with meaning that cannot always be justified linguistically from his source text," the question of his identity becomes important. Troxel claimed that "it is not enough to call him a translator, because he seems to have gone beyond simply offering a translation."[136]

Troxel advanced that the translator must be seen against the model of the γραμματικοί in Alexandria. He rejected van der Kooij's comparison of LXX Isa's translator with scribes "that produced the *pesharim,*" claiming that "this association with a type of literature found only in *eretz Israel* raises the question in what the (sic) sense the translator was an Alexandrian."[137] Rather, Troxel proposed that the translator must be viewed as an "Alexandrian." He found support for his view on the translator's use of γραμματικοί for ספר in LXX Isa 33:18, the only place where γραμματικός renders ספר in the LXX. After a brief description of the history of the term γραμματικοί in the Hellenistic period and how the latter were expelled from Egypt under Euergetes II after 145 B.C.E., Troxel argued LXX Isa 33:18 reflects the translator's contemporaneous history around 145 B.C.E.:

> In this light, while the translation of ספר by γραμματικοί in Isa 33:18 may simply be a register of the translator's esteem for the grammarians, it seems more likely that his rendering of those verses expressed his dismay at the absence of γραμματικοί as pillars of Alexandrian society after 145 B.C.E. It is difficult to identify a more likely explanation for

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[134] Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, ix.

[135] cf. Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 1.

[136] Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 2.

[137] Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 20. See also p. 162.

why, in this passage alone, he elected the use of γραμματιϰοί. In fact, the translation of שקל by οἱ συμβουλεύοντες might be equally explicable as reflecting the wholesale dispatching of many who had remained loyal to Philometer's widow.[138]

Troxel viewed two aspects of the Isa translator that likened him to the γραμματιϰοί in Alexandria. The first is the translator's linguistic interpretation (chapter 4), especially his use of etymological exegesis.[139] The second is the translator's recourse to "contextual interpretation" (chapter 5). "Contextual interpretation" involves an intertextual interpretation of Isa based not only on the immediate or larger context of a given passage but also on the context of the translator's social-political milieu.[140]

Despite the recognition that the translator interpreted Isa in light of his "socio-political milieu," Troxel turned to a criticism of "contemporization." The basis for his criticism of "contemporization" was his view of the translator as an Alexandrian as opposed to considering him an "*ein Schriftgelehrter*" as van der Kooij had previously advanced. Although Troxel did not make the dichotomy above clear, it becomes apparent in his discussions of "fulfillment-interpretation" in chapters 6-7. The main difference between Troxel's and van der Kooij's point of view is that, for van der Kooij, the translator "considered himself inspired to interpret the ancient oracles as presaging events in his own day."[141] Contrarily, Troxel proposed that the translator should be taken in light of the Alexandrian γραμματιϰοί, who were engaged only with linguistic and contextual interpretation.

For Troxel, the basic issue is how to detect aspects of "contemporization" in LXX Isa: "the issue is defining what sorts of textual markers are sufficient to conclude that the translator deliberately alluded to events in his world as the 'true' referent of the prophet's oracle."[142] A comparison with the *pesharim* proves inadequate:

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[138] Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 24.

[139] cf. Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 107, 132.

[140] cf. Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 134.

[141] Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 19. See also p. 3.

[142] Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 162.

The problem of comparing the supposed *Erfüllungsinterpretation* of the translator with the *pesharim* is that the latter are explicit in their alignment of the text with contemporaneous events, whereas we have to extrapolate from oblique statements in a translation to what the translator might have had in view, which raises the thorny issue of intention. When we are dealing with a work whose substance is derived from its Hebrew exemplar, how can we ascertain what mental process created what we perceive as a historical allusion?[143]

Troxel characterized his approach as "minimalist." Historical references in the translation can only be postulated if a divergence was not based in the immediate or broader literary contexts. As he put it:

Embracing this principle requires a minimalist approach: only if the translator can be shown to refer deliberately to people, countries, ethnic groups, circumstances, or events by deviating from his *Vorlage* is it legitimate to entertain the possibility that he sought to identify such entities as the "true" referents of his Hebrew exemplar. More stringently, it must be shown that the translator did not arrive at a rendering by reasoning from the immediate or broader literary contexts, but that he fashioned it with an eye to circumstances or events in his day.[144]

It is important to register here scholars' responses to Troxel's claims. The most detailed replies came from A. Pietersma and van der Kooij. In his "A Panel Presentation on Ronald Troxel's *LXX-Isaiah*," Pietersma addressed, among other things, Troxel's interpretation of LXX Isa 33:18, a central passage for Troxel. Pietersma considered Troxel's reading of LXX Isa 33:18 to be "a good example of what I deem to be undisciplined interpretation of a translated text."[145] His main criticisms were threefold. First, he argued that Troxel completely ignored the

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[143] Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 162.
[144] cf. Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 164. See also pp. 166-167.
[145] A. Pietersma, "A Panel Presentation on Ronald Troxel's *LXX-Isaiah*," (Cited April 18, 2011. Online: http://homes.chass.utoronto.ca/~pietersm/Ronald%20Troxel's%20LXX-Isaiah.pdf.), 2.

context of Isa 33:18. He did not address the relation between vv. 18-19 with 17, 20: "how does the negativity of vv. 18-19 relate to the positive attitude expressed in vv. 17 and 20?"[146] Pietersma further argued, quoting Troxel's own words, that

> it is difficult to see 'how the translator went about forming it [the passage] into a literary unity - unless one take Isa 33:18 in complete isolation from its immediate context. And, for some reason, that is precisely what Troxel does, while at the same time making the entire book of LXX-Isaiah its new context.[147]

Second, he further pointed out that Troxel based his interpretation of LXX Isa 33:18 on "*circumstantial* evidence."[148] By "*circumstantial* evidence," he meant Troxel's importation into the text of his view of οἱ γραμματικοί as denoting the literati at the Alexandrian museum. For Pietersma, the evidence of the γραμματικοί in the Alexandrian museum is irrelevant because translation was not among the "various genres of Greek literature" studied at the Museum. As Troxel recognized that LXX Isa is a translation, his use of the evidence from the Alexandrian museum is unsuitable for LXX Isa's study.[149]

And, third, Pietersma accused Troxel's treatment of LXX Isa 33:18 of being "contradictory" and, echoing Troxel's words, "undisciplined." In arguing that οἱ γραμματικοί reflects events around 145 B.C.E. when the literati of the Museum were expelled from Alexandria, Troxel used contemporization, an aspect he had heavily criticized in his book. Consequently, Pietersma opined:

> What seems contradictory is that, on the one hand, Troxel questions "contemporization" in LXX-Isaiah, while, on the other hand, he introduces it in grand style. To me this is not disciplined or principled interpretation of a translated text.[150]

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[146] Pietersma, "A Panel Presentation," 17.

[147] Pietersma, "A Panel Presentation," 17-18.

[148] Pietersma, "A Panel Presentation," 13 (italics his).

[149] cf. Pietersma, "A Panel Presentation," 8.

[150] Pietersma, "A Panel Presentation," 18. See also J. L. W. Schaper, review of R. L. Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation and Interpretation: the*

Van der Kooij's reception of Troxel's book was cordially mixed as it accepted some aspects while rejecting others. He saw Troxel's call for seeing the translator as a γραμματικός as positive insofar as it takes "the wider cultural context" of LXX Isa into account.[151] He additionally pointed out that LXX Isa and the γραμματικοί practiced what is termed "etymological exegesis," a similarity that Troxel missed. In a footnote, van der Kooij rejected Troxel's interpretation of Isa 33:18 "as reflecting the dismay of the translator" in view of the absence of the γραμματικοί after 145 B.C.E. as "unlikely in view of the immediate context of LXX Isa 33."[152] Van der Kooij further noted that "contextual interpretation," which is one of the aspects Troxel advanced as new in LXX Isa studies, is actually "not that new." Other scholars, such as Ziegler, had already discussed it.[153]

In general terms, van der Kooij criticized Troxel's approach as not detailed enough. In Troxel's discussion of the phrases "the country above Babylon" and "where the tower was built" (LXX Isa 10:9), van der Kooij missed a more detailed explanation. He deemed inadequate Troxel's view that the "country above Babylon" was a sufficient translation of "as Karchemish" in MT. Although Troxel rightly detected a link with Gen 11 in the phrase "where the tower was built," van der Kooij similarly missed a discussion of the reason for the translator's use of that phrase in LXX Isa 10:9 in relation to Chalanne, and not Babel as in Gen 11. Troxel's insufficient treatment of LXX Isa 10:9 led van der Kooij to conclude that "the text as it stands should be analyzed in more detail" and that "since the motif of 'tower building' is found in a number of texts of the time… it would be more interesting to study the text in a

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Strategies of the Translator of the Septuagint of Isaiah, *JSOT* 33.5 (2009), 58, who similarly deemed Troxel's "associations" as no more "disciplined" "than, say, those of I. L. Seeligmann."

[151] cf. van der Kooij, review of R. L. Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation and Interpretation: the Strategies of the Translator of the Septuagint of Isaiah*, *BIOSCS* 42 (2009), 148, 152.

[152] van der Kooij, review of R. L. Troxel, 148, n. 1.

[153] cf. van der Kooij, review of R. L. Troxel, 148. In addition to Ziegler, the present historical review shows that Zillessen, Fischer, and Koenig had already gone over the issue of "contextual interpretation."

wider perspective."[154] The same criticism van der Kooij applied to Troxel's treatment of LXX Isa 10:8.[155] Troxel's test case study of LXX Isa 28 on the level of its literary structure equally lacked in detail. For van der Kooij, it was "rather global."[156]

Van der Kooij also addressed Troxel's criticism of "fulfillment-interpretation." First, he pointed out that "fulfillment-interpretation" "is not a matter of particular vocabulary and toponyms,"[157] as Troxel insinuated in his full treatment of the phrase ἐν (ταῖς) ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις and toponyms in chapter six of his book.

Second, van der Kooij highlighted that the "crucial question" in dealing with "fulfillment-interpretation" is hermeneutical in nature, namely, how the "oracles" of Isa "were read and understood by the translator."[158] He deemed as "extremely unlikely" that Isa was read as referring to the time of the Assyrians and Babylonians, as our historical-critical method postulates. Instead, the "cultural context of LXX Isaiah" indicates that "ancient prophecies were envisaged as trustworthy predictions… and that scholars who were authorized to do so applied ancient prophecies, or visions, to their own time."[159] He faulted Troxel for not paying attention to this cultural context and noted that Troxel referred only to the *pesharim*.[160]

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[154] van der Kooij, review of R. L. Troxel, 149.

[155] van der Kooij, review of R. L. Troxel, 149-150.

[156] van der Kooij, review of R. L. Troxel, 150. Troxel seemed to be aware that his treatment of LXX Isa 28 was not as detail as it should have been. Note his concluding statement (*LXX-Isaiah*, 286): "even *if a full treatment* of each verse in this unit might identify *additional* nuances…" (italics mine).

[157] van der Kooij, review of R. L. Troxel, 150.

[158] van der Kooij, review of R. L. Troxel, 150.

[159] van der Kooij, review of R. L. Troxel, 151.

[160] cf. van der Kooij, review of R. L. Troxel, 151. As our review thus far has shown, Troxel failed to note that van der Kooij has compared LXX Isa not only with the *pesharim*, as Troxel suggested in his book, but with Jewish and non-Jewish sources and both from inside and outside Palestine. See van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 60-65; idem, *The Oracle*, 88-94, and, most recently, idem, "The Old Greek of Isaiah and Other Prophecies Published in Ptolemaic Egypt," in *Die Septuaginta – Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse. 2. Internationale Fachtagung*

Finally, van der Kooij reminded Troxel that a simple discussion of "words or phrases, whether arrived on the basis of a given context or not, are too small a basis for the issue of actualization."[161] Instead, it is important to discuss, first, how the translator produced particular renderings; second, a given chapter must be analyzed from the point of view of its contents, paying attention to every aspect of transformation as well as thematic links with other passages in LXX Isa. And, third, the question of actualization can only be addressed after the first two aspects were taken into account.[162]

As it can be seen from the review thus far, a shift from the translator's *Vorlage* to the translator himself has occurred in the study of LXX Isa. Scholars disagree, however, on the most fitting way to approach it and how to explain its divergences from MT. This disagreement forms a good background for the discussion that follows below.

PRELIMINARY QUESTIONS

That "every translation is an interpretation" is commonplace cannot be denied. J. Barr, however, has pointed out "that in the context of ancient biblical translation, this remark is a highly misleading truism." He argued that the "process of translation" "may involve" two different types of interpretation, "so different as hardly to deserve to be called by the same name." Whereas the first type of interpretation is a "basic/semantic comprehension of the meaning of the text," the other "lies on a higher level" as "it begins only after these basic linguistic elements have been identified."[163] The present work uses the word "interpretation" in its "higher level" denotation.

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veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 23. - 27.7.2008 (eds. W. Kraus and M. Karrer; WUNT 252; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 72-84.

[161] van der Kooij, review of R. L. Troxel, 151.

[162] cf. van der Kooij, review of R. L. Troxel, 152.

[163] J. Barr, *The Typology of Literalism in ancient biblical translations* (NAWG 15; Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 1979), 290-291.

In contradistinction to previous works,[164] the term "interpretation" deliberately precedes "translation" in the title. The reason is the present's work's assumption that interpretation on a "higher level" foregoes the process of translation. The assumption, or the point being argued, is that the translator of Isa already had an understanding - on a higher level - of the book he was about to translate before he started its translation. Although it is true that interpretation on a higher level logically presupposes lower level reading, it is not clear that the translator started the process of translation based only on his understanding on a basic level. Rather, it is more likely that the translator, after interpreting on a basic level, acquired an understanding of the passage(s)/book on a higher level before the translation process started. Consequently, interpretation on a higher level not only anteceded but also governed and shaped the process of translation. And although interpretation is rightly described as containing two levels, a basic and a higher one, it is very likely that they went hand in hand and mutually informed one another while the Isa translator read his Hebrew *Vorlage*. If it can be reasonably demonstrated that interpretation on a higher level forwent the process of translation, it stands to reason that any explanations of the process of translation can only be carried out after a study of the translation as a product.

The view that the product of a translation shaped its process is not new for both the fields of Translation and LXX Isa studies. G. Toury argued for the interrelatedness of function, process, and product-oriented approaches. Whereas function concerns the position a translation occupies in the culture in which it is or will be embedded, process has to do with "the process through which a translated text is derived from its original." The text-linguistic makeup of the translation, the relationships which tie it to its source-text, and its shifts from it constitute the concern of a product-oriented approach. Toury argued that all these three aspects "are not just 'related'… but… form one complex whole whose

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[164] cf. e.g., Baer, *When We All Go Home: Translation and Theology in LXX Isaiah 56-66* (JSOTSup; The Hebrew Bible and Its Versions 1; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001); Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation and Interpretation*.

constitutive parts are hardly separable from one another for purposes other than methodical."[165]

Toury explained the relationship between function, product, and process-oriented approaches as follows: "the (prospective) systemic position & function of a translation determines its appropriate surface realization (= textual linguistic make-up)," which in turn "governs the strategies whereby a target text (or parts thereof) is derived from its original, and hence the relationships which hold them together."[166] For him, to understand "the intricacies of translational phenomena," it is of paramount importance to study the "interdependencies" between a function, process, and product-oriented approach.[167]

The reason is that the function of a translation, prospective or not, in a given culture is a "governing factor in the very make-up of the product, in terms of underlying models, linguistic representations, or both." Even the retaining of certain features of the source-text in the target-text signals not to their inherent importance but the importance the producer of the target-text assigned to them. In turn, the prospective function of the translation together with its linguistic make-up (product) "inevitably also govern the strategies which are resorted to during the production of the text in question, and hence the translation process as such."[168] Toury's remarks are highly important for the field of LXX Isa studies. The claim that the function and the product of a translation "govern the strategies" which the translator employs in the process of his translation is a good reminder that a proper explanation for the process of

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[165] G. Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (BTL 4; Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1995), 11.

[166] Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 13. The quotation reproduces the concepts Toury presents in the format of a chart.

[167] Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 11. He also spoke of "function, process, and product oriented approaches" as being not only related but forming "one complex whole whose constitutive parts are hardly separable from one another for purposes other than methodical." See also C. Boyd-Taylor, review of A. Aejmelaeus, *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays*, *BIOSCS* 42 (2009), 126, who called for a more target-oriented approach to LXX studies, denying the translators were "determined principally by linguistic facts."

[168] Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 13.

LXX Isa translation presupposes a firm understanding of it as a product. Because the translation as a product is the only window to the translator's interpretation (on a higher level) of his *Vorlage*, it seems reasonable to ground explanations for how particular readings arose on the results of the analysis of the translation as a product.

Another aspect needing emphasis here is Toury's claim that the retaining of certain features from the source-text in the target-text does not signal to their inherent importance but to the importance the translator assigned to them. This claim has a paramount implication for the study of what is normally termed "literal" translations in LXX Isa. As it was seen in the review of the history of research above, some scholars have argued the translator's ideology can only be found in his "free renderings." This minimalist approach seems to presuppose that the translator decided to keep aspects of his source-text because of their inherent importance. However, it is important to note that the translator may have retained certain features of his *Vorlage* intact in his translation because of their importance to him, to his intentions, and to his interpretation, on a higher level, of his source-text. As such, the claim that the translator's ideology or intentions can only be found in his deviations is highly problematic. As it will be argued in the course of this work, both "literal" and "free" renderings taken together should be seen as expressive to the translator's higher level interpretation of his *Vorlage*.

Some scholars in the field of LXX Isa studies have long applied similar concepts in their research. A prime example is A. van der Kooij's study of LXX Isa 23. He first approached it as a text, which entailed two interrelated aspects: in comparison with MT (source-text) and in its own right (target-text). This approach is similar to Toury's product-oriented. After analyzing LXX Isa 23 in its own right, van der Kooij went on to discuss why LXX Isa 23 was produced the way it was (function), finishing with remarks on how the translator produced his translation (process).[169] Van der Kooij's logic was similar to Toury's: it is only possible to understand the process of a translation after a study of the translation as a product.

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[169] cf. van der Kooij, *The Oracle*, 48, 88, 110. For details on this work, see our discussion above.

Furthermore, that the translator had a higher level interpretive plan before he started his work is not a new idea in the field of LXX Isa studies. In his influential work, Ziegler claimed that the translator of Isa "scheint überhaupt sein Buch sehr gut dem Inhalte nach im Gedächtnis gehabt zu haben."[170] In his also important contribution, Coste argued that the translator had an interpretative strategy in mind before he started his translation of LXX Isa 25:1-5.[171]

The present work stands firm on that tradition. It will pursue two main questions:

First, where should the translator's "higher level" interpretations be found? Should they be found only in his "free" renderings? Or should they be found in a combination of both "free" and "literal" translations?[172]

Second, do the "literal" and "free" renderings of the sections that compose LXX Isa 24:1-26:6 cohere with each other?[173] In other words, is the final product of LXX Isa 24:1-26:6 to be seen as a meaningful literary coherent unit? Another ancillary question would be whether LXX Isa 24:1-26:6 possibly as a coherent text would shed light on the translation process of those chapters. Although this question falls outside the scope of the present work, occasionally the issue of the translation process will be addressed.

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[170] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 135. See the discussion of this work on the history of research above.

[171] cf. Coste, "Le texte grec," 51.

[172] For a discussion of the difficulty implied in the terms "literal" and "free" in relation to LXX studies, cf. J. Barr, *The Typology of Literalism*, 279-325 and the more recent contribution by T. A. W. van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint: Towards an Interaction of Septuagint Studies and Translation Studies* (CBET 47; Leuven: Peeters, 2007), *passim*. For a helpful definition of "free" and "literal" translations, cf. E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (2nd ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 125: "The more a translation unit uses fixed equivalents, the more it is considered literal, and the less that such equivalents are found in it, the freer it is considered."

[173] For a discussion of the scope of LXX Isa 24:1-26:6, see discussion below.

What follows is a critique of approaches that limit themselves to the process of the translation without paying attention to the translation as a product. A common characteristic of approaches that start with the process of translation is their atomistic nature. As it will be seen below, with a few exceptions, they usually pay attention to words or phrases and hardly discuss the translation on broader levels, such as verses, paragraphs, chapters, and book. Their working assumption seems to be that translation immediately followed interpretation on its basic level.

<p style="text-align:center">PROBLEMATIC ASSUMPTIONS</p>

Low Level Interpretation to Translation Equals Emergency Solution

Interpretation as an emergency solution assumes the translator did not understand the meaning of his Hebrew *Vorlage*.[174] It is claimed that when faced with a difficult text, the translator panicked and "looked for an emergency exit."[175] It is equally claimed that most cases judged to be theological exegesis are actually examples of "emergency solutions" the translator employed due to his misunderstandings and guessing.[176]

A text cited as an example of the translator's perplexity in face of a difficult Hebrew text is Isa 9:5(6)d: ויקרא שמו פלא יועץ אל גבור אביעד שר שלום/καὶ καλεῖται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος ἐγὼ

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[174] In the field of LXX Isa studies, it is sometimes assumed that the translator's knowledge of Hebrew was weak under the impression that that assumption is "generally agreed" among specialists on LXX Isa. See e.g., Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 83 n. 57, 84 n. 67. Troxel dismissed van der Kooij's argument that the translator was trained in reading the Hebrew aloud. With Seeligmann, he argued that the translator's knowledge of Hebrew was more "a product of theoretical study rather than of living experience" (the phrase under quotation comes from Seeligmann, *The The Septuagint Version*, 49). Even if it were true that the translator's knowledge of Hebrew was more a product of theoretical study, it is hard to see how that would prevent him from learning how to read the Hebrew aloud.

[175] A. Aejmelaeus, "Levels of Interpretation: Tracing the Trail of the Septuagint Translators," in *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays* (CBET 50; Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 310.

[176] cf. Aejmelaeus, "Levels of Interpretation," 309.

γὰρ ἄξω εἰρήνην ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας εἰρήνην καὶ ὑγίειαν αὐτῷ. It has been claimed that the translator's interpretation of this passage "is built around a few items that have been analyzed in an incorrect way."[177] First, the Greek genitival construction μεγάλης βουλῆς "is impossible on the basis of the Hebrew" because "Hebrew cannot express a genitive preceding its main word;" second, ἄξω "is based on a false analysis of the Hebrew 'Father';" that is, the translator analyzed אבי as אביא "I will cause to come." Third, עד was read as a preposition and it was translated with ἐπί; fourth, singular שׂר was "turned to plural 'rulers'" (ἄρχοντας). Fifth, ἄγγελος corresponds to אל גבור; and, finally, there is the threefold translation of שלום.[178] This brief analysis led one scholar to conclude that "the syntactic structure of the Greek text is based on mere guessing. The translator simply panicked and looked for an 'emergency exit'."[179]

However, it is maintained that "the difficulty of the source and the ignorance of the translator give way to contemporary theological or ideological convictions." In this case, the ideology is the wish that the rulers of all nations will receive peace. The case of Isa 9:5 is not to be considered an interpretation but as a rewriting of the source text, a rewriting that still gives rise to the translator's ideology.[180]

The principle underlying the approach exemplified is that *if it looks like a mistaken, then it must have been a mistake*. The belief is that explanations as mistakes are simpler and, therefore, should receive the priority. The contrary applies to explanations that resort to ideology. Note the following circular reasoning:

> It is here as important as ever to adhere to the old rule that the simplest adequate explanation should be given precedence over more complicated ones. A deliberate change of the meaning out of an

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[177] Aejmelaeus, "Levels of Interpretation," 309.

[178] cf. Aejmelaeus, "Levels of Interpretation," 309.

[179] Aejmelaeus, "Levels of Interpretation," 309-310.

[180] cf. Aejmelaeus, "Levels of Interpretation," 310. Similarly, Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 96, also maintained that the translator betrayed his theology in mistaken interpretations due to his lack of understanding of the Hebrew.

ideological motivation seems to me in many cases to be the more complicated explanation.[181]

The question is, of course, whether explanations from the point of view of "translation style" are in fact the simplest, given Aejmelaeus' recognition that all LXX translators "had a theological or religious motivation for their work."[182]

Aejmelaeus' explanations of Isa 9:5 as the result of guessing give an important opportunity to discuss approaches that solely focus on "translation style." Such an approach is highly limited. First, it is usually atomistic in that it pays attention to single words or phrases to the expense of the broader literary context. For instance, Aejmelaeus offers no comments on the translator's use of the conjunction γάρ and on the transition to divine speech that ἐγώ signals.[183] No attention is, thus, devoted to the role words and phrases play in their own literary context.

Second, the approach paradoxically lacks in detailed analysis and it can be characterized as methodologically one-sided. By not discussing the function of ἐγὼ γὰρ ἄξω, Aejmelaeus' approach missed an important clue to understanding the translator's interpretation.[184] Aejmelaeus' approach, besides focusing solely on the translation process without paying attention to the translation as a product, takes for granted that the translation should be "literal." The definition of "literal" is highly problematic. Does "literal" equate to the modern exegete's

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[181] Aejmelaeus, "Levels of Interpretation," 312.

[182] Aejmelaeus, "What We Talk about when We Talk about Translation Technique," in *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays* (CBET 50; Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 218. See also the criticisms in C. Boyd-Taylor, review of A. Aejmelaeus, *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays*, *BIOSCS* 42 (2009), 125.

[183] For a recent discussion of these issues, cf. Troxel, "ΒΟΥΛΗ and ΒΟΥΛΕΥΕΙΝ in LXX Isaiah," in *The Old Greek of Isaiah: Issues and Perspectives* (ed. A. van der Kooij and M. N. van der Meer; CBET 55; Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 160.

[184] For a more fruitful discussion of Isa 9:6, cf. van der Kooij, "Wie heißt der Messias?" 157-163; R. Hanhart, *Studien zur Septuaginta und zum hellenistischen Judentum* (ed. R. G. Kratz; FAT 24; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 95-133.

interpretation of the Hebrew? Is it possible that the translator's divergent interpretations could also be seen as "literal," at least from his perspective?

And, third, the approach can also be characterized as anachronistic. The question is how to determine whether the translator's reading of Isa 9:5 was the result of mistake or not. Most importantly, if one wants to call it a "mistake," then the question would be: "mistake" in whose eyes? Perhaps, in the "eyes" of the modern exegete, who reads Isa 9:5 differently from the translator's. But could one still say that the translator made a mistake? And, how should one determine whether a particular reading is a mistake? The proposal of this dissertation is that a reading can only be deemed a "mistake" if it can be determined that it does not fit in its own literary context in the Greek. If it can, then the likelihood is that it was not a mistake.

Higher Level Interpretation Found Only in Free Translations

A common assumption among some specialists is that the translator's ideology is only found in his "free" renderings. Although Seeligmann had argued the translator's religious notions can be found in literal and free renderings as "both represent fragments of the religious notions of the translator concerned,"[185] he decided to focus only on those places where the translation differed ideologically from its source text. He did not intend to write a history of the religious notions of the translator, which included a study of both literal and free renderings, but

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[185] Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 95: "This implies that, for such a cross-section, passages that were translated literally in a given book of the Septuagint, are of equal importance as free paraphrases: both represent fragments of the religious notions of the translator concerned." For a seemingly contradictory view, cf. p. 41: "If we look at the mentality behind these inconsistencies in this light, we shall, on the one hand, feel sceptical towards the probability of their being particularly ingenious and particularly purposeful efforts to discover logical connexions in any chapter or part of a chapter in our Septuagint-text, but, on the other hand, they also entitle us to try, on our part, *to discover, in isolated, free renderings, certain historical allusions or expressions of the translator's own views and ideas*" (italics ours).

"to indicate the differences between those embodied in the translation and in the original."[186]

Recently, Troxel offered a different position from Seeligmann in claiming that the translator's ideology can only be found in "free" renderings. For him, because "what a *translator* offers is bound… to what his source text says," "as long as a translator renders his source text 'literally,' we have no way of perceiving his exegesis."[187] Differently, "exegetical" interpretations can only be found where the translator departed from his presumed *Vorlage* "to the degree it suggests the translator substituted a phrase or a clause for what lay in his *Vorlage*."[188] And, as it is reasonable to assume that the translator's insertions were dictated by his understanding of the context, his exegesis is found in his "contextual interpretations."[189]

In Troxel's monograph, one gets the impression that "literal" equals "linguistic interpretation," whereas "free" stands for "exegetical, contextual interpretation." However, a sharp distinction between "linguistic" and "exegetical" interpretations is unsustainable. For instance, Troxel discussed the translator's interpretation of passages "in the light of theologoumena" elsewhere in the book under the heading "linguistic interpretation in LXX-Isaiah."[190] This is, however, hardly a matter of "linguistic interpretation." For instance, Troxel pointed to the translator's equalization of δόξα with salvation as is clear from LXX Isa 40:5: ונגלה כבוד יהוה וראו כל־בשׂר יחדו/καὶ ὀφθήσεται ἡ δόξα κυρίου καὶ ὄψεται πᾶσα σὰρξ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ.[191] The difficulty of terming the translator's use of δόξα and salvation as part of "linguistic" interpretation is clearly seen in Troxel's conclusion that "the translator's exploitation of the themes of δόξα and salvation are good examples of 'theological exegesis'…"[192] Even if it is true that those themes are "essential elements

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[186] Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 95.
[187] Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 133 (Italics his).
[188] Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 134.
[189] Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 134.
[190] cf. Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 128-132.
[191] cf. Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 130.
[192] Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 131-132.

of the book of the translator,"[193] the translator's decision to employ them in his rendition of certain passages cannot be a matter of linguistics only. Rather, the translator had to make a deliberate and intentional decision to introduce those themes in a particular passage, in a move that goes way beyond simply "linguistic" interpretation.

Another problem with the claim that the translator's exegesis can only be found in his "free" translations is that it tends to dissect the very text the translator produced as a unit. As seen above, Troxel offered a valuable discussion of the translator's use of prepositions "to clarify the relationship between clauses." The translator's linking of clauses through conjunctions implies that he aimed at producing a well-knit text, which was composed of "free" and "literal" translations. If the translator considered that his "free" renderings went along with his more "literal" ones, it is a mistake to assume that his "exegesis" is only found in "free" renderings. As it will be argued in this dissertation, the translator's exegesis is found in the final form of the text he produced, which happens to include both "free" and "literal" translations.

Troxel's claim that the translator's ideology can only be found in "free" renderings to the exclusion of "literal" ones raises an important question: Is the translator's ideology to be found only in "free" renderings or can they also be found in "literal" translations? More specifically, could the translator's juxtaposition of "free" and "literal" translations reflect his ideology?

Higher Level Interpretation and Low Level Ones are Incoherent

As it was mentioned above, albeit Seeligmann viewed "free translations" as important as "literal renditions" for the reconstruction of the translator's theology,[194] he also claimed that the translator's own views or historical allusions can be found in free renderings. And not only in "free renderings" in general but "especially in those places where

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[193] Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 132.

[194] cf. Seeligmann, *The The Septuagint Version*, 95: "This implies that, for such a cross-section, passages that were translated literally in a given book of the Septuagint, are of equal importance as free paraphrases: both represent fragments of the religious notions of the translator concerned."

these insertions appear to constitute an element alien to the main context."[195] He did not believe "free renderings" cohered with the translator's more "literal translations:"

> If we look at the mentality behind the inconsistencies in this light, we shall… feel skeptical towards the probability of their being particularly ingenious and particularly purposeful efforts to discover logical connexions in any chapter or part of a chapter in our Septuagint-text.[196]

Different from Seeligmann, Coste showed that the "free renderings" of LXX Isa 25:1-5 cohered well with its "literal translations." After discussing LXX Isa 25:1-5 in comparison with MT,[197] Coste concluded that it showed itself, as a translational text, "comme un échec presque complet." Contrarily, when analyzed as a literary unit in its own right, LXX Isa 25:1-5 is "une composition ordonnée et cohérent."[198] Coste further concluded that LXX Isa 25:1-5, as a literary and conceptual text, shows that an active interpretive plan was already at work even before its translation had started. Finally, Coste argued that this interpretive plan reflected the translator's personal piety and faith.[199] Das Neves and van der Kooij reached similar conclusions in their studies of LXX Isa 24; 23 respectively.[200]

The divergence of opinions as to whether LXX Isa's "free" translations cohere with its "literal" renditions offer an excellent opportunity to ask the question: do the "free" translations in LXX Isa 24:1-26:6 cohere with its "literal" ones? In other words, does LXX Isa 24:1-26:6 make any sense without recourse to its Hebrew *Vorlage*? One

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[195] Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Vesion*, 41.

[196] Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 41. See also J. Barr, *The Typology*, 281: "the tendency of many early translators was… to combine the two approaches [literal and free] in a quite inconsequential way."

[197] cf. Coste, "Le texte grec," 37-45.

[198] Coste, "Le texte grec," 50.

[199] cf. Coste, "Le texte grec," 51.

[200] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 265; van der Kooij, *The Oracle*, 87. On p. 43, das Neves claimed that the differences between the Hebrew and the Greek find their origin in the "mentalidade teológica do nosso tradutor." The reason is that LXX Isa is more an interpretation than a translation.

specialist remarked: "Nevertheless, that translator [LXX Isa] seems to have viewed his task differently than those of the Torah. While he often follows their more literal tendencies, he frequently also stands closer to the style of translation we find in Proverbs and Job. The question is how to account for this peculiar mix."[201] In my view, the question is not so much to account for how "literal" and "free" renderings came to be but whether those two types of translations make sense in their own literal contexts.

Contextual Interpretation versus Interpretation on a Higher Level

In his criticisms of "fulfillment-interpretation," Troxel postulated a principle to detect whether a particular divergence in the G reflects the translator's contemporaneous history or not. For him, historical references in LXX Isa can only be found if a divergence was not based in the immediate or broader literary contexts. As he put it:

> Embracing this principle requires a minimalist approach: only if the translator can be shown to refer deliberately to people, countries, ethnic groups, circumstances, or events by deviating from his *Vorlage* is it legitimate to entertain the possibility that he sought to identify such entities as the "true" referents of his Hebrew exemplar. More stringently, it must be shown that the translator did not arrive at a rendering by reasoning from the immediate or broader literary contexts, but that he fashioned it with an eye to circumstances or events in his day.[202]

The principle seems to be based on the assumption that the translator, when faced with a difficult Hebrew text, resorts to phraseology from elsewhere:

> Additionally, the fact that deviations from the MT recur in several passages may mean nothing more than that the translator followed similar paths in trying to rescue verses he found inscrutable, as evidenced by "stop-gap" words like ἡττᾶσθαι.[203]

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[201] Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 75.

[202] Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 164. See also pp. 166-167.

[203] Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 166.

The problem with the approach above is its assumption that the translator resorted to words/phraseology from elsewhere in his *Vorlage* due to their inherent importance. However, Toury has remarked that a translator retains aspects of his source-text because of the important he assigned to them.[204] In this light, it is important to ask the question as to why the translator of Isa decided to use words/phraseology from elsewhere for his translation of certain passages. Was it because of their "inherent importance" or because of the importance he assigned to them? If the second option is correct, then it will become clear that even the use of word/phraseology from elsewhere in the *Vorlage* may betray the translator's ideology simply because he found them important for his higher level interpretation of his source-text.

Furthermore, the fact that a reading may have been based on the immediate or broader context does not exclude the issue of intention. In this sense, van der Kooij's critique of Troxel is relevant. He reminded Troxel that a simple discussion of "words or phrases, whether arrived on the basis of a given context or not, are too small a basis for the issue of actualization."[205] I would add they are equally too narrow for detecting "interpretation on a higher level."

METHODOLOGY

In the attempt to detect higher level interpretation in the translation of LXX Isa 24:1-26:6, the present study will approach it from two interrelated perspectives. First, part 1 will compare LXX Isa 24:1-26:6 with MT. The focus lies in describing, not evaluating, the translator's translation style or *Übersetzungsweise*.[206] One important aspect is the discovery of unusual lexical choices. Unusual is defined here in the light of the Isa translator's profile. The question is: why did the translator choose a particular Greek term for his rendition of a certain

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[204] cf. the discussion above and Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 13.

[205] van der Kooij, review of R. L. Troxel, 151.

[206] For the study of "translation style" as descriptive, cf. van der Kooij, *The Oracle*, 16. For a similar position in relation to LXX studies outside LXX Isa, cf. Aejmelaeus, *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators*, 205-206.

Hebrew word?[207] Put differently, when faced with a choice between two or more Greek lexemes for a single Hebrew term, what led the translator to choose one lexeme over the other? (cf. Olley). Part 1 will questions concerning the translator's lexical choices, whereas part 2 will attempt to answer them.

Part 1 will not attempt to judge whether the translator's *Vorlage* was identical to unvocalized MT or not. It rather takes MT tentatively as the likely *Vorlage* behind the Greek. D. De Crom pointed out to the similarity between LXX and Descriptive Translation Studies in relation to the provisional status of the source-text in translation studies: "both DTS and translation technique work with *assumed* source texts, meaning that the nature and extent of ST-TT relations are not given but have to be discovered during textual study." Whereas the provisional status of the ST is an axiomatic formulation in DTS, De Crom pointed out that in LXX studies that provisional status is "a practical consequence of the textual uncertainty of both ST and TT."[208] As such, unpointed MT will be tentatively taken as the likely source-text of LXX Isa. When there is a divergence between Qumran Isa scrolls and MT, part 1 will discuss that divergence. The assumption is that one cannot make decisions concerning LXX Isa's *Vorlage* without understanding its profile. One can only make textual decisions based on a translation after being acquainted with its style. For that reason, part 2 will, when necessary, discuss the issue of the translator's *Vorlage*.

Second, part 2 will analyze LXX Isa 24:1-26:6 as a text in its own right. Two aspects will be the focus here: first, to what extent do "free" renderings found in the composing sections of LXX Isa 24:1-26:6 cohere with its "literal" translations? Can LXX Isa 24:1-26:6 be seen as a coherent text? In other words, "To what extent can one make sense of the Greek text without recourse to the Hebrew?"[209]

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[207] cf. Olley, *'Righteousness,'* 11.

[208] D. De Crom, "The LXX Text of Canticles: a Descriptive Study in Hebrew-Greek Translation" (Ph.D. diss., Katholieke Universiteit Leuven OE Literatuurwetenschap: Tekst en Interpretatie, 2009), xxxix.

[209] De Crom, "The LXX Text of Canticles," xxxvii.

And, second, as a text in its own right, how does LXX Isa 24:1-26:6 compare ideologically with MT? As discussed above, some scholars claim the translator's ideology can only be found in "free" renderings. While it is true that one must start with "free" translations, it will be argued in the course of this work that the translator's ideology, in the sense of how he interpreted the Hebrew on a higher level, is to be found in the final product of his translation. This final product is composed of "free" and "literal" renderings.

Another important goal would be to explain the process behind the translation in an attempt to reconstruct what went "in the translator's mind" while he was producing his work. Even though this step falls outside the scope of the present work, occasionally part 2 will discuss cases which previous scholarship explained as a different *Vorlage*, mistakes, or "influence" by phraseology from elsewhere. A more systematic discussion of the translation process will remain a *desideratum* for future research.

<div align="center">CONTRIBUTION</div>

LXX Isa's research history is a basic attempt to provide an explanation for the divergences between the H and the G. As the historical overview above shows, scholars have proposed many varied reasons for LXX Isa's departures from the H. A different H *Vorlage*, translator's deficient knowledge of H, poor orthographic quality of the translator's H manuscript, translator's reading errors of similar H consonants, changes in the transmission of LXX Isa, the translator's theology and bent to fulfillment interpretation, linguistic necessity of the target language, and etc., were all advanced as possible candidates to account for the differences between the translation and its source text. Given the amount of divergent opinions, there is a clear need for a firmer and helpful methodological meter from which to judge a particular divergence in LXX Isa.

One important parameter will be whether the literary sections composing LXX Isa 24:1-26:6 can be seen as a coherent text. Coherence will provide a firmer framework to evaluate the nature of LXX Isa's divergences from the H. The presence of coherence in a given passage in the G will suggest that the translator intentionally read his *Vorlage* in a

different way from, say, Aquila and our modern interpretation of the H. The presence of coherence would also indicate the translator had an interpretation on a higher level in mind before he even started his translation. Coherence would also open the doors to a more fruitful search for the discovery of the translator's milieu in his translation. Similarly, the lack of coherence would suggest that LXX Isa's divergences from the H have an accidental nature. As such, explanations like translator's errors, different *Vorlage*, and the like would seem more convincing.

The search for the LXX Isa's coherence presupposes a methodological approach that focuses not only on describing the process of the translation but on the translation as a product. In fact, the methodological contribution of the present work is to call for a study of the Greek in its own right before delving into discussions of how the translator went about producing his translation. It will be argued that the process of the translator can be properly assessed only after the acquisition of a solid understanding of the translation as a product.

As it is clear from the historical overview above, scholars have made considerable progress in studying LXX Isa as a text in its own right in opposition to studying it in relation to its H *Vorlage* (textual-criticism) or simply as a translation. However, there still remains much to be done in the study of LXX Isa as a "document in" and "of itself." Not too long ago, scholars complained about the lack of work on LXX Isa in its own right: "there have, of course, been many large strides forward in the study of the LXX, but the LXX remains valuable to most scholars primarily as a witness to its *Vorlage*, and not as a document in and of itself."[210] This statement remains true today. In taking LXX Isa 24:1-26:6 as a text in its own right and commenting on it in detail, the present work hopes to be a step forward in filling in this gap.

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[210] S. E. Porter and B. W. R. Pearson, "Isaiah through Greek Eyes: The Septuagint of Isaiah," in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition* (ed. C. C. Broyles and C. A. Evans; VTSup 70/2; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 531.

SCOPE

One commentator has correctly remarked on MT Isa 24-27 that "few sections within the book of Isaiah have called forth such a wide measure of scholarly disagreement on their analysis and interpretation as have these four chapters." One of the major problems of this literary section is the issue of whether it has any "structural coherence." Basically, scholars have debated the issue of how to relate what appears to be "eschatological prophecy" (Isa 24:1-23; 26:6-27:13) with "liturgical songs" (Isa 25:1-5; 26:1-6).[211] The lack of agreement on the coherence of Isa 24-27 offers an interesting opportunity to see what became of those chapters in LXX Isa 24-27.

As it will be seen in the course of this dissertation, LXX Isa 24:1-26:6 forms a literary unit that revolves around the theme of "cities" and the "ungodly" (cf. 24:10, 12; 25:2-3; 26:1, 5-6). There is a contrast between the "fortified cities" (cf. πόλεις ὀχυράς in 25:2; 26:5) and the "fortified city" (cf. πόλις ὀχυρά in 26:1). In addition, there is a reference to the "city of the ungodly" (cf. τῶν ἀσεβῶν πόλις in 25:2b), the "cities of the wronged men" (cf. πόλεις ἀνθρώπων ἀδικουμένων in 25:3), and to "every city/cities" (πᾶσα πόλις/πόλεις in 24:10, 12).[212] Even though Isa 27:3 mentions a "strong, besieged city" (πόλις ἰσχυρά πόλις πολιορκουμένη), Isa 27 has been left out of consideration for practical reasons. The problems that chapter presents both in the H and in the G would deserve a monograph solely dedicated to it. LXX Isa 26:5-6's mention of πόλεις ὀχυράς form a nice *inclusio* around the theme of

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[211] cf. B. S. Childs, *Isaiah* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), 171-172.

[212] For a discussion of the identity of these cities, cf. van der Kooij, "The Cities of Isaiah 24-27 According to the Vulgate, Targum and the Septuagint," in *Studies in Isaiah 24-27: The Isaiah Workshop - De Jesaja Werkplaats* (*OtSt* 43; ed. H. J. Bosman, et al., Leiden: Brill, 2000), 191-196; idem, "Interpretation of the Book of Isaiah in the Septuagint and in Other Ancient Versions," in *"As Those Who Are Taught:" The Interpretation of Isaiah from the LXX to the SBL* (SBLSymS 27; ed. C. M. McGinnis and P. K. Tull; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 62-66.

"cities" that had started in LXX Isa 24:10, 12. As such, the present dissertation will focus on LXX Isa 24:1-26:6.

Another reason for choosing LXX Isa 24:1-26:6 as the object of the present inquiry is the lack of attention previous works on these chapters have devoted to the theme of "cities" and their relation to the "(un)godly." As seen in the history of research above, neither Liebmann's text-critical interest in LXX Isa 24-27 nor Coste's or das Neves' theological approach have dealt with the "cities" and "(un)godly" motif in LXX Isa 24:1-26:6. Apart from a couple of brief articles on the "cities,"[213] there are no other systematic studies of these important themes in LXX Isa 24:1-26:6. The present dissertation hopes to fill in this gap.

Finally, a deeper understanding of how the Isa translator read H Isa 24:1-26:6 is important for modern interpreters of MT. As is well-known, MT Isa 24-27 has received considerable attention in the past hundred years.[214] In contrast, little attention has been devoted to LXX Isa 24-27. With the exception of Liebmann's study of its translation technique, Coste's treatment of LXX Isa 25:1-5 and das Neves of LXX Isa 24 remain the few treatment of LXX Isa 24-27 in a more detailed way. It is important for those working on H Isa 24-27 to know how its first interpreter, the translator of Isa, read it. It is possible that modern students may gain some light from LXX Isa in solving difficult problems in the interpretation of the H.[215] The present study of LXX Isa 24:1-26:6

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[213] cf. van der Kooij, "The Cities of Isaiah 24-27," 191-196; idem, "Interpretation of the Book of Isaiah," 62-66.

[214] For recent studies on Isa 24-27, see e.g., R. Scholl, *Die Elenden in Gottes Thronrat: Stilistisch-kompositorische Untersuchungen zu Jesaja* 24-27 (BZAW, 274; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2000); B. Doyle, *The Apocalypse of Isaiah Metaphorically Speaking: A Study of the Use, Function and Significance of Metaphors In Isaiah 24-27* (BETL 151; University Press/Uitgeverij Peeters, Leuven, 2000); H. J. Todd, *Intertextuality in Isaiah 24-27: The Reuse and Evocation of Earlier Texts and Traditions* (FAT 2/16; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006).

[215] For an example of an attempt to gain some light from the LXX for the interpretation of MT Isa 24:14-16, cf. W. de Angelo Cunha, "A Brief Discussion of MT Isaiah 24,14-16," *Bib* 90/4 (2009), 530-544.

hopes to give the student of the H a thorough understanding of how that text was first interpreted in the second century B.C.E.

Part 1 - MT and LXX Isa Compared

Part 1 will focus on a comparison between MT and LXX Isa 24:1-26:6.[1] It will note agreements and divergences between MT and LXX. It will also discuss previous explanations for differences found in the Greek text. With the exception of a few cases, there is no attempt to explain the process behind the translation. That explanation is occasionally offered in part 2 below but not in a systematic way. Important in part 1 is to raise questions about the translator's lexical choices, highlight different reading tradition(s) from MT, and point to previous scholarly explanations of divergences as mistakes or as due to different *Vorlage*. Part 1 is divided into three main chapters, each dealing with LXX Isa 24 (chapter 2), LXX Isa 25 (chapter 3), and LXX Isa 26:1-6 (chapter 4). The comparison proceeds on a verse by verse basis all the way. Each section presents MT with our critical translation, then the LXX, followed by an English (NETS) and German (LXX.D.) renditions. The latter two are offered for clarity sake. The German translation nicely italicizes the LXX's divergencies from MT so that the reader can immediately identify them. Our critical translation of the Greek text is reserved for part 2, where a discussion of other translations is carried out.

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[1] Ziegler's critical edition is the standard text used in the present work. See Ziegler, *Isaias* (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum; Societatis Litterarum Gottingensis 14; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1939). At times, there is a discussion of other critical editions as well (cf. comments to Isa 25:5 below).

CHAPTER 2 - ISA 24:1-23: A COMPARISON

24:1

MT:	הנה יהוה בוקק הארץ ובולקה ועוה פניה והפיץ ישביה
Trans.:	"Soon, Yahweh is about[1] to lay waste[2] the earth and to devastate it and to distress its face and to scatter its inhabitants."
LXX:	ἰδοὺ κύριος καταφθείρει τὴν οἰκουμένην καὶ ἐρημώσει αὐτὴν καὶ ἀνακαλύψει τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς καὶ διασπερεῖ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν αὐτῇ
NETS:	"Look, the Lord is ruining the world and will make it desolate, and he will uncover its surface and scatter those who dwell in it."
LXX.D.:	"Siehe, der Herr zerstört die bewohnte Welt bis auf den Grund und wird sie zur Einöde machen und ihr Antlitz *bloßlegen* und die zerstreuen, die in ihr wohnen."

The phrase ἰδοὺ κύριος καταφθείρει τὴν οἰκουμένην relates to הנה יהוה בוקק הארץ. It has been suggested that the lexeme ἐρημόω, rather than καταφθείρω, translates בקק here.[3] This proposal must be rejected due to a lack of evidence for the equivalence ἐρημόω/בקק in the LXX. Besides, the use of the cognates φθορά/φθείρω for בקק [2x] (cf. Isa 24:3) indicates

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[1] G. B. Gray (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Isaiah 1-27* [ICC, 15; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1980] 408) correctly argued that the participle attached to the particle הנה denotes the immediate future. See also IBHS, 627, § 37.6f; J. N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 1-39* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1986), 444. H. J. Bosman and H. W. M. van Grol's translation ("Annotated Translation of Isaiah 24-27," in *Studies in Isaiah 24-27: The Isaiah Workshop - De Jesaja Werkplaats* [eds. Annemarieke van der Woude et al.; OtSt 43; Leiden: Brill, 2000] 4) rightly expresses the immediate future idea of Isa 24:1a as "YHWH is about to." For syntactical constructions composed of the particle הנה together with participles in Isa, see Isa 3:1; 10:33; 22:17; 26:21; and 39:6.

[2] cf. HALOT, 1:150.

[3] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 64.

that κατοφθείρω is linked to בקק in 24:1.[4] Excepting Isa 24:1, 3, בקק appears only once more in Isa 19:3, where it was translated with ταράσσω "to stir, set in motion." In the rest of the LXX, σφάζω "to slaughter" (Jer 19:7), λυμαίνομαι "to cause or inflict serious harm and damage to" (Jer 51:2 [28:2]), and ἐκτινάσσω "to shake out" (Nah 2:3 [2x]) all translate בקק. On the other hand, κατοφθείρω is used in LXX Isa as a translation of חבל "to destroy" in Isa 10:27; 13:5; 32:7. Both the equivalence κατοφθείρω/חבל and the variety of lexemes used for בקק in both LXX Isa and LXX as a whole suggest the translator's pick of κατοφθείρω is striking (cf. part 2 below).

The use of the lexeme οἰκουμένη for ארץ deserves comments. Excluding Ps 72:8, this equivalence occurs almost solely in LXX Isa (cf. Isa 10:23; 13:5, 9; 14:26; 23:17; 24:1; 37:16, 18).[5] Besides, γῆ "land" is the usual rendition of ארץ in LXX Isa (cf. e.g., 24:3, 4, 5, 6). Contrarily, οἰκουμένη frequently stands for תבל in both LXX Isa (cf. Isa 13:11; 14:17; 24:4; 27:6; 34:1) and the rest of the LXX. The rarity of the equivalence οἰκουμένη/ארץ begs the question as to why the translator decided to employ οἰκουμένη in Isa 24:1.[6] It has been argued that the translator used γῆ/οἰκουμένη in Isa 24-27 without any difference in meaning.[7] Whether that was the case or not will be discussed further in part 2 below.

The sentence καὶ ἐρημώσει αὐτὴν "and he will lay it waste" translates ובולקה "and he will destroy it." The verb בלק appears only here and as a substantivized participle in Nah 2:11. The equivalence

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[4] cf. HRCS, 2:747; T. Muraoka, *A Greek ≈ Hebrew/Aramaic Two-Way Index to the Septuagint* (Peeters: Louvain, 2010), 66.

[5] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 64. He inadvertently included Prov 8:31 as another example of the equivalence οἰκουμένη/ארץ. However, Prov 8:31 reads תבל instead of ארץ.

[6] In contrast to MT/4QIsa[c], 1QIsa[a] reads אדמה instead of ארץ. 1QIsa[a]'s divergent reading has, however, no bearing on whether οἰκουμένη reflects a *Vorlage* that read אדמה. The reason being that οἰκουμένη never renders אדמה in the whole of the LXX. In addition, the remaining textual witnesses all support MT. See Targ. (ארעא), Pesh. (ܐܪܥܐ), and Vulg. (*terram*).

[7] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 40.

ἐρημόω/בלק occurs nowhere else.[8] In LXX Isa, the lexeme ἐρημόω or cognates render a number of Hebrew terms: חרב "to dry up" (cf. Isa 34:10; 37:18; 44:27; 49:17; 51:10; 60:12), שמם "to be desolate" or cognates (cf. Isa 1:7; 33:8; 54:3), חרם "to destroy" (cf. Isa 11:15), שבר "to break" (cf. Isa 24:10), and שאה "to lie desolate" (cf. Isa 6:11). Given the rarity of the verb בלק in MT, the question as to why the translator picked ἐρημόω here must be asked. Cf. part 2 below.

   Καὶ ἀνακαλύψει τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς renders ועוה פניה. The equivalence ἀνακαλύπτω "to uncover"/עוה "to do wrong" occurs only here. Scholars have argued that either the translator misread עוה as ערה "to uncover" due to the similarity of the consonants ו/ר or that his *Vorlage* already contained ערה.[9] Another scholar pointed out that the translator used ἀνακαλύπτω because of the reference to "face" in the Hebrew.[10] The translator seemed to know עוה as "to do wrong" because he used ἀδικέω "to do wrong" to translate it in Isa 21:3 (cf. also 2 Sam 19:20; 2 Chron 6:37; Est 1:16; Jer 3:21; 9:4; Dan 9:5). If his *Vorlage* read עוה, the question arises as to why he decided to use ἀνακαλύπτω here (cf. part 2 below). More will be said about this later. Finally, the clause καὶ διασπερεῖ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν αὐτῇ translates והפיץ ישביה. The use of ἐνοικέω for ישב is not striking because the equivalence ἐνοικέω/ישב is characteristic of LXX Isa, occurring 16 out of 23x in the whole of the LXX (cf. Isa 5:9; 21:14; 22:21; 23:2, 6; 24:1, 6, 17; 26:5, 9, 18, 21; 33:24; 40:22; 65:21, 22; outside Isa, cf. Lev 26:32; 2 Kings 19:26; 22:16,

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[8] Pesh. used the *pa'el* of ܓܠܐ "to assail severely, strike in pieces" (cf. J. P. Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dicitonary*, 181). The Vulg. has *nudare* "to lay bare." Targ. is highly interpretive: ומסר לה לסנאה "and he will hand it over to the adversary."

[9] cf. Scholz, *Jesaias*, 30; Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:220; Fischer, *In welcher Schrift*, 39. See also Isa 3:17 for the equivalence ἀποκαλύπτω/ערה. Among the acient textual witnesses, 1QIsaᵃ, 4QIsaᶜ (not confidently identified), 4QIsaᶠ, Pesh. (ܚܒܠ "to utterly destroy"), Vulg. *affligo* "to ruin" all attest to עוה. Targ. interpreted as follows: ותחפי בהתא אפי רברבהא על דעברו על אוריתא "and shame will cover the face of its princes because they transgressed the law." For this translation, cf. B. D. Chilton, *The Isaiah Targum: Introduction, Translation, Apparatus and Notes* (ArBib 11; Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1987), 47.

[10] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 212. For the phrase ἀνακαλύπτω τὸ πρόσωπον, cf. Tob 2:9; 2 Cor 3:18.

19; Jer 27:11; 31:24; 49:1). In comparison, κατοικέω renders ישב 22 out of 472x in the LXX (cf. Isa 6:11; 9:1; 10:13, 24, 31; 12:6; 13:20; 20:6; 23:18; 24:5, 6; 32:16, 18; 40:22; 42:10, 11[2x]; 44:26; 45:18; 49:19, 20; 51:6). In LXX Isa 24, ἐνοικέω/κατοικέω both stand for ישב. Did the translater differentiate between ἐνοικέω/κατοικέω in his translations of ישב? Did he use them as synonyms? Or are the uses of ἐνοικέω/κατοικέω for ישב simply the result of an erratic, on the spot translation of ישב? These questions will become clearer later in part 2 below.

24:2

MT:	והיה כעם ככהן כעבד כאדניו כשפחה כגברתה כקונה כמוכר כמלוה כלוה כנשה כאשר נשא בו
Trans.:	"The same fate will happen[11] to people and priest, servant and his masters, female slave and her mistress, buyer and seller, to the loaner as well as to the one taking a loan from him."
LXX:	καὶ ἔσται ὁ λαὸς ὡς ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ ὁ παῖς ὡς ὁ κύριος καὶ ἡ θεράπαινα ὡς ἡ κυρία ἔσται ὁ ἀγοράζων ὡς ὁ πωλῶν καὶ ὁ δανείζων ὡς ὁ δανειζόμενος καὶ ὁ ὀφείλων ὡς ᾧ ὀφείλει
NETS:	"And the people shall be like the priest, and the servant like the master, and the maid like the mistress; the buyer shall be like the seller, and the lender like the borrower, and the creditor like the one to whom he owes."
LXX.D.:	"Und das Volk wird sein wie der Priester und der Knecht wie *der* Herr und die Magd wie *die* Herrin; wer kauft,

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[11] Joüon-Muraoka, 605 § 174i indicated that comparative clauses using the combination כ… כ convey the idea that the two clauses under question "are declared identical in some regard" and not that the first clause is the same as the second or vice-versa. Thus, the meaning of Isa 24:2, claimed Joüon-Muraoka, is that "the same end will await people and priests, slaves and masters…" and not that "the people will be like the priest, the servant like his master…" as NAS translates. According to *IBHS* (203 § 11.2.9b), the comparative use of the preposition כ in Isa 24:2 expresses an agreement of "*correspondence* or identity" (its italics) between the clauses compared in contrast with "*agreement in kind*" (its italics), which is another possible use of the preposition כ. NAS' translation has inadvertently understood the use of כ in Isa 24:2 as one expressing "agreement in kind" instead of "agreement of correspondence or identity."

wird sein wie der, der verkauft, und wer verleiht, wie
der, der entleiht, und wer Schulden *hat*, wie der, dem er
schuldet."

LXX presents minor differences from MT. In the first half of the
verse, it does not attest to the pronominal suffixes in MT. It has been
suggested that the translator's *Vorlage* already lacked the pronominal
suffixes in "lord" and "mistress."[12] However, that proposal is unlikely as
the ancient witnesses are in line with MT.[13] Further, the translator turned
the last sentence of the Hebrew around. Whereas MT reads "the one who
lends like the one who takes a loan from him," LXX has "the creditor
like the one to whom he owes." Ottley rightly indicated that a paraphrase
here "was almost a necessity."[14] Finally, the second occurrence of ἔσται
has no counterpart in MT.

24:3

MT:	הבוק תבוק הארץ והבוז תבוז כי יהוה דבר את־הדבר הזה
Trans.:	"The earth certainly will be laid waste and certainly will be plundered because Yahweh spoke this word."
LXX:	φθορᾷ φθαρήσεται ἡ γῆ καὶ προνομῇ προνομευθήσεται ἡ γῆ τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησεν ταῦτα
NETS:	"The earth shall be ruined with ruin, and the earth shall be plundered with plundering, for the mouth of the Lord has spoken these things."
LXX.D.:	"Die Erde wird ganz vergehen, und *die Erde* wird gänzlich geplündert werden; denn *der Mund* des Herrn hat dies gesprochen."

As indicated in the discussion of 24:1 above, Isa 24:1, 3 are the
only places where the cognates καταφθείρω/φθείρω/φθορά occur in place

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[12] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 212.

[13] cf. 1QIsaᵃ (כעבד כאדוניו), 4QIsaᶜ (כעבד כאדוניו כשפחה כגברתה),
(כש[פחה] כגברתה), Targ. (עבדא כריבוניה אמתא כמרתה), Pesh. (ܐܝܟ ܥܒܕܐ
ܐܝܟ ܐܡܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܪܬܗ), and Vulg. (*et sicut servus sic dominus eius sicut ancilla sic
domina eius*).

[14] Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:221.

of בקק.[15] As for the translation of inf. + finite verb (2x), the translator employed the usual noun + cognate verb construction, which occurs eight times in LXX Isa as opposed to part. + verb, appearing only three times in the same book.[16] The equivalent προνομεύω/בזז appears three more times in LXX Isa (cf. 11:14; 42:22, 24) and several times in the rest of the LXX (cf. Num 31:9, 32, 53; Deut 2:35; 3:7; 20:14; Josh 8:2, 27; 11:14; Jer 30:16). Ἡ γῆ has no counterpart in MT. More will be said about this plus in part 2 below.

Στόμα lacks an equivalent in MT.[17] It has been suggested that either פה "mouth" stood in the translator's *Vorlage* or that στόμα resulted from a double translation of כי, which would also have been read as פי.[18] As the expression στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησεν appears also in Isa 1:20; 58:14 to render כי פי יהוה דבר, it is better to see στόμα in both 24:3; 25:8 as the translator's own insertion in analogy with the Hebrew and the Greek of Isa 1:20; 58:14.

Ταῦτα "these things" stands for את־הדבר הזה "this word." It has been conjectured that the translator's *Vorlage* perhaps read only כי יהוה דבר.[19] However, all the ancient witnesses align with MT.[20] Ταῦτα occurs as part of the phrase ἐλάλησεν ταῦτα in Isa 1:20; 58:14 (cf. also Mic 4:4), where no demonstrative pronoun זה is found. It is probable that the translator used ταῦτα in analogy with 1:20; 58:14 referring to "words" that have either being spoken or written in a book. Cf. Isa 29:11, where ταῦτα refer to the words written in a book (cf. γράμματα).

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[15] Pesh. reads ܥܒܠ "to be destroyed" here and in 24:1. Targ. chose בזז "to be despoiled," a choice based on the appearance of the same Hebrew lexeme in 24:3b (cf. also 24:1). It then interpretively used דוש "to trample" in place of 24:3b. Vulg. has *dissipare* as it does in 24:1.

[16] The statistical information above was taken from H. St. J. Thackeray, "Renderings of the Infinitive Absolute in the LXX," *JTS* 9 (1908), 599. See also Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 55.

[17] cf. Scholz, *Jesaias*, 24.

[18] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 216; Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 66.

[19] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 216; BHS.

[20] cf. 1QIsaᵃ, 4QIsaᶜ, θ (τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο), Targ. (ארי יוי מליל ית פתגמא הדין), Pesh. (ܡܛܠ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܡܠܠ ܗܠܝܢ), and Vulg. (*Dominus enim locutus est verbum hoc*).

24:4

MT:	אבלה נבלה הארץ אמללה נבלה תבל אמללו מרום עם־הארץ
Trans.:	"The earth mourned, fell, the world wasted away, fell,[21] the high ones of the earth wasted away."
LXX:	ἐπένθησεν ἡ γῆ καὶ ἐφθάρη ἡ οἰκουμένη ἐπένθησαν οἱ ὑψηλοὶ τῆς γῆς
NETS:	"The earth mourned, and the world was ruined; the exalted ones of the earth mourned."
LXX.D:	"Die Erde klagte, und die bewohnt Welt verging, die Erhabenen der Erde klagten."

LXX is shorter than MT as it contains only three instead of five verbs. It has been argued that the translator's *Vorlage* was shorter than MT.[22] However, all of the ancient witnesses align with MT.[23] It is more likely that the translator shortened his text for considering the Hebrew too long.[24] The one word ἐπένθησεν translates both נבלה/אבלה (cf. e.g., Isa 24:7; 3:26; 61:2, 3; 16:8; 19:8). It is less clear why the translator used ἐφθάρη for נבלה/אמללה because nowhere else in the LXX φθείρω stands for either נבל/אמל. In LXX Isa, πενθέω "to grieve" (cf. Isa 16:8; 19:8; 24:7) usually translates אמל, whereas ἐκρέω "to fall off" (cf. Isa 64:5) and ἀποβάλλω "to throw off" (cf. Isa 1:30) render נבל. Given that φθείρω does not stand for either נבל/אמל anywhere else, its use in Isa 24:4 will be discussed further in part 2 below. The phrase οἱ ὑψηλοί "the exalted ones" translates מרום עם "the height of the people." In LXX Isa, מרום is usually read as an adjunct of place (cf. Isa 22:16; 26:5; 32:15; 33:5). In

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[21] BHK and BHS suggest the deletion of the verbs נבלה and אמללה on the basis of their absence in the LXX.

[22] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 217: "Der Grund, weshalb LXX die gleichtönenden Paare der Verba nur je einmal übersetzt, kann nicht in LXX selbt liegen, da er sonst stets derartige Verbindungen genau wiedergiebt."

[23] cf. 1QIsaᵃ, 4QIsaᶜ, σ/θ (κατερρίφη [2x]), Targ. (אתאבלת חרובת ארעא ܐܠܐ ܡܬܒܐ ܟܟܒܠ ܐܘܟܐ ܐܠܐ), Pesh. (תבל ספו תקוף עמא דארעא צדיאת חרובת ܡܬܒܐ ܘܐܪܐܟܒܠܐ ܗܟܠ ܐܠܐ ܘܡܬܒ ܘܐܘܟܐ) and Vulg. (*luxit et defluxit terra et infirmata est defluxit orbis infirmata est altitudo populi terrae*). It is interesting to note that Pesh. has inserted the phrases "and she sat down in mourning" and "she sat down."

[24] cf. van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 62.

Isa 24:4, the translator took מרום עם as the subject of אמללו, translating it with οἱ ὑψηλοί.

24:5

MT: והארץ חנפה תחת ישביה כי־עברו תורת חלפו חק הפרו ברית
               עולם

Trans.:   "The earth was defiled under[25] her inhabitants because they passed over[26] the laws,[27] they passed over[28] the boundaries, they broke[29] the eternal covenant."

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[25] The preposition תחת, which usually means "under," has here the nuance of "authority or control," cf. R. J. Williams, *Hebrew Syntax: An Outline* (2d ed.; 1976; repr., Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), § 350. In this sense, it parallels the use of the same preposition in Gen 41:35; Num 5:19.

[26] HUB indicates that 1QIsaᵃ has a י above the ב of the verb עבר. However, D. W. Parry and E. Qimron (*The Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsaᵃ): A New Edition* [STDJ, 32; Leiden: Brill, 1999], 39, n. 2a) note that "the anagular mark above the ב is not a י but a scratch in the leather; the photographs are misleading." Hence, עברו in 1QIsaᵃ's newest edition. Cf. E. Ulrich, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls: Transcriptions and Textual Variants* (VTSup 134; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 373.

[27] 4QIsaᶜ has the singular תורה instead of the plural תורת attested in MT and 1QIsaᵃ. The massorah of the Aleppo codex notes that that plural תורת is a *hapax legoumena* in the Hebrew Bible. The rare occurrence of this word in the plural might have given rise to the singular reading in 4QIsaᶜ. The Vulg. also has the plural *leges*. The LXX, Targ., and Pesh. have the singular: τον νομον; אוריתא; ܢܡܘܣܐ.

[28] HALOT, 321, proposes vocalizing the verb חלף as a *piel* instead of *qal*. In this way, the meaning of the verb would be "to change" or "to alter." Contrarily, BDB, 3101 assigns "overstep, to transgress" as the *qal* meaning of חלף.

[29] 1QIsaᵃ has הפירו from the root פור "to destroy," instead of הפרו from פרר "to break." The verb פור appears only in Ps 33:10 and Ezek 17:19, whereas the combination of פרר and ברית appears more often in the Hebrew Bible but only twice in Isa, cf. 24:5; 33:8. It is uncertain whether 1QIsaᵃ 33:8 reads הפר or הבר (cf. Parry and Qimron, *The Great Isaiah Scroll*, 55, n. 8a). Ezek 17:19 may have influenced 1QIsaᵃ. There one finds, besides פור, the words "covenant" and "curse," the latter appearing in MT and 1QIsaᵃ Isa 24:6.

LXX: ἡ δὲ γῆ ἠνόμησεν διὰ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας αὐτήν διότι παρέβησαν τὸν νόμον καὶ ἤλλαξαν τὰ προστάγματα διαθήκην αἰώνιον

NETS: "And the earth behaved lawlessly because of those who inhabit it, because they transgressed the law and changed the ordinances - an everlasting covenant."

LXX.D.:   "Die Erde aber handelte gesetzwidrig um ihrer Bewohner willen, denn sie übertraten das Gesetz und *veränderten* die Anordnungen, einen ewigen Bund."

The conjunction δέ is linked to the conjunction ו. The equivalence ἀνομέω "to break the law"/חנף "to pollute, profane" occurs only here in the whole of the LXX. In LXX Isa, the cognate noun ἄνομος stands for חנף in Isa 9:16; 10:6; 32:6, an equivalency that occurs only in Isa. Otherwise, ἀσεβής "ungodly" renders חנף in Isa 33:14. Outside Isa, the verbs μιαίνω "to defile" (cf. Jer 3:1 [2x], 2; Dan 11:32) and φονοκτονέω "to pollute with murder" (cf. Num 35:33 [2x]; Ps 106:38) render חנף.[30] Given that ἀνομέω/חנף is not such a straightforward translation,[31] the use of ἀνομέω here will need more discussion (cf. part 2 below). The particle ἀντί usually renders תחת in LXX Isa.[32] In contrast, διά stands for תחת only here and in Isa 60:15 and, outside Isa, only in Deut 4:37; Prov 30:21. It seems that the translator's choice of διά involved an interpretive process and reflects his understanding of תחת as expressing the reason or cause for the earth's lawless behavior.[33]

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[30] cf. also σ', who chose φονοκτονέω "to pollute with murder" as a translation of חנף, a choice which Num 35:33[2x] probably influenced (cf. also Ps 106:38). Das Neves (*A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 131) opined that σ's use of φονοκτονέω may point to theological reflection.

[31] cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:221; das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 66.

[32] cf. Isa 3:24[4x]; 37:38; 53:12, 13[3x]; 60:17[4x]; 61:3[2x].

[33] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 219. Σ's υπο may also be considered interpretive. Pesh. interpreted as follows: ܘܗܘܬ ܐܪܥܐ ܐܝܟ ܥܡܘܪ̈ܝܗ "the earth became like its inhabitants." Targ. (וארעא חבת תחות יתבהא) followed MT closely as far as the preposition תחת is concerned. Vulg. (*et terra interfecta est ab habitatoribus suis*) interpreted the preposition תחת "under" with *ab* "by."

LXX has the sing. τὸν νόμον "the law" for the plural תורת "laws."[34] The textual witnesses are divided. While 1QIsaᵃ (תורות) and Vulg. (*leges*) align with MT, 4QIsaᶜ, Targ. (אוריתא), and Pesh. (ܢܡܘܣܗ, lacks the *seyame*) all attest to the singular "law." But it is unlikely that the translator's *Vorlage* read the sing. "law" instead of MT's plural "laws." With the exception of Exo 18:20; Lev 26:46, the defective תורת appears only here in Isa 24:5. This rarity may have given rise to the use of the sing. תורה in the textual witnesses. Otherwise, if the translator's *Vorlage* aligned with MT, the question as to why he chose the singular "law" for the plural "laws" must be asked. More will be said about this in part 2 below. Further, the choice of κατοικέω for ישב deserves further discussion. Why did the translator use it here instead of ἐνοικέω as in Isa 24:1, 17? More will be said about this in part 2 below.

For the equivalent ἀλλάσσω/חלף, cf. Isa 40:31; 41:1. Although the translation of חק with πρόσταγμα appears only here in Isa, it is often attested in the LXX.[35] The plural προστάγματα for the sing. חק occurs here and in Ezr 7:10; Ps 99:7. Lastly, הפרו is not attested in LXX Isa probably due to condensation.[36] In Isa 24:5, διαθήκην αἰώνιον appears in 24:5 in apposition to τὰ προστάγματα further qualifying the former as an "everlasting covenant." The same phenomenon occurs in LXX 1 Chr 16:17-18; Ps 104:10-11, where προστάγματα parallels διαθήκην αἰώνιον.[37]

24:6

MT: על־כן אלה אכלה ארץ ויאשמו ישבי בה על־כן חרו ישבי ארץ
           ונשאר אנוש מזער

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[34] cf. also the sing. in Targ. and Pesh.: אוריתא; ܢܡܘܣܗ and the plural *leges* in the Vulg.

[35] cf. Gen 47:26; Exo 18:16, 20; Deut 11:32; 12:1; Judg 11:39; 1 Sam 30:25; 1 Kgs 8:58, 61; 9:4; 1 Chr 16:17; 22:13; 29:19; 2 Chr 7:17; 33:8; 34:31; 35:25; Ezra 7:10, 11; Neh 1:7; 9:13, 14; Job 26:10; Ps 2:7; 81:5; 94:20; 99:7; 105:10; 148:6; Jer 5:22; Ezek 20:25; 45:14; Amos 2:4; Mal 3:22.

[36] cf. HUB.

[37] cf. also *Pss. Sol.* 10:4, where the phrase "in the law of the everlasting covenant (ἐν νόμῳ διαθήκης αἰωνίου)" occurs.

Trans.:   Therefore[38], the curse eats[39] the earth[40]
                 and its inhabitants bear the guilt[41]
                 Therefore, the inhabitants of the earth are burned up[42]
                 and a few men are left

LXX: διὰ τοῦτο ἀρὰ ἔδεται τὴν γῆν ὅτι ἡμάρτοσαν οἱ
                 κατοικοῦντες αὐτήν διὰ τοῦτο πτωχοὶ ἔσονται οἱ
                 ἐνοικοῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ καταλειφθήσονται ἄνθρωποι
                 ὀλίγοι

NETS: "Therefore a curse will devour the earth, because those
                 who inhabit it have sinned; therefore those who dwell in
                 the earth will be poor, and few people will be left."

LXX.D.:   "Darum wird ein Fluch die Erde fressen, *weil* ihre
                 Bewohner sündigten; darum werden *arm sein*, die auf
                 der Erde wohnen, und wenige Menschen werden übrigen
                 bleiben."

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[38] HUB notes that the Pesh. reads ܡܛܠ ܗܠܝܢ "because of these," a reading that probably omits the Hebrew word כן, according to that edition (cf. also Vulg., *propter hoc*: "because of this").

[39] HUB noted that σ' reads ἐπένθησεν "to grieve; to mourn." He correctly pointed out that this reading is also found in the Pesh. (ܐܬܒܠ). It is interesting to notice that the Vulg. agrees with MT by translating אכל with *vorabit* "to devour."

[40] HUB observed that ארץ is absent from 1QIsaᵃ.

[41] BHK remarked that the Targ. has וצדיאו "to be deserted," a reading that reflects the Hebrew root שמם "to be desolate" instead of MT אשם "to be guilt" (cf. also Pesh., ܢܬܚܪܒܘܢ). 1QIsaᵃ also has וישמו "were desolated."

[42] Contrarily to MT, 1QIsaᵃ/4QIsaᶜ read חורו from חור "to grow pale" or "to diminish." MT's reading "they diminished in number" fits in well with the reading "and a few men were left" in the following clause (cf. van der Kooij, "The Text of Isaiah and Its Early Witnesses in Hebrew," in *Sôfer Mahîr: Essays in Honour of Adrian Schenker Offered by the Editors of Biblia Hebraica Quinta* [ed. Y. A. P. Goldman, A. van der Kooij, and R. D. Weiss; VTSup 110; Leiden: Brill, 2006], 148). The Targ. reads ספו "to come to an end" and the Pesh. ܢܬܓܡܪܘܢ "to be brought to destruction; to be exterminated." The LXX reads πτωχοί ἔσονται, which HUB explained as a change caused by the parallelism with the following clause. It also referred the reader to Esth 1:20. Contrarily, σ' reads εκτρυχωθησονται "to wear out" (cf. the occurrence of this word in Wis 11:11; 14:15).

Ἔδεται "it will consume" links with אכלה, pointed as a past tense verb in MT "it has consumed." It is not clear why the translator employed a future tense verb here. Even if he read אכלה as a participle, he could have translated it with a present tense verb (cf. καταφθείρει/ בוקק in Isa 24:1). More will be said about this in part 2 below. The use of the conjuction ὅτι for ו calls attention as the equivalence ὅτι/ו does not occur often in LXX Isa (cf. Isa 2:2; 9:19; 15:4; 28:17; 30:8, 20; 51:15; 53:3). The question arises as to why the translator chose ὅτι here. Liebmann thought that ἁμαρτάνω was not suitable here and saw in ὅτι ἡμάρτοσαν an indication of the translator's worldview, arguing that ἀφανίζω "to destroy" could have been chosen to translate אשם.[43] However, ἁμαρτάνω translates אשם here and in Lev 5:4; 2 Chron 19:10[2x] and, as such, it is not correct to claim that ἁμαρτάνω does not suit אשם.[44] For a discussion of the equivalence κατοικέω/ישב, cf. discussion under 24:1 above.

The expression πτωχοὶ ἔσονται stands in place of חרו. It is probable that חרו presented the translator with some lexical difficulty.[45] It has been suggested that the translator read ידלו "they will become small, unimportant" for חרו.[46] The reason for the translator's choice of the phrase πτωχοὶ ἔσονται for חרו will be discussed in part 2 below. Although the equivalence καταλείπω/שאר occurs often in LXX Isa,[47] the verb ὑπολείπω "to leave remaining" (Isa 4:3) and the nouns κατάλοιπος "left, remaining" (Isa 21:17), λοιπός "left" (Isa 17:3), and κατάλειμμα "remnant" (Isa 10:22; 14:22) also appear. As such, it will still be important to discuss why the translator decided to use his default word in LXX Isa 24:6 (cf. discussion in part 2 below). The plural καταλειφθήσονται ἄνθρωποι ὀλίγοι parallels the preceding plural clause πτωχοὶ ἔσονται οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ.

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[43] Liebmann, "Der Text," 49, 221. 1QIsaᵃ (וישמו), Targ. (וצדיאו), and Pesh. (ملامهبو) all reflect the root שמם "to be desolate." Contrarily, Vulg.'s (*peccabunt*) is in line with LXX.

[44] cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:221.

[45] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 67; HUB.

[46] cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:221.

[47] cf. Isa 10:19, 20, 21; 11:11[2x], 16; 16:14; 17:6; 24:12; 28:5; 49:21. Cp. ὑπολειφθήσεται in α'.

24:7

MT:	אבל תירוש אמללה־גפן נאנחו כל־שׂמחי־לב
Trans.:	"The wine dries up, the vine withers, all the joys of the heart groan."
LXX:	πενθήσει οἶνος πενθήσει ἄμπελος στενάξουσιν πάντες οἱ εὐφραινόμενοι τὴν ψυχήν
NETS:	"The wine will mourn; the vine will mourn; all who rejoice in their soul will groan."
LXX.D.:	"Der Wein wird klagen, die Rebe wird klagen, alle, die sich (jetzt) von Herzen freuen, werden seufzen."

For the use of πενθέω for אמל/אבל, cf. comments on 24:4 above. Στενάζω "to bemoan" translates אנח "to sigh, groan" only here and in 21:2, where στενάζω renders the cognate noun אנחה "sigh, groan" (outside Isa, cf. Lam 1:8, 21; Eze 21:11, 12). The translator's choice of στενάζω can be further appreciated in light of Isa 19:8, where στενάζω and πενθέω are also parallel.[48] The equivalence שׂמח/εὐφραίνω occurs often in LXX. In the LXX, καρδία "heart" by far render לב "heart" (cf. e.g., Isa 6:10). The equivalence ψυχή "soul, life"/לב occurs only 13x in the whole of the LXX, while appearing 3x in LXX Isa (cf. Isa 24:7; 33:18; 42:25).

24:8

MT:	שׁבת משׂושׂ תפים חדל שׁאון עליזים שׁבת משׂושׂ כנור
Trans.:	The joy of the tambourines has ceased, the uproar of the jubilant has stopped, the joy of the lyre has ceased
LXX:	πέπαυται εὐφροσύνη τυμπάνων πέπαυται αὐθάδεια καὶ πλοῦτος ἀσεβῶν πέπαυται φωνὴ κιθάρας
NETS:	"The joy of the drums has ceased; the stubbornness and wealth of the impious have ceased; the sound of the lyre has ceased."
LXX.D.:	"Vergangen ist die Freude der Handpauken, vergangen sind *Anmaßung und Reichtum* der *Gottlosen*, vergangen ist der *Klang* der Leier."

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[48] cf. GELS, 634.

Παύω translates שבת here and in Isa 16:10; 33:8 (cf. also Exo 31:17; Deut 32:26; Prov 18:18; Jer 31:36) and חדל in Isa 1:16 (cf. also Gen 11:8; Exo 9:29, 34). Εὐφροσύνη renders משׂוש here and in Isa 32:13, 14; 60:15, 18 (cf. also Lam 2:15; Hos 2:13). Τύμπανον translates תף about 14x (cf. Isa 5:12; Gen 31:27; Exo 15:20[2x]; Judg 11:34; 1 Sam 10:5; 18:6; 2 Sam 6:5; 1 Chron 13:8; Ps 81:3; 149:3; 150:4; Jer 31:4).

The phrase αὐθάδεια καὶ πλοῦτος ἀσεβῶν "the arrogance and wealth of the ungodly" in place of שאון עליזים "the uproar of the jubilant" is striking.[49] The equivalences αὐθάδεια/שאון and πλοῦτος/שאון appear only here in the whole of the LXX. The use of κραυγῆς "crying, shouting" for שאון in Isa 66:6 shows that the translator knew that שאון has something to do with "shouting." One scholar has suggested that the translator read גאון "exaltation, majesty, excellence" in place of שאון.[50] However, nowhere else in the LXX is גאון translated with either αὐθάδεια or πλοῦτος. Others have proposed that the translator perhaps read שאון as שאנן "self-confident" or "arrogant."[51] A recent suggestion is that the translator linked שאון with "a derivation of the root נשא – 'to raise,' for instance with שאת – 'elevation'."[52] Another suggestion is that the phrase αὐθάδεια καὶ πλοῦτος is a double translation of שאון.[53] It seems that αὐθάδεια καὶ πλοῦτος ἀσεβῶν interprets שאון עליזים. For the translator, עליז suggested some sort of "arrogance" that was linked to "wealth." For instance, he used ὑβρίζω "to treat arrogantly" for עליז "jubilant"/גאוה "loftiness" in Isa 13:3 and ὕβρις "arrogance" for עליז in Isa 23:7.[54] Similarly, the translator also rendered עליז with πλούσιος "wealthy" in Isa 32:13. On the other hand, the translator also associated שאון with "wealth" (cf. πλούσιος/שאון in Isa 5:14) and, perhaps, with "arrogance" as

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[49] Cp. with Targ.: אתמנעת אתרגושת תקיפין "the strong tumult ceased," Pesh.: ܐ ܘܓܝ ܡܠܐ ܡܥܠ "the voice of the one exulting ceased," Vulg.: *quievit sonitus laetantium* "the noise of the ones rejoicing was made inactive."

[50] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 224.

[51] Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:221; das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 186. For the meaning "arrogant," cf. BDB, 9601. For the equivalence πλούσιος/πλοῦτος/שאנן, cf. Isa 32:9, 18; 33:20.

[52] van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 30.

[53] cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 66; cf. HUB.

[54] For the function of ὕβρις in Isa 23, cf. van der Kooij, *The Oracle*, 58, 81-82.

well.[55] As for the reading ἀσεβῶν "ungodly," it has been suggested that the translator read עליזים "jubilant" as עריצים "violent, tyrant" (cf. Isa 29:5).[56] Be it as it may, the question arises as to why the translator decided to insert the phrase αὐθάδεια καὶ πλοῦτος ἀσεβῶν here. More will be discussed in part 2 below. Finally, the use of φωνή in place of the second משׂושׂ points to an *ad sensum* translation.[57]

24:9

MT:	בשיר לא ישתו־יין ימר שכר לשתיו
Trans.:	"During the song they do not drink wine, the beer that they drink is bitter."
LXX:	ἠσχύνθησαν οὐκ ἔπιον οἶνον πικρὸν ἐγένετο τὸ σικερα τοῖς πίνουσιν
NETS:	"They felt shame, did not drink wine; the sikera became bitter to those who drank it."
LXX.D.:	"*Sie schämten sich*, tranken keinen Wein (mehr), bitter wurde das Sikera denen, die es tranken."

The verb ἠσχύνθησαν "they were put to shame" is a rereading of בשׁיר "the song" as בוש "to be ashamed" due to their morphological similarities.[58] In Isa, αἰσχύνομαι translates בוש in the majority of its occurrences (cf. Isa 1:29; 20:5; 23:4; 26:11; 29:22; 41:11; 42:17; 44:9, 11; 45:16, 17, 24; 49:23; 50:7; 65:13; 66:5) except in Isa 33:9 where it translates the Hebrew חפר "to feel ashamed." The choice to read בוש into בשׁיר is not the result of the translator's poor knowledge of Hebrew. He is acquainted with the meaning of שׁיר, translating it with ᾆσμα "song" in Isa 26:1 and with ὕμνος "hymn, praise" in Isa 42:10. Such a rereading

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[55] cf. the expression בני שאון (Jer 48:45), which may be translated as "noisy boasters" (cf. NIV).

[56] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 224; das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 186.

[57] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 186.

[58] cf. Scholz, *Jesaias*, 29; Liebmann, "Der Text," 224; Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:221. It is not clear whether das Neves (*A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 186, 194) took ἠσχύνθησαν as the result of a rereading of בשׁיר as בוש or not. While he denied ἠσχύνθησαν was the result of a rereading on p. 186, he asserted it on p. 194.

requires a discussion as to whether ἠσχύνθησαν coheres with its literary context (cf. part 2 below). Another difference in the LXX is the use of past tense verbs (ἔπιον/ἐγένετο) for imperfect ones (ישתו/ימר) in MT (cf. part 2 below). Finally, LXX lacks the pronominal suffix in לשתיו "to the ones drinking *it*"[59] as it would be superfluous in Greek.

24:10

MT:	נשברה קרית־תהו סגר כל־בית מבוא
Trans.:	"The city of nothingness is broken up, every[60] house is closed from entering."
LXX:	ἠρημώθη πᾶσα πόλις κλείσει οἰκίαν τοῦ μὴ εἰσελθεῖν
NETS:	"Every city was made desolate; he will shut the house so that no one can enter."
LXX.D.:	"*Jede* Stadt wurde *öde gemacht*, *er wird* (jedes) Haus verschließen, damit man nicht mehr hineingehen kann."

In the LXX, the equivalence ἐρημόω/שבר does not occur. Ἡρημώθη clearly translates the phrase נשברה תהו.[61] However, the question as to why the translator employed the lexeme ἐρημόω here still remains (cf. part 2 below). Πόλις translates by far עיר. The equivalence πόλις/קריה appears 8x in LXX Isa out of 26x in the whole LXX.[62] The rarity of the equivalence under discussion raises the question as to why the translator decided to employ πόλις here (cf. discussion on part 2 below). Πᾶσα translates כל, which in MT is attached to "house" but in

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[59] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 224. Cp. with Targ. (לשתוהי), Pesh. (ܠܫܬܘܗܝ), and Vulg. (*illam*).

[60] The word כל attached to an indefinite noun has an "individualizing" (cf. GKC, 411 § 127b; *IBHS*, 289 § 15.6c) or "distributive" (cf. Williams, *Hebrew Syntax*, § 105) sense. Thus, Isa 24:10b should be translated as "every house…" as most Bible translations correctly do.

[61] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 224. Against Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:221; das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 187. A similar interpretation to LXX Isa is found in the Pesh (ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܬܒܙܙܬ "the city was plundered"), which employed only one verb for the phrase נשברה תהו. Cp. with Targ. (איתברת קרתהון צדיאת) and Vulg. (*adtrita est civitas vanitatis*). The expression נשברה תהו appears only in Isa 24:10 in the whole of Hebrew Bible and Qumran documents.

[62] cf. Isa 1:21; 24:10; 25:2, 3; 26:5; 29:1; 32:13; 33:20.

LXX to "city," suggesting more than one city.[63] LXX further read the passive סגר as an active verb: κλείσει "he will close."

24:11

MT:	צוחה על־היין בחוצות ערבה כל־שמחה גלה משוש הארץ
Trans.:	"There is a cry concerning the wine outside, all joy has come to dawn; the joy of the earth went away."
LXX:	ὀλολύζετε περὶ τοῦ οἴνου πανταχῇ πέπαυται πᾶσα εὐφροσύνη τῆς γῆς
NETS:	"Wail everywhere for the wine; all the joy of the earth has ceased."
LXX.D.:	"*Erhebt* ein Wehgeschrei um den Wein *überall*! Vergangen ist alle Freude der Erde."

The plural imperative ὀλολύζετε "wail" stands in place of the noun צוחה "outcry." The noun צוחה is rare, appearing only 4x in the OT.[64] Some scholars have proposed that the translator perhaps read צוחה as the imperative צוחו.[65] It also possible that the translator read צוחה via a feminine plural Aramaic or as an imperative Hebrew with a paragogic – *heh*.[66] The plural ὀλολύζετε is due to contextual reasons as it is addressed to the "ungodly" of Isa 24:8 (cf. part 2 below).[67] Except for Isa 10:10, ὀλολύζω invariably translates the Hebrew ילל "to howl, lament." The equivalence πανταχῇ "everywhere"/חוץ "outside" occurs only here in the whole of the LXX. The Isa translator does know חוץ as indicating a space "outside" because he translated it with ἔξω "outside" in Isa 42:2; 51:23. He also knows חוצות as "lanes, streets" (cf. ὁδός "way" in Isa 5:25; πλατεῖα "wide road, street" in Isa 15:3). The translator used the rare πανταχῇ here because the context indicates that Isa 24 is talking about

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[63] cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:221; das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 187.

[64] cf. Ps 144:14; Isa 24:11; Jer 14:2; 46:15.

[65] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 226; Baer, *When We All Go Home*, 34.

[66] Whether the paragogic *-heh* can be theoretically present in the second feminine singular and plural forms, besides the usual masculine singular, is debatable. cf. Joüon-Muraoka, 131, n. 5.

[67] For ὀλολύζετε, cf. Isa 13:6; 14:31; 15:2, 3; 23:1, 14; 24:11; 52:5. With the exception of LXX Jer 31:31, ὀλολύζετε appears only in LXX Isa.

the "world" at large.[68] As such, the translator found the translation with "everywhere" is most appropriate.[69]

LXX has only two instead of MT's three clauses. Although it has been argued that the translator's *Vorlage* lacked the phrase גלה משׂושׂ "the joy has gone away,"[70] it has become increasingly clear that the translator himself dropped the words in question due their parallelism with with the preceding ערבה כל־שׂמחה.[71] Πέπαυται "it has ceased" captures well the idea transmitted in the Hebrew *Vorlage*.

24:12

MT:	נשׁאר בעיר שׁמה ושׁאיה יכת־שׁער
Trans.:	Horror is left in the city and the gate has been beaten to pieces[72]
LXX:	καὶ καταλειφθήσονται πόλεις ἔρημοι καὶ οἶκοι ἐγκαταλελειμμένοι ἀπολοῦνται
NETS:	"And cities will be left desolate; abandoned houses will perish."
LXX.D.:	"*Und Städte werden* öde zurückgelassen werden, und *Häuser werden* werden verlassen werden und *verfallen*."

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[68] Πανταχῇ appears only 3x in the LXX (cf. 2 Macc 8:7; Wis 2:9; Isa 24:11), once in the NT (cf. Act 21:28), once in the OT psedeupigrapha (cf. Aristeas 1:24); 3x in Philo (cf. *De agricultura* 1:91; *De migrationi Abrahami* 1:216; *De somniis* 1:235), and only once in the Apostolic Fathers (cf. *1 Clem.* 65:2).

[69] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 47: "בחוצות= πανταχῇ (24,11), weil später von der Erde die Rede ist."

[70] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text" 227. Against Liebmann, all the ancient witnesses are in line with MT. In addition to 1QIsaᵃ and 4QIsaᶜ, cf. θ' (απεσχισθη χαρα), Targ. (שׁלימת כל חדותא גלא ביע מן ארעא), Pesh. (ܟܠܗ ܐܠܠܐ), ܐܓܢܗ ܗ ܒܐܕܐ ܣܒܚܐ ܐܥܡܗܐ), and Vulg. (*deserta est omnis laetitia translatum est gaudium terrae*).

[71] cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:221; Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 49; van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 72.

[72] GKC, 389 § 121d claims that שׁאיה "ruin, destruction" functions here as "an accusative of result" preceding the passive verb יכת. Thus, this clause should be translated with NIV, RSV, and TNK as "the gate was beaten *to pieces*" (italics mine).

The conjunction καί is a plus against MT. On the basis of 4QIsaᶜ (ונשאר) and Pesh. (ܘܐܫܬܐܪ), it is very plausible that the translator's *Vorlage* read ונשאר instead of MT's נשאר.[73] For the equivalence καταλείπω/שאר, cf. comments to Isa 24:6 above. The future καταλειφθήσονται for the past נשאר is striking. More will be said about this on part 2 below. Equaly striking is the plural πόλεις "cities" for the singular בעיר "in the city." Some scholars saw in πόλεις an indication that the translator's *Vorlage* read העיר.[74] Part 2 below will also further discuss this issue. With the exception of Jer 2:15, the combination ἔρημος "desolate"/שמה "horror" appears solely in LXX Isa (cf. 5:9; 13:9; 24:12; cf. also ἔρημος/שממה in Isa 6:11). The rarity of this combination raises the question as to why the translator used ἔρημος here. Cf. the discussion on part 2 below.

The clause καὶ οἶκοι ἐγκαταλελειμμένοι ἀπολοῦνται "and abandoned houses will perish" differs considerably from MT's ושאיה יכת-שער "and the gate has been beaten to pieces." The explanations for this strong divergence have varied greatly. One scholar found in οἶκοι an indication for a different *Vorlage* behind the LXX, which contained בית "house" in place of יכת due to the similarity of the letters ב/כ and through metathesis of כ/י.[75] Other scholars attributed the same process above to the translator himself, who read בית into יכת.[76] However, there is no evidence of a *Vorlage* that read "houses" among the present textual witnesses.[77] At the same time, to argue that the translator arrived at "houses" by changing a ב for a כ and by exchanging their position may be too far-fetched. For more on "houses," cf. part 2 below.

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[73] 1QIsaᵃ (נשאר בעיר שמה), Targ. (בקרתא צדו אשתאר), and Vulg. (*relicta est in urbe solitudo*) lack the conjunction ו.

[74] cf. Scholz, *Jesaias*, 29; Fischer, *In welcher Schrift*, 40. Otherwise, argued Fischer, πόλεις may have been the result of a free translation. 1QIsaᵃ (בעיר), 4QIsaᶜ (בעיר), Targ. (בקרתא), Pesh. (ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ), and Vulg. (*in urbe*) align with MT.

[75] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 228. The phrase "LXX scheint einen andern Text zu haben" preceded Liebmann's explanation of how בית can be recovered out of יכת.

[76] cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:222; Fischer, *In welcher Schrift*, 40.

[77] cf. n. 74 above.

As for ἐγκαταλελειμμένοι "abandoned," proposals were that the translator read שאיה "desolation" as שאה "to lie desolate" because καταλείπω "to leave behind" renders שאה in Isa 6:11.[78] Other explanations link ἐγκαταλελειμμένοι with reading שער "gate" as שאר "to leave behind."[79] Although the proposals above may be correct, the problem is that they try to account for the divergence in the LXX without paying serious attention to its literary context. Part 2 below will attempt to provide an explanation that is based on broader considerations than the word level.

Finally, one scholar saw in ἀπολοῦνται "they will perish" an indication for a different *Vorlage* that read either יִשָּׁבֵר "it will be broken."[80] Other proposals are that ἀπολοῦνται may stand for שאיה or that the translator read שער "gate" as Aramaic שרע "to fall down."[81] It seems clear that ἀπολοῦνται is linked with שאיה "desolation."

24:13

MT:	כי כה יהיה בקרב הארץ בתוך העמים כנקף זית כעוללת אם־כלה בציר
Trans.:	"Because thus it will happen in the midst of the earth, in the midst of the peoples, as the beating on olive tree, as the gleanings, whenever it is consumed in the vintage."
LXX:	ταῦτα πάντα ἔσται ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἐθνῶν ὃν τρόπον ἐάν τις καλαμήσηται ἐλαίαν οὕτως καλαμήσονται αὐτούς καὶ ἐὰν παύσηται ὁ τρύγητος
NETS:	"All these things shall be on the earth, in the midst of the nations; just when someone gleans an olive tree, so shall people glean them, even when the harvest has ceased."

[78] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 228; Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 144.

[79] cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:222; Fischer, *In welcher Schrift*, 40; Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 144. Liebmann, "Der Text," 229, also entertained the same proposal.

[80] Liebmann, "Der Text," 229.

[81] cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:222; Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 144 represent the first proposal, while Fischer, *In welcher Schrift*, 40 does the latter.

LXX.D.:   "*All dies* wird geschehen auf der Erde inmitten der
               Völkerschaften; in der Weise, wie wenn jemand einen
               Ölbaum aberntet, *so wird man sie* abernten, *auch* wenn
               die Weinlese zu Ende geht."

The expression ταῦτα πάντα "all these things" stands in place of
כי כה "for thus." In the LXX, the equivalence οὗτος/כה occurs only 4x
(cf. Exo 7 :16 ; 1 Kings 5 :25; Eze 25:13), one out of which is Isa 24 :13.
As for πάντα, its relationship to MT is even more difficult to explain.
Some proposed that the translator's *Vorlage* either lacked כי or that he
read כל "all" for כי "for" or כה "thus."[82] Others that he rendered *ad
sensum*.[83] To solve this conundrum, it will be important to see whether
ταῦτα πάντα makes sense in its context (cf. part 2 below).

The phrase ἐν τῇ γῇ "on the earth" translates בקרב הארץ "in the
midst of the earth." Although some affirmed that קרב "midst" was
"omitted,"[84] that Hebrew term is in fact implied in the construction ἐν +
dative.[85] In LXX Isa, בקרב הארץ is translated either with ἐν + dative (cf.
Isa 19:24; 24:13) or with ἐπί + genitive (cf. Isa 5:8; 6:12; 7:22). The
expression ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἐθνῶν follows the Hebrew בתוך העמים closely. It
is interesting to note that עם is usually rendered with λαός in LXX Isa
and not with ἔθνος (cf. discussion on LXX Isa 25:6 below). However, as
the translator interpreted העמים as referring to "nations" at large, he
employed the fitting equivalent ἔθνη for his translation.

The expression ὃν τρόπον ἐάν τις καλαμήσηται ἐλαίαν "in the
way, when someone gleans an olive tree" translates כנקף זית "like the

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[82] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 229; Scholz, *Jesaias*, 29; Ottley, *Isaiah*,
2:222; Fischer, *In welcher Schrift*, 40. Among the ancient textual witnesses, only
Pesh. lacks the conjunction כי. Liebmann ("Der Text," 229) opined that the
question as to whether the Pesh. translator's *Vorlage* lacked כי or whether the
translator dropped it must remain open.

[83] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 189.

[84] cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:222.

[85] In the rest of the LXX, with the exception of ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς/בקרב
הארץ in Ps 74:12, בקרב הארץ is translated either with ἐπί + genitive (cf. Gen
45:6; 48:16) or ἐν + dative (cf. Deut 4:5). See also πάσης τῆς γῆς/בקרב הארץ in
Exo 8:18).

beating of an olive tree." In the same way, οὕτως καλαμήσονται αὐτούς "thus they will strip them" is somewhat linked to כעוללת "like gleanings." The phrase כנקף זית כעוללת appears in Isa 17:6 in reverse order: זית עוללת כנקף. There, καλάμη "straw, stalk" seems to be in place of עוללת[86] and ὡς ῥῶγες ἐλαίας "like berries of an olive tree" stands for כנקף זית.[87] Some have argued that נקף was not translated because the translator was not acquainted with it.[88] However, it seems that the picture transmitted by נקף is well represented in καλαμήσηται "gleans." For the equivalence καλαμάομαι/עוללת, cf. Isa 3:12. Important to note here is the subject "they" implied in καλαμήσονται and the translator's addition of αὐτούς "them." Part 2 below will talk about the identity of "they" and "them."

24:14

MT: המה ישׂאו קולם ירנו בגאון יהוה צהלו מים
Trans.:   "They themselves will raise their voice, they will yell[89] concerning the majesty of Yahweh[90] they have shouted from the sea."

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[86] Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:191 rightly explains the relationship between *'ōlēlōt* "gleanings" in MT and "straw, stalk" in LXX by pointing out that "stalks" are what "gleaners get."

[87] cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 95.

[88] cf. Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 135.

[89] Whereas 1QIsa[a] (ירונו) aligns with MT, 4QIsa[c] reads ורננו. The י in 1QIsa[a] was the result of correction (cf. Parry and Qimron, *The Great Isaiah Scroll*, 39, n. 10a). Perhaps, the reading in 4QIsa[c] was the result of harmonization with ורננו in Isa 26:19.

[90] In 1QIsa[a] there is a blank space between the phrases "concerning the majesty of Yahweh" and "they have shouted from the sea." This shows that 1QIsa[a] takes "concerning the majesty of Yahweh" with the verb ירנו, thus yielding the reading "they will yell concerning the majesty of Yahweh." The MT has, instead, taken the phrase "concerning the majesty of Yahweh" together with the last clause of v. 14, as the *atnah* under ירנו indicates. As a result, MT reads: "concerning the majesty of Yahweh they have shouted from the sea." The copula *waw* attached to צהלו in 4QIsa[c], indicates that in 4QIsa[c] too the phrase "they have shouted from the sea" is separated from "concerning the majesty of Yahweh" immediately preceding it.

LXX: οὗτοι φωνῇ βοήσονται οἱ δὲ καταλειφθέντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εὐφρανθήσονται ἅμα τῇ δόξῃ κυρίου ταραχθήσεται τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς θαλάσσης

NETS: "These will cry aloud with their voice, but those who are left in the land will rejoice together in the glory of the Lord. The water of the sea will be troubled."

LXX.D.:   "Diese (die Opfer der Vernichtung) werden mit (lauter) Stimme schreien, *aber die, die auf der Erde übrig geblieben sind*, werden sich *zugleich* freuen an der Herrlichkeit des Herrn. *Das Wasser* des Meeres *wird aufgewühlt werden*."

     The phrase οὗτοι φωνη βοήσονται: "these will cry aloud with the voice" translates המה ישאו קולם "they themselves will raise their voice." Οὗτοι indicates that the translator took המה as a demonstrative pronoun. Φωνῇ βοήσονται stands for ישאו קולם, where the pronominal suffix "them" was dropped in the LXX. The phrases נשא קול "to lift the voice" and רום קול "to raise the voice" appear in Isa 13:2; 37:23; 52:8, where they are rendered by ὑψόω "to lift up." This implies that the use of βοάω in 24:14 is somewhat unusual.[91] However, βοάω might reflect the verb צהל in MT 24:14c, because βοάω renders צהל in Isa 54:1. It is important to note here the translator's decision to use βοάω. A discussion as to why the translator picked two words here will take place in part 2 below.

     The clause οἱ δὲ καταλειφθέντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εὐφρανθήσονται ἅμα τῇ δόξῃ κυρίου "but the ones left on the earth will rejoice together in the glory of the Lord" relates to ירנו בגאון יהוה "they will yell concerning the majesty of Yahweh." The particle δέ is a plus in the Greek (for more on it, cf. part 2 below). Opinions have diverged on the phrase οἱ δὲ καταλειφθέντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. While one scholar argued this phrase was a later addition,[92] another claimed that a Hebrew equivalent in the form of הנשארים בארץ "those are being left on the earth" already stood in the

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[91] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 226. Cp. with σ': οὗτοι δὲ ἐπαροῦσι φωνὴν αὐτῶν.

[92] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 50. Liebmann reasoned that it is not the style of the LXX to give such a long explanation.

margin of the translator's *Vorlage* as an exegetical aid.[93] Be it as it may, it will be important to discuss in part 2 below how the expression under discussion fits in its literary context.

The equivalence εὐφραίνω/רנן appears often in LXX Isa.[94] The word ἅμα "together" renders the preposition ב in בגאון.[95] Although the phrase τῇ δόξῃ κυρίου "at the glory of the Lord" renders בגאון יהוה,[96] גאון is not usually translated with δόξα in LXX Isa or in the whole of the LXX. The equivalence δόξα/גאון appears only 4x in the LXX.[97] As such, the use of δόξα for גאון will deserve further treatment in part 2 below.

The clause ταραχθήσεται τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς θαλάσσης "the water of the sea will be stirred" is in place of צהלו מים "they have shouted from the sea." The phrase τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς θαλάσσης indicates that the translator read מי ים into מים.[98] This type of reading is a good example of midrashic exegesis in LXX Isa.[99] Ταραχθήσεται τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς θαλάσσης. As for ταραχθήσεται, it is not clear how it is linked to the *Vorlage*. The verb צהל "to shout" appears 4x in Isa. It is not translated in 10:30. βοάω translates it in 54:1 as does ἀγαλλιάομαι "rejoice" in 12:6. This last example is important as it indicates the translator was acquainted with צהל as "rejoicing," the definition ones finds in modern Hebrew lexicons. Therefore, the use of ταράσσω in 24:14 is not due to the translator's lack of knowledge of the meaning of צהל. For ταράσσω and θάλασσα, see Isa 51:15.

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[93] cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 59.

[94] cf. Isa 12:6; 16:10; 24:14; 26:19; 42:11; 44:23; 49:13; 52:8; 54:1. The same equivalence is rare in the rest of the LXX (cf. Deut 32:43; 1 Chr 16:33; Jer 31:12). Outside Isa, the pair ἀγαλλιάομαι/רנן appears more often, whereas in LXX Isa the same pair occurs only in Isa 65:14. It is interesting to compare LXX Isa's translation with that of σ', where ἀγαλλιάσονται occurs.

[95] cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 43. See also Isa 3:16; 19:14.

[96] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 226.

[97] cf. Exo 15:7; Isa 14:11; 24:14; Mic 5:3. In LXX Isa, the lexemes ὕβρις "arrogance" (cf. Isa 13:11; 16:6), ὑπερηφανία "pride" (cf. Isa 16:6), ἰσχύς "strength" (cf. Isa 2:10, 19, 21), ὑψόω "to lift up" (cf. Isa 4:2), and ἀγαλλίαμα "rejoice" (cf. Isa 60:15) stand for גאון.

[98] cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:222; Fischer, *In welcher Schrift*, 40; das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 227.

[99] cf. van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 68.

24:15

MT:	עַל־כֵּן בָּאֻרִים כַּבְּדוּ יְהוָה בְּאִיֵּי הַיָּם שֵׁם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל
Trans.:	"Therefore, in the east honor Yahweh, among the islands of the sea [honor] the name of Yahweh, the God of Israel."
LXX:	διὰ τοῦτο ἡ δόξα κυρίου ἐν ταῖς νήσοις ἔσται τῆς θαλάσσης τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου ἔνδοξον ἔσται
NETS:	"Therefore the glory of the Lord will be in the islands of the sea; the name of the Lord will be glorious."
LXX.D.:	"darum *wird die Herrlichkeit* der Herrn auf den Inseln des Meeres *sein*, *wird* der Name des Herrn *herrlich sein*."

The διὰ τοῦτο ἡ δόξα κυρίου ἐν ταῖς νήσοις ἔσται τῆς θαλάσσης "therefore, the glory of the Lord will be in the islands of the sea" stands for עַל־כֵּן בָּאֻרִים כַּבְּדוּ יְהוָה בְּאִיֵּי הַיָּם "therefore, in the east honor Yahweh, among the islands of the sea." Instead of MT's imperatival "glorify," LXX has "the glory." It is plausible that the translator read כבדו as a noun with a pron. suffix attached: "his glory."[100] He then took the "Lord" in apposition to כבדו and interpreted the phrase כבדו יהוה as "the glory of the Lord." Ἔσται [2x] is a plus against MT and it was introduced to make the meaning of the non-verbal clauses clear in Greek.[101] As for בארים "in the east," it has been argued that the translator "almost certainly" "omitted" it "owing to confusion with" the following באיי "in the islands."[102] Another opinion is that בארים was not translated for being difficult.[103] An interesting suggestion is that the translator interpreted בארים in the sense of "in the lights" as pointing to something that is "famous, renowned" and translated it with ἔνδοξον ἔσται "will be glorious."[104] The expression τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου ἔνδοξον ἔσται "the name of the Lord will be glorious" relates to שֵׁם יְהוָה "the name of the Yahweh."

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[100] Similarly, Liebmann ("Der Text," 233) suggested that the translator read כבוד for כבדו.

[101] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 227.

[102] cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:222.

[103] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 227.

[104] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 233.

The phrase ἔνδοξον ἔσται, if not linked to באדים (see comments above), is a plus against MT.

24:16

MT: מכנף הארץ זמרת שמענו צבי לצדיק
                 ואמר רזי־לי רזי־לי אוי לי בגדים בגדו ובגד בוגדים בגדו

Trans.:   "From the extremity of the earth we heard songs: 'Glory/beauty to the [R]righteous [O]one.' And I said:[105] 'Gauntness[106] to me, gauntness to me, woe to me.'[107] The ones acting faithlessly have acted faithlessly. The ones acting faithlessly have committed faithlessness."

LXX: κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ισραηλ ἀπὸ τῶν πτερύγων τῆς γῆς τέρατα ἠκούσαμεν ἐλπὶς τῷ εὐσεβεῖ καὶ ἐροῦσιν οὐαὶ τοῖς ἀθετοῦσιν οἱ ἀθετοῦντες τὸν νόμον

NETS: "O Lord God of Israel, from the wings of the earth we have heard wonders: Hope for the godly one. But those who reject the law will say, woe to those who reject!"

LXX.D.:   "*Herr*, (*du*) Gott Israels, von den Zipfeln der Erde hörten wir *von Wundern*: »*Hoffnung* für den Frommen«. Und *man wird* sagen: »Wehe *denen*, die untreu sind, *die dem Gesetz* untreu sind!«"

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[105] MT reads וָאֹמַר: "and I said." The Vulg. (*dixi*) agrees with MT; 1QIsaᵃ (ואמר), θ' (καὶ ἐρεῖ), α' (καὶ ἐρεῖ), σ' (καὶ εἶπεν), Targ. (אמר), and Pesh. (ܘܐܡܪ) read the third person singular: "and he said," while LXX has the third person plural "they said." A. van der Kooij ("Isaiah 24-27: Text-Critical Notes," in *Studies in Isaiah 24-27: The Isaiah Workshop - De Jesaja Werkplaats* [A. van der Woude et al.; OtSt 43; Leiden: Brill, 2000] 13) claimed that "1QIsaᵃ may witness the 3 pers sing tradition (otherwise one would expect the longer form ואמרה)." He further noted that "the versions strongly support the 3 pers sing," although "the 1 pers sing of MT (cf. Vulg.) does, however, make sense in the light of לי (three times) in the direct speech that follows."

[106] This translation follows Bosman and van Grol's ("Annotated Translation of Isaiah 24-27," 5) who argued that רזי is in opposition to צבי "beauty."

[107] Van der Kooij ("Isaiah 24-27," 13) rightly claimed that "the versions from Theod. up to Vulg. attest a tradition of rendering רז as 'mystery'."

The phrase κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ισραηλ links to אלהי ישׂראל from the preceding verse. The vocative "Lord" is a plus in the LXX. Its use with "God of Israel" appears often in the LXX.[108] The stereotyped use of "o Lord, God of Israel" is probably behind the the plus "o Lord" in LXX Isa 24:16a. The plural τῶν πτερύγων "of the wings" renders the singular מכנף "from the wing." The only other geographical use of כנף in Isa appears in 11:12, where it occurs as a plural noun, being translated with the plural of πτέρυξ.[109] The term τέρατα "wonders" substitutes זמרת "songs." The latter occurs only seven times in the Hebrew Bible of which two appear in Isa (cf. 24:16; 25:5). While some scholars have opined that τέρατα was a paraphrase/interpretation of זמרת either as a "misunderstanding" or as a conscious interpretation,[110] others argued that the translator heard דמרת from the Aramaic root דמר "to be stupefied, astonished" due to the similarity in sound between the letters ז and ד.[111] However, it is unlikely that the translator did know the term זמרת as "songs" because he translated זמר in Isa 12:5 with ὑμνέω (cf. also זמרה/αἴνεσις in Isa 51:3).[112] Another view is that the translator introduced τέρατα here for theological reasons, in the light of θαυμαστὰ πράγματα in Isa 25:1.[113] These divergent opinions concerning the origin of τέρατα give a good opportunity to discuss, in part 2 below, its function in its literary context.

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[108] cf. Judg 21:3; 1 Sam 14:41 [2x]; 23:10, 11; 1 Kgs 8:23, 25, 26, 28; 2 Kgs 19:15; 1 Chr 29:10; 2 Chr 6:14, 16, 17; Ezra 9:15; Jdt 13:7; Bar 2:11.

[109] cf. כנף appears also in Isa 6:2[2x]; 18:1, where it respectively denotes the "wings" of "seraphim" and "boats or insects." For a discussion of the meaning of the expression צלצל כנפים, cf. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja* (BKAT 10/2; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978), 679; J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1-39: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 1:308.

[110] cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:222; Liebmann, "Der Text," 233.

[111] cf. Fischer, *In welcher Schrift*, 40.

[112] cf. F. van Menxel, *Ελπίς. Espoir. Espérance. Etudes sémantiques et théologiques du vocabulaire de l'espérance dans l'Hellénisme et le Judaïsme avant le Nouveau Testament* (Publications Universitaires Européennes: Théologie 23/213; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1983), 250.

[113] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 228.

The phrase ἐλπὶς τῷ εὐσεβεῖ "hope to the godly" stands for צבי לצדיק "glory to the [R]righteous."[114] The equivalence ἐλπίς/צבי occurs only in Isa (cf. 24:16; 28:4, 5). Some advanced that the the translator mistakenly read צבי "beauty" as צפה or just recurred to his favorite ἐλπίς because he was having troubles with צבי.[115] Others argued the translator took צבי originating from the root צבה, which in Aramaic means "to want, wish" as he also did in 28:4, 5.[116] Part 2 below will offer a discussion of this issue. Here, the singular εὐσεβής "pious, godly" for the singular צדיק is interesting. In LXX Isa, εὐσεβής appears only in Isa 26:7; 32:9 [נדיב] (plural), while being rare in the rest of the LXX.[117] In Isa 26:7, the translator rendered the singular צדיק with the plural εὐσεβεῖς. This raises the question as to why he decided to use the singular εὐσεβής in 24:16. Cf. part 2 below.

The clause καὶ ἐροῦσιν οὐαὶ τοῖς ἀθετοῦσιν οἱ ἀθετοῦντες τὸν νόμον stands in place of ואמר רזי־לי רזי־לי אוי לי בגדים בגדו ובגד בוגדים בגדו. Whereas MT reads "and I said," LXX has "and they will say" (cf. discussion on n. 96 above). LXX has reworked and shortened the rest of the verse considerably. Whereas the particle οὐαί translates אוי, the words רזי־לי רזי־לי were dropped. The translator, by further dropping the pronominal suffix in the לי after אוי, reread the Hebrew as אוי לבגדים, translating it with οὐαὶ τοῖς ἀθετοῦσιν.[118] The participle οἱ ἀθετοῦντες translates the second participle בוגדים at the same as בגדו/ובגד/בגדו were not formally translated. The equivalence ἀθετέω/בגד appears in Isa

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[114] There is a disagreement as to whether צדיק in Isa 24:16 is a divine epithet or a reference to the "ungodly." For a recent discussion of this issue, cf. de Angelo Cunha, "A Brief Discussion," 530-544.

[115] cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:223; Fischer, *In welcher Schrift*, 40.

[116] cf. W. Rudolph, *Jesaja 24-27* (BWA[N]T 62; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1933), 12. This definition of צבה is listed as II. צבה in HALOT, 3:997. Slightly different from Rudolph, Brockington ("ΔΟΞΑ," 29) advanced that the Hebrew was read via Aramaic צבותא/צבו "will, desire."

[117] cf. van der Kooij, "The Septuagint of Isaiah and the Issue of Coherence. A Twofold Analysis of LXX Isaiah 31:9b-32:8" in *The Old Greek of Isaiah: Issues and Perspectives* (ed. A. van der Kooij and M. N. van der Meer; CBET 55; Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 44.

[118] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 229.

21:2[2x]; 24:16[2x]; 33:1[2x]; 48:8[2x]. The expression τὸν νόμον is a plus in the LXX.[119]

24:17

MT: פחד ופחת ופח עליך יושב הארץ

Trans.:   "there are terror, and pit, and trap against you, o inhabitant of the earth."

LXX: φόβος καὶ βόθυνος καὶ παγὶς ἐφ' ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς

NETS: "Fear and pit and snare are upon you who dwell on the earth!"

LXX.D.:   "Schrecken und Grube und Falle über *euch, die ihr* auf der Erde wohnt!"

The differences between MT and LXX are the plural forms ὑμᾶς/ἐνοικοῦντας in LXX for the singular עליך/יושב in MT.[120]

24:18

MT: והיה הנס מקול הפחד יפל אל־הפחת והעולה מתוך הפחת ילכד
                    בפח כי־ארבות ממרום נפתחו וירעשו מוסדי ארץ

Trans.:   "And it will be that, the one fleeing from the sound of terror will fall in the pit and the one climbing out of the pit will be taking by the trap because the windows of[121]

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[119] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 236; das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 228.

[120] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 252.

[121] It is claimed (cf. *IBHS*, 160 § 9.8c) that the particle מ attached to מרום is an example of what is called "enclitic *mem*." This particle was usually attached to the end of a word and in the process of transmission of the Hebrew text it became confused with "other common morphemes formed with *mem* such as the masculine plural suffix *-îm*, the pronominal suffix *-ām*, the inseparable preposition *min*, etc" (*IBHS*, 159 § 9.8a). This particle originally functioned as a genitive (*IBHS*, 158 § 9.8a) and "most common are its uses in the middle of the construct chain" (*IBHS*, 159 § 9.8b). Thus, IBHS, 160 § 9.8c proposes an emendation of the MT Isa 24:18 into ארבות־ם מרום and a translation as "the windows *of* heaven are opened" (italics mine) as NIV and RSV do. Consequently, Bosman and van Grol's translation ("Annotated Translation of

the height are opened and they will shake the foundations of the earth."

LXX: καὶ ἔσται ὁ φεύγων τὸν φόβον ἐμπεσεῖται εἰς τὸν βόθυνον ὁ δὲ ἐκβαίνων ἐκ τοῦ βοθύνου ἁλώσεται ὑπὸ τῆς παγίδος ὅτι θυρίδες ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἠνεῴχθησαν καὶ σεισθήσεται τὰ θεμέλια τῆς γῆς

NETS: "And it shall be that the one who flees from the fear shall fall into the pit, and the one who gets out of the pit shall be caught by the snare, because windows have been opened out of heaven, and the foundations of the earth will be shaken."

LXX.D.:   "Und es wird geschehen, dass, wer vor dem Schrecken flieht, in die Grube fällt, wer aber aus der Grube herauskommt, *von* der Falle gefangen wird, denn die Fenster an *Himmel* wurden geöffnet, und die Fundamente der Erde *werden* beben."

מקול "from the sound of" is a minus in LXX Isa. Liebmann correctly dismissed that the translator's *Vorlage* lacked the expression מקול, attributing its absence in the LXX to the translator's decision to avoid a Hebraism.[122] The expression מתוך "from the middle of" was also not translated for the sake of a smooth Greek.[123]

The Greek τοῦ οὐρανοῦ "of heaven" in 18f renders ממרום "from the height." Liebmann suggested that other places, where the phrase ארבות השמים or ארבות בשמים appears (cf. Gen 7:11; 8:2; 2 Kings 7:2, 19; Mal 3:10), might have played a role in LXX Isa 24:18f.[124] Following Liebmann's suggestion, it appears that the use of οὐρανός in LXX Isa

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Isaiah 24-27," 6) as "the floodgates *in* the height are opened" (italics mine) seems improper.

[122] Liebmann, "Der Tex," 240; also das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 252.

[123] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 252.

[124] Liebmann, "Der Text," 241. Besides Gen 7:11, Ottley (*Isaiah*, 2:223) points to Ps 18:15; 78:23. Although the phrase καὶ θύρας οὐρανοῦ ἀνέῳξεν in Ps 77:23 is very similar to LXX Isa 24:19: θυρίδες ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἠνεῴθησαν, it is not possible to establish any dependence of one passage on the other because they differ in their use of θύρα (Ps 77:23) and θυρίς (Isa 24:19).

24:18f is the result of a harmonization with LXX Gen 7:11: καὶ οἱ καταρράκται τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἠνεῴχθησαν, because τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἠνεῴχθησαν also occurs in LXX Isa 24:18. The translator was led to LXX Gen 7:11 because MT Gen 7:11 and MT Isa 24:18 have similar expressions: ארבות ממרום נפתחו in Gen 7:11 and וארבת השמים נפתחו in Isa 24:18.[125] The indicative וירעשו "and they shook" is rendered by the singular future passive σεισθήσεται "will be shaken." The pair σείω /רעש appears here and in Isa 13:13; 14:16; 29:6. The passive is due to the translator's interpretation of the idea conveyed by the Hebrew.

24:19

MT: רעה התרעעה הארץ פור התפוררה ארץ מוט התמוטטה ארץ
Trans.:   "The earth has certainly[126] split up,[127] the earth has certainly shaken to and fro, the earth has certainly swayed."
LXX: ταραχῇ ταραχθήσεται ἡ γῆ, καὶ ἀπορίᾳ ἀπορηθήσεται ἡ γῆ

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[125] Das Neves (*A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 252) noted that מרום is usually rendered by ὑψηλός and not οὐρανός in LXX Isaiah. However, he dismissed commenting further on the use of οὐρανός in LXX 24:18 because, in his view, "ambas as expressões se equivalem no grego bíblico."

[126] In the *qal* infinitive absolute of geminate verbs the last consonant usually drops as, for example, קב in Num 23:25 and של in Ruth 2:16 (for these examples, cf. GKC, 179 § 67o). Based on this, GKC (179 § 67o) judges רעה in Isa. 24:19 as "quite abnormal" and sees it as probably the result of dittography, while HALOT claim it to be, on the basis of רוע in 1QIsaᵇ, a "textual error" for רע. A word of precaution should be said here. The form רע is found in the Bible only five times and always as a finite verb (cf. Num 1:10; 22:34; Josh 24:15; Prov 24:18; Jer 40:4). The presence of the consonant ה at the end of רעה could be explained as alliteration, because the same verbal root immediately following both starts and ends in ה. In any case, GKC (344 § 113w) claims that רעה in Isa. 24:19 "must also, according to the Masora, certainly be the infinitive absolute Qal."

[127] In Classical Hebrew, although infinitive absolutes are usually used with verbs of the same stem, the *qal* infinitive absolute can also appear together with verbs of a different stem (cf. Joüon-Muraoka, 396 § 123p; *IBHS*, 582 § 35.2.1d). Isaiah 24:19 is an example of a *qal* (רעה) infinitive absolute used with a verb of a different stem, which is, in this case, the *hithpolel* (התרעעה).

NETS: "The earth will be troubled with trouble, and the earth
                will be perplexed with perplexity."

LXX.D.:   "Die Erde wird *tief erschüttert werden*, und *ohne jeden
                Ausweg* wird die Erde *sein*."

     The main difference between LXX and MT is the number of clauses. MT is a longer text, containing three clauses, whereas LXX is a shorter text with two clauses.[128] LXX has omitted מוט התמוטטה ארץ.[129] This omission is clearly stylistic in nature, probably in the light of Isa 24:3, which similarly uses only two clauses in connection with the "earth" (cf. discussion under Isa 24:3 in part 2 below).

     The expression $\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\chi\tilde{\eta}$ $\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\chi\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\eta}$ $\gamma\tilde{\eta}$ stands in place of רעה התרעעה הארץ. The LXX's translation with the verb $\tau\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$ "to stir up" does not correspond well with the Hebrew רעע "to break."[130] Why did the translator employ $\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\chi\tilde{\eta}$ $\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\chi\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ here? One of the reasons is his concern for style. The repeated $-\tau/\chi$ sound imitates his *Vorlage's* emphasis on the sound ר/הת–. The same concern for style explains the translator's choise of $\acute{\alpha}\pi o\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi o\rho\eta\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ for התפוררה פור. It is clear that the translator retained his Vorlage's emphasis on the sound $\pi o\rho$/פור.[131] As the equivalence $\acute{\alpha}\pi o\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$/פרר appears only here in the whole of the LXX, it follows that $\acute{\alpha}\pi o\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ does not correspond well to פרר[132] (cf. the equivalence $\delta\iota\alpha\sigma\kappa\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$/פרר in Isa 8:10; 14:27; 44:25). Why did he not employ $\delta\iota\alpha\sigma\kappa\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ in Isa 24:19? One answer is his concern to imitate the sound of his source-text. However, it is not clear how that concern affected his lexical choice of $\acute{\alpha}\pi o\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ here.[133] For an attempt to account for the translator's lexical choice, cf. part 2 below.

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[128] cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:223.

[129] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 241; das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 252.

[130] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 252. Cp. with $\theta\rho\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ "to break" in θ'.

[131] cf. Scholz, *Jesaias*, 32; J. de Waard, "'Homophony' in the Septuagint," *Bib* 62 (1981), 556.

[132] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 253.

[133] cf. de Waard, "'Homophony'," 556: "The phonological translation in the case of the repeated פור/$\pi o\rho$ is evident. However, it is far more difficult to

24:20

MT:	נוע תנוע ארץ כשכור והתנודדה כמלונה וכבד עליה פשעה
	ונפלה ולא־תסיף קום
Trans.:	"The earth will certainly totter like the drunken, it will certainly sway back and forth like the hut. As her transgression has been heavy against her, she will fall and will not stand up again."
LXX:	ἔκλινε καὶ σεισθήσεται ὡς ὀπωροφυλάκιον ἡ γῆ ὡς ὁ μεθύων καὶ κραιπαλῶν καὶ πεσεῖται καὶ οὐ μὴ δύνηται ἀναστῆναι, κατίσχυσε γὰρ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἡ ἀνομία
NETS:	"The earth has bent over, and it will be shaken like a garden-watcher's hut, like the one who drinks too much and is intoxicated, and it will fall and will not be able to rise, for lawlessness has prevailed upon it."
LXX.D.:	"es wankete [20] *und* es wird beben die Erde wie eine Wächterhütte, wie der Betrunkene und *Berauschte*, und wird fallen und nicht imstande sein aufzustehen, *denn die* Gesetzlosigkeit hat sie *überwältigt*."

As for ἔκλινε "it has tipped over," one opinion is that it translates נוע.[134] However, the pair κλίνω/נוע is found nowhere else in the LXX. Another proposal was that ἔκλινε had no counterpart in the translator's *Vorlage*.[135] Contrarily, it is plausible that the translator interpreted the image of the earth "tottering, wavering" in the phrase מוט התמוטטה (v.

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demonstrate in which way the phonological translation has affected the lexical one."

[134] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 243, 244. Liebmann (p. 244) noticed that the past tense ἔκλινεν (20a) followed by the future tense phrase καὶ σεισθήσεται (20b) was striking. In comparison with the future tense translation of MT 20b, one would expect a corresponding rendition of MT 20a. Liebmann, then, conjectured that the letter nun of נוע in 20b must have dropped in the LXX's *Vorlage* "sonst er es gewiss übersetzt" (p. 244) and that the remaining word must have been read the perfect עַנ. Liebmann's conjectures would have been avoided, had he realized that ἔκλινεν is a rendition of the verb התמוטטה in 19c and not of MT 20a as he thought.

[135] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 253.

19) as leading to the "tipping over" of the earth.[136] The more so as the Hebrew portrays the earth as "falling" and as "not being able to stand up again" at the end of v. 20. The word ארץ in the last clause of v. 19 was condensed.

The one word σεισθήσεται "it will be shaken" stands for the image of the earth being shaken in the expressions נוע תנוע "it will be shaken" and והתנודדה "and it will sway back and forth." The expression ὡς ὀπωροφυλάκιον "like a garden-watchers hut" translates כמלונה "like the hut," while ἡ γῆ stands for ארץ. The expression ὡς ὁ μεθύων καὶ κραιπαλῶν "like the one who drinks and is overpowered by wine" must be seen as an explicitation of כשכור "like the drunkard." Cf. the pair μεθύω/שכור in Isa 19:14 and κραιπαλάω/שכר in Isa 29:9.

The translator changed the order of the last two sentences of v. 20. The expressions καὶ πεσεῖται καὶ οὐ μὴ δύνηται ἀναστῆναι translate MT's last sentence ונפלה ולא־תסיף קום. The last clause of the LXX, κατίσχυσεν γὰρ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἡ ἀνομία, renders MT's וכבד עליה פשעה.[137] The pronominal suffix in פשעה is not translated for stylistic concisiveness (cf. also Isa 24:2 above).[138] Important here is the translator's use of γάρ for ו and ἀνομία for פשע. The reasons for the translator's choices will be discussed in part 2 below.

24:21

MT:	והיה ביום ההוא יפקד יהוה על־צבא המרום במרום
	ועל־מלכי האדמה על־האדמה
Trans.:	"And it will be in that day that Yahweh will punish the host of the high ones on high and the kings of the land on the land."
LXX:	καὶ ἐπάξει ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὸν κόσμον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς

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[136] cf. LXX.D; van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 77. See also the equivalence κλίνω/מוט in LXX Ps 45:7; 103:5, and θ's translation of מוט התמוטטה in v. 19 with κλινομένη κλειθήσεται.

[137] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 244.

[138] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 253-254.

NETS: "And God will bring his hand against the ornament of
               heaven and against the kings of the earth."

LXX.D.:   "Und Gott wird *die Hand* erheben gegen die *Ordnung
               des Himmels* und gegen die Könige der Erde."

It has been argued that the translator's *Vorlage* lacked היה ביום
ההוא because it is not part of the translator's style to leave out longer
sentences.[139] However, it is unlikely that the phrase היה ביום ההוא was
already absent in the translator's *Vorlage* as all the ancient witnesses
align with MT.[140] Part 2 below will entertain a discussion for the non-
attestation of והיה ביום ההוא, arguing that the translator may have
deliberately dropped it. For now, it must be noted that the conjunction
καί is a translation of the ו in והיה.

The expression ἐπάξει... τὴν χεῖρα for יפקד is interesting. It has
been argued that the use of ἐπάγω is not a literal translation of פקד as one
would expect the verb πήγνυμι "to position firmly."[141] Although das
Neves' suggestion is interesting, the difficulty is that the equivalence
πήγνυμι/פקד does not occur in the LXX. It is interesting to note that,
while פקד is rendered with ἐπισκέπτομαι "to take interest in" in the LXX,
that equivalence does not occur in Isa. Instead, פקד is rendered
periphrastically with ἐπισκοπή "the act of taking interesτ" in Isa 23:17;
24:22; 29:6. Contrarily, the equivalence ἐπάγω/פקד appears 5x in LXX
Isa out of a total of 7 occurrences in the LXX (cf. Isa 10:12; 24:21;
26:14; 26:21; 27:1; cf. also Exo 32:34; 34:7). A look at these passages
will reveal that the translator used ἐπάγω in Isa 24:21 because of the
construction פקד... על, which he invariably translates with ἐπάγω + ἐπί.
For the more interesting addition of "the hand," cf. discussion in part 2
below.

The use of ὁ θεός as a rendition of יהוה is also uncommon in this
chapter because the latter is usually translated with κύριος (cf. vv. 1, 14,
15). For now, cf. ἐπάξει ὁ θεός in Isa 27:1.

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[139] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 246.

[140] cf. α', σ', θ' (και εσται εν τη ημερα εκεινη), Targ. (ויהי בעידנא ההוא)
and Vulg. (*et erit in die illa*). Pesh. (ܗܘܐ) lacks an equivalent for ויהי.

[141] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 260.

The phrase τὸν κόσμον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ "the ornament of heaven" stands in place of צבא המרום במרום "the host of the high ones on high." Τὸν κόσμον is here a translation of צבא,[142] even though κόσμος does not usually render צבא in the LXX except in fives places (cf. Gen 2:1; Deut 4:19; 17:3; Isa 24:21; 40:26). While one scholar argued that the translator's souce text lacked במרום, another stated that the translator omitted it.[143] A different *Vorlage* is unplausible as all the ancient witnesses attest to במרום.[144] To say that the translator omitted the phrase in question may be too strong because במרום is implied in the expression τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. It seems thus better to say that the translator condensed his *Vorlage*. He did the same with על־האדמה, an expression that is already implied in τῆς γῆς. Οὐρανός does not render מרום except in LXX Isa 24:18, 21 (cf. comments on v. 18 above). The question arises as to why the translator uses the expression τὸν κόσμον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ for צבא המרום במרום. Cf. part 2 below for a discussion.

24:22

MT:	ואספו אספה אסיר על־בור וסגרו על־מסגר ומרב ימים יפקדו
Trans.:	"And they will be gathered together *like* prisoners into the pit and they will be shut up in the dungeon and after many days they will be judged."
LXX:	καὶ συνάξουσι καὶ ἀποκλείσουσιν εἰς ὀχύρωμα καὶ εἰς δεσμωτήριον, διὰ πολλῶν γενεῶν ἐπισκοπὴ ἔσται αὐτῶν
NETS:	"And they will gather them together and shut them up in a fortress and in a prison; through many generations will be their visitation."
LXX.D.:	"Und *man wird* (sie) sammeln und wegsperren in eine Festung *und* in ein Gefängnis, *durch viele Generationen hindurch wird ihre* Heimsuchung *währen*."

The expression καὶ συνάξουσι "and they will gather" translates ואספו (22a), which the translator read it as an active verb instead of MT's

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[142] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 47.

[143] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 246; Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:223.

[144] cf. 1QIsa[a] (על־צבא המרום במרום), Targ. (חילות תוקפא דיתבין בתוקפא, interpretive), Pesh. (ܒܬܠ ܟܘܢܫܐ ܟܘܢܫܐ), and Vulg. (*super militiam caeli in excelso*).

passive form.[145] Similarly, ἀποκλείσουσιν "they will shut" indicates that the translator read MT's passive וסגרו as an active verb.[146] The expression εἰς ὀχύρωμα "into a fortress" seems to translate על־בור "in the pit." For the equivalence ὀχύρωμα/בור, cf. Gen 41:14. If this was the case, then the words אסיר/אספה were either left untranslated[147] or the translator condensed them into εἰς ὀχύρωμα.[148] In the expression καὶ εἰς δεσμωτήριον, while the conjunction καί is a plus, εἰς δεσμωτήριον seems to stand for על־מסגר.[149] The expression ἐπισκοπὴ ἔσται translates יפקדו.[150] For the equivalence ἐπισκοπὴ ἔσται/פקד in the future tense, cf. Isa 29 :6; Num 16:29. The term αὐτῶν "them" is a plus in the LXX 24:22 and its function will be discussed in part 2 below.

24:23

MT:	וחפרה הלבנה ובושה החמה כי־מלך יהוה צבאות בהר ציון ובירושלם ונגד זקניו כבוד
Trans.:	"And the moon will be ashamed and the sun will loose its shining because Yahweh of hosts has reigned in mount Zion and in Jerusalem and is glorious before his elders."
LXX:	καὶ τακήσεται ἡ πλίνθος, καὶ πεσεῖται τὸ τεῖχος, ὅτι βασιλεύσει κύριος ἐν Σιων καὶ ἐν Ιερουσαλημ καὶ ἐνώπιον τῶν πρεσβυτέρων δοξασθήσεται
NETS:	"Then the brick will be dissolved, and the wall will fall, because the Lord will reign in Sion and in Ierousalem, and before the elders he will be glorified."
LXX.D.:	"Und der *Ziegel* wird *zerfallen*, und *die Mauer* wird *einstürzen*, denn der Herr wird als König herrschen in

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[145] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 247, 249; das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 260.

[146] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 260.

[147] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 248; das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 260.

[148] cf. HUB. While 1QIsa[a] does not attest to אסיר, the latter seems to be attested in 4QIsa[c].

[149] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 260.

[150] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 250.

Sion und in Jerusalem und vor *den* Ältesten *verherrlicht werden*."

The phrase καὶ τακήσεται ἡ πλίνθος "and the brick will be dissolved" stands in place of וחפרה הלבנה "and the moon will be ashamed." It has been suggested that the translator read חפרה as הפרה from פרר "to break" due to a confusion of the similar letters ח and ה.[151] However, the pair τήκομαι/פרר does not appear anywhere else in the LXX. Another proposal is that the divergent reading καὶ τακήσεται arose from mistakenly taking הלבנה "moon" as הַלְּבֵנָה "brick."[152] A decision as to whether the phrase "and the brick will be dissolved" originated with a translator's mistake will have to wait until part 2 below.

The expression καὶ πεσεῖται τὸ τεῖχος "and the wall will fall" is for ובושה החמה "and the sun will loose its shining." Τὸ τεῖχος indicates that the translator read MT חמה "sun" as ח[ו]מה "wall."[153] It is important to notice that in the parallel passage Isa 30:26 the translator rendered הַלְּבָנָה and חמה respectively as σελένη "moon" and ἥλιος "sun."[154] These renditions show that the translator was well acquainted with the meanings of הַלְּבָנָה and חמה as "moon" and "sun." For some reason, however, he decided to read the same words in Isa 24:23 as "brick" and "wall." While some argued the divergent readings in the LXX arose from a mistake, that question will have to wait until those readings are taken in their own right in part 2 below. The combination of πίπτω and τεῖχος in Isa 24:23b also occurs in Isa 27:3 and 30:13, passages which will be discussed later in part 2 below.

Finally, the past tense מלך "he reigned" was rendered with the future βασιλεύσει "he will reign." Similarly, the noun כבוד was taken as a future passive verb: δοξασθήσεται "he will be glorified." The pronominal suffix in "his elders" and the nouns צבאות, הר are not

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[151] cf. Scholz, *Jesaias*, 29; Liebmann, "Der Text," 251.

[152] cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:224.

[153] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 251; Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:224; das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 262; BHS.

[154] cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:224.

attested in the LXX,[155] which has only "the elders." Part 2 below will further address some of the divergences noted here.

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[155] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 251.

25:1

MT: יהוה אלהי אתה ארוממך אודה שמך כי עשית פלא עצות
מרחוק אמונה אמן

Trans.: "Yahweh, you are my God, I will extol you, I will praise your name, because you have done wonderful *things*, counsels[1] from afar are firmly reliable."

LXX: κύριε ὁ θεός μου δοξάσω σε ὑμνήσω τὸ ὄνομά σου ὅτι ἐποίησας θαυμαστὰ πράγματα βουλὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀληθινήν γένοιτο κύριε

NETS: "O Lord, my God, I will glorify you; I will sing hymns to your name, because you have done wonderful things- an ancient, true plan. May it be so, o Lord!

LXX.D.: "Herr, mein Gott, ich will dich verherrlichen, will deinen Namen rühmen, denn du hast wunderbare *Taten* getan, *einen* alten, zuverlässigen Ratschluss; *so sei es*, *Herr*!"

The phrase κύριε ὁ θεός μου "o Lord, my God" stands for יהוה אלהי אתה "Yahweh, you are my God." In the LXX, the personal pronoun אתה was not translated. Whereas MT reads as a non-verbal clause, "Yahweh, you *are* my God," LXX has a vocative phrase "o Lord, my God." It is important to note that the phrase יהוה אלהי אתה appears only once more in 1 Kings 3:7, where it is translated as κύριε ὁ θεός μου σύ. Contrarily, the phrase κύριε ὁ θεός μου occurs several times in the LXX, translating יהוה אלהי (cf. 2 Sam 15:31; 1 Kings 17:21; Tob 3:11; Ps 7:2, 4, 7; 12:4; 17:29; 29:3, 13; 34:24; 37:16 [= MT: אדני אלהי], 22; 39:6;

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[1] 1QIsaᵃ differs from MT in reading אציח for עצות. The א is expected as the letters ע and א are frequently interchanged. This process had already started in late biblical books (cf. M. Burrows, "Orthography, Morphology, and Syntax of the St. Mark's Isaiah Manuscript," *JBL* 68 [1949], 202; E. Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (I Q Isaᵃ)* [STDJ 6; Leiden: Brill, 1974], 57, 221). As for the -*yod*, there is no clear explanation for it (cf. Kutscher, *The Language*, 221). Perhaps, the -*yod* was the result of confusion between the similar letters י and ו in the scroll.

85:12 [MT: אדני אלהי]; 103:1; 108:26; Odes 6:7; Jonah 2:7). It is possible that the translator was used to the stereotyped κύριε ὁ θεός μου.

The expression δοξάσω σε "I will glorify you" stands for ארוממך "I will exalt you." The pair δοξάζω/רום strikes as it appears only in Isa 25:1; 33:10. Contrarily, the lexeme רום is always translated with ὑψόω in Isa (cf. 1:2; 13:2; 23:4; 30:18; 37:23; 40:9[2x]; 52:13[?]; 58:1). The rare pairing of δοξάζω/רום raises the question as to why the translator decided to employ it here. Part 2 below will discuss this issue further.

The expression ὅτι ἐποίησας θαυμαστὰ πράγματα "because you have performed wonderful affairs" translates כי עשית פלא. The plural θαυμαστά renders פלא several times in the LXX (cf. Josh 3:5; Job 42:3; Ps 98:1; 106:22; 118:23; 119:129; Dan 12:6; Mic 7:15).[2] The phrase θαυμαστὰ πράγματα occurs only in LXX Isa 25:1, where πράγματα seems to be a plus.[3]

The phrase βουλὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀληθινήν "an ancient, true plan" translates עצות מרחוק אמונה. The singular βουλή for the plural עצות is noticeable. עצה appears regularly in the singular and it is equally rendered with the singular of βουλή (cf. Isa 5:19; 8:10; 11:2; 14:26; 19:3, 11, 17; 29:15; 30:1; 44:26; 46:10). The only exception is the plural עצתיך (Isa 47:13), which was likewise rendered with the plural ταῖς βουλαῖς σου. It has been stated that the singular βουλή was due to a necessity of the Greek language.[4] The question arises as to why the translator used the singular βουλή here.[5] Part 2 below will discuss this issue further.

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[2] In the LXX, even when פלא is undoubtedly singular, it is translated with the plural of θαυμάστος/θαυμάσιος, cf. Ps 77:12, 15; 78:12; 88:11; 88:13; 89:6; Joel 2:26. The only exception is Ps 118:23, where the singular נפלאת is rendered with the singular θαυμαστή.

[3] cf. Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 285.

[4] cf. J. Coste, "Le texte grec," 38: "le passage du pluriel au singulier étant rendu nécessaire par l'usage différent des deux langues."

[5] Among the other ancient witnesses, while Pesh. (ܬܪܥܝܬܐ) probably attests to singular "counsel," Targ. (מלכין) and Vulg. (*cogitationes*) attest to plural "counsels."

The adjective ἀρχαῖος translates מרחוק.[6] In LXX Isa, μακράν "far-off" (cf. Isa 5:26; 46:12; 57:19; 59:14), μακρόθεν "from afar" (cf. Isa 60:4, 9), πόρρωθεν (cf. Isa 33:13; 39:3; 43:6; 49:12), and πόρρω "to a distance" (cf. Isa 22:3; 66:19) are used to translate רחוק. Isa 25:1 is the sole example of the equivalence ἀρχαῖος/רחוק in the LXX. It is clear that the translator took רחוק in a temporal sense with his choice of ἀρχαῖος as he did in Isa 22:11 (רחוק/ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς) and 30:27; 49:1 (מרחוק/ממרחק = διὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ).[7]

As for ἀληθινήν, S. Talmon argued that it translates אמן, which was vocalized as אָמֵן.[8] However, his proposal must be rejected for the following reasons: first, as argued below, אמן vocalized as אָמֵן is usually translated with γένοιτο. In contrast, the only other place where the equivalence אמן/ἀληθινός appears is Isa 65:16[2x]; second, although ἀληθινός renders אמונה only in Isa 25:1; 59:4, its cognate ἀλήθεια translates אמונה several times (cf. Isa 11:5; 2 Chron 19:9; Ps 36:6; 40:11; 88:12; 89:2, 3, 6, 9, 25, 34, 50; 92:3; 96:13; 98:3; 100:5; 119:30, 75, 86, 90, 138; 143:1). And, third, the clause position of ἀληθινήν indicates that it translates אמונה instead of אמן; otherwise, one would have to argue that the translator skipped אמונה and translated אמן with ἀληθινήν and joined the latter together with βουλὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀληθινήν; and, then, he translated אמונה with γένοιτο κύριε but positioned this phrase at the end of the clause. Albeit possible, Talmon's suggestion would require a cumbersome explanation of the Greek translation. It is simply better to see ἀληθινήν as a translation of אמונה, perhaps taken as participle feminine.[9]

Finally, in the phrase γένοιτο κύριε, γένοιτο translates אמן, which was probably read as אָמֵן instead of MT's אֹמֶן.[10] This claim is supported

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[6] cf. Coste, "Le texte grec," 38.

[7] cf. van der Kooij, "Theologie," 16; idem, "Wie heißt der Messias?," 159; Troxel, "ΒΟΥΛΗ," 158.

[8] cf. S. Talmon, "*Amen* as an Introductory Oath Formula," *Text* 7 (1969), 128.

[9] cf. Coste, "Le texte grec," 38.

[10] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 34, 253; Coste, "Le texte grec," 38; das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 166; HUB. Seeligmann (*The Septuagint Version*, 101-102) had argued that the translator, under the influence of liturgical

by the various occurrences of γένοιτο as a rendition of אָמֵן in the LXX (cf. Num 5:22; Deut 27:15-26; 1 Kings 1:36; Ps 41:14; 72:19; 89:53; 106:48; Jer 11:5).[11] Κύριε has no counterpart in the Hebrew.[12] Seeligmann wondered whether γένοιτο κύριε was a liturgical invocation corresponding to אָמֵן in Jewish-Hellenistic worship. He pointed to Jer 3:19, where γένοιτο κύριε may correspond to איך seen as an acrostical abbreviation of כי י[הוה] אמן.[13] However, even if Seeligmann was correct about the acrostical nature of איך as an abbreviation for אמן י[הוה] כי, it must be noted that in Isa 25:1 only אמן appears. It would then be difficult to account for κύριε. Contrary to Seeligmann, Talmon argued that the translator's *Vorlage* contained the reading אמן followed "by the abbreviated tetragrammaton indicated by the initial *he* only." For him, אמונה in MT represents this reading.[14] But Talmon's suggestion is problematic because of the letter ו in אמונה. That the ו is problematic is clear from Talmon's suggestion that אמנה, without ו, was behind γένοιτο κύριε in Jer 3:19.[15] אמנה would then be composed of אמן followed by an abbreviation of the tetragrammaton. Cf. part 2 below for another explanation.

25:2

MT: כי שמת מעיר לגל קריה בצורה למפלה ארמון זרים מעיר לעולם
          לא יבנה
Trans.:   "because you have turned *the* city into a heap of stones, the inaccessible town into ruin, the citadel of the strangers no longer a city, it will never be rebuilt."

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readings of the Jewish-Alexandrian milieu, "mistook" אמן for אָמֵן. But it seems more appropriate to say that the translator read אמן as אָמֵן as it is not clear whether he did so consciously or not.
[11] cf. S. Talmon, "*Amen* as an Introductory Oath Formula," *Text* 7 (1969), 124, n. 3.
[12] cf. Coste, "Le texte grec," 38.
[13] Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 101. See the same suggestions in BHK; BHS, HUB.
[14] Talmon, "*Amen*," 128 (italics his).
[15] cf. Talmon, "*Amen*," 128.

LXX: ὅτι ἔθηκας πόλεις εἰς χῶμα πόλεις ὀχυρὰς τοῦ πεσεῖν
            αὐτῶν τὰ θεμέλια τῶν ἀσεβῶν πόλις εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα οὐ μὴ
            οἰκοδομηθῇ

NETS: "Because you have made cities a heap, fortified cities, so
            their foundations might fall; the city of the impious will
            not be built forever."

LXX.D: "Denn du hast *Städte* in einem Erdhügel verwandelt,
            befestigte *Städte*, *sodass ihre* Fundamente einstürzten;
            die Stadt *der Gottlosen* wird gewiss nie mehr aufgebaut
            werden!"

The phrase ὅτι ἔθηκας πόλεις εἰς χῶμα "because you have made
cities a heap" stands for כי שמת מעיר לגל "because you have turned the
city into a heap." It is not clear whether the translator's *Vorlage* read
מעיר. While 1QIsaᵃ (מעיר) aligns with MT, Targ. (קרוי), Pesh. (ܡܢ),
and Vulg. (*civitatem*) do not attest to the *-mem* in מעיר. Besides, LXX
(πόλεις) and Targ. (קרוי) have plural "cities." Proposals have varied, with
some scholars suggesting that העיר or ערים be read for MT's מעיר,[16]
while another argued for עיר.[17] Be as it may, it is important to note that
LXX has the plural πόλεις. A decision as to whether the translator's
Vorlage already contained plural "cities" will have to wait until part 2
below, which will seek to ascertain if the LXX's plural "cities" make
sense in its literary context.

The expression πόλεις ὀχυρὰς τοῦ πεσεῖν αὐτῶν τὰ θεμέλια
"fortified cities so that their foundations might fall" stands for קריה בצורה
למפלה "[you have turned] the inaccessible town into ruin." The plural
πόλεις ὀχυρὰς translates the singular קריה בצורה. Why did the translator
insert the plural "cities" here? Part 2 below will address this question.
Another aspect is the phrase "so that their foundations might fall" in
25:2b. The Greek τοῦ πεσεῖν "to fall" relates to למפלה "ruin." A proposal
is that the translator read it as an infinitive construct of the verb נפל
preceded by the preposition ל, possibly taking ה- as a pronominal

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[16] cf. BHK; BHS respectively.
[17] cf. van der Kooij, "Isaiah 24-27," 13: "MT does not make sense;
error probably due to the same word in v. 2c."

suffix.[18] However, it is better to see τοῦ πεσεῖν as a paraphrase based on the translator's interpretation of למפלה.[19] But it is still important to ask the question as to why the translator employed πίπτω "to fall" here. Part 2 below will entertain this question further.

The Greek αὐτῶν τὰ θεμέλια is a rendition of the Hebrew ארמון as there is evidence for the equivalence θεμέλιον/ארמון in other LXX texts (cf. Jer 6:5; Hos 8:14; Amos 1:4, 7, 10, 12, 14; 2:2, 5).[20] The translator inserted the plural αὐτῶν because he took ארמון with קריה בצורה למפלה differently from MT, where ארמון goes with זרים מעיר.[21] As such, the plural αὐτῶν was used in agreement with its antecedent plural πόλεις ὀχυράς. Having taken ארמון with what preceded it, the translator decided to read מעיר in a genitival relation with זרים, rendering this phrase with τῶν ἀσεβῶν πόλις.[22] The rendition of זר with the Greek ἀσεβής occurs only in LXX Isa in 25:2, 5; 29:5. Besides, ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων πονηρῶν renders מזרם in Isa 25:4. Otherwise, the Greek ἀλλότριος (cf. Isa 1:7[2x]; 43:12) and ἀλλογενής (cf. Isa 61:5) usually render the Hebrew זר.[23] It has been suggested that the translator's *Vorlage* read זדים "arrogant ones."[24]

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[18] cf. Coste, "Le texte grec," 40. As B reads τοῦ μὴ πεσεῖν, previous scholars had argued that the translator read למפלה as composed of a מן *privativum* + נפל, cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 254; Fischer, *In Welcher Schrift*, 40.

[19] cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:224.

[20] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 254, 255; Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 52; Coste, "Le texte grec," 40; das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 166; HUB. Seeligmann saw in the diversity of terms employed for translating ארמון in the LXX evidence that the term in question had "disappeared from that Hebrew which was to the Jewish-Hellenistic community a living language."

[21] cf. van der Kooij, "The Cities of Isaiah 24-27," 192.

[22] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 255; van der Kooij, "Interpretation," 63; Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 124.

[23] cf. van der Kooij, "The Cities of Isaiah 24-27," 192.

[24] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 255. See also Fischer, *In welcher Schrift*, 40; Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 82. Coste ("Le texte grec," 40) took an intermediate position, recognizing that ἀσεβής was caused "sans doute" by a confusion between ר/ד, but argued also for "traduction spiritualisante" of זֵרִים. He further rightly pointed out that nowhere in the LXX ἀσεβής renders either זר or זד (for the latter claim, cf. also Liebmann "Der Text," 255). Coste's latter

However, all the ancient witnesses align with MT.[25] Another proposal is that the translator misread זרים "strangers" for זדים "arrogant ones."[26] However, this is unlikely as nowhere else in the LXX the pair ἀσεβής/ זד occur.[27] The question as to whether ἀσεβής was a mistake will be picked up in part 2 below. Finally, the clause εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα οὐ μὴ οἰκοδομηθῇ renders the Hebrew closely.

25:3

MT:	על־כן יכבדוך עם־עז קרית גוים עריצים ייראוך
Trans.:	"Therefore, a strong people will honor you, the town of the violent nations will be afraid of you."
LXX:	διὰ τοῦτο εὐλογήσει σε ὁ λαὸς ὁ πτωχός καὶ πόλεις ἀνθρώπων ἀδικουμένων εὐλογήσουσί σε
NETS:	"Therefore the poor people will bless you, and cities of ill-treated persons will bless you."
LXX.D.:	"Darum wird dich das *arme* Volk preisen, und *Städte von Menschen*, *denen Unrecht geschieht*, werden dich *preisen*."

Besides here, εὐλογέω renders כבד only in Isa 43:20 in the whole of the LXX. Its singular use is due to the singular λαός in the same

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claim is important and it will be discussed later. Coste's intermediate position culminated in das Neves' claim (cf. *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 167) that "a palavra ἀσεβῶν deve-se à releitura do original זָרִים («estrangeiros, pagãos») por זדים." For him, the reading ἀσεβῶν was due to the translator's interpretation of זָרִים as זדים and not to the presence of the latter in the LXX *Vorlage*, as Liebmann, Fischer, and Ziegler had argued. Different from BHK and BHS, the HUB noted that זָרִים was probably read as זדים. This difference in explanation in editions of the Hebrew Bible points to a move from a text-critical to an interpretative paradigm. Rather than taking the LXX text as a witness to establish the Hebrew text, LXX Isa is more and more used as a witness to how its *Vorlage* was read.

[25] cf. 1QIsaᵃ (זרים), Pesh. (ܢܘܟ̈ܪܝܐ), and Vulg. (*alienorum*). Targ. is highly interpretive at this point.

[26] cf. Fischer, *In welcher Schrift*, 40; Coste, "Le texte grec," 40.

[27] cf. van der Kooij, "The Cities of Isaiah 24-27," 192, n. 16. In LXX Isa 13:11, ἄνομος renders זד, while elsewhere ὑπερήφανος translates it in most of its occurrences (cf. e.g. Ps 119:21, 51, 69, 78, 122).

clause. As for יָרֵא, this word is never translated by εὐλογέω excepting here. The phrase ὁ λαὸς ὁ πτωχός stands in place of עַם־עָז "strong, defiant people." A commonplace explanation in the scholarly literature is that πτωχός was due to a confusion between the letters ז and נ resulting in the word עָנִי.[28] Part 2 below will address the issue as to whether "poor" was a mistake or not.

The phrase καὶ πόλεις ἀνθρώπων ἀδικουμένων "and the cities of ill-treated persons" is for קרית גוים עריצים "the town of violent nations." The conjunction καί is a plus. As in Isa 25:2 above, the plural "cities" stands for the singular "city/town" in MT. As for ἀνθρώπων ἀδικουμένων as a translation of עריצים, it must be noted that in LXX Isa other terms such as ἄνομος "unlawful" (cf. Isa 29:20), ὑπερήφανος "arrogant" (cf. Isa 13:11) and ἰσχύω "to be strong" (cf. Isa 49:25) translate עריץ.[29] The varied lexemes for עריץ in LXX Isa led a scholar to suggest the translator had some difficulties with the term עריץ.[30] However, the translator's use of ἰσχύω in Isa 49:25 shows he knew the meaning of עריץ as denoting someone powerful much in line with other translation as δυνάστης and κραταιός in the LXX. His translation of עריץ with ἀδικέω in Isa 25:3, 4 is unique in the LXX. Another proposal is that the translator read עריצים as the passive עֲרוּצִים.[31] However, the passive of ערץ is unattested in both Biblical and Qumran Hebrew. The question arises as to why the translator decided to use ἀδικουμένων here (see also v. 4). A tentative answer will be offered in part 2 below.

As for ἀνθρώπων, while das Neves linked it to גוים, Coste had previously rejected that idea.[32] It is not possible, however, to determine

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[28] cf. Scholz, *Jesaias*, 30; Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:225; Fischer, *In welcher Schrift*, 40; Coste, "Le texte grec," 40, 41; Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 125 n 206.

[29] Outside LXX Isa, עריץ is usually rendered with λοιμός "pernicious, dangerous" (cf. Jer 15:21; Ezek 28:7; 30:11; 31:12; 32:12), δυνάστης "powerful" (cf. Job 6:23; 15:20; 27:13), κραταιός "mighty" (cf. Ps 54:5; 86:14), and, like in Isa 49:25, with ἰσχύω "to be strong" (cf. Jer 20:11).

[30] cf. Coste, "Le texte grec," 41.

[31] cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:225; Coste, "Le texte grec," 41.

[32] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 167; Coste, "Le texte grec," 41. Troxel (*LXX-Isaiah*, 125) also thought ἀνθρώπων translated גוים. His

definitively whether ἀνθρώπων was a translation of גוים, which would be the only example in the whole of the LXX, or of עריצים, in which case the latter would have been translated doubly by the phrase ἀνθρώπων ἀδικουμένων. Slightly against das Neves is the fact that ἀνθρώπων ἀδικουμένων stands in place of עריצים in v. 4 below. But even this example is not ultimate because it is possible to argue that the translator inserted ἀνθρώπων without any connection to his *Vorlage* given his emphasis on ἄνθρωπος in LXX Isa 25:1-5 (cf. vv. 3, 4 [2x], 5).[33]

25:4

MT:	כי־היית מעוז לדל מעוז לאביון בצר־לו מחסה מזרם צל מחרב כי רוח עריצים כזרם קיר
Trans.:	"because you became a refuge for the poor, a refuge for the needy during his distress, a shelter from the heavy rain, a shadow from the heat, when the breath of the tyrants *was* like the rain *against* the wall."
LXX:	ἐγένου γὰρ πάσῃ πόλει ταπεινῇ βοηθὸς καὶ τοῖς ἀθυμήσασιν δι' ἔνδειαν σκέπη ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων πονηρῶν ῥύσῃ αὐτούς σκέπη διψώντων καὶ πνεῦμα ἀνθρώπων ἀδικουμένων
NETS:	"For you have become a helper to every humble city and a shelter to those who are dispirited because of poverty; you will rescue them from evil persons - a shelter for the thirsty and breath for ill-treated persons"
LXX.D.:	"Denn du wurdest *jeder* niedrigen *Stadt* ein Helfer und denen, *die* wegen Bedürftigkeit *verzagten*, ein Schutz, von *bösen Menschen wirst du sie retten*, (*du*) Schutz *der Durstigen und* Lebensgeist *der Menschen*, *denen Unrecht geschieht*."

The phrase כי־היית מעוז לדל stands in place of ἐγένου γὰρ πάσῃ πόλει ταπεινῇ βοηθός (4a). Πάσῃ πόλει is a plus in the LXX. Liebmann saw in πόλει evidence for לעיר in the LXX *Vorlage*.[34] He did not believe

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reference to גוים "in v. 5" must be seen as a typo because גוים does not appear in v. 5 but in v. 3.

[33] cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 82.

[34] Liebmann, "Der Text," 258.

it possible to explain the word πόλει in relation to Hebrew מעוז.[35]
Contrary to Liebman, Ottley explained πόλει as the result of confusion by
the translator, who read the word עיר into מעוז.[36] Fischer suggested that
the translator took מעוז in the sense of the Aramaic מחוזא "Stadt."[37]
Coste thought the translator possibly confused "*ma'ôz* (refuge) et *ma'îr*
(πόλει)."[38] Liebmann's suggestion of a different *Vorlage* has to be
rejected as there is no textual evidence supporting his claim. Ottley's and
Coste's explanations are possible as the letters י and ו could be easily
confused. However, their reasoning would not account for the letter ז in
מעוז because ז and ר are not so similar. Fischer's position is too much of
a stretch. It is more appropriate to take πάσῃ πόλει as the translator's
intentional insertion for contextual reasons (cf. "cities" in v. 2). The
translator's decision to use πάσῃ πόλει was, however, no mistake or
accident because the equivalence ὀχύρωμα/מעוז found in Isa 23:14 shows
he was acquainted with מעוז as a "refuge." The word ταπεινῇ in the
dative case relates to the Hebrew לדל (cf. LXX Isa 11:4; 26:6; Zeph

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[35] Liebmann, "Der Text,", 258.

[36] Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:225. Coste, "Le texte grec," 42 and das Neves, *A
Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 168 followed Ottley.

[37] Fischer, *In welcher Schrift*, 40. M. Jastrow (*Dictionary of Targumim,
Talmud and Midrashic Literature* [New York: The Judaica Press, 1985], 96)
defined the Aramaic מחוזא as 1. "harbor, trading place;" and 2. "large town."

[38] Coste, "Le texte grec," 42. (Italics his); cf. also das Neves, *A
Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 168. Troxel's (*LXX-Isaiah*, 125) claim that Coste
concluded "that the translator derived πάσῃ πόλει in v. 4 from a *Vorlage* that
read מעיר לדל rather than מעוז לדל" must be revised. Coste did admit to a
possible confusion between מעוז and מעיר but this confusion does not reflect a
different *Vorlage*. For him, the translator was responsible for it as is clear from
his comments on the second מעוז, where he said that the translator had now read
this second מעוז correctly: "correctement lu, cette fois." But the important point
here is that Troxel seemed to have thought of a possible confusion between ז/ר
that led to the reading מעיר for מעוז (cf. *LXX-Isaiah*, 118, n. 173; p. 125).

3:12).[39] The word βοηθός is a translation of double מעוז (cf. LXX Isa 17:10; Ps 52:9).[40]

The expression καὶ τοῖς ἀθυμήσασιν διὰ ἔνδειαν σκέπη renders לאביון בצר־לו מחסה. The conjunction καί is a plus. The phrase τοῖς ἀθυμήσασιν διὰ ἔνδειαν is a paraphrase of לאביון בצר־לו.[41] Ziegler conjectured that the translator could have read אביון in the light of the verb אבד and used ἀθυμέω as its equivalent.[42] There is no example, however, for the equivalence ἀθυμέω/אבד in the LXX. The word σκέπη renders מחסה.

The phrase ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων πονηρῶν ῥύσῃ αὐτούς (v. 4c) relates to מזרם צל. It seems that ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων πονηρῶν connects to מזרם, perhaps read as מזרים.[43] It has been suggested that ῥύσῃ links to מחסה because in Isa 14:32 the synonymic σῴζω translates חסה "to seek refuge."[44] It seems best, however, to see ῥύσῃ as a translation of צל, which the translator associated with נצל.[45] As for αὐτούς, it must be seen as a plus, which the translator introduced in analogy with the plural "every humble city" and "those who are feeling despondent" at the beginning of v. 4.[46]

The phrase σκέπη διψώντων relates to צל מחרב, where σκέπη is a translation of צל (cf. Isa 16:3; 49:2). In this case, the translator possibly read צל in two different ways, as from the נצל, as discussed in the

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[39] cf. Coste, "Le texte grec," 42. Coste claimed that the ל in דל was not taken in consideration: "le lamed qui précède cet adjectif n'étant pas pris en considération." See also Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 126. But it seems to me that the dative case in ταπεινῇ reflects the *lamed* even if the Greek definite article is not present.

[40] cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:225; Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 112-113; van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 70.

[41] cf. Liebmann "Der Text," 258; Coste, "Le texte grec," 42.

[42] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 83.

[43] cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 82; Coste, "Le texte grec," 42; Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 125.

[44] cf. Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 126.

[45] cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:225; Coste, "Le texte grec," 43.

[46] Troxel's (*LXX-Isaiah*, 124) claim that ῥύσῃ αὐτούς lacks an equivalent in MT is only partly correct because only αὐτούς is a plus, while ῥύσῃ is linked to צל.

previous paragraph, and as "shadow" in the sense of "refuge." Διψώντων "thirsting" clearly translates חרב "dryness, drought" here and in 25:5 below.[47] Καὶ πνεῦμα ἀνθρώπων ἀδικουμένων relates to כי רוח עריצים.[48] Καί is a plus. For כזרם קיר, see the discussion on v. 5 below.

25:5

MT:	כחרב בציון שאון זרים תכניע חרב בצל עב זמיר עריצים יענה
Trans.:	"Like the heat in the dry land you will subdue the uproar of the strangers, *like* the heat in the shadow of the clouds the song of tyrants will be bent down."
LXX:	ὡς ἄνθρωποι ὀλιγόψυχοι διψῶντες ἐν Σιων ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων ἀσεβῶν οἷς ἡμᾶς παρέδωκας
NETS:	"like faint-hearted persons thirsting in Sion, because of the impious, to whom you delivered us."
LXX.D.:	"(*Sie sind*) wie *kleinmütige Menschen*, (*wie wir*,) *die wir Durst leiden* in *Sion durch gottlose Menschen*, *denen* du *uns ausgeliefert* hast."

With respect to ἄνθρωποι ὀλιγόψυχοι, different explanations have been advanced. One suggestion is that the translator read כזרם (v. 4) as כאדם and קיר (v. 4) as קצר "shortness" (cf. Exo 6:9: מקצר רוח "impatience" or "despondency").[49] Another scholar argued the translator read כזרם קיר (v. 4) as כאדם קר, a phrase he translated as "Menschen der Kälte," which, in turn, would match the concept behind ἄνθρωποι ὀλιγόψυχοι "faint-hearted men."[50] Yet another proposal is that ἄνθρωποι is an addition as in v. 4 and that ὀλιγόψυχοι was the result of reading זר in כזרם as צר or קצר.[51] Another scholar viewed ἄνθρωποι ὀλιγόψυχοι as a free translation of כזרם קיר (v. 4) as "persons treated violently by evil persons [are] like rushing water against a wall."[52] Be it as it may, part 2

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[47] cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 225; Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 82. For a fuller discussion, cf. Coste, "Le texte grec," 43.

[48] cf. Fischer, *In welcher Schrift*, 40; Coste, "Le texte grec," 43.

[49] cf. respectively BDB, קֹצֶר; HALOT, קֹצֶר.

[50] cf. Fischer, *In welcher Schrift*, 41.

[51] cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 82, 83.

[52] cf. van der Kooij, "Rejoice, O Thirsty Desert! (Isaiah 35): On Zion in the Septuagint of Isaiah," in *'Enlarge the Site of Your Tent:' The City as*

below will address the question as to how the phrase ἄνθρωποι ὀλιγόψυχοι fits in its literary context. Afterwards, a tentative explanation as to how the translator arrived at ἄνθρωποι ὀλιγόψυχοι will be given.

The word διψῶντες seems to be related to כחרב (cf. v. 4, where חרב was rendered with διψάω). The phrase ἐν Σιων translates בציון. One scholar explained ἐν Σιων here and in Isa 32:2 as the result of a lexical confusion because those are the only two places in the Tanach where ציון "desert" occurs.[53] The expression ἀνθρώπων ἀσεβῶν reflects the Hebrew זרים (cf. discussion under v. 2 above). Παραδίδωμι is one of the translator's favorite stop-gap words.[54] Ziegler had noted that it is uncertain to which verb in the translator's *Vorlage* παρέδωκας is linked. But he suggested that the translator could have read מנה or אנה in his *Vorlage*.[55] Although it is possible that the phrase οἷς ἡμᾶς παρέδωκας should be taken as a plus,[56] it may also be that the idea behind it is linked to תכניע in the translator's *Vorlage*.[57] Be it as it may, an important question is why the translator decided to introduce οἷς ἡμᾶς παρέδωκας here. Cf. part 2 below. The word שאון and the phrase חרב בצל עב זמיר עריצים יענה were not translated.

25:6

MT:	ועשה יהוה צבאות לכל־העמים בהר הזה משתה שמנים משתה שמרים שמנים ממחים שמרים מזקקים
Trans.:	"And Yahweh of hosts will give a banquet of oil on this mountain for all the peoples; a banquet of dregs of wine, oil flavored with marrow, refined dregs."

Unifying Theme in Isaiah. The Isaiah Workshop – De Jesaja Werkplaats (ed. A. L. H. M. van Wieringen et al.; OtS 58; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 19.

[53] cf. Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 190. Differently from Troxel, cf. Koenig, *L'herméneutique*, 147-148. See however, the equivalence διψάω/ציה "waterless region" in Isa 35:1.

[54] cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 1:50; Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 14.

[55] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 117.

[56] cf. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 112. The question, which Ziegler raised (cf. *Untersuchungen*, 117), of a possible influence of Ps 27:12; 41:3 on LXX Isa 25:5 will be discussed in part 2 below.

[57] cf. van der Kooij, "Rejoice, o Thirsty Desert!," 19.

LXX: καὶ ποιήσει κύριος σαβαωθ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος
              τοῦτο πίονται εὐφροσύνην πίονται οἶνον χρίσονται μύρον
NETS: "On this mountain the Lord Sabaoth will make a feast
              for all nations: they will drink joy; they will drink wine;
              ⁷they will anoint themselves with perfume."
LXX.D.:   "Und der Herr Sabaoth wird allen Völkerschaften auf
              diesem Berg (etwas) zubereiten. *Sie werden Freude*
              trinken, *sie werden* Wein trinken, ⁷*sie werden sich mit*
              Duftöl *salben*."

The phrase καὶ ποιήσει κύριος σαβαωθ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο translates ועשה יהוה צבאות לכל־העמים בהר הזה. The transliteration of צבאות with σαβαωθ is a peculiarity of LXX Isa. This transliteration occurs 52 times in the LXX, out of which 47 are found in LXX Isa.[58] Besides, παντοκράτωρ "almighty" is the usual rendition of צבאות in the rest of the LXX. The use of ἔθνεσιν for עמים is important because the equivalence ἔθνος/עם occurs only 21 times in LXX Isa, compared to 91 occurrences of the more usual λαός/עם in the same book (cf. 25:8 below). As such, the translator's choice of ἔθνος raises the question as to why he used this word here, a question that will be addressed below.

The clause πίονται εὐφροσύνην stands in place of משתה שמנים. In this clause, πίονται is clearly related to משתה as πίνω renders שתה five times in the LXX, three out of which are in LXX Isa (cf. Isa 5:12; 25:6 [2x]; Dan 1:5, 8). As for εὐφροσύνη, a scholar included it among passages that exemplify some sort of "clarification, solution of images, paraphrases."[59] Another opined that εὐφροσύνη may "be שמח [in the translator's *Vorlage*?] for one of the similar words שמנים ממחים."[60] But it is better to explain εὐφροσύνη as due to the context.[61]

Πίονται οἶνον relates to משתה שמרים. For the link between πίονται and משתה, see previous paragraph. In the LXX, τρυγίας "lees of wine, dregs" (cf. Ps 75:9) and δόξα "glory" (cf. Jer 48:11) both translate שמר.

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[58] The other places are 1 Sam 1:3, 11; 15:2; 17:45; Jer 46:10.
[59] cf. Scholz, *Jesaias*, 35.
[60] cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:226.
[61] cf. Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 129 n. 224.

Isa 25:6 is the only place where οἶνος translates שמרים "dregs of wine" in the LXX.[62]

Χρίσονται μύρον stands in place of שמנים ממחים. The noun μύρον "ointment, perfume" connects to שמנים as there is some evidence for the equivalence שמן/μύρον in the LXX (cf. Ps 133:2; Song of Sol. 1:3; Amos 6:6 [Prov 27:9 and Isa 39:9 are uncertain]) and should be seen as a case of free translation in LXX Isa 25:7.[63] Liebmann saw a possible connection between χρίω and שמנים.[64] Ottley opined that the translator extracted "what he took for מר ימשחו ["they will anoint the Lord"] from משתה שמרים.[65] But Ottley's opinion must be rejected as it requires too many changes in relation to the *Vorlage*. Ziegler suggested that the translator had LXX Amos 6:6 in mind: οἱ πίνοντες τὸν διυλισμένον οἶνον καὶ τὰ πρῶτα μύρα χριόμενοι "who drink thoroughly filtered wine and anoint themselves with the finest oils" (NETS).[66] Although LXX Isa 25:6 shares a high number of lexemes with LXX Amos 6:6 (cf. πίνω, οἶνος, χρίω, μύρον), the phrase χρίω + μύρον occurs elsewhere (cf. Jdt 10:3 in the dative case).[67] It is better to see χρίσονται as a plus motivated by μύρον, which in itself may suggest the idea of "anointing." Otherwise, χρίω has no connection with the Hebrew. The last clause שמרים מזקקים was not translated altogether.[68]

25:7

MT: ובלע בהר הזה פני־הלוט הלוט על־כל־העמים והמסכה הנסוכה
על־כל־הגוים

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[62] cf. T. Muraoka, *Two-Way*, 84. For a discussion of the etymology of שמר, cf. HALOT, 4:1584-1585.

[63] cf. Muraoka, *Two-Way Index*, 80.

[64] Liebmann, "Der Text," 268.

[65] Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:226.

[66] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 117.

[67] cf. also Philo, *De specialibus legibus* 3:37: καὶ εὐώδεσι μύροις λίπα χριόμενοι and Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* 19:239: χρισάμενος μύροις τὴν κεφαλήν.

[68] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 266; van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 64.

Trans.:   "And he will swallow[69] on this mountain the surface of
               the shroud that covers all the peoples and the covering
               that weaves over all peoples."
LXX: ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ παράδος ταῦτα πάντα τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἡ γὰρ
               βουλὴ αὕτη ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη
NETS: "Deliver these things to the nations on this mountain, for
               this counsel is against all the nations."
LXX.D.:   "Auf diesem Berg *übergib dies alles* den Völkershaften!
               Denn dies ist der Ratschluss über alle Völkerschaften."

        The phrase ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ renders בהר הזה. Concerning
παράδος, the scholarly opinion is divided. One scholar proposed that the
translator's *Vorlage* perhaps read הטיל because the latter is translated
with παραδίδωμι in Jer 22:26 (Alexandrinus).[70] Another claimed that the
translator read פני in light of Aramaic פנא "to release, turn to."[71]
However, it is highly unlikely that παράδος is connected to either הלוט or
פני. As it will be seen later, παράδος was introduced here for contextual
reasons. The demonstrative ταῦτα relates to על (cf. Isa 30:12). Πάντα τοῖς
ἔθνεσιν translates כל־העמים. It is important to note that ἔθνη has already
been used to translate עמים in 25:6 and will render גוים at the end of this
verse. הלוט/פני־הלוט/ובלע were not translated.

    Ἡ βουλή is connected to והמסכה הנסוכה. In LXX Isa, χωνευτός
"molten" (cf. Isa 42:17) and perhaps συνθήκη "mutual agreement" (cf. Isa
30:1) render מסכה. The latter was not rendered in Isa 28:20. It has been
suggested that the translator had some difficulty with the meaning of
מסכה and resorted to the context in his use of βουλή.[72] But βουλή could
also be an interpretation of the phrase והמסכה הנסוכה. As the latter
denotes something that is covered, the translator interpreted it as
something that is hidden. He then interpreted "what is hidden" as a
reference to a βουλή. The phrase πάντα τοῖς ἔθνεσιν represents
על־כל־העמים.

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[69] Contrary to MT's active בְּלַע, Targ. (ויסתלעמון) and Pesh. (ܡܬܒܠܥ)
have passive verbal forms. HUB rightly claims that the passive forms are due to
a "different way of expressing verb-goal relationships (active-passive changes)."
        [70] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 269.
        [71] cf. Fischer, *In welcher Schrift*, 41.
        [72] cf. Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 266.

25:8

MT: בלע המות לנצח ומחה אדני יהוה דמעה מעל כל־פנים וחרפת
                   עמו יסיר מעל כל־הארץ כי יהוה דבר

Trans.:   "And he will swallow up death forever. Yahweh God
                 will wipe away tear from over all faces and the reproach
                 of his people he will make it depart from the over all the
                 earth because Yahweh spoke."

LXX: κατέπιεν ὁ θάνατος ἰσχύσας καὶ πάλιν ἀφεῖλεν ὁ θεὸς πᾶν
                 δάκρυον ἀπὸ παντὸς προσώπου τὸ ὄνειδος τοῦ λαοῦ
                 ἀφεῖλεν ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς γῆς τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησεν

NETS: "Death, having prevailed, swallowed them up, and God
                 has again taken away every tear from every face; the
                 disgrace of the people he has taken away from all the
                 earth, for the mouth of the Lord has spoken."

LXX.D.:   "Der Tod, *mächtig geworden*, hat *sie* verschlungen, und
                 wiederum nahm Gott *jede* Träne von jedem Antlitz *weg*;
                 die Schmach *des* Volkes nahm er weg von der ganzen
                 Erde, denn *der Mund* des Herrn hat gesprochen."

The phrase κατέπιεν ὁ θάνατος ἰσχύσας renders בלע המות לנצח,
where κατέπιεν corresponds to בלע (cf. also Isa 9:15; 28:4; 49:19), taken
as a past tense verb, ὁ θάνατος to המות, read as the subject of the verb
בלע, and ἰσχύσας is linked to לנצח. Different from the usual interpretation
of the H, LXX has "death" as the subject of the clause.[73] As for לנצח,
Ottley argued that the meaning of נצח as "to be 'lustre'," "brightness,"
accounts for its translation in LXX Isa 25:8 as "victory," "glory."[74]
Fischer proposed that the translator read נצח via Aramaic נצח "to win."[75]
In LXX Isa, αἰών "time" (cf. Isa 13:20; 28:28; 33:20) and χρόνος (cf. Isa
13:20; 33:20; 34) translate לנצח. Although Isa 25:8 is the only place in
the LXX where ἰσχύω renders נצח, 1 Chron 15:21; Jer 15:18 attest
respectively to similar translations with ἐνισχύω and κατισχύω both

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[73] cf. T. Hieke, "„Er verschlingt den Tod für immer" (Jes 25,8a): Eine
unerfüllte Verheißung im Alten und Neuen Testament," *BZ* 50/1 (2006), 37.

[74] Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:227.

[75] Fischer, *Isaias*, 41.

meaning "to strengthen."[76] Despite the examples from 1 Chron 15:21; Jer 15:18, the translator's use of ἰσχύσας for לנצח remains striking and must be seen as a case of a free translation.[77]

Clause 8b καὶ πάλιν ἀφεῖλεν ὁ θεὸς πᾶν δάκρυον ἀπὸ παντὸς προσώπου stands in place of ומחה אדני יהוה דמעה מעל כל־פנים. Πάλιν is a plus in the LXX as it is also elsewhere in LXX Isa (cf. Isa 7:4; 23:17).[78] As for ἀφεῖλεν, LXX Isa 25:8 is the only place where ἀφαιρέω "to remove" renders מחה.[79] Besides, the past tense ἀφεῖλεν is striking because in LXX Isa future tense verbs usually render *weqatal* forms. This does not mean the translator had some difficulty with מחה. His translation of the latter with ἐξαλείφω "to obliterate" (cf. Isa 43:25) and ἀπαλείφω "wipe off" (cf. Isa 44:22) shows that he was well acquainted with the meaning of that verb. His choice of ἀφαιρέω must be explained in analogy with the second ἀφαιρέω in v. 8c. Πᾶν is a plus in the LXX.

The last clause of v. 8 τὸ ὄνειδος τοῦ λαοῦ ἀφεῖλεν ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς γῆς τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησεν stands for וחרפת עמו יסיר מעל כל־הארץ. For the pair ὄνειδος/חרפה (cf. Isa 25:8; 30:5; 54:4). The pronominal suffix in עמו is not attested in the LXX. The use of ἀφαιρέω as a rendition of סור is common but the use of the past tense ἀφεῖλεν for the prefixed verb יסור is not as prefix verbs are usually rendered with future tense verbal forms in LXX Isa. Finally, τὸ στόμα is a plus in the LXX. The reason is the stereotyped nature of the Greek phrase τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησεν in LXX Isa (cf. 1:20; 24:3; 25:8; 58:14).

25:9

MT: ואמר ביום ההוא הנה אלהינו זה קוינו לו ויושיענו זה יהוה קוינו
           לו נגילה ונשׂמחה בישועתו

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[76] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 38; A. Rahlfs, "Über Theodotion-Lesarten im Neuen Testament und Aquila-Lesarten bei Justin," *ZNW* 20 (1921), 184, n. 1.

[77] cf. Rahlfs, "Theodotion-Lesarten," 183-184.

[78] cf. van der Kooij, *The Oracle*, 72.

[79] cf. Muraoka, *Two-Way Index*, 20.

Trans.:	"And he will say[80] in that day: 'here is our God in whom we waited and he saved us; this is Yahweh, we waited for him; let us be glad and rejoice in his salvation."
LXX:	καὶ ἐροῦσιν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἰδοὺ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐφ᾽ ᾧ ἠλπίζομεν καὶ ἠγαλλιώμεθα καὶ εὐφρανθησόμεθα ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ ἡμῶν
NETS:	"And they will say on that day, Lo, our God, in whom we were hoping, and we were glad in our salvation."
LXX.D.:	"Und *sie werden* an jenem Tag sagen: »Siehe, unter Gott - auf ihn hofften wir, und wir jubelten über *unsere* Rettung«."

In clause 9a, the phrase καὶ ἐροῦσιν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ corresponds well ואמר ביום ההוא, except that LXX has "they will say" instead of MT's "he will say." Clauses 9b-c present no major differences between LXX and Hebrew. The expression ἐφ᾽ ᾧ renders לו in 9c; זה is not translated for the sake of the Greek language. Although the equivalence ἐλπίζω for קוה occurs only here and in LXX Isa 26:8, other similar lexemes appear, cf. ὑπομένω "to wait for" (cf. Isa 40:31; 51:5; 59:9; 60:9), ἀναμένω "to anticipate eagerly the coming of" (cf. Isa 59:11), μένω "to wait for" (cf. Isa 5:2, 4, 7), and πείθω "to rely on" (cf. Isa 8:17; 33:2). Clauses 9d-e are not rendered in the LXX either because of a mistake due to the use of the similar phrase זה קוינו לו in 9c, e or was consciously not translated as clauses 9c, e in MT are synonymic phrases.[81] Finally, the phrase "his salvation" in MT 9g becomes "our salvation" in LXX 9e. The verbal form ἠγαλλιώμεθα renders ונשמחה here. Ziegler noted that ἀγαλλιάω "to rejoice" is a favorite verb for LXX Isa and that this verb appears very rarely in the LXX, excepting the Psalms.[82]

25:10

MT:	כי תנוח יד יהוה בהר הזה ונדוש מואב תחתיו כהדוש מתבן במי

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[80] Whereas 4QIsa^c and Targ. (ויימר) align with MT, 1QIsa^a (ואמרת) and Pesh. (ܘܢܐܡܪ) attest to 2ms verbs.

[81] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 276, argued that the translator's *Vorlage* lacked the phrase ויושיענו זה יהוה קוינו לו. See, however, καὶ σώσει ἡμᾶς οὗτος κύριος ὑπεμείναμεν αὐτῷ in σ᾽ and θ᾽.

[82] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 42.

[במו] מדמנה

Trans.:   "because the hand of Yahweh will rest on this mountain
               but Moab will be trampled under him when the straw
               heap is trampled in the waters of Madmenah."

LXX: ὅτι ἀνάπαυσιν δώσει ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο καὶ
               καταπατηθήσεται ἡ Μωαβῖτις ὃν τρόπον πατοῦσιν ἅλωνα
               ἐν ἁμάξαις

NETS: "because God will give rest on this mountain, and
               Moabitis shall be trodden down as they tread a threshing
               floor with wagons."

LXX.D.:   "Denn Gott wird Erholung *schenken* auf diesem Berg,
               und die Moabitis wird in der Weise niedergetreten
               werden, wie man *eine Tenne mit Wagen* tritt."

        The expression ἀνάπαυσιν δώσει is an attempt at translating תנוח
"it will rest." Ziegler rightly noted that ἀνάπαυσις usually renders נוח in
LXX Isa, except for κατάπαυσις in LXX Isa 66:1.[83] C. T. Fritsch
suggested that the translator may have read הניח and that he dropped the
feminine יד as the latter would not agree with the former masculine
verbal form.[84] Fritsch's suggestion is unlikely. First, הניח is never
rendered with δίδωμι + ἀνάπαυσις in LXX Isa, with the exception of LXX
Isa 25:10 (cf. Isa 14:1, 3; 28:2, 12; 30:32; 46:7; 63:14; 65:15). And,
second, 1QIsaᵃ is in line with MT. As it will be seen below, the phrase
"give rest" makes good sense in the context of LXX Isa 24-27. Further, it
should be noticed that θεός does not usually render יהוה in LXX Isa.

        The expression καταπατηθήσεται "it will be trodden down"
translates ונדוש תחתיו "it will be trampled under him."[85] As for the
equivalence Μωαβῖτις/מואב, it should be noted that מואב is translated
with both Μωαβ (cf. 11:14; 15:9; 16:2, 4, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14) and
Μωαβῖτις in LXX Isa (cf. 15:1[3x]; 2, 4, 5, 8; 16:7; 25:10).[86] With the

        [83] Ziegler, *Isaias*, 42.
        [84] C. T. Fritsch, "The Concept of God in the Greek Translation of
Isaiah," in *Biblical Studies in Memory of H. C. Alleman* (ed. J. M. Myers, O.
Reimherr, and H. N. Bream; New York: Augustin, 1960), 159.
        [85] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 44, 278.
        [86] cf. E. Tov, "Personal Names in the Septuagint of Isaiah," in *Isaiah in
Context: Studies in Honour of Arie van der Kooij on the Occasion of his Sixty-*

exception of Jer 25:21; 31:33, the pair Μωαβῖτις/מואב is unique to LXX Isa. For further discussion on Μωαβῖτις, cf. part 2 below.

The expression ὃν τρόπον translates the comparative כ in כהדוש. Πατοῦσιν is a translation of the passive הדוש "it is treated" as "they will tread." The future tense πατοῦσιν was used in analogy with the future tense verbs preceding it. As for the translation of מתבן במי [במו] מדמנה with ἅλωνα ἐν ἁμάξαις, Ziegler rightly pointed out that the translator used ἁμάξαις "chariots" because in the time of the translator "chariots" used to thresh (cf. Isa 41:15).[87] Thus, the suggestion that the translator read במי מדמנה as במרכבה "in chariots"[88] must be rejected.[89]

25:11

MT:	ופרש ידיו בקרבו כאשר יפרש השׂחה לשׂחות והשפיל גאותו עם ארבות ידיו
Trans.:	"and he will stretch his hand in his midst as the swimmer stretches to swim and he will bring his pride down despite the movement of his hands."
LXX:	καὶ ἀνήσει τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ὃν τρόπον καὶ αὐτὸς ἐταπείνωσεν τοῦ ἀπολέσαι καὶ ταπεινώσει τὴν ὕβριν αὐτοῦ ἐφ᾽ ἃ τὰς χεῖρας ἐπέβαλεν
NETS:	"And he will send forth his hands, as he himself brought him low to destroy him, and he will bring low his pride - things on which he laid his hands."
LXX.D.:	"und er wird seinen Händen *freien Lauf lassen*, ebenso wie *auch er* (*Moab*) (*andere*) *erniedrigt hat bis zur Vernichtung*; und er wird seine (Moabs) Überheblichkeit erniedrigen (, nämlich die Unternehmungen vereiteln), *an die es* Hand *angelegt hat*."

The expression בקרבו "in his midst" was not translated in the LXX. With respect to ἀνήσει "he will loosen," it should be noted that the

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Fifth Birthday (ed. Michaël N. van der Meer *et al*., VTSup 138; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 426-427.

[87] cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 97.
[88] cf. e.g. more recently, LEH, 31.
[89] cf. HUB.

verb ἀνίημι "unfasten, untie" is not a rendition of פרש as the latter is never rendered by the former in Isa. A similar expression to the one in Isa 25:11 is found in Isa 65:2: פרשׂתי ידי "I have stretched out my hands," where it is literally rendered with ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου "I stretched out my hands." The example from Isa 65:2 is important as it points to the translator's proper knowledge of the expression פרש יד "to stretch the hand." As such, his use of ἀνίημι in LXX Isa 25:11 is important and it will be discussed in the next section. The phrase καὶ αὐτός is a plus in the LXX.[90] The Greek expression ἐταπείνωσεν τοῦ ἀπολέσαι is the result of reading השׂחה לשׂחות "the swimmer to swim" as השׁחה לשׁחת "he brought low to destroy."[91] The phrase ἐφ᾽ ἃ does not seem to correspond to the Hebrew text well. Whereas MT reads "his hands," LXX has simply "the hands." The verbal form "he threw" is a plus in the LXX, whereas the word ארבות was apparently not translated.

25:12

MT:	ומבצר משגב חומתיך השח השפיל הגיע לארץ עד־עפר
Trans.:	"But, o Mibzar, he will bring down the refuge of your walls; he will make it low; it will touch the ground, the very dust."
LXX:	καὶ τὸ ὕψος τῆς καταφυγῆς τοῦ τοίχου σου ταπεινώσει καὶ καταβήσεται ἕως τοῦ ἐδάφους
NETS:	"And he will bring low the height of the refuge of your wall, and it will come down all the way to the ground."
LXX.D.:	"und die Höhe der Zuflucht, deiner Mauer, wird er erniedrigen, *und sie wird* herabsinken bis zum Boden."

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[90] cf. Liebmann ["Der Text," 281, 282] conjectured that the translator's *Vorlage* read והוא. His conjecture is unlikely as והוא is not attested in 1QIsaᵃ or 4QIsaᶜ.

[91] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 281; Ottley, 2: 227; Fischer (*In welcher Schrift*, 41) proposed that the translator read כַּאֲשֶׁר יְפָרֵשׂ הַשֹׂחֶה לִשְׂחוֹת as כאשר נַפְשׁוֹ שֹׁחֵח לְשַׁחֵת by which he read י as נ, ר as ו, and ה as ח. However, following Fischer, reading the ר from יְפָרֵשׂ as ו would result in יפוש, which, in turn, the translator would have to change the position of the last two consonants so to create נַפְשׁוֹ. Although confusion between certain Hebrew consonants is possible, it is unlikely the translator made so many changes in a single word.

LXX has the singular "your wall," whereas the plural "your walls" is in MT. The verb "to bring low" in the LXX is a translation of its counterpart in Hebrew, except that the latter is in the past tense and the former in the future. The reading "he humbled" is not translated in the LXX. Ziegler thought it was not present in the translator's *Vorlage*.[92] The conjunction "and" is a plus in the LXX. Although καταβαίνω "to go down" is not a very literal translation of נגע, it seems to communicate well the idea of the Hebrew. The phrase לארץ is not translated in the LXX. Interesting is the translator's utilization of τοῖχος for חומה because this equivalence appears only here in the LXX. Usually, τεῖχος render חומה (cf. e.g. Isa 2:15; 22:10, 11). Contrast with τεῖχος in Isa 24:23; 26:1.

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[92] cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 54, 53, 56. Ziegler (p. 56) argued that the author of the Hebrew *Vorlage* was responsible for adding the synonym השפיל.

CHAPTER 4 - ISA 26:1-6: A COMPARISON

26:1

MT:	ביום ההוא יושר השיר־הזה בארץ יהודה עיר עז־לנו ישועה ישית חומות וחל
Trans.:	"In that day this song will be sung in the land of Judah: o our fortified city, he will set walls and rampart as salvation."
LXX:	τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ᾄσονται τὸ ᾆσμα τοῦτο ἐπὶ γῆς Ιουδα λέγοντες ἰδοὺ πόλις ὀχυρά καὶ σωτήριον ἡμῶν θήσει τεῖχος καὶ περίτειχος
NETS:	"On that day they will sing this song on the land of Ioudas, saying: Look, a strong city, and he will make our salvation its wall and outer wall."
LXX.D.:	"An jenem Tag *werden sie* dieses Lied im Lande Juda singen: '*Siehe*, eine befestigte Stadt, *und* als unser Heil wird er Mauer und Ringmauer aufrichten."

The phrase τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ᾄσονται τὸ ᾆσμα τοῦτο ἐπὶ γῆς Ιουδα translates ביום ההוא יושר השיר־הזה בארץ יהודה. The only small difference is the active plural ᾄσονται for the passive singular יושר.[1] The plural form ᾄσονται is based on the immediate context (cf. לנו). The same is true for the addition of λέγοντες. The latter was introduced to make the transition to direct speech more explicit.[2]

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[1] Whereas 1QIsaᵃ attests to the active singular ישיר, 4QIsaᶜ is in line with MT's יושר. As 1QIsaᵇ preserved only the two last consonants שר, it is possible that it two was in line with the passive reading in MT. Among the other witnesses, α' ἀσθήσεται, Syr ܐܘܓܢܝ (reconstructed), and Vulg. *cantabitur* support MT. Contrarily, Targ. ישבחון and Syr ܐܘܢܝ (Ms. 7a1) have verbs in the active voice. See discussion in van der Kooij, "The Text of Isaiah," 144.

[2] cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:228, who rightly viewed λέγοντες as a "natural addition." Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 58, entertained the possibility that in the case of LXX Isa 26:1 a form of לאמר could have already been introduced in the translator's *Vorlage*. However, all other ancient witnesses lack an attestation to לאמר. For a discussion of the addition of a form of λέγω to introduce direct speech in LXX Isa, cf. van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 107-108.

The phrase ἰδοὺ πόλις ὀχυρά καὶ σωτήριον ἡμῶν stands for עיר
עז־לנו ישועה. The interjection ἰδού has no counterpart in MT. Liebmann
argued the translator's *Vorlage* read הנה עיר עז.[3] Van der Kooij, however,
opined that the plus ἰδού is not due to a different *Vorlage*.[4] Besides, no
other manuscript tradition attests to הנה. As it will be seen later, ἰδού is
the result of harmonization with Isa 33:20 (cf. part 2 below). In LXX Isa,
עז is mostly translated with ἰσχύς "strength" and ἰσχυρός "strong" (cf. Isa
49:5; 51:9; 52:1; 62:8; 43:16). The translator's pick of ὀχυρός "firm,
lasting" for עז is interesting because that equivalence occurs only here in
LXX Isa, while being rare elsewhere.[5] The reason for the translator's use
of ὀχυρός will be discussed later. As for the plus καί, Liebmann thought
the translator's *Vorlage* read וישועה.[6] However, once again, it must be
noted that no other textual witness attests to the conjunction "and." It is
more appropriate to view καί as reflecting the translator's perception that
a new phrase started with לנו. This is the more likely as the translator
joined the personal pronoun "our" with "salvation" (cf. σωτήριον ἡμῶν),
while in MT לנו is best taken with what precedes it.[7]

Θήσει τεῖχος καὶ περίτειχος links with ישית חומות וחל. While the
equivalence τίθημι/שית is common elsewhere in the LXX, Isa 26:1 is the
only place where it occurs in LXX Isa. The verb שית appears five other
times in LXX Isa, whre it is variously translated (cf. Isa 5:6 [ἀνίημι];[8]
15:9 [ἐπάγω]; 16:3 [not translated]; 22:7 [2x: ἐμφράσσω][9]). A contextual
study of the passages just cited will show that his understanding of the
immediate context guided his lexical choices. The same applies for

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[3] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 52.

[4] van der Kooij, "The Cities of Isaiah 24-27," 194; van der Kooij,
"Interpretation of the Book of Isaiah," 65.

[5] cf. Prov 10:15; 18:11, 19. Note also κράτος and ἰσχυρός in α' and σ'
respectively.

[6] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 52.

[7] cf. van der Kooij, "The Cities of Isaiah 24-27," 194; van der Kooij,
"Interpretation of the Book of Isaiah," 65; LXX.D.

[8] For a discussion of LXX Isa 5:1-7, including helpful comments on
ἀνίημι, cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 179-180.

[9] For a brief discussion of the sole occurrence of ἐμφράσσω in LXX Isa,
cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 116.

τίθημι in Isa 26:1 which, as it will be seen, fits in well within its context. The singular τεῖχος translates the plural חומות. Whereas 1QIsaᵃ, 4QIsaᶜ (חומותיה וחילה), and Targ. (שורהא) attest to a plural reading, Syr. (ܫܘܪܐ)[10] and Vulg. (*murus*) preserve readings in the singular. Although certainty is impossible in this matter, it is more likely that LXX Isa's *Vorlage* contained a plural reading in the light of the evidence in 1QIsaᵃ/4QIsaᶜ. If this is correct, then is also likely that the translator used the singular τεῖχος because of the following singular חל. Finally, Isa 26:1 is the only place where περίτειχος translates ל[י]חן.[11] The translator's pick of περίτειχος betrays a concern for stylistics.

26:2

MT: פתחו שערים ויבא גוי־צדיק שמר אמנים
Trans.:   "Open the gates, and let a righteous people come, [a people] keeping faithfulness."
LXX: ἀνοίξατε πύλας εἰσελθάτω λαὸς φυλάσσων δικαιοσύνην καὶ φυλάσσων ἀλήθειαν
NETS: "Open the gates; let a people enter that keeps rightoussness and that keeps truth."
LXX.D.:   "Öffnet die Tore, es soll einziehen das Volk, *das* Gerechtigkeit *wahrt und* das Wahrheit wahrt."

The Greek ἔθνος renders גוי in the majority of the cases in the LXX. Contrarily, the equivalence λαός/גוי occurs only 12x in the LXX of which five are in LXX Isa (cf. Isa 9:2; 26:2; 55:5; 58:2; 60:5).[12] As such,

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[10] Although there is no morphological difference between sing. and plural in masc. nouns in the emphatic state in Syr., ܫܘܪܐ is most likely sing. because it lacks a *seyame*, a common feature in manuscript 7al marking plural nouns.

[11] cf. Muraoka, *Two-Way Index*, 201. Syr. reads ܫܘܪܐ ܗܘ ܘܫܘܪܐ and Vulg. *murus et antemurale*. M. Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon: A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009), defined ܒܪ ܫܘܪܐ as a "small wall built up in front of a larger one." Targ.'s translation with פורקן יתסם על שורהא ורחמין "salvation will be set on the walls and mercies" is highly interpretive.

[12] The other occurrences are: Josh 3:17; 4:1; Jer 9:8; 33:9; Ezek 20:41; 28:25; Zech 14:14. See also ἔθνος in α'.

it will be important to discuss later the translator's reason for using λαός here. Φυλάσσων is a double rendition of שמר. In LXX Isa, δίκαιος often translates the adjective צדיק (cf. Isa 3:10; 5:23; 29:21; 45:21; 53:11; 57:1[2x]; 60:21), whereas the noun צדק is usually rendered with δικαιοσύνη (cf. e.g., Isa 1:21; 26:9). Contrarily, the use of δικαιοσύνη for צדיק occurs only six times in the LXX (cf. Ps 72:7; Prov 2:20; 11:21, 30; 20:7; Isa 26:2). As all the ancient witnesses attest to an adjective, it is very likely that the translator's *Vorlage* contained צדיק instead of צדק.[13] It seems that the translator decided to use the noun δικαιοσύνη as a parallelism with the noun ἀλήθεια. The same applies to his double use of φυλάσσων.[14] It has been suggested that the expression φυλάσσων δικαιοσύνην for גוי צדיק was probably due to the rarity of the Hebrew construction.[15] However, similar expressions occur elsewhere (cf. גוי קדוש in Exo 19:6, quoted in 4Q504, V:10;[16] and ועמך כלם צדיקים in Isa 60:21). The translator was more concerned with stylistics (cf. φυλάσσων + noun occurring three times in vv. 2-3). The plus καί is further evidence that the translator realized גוי צדיק שמר אמנים as two separate but parallel phrases: φυλάσσων δικαιοσύνην and φυλάσσων ἀλήθειαν. Finally, the noun ἀλήθεια normally paraphrases אמת in LXX Isa (cf. Isa 10:20; 16:5; 38:3; 42:3; 48:1; 59:14, 15). Isa 26:2 is the only occasion where ἀλήθεια stands for אמון in LXX Isa (cf. also Ps 12:2; 31:24). Its use in 26:2 is contextual in nature, cf. ἀλήθεια in 26:3.

26:3

MT:	יצר סמוך תצר שלום שלום כי בך בטוח
Trans.:	"the firm thought you will preserve peacefully because in you it is trusted."
LXX:	ἀντιλαμβανόμενος ἀληθείας καὶ φυλάσσων εἰρήνην ὅτι ἐπὶ σοί

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[13] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 53: "LXX wird kaum etwas Anderes als צדיק gelesen haben." See also 1QIsaᵃ/4QIsaᶜ (צדיק), Targ. (זכאה), Syr. (ܘܗܡܐ), and Vulg. (*iusta*).

[14] cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:228; HUB.

[15] cf. HUB.

[16] In this dissertation, citations of Qumran documents follow the DSSR edition.

NETS: "that lays hold of truth and that keeps peace, because in
                 you."
LXX.D.:   "*das sich an Wahrheit hält und* Frieden *wahrt.*' Denn auf
                 dich."

The phrase ἀντιλαμβανόμενος ἀληθείας seems to stand in place of the difficult יצר סמוך. Ottley and Fischer argued that the translator saw the root נצר in יצר (cf. תצר).[17] But the question arises as to why the translator did not pick φυλάσσω for יצר (√ נצר) as he did for the following תצר. Contrarily, Liebmann linked ἀντιλαμβανόμενος with סמוך.[18] His proposal is plausible because ἀντιλαμβάνομαι renders סמך in Isa 63:5 (cf. also Ps 3:6; 119:116). As for ἀληθείας, Liebmann suggested it translates יצר "inclination, striving,"[19] arguing that the ideas of "Gebilde," "Gedanke" in יצר equal with "correct disposition" in "prägnanten Sinne."[20] Differently, Fischer viewed ἀλήθεια as an *ad sensum* translation of סמוך, namely, what is "established, supported" denotes what is "true."[21] Instead of the proposals above, it seems more probable that the expression ἀντιλαμβανόμενος ἀληθείας is the result of an interpretation of יצר סמוך. Although this phrase appears only here in the *Tanach*, its frequent occurrence in Qumran documents (cf. e.g., 1QS 4:5; 8:3) makes it likely that the translator of Isa was well acquainted with its meaning. For the translator, יצר סמוך "resolute disposition" meant "to take hold of the truth" (ἀντιλαμβανόμενος ἀληθείας). It parallels the translator's interpretation of תצר שלום/שמר אמנים/גוי צדיק as φυλάσσων δικαιοσύνην/φυλάσσων ἀλήθειαν/καὶ φυλάσσων εἰρήνην respectively (cf. vv. 2-3). This suggests the translator took the expression יצר סמוך as parallel in thought to the preceding תצר שלום/שמר אמנים/גוי צדיק.[22]

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[17] Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:228; Fischer, *In Welcher Schrift*, 41.

[18] Liebmann, "Der Text," 54. In LXX Isa, ἀντιλαμβάνομαι translates חזק (Isa 41:9; 51:18; 64:6), תמך (Isa 42:1), סמך (Isa 26:3[?]; 63:5), סעד (Isa 9:6), גאל (Isa 49:26), and פגע (Isa 59:16).

[19] For this definition, cf. HALOT, II: 429.

[20] Liebmann, "Der Text," 54.

[21] Fischer, *In Welcher Schrift*, 41.

[22] The Syr. translator also interpreted the phrase יצר סמוך as to "keep the truth" (ܘܢܛܪ ܫܪܪܐ). Perhaps, the Greek translation influenced the Syriac translator. Even if this was the case, he must have thought the LXX interpretation was reasonable enough to be used for his translation. Among the

The phrase καὶ φυλάσσων εἰρήνην translates שלום שלום תצר. Liebmann saw שמר behind φυλάσσων.[23] However, as φυλάσσω renders נצר in 60:21 (cf. also 2 Kings 17:9; 18:8; Prov 2:8; 4:13; 13:3, 6; 28:7), it seems better to see φυλάσσω translating תצר in 26:3. The only difference is the translator's use of a participle for an imperfect verb in MT. The phrase εἰρήνην ὅτι ἐπὶ σοὶ renders שלום כי בך. The double use of שלום is attested in 1QIsa^a/1QIsa^b, while 4QIsa^c is too fragmentary to tell.[24] Liebmann thought the translator's *Vorlage* contained only one שלום and read as follows: בך בטוח סמוך יצרו שמר שלום כי.[25] Contrarily, Ziegler opined that the translator himself dropped one שלום.[26] Because the double use of שלום is well attested in the Isa scrolls and other ancient versions, it seems that the translator dropped one שלום for the sake of condensation, as he often does.[27]

Finally, the phrase ὅτι ἐπὶ σοί stands in place of כי בך בטוח. The word בטוח is a minus LXX Isa 26:3. Whereas 1QIsa^a lacks בטוח, the latter is attested in 1QIsa^b and fragmentarily in 4QIsa^c, where the last two consonants וח were preserved. Among the ancient witness, εβρ' (βατοου), α' (πεποίθασι), Targ. (אתרחיצו), and Vulg. (*speravimus*) attest to בטוח.[28] It is unclear whether the Syr.'s *Vorlage* contained two forms of בטח at the end and beginning of vv. 3-4 or whether the translator condensed them

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other versions, Targ. interpreted it as "with a perfect heart" (בלבב שלים), whereas the Vulg. read it as "the old wandering went away" (*vetus error abiit*).

[23] Liebmann, "Der Text," 54.

[24] While Targ. (שלמא) and Vulg. (*pacem*) have also preserved שלום doubly, Syr. attests to only one occurence of it with other minor departures: "you will keep peace *for us*" (ܐܠܟ ܠ ܥܠܟܐ).

[25] Liebmann, "Der Text," 56.

[26] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 53.

[27] cf. van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 68 and discussion of "condensation" therein.

[28] For a discussion of the Vulg.'s use of first *speravimus* and second person plural *sperastis* verbs, cf. van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 310-311, who calls attention to the immediate context of Isa 26:1-8 to explain the Vulg.'s translation.

into ܣܒܪ.[29] The same applies to 1QIsa[a]. The lack of בטוח in the latter raises the question whether the translator's *Vorlage* also lacked this term. Given the translator's tendency to condensate, it seems that he dropped one of the בטח words.

26:4

MT:	בטחו ביהוה עדי־עד כי ביה יהוה צור עולמים
Trans.:	"Trust in Yahweh forever because the Lord, Yahweh, is a rock forever."
LXX:	ἤλπισαν κύριε ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας ὁ αἰώνιος
NETS:	"have they hoped, O Lord, forever - the great, everlasting God."
LXX.D.:	"*haben sie* gehofft, Herr, bis auf ewige Zeiten, *du großer*, ewiger Gott."

On the use of ἤλπισαν, Ottley pointed out that "the LXX. here show their fondness for ἐλπίς."[30] However, although the use of ἐλπίζω for בטח occurs often elsewhere in the LXX,[31] in LXX Isa it translates בטח only here and in 30:12. Contrarily, the equivalence πείθω/בטח appears frequently in Isa (cf. 12:2; 31:1; 32:11, 17; 36:4, 5, 6[2x], 7, 9; 37:10; 42:17; 47:8; 50:10; 59:4). As such, the question must be asked as to why the translator decided to use ἐλπίζω here. A tentative answer will be provided later. Ἤλπισαν shows the translator read בטחו as a past tense verb instead of an imperative as in MT. Finally, the vocative κύριε indicates ἤλπισαν must be read with the preceding ὅτι ἐπὶ σοί (v. 3).

The phrase κύριε ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος translates ביהוה עדי־עד. The only difference is that the translator dropped the preposition ב to read יהוה as a vocative: κύριε. The phrase ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος for עדי־עד in Isa 26:4 is found

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[29] It is also interesting to note that Syr. and Vulg. used first person plural verbs in their redition of v. 3: *speravimus* and ܣܒܪ both meaning "we hoped, trusted."

[30] Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:228.

[31] cf. Ps 4:6; 9:11; 13:6; 21:8; 22:5, 6; 26:1; 27:3; 28:7; 31:7, 15; 32:10; 33:21; 37:3, 5; 40:4; 41:10; 44:7; 52:10; 55:24; 56:4, 5, 12; 62:9, 11; 78:22; 84:13; 86:2; 91:2; 115:9, 10, 11; 118:9; 119:42; 143:8; Judg 9:26; 20:36; 2 Kgs 18:5, 24; 1 Chr 5:20; Job 24:23; Jer 13:25; Hos 10:13; Mic 7:5.

only in Ps 132:12. Otherwise, τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος is more common (cf. Ps 83:18; 92:8), while εἰς αἰῶνα αἰῶνος is also attested (cf. Ps 132:14).[32]

The phrase ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας ὁ αἰώνιος stands in place of כי ביה יהוה צור עולמים. Against MT's double reference to the Lord (ביה יהוה), LXX has only once mention. BHK and BHS propose to delete the word ביה in MT based on the single use of θεός. However, θεός renders יה in LXX Isa 38:11, albeit this is the only place, besides 26:4, where this translation occurs. It is also used for יהוה several times in Isa.[33] Besides, with the exception of 4QIsa[c] (cf. only one 𐤉𐤄𐤅𐤄) and perhaps the highly interpretive Targ. (דחילה יוי במימר), 1QIsa[a] (ביה יהוה), 4QIsa[b] (ביה א]דני), α᾽ (εν τω κυριω κυριος), ο εβρ᾽ (βαια αδωναι), Syr. (ܘܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܐ), and Vulg. (*in Domino Deo*) attest to יה יהוה.[34] It is, thus, highly likely that the translator's *Vorlage* contained ביה יהוה. If this was the case, the translator used ὁ θεός as a one word translation for the two word phrase יה יהוה. Cf. also κύριος for יה יהוה in Isa 12:2.

The phrase ὁ μέγας ὁ αἰώνιος stands for צור עולמים. Μέγας occurs only here as a translation of צור. Ottley argued that the LXX translators were not fond of the rock as a metaphor for God and that they usually omitted or paraphrased it.[35] However, there may be more to the translator's use of the expression ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας (cf. part 2 below). In LXX Isa, the expression ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας occurs only here. A similar phrase appears in LXX Isa 33:22: ὁ γὰρ θεός μου μέγας/אדיר יהוה. Outside Isa, the phrase in question appears a few times either as a translation of האל הגדל (cf. Deut 10:17; Jer 39:18, 19; Dan 9:4) or of the Aramaic אלה רב (cf. Dan 2:45. Cf. also Dan 4:37).

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[32] In LXX Isa 65:18, עדי־עד is a minus.

[33] cf. Isa 4:2; 6:12; 7:17; 8:17, 18; 9:10; 10:20, 23, 26; 11:2, 3; 14:2, 3, 5, 27; 23:17; 24:21; 25:8, 10; 26:4; 27:1; 30:9, 18, 30; 31:1; 33:5; 36:15, 18, 20; 37:20, 22; 38:20; 39:6; 40:27, 28, 31; 41:4, 14; 42:5, 12, 19, 24; 43:11, 14; 44:5, 6, 23; 45:11, 21; 49:13; 51:13; 54:13; 55:6; 58:8, 9, 11, 13; 61:9; 65:23.

[34] cf. van der Kooij, "Isaiah 24-27: Text-Critical Notes," 14. Van der Kooij further pointed out to inscription B. of H. Bet Layy near Lakish for an extra-biblical attestation of יה יהוה.

[35] Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:228. See also C. T. Fritsch, "The Concept of God," 163. For paraphrases of צור, cf. Isa 17:10; 30:29; 44:8; Ps 18:2; 31:3; 41:2; 62:2, 6; Hab 1:12; Deut 31:9; 32:2, 5, 15, 18, 30, 31, 37.

26:5

MT:	כי השח ישבי מרום קריה נשגבה ישפילנה ישפילה עד־ארץ יגיענה עד־עפר:
Trans.:	"because he shattered the inhabitants of the high, the high city he brought it low, he brought it low to the ground, he made it touch the dust."
LXX:	ὃς ταπεινώσας κατήγαγες τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν ὑψηλοῖς πόλεις ὀχυρὰς καταβαλεῖς καὶ κατάξεις ἕως ἐδάφους
NETS:	"you who have humbled and brought down those who dwell in lofty places; you will cast down strong cities and bring them down to the ground."
LXX.D.:	"*der du* diejenigen erniedrigt *und hinabgestoßen hast*, die auf Höhen wohnen; befestigte *Städte wirst du* niederwerfen und bis zum Boden einebnen."

The phrase ὃς ταπεινώσας κατήγαγες τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν ὑψηλοῖς stands in place of כי השח ישבי מרום. Although the the relative pronoun ὅς occupies the place of the particle כי, it cannot be seen as a rendition of the latter. As such, it will be important to discuss later why the translator decided to introduce ὅς here.

It is not easy to pinpoint exactly how the translation relates to its *Vorlage* in this verse. Ταπεινώσας/κατήγαγες seem to be a double rendition of השח because of their position in front of ישבי מרום.[36] While in LXX Isa, ταπεινόω renders שחח in Isa 2:11, 17; 5:15; 25:12, κατάγω never does so. Be it as it may, it is still important to note the translator's use of participle ταπεινώσας and second person κατήγαγες for MT's third person השח. The second person verbs in the Greek show the translator interpreted v. 5 as a continuation of the direct speech in v. 4.[37] The use of ἐνοικέω for ישב is interesting because the equivalence ἐνοικέω/ישב occurs less often in the LXX than κατοικέω/ישב. Whereas the former occurs only 23 times in the LXX, out of which 16 are found in LXX Isa (cf. e.g., Isa 24:1, 6, 17; 26:9, 18, 21), the latter occurs 22 times in LXX Isa alone

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[36] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 58.
[37] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 57.

(cf. e.g., Isa 24:5, 6). As such, it will be important to discuss why the translator chose ἐνοικέω in the present context.

The phrase ἐν ὑψηλοῖς renders מרום (for ὑψηλοῖς = מרום, cf. 24:4). For more on the equivalence ὑψηλός/מרום, cf. comments to Isa 24:4 above in part 1. The preposition ἐν was added because the translator took מרום as a designation of place (adverb of place) (cp. ישבי ארץ = οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ in 24:6). The meaning the translator tried to convey was "the ones who dwell in the high places" and, as such, he was led to use the preposition ἐν followed by ὑψηλοῖς as a masculine/neuter adjective.

The phrase πόλεις ὀχυρὰς καταβαλεῖς stands for קריה נשׁגבה ישׁפילנה. Whereas MT reads in the singular קריה נשׁגבה, LXX Isa has the plural πόλεις ὀχυράς (cf. also plural "cities" in 24:12;[38] 25:2: קריה בצורה/πόλεις ὀχυράς). The translator's choice of ὀχυρός for נשׁגבה is also interesting. In LXX Isa, ὑψόω usually renders שׁגב (cf. Isa 2:11, 17; 12:4 [נשׂגב/ὑψώθη]), whereas ὀχυρός/שׂגב occurs only in 26:5; 30:13 (πόλεως ὀχυρᾶς/נשׂגבה). It will thus be important to discuss why the translator picked ὀχυρός here. Finally, besides here, καταβάλλω never stands for שׁפל. The latter is usually translated in LXX Isa with ταπεινόω (cf. 2:9, 12; 5:15; 10:33; 13:11; 25:11; 29:4; 40:4; 57:9). Καταβάλλω seems to be the result of free rendering in the light of the context with some concern for stylistics, cf. κατήγαγες/καταβαλεῖς/κατάξεις.[39] Finally, note the use of second person καταβαλεῖς for third person ישׁפילנה.

The Hebrew ישׁפילה עד־ארץ is a minus in the LXX just as לארץ is a minus in 25:12.[40] The reason is that the translator found עד־ארץ redundant in face of the similar עד־עפר immediately following (cf. e.g.

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[38] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 58.

[39] cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:229, who also points to LXX Isa 63:3, 6.

[40] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 58. Among the ancient witnesses, while Targ. (ירמינה/ימאכינה) and Vulg. (*humiliabit/humiliabit*) are aligned with MT, 1QIsaᵃ (ישׁפילנה) and Syr. (ܒܝܬܐ ܠܥܦܪܐ ܬܘܒܟܝܗ ܡܫܦܠ ܠܩܪܝܬܐ ܥܫܝܢܬܐ) attest to only one שׁפל. Given LXX Isa's bent to condensation, it seems more likely that the translator himself dropped ישׁפילה. Otherwise, his *Vorlage* may have contained only one שׁפל.

his translation of 24:4).[41] Contrarily, the conjunction "and" in καὶ κατάξεις ἕως ἐδάφους is a plus in the LXX and κατάξεις ἕως ἐδάφους renders יגיענה עד־עפר. Καὶ κατάξεις ἕως ἐδάφους is better taken as a translation of עד־עפר יגיענה with καί as a plus. While there is no example for the equivalence ἔδαφος/ארץ in the LXX, עפר is translated with ἔδαφος in LXX Isa 25:12; 29:4. As such, the phrase ישפילה עד־ארץ has no formal equivalent in the Greek and should be seen as a minus.[42] The choice of ἔδαφος calls attention because in LXX Isa עפר is also rendered with χοῦς (cf. Isa 49:23; 52:2). These examples suggest the translator had a choice between ἔδαφος and χοῦς. Why did he decide to use ἔδαφος? The answer will be entertained later but for now, cf. Isa 25:12: לארץ הגיע עד־עפר/καταβήσεται ἕως τοῦ ἐδάφους.[43]

The translator omitted the pronominal suffixes attached to נגע/שפל.[44] The reason is that their use is unnecessary in Greek. It is possible to say in Hebrew "the fortified city, he will bring *it* low;" but a literal rendering would cause an awkward Greek. As the phrase "fortified city" functions as the direct object of the verb κατάγω, the pronominal suffixes became unnecessary.

26:6

MT:	תרמסנה רגל רגלי עני פעמי דלים
Trans.:	"feet will trample it, the feet of the poor, the sole of the feet of the powerless."
LXX:	καὶ πατήσουσιν αὐτὰς πόδες πραέων καὶ ταπεινῶν
NETS:	"and the feet of the gentle and humble will trample them."
LXX.D.:	"und es werden auf sie treten Füße von Sanftmütigen und Niedrigen."

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[41] cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 51. For a discussion of LXX Isa's tendency to drop parallel or synonymous clauses, including a reference to Isa 26:5, cf. van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 65. While she viewed יגיענה עד־עפר as a minus, I prefer to see ישפילה עד־ארץ as the dropped clause in the LXX.

[42] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 58.

[43] cf. also θ' εως χωματος.

[44] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 58.

While the conjunction καί is a plus in the LXX, the verb πατήσουσιν renders תרמסנה (cf. Isa 1:12). Elsewhere in LXX Isa, the cognate καταπατέω is the most usual translation of רמס (cf. Isa 16:4; 28:3 [ברגלים תרמסנה/τοῖς ποσὶν καταπατηθήσεται]; 41:25). The pronoun αὐτάς renders the pronominal suffix attached to תרמסנה. The plural πόδες translates the plural רגלי, whereas the singular רגל is a minus in the LXX, perhaps due to dittography.[45] The plural πραέων stands for the singular עני only here in LXX Isa (cf. also Job 24:4; Zep 3:12; Zec 9:9). Liebmann argued that the translator took עני in a collective sense because the plural πραέων could also have been influenced by the plural דלים.[46] Καί is once again a plus in the LXX and ταπεινῶν renders דלים as it does in 11:4; 25:4 (cf. also Zep 3:12). The Hebrew פעמי is a minus in the LXX and certainly the result of a deliberate omission by the translator for condensation purposes.[47]

Both LXX and 1QIsa^a attest to the plural πραέων/עניים and both preserve only רגלי.[48] This raises the question whether the translator's *Vorlage* contained the plural עניים and only רגלי. Liebmann thought that רגל was not in the LXX *Vorlage*.[49] It is not possible to know whether the LXX *Vorlage* contained רגל or not. However, it seems more likely that the LXX translator dropped רגל in view of his translation style, which tends to drop synonyms or parallel clauses (cf. vv. 3-5 above).[50]

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[45] cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 53, 54.

[46] Liebmann, "Der Text," 59.

[47] cf. HUB; van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 70.

[48] Syr. is in line with 1QIsa^a and LXX, whereas Targ. and Vulg. are aligned with MT.

[49] Liebmann, "Der Text," 59; also Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 54.

[50] cf. HUB.

Part 2 - LXX Isa in Its Own Right

Part 2 takes LXX Isa 24:1-26:6 in its own right. It attempts to assess whether the Greek text has a coherence of its own as far as its contents is concerned. It pays considerable attention to the translator's lexical choices, use of particles or conjunctions, and similar themes. Additionally, it tries to see whether agreements and disagreements with MT (cf. part 1 above) comes together to form a coherent unit. Part 2 is divided into three main chapters, each dealing with Isa 24 (chapter 5), Isa 25 (chapter 6), and Isa 26:1-6 (chapter 7). Each chapter offers the author's own critical translation and a commentary of each subsection of the chapters above. With a few exceptions, a verse by verse commentary is offered almost throughout. Closing each chapter is a summary. This summary discusses the main theme(s) identified in each chapter, notes how the translator's lexical choices lend coherence to the Greek text, and addresses how "literal" and "free" translations cohere with each other.

CHAPTER 5 - LXX ISA 24 IN ITS OWN RIGHT

ISA 24:1-3 - TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

1a: Look, the Lord is devastating the world
1b: and he will lay it waste
1c: and he will expose[1] its surface
1d: and he will disperse those who dwell in it.
2a: and the people will be like the priest
        and the servant like the master
        and the female servant like the mistress
2b: and the buyer will be like the seller
        and the lender like the borrower
        and the creditor like the one to whom he owes
3a: the earth will be completely ruined
3b: and it will be completely plundered,[2]
3c: for the mouth of the Lord spoke these things.

24:1

24:1-3 form the first sub-unit of LXX Isa 24-27. The use of future indicative verbs links these verses together notwithstanding the appearance of different participants in vv. 1-3. In v. 1, the Lord appears as the first participant, whereas several designations of social classes function as the participants in v. 2. V. 3 also introduces the "earth" as a new participant. The meaning, however, is clear. The Lord's destruction of the world in v. 1 will lead to a complete social change in v. 2 as well as to a complete destruction of the γῆ in v. 3. That these three verses go together is also clear from the phrase "for the mouth of the Lord spoke

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[1] cf. GELS, 40; LXX.D. NETS reads "uncover."

[2] cf. LXX.D: "Die Erde wird ganz vergehen, und die Erde wird gänzlich geplündert werden." F. C. Conybeare and St. G. Stock (cf. *A Grammar of Septuagint Greek* [Boston: Ginn and Company, 1905] § 61) termed the noun in the construction dat. + cognate verb in the infinitive as "cognate dative" and illustrated it with several examples from Plato and elsewhere in the LXX. The construction under discussion above seems to fall under the same category despite being composed of a dat. + a cognate finite verb.

these things" in v. 3c, whose function is clearly to set vv. 1-3 off from what follows.[3]

Clause 1a: ἰδοὺ κύριος καταφθείρει τὴν οἰκουμένην. As discussed in part 1 above, the translator's use of καταφθείρω/οἰκουμένη for בקק/ארץ is striking. For both of these Hebrew lexemes, the translator could easily have used ταράσσω (cf. Isa 19:3) and γῆ (cf. e.g., 24:3, 4, 5, 6). The translator's employment of καταφθείρω/οἰκουμένη suggests an interpretation of Isa 24:1 on "a higher level." First, οἰκουμένη occurs also in Isa 24:4. Although the equivalence οἰκουμένη/תבל appears often, it does not follow that οἰκουμένη has to be the translation of תבל, as discussed in part 1 above. The translator's use of οἰκουμένη in 24:1, 4 suggests that he linked both passages together. That link suggests that an interpretation of Isa 24:1, 4 was already in the translator's mind before he started his translation. And, second, the only other place where καταφθείρω/οἰκουμένη appears is LXX Isa 13:5: לחבל כל־הארץ/τοῦ καταφθεῖραι τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην. Like in Isa 24:1, Isa 13:5 introduces the Lord devastating the whole world. Whereas the link between Isa 13:5; 24:1 is not immediately clear in MT's use of different verbal roots (בקק/חבל), the connection between those two passages in the LXX because καταφθείρω/οἰκουμένη appear in both places. The translator's employment of the same lexemes in both passages suggests that he took Isa 24:1 with Isa 13:5 in a move that preceded his translation work. That this was the case will become clearer as the commentary on LXX Isa 24:1 proceeds.

The meaning of οἰκουμένη requires some attention. Seeligmann argued that the term οἰκουμένη appears "either in a context in which God's punishment is prophesied to all peoples, or where the central figure of an (Assyrian) world ruler loudly puts forward his claim to world sovereignty."[4] In a wording that differs considerable from MT, LXX Isa 10:13-14, for instance, casts the ruler of the Assyrians as a claimer to world sovereignty: καὶ σείσω πόλεις κατοικουμένας καὶ τὴν

οἰκουμένην ὅλην καταλήμψομαι/ואוריד כאביר יושבים ותמצא כקן ידי לחיל/
העמים.[5] This example and others led Seeligmann to conclude that οἰκουμένη in LXX Isa denoted "the historical background of the smaller and larger Hellenistic states."[6]

Das Neves took the term οἰκουμένη in LXX Isa in a much narrower sense than Seeligmann. For him, οἰκουμένη referred not to the "historical background of the smaller and larger Hellenistic states" but to Israel. He found support for his view on his analysis of LXX Isa 13, a chapter that das Neves took as a parallel to LXX Isa 24. His main points were: first, he interpreted the imperatival phrase ἀνοίξατε οἱ ἄρχοντες "open, o rulers" (LXX Isa 13:2) as addressed against Israel's leaders based on his view that imperatival phrases elsewhere were also directed against the leaders of Israel (cf. LXX Isa 28:29; 41:25).[7] Second, das Neves saw in ἄρχοντες "rulers" (LXX Isa 13:2) a reference to Israel's leaders based on the use of the same term in Isa 1:23; 3:4; 28:4, which in his opinion also denoted Israel's leaders.[8] Das Neves held this position despite recognizing that ἄρχοντες was also used to refer to pagan princes (cf. LXX Isa 1:10, 11, 12; 19:11, 13; 23:8; 49:7) and future ideal rulers (cf. Isa 9:6(5); 32:1; 43:4; 60:17).[9] Third, he argued that concepts such as ἄνομος/ὕβρις (cf. Isa 13:11) refer to Israel rather than to non-Israelites. For him, ἄνομος always refers to Israel in LXX Isa because ἄνομος denotes the breaking of the νόμος "law," a "law" that belongs to Israel.[10] And, fourth, das Neves viewed the concept of the "remnant" (cf. καταλελειμμένοι in Isa 13:12) as limited to Israel only.[11] Based on the points above, das Neves concluded that οἰκουμένη in Isa 13 does not have a universal scope but referred to the boundaries of Israel only.[12] And

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[5] cf. Seeligmann *The Septuagint Version*, 81. Seeligmann quoted the Hebrew text behind LXX Isa 10:14 as: ותמצא כקן ידי לכל ממלכות האליל but only the beginning ותמצא כקן ידי belongs to Isa 10:14; the remaining ממלכות האליל comes from Isa 10:10. לכל should be read as לחיל (see Isa 10:14).

[6] Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 81.

[7] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 74-75, 71, 73.

[8] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 88, 75.

[9] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 75.

[10] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 89, 90, 94.

[11] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 92, 93.

[12] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 94.

given the fact that he saw LXX Isa 13; 24 as parallels, das Neves argued that οἰκουμένη in LXX Isa 24:1 also denoted Israel's geographical boundaries. Das Neves strengthened his arguments with two other points. First, he took οἰκουμένη and γῆ "land" as synonyms (cf. LXX Isa 24:4), defining the former in the light of the latter. And, second, he further pointed out that the ἐνοικοῦντας "the ones inhabiting" appears in both 24:1, 17. Because LXX Isa 24:17 mentions only γῆ in connection with ἐνοικοῦντας and because he took οἰκουμένη/γῆ as synonyms, das Neves concluded that οἰκουμένη/γῆ referred to the land of Israel.[13]

Das Neves' argument that οἰκουμένη refers to Israel suffers of a few methodological pitfalls. First, his treatment of only few aspects in LXX Isa 13 was too general while it read too much into them. For instance, his claim that ἄρχοντες has to refer to Israel's leaders is a good example of reading too much into one single term. As seen above, he recognized that ἄρχοντες in LXX Isa does not necessarily denote an Israelite leader. The same is true for his claim that ἀνοίξατε οἱ ἄρχοντες (LXX Isa 13:2) refers to the Israel's leaders because imperatival clauses in LXX Isa usually refer to Israel. However, it is less than clear that imperatival phrases are reserved for Israel only in LXX Isa.

The term οἰκουμένη should be clearly taken as "world" in LXX Isa 24:1, 4. Against das Neves, it must be noted that whereas οἰκουμένη can lend a broad scope to γῆ "earth," the reverse is not true. Moreover, the link between the destruction of the οἰκουμένη with the destruction of "cities," "strong cities," and the "city of the ungodly" (Isa 24:10, 12; 25:2; 26:5) indicates that οἰκουμένη has a much broader scope than the "land of Israel." The more so as the "city of the ungodly" (Isa 25:2) is to be identified with the important city of "Babylon" (cf. comments to Isa 25:2 below). Whether Seeligmann's view that οἰκουμένη denotes the "smaller and larger Hellenistic states" or not falls outside the scope of the present enquiry as it would require venturing into the translation's historical background.

Clause 1b: καὶ ἐρημώσει αὐτὴν. The verb ἐρημόω and cognates appear also in 24:10 (MT: שבר), 12 (MT: שמה) describing the desolate state of "cities." Contrarily, MT has the singular "city" (עיר/קריה). The

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[13] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 95.

use of ἐρημόω in LXX Isa 24:1, 10, 12 is important as it links the desolation of the οἰκουμένη with the desolation of "cities." This link is not as clear in MT's use of three different Hebrew terms: שמה/תהו/בלק. The link between the destruction of the "world" with the destruction of "cities" is not strange in LXX Isa nor is it that the κύριος is behind it. Isa 13:9 proclaims that the "day of the Lord" will come to "turn the whole world desolate" (θεῖναι τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην ἔρημον), while the appearance of ἔρημός in Isa 14:23 makes it clear that the destruction of the "whole world" relates to the destruction of Babylon: "I will turn Babylon into a desert" (καὶ θήσω τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ἔρημον/MT: ושמתיה למורש קפד "I will turn her into a place for owls"). Nowhere else is the connection between the "whole world's" destruction with the destruction of an important city/country more clear than in Isa 37:18: "the kings of the Assyrians have made the whole world and its country desolate" (ἠρήμωσαν βασιλεῖς Ἀσσυρίων τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν). The translator's use of ἐρημόω in connection with οἰκουμένη is another clue that he interpreted Isa 24:1 in the light of 13:5, 9, 11; 14:23. It seems that the destruction of the οἰκουμένη in 24:1 was connected with the destruction of Babylon in Isa 13-14. If this is correct, then it will be another indication of an interpretation on a "higher level" that preceded his translation.

Clauses 1c-d: καὶ ἀνακαλύψει τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς καὶ διασπερεῖ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν αὐτῇ. The expression ἀνακαλύπτω + πρόσωπον as its direct object appears only here and in Tob 2:9, where it refers to the removing of a cover from a face.[14] In part 1 above, it was noted that the use of ἀνακαλύπτω to translate עוה is striking. If the translator's *Vorlage* read עוה, the question arises as to why he decided to employ ἀνακαλύπτω. Although his use of ἀνακαλύπτω could at first seem like a mistake, it is important to pursue the question as to whether ἀνακαλύπτω makes sense in its literary context. A look at LXX Isa 24:1 in "its own right" reveals that ἀνακαλύπτω fits in well. The general sense of LXX Isa 24:1c-d is that the Lord will uncover the face of the οἰκουμένη by dispersing its inhabitants.[15] Because LXX makes good sense, it seems more likely that the translator's utilization of ἀνακαλύπτω was not the

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[14] GELS, 40. See also 2 Cor 3:18 and part 1 above.

[15] The phrase διασπείρω + ἐνοικοῦντας appears only here in the whole of the LXX.

result of a mistake but of a particular interpretation of the Hebrew. Moreover, the translator could not really have used ἀδικέω to translate עוה in Isa 24:1, as he did in Isa 21:3, because that would imply that the Lord was the author of a morally wrong action against the οἰκουμένη. Faced with such a difficulty while interpreting the Hebrew on a higher level, the translator resorted to the immediate context to make sense of ועוה פניה "he will ruin its face." Both "face"[16] and "he will disperse its inhabitants" led the translator to employ ἀνακαλύπτω "to uncover" in his translation.

Part 1 above has discussed the striking use of ἐνοικέω to translate ישב. In the rest of LXX Isa 24, the translator employed κατοικέω for ישב in 24:5-6a and ἐνοικέω in 24:6b, 17. Das Neves took ἐνοικέω/κατοικέω in LXX Isa 24 as synonyms, seeing in those terms a reference to Jews in the translator's time.[17] However, as it will be argued below, the terms ἐνοικέω/κατοικέω carry different nuances in LXX Isa 24.

24:2

The function of v. 2 is to emphasize that the devastation of the world will affect people of a higher social status. Contrarily to MT, the translator neatly divided v. 2 into two main parts by using the verb ἔσται twice. The first part focuses on social hierarchy, whereas the second on financial status. In the first part, the people, the servant, and the maid, who occupy a lower position, are mentioned before the priest, the master, and the mistress, which were higher in the social hierarchy of the translator's day. As noted in part 1 above, LXX lacks the pronominal suffixes attached to "lord" and "mistress" in MT. If his *Vorlage* was in line with MT, the translator's dropping of those pronominal suffixes served to the purpose of making the contrast between the classes of people mentioned in 24:2 sharper.[18] Contrarily, the second part mentions

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[16] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 212.

[17] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 95, 121, 254.

[18] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 212. Liebmann was of the opinion that the translator's *Vorlage* lacked the pronominal suffixes under discussion. He reasoned that the translator would have betrayed his faithfulness in translating, had he dropped those pronominal suffixes in order to make the contrast between the classes of people sharper.

first the buyer, the lender, and the creditor, which have a stronger financial status than the seller, the borrower, and the one who has debts. In light of Deuteronomy's instruction to Israel that it should only lend money but never borrow,[19] the statement that the lender and the borrower will occupy the same social status is striking. The devastation of the world will affect people from every social class.

24:3

The use of φθείρω/γῆ indicates that 24:3 forms an *inclusio* with 24:1. Its middle (24:2) highlights the effects of the οἰκουμένη/γῆ's destruction on its inhabitants regardless of their social status. LXX Isa 24:3 also clarifies the type of the "destruction" that will assail the οἰκουμένη. The verb φθείρω, which occurs only three times in Isa (cf. 24:3, 4; 54:16), either means "to damage physically" or "to morally corrupt."[20] In Isa 24:3a, φθείρω is best interpreted as "to damage physically" because it parallels προνομεύω. This verb entails to take something as spoils of war.[21] Moreover, the immediate context of LXX Isa 24:3 clearly points to the physical devastation of the οἰκουμένη/γῆ. It refers to a "curse" that will consume the γῆ (Isa 24:6). It also mentions the mourning of the "wine" and "vine" (Isa 24:7), which entails their drying up due to a "curse" on the γῆ. In turn, the dried vine was not able to produce good wine and beer (Isa 24:9). As such, it becomes clear that the "ruining" of the οἰκουμένη/γῆ in Isa 24:1-3 relates to the plundering of the earth from its natural resources.

As discussed in part 1 above, LXX has the second γῆ as a plus against MT. If the translator's *Vorlage* aligned with MT, an explanation for the translator's insertion of γῆ is needed. First, the translator inserted γῆ to make the two clauses in LXX Isa 24:3a-b parallel the two clauses in LXX Isa 24:19[22] (for the differences between MT and LXX of Isa 24:19, cf. part 1 above). Different from MT, Isa 24:3, 19 both have γῆ as the last term of their respective clauses. And, second, the insertion of γῆ

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[19] cf. Deut 15:6, 8, 10; 28:12.

[20] cf. GELS, 714 and Exo 10:15; Gen 6:11 cited there.

[21] cf. GELS, 588. See also Isa 8:3; 10:13; 11:14; 13:16; 17:14; 44:22, 24.

[22] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 216.

in Isa 24:3b betrays a concern with the rhetorical figure known as "epiphora." An "epiphora is the repetition of the final word or group of words in successive verses or cola. The repeated element is given special emphasis, both by way of repetition, and by its position at the end of the sentence."[23] In Isa 24:3-6, with the exception of 24:5a, the word γῆ is often repeated at the end of certain clauses (cf. 24:3a-b, 4a, c, 6a, c). The plus γῆ in 24:3b made the "epiphora" figure possible.[24] The insertion of γῆ in 24:3 is another element in the translation that points to a careful interpretation on a "higher level" that preceded the process of translation.

ISA 24:4-7 - TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

4a: the earth grieved
4b: and the world was ruined
4c: and the high ones of the earth grieved
5a: it is because the earth acted lawlessly by reason of its settlers[25]
5b: because they transgressed the law
5c: and changed the ordinances, an everlasting covenant.
6a: therefore, a curse will consume the earth
6b: because its settlers sinned;
6c: therefore, those inhabiting the earth will be poor,
6d: and few men will be left.
7a: The wine shall mourn
7b: the vine shall mourn
7c: all who rejoice in the heart will groan

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[23] cf. van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 150-151.

[24] cf. van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 151. For more examples from LXX Isa, see pp. 151-157.

[25] The expression τοὺς κατοικοῦντας (Isa 24:5a) in the accusative compared to οἱ κατοικοῦντες (Isa 24:6b) is an example of "prolepsis," by which "the subject of the dependent clause [6b] is often anticipated and made the object of the verb of the principal clause [5a]." cf. H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar for Colleges* (New York: American Book Company, 1920), § 2182. The numbers and letters within brackets inside the quotation are ours.

24:4

The lack of any conjunction and the change from future to past tense verbs set off Isa 24:4 from what precedes it. This unit extends to Isa 24:7. Isa 24:4-7 forms a well knit unit. The conjunction δέ in Isa 24:5 links it with Isa 24:4. Likewise, the expression διὰ τοῦτο in 24:6 (2x) connects this verse with 24:5. Finally, the future tense verbs in Isa 24:7 link it with the equally future perspective of Isa 24:6.

The use of πενθέω in Isa 24:4a and Isa 24:4c forms an *inclusio*, setting Isa 24:4b apart. The focus of v. 4 is on the ruin of the οἰκουμένη. The ruin of the οἰκουμένη provides the reason for the grieving of both the γῆ and its "high ones" (Isa 24:4a, c) respectively. In part 1 above, it was noted that nowhere else in the LXX φθείρω "to damage" translates either נבל/אמל. A look at LXX Isa 24:4 in its literary context offers some clues as to why the translator employed φθείρω here. The image of the οἰκουμένη/γῆ being ruined has already appeared in Isa 24:1a, 3a, where the translator used the cognate καταφθείρω and φθείρω itself. By employing φθείρω in Isa 24:4b, the translator enhanced the coherence of his Greek translation while pointing to an interesting link between Isa 24:1a, 4b: whereas the former describes the Lord as "destroying" the world (καταφθείρει τὴν οἰκουμένην), the latter describes the world is already "destroyed" (ἐφθάρη ἡ οἰκουμένη). This type of move suggests a well thought-out consideration of the Hebrew on a "higher level" before the translation started. As it was discussed under Isa 24:3 above, the parallel use of φθείρω with προνομεύω there suggested that a physical devastation of the οἰκουμένη/γῆ is envisaged in φθείρω. The use of φθείρω in Isa 24:4 suggests that is has another nuance because of its connection with 24:5. This issue will be addressed below.

Another important point to be discussed is the identity of the ὑψηλοί (Isa 24:4c). In his study of ὑψηλοί and cognates in LXX Isa 2:12; 3:16; 10:33; 26:5, das Neves identified the ὑψηλοί of 24:4 as the "arrogant Jews" of the translator's time and, more narrowly, with his Jewish leaders. Although this identification is not impossible, das Neves' identification of ὑψηλοί as "arrogant Jews" is related to his conviction that Isa 24 as a whole concerns the land of Israel and "ungodly Jews" in

the translator's time (cf. discussion on οἰκουμένη on 24:1 above).[26] In the context of LXX Isa 24:1-4, the phrase οἱ ὑψηλοὶ τῆς γῆς denotes those who occupy a higher social status in society (cf. Isa 24:2). In its larger literary context, the "high ones of the earth" parallels the "glorious ones of the earth" (Isa 26:15), who are expected to receive "evil" from the Lord. The theme of the Lord's punishment of the ὑψηλοί/ἔνδοξοι appears also in Isa 10:33, while the punishment of the ἔνδοξοι can also be found in Isa 5:14; 23:8, 9. While the ἔνδοξοι of Isa 23:8, 9 refer to Tyre's merchants,[27] the identity of the ὑψηλοί/ἔνδοξοι in Isa 5:14; 24:4; 26:15 is less clear. Clear is that the "high ones/glorious of the earth" denote a group of people that have control of the οἰκουμένη (cf. Isa 24:1, 4). As elsewhere in LXX Isa (cf. 10:13-14; 14:16-17), the "ruler of the Assyrians" and the "man", who is linked to Babylon, claim authority over the οἰκουμένη, it stands to reason to conclude that the "high ones/glorious of the earth" are somewhat linked with Assyria/Babylon. The more so as the "high ones of the earth" (Isa 24:5) parallel the "ungodly" (Isa 24:8). The "ungodly" are linked with Babylon in Isa 25:2 (cf. comments to Isa 25:2 below).

24:5

The particle δέ deserves further discussion. While Brenton, Ottley, and NETS translated it with "and," LXX.D has the lightly contrastive "aber." In LXX Isa, the particle δέ can indicate succession "and, then" or contrast "but."[28] As a contrast, δέ appears often together with a personal pronoun (cf. e.g. Isa 42:17),[29] a construction that does not apply to Isa 24:5a. Δέ in Isa 24:5 is best taken in a successive function. First, γῆ is the main participant in both Isa 24:4a, c, 25a and, second, the past tense aorist verbs in both 24:4-5 suggest that δέ is to be seen as a successive particle. In this function, δέ should be further seen as

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[26] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 130, 131.

[27] cf. van der Kooij, *The Oracle*, 81.

[28] cf. P. Le Moigne, *Le livre d'Ésaïe dans la Septante: ecdotique, stylistique, linguistique ou Esquisse d'une poétique de la Septante* (Ph.D. diss., Paris: École Pratique des Hautes Études, 2001), 307, 334.

[29] cf. Le Moigne, *Le livre d'Ésaïe dans la Septante*, 334ff. For a thorough discussion of the particle δέ in LXX Isa including its "synonymic use," cf. Le Moigne, *Le livre d'Ésaïe dans la Septante*, 307-383.

explicative,[30] providing the rationale for the ruining of the οἰκουμένη/γῆ: that is, because the γῆ "acted lawlessly on account of its inhabitants."

The translator's use of ἀνομέω is also important. Das Neves has suggested that the translator, by using ἀνομέω, had the Israelites in view as opposed to pagans. All the more so as he translated the plural "laws" (תורת) with the singular "law" (τὸν νόμον).[31] Das Neves's interpretation of ἀνομέω as addressed to Jews in the translator's time was largely dependent on his view that οἰκουμένη/γῆ in LXX Isa 24 referred to the land of Israel.[32] The question as to whether ἀνομέω has Jews as opposed to pagans in view cannot be answered now. It will become clearer later. For now, it must be noted that the use of ἀνομέω is not a straightforward translation of חנף (cf. part 1 above). When analyzed as a text in its own right, it becomes clear that the translator's choice of ἀνομέω in Isa 24:5 betrays a "higher level" interpretation of the Hebrew. Isa 24:5b says that the inhabitants of the γῆ broke "the law" (τὸν νόμον) as opposed to MT's "laws." Isa 24:16 proclaims judgment on "the rejecters of the law" (τὸν νόμον), where "law" does not appear in MT. Most striking is Isa 24:5a's link with Isa 24:20, where the γῆ is portrayed as collapsing because ἀνομία "lawlessness" prevailed against her. It is clear that the translator wanted to emphasize the concept behind ἀνομέω and cognates in his translation of Isa 24.

Isa 24:5a, with its use of διά + the accusative κατοικοῦντας, lays the responsibility of the γῆ's lawlessness on its inhabitants.[33] The lexeme κατοικέω deserves further discussion here. As remarked in part 1 above, it is important to discuss whether ἐνοικέω/κατοικέω in LXX Isa 24:1, 5-6a, 6b, 17 are used as synonyms or whether they convey different nuances. While ἐνοικέω/κατοικέω can both mean "to dwell," only κατοικέω can also mean "to settle in, colonize."[34] More technically,

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[30] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 63: "é que."

[31] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 130-131: "O tradutor tem em vista o povo de Israel, tanto mais que traduz תורת por νόμος, no sing."

[32] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 131.

[33] Διά followed by an accusative expresses cause, cf. Smyth, *Greek Grammar for Colleges*, § 1685:b.

[34] cf. LSJ, 928. See also MM, 338; M. Casevitz, *Le vocabulaire de la colonisation en grec ancien. Étude lexicologique: les familles de κτίζω et de*

κατοικέω may refer to non-citizens.[35] It appears that κατοικέω in Isa 24:5a, 6b carries a different nuance from ἐνοικέω in Isa 24:1, 6c, 17. More specifically, κατοικέω may refer to a group of people that came to "settle" the γῆ. In Isa 24:5a, 6b, that group is charged with "breaking the law" and "changing the ordinances – an eternal covenant" (for more on this, see comments below). The advantage of taking κατοικέω in slightly different nuance than ἐνοικέω is that it takes the Greek in its own right seriously. Although there is no way of reaching certainty in this matter, it is important to try and see if κατοικέω may point to a group of "settlers" as opposed to ἐνοικέω.

The causal particle διότι in v. 5b introduces the reason for the lawlessness of the γῆ. Its inhabitants "transgressed the law (παρέβησαν τὸν νόμον)." The translator's use of the singular "law" for plural "laws" is striking (cf. discussion under part 1 above). It has been suggested that he betrayed his theological bias in using the singular "law."[36] It is probable that the transgression of the law has to do with changing the "ordinances" (cf. Isa 24:5c): ἤλλαξαν τὰ προστάγματα (Isa 24:5c). Ἀλλάσσω + πρόσταγμα appears only here in the LXX. In Isa, the verb ἀλλάσσω occurs only in 24:5; 40:31; 41:1. But the pair νόμος/προστάγματα (plural) occurs often as synonyms.[37] In Isa 24:5, the pair νόμος/προστάγματα should also be taken as synonyms. For that reason, it seems better to see the use of the verb ἀλλάσσω as a further clarification of the previous "to transgress." The meaning of the transgression is that the "settlers" of the earth changed the ordinances of the law. It is interesting to note that the theme of "changing the law" appears also in Daniel 7:20. There, the "fourth beast," a reference to Antiochus IV, is described as "attempting to change the sacred seasons and the law" (להשניה זמנין ודת; Dan 7:25. Cf. also 1 Macc 1:44-50). If

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οἰκέω – οἰκίζω (Études et Commentaires; Paris: Klincksieck, 1985), 162-163; GELS, 240, 391.

[35] cf. LSJ, 928: Ἐφέσιοι καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες.

[36] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 49; Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah*, 104-105; das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 66, 131-134.

[37] cf. Exo 18:16, 20; Lev 19:37; 26:46; 2 Chr 31:21; 33:8; Ezra 7:10; Neh 9:13, 14; Tob 14:9; 1 Macc 10:14; 2 Macc 1:4; 2:2; Ps 14:2; Amos 2:4; Mal 3:24; Jer 51:23; Bar 4:1. In a few places, the expression "the ordinances of the law" also appears (cf. 1 Macc 2:68; 2 Macc 7:30).

this interpretation is correct, the translator's use of κατοικέω points to a careful consideration of the meaning of Isa 24:5-6a.

24:6

The phrase διὰ τοῦτο "therefore, for this reason" indicates the first consequence brought by the transgression (v. 5) of the earth's settlers: "a curse will consume the earth." The phrase ἀρὰ ἔδεται appears only here and in Isa 28:8. In the latter, the object of the curse's consumption is "this counsel," a counsel that has become greedy (cf. 28:7-8). Contrary to MT's past tense verb, LXX has a the future tense ἔδεται. For the translator, the curses of the covenant (cf. Isa 25:5) will be a future reality. Isa 24:6b presents the sin of the earth's settlers as the main reason for its curse.

Διὰ τοῦτο in 24:6c-d introduces the consequences of the "breaking of the law" for the "inhabitants of the earth" in general. The first result is that they will become "poor." Due to the curse's depletion of the earth, its "inhabitants" become poor.[38] The phrase πτωχοί ἔσονται betrays an interpretation of חרו in line with the parallel clause ונשאר אנוש מזער.[39] At the same time, the translator has an interest in the term πτωχός (cf. comments to Isa 25:3 above). The second consequence is that they will become few in number: "a few men will be left (καταλειφθήσονται ἄνθρωποι ὀλίγοι)." Although καταλείπω is the standard equivalent for שאר in LXX Isa (cf. part 1 below), it is still important to ask the question as to why the translator decided to employ it here. This issue will be discussed later under Isa 24:14 below.

24:7

Contrary to MT's use of past tense verbs, LXX's future verbs ("will mourn [2x], "will groan") indicate that Isa 24:7 has to be taken as a continuation of Isa 24:6. The picture of the wine and the vine mourning

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[38] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 222: "LXX's Übersetzung ist wahrscheinlich nichts als eine Verdeutlichung des Textes: die Wirkung des Fluches wird die gänzliche Verarmung des Menschen sein, denn auf den Feldern kann infolge der Verwünschung nichts mehr wachsen."

[39] cf. HUB.

has connections to the preceding section. First, the verb πενθέω already appeared in v. 4, where the earth and the "exalted ones" are pictured as "mourning." It means that the mourning of the earth has consequences for the vine and wine as its produce. And, second, the picture of a curse consuming the earth (Isa 24:6) functions as an explanation for the mourning of the vine and the wine in 24:7. The earth's inability to produce renders the vine ineffective. As a consequence, "those who rejoice in the heart will groan" because the wine as the source of their joy is no more. For a similar picture, cf. Joel 1:10.

24:7 introduces the phrase "all who rejoice (εὐφραίνω) in the heart will groan (στενάζω)." Who are the ones rejoicing here? In the context of Isa 24:7, they must be identified with the ὑψηλοί of 24:4. The ὑψηλοί are described as "mourning" because of the οἰκουμένη's ruin. Similarly, Isa 24:7 proclaims that they will "groan" because of the vine and wine's ruin.

It is also important to note that in Isa 59, "groaning" is the result of punishment due to "lawlessness" (ἀνομία; cf. 59:3, 4, 6, 12[2x]) and "sin" (ἁμαρτία; cf. 59:2, 3, 12). Isa 59:10 describes the people as "groaning like a dying man." The reason for this is the judgment that took hold of them (cf. 59:9-11). In the same way, Isa 24:7 proclaims that "the ones rejoicing in the heart" will "groan." The reason for their groaning is the curse which, due to "lawlessness" and "sin" (24:5), renders the earth unproductive.

ISA 24:8-12 - TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

8a: the joy of the drums is ceased
8b: the arrogance and the wealth of the ungodly is ceased
8c: the sound of the lyre is ceased
9a: they were put to shame[40]
9b: they did not drink wine
9c: the *sikera* became bitter to the ones drinking it
10a: every city became desolate

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[40] So Brenton; Ottley, *Isaiah*, 1:153 "they are ashamed;" NETS "they felt shame", LXX.D "sie schämten sich," and das Neves "ficaram confundidos." But the passive of αἰσχύνω denotes "to be made to feel ashamed," cf. GELS, 17.

10b: each one will close the house so that no one can enter
11a: wail about the wine everywhere
11b: all the joy of the earth is ceased
12a: and desolate cities will be left
12b: and abandoned houses will perish

24:8

The past tense verbs, contrarily to future ones in Isa 24:6-7, suggests that Isa 24:8 starts a new paragraph. However, it is difficult to understand the translator's shifts from future to past tense verbs in Isa 24:7-8 because Isa 24:8ff seem to have important thematic links with Isa 24:7.[41] It may be that the past tense verbs in Isa 24:8 serves the purpose to link this verse with the equally past Isa 24:4. If this is so, perhaps, the translator aimed at discoursing further on the "high ones of the earth" by pointing to the "ungodly." The use of perfect verbs may indicate that the cessation of the "ungodly's wealth" in Isa 24:8 function as the reason for the mourning of the "high ones of the earth" mentioned in Isa 24:8. At the same time, those perfect verbs may also indicate that Isa 24:8 conveys background information for the actions described in Isa 24:9.

Stylistically, clauses 8a-c parallel each other as they both mention musical instruments. Clause 8b stands out as it does not refer to musical instruments but to the cessation of the "arrogance" and the "wealth of the ungodly" (πέπαυται αὐθάδεια καὶ πλοῦτος ἀσεβῶν).

As noted in part 1 above, the phrase αὐθάδεια καὶ πλοῦτος ἀσεβῶν "the arrogance and the wealth of the ungodly" for MT's שאון עליזים "the uproar of the jubilant" catches one's attention.[42] Das Neves has argued that the expression above refers to an unfaithful class of Jews,

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[41] cf. a discussion of this problem in Liebmann, "Der Text," 32.

[42] Although the noun αὐθάδεια is a *hapax legomenon* in the LXX, its cognate αὐθάδης appears in Gen 49:3, 7; Prov 21:24; Titus 1:7; 2 Pet 2:10, where it has the nuance "self-willed, arrogant" (cf. GELS, 102. For a fuller discussion of αὐθάδης, cf. TLNT, 229-230. Besides, αὐθάδεια appears in papyri sources meaning "arrogance" (cf. F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden Mit Einschluss der griechischen Inschriften, Aufschriften, Ostraka, Mumienschilder usw. aus Ägypten* [Berlin, 1925], 235).

more particularly to their leaders.[43] However, as it will become clear later, the ἀσεβῶν does not refer to Jewish leaders but to non-Jews (cf. comments on Isa 25:1-8 below). For now, it is important to discuss the question as to how αὐθάδεια καὶ πλοῦτος ἀσεβῶν fits in its literary context.

First, the translator's introduction of the ἀσεβῶν "ungodly" is in line with the injunctions of Isa 24:5-6 that the "earth behaved lawlessly," that its "settlers" broke the "law," "changed the ordinances," and, ultimately, "sinned." It is clear that the translator interpreted Isa 24:8 in the light of Isa 24:5-6 in his introduction of the ἀσεβής "ungodly." Second, in LXX Isa 24-26, the theme of the ἀσεβής is important. Besides contrasting with the εὐσεβής "godly" (Isa 24:16), it plays a major role in Isa 25:1-5, where the ἀσεβής figures prominently in contradistinction to MT (cf. comments on Isa 25:1-5 below). Third, the "ruining of the earth" (Isa 24:1, 3) further described with the mention of a "curse" (Isa 24:6) rendered the earth unproductive. It affected the production of wine (Isa 24:7) which, in turn, hurt the revenue of the "ungodly" (Isa 24:8). Fourth, it is possible that the translator interpreted the image of "merrymaking" in Isa 24:7-8 as a sign of the "ungodly's" arrogance. As it will be seen below, a similar interpretation is found in LXX Isa 25:6-8. And, fifth, the theme of the cessation of the "arrogance of the ungodly" resonates well with the depiction of the "mourning" of the "high ones of the earth" in Isa 24:4. It seems that the translator had in mind a powerful group that held control over the οἰκουμένη. The latter's demise signals the former's downfall.

On the level of the book of Isa as a whole, a similar theme appears in LXX Isa 29:5, where the phrase ὁ πλοῦτος τῶν ἀσεβῶν "the wealth of the ungodly" for MT's המון זריד/המון עריצים "the multitude of your foreigners/the multitude of the tyrants." There, the "wealth of the ungodly" is further identified with the "wealth of all the nations (ὁ πλοῦτος τῶν ἐθνῶν πάντων)" (29:7). The text relates that these nations marched against Jerusalem and mount Zion (29:7, 8). It seems that the "wealth of the ungodly/nations" was used to forge and sustain war against Jerusalem/Zion. For that reason, Isa 29:5-8 proclaims that their wealth will pass "suddenly" (29:5). As it will be seen below, LXX Isa

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[43] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 194.

25:5, 6-8 indicate the translator's group found themselves under the oppressive control of the "ungodly," who were occupying mount Zion. It seems that the translator interpreted the prophecy against the οἰκουμένη in Isa 24:1ff as the "ungodly's" capabilities to use their wealth to keep their oppressive control of Zion/Jerusalem (cf. comments on LXX Isa 25:5, 6-8 below).

If the interpretation above is correct, it implies that the phrase αὐθάδεια καὶ πλοῦτος ἀσεβῶν did not arise from a mistake or likewise. It, rather, points to the translator's unique interpretation of his *Vorlage*. It further implies that an interpretation of Hebrew Isa 24 preceded the process of translation. The introduction of the "ungodly" in Isa 24:8 not only fits in well with what preceded it but also with what follows (cf. comments on Isa 24:9ff; 25:1-8 below). It is clear that the translator already had an interpretation in mind before he began his translation work.

24:9

Part 1 above has raised the question as to whether ἠσχύνθησαν "they were put to shame" (Isa 24:9) coheres with its literal context. It can now be seen that it does. It is important to note once again that the "curse upon the earth" directly affects the "ungodly." The drying up of the "vine" (Isa 24:7) meant "no wealth, and shame" (Isa 24:8-9). The translator's reading of בשיר as בוש reveals his understanding that 24:8a is a reference to the shame of the wicked ones as their wealth had come to an end. Consequently, "they were put to shame." The plural ἠσχύνθησαν has the plural ἀσεβῶν "ungodly" (Isa 24:8) as its subject. The form ἠσχύνθησαν further parallels the plural ἔπιον/ἐγένετο. The perfect verbs in Isa 24:8 give the reason for the "shame of the ungodly." The general sense is that the cessation of the ungodly's wealth brought them shame. The use of past tense verbs in the LXX fits in with the past tense verbs in Isa 24:8, 10-11. The past tense verbs perhaps aimed at making clear that Isa 24:9 goes with what precedes it, presenting the consequences of the "cessation of the ungodly's wealth." If this is correct, his reading ἠσχύνθησαν was hardly the result of a mistake. It, rather, attests to a unique interpretation of his *Vorlage*. For the translator, the cessation of the "wine and drums" signals to the "shame" of the ungodly.

24:10

Isa 24:10 focuses on the "cities" of the "ungodly." That the "cities" here belong to the "ungodly" (24:8) will become clear in Isa 25:2. Whereas MT Isa 24:10 mentions only one city (קרית תהו), two or more cities are envisaged in the LXX (πᾶσα πόλις "every city"). Isa 24:10a reads: "every city was made desolate." Part 1 above has noted that the use of ἐρημόω here is striking. The phrase ἠρημώθη πᾶσα πόλις parallels the similar καὶ καταλειφθήσονται πόλεις ἔρημοι "and cities will be left desolate" for MT's שאר בעיר שמה "desolation will be left in the city" (24:12). Furthermore, the theme of "desolate cities" accords well with LXX Isa 25:2, which describes the destruction of the "cities(y)" of the "ungodly." These links suggest that the translator purposefully harmonized Isa 24:10, 12 in his use of the lexeme ἐρημόω. This harmonization becomes even clearer in the translator's use of πόλις in the plural for קריה "city" in the singular (cf. Isa 24:12 [πόλεις ἔρημοι/בעיר]; 25:2 [πόλεις/מעיר; πόλεις/קריה; πόλις/מעיר]). As such, the utilization of both ἐρημόω and "each city" points to the translator's interpretation of Isa 24:10 in the light of Isa 24:12; 25:2. Such a reading suggests an interpretation of the Hebrew on a "higher level" before the translation process started.

Another problem in this verse is the phrase κλείσει οἰκίαν. Das Neves proposed that the ungodly, the implied subject of the verb ἠσχύνθησαν in v. 9, are the subject of κλείσει in v. 10.[44] Although κλείσει is singular, it could indicate each one of the "ungodly." Another possible reading is that κλείσει οἰκίαν "each one will close their own house" indicate in general that people will close their houses and leave the city because of the latter's destruction. A similar theme has already appeared in Isa 24:1, which goes over the dispersion of the "world's" inhabitants.

24:11

The context suggests that the plural ὀλολύζετε is to be taken as an imperative addressed to the plural ἀσεβῶν "ungodly" (24:8).[45] Different from MT, LXX Isa 24:11a calls the ungodly to wail about wine

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[44] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 187.
[45] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 196 and 69-75.

everywhere. The reason for the call to "wail" relates to the "curse on the earth" that renders the "vine" ineffective (Isa 24:6-7) and, ultimately, affects the "wealth of the ungodly" (Isa 24:8). The phrase πέπαυται εὐφροσύνη in 24:11b is a harmonization with Isa 24:8. Consequently, ὀλολύζετε addresses the "ungodly" on account of their wine being gone. Further, the root εὐφροσύνη "joy" in Isa 24:11 has already appeared in 24:7 as οἱ εὐφραινόμενοι "those who are rejoicing." Similarly, the call "to wail" concerning "wine" recalls the phrase "they did not drink wine" in Isa 24:9. It is possible that the lack of wine led to the ἀσεβεῖς's financial bankruptcy (24:8) and, consequently, to the destruction of their cities (24:10). But why did the translator pick the imperatival ὀλολύζετε for his translation in Isa 24:11?

24:12

As it was discussed in part 1 above, LXX Isa 24:12 presents several divergences from MT. While MT Isa 24:12a reads "horror is left in the city," LXX has καὶ καταλειφθήσονται πόλεις ἔρημοι. While Brenton, Ottley, NETS, LXX.D, and das Neves translate "and cities will be left desolate,"[46] the lack of the definite article in front of "cities" suggests that πόλεις ἔρημοι should be taken as the subject of the verb "to leave." A better translation would then be "and desolate cities will be left."[47] This translation fits in better with the parallel "and abandoned houses will perish" in Isa 24:12b.

The future "will be left" and the plural "cities" differ from MT's "is left" and the singular "city" (cf. discussion in part 1 above). How does Isa 24:12a fit in its literary context? First, the picture of "desolate cities" parallels the phrase "every city is desolate" in LXX Isa 24:10a. The translator's use of plural "cities" and the lexeme ἔρημος "desolate" clearly indicate that he read Isa 24:12 in the light of Isa 24:10, where both plural "cities" and the cognate ἐρημόω also appear. Thus, the divergences in LXX Isa 24:10a were not fortuitous. Rather, they point to the translator's careful interpretation of his *Vorlage* in the light of its

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[46] cf. Brenton; Ottley, *Isaiah*, 1:153; NETS; LXX.D.; das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 185.

[47] cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 145: "es werden übrigbleiben verwüstete Städte."

immediate context. And, second, the phrase καὶ καταλειφθήσονται has already appeared in LXX Isa 24:6, as a translation of ונשאר "it will be left." The conjunction "and" is a plus in Isa 24:12. It is possible that the translator intended to create coherence between Isa 24:6, 12 in his use of καὶ καταλειφθήσονται. According to his understanding, Isa 24:1-12 is about the destruction of the "world" that leaves behind "only a few men" and "desolate cities." Otherwise, it is equally plausible that the translator's *Vorlage* already contained the reading ונשאר (cf. discussion on part 1 above).

The second half of Isa 24:12 differs greatly from MT. Whereas MT reads ושאיה יכת־שער "and the gate has been beaten to pieces," LXX has καὶ οἶκοι ἐγκαταλελειμμένοι ἀπολοῦνται "and abandoned houses will perish." As seen in the discussion on part 1 above, scholars have made several proposals to explain the divergences in the LXX. Isa 24:12b is a good example to show that a study of the LXX in its own right must be carried out before one attempts to explain its departures from MT. How does Isa 24:12b fit in its literary context? First, "abandoned houses" in Isa 24:12b parallels well with "desolate cities" in Isa 24:12a.[48] Seen together, Isa 24:12 accentuates the theme of complete desolation. Second, Isa 24:12 goes together with Isa 24:10. There too "every city is desolate" parallels "each one will close *its own* house so that no one can enter" (for a discussion of the meaning of Isa 24:10, cf. comments above). The theme of "desolation of cities" and "houses" ties Isa 24:10, 12 together. And, third, on the literary level of LXX Isa, the destruction of "cities" and "houses" is a theme that occurs elsewhere (cf. Isa 6:11). Whereas in Isa 6:11, the context seems to indicate that "cities" and "houses" belong to the land of Israel, in Isa 24:10, 12 the context is broader, referring to the "world" (cf. οἰκουμένη in Isa 24:1; "in the midst of the earth" in Isa 24:13).

The analysis above has several implications. First, it shows that the translator interpreted Isa 24:12b in the light of Isa 24:12a, 24:10, while making his translation of Isa 24:12 cohere with other passages in Isa (cf. Isa 6:11). This type of approach points to a "higher level" interpretation of Isa 24:12 that paid considerable attention to its literary context. And, second, because Isa 24:12b coheres well within its literary

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[48] cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 145.

context, one is in a better position to explain the process behind its production. It seems that the translator did not aim at rendering his *Vorlage* on a word for word level. Rather, he made special use of the context. The fact that LXX Isa 24:12 fits in well within its literary context throws some light on how the translator arrived at its wording. He may have interpreted the idea of "the gate has been beaten to pieces" as indicating that people had already left their "cities" (cf. the image of "desolate cities" in 24:10, 12). Consequently, "houses" had been abandoned and, as such, they would be destroyed. If this is correct, explanations that work on the word for word model are fraught with difficulties.[49] A better approach is to look for explanations based on the translator's "higher level" interpretations that are often based on the immediate and/or broader literary contexts of his source-text.

ISA 24:13 - TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

13a: All these things shall happen in the earth, amongst the nations
13b: just as when someone strips an olive tree
13c: thus they will strip them,
13d: even when the crop ceases.

24:13

NETS, LXX.D, and das Neves took v. 13 with what preceded it. In fact, v. 13 shares with 24:7-12 the theme of agriculture. The mention of "olive tree" and "crop" points back to v. 7, where the "wine" and the "vine" appear. Furthermore, the expression "these things" seems to refers to the things mentioned in 24:7-12. Thus, it is important to take v. 13 together with vv. 7-12. However, v. 13 also introduces v. 14 because the οὗτοι of v. 14 refer back to v. 13. Furthermore, the negative cry of the οὗτοι can only be understood in light of v. 13. Thus, v. 13 has a double function: while it closes the previous section, it introduces the one that follows.

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[49] On Isa 24:12, Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 144, had already aptly noted that "[Isa] 24, 12 könnte *mit Not* der LXX-Text auf den MT zurückgeführt werden" (italics mine).

The expression ταῦτα πάντα occurs three more times in LXX Isa (cf. 25:7; 41:20; 45:7) always in the accusative case. The only place where it occurs in the nominative case is Isa 24:13. The phrase ταῦτα πάντα seems to refer to the picture of desolation of the earth and its consequences for the "ungodly" (cf. Isa 24:8). If this is correct, v. 13 casts vv. 7-12 as something that will happen in the future and that will take place in "amongst the nations." At the same time, the past tense verbs in vv. 7-12 may also indicate that part of that destruction had already started to happen (cf. perfect verbs in Isa 24:8-11).

A point for discussion is the interpretation of γῆ "land, earth." Whereas Brenton, Ottley, and das Neves translated γῆ as "land," "terra," NETS and LXX.D rendered it with "earth," "Erde." As indicated in the comments on 24:4, in Isa 24 οἰκουμένη gives γῆ a broader scope, having to be translated as "earth."

LXX's literal translation ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἐθνῶν "in the midst of the nations" (בתוך העמים) requires comments. Brenton, Ottley, NETS, LXX.D, and das Neves translated ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἐθνῶν as "in the midst of," "inmitten," "no meio" implying that something will happen in a space that is set in the middle with the nations surrounding it. But the plural genitive τῶν ἐθνῶν indicates that μέσος be translated as "amongst." The adjective μέσος used substantively points to an "*inside space* or *expanse marked off from the outside*." The proper nuance of μέσος varies depending on whether a singular or a plural noun follows. As Muraoka explained "when the following genitive subst. or pron. is sg., what is inside the expanse is perceived as a single whole - *inside*, *in the middle of*; if pl. or sg. collective subst., it is perceived as constituting of multiple units or entities - *amongst*."[50] As the plural τῶν ἐθνῶν follows μέσος, it is better to translate it as "amongst." Although this is a minor detail, it will be important for the interpretation of v. 13 discussed below.

Das Neves argued that ἐθνῶν refers to the people of Israel in the light of his study of ἔθνος passages in Isa, despite his recognition that ἔθνος may also refer to non-Israelites/Jews as well.[51] Contrary to das Neves, this dissertation holds that τῶν ἐθνῶν refers to "nations" in

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[50] cf. GELS, 450 (italics his).
[51] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 197, 207.

general. As it was discussed above, ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἐθνῶν must be rendered as "amongst the nations." This translation implies that something will happen in the "earth, amongst the nations" without specifying where in the earth and which nation is concerned.[52] As such, ἐθνῶν should not be taken as a reference to ungodly Israelites, as das Neves had proposed, but to non-Israelites/Jews.

Another difficulty in Isa 24:13 is the identification of the participants "they" and "them" in οὕτως καλαμήσονται αὐτούς "thus they will strip them" (Isa 24:13c; cf. discussion on part 1 above). Who are "they"? Das Neves claimed the translator thought of a divine judgment, which would either come directly from God or indirectly through other nations as God's instruments. Das Neves further pointed to "the kings of the earth" in Isa 24:21 as a support for his view of a divine judgment that would employ other nations as instruments.[53] However, the "kings of the earth" in 24:21 are not instruments but the target of God's judgment. The context of Isa 24:13c does not specify the identity of the "they." However, the links between LXX Isa 24; 13 (cf. comments to Isa 24:1, 10 above) suggest that the "they" may refer to the "Lord and his warriors" that come from "afar" to "destroy the whole world" (cf. Isa 13:5).

It is important to discuss the meaning of the picture conveyed in καλαμάομαι. Muraoka suggested that the first καλαμάομαι in 24:13b has the nuance of "gathering up left-overs," whereas the second in 24:13c means "*to rob* sbd *of everything*" (italics his).[54] The phrase "even when

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[52] cf. Deut 29:15 and comments in J. W. Wevers, *LXX: Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy* (SBLSCS 39; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 469. A similar expression to ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἐθνῶν appears in Isa 2:4 but there it functions differently as the preposition ἀνά precedes it, being translated as "between." Ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἐθνῶν also appears in Ezek 5:5, where Jerusalem is portrayed as established "among the nations" (cf. also *Pss. Sol.* 17:15).

[53] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 189, 196.

[54] cf. GELS, 358. Similarly, Raurell ("'Archontes'," 340) had previously defined καλαμάομαι as "acabar de despullar algú." Differently from Mouraoka's definition above, most translated both instances of καλαμάομαι with the same verb in their respective languages, cf. Brenton "to strip," das Neves' "abanar,"[54] Ottley and NETS "to glean," LXX.D "abernten."

the crop is ceased" (Isa 24:13d) supports Muraoka's definition of the second καλαμάομαι above. The picture of Isa 24:13 is of a complete destruction. Normally, left-overs would have remained after harvests. The idea of Isa 24:13 is that even the "left-overs" will be gleaned, communicating an idea of the total "stripping" of the "them." But what is implied in the "stripping" of the αὐτούς? The reference to the "wealth of the ungodly" in Isa 24:8 may indicate that the "stripping" of the αὐτούς relates to robbing them from their wealth. This assertion depends, however, on the identification of the αὐτούς, which is discussed below.

Who are the αὐτούς? In the context of Isa 24:13, the plural αὐτούς refers to the plural ἔθνη "nations" of Isa 24:13a. Below, the comments to Isa 25:6-8 will make it clear that ἔθνη are viewed as the illegitimate occupiers of mount Zion (cf. LXX Isa 25:5). In turn, αὐτούς is also to be identified with the ἀσεβής "ungodly" of Isa 24:8. This verse is important because it mentions the "wealth of the ungodly" as something that has ceased (cf. comments above). The link between the "nations" with the "ungodly" will become even clearer in LXX Isa 25:1-8 (see below). For now, it is important to note that LXX Isa 24:13 communicates a picture of complete destruction of the "ungodly/nations."

ISA 24:14-16 - TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

14a: these will cry with the voice
14b: but the ones left on the earth will rejoice at once at the glory of
        the Lord
14c: the water of the sea will be stirred
15a: therefore, the glory of the Lord will be in the islands of the sea
15b: the name of the Lord will be glorious
16a: O, Lord, God of Israel, from the ends of the earth we have heard
        portents: hope to the godly one
16b: And one will say: "woe to the ones rejecting - o rejecters of the
        law."

24:14

Taken as a text of its own, the particle δέ "but" in LXX v. 14b introduces a contrast between the οὗτοι "these" in v. 14a and the οἱ δὲ

καταλειφθέντες "the ones left" of v. 14b.[55] LXX v. 14 envisions, therefore, two classes of people. As such, it is important to find out the identity of the ones who "cry out" in v. 14a and the "ones who are left on the earth" in v. 14b.

The translator took it as a demonstrative pronoun. The use of οὗτοι suggests that he has αὐτούς "them" (Isa 24:13c) and the ἐθνῶν "nations" (Isa 24:13a) in mind.[56] In LXX Isa 24, vv. 8-12 form a literary unit. In this unit, it is better to identify masc. plural αὐτούς/ἐθνῶν with the masc. plural ἀσεβῶν "wicked ones" of v. 8b. They were described as "put to shame" (ἠσχύνθησαν in v. 9a) and were called to "wail" (ὀλολύζετε) in v. 11a. Part 1 above has noted that the use of βοάω "to cry out" catches one's attention. It becomes now clear that the translator consciously picked βοάω to communicate the judgment that will come upon the "nations/ungodly."[57] It has been correctly argued that the use of βοάω in v. 14a is related to the concept of "wailing" already present in ὀλολύζετε of v. 11a.[58] It should also be noted further that βοάω matches the picture in 24:7, where those who are glad in the heart are described as "sighing, groaning" (στενάζω). In view of this, the phrase οὕτως καλαμήσονται αὐτούς "thus they will strip them" is about the stripping of the ἐθνῶν/ἀσεβῶν of Isa 24:8, 13, who are depicted as "crying aloud" in Isa 24:14a.

The second aspect of v. 14 concerns the expression "the ones left on the earth." As noted in part 1 above, that phrase has no counterpart in MT. The question that needs to be addressed is how it fits in its literary context. As noted above, the particle δέ points to a contrast between "those who cry aloud" and the "ones left on the earth." Clearly, the translator found a reference to "those who are left on the earth" in the harvest picture Isa 24:13.[59] Further, the use of καταλείπω in Isa 24:6, 14 indicates that the "ones left on the earth" be identified with the "few

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[55] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 226; Le Moigne, *Le livre d'Ésaïe dans la Septante*, 356.

[56] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega,* 226.

[57] cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 59.

[58] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 226.

[59] cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:221.

men" of 24:6. For the translator, the "few spared men" "will rejoice together in the glory of the Lord," a phrase that points to their salvation.[60]

The expression εὐφρανθήσονται ἅμα τῇ δόξῃ κυρίου deserves further comments. The construction εὐφραίνω + ἅμα + dative is rare, occurring only here and in Deut 32:43; Isa 52:8. Contrarily, the combination εὐφραίνω + ἐν/ἐπί + dative appears often (cf. e.g., Isa 9:2; 16:10; 62:5; 65:19). The rarity of the construction under discussion raises the question as to whether ἅμα is to be taken as an "adverb" "at the same time, at once" or as an "improper" preposition "together with."[61] There is no good reason to take ἅμα as an "improper" preposition. Besides, ἅμα in its usual function as an adverb makes good sense here and should be translated with "at once, at the same time" (cf. LXX.D. "zugleich").

Another issue concerns the translation of the construction εὐφραίνω + dative. NETS has translated the phrase εὐφρανθήσονται… τῇ δόξῃ as "they will rejoice… *in* the glory" (italics mine). However, it seems best to interpret εὐφραίνω + dative as "to rejoice… *at* the glory" (cf. for instance, LXX.D.: "*an* der Herrlichkeit" [italics mine]). Usually, to "rejoice in" requires the construction εὐφραίνω + ἐν + dative (cf. e.g., Isa 9:3). Contrarily, "to rejoice at" is conveyed with the construction εὐφραίνω + dative (cf. e.g., 2 Macc 15:27; Job 21:12; Sir 27:29).[62] The general sense of εὐφρανθήσονται ἅμα τῇ δόξῃ κυρίου is, consequently, that the "ones left on the earth" "will rejoice at the glory of the Lord," i.e., when "the glory of the Lord" becomes manifest on the earth.

In contrast with the negative "cry" of the ἀσεβής of v. 14a, the people who are being spared from judgment will "rejoice" in the salvation (τῇ δόξῃ κυρίου) of the Lord in v. 14b.[63] In the context of Isa 24,

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[60] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 226; Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 59-60. About καταλείπω, this word is also found in v. 12a in connection with the feminine πόλεις "cities." As πόλεις is a feminine noun, it can not be the subject of the masculine participle καταλειφθέντες in v. 14b.

[61] For examples of the construction ἅμα + dative in the papyri, cf. MM, 24.

[62] cf. GELS, 306 for some of the examples cited above.

[63] For the concept of δόξα as "salvation" in LXX Isa, see Brockington, "ΔΟΞΑ," 32, 36.

εὐφραίνω in v. 14 contrasts with the εὐφραίνω/εὐφροσύνη of the "ungodly" in vv. 7, 8, 11.[64] Das Neves took εὐφραίνω in v. 14 as the translator's deliberate input and saw in it the translator's theological mentality.[65] For das Neves, εὐφραίνω is usually linked in LXX Isa with an aspect of redemption.[66] This same concept, so argued das Neves, is present in the translator's deliberate use of εὐφραίνω in 24:14 and reflects his theology.[67]

Das Neves' remarks on the theology of the translator as reflected in εὐφραίνω raises an important methodological issue. As noted in part 1 above, εὐφραίνω often renders רנן in LXX Isa. Should one then see the translator's theology in his use of εὐφραίνω in Isa 24:14? In my view, the answer to this question is yes. First, although εὐφραίνω/רנן is typical of LXX Isa, the same is not true for other LXX books or for early recensions of LXX Isa (cf. part 1 above). As such, one needs to ask why the translator decided to employ εὐφραίνω for רנן somewhat often in his translation. And, second, even if someone wants to argue that εὐφραίνω is just a literal, normal equivalent for רנן in LXX Isa, it would still be important to ask how εὐφραίνω coheres in its literary context. In the context of Isa 24:14, εὐφραίνω does communicate an aspect of "redemption" in the light of the references to δόξα in Isa 24:14-15. For that reason, one could argue that the translator employed his normal equivalent for רנן because it made sense in the light of his other interpretations of the *Vorlage*. If this is correct, then εὐφραίνω would be a case where a "literal" translation coheres with other "non-literal" renditions. In the end, the literal rendition in εὐφραίνω would still point to the translator's own "theology" or "interpretation" because it was his

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[64] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 226.

[65] cf. Das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 236.

[66] cf. Das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 234: "o conceito εὐφροσύνη usa-se sobretudo em relação com *o tempo da redenção*, seja como fruto dessa redenção, seja pela própria redenção ou estado de vida usufruído naquele tempo" in LXX Isa 12:3; 25:9; 35:2; 45:16; 44:23; 45:8; 48:20; 49:13; 51:3; 52:8, 9; 55:12; 60:15; 61:10; 65:1 (italics his).

[67] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 236.

decision to employ that lexeme and not some other one in his translation of רנן in LXX Isa 24:14.[68]

The concept δόξα is important in LXX Isa 24:14-16 as it appears again in v. 15a (for כבדו) and in v. 15b as ἔνδοξον without any connection with MT. As seen in part 1 above, the pair δόξα/גאון is striking. Why did the translator introduce δόξα here? The expression δόξα κυρίου (24:14b; 15a) must be understood as a reference to "salvation." The same phrase parallels τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ "the salvation of God" (Isa 40:5), a phrase that has no counterpart in the Hebrew: ונגלה כבוד יהוה וראו כל־בשׂר יחדו/καὶ ὀφθήσεται ἡ δόξα κυρίου καὶ ὄψεται πᾶσα σὰρξ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ.[69] Similarly, LXX Isa 24:14 emphasizes the theme of salvation for the few men of 24:6d who were spared from the judgment.[70]

Seeligmann has pointed out that the concepts of "remnant" and "salvation" occur in close connection in LXX Isa. He pointed to Isa 10:22, where τὸ κατάλειμμα αὐτῶν σωθήσεται stands for שׁאר ישׁוב בו; the connection between "remnant" and "salvation" can also be seen in Isa 10:20's phrasing τὸ καταλειφθὲν Ισραηλ καὶ οἱ σωθέντες τοῦ Ιακωβ in place of שׁאר ישׂראל ופליטת בית־יעקב; Isa 37:32 further points to the same connection: ἐξ Ιερουσαλημ ἐξελεύσονται οἱ καταλελειμμένοι καὶ οἱ σῳζόμενοι ἐξ ὄρους Σιων/שׁארית ופליטה מהר ציון מירושׁלם תצא. Seeligmann further pointed to LXX Isa 24:14 as another example of the link between the "remnant" and "salvation."[71]

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[68] cf. ἀγαλλιάομαι/רנן in LXX Isa 65:14 and cp. with ἀγαλλιάσονται in σ'.

[69] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 231.

[70] For similar comments, cf. de Angelo Cunha, "A Brief Discussion," 535-537.

[71] cf. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 115-116. For a discussion of δόξα as "salvation" in LXX Isa, cf. Brockington, "ΔΟΞΑ", 23-32; Raurell, "LXX-IS 26: La 'Doxa' Com a Participació en La Vida Escatológica," *Revista Catalana de Teologia* VII (1982), 57-89; idem, "Matisos Septuagíntico-Isaítics en l'Ús Neotestamentari de 'Doxa'," *Estudios Franciscanos* 84 (1983), 302-303. In this last article, Raurell likens LXX Isa's additions with targumic exegesis highlighting the soteriological aspect of δόξα (cf. p. 302).

The phrase ταραχθήσεται τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς θαλάσσης is only partly linked with the translator's probably *Vorlage* (cf. part 1 above). This phrase must be seen as a reference to the salvation that the Lord will bring. First, ταραχθήσεται is a passive verb and indicates that the action of "stirring up the sea" will be carried out by someone. Second, the context of vv. 14-15 is the salvation of the "ones left on the earth." This idea carries over into the phrase ταραχθήσεται τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς θαλάσσης. And, third, the phrase under discussion parallels διὰ τοῦτο ἡ δόξα κυρίου ἐν ταῖς νήσοις ἔσται τῆς θαλάσσης in 24:15a. The phrase διὰ τοῦτο and the repetition of θάλασσα connect 24:15a with 24:14c. The reference to the δόξα being present in the "islands of the sea" is a further indication that 24:14c denotes salvation for those "left on the earth." Clause 24:14c functions as the cause for the result in 24:15a: as the water of the sea will be stirred, then the glory of the Lord will be in the islands of the sea. Seeligmann went as far as to see in the phrase ταραχθήσεται τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς θαλάσσης "an element in the Last Judgment."[72]

A similar phrase appears in Isa 51:15, which reads thus: ὅτι ἐγὼ ὁ θεός σου ὁ ταράσσων τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἠχῶν τὰ κύματα αὐτῆς, κύριος σαβαωθ ὄνομά μοι/יהוה אלהיך רגע הים ויהמו גליו יהוה צבאות שמו ואנכי. In the immediate context of Isa 51:15 (cf. vv. 12-16), the Lord's power over the sea serves as an indication that he can save Jerusalem (vv. 9-11) from her oppressor (v. 13). Similarly, the "stirring up of the water of the sea" in Isa 24:14 seems to point to some act of salvation by God on behalf of the "ones left on the earth."

24:15

The phrase τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου ἔνδοξον, which differs from the Hebrew, indicates that the salvation of the καταλειφθέντες will serve to the purpose of glorifying the κύριος. The same idea appears in Isa 24:23, in a phrase that also diverges a little from its Hebrew counterpart: καὶ ἐνώπιον τῶν πρεσβυτέρων δοξασθήσεται/ונגד זקניו כבוד. The translator seems to be, therefore, interested in the concept of δόξα in this translation of LXX Isa 24 (cf. also Isa 26:10). The idea of the Lord being "glorious" must also be seen as a contrast to the οἱ ὑψηλοὶ τῆς γῆς (24:4) and the ἔνδοξοι τῆς γῆς (Isa 26:15) (cf. comments to Isa 24:4 above). Likewise,

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[72] cf. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 116.

the description of the Lord as "glorious" further contrasts with those who are referred to in a negative way as the ἔνδοξοι in LXX Isa 5:14; 13:19; 23:9.[73]

The analysis of LXX Isa 24:14-15 as a text in its own right yields important results to understand the process of the translation. First, the long plus "but those who are left on the earth" (Isa 24:14b) was most likely the result of the translator's interpretation of his *Vorlage* as highlighting the theme of the "remnant," a theme he found in Isa 24:6, 13. Likewise, his reading "these will cry aloud" (Isa 24:14a) reveals a conscious interpretation of Isa 24:1-13 as focused on the judgment of the "high ones" (24:4), the "ungodly" (24:8), and the "nations" (24:13). Second, his use of δόξα for MT's גאון betrays the translator's interpretation of Isa 24:14 in the light of Isa 24:15 and in the light of the theme of "remnant/salvation" that pervades the book of Isa. And, third, his reworking of the imperatival "glorify" in MT (Isa 24:15) into a future reality "the glory of the Lord will be… the name of the Lord will be glorious" is in keeping with the future reality of Isa 24:14b-c. It demonstrates he interpreted his *Vorlage* as referring to some act of redemption that awaits "those who are left on the earth" after the judgment in Isa 24:1-13, 18-20. This reworking can hardly be seen as fortuitous. All these coherent transformations point to a "high level" interpretation and serious consideration of the meaning of the Hebrew before the translator started his process. Consequently, the transformations in LXX Isa 24:14-15 cannot be explained simply on the basis of some mechanical error or the like.

24:16

In the expression κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ισραηλ, the articular nominative ὁ θεός is also to be taken as a vocative as it appears in apposition to the morphologically marked vocative κύριε.[74] Further, the phrase κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ισραηλ is a stereotyped phrase used in the context of prayer to God usually as a translation of אלהי ישראל יהוה (cf. Jud 21:3(A); 1 Sam 14:41; 23:10, 11; 1 Kings 8:23, 25; 2 Kings 19:15; 1 Chron 29:10; 2 Chron

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[73] cf. discussion in Raurell, "LXX-IS 26," 64, 81-82.

[74] For the vocative function of articular nominative nouns, cf. Conybeare and Stock, *A Grammar of Septuagint Greek*, § 50.

6:14, 16, 17; Ezra 9:15). The expression is so stereotyped that it occurs even when the Hebrew has only either אלהי ישראל (1 Kings 8:26) or יהוה אלהי (1 Kings 8:28). It further occurs in Jud 13:7; Bar 2:11. Whereas most commentators take שם יהוה as a direct object of כבדו and אלהי ישראל as an apposition to שם יהוה (24:15), the translator interpreted יהוה אלהי ישראל as a direct address to God. 24:16 is, therefore, cast in the format of a direct speech addressed to the κύριος.

The direct speech goes over "wonders" that have been heard "from the extremities of the earth." Part 1 above has noted the scholarly discussion about the origin of the term τέρατα. Most importantly now is to ask the question as to what it actually means. In its literary context, τέρατα links with ἐλπίς "hope." Das Neves expressed well the relation between "wonders" and "hope," stating that the hope of the "godly" finds its basis on God's marvelous deeds.[75] In its literary context, τέρατα more narrowly corresponds to the concept of salvation expressed in δόξα in Isa 24:14-15. But τέρατα also relates to the "wonderful deeds" θαυμαστὰ πράγματα of Isa 25:1, which consisted in overthrowing the "city of the ungodly" (Isa 25:1-2). As it will become clearer later, "salvation" means the liberation from the oppressive powers of the "ungodly nations" (cf. Isa 25:8, 10). The connection between τέρατα, θαυμαστὰ πράγματα, and δόξα in the sense of "salvation" becomes clear in the light of Exo 15:11: δεδοξασμένος ἐν ἁγίοις θαυμαστὸς ἐν δόξαις ποιῶν τέρατα/נורא נאדר בקדש תהלת עשה פלא. The theme of the overthrow of the "ungodly oppressive power" indicates that the translator may have consciously borrowed τέρατα from Exo 15:11. There too the context is about the overthrow of the oppressive power of Pharaoh. If this interpretation of τέρατα is correct, then it will become clear that such a term was not introduced by mistake. The translator seemed to have interpreted Isa 24:16 with an eye on Isa 24:14-15, Isa 25:1-2, and Exo 15:11. This type of attitude towards his *Vorlage* indicates a "higher level" interpretation that preceded the work of translating.

Another important issue is the plural πτερύγων "ends" for the singular כנף "wing." Das Neves has interpreted the expression "ends of

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[75] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 246: "O conceito τέρατα do segundo estíquio responde a ἐλπίς porque é «nas coisas admiráveis» feitas por Deus que assenta a «esperança» do «justo»."

the earth" as a reference to the Jewish diaspora in the Hellenistic period. He argued for a universal scope of ἀπὸ τῶν πτερύγων τῆς γῆς, seeing it as a parallelism to ἐν ταῖς νήσοις … τῆς θαλάσσης (Isa 24:15).[76] However, the parallelism between "ends of the earth" (Isa 24:16) with "in the islands of the sea" (Isa 24:15) is unclear. It is plausible, though, that the plural πτερύγων was the result of harmonization with כנפות הארץ/πτερύγων τῆς γῆς (Isa 11:12). But it remains unclear whether the translator aimed at hinting on the diaspora theme with his use of the plural πτερύγων in Isa 24:16.

The singular εὐσεβής here is interesting (cf. part 1 above). Some have interpreted the singular εὐσεβής as a reference to the faithful and godly Jew of the Diaspora, who observes the law in contradistinction to the "ungodly" who break the law (cf. Isa 24:5, 16).[77] However, in view of the translator's use of plural εὐσεβεῖς for singular נדיב/צדיק in Isa 26:7; 32:8, the question arises as to whether the singular εὐσεβής in 24:16 refers to pious Jews in the translator's time. In LXX Isa, the εὐσεβής here can only relate to the 'man of εὐσεβείας' of Isa 11:2. For him, Isa 24:16 proclaims "hope." He seems to be the leader of the "godly ones" that are mentioned in Isa 26:7; 32:8. The "godly ones" are characterized as "keeping the truth" (cf. Isa 26:2-3) in contrast to the "ungodly" who "reject the law" (Isa 24:16). Like their leader, they devise policies that are in keeping with the law (cf. Isa 32:1, 8).[78]

The Greek οὐαὶ τοῖς ἀθετοῦσιν οἱ ἀθετοῦντες τὸν νόμον has been variously translated. Brenton has "woe to the despisers, that despise the law." Ottley rendered "woe to them that set at nought; as for them that set at nought the law," (last comma his). As the comma after the word "law" indicates, Ottley took οἱ ἀθετοῦντες τὸν νόμον as introducing v. 17. He perhaps took the plural οἱ ἀθετοῦντες as a *casus pendens* to the plural ὑμᾶς in v. 17. NETS has a different proposal: "but those who reject the

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[76] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 245.

[77] cf. van Menxel, *Ελπίς*, 252.

[78] cf. van der Kooij, "The Septuagint of Isaiah and the Issue of Coherence. A Twofold Analysis of LXX Isaiah 31:9b-32:8," in *The Old Greek of Isaiah: Issues and Perspectives. Papers read at the Conference on the Septuagint of Isaiah, held in Leiden 10-11 April 2008* (ed. A. van der Kooij and M. N. van der Meer; CBET 55; Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 47.

law will say, Woe to those who reject!" NETS took οἱ ἀθετοῦντες τὸν νόμον as the subject of the verb ἐροῦσιν. LXX.D has yet another translation: "Wehe *denen*, die untreu sind, *die dem Gesetz* untreu sind." However, it is better to take οἱ ἀθετοῦντες in the vocative plural, which would lead to the following translation: "woe to the ones rejecting the law, o rejecters of the law."

According to the translator, the ἀθετοῦντες are rejecting "the law," an expression without parallel in the Hebrew (cf. part 1 above). "The law" appears also in Isa 24:5, where MT read "laws." In light of the papyri, Ziegler claimed that the meaning of ἀθετέω here is to render a stipulation powerless,[79] which makes perfect sense in view of the translator's use of νόμος. Important also is the observation that ἀθετέω appears in documentary papyri with the juridical connotation of "setting aside," "disregarding," and "annulling" "an agreement."[80] As discussed under 24:5 above, the "settlers of the earth" were accused of "transgressing the law and changing the ordinances." The idea of ἀθετέω as "rendering a stipulation powerless" (24:16) or as "annulling an agreement" fits in well with the idea of "changing the ordinances/law" (24:5). The ἀθετοῦντες are being judged on account of their illegal activities.

The picture of judgment against the ἀθετοῦντες for their illegal activities appears also in Isa 33:1: ἁλώσονται οἱ ἀθετοῦντες καὶ παραδοθήσονται "the rejecter will be caught and delivered up" in an interpretation of the Hebrew.[81] Commenting on the meaning of ἁλίσκομαι in Isa 31:9; 33:1, Ziegler pointed out that in the papyri this verb has a penal connotation and indicates being caught in illegal conduct, which

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[79] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 199: "eine Bestimmung außer Kraft setzen." See also the helpful discussion in M. N. van der Meer, "Papyrological Perspectives on the Septuagint of Isaiah," in *The Old Greek of Isaiah: Issues and Perspectives* (ed. A. van der Kooij and M. N. van der Meers; CBET 55; Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 120-123.

[80] cf. van der Meer, "Papyrological Perspectives," 123.

[81] For a discussion of the complicated relationship between the Hebrew and Greek of Isa 33:1, cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:268.

leads one to be taken by the police.[82] The same picture is found in Isa 24:16.

The use of "law" in Isa 24:5, 16 indicates that the ἀθετοῦντες must be identified with the "settlers of the earth" (24:5, 6a), which, in turn, should be further identified with "ungodly" (24:8). The identification of the ἀθετοῦντες with the "settlers of the earth" prompts the warning against the "inhabitants of the earth" in Isa 24:17 that there is a trap for them. Perhaps, the unlawful actions of the "settlers/ungodly/rejecters" (Isa 24:5, 6a, 8, 16) affect the "inhabitants of the earth" in general.

The implication of the analysis above is that the production of the Greek translation was preceded by a careful consideration of Hebrew Isa 24:16 in the light of its immediate and remote literary contexts. First, the translator added the expression "the law" to give a coherent picture of his understanding that the destruction of the "world" is due to the breaking of the law (cf. Isa 24:5; 20). Second, the translator employed "wonders" because of the context that refers to "salvation" (cf. Isa 24:14-15) from the oppression of the "ungodly" (cf. Isa 25:1-10 and comments below). He also used "wonders" in the light of Exo 15:11, where the concepts "glory," "wonderful," and "wonders" occurs. And, third, his use of "godly" was contrasts with the "ungodly" of Isa 24:8, where MT has "jubilant." It becomes now clear that "ungodly" in Isa 24:8 was the result of the translator's overall interpretation of Isa 24, an interpretation on a "higher level" that certainly preceded the process of translation. For him, the destruction of the "world" brings "salvation" for the "godly" and "judgment" for the "ungodly." These aspects point to an interpretation on a "higher level" that preceded the translation.

ISA 24:17-20 - TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

17:     terror and pit and trap (are) against you, the ones dwelling upon the earth.

18a: and it will be

18b: that the one fleeing from terror

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[82] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 198; cf. also Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, 1:56; GELS, 26: "*to be convicted* in a law-court."

18c: will fall into the pit,
18d: and the one climbing from the pit
18e: will be caught by the trap
18f: because the windows from heaven were opened
18g: and the foundations of the earth will be shaken
19a: the earth will be completely troubled
19b: and it will be in dire distress
20a: the earth bent
20b: and it will be shaken like a guard's shed on the field
20c: like the one who is drunk
20d: and gets a headache
20e: and it will fall
20f: and it will not be able
20g: to stand up
20h: for the lawlessness prevailed against her.

24:17

Scholars disagree on the placement of Isa 24:17. Whereas some scholars see v. 17 as the continuation of the direct speech initiated in 24:16,[83] others do not take v. 17 as the continuation of v. 16.[84] While the plural "you" and "inhabitants" could indicate a continuation of the plural "o rejecters of the law" in v. 16, the use of ἐνοικέω in v. 17 indicates that this verse focuses on the "inhabitants" of the earth in general, much like in Isa 24:1-4, 18-20.[85] Contrarily, Isa 24:16 seems to have the "settlers" of Isa 24:5-6a in mind, especially because they are charged with "rejecting the law." For this reason, Isa 24:17 was taken as the beginning of new paragraph in the present monograph.

24:19

Isa 24:19-20 forms an *inclusio* with 24:3. The parallelism between those verses is even clearer than in MT because in the LXX both verses are composed of only two γῆ clauses, whereas in Hebrew

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[83] cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 1:153.
[84] cf. NETS; LXX.D.
[85] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 240; das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 252.

24:3 has two clauses referring to "earth" whereas 24:19 has three. Besides, the syntactical composition of Hebrew 24:3 with infinitives in the *niphal* followed by verbs in the same stem differs from the *qal* infinitives followed by *hithpolel* verbs in 24:19. These differences are completely gone in LXX Isa 24:3, 19.

But, whereas 24:3 portrays the earth as being plundered from its natural resources (cf. comments under 24:3 above), the use of ταραχῇ ταραχθήσεται portrays the earth as suffering an earthquake.[86] This picture of earthquake explains why the earth "inclines," "is shaken like an orchard's guard shed and like a drunkard," and "falls" (24:20). It falls because its "foundations" are shaken (24:19).

The use of ἀπορίᾳ ἀπορηθήσεται in reference to the earth (γῆ) is important because a similar picture appears in LXX Isa 8:16-22. This text refers to the law (νόμος) as being sealed (v. 16) and describes the people as consulting "the dead with respect to the living" (v. 19) instead of consulting a law (νόμος). As a result, "affliction, distress, and darkness - dire distress (ἀπορία στενή) (NETS)" are upon the earth. The picture portrayed in LXX Isa 8:16-22 resembles the one in LXX Isa 24:4-19: as a consequence of the breaking of the law (v. 5) and its annulling (v. 16), the earth is portrayed as suffering great distress (v. 19). Thus, both texts share the belief that the breaking of the law brings disaster upon the earth.

24:20

In 24:20, the translator returned to the theme of the earth's "lawlessness" in his use of ἀνομία. This theme is clear in LXX Isa 24 as the cognate verb ἀνομέω was used to refer to the earth behaving "lawlessly." Furthermore, 24:5 referred to the breaking of the "law" (νόμος), while 24:16 mentioned its annulling. This picture is not clear in the Hebrew as חנף appears in 24:5, בגד and its cognates in 24:16, and פשע in 24:20. In his use of ἀνομέω and cognates, the translator revealed his understanding that the picture of judgment portrayed in Isa 24 has the breaking of the law as its main cause. This becomes clear in the translator's use of the conjunction γάρ "for" in place of ו in the

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[86] cf. GELS, 671.

expression וכבד. The use of γάρ clearly indicates the translator's understanding that the "earth" will "fall" on account of "lawlessness" against her. This "lawlessness" is linked to the "settlers" breaking of the "law" in Isa 24:5-6a to its "rejection" by the "ungodly" in Isa 24:16. Seeing together, the translator's decision to use ἀνομία and γάρ implies an interpretation on a "higher level," an attitude that certainly preceded his translation.

ISA 24:21-23 - TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

21a: And God will bring the hand against the ordered whole of heaven and against the kings of the earth[87]
22a: and they will gather (them) together
22b: and they will shut (them) into the fortress and into the jail
22c: through many generations will be their visitation
23a: and the brick will melt
23b: and the wall will fall
23c: because the Lord will reign in Zion and in Jerusalem
23d: and before the elders he will be glorified

24:21-22

As seen in part 1 above, the phrase היה ביום ההוא is not attested in the LXX. Taken as a text in its own right, it becomes clear that the translator dropped that phrase to make clear that Isa 24:21-23 is linked to what preceded it.[88] God's judgment on the "kings of the earth" and the fall of the "wall" of their implied city functions as the climax of God's judgment against the "world" in Isa 24:1-3, 17-20. Although linked with that precedes it, the change in participants from the "earth" to God as the one bringing judgment indicates that Isa 24:21-23 starts a new sub-section of Isa 24:17-23.

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[87] Das Neves (*A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 259) has no translation of καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς under the section "a tradução do Texto Grego." This was clearly a lapse as he mentions βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς later on the same page in his comparison of the Greek with the Hebrew.

[88] cf. Liebmann's claim ("Der Text," 246): "ob auch die Anfangsworte והיה ביום ההוא, darüber kann nur der Zusammenhang Aufschluss geben. Nach LXX würde eine engere Verbindung mit dem Vorhergehenden erreicht werden."

As in the previous unit, the future verbs in the present pericope indicate that an action in the future is envisaged. Compared to the Hebrew, the translator's focus on the future is mostly in line with it except for the last two clauses in Greek, where LXX has the future verbs βασιλεύσει and δοξασθήσεται for מלך and the non-verbal clause ונגד זקניו כבוד respectively. Thus, LXX Isa 24:21-23 is more consistent in its focus on the future than its Hebrew counterpart, a focus that certainly reflects the translator's own ideology.

Part 1 above has noted that the phrase ἐπάξει... τὴν χεῖρα is striking. Why did the translator add τὴν χεῖρα? The translator used this expression to make clear that Isa 24:21 is to be understood as a judgment against the "ordered whole of heaven/kings of the earth." In LXX Isa and elsewhere, "to bring one's hand" signifies an act of judgment (cf. e.g., Isa 1:25; 31:3). The phrase "the ornament of heaven" requires further comment as this phrase is not a straightforward translation of the Hebrew (cf. part 1 above). How should it be interpreted? Das Neves interpreted τὸν κόσμον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ as a reference to the "mundo dos céus," that is, the angels. For him, the translator understood על־צבא המרום as a especial class in heaven paralleling a especial class in earth, namely, the kings.[89] However, it is unlikely that τὸν κόσμον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ is a reference to the world of the angels. As Ziegler pointed out, the translation τὸν κόσμον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ is based on Pentateuch passages (cf. Gen 2:1; Deut 4:19; 17:3).[90] A look at those passages will show that "the ordered whole of heaven" in Isa 24:21 is simply a reference to "celestial bodies" (cf. Isa 45:12: "heaven//stars). Support for this interpretation can be found in Isa 13:10, where the similar ὁ κόσμος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ simply denotes "celestial constellations." For the translator, God's judgment against the "ornament of heaven" signals God's judgment against the "kings of the earth." In Isa 13:9-10, for instance, the "ornament of heaven" not giving its light signals "the day of the Lord" against the "whole world." Although the identity of the "kings of the earth" is not immediately clear, such an expression may denote the "powerful mighty of the world." If this is correct, then the "kings of the earth" parallels the "the high ones of the

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[89] das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 259.
[90] cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 117.

earth" mentioned in Isa 24:4. Isa 24:21 clearly portrays them as the object of God's punishment.

The punishment of the "kings of the earth" is further portrayed in Isa 24:22. Literally, the LXX reads: "and they will gather together and they will shut into the prison and into the jail." Das Neves has argued that the "kings of the earth" are not the object of God's judgment. Rather, they are divine instruments against the "ungodly" of Isa 24:16, 20 (sic).[91] Das Neves based his position on two grounds. First, he argued that the preposition ἐπί has a neutral connotation, arguing that κατά would denote the idea of punishment, having to be translated as "against." And, second, das Neves mistakenly saw the verb πήγνυμι "to position firmly" as the root verb for ἐπάξει. He then argued that πήγνυμι in Isa 24:21(!) would have the meaning of "to grasp with the hands."[92] Isa 24:21-22, therefore, is about God grasping the "kings of the earth" as instruments to punish the "ungodly."

Contrary to das Neves, the expression ἐπάξει… τὴν χεῖρα clearly denotes "judgment" in its occurrences in LXX Isa (cf. comments above). Furthermore, most translations add "them" as the direct object of the verbs "to gather" and "to shut" to indicate that the "kings of the earth" are the object of the actions portrayed in v. 22 (cf. Brenton, Ottley, NETS, LXX.D). Isa 24:22, therefore, goes over the imprisonment of the "kings of the earth."

24:23

Isa 24:23 is very important as it considerably differs from MT, the "moon" and the "sun" figure (cf. part 1 above). As seen in part 1 above, scholars have argued that the translator made mistakes in his rendering of Isa 24:23. Were the divergences in Isa 24:23 the result of τεῖχος. Van der Kooij has pointed out that τεῖχος, which usually refers to a "city wall," may also have the same meaning as τοῖχος (for τοῖχος cf. Isa 23:13), which refers to "a wall other than that of a city."[93] The τεῖχος of Isa 24:23 is best interpreted as a "city wall." The phrase πεσεῖται τὸ

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[91] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 262.

[92] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 259-262.

[93] cf. van der Kooij, *The Oracle*, 68.

τεῖχος appears also in Isa 27:3, where it clearly refers to the fall of a "city wall" because the beginning of that verse mentions a πόλις ἰσχυρά πόλις πολιορκουμένη "a strong city, a besieged city," a phrase that has no counterpart in the Hebrew (cf. part 1 above). Furthermore, Isa 24:23 seems to introduce Isa 25:1-5, a text that deals with the falling of the "foundations of strong cities" (πόλεις ὀχυρὰς τοῦ πεσεῖν αὐτῶν τὰ θεμέλια). Moreover, the fall of the τεῖχος of the implied city in 24:23 strongly contrasts with the τεῖχος of the "fortified city" in Isa 26:1, where it signals to the "salvation" of that city. As a "city wall," τεῖχος in Isa 24:23 makes perfect sense in its literary context as it introduces the major topic of Isa 25:1-5, which will go over the fall of the "ungodly's city." In the same vein, the falling of the "city wall" in Isa 24:23 contrast with the "safe wall" of another city mentioned in Isa 26:1. It seems that the readings "the brick will melt, and the wall will fall" are the result of a careful interpretation of the Hebrew on a "higher level" and not the result of a mistake.

Isa 24:23, therefore, envisages a day when the "kings of the earth" will be imprisoned and when the "city wall" of their implied city will fall. The reason for the collapse of this "city wall" is given in the ὅτι clause in 24:23: ὅτι βασιλεύσει κύριος ἐν Σιων καὶ ἐν Ιερουσαλημ καὶ ἐνώπιον τῶν πρεσβυτέρων δοξασθήσεται (for the picture of the κύριος being glorified, cf. also LXX Isa 5:16; 33:10). The reason is that the κύριος only will reign in Zion and Jerusalem. The collapse of the city means the overthrow of the kingdom of the "kings of the earth," which is a necessary step for the establishment of the κύριος's kingdom in Jerusalem and Zion. This future picture of the κύριος's rule is the climax of Isa 24 for in that day the κύριος will reign in Jerusalem and Zion without any other powerful contestants. It is interesting to note that in LXX Isa, contrarily of MT, the reign of the Lord in Zion is still a future reality. The reason for the translator's focus on the Lord's future reign in Zion, as opposed to present in MT, is found in the translator's situation of oppression under the "ungodly's/nations" control of Jerusalem (cf. comments to Isa 25:5, 6-8 below).

SUMMARY

On its content level, LXX Isa 24:1-23 turns out to be a coherent text. It proclaims judgment for the "ungodly" and "salvation" for the

"godly" (cf. comments of Isa 24:13-16 above). On one hand, there exists the group referred to as οἱ ὑψηλοὶ τῆς γῆς (24:4: עם־הארץ מרום), ἀσεβῶν (24:8: עליזים), ἐθνῶν (24:13: העמים) and the βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς (24:21: מלכי האדמה, the only place where MT the LXX clearly match). They are the rich, and powerful on earth (cf. Isa 24:4, 8). This group rejects the "law" (cf. τὸν νόμον/תורת "laws" in Isa 24:5 and the plus τὸν νόμον "the law" in Isa 24:16) and is the leading cause for the "lawlessness" of the earth (cf. Isa 24:5, 20). Besides, they are also charged with "changing the ordinances" (Isa 24:5; literal translation). Judgment awaits the group of the "ungodly" (cf. Isa 24:4, 8, 13, 16, 21-23). As such, they are called to "wail" (cf. ὀλολύζετε for the noun צוחה "wail" in Isa 24:11) and are directly addressed, cf. the vocative οἱ ἀθετοῦντες τὸν νόμον (Isa 24:16). On the other hand, there is another group referred to as the καταλειφθέντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (24:6 [literal translation], 14 [no counterpart in MT]), which is portrayed in positive terms (cf. 24:14b-15). Their leader is someone called the εὐσεβής (Isa 24:16). He must be identified with the man of "godliness" (Isa 11:2). For this group, there is "salvation" (cf. comments to Isa 24:14-16 above). Another group is also mentioned, namely, the "poor" (Isa 24:6). The identity of this group will become clearer in Isa 25:1-5a, 8 (cf. comments below).

The coherence of Isa 24:1-23 can sometimes be clearly seen in the translator's lexical choices. Note, for instance, how the translator used οἰκουμένη for ארץ (Isa 24:1 ["free"]) and οἰκουμένη for תבל (Isa 24:4 ["literal"]). Interesting also is his use of ἐρημόω and cognates for different Hebrew words: ἐρημόω/בלק (Isa 24:1), ἐρημόω/תהו ...נשברה (Isa 24:10), and ἔρημος/שמה (Isa 24:12). The translator's use of νόμος and cognate words for several different Hebrew terms likewise points to an attempt at achieving coherence: ἀνομέω/חנף (Isa 24:5a), "to break the νόμον/תורת "laws" (Isa 24:5b), "to reject the νόμον (MT: minus Isa 24:16), ἀνομία/פשע (Isa 24:20). Another clear example is his use of καταλείπω/שאר (Isa 24:6 [literal]) and καταλείπω in Isa 24:14 (MT: minus). The examples above clearly show how the translator's lexical choices were significant in lending coherence to LXX Isa 24:1-23.

The coherence of Isa 24:1-23 includes both "literal" and "free" translations. A clear example is the "literal" rendition "a few men will be left" (Isa 24:6), which coheres well with the plus "and those who are left" later in Isa 24:14. The same is true for the literal renditions "the

high ones of the earth" (Isa 24:4), "the kings of the earth" (Isa 24:21), which cohere with the "free" translation "the arrogance and wealth of the ungodly" in Isa 24:8. As it will be seen below, the "literal" translation "those inhabiting the earth will become poor" (Isa 24:6) coheres well with the theme of the poor in Isa 25:3-5a. Finally, the literal "the nations" in Isa 24:13 introduces a major theme of the "nations'" judgment that will appear in Isa 25:5-8 (cf. comments below). Similarly, the "free" introduction of the "ungodly" in Isa 24:8 resonates well with the theme of the "ungodly" in Isa 25:1-5. The "free" use of the plural "cities" in Isa 24:10, 12 coheres very well with the plural "cities" in Isa 25:2; 26:5. In the same way, the translator's "free" introduction of "hope" in 24:16 is in keeping with the same theme in Isa 24:9 ("literal") and 26:4 ("free") (cf. comments below). As it can be seen from this short summary, both "literal" and "free" translations come together to form a coherent text as far as its content is concerned.

Finally, the coherence of LXX Isa 24:1-23 that includes both lexical choices and "literal" and "free" translations points to a "higher level" interpretation of the Hebrew in a move that must have preceded the process of translation. The translator must have had a "higher level" interpretation of Hebrew Isa 24:1-23 and beyond in mind before he started his translation. Note, for instance, his choice of νόμος and cognate words throughout Isa 24:1-23 or his decision to introduce the "ungodly" in Isa 24:8, pointing to a major theme of Isa 25:1-5. These and other examples (cf. above) indicate that the translator had a particular interpretation in mind when he started translating Isa 24:1-23.

CHAPTER 6 - LXX ISA 25 IN ITS OWN RIGHT

ISA 25:1-5: TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

1a: O Lord, my God, I will glorify you,
1b: I will sing to the praise of[1] your name
1c: because you have performed wonderful deeds, an ancient, true plan
1d: May it be, o Lord[2]
2a: because you have turned cities into a mound
2b: fortified cities so that their foundation might fall
2c: the city of the ungodly will never ever be rebuilt
3a: Therefore, the poor people will praise you
3b: the cities of wronged men will praise you.
4a: for you became a helper to every humble city
4b: and a shelter to those who are feeling despondent because of poverty.
4c: from evil men you will rescue them
4d: *as* a shelter for the thirsty ones
4e: *as* a breeze for the wronged men.
5a: like faint-hearted men (we are) thirsting in Zion because of ungodly men

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[1] In LXX Isa, a noun either in the accusative or dative case follows ὑμνέω (cf. Isa 12:4, 5; 25:1; 42:10). When an accusative noun follows, it is better to translate ὑμνέω as "to sing the praise of" as in the translation above. Examples of accusative nouns following ὑμνέω are also found in the papyri. A papyrus from 238 B.C.E. reads: ὑμνεῖσθαι δ' αὐτήν, while another one from 165-164 B.C.E has τούς τε θεοὺς … καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ὕμνησεν. See MM, 649.

[2] There is an unimportant difference in the translation of γένοιτο, which some translate simply as "amen" (cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 1:155; Coste, "Le texte grec," 45; das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 165) while others as "may it be so" (cf. Brenton; NETS, LXX.D). This dissertation follows the latter convention.

5b: to whom you delivered us.

Isa 25:1-2

As it was discussed under "part 1" above, the translator's choice of δοξάζω for רום is unusual. The analysis of the LXX Isa "in its own right" helps to clarify his choice. Δοξάζω appears here and at the end of 24:23 in the phrase καὶ ἐνώπιον τῶν πρεσβυτέρων δοξασθήσεται, where it refers to the κύριος' glorification in Zion. In using δοξάζω in 25:1, the translator intended to join 25:1 with the preceding verses in 24:21-23. In MT, Isa 25:1's link to Isa 24:23 is not immediately clear as different lexemes (כבוד/רום) are used thereof. Contrarily, δοξάζω makes the link between Isa 24:23; 25:1 clear. This connection indicates that LXX Isa 25:1-5 must be read in light of and in conjunction with LXX Isa 24:21-23. In contradistinction, MT Isa 24:21-23 is usually taken together with Isa 24:6-8.

Isa 25:1c introduces the reason (cf. ὅτι) for the praise in Isa 25:1a-b. The second person verb ἐποίησας continues the direct address to the κύριος that had been initiated in clauses 1a-b. The reason is that the κύριος perfomed θαυμαστὰ πράγματα βουλὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀληθινήν. "Part 1" above already noted the single occurrence of θαυμαστὰ πράγματα in the LXX. How should πράγματα be understood? In its present context, πράγματα is best seen as referring to "deeds." As it will be seen below, the content of θαυμαστὰ πράγματα βουλὴν ἀρχαίαν is the overthrow of "fortified cities"/"the city of the ungodly." The singular βουλὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀληθινήν is in apposition to the plural θαυμαστὰ πράγματα as both phrases occur in the accusative case albeit as plural and singular. The parallelism between πρᾶγμα/βουλή is not completely strange because the same parallelism occurs elsewhere.[3] In Isa 25:1, θαυμαστὰ πράγματα is further qualified as a βουλὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀληθινήν.

Part 1 above has noted that the translator's pick of the singular βουλή for the plural עצות is striking.[4] The translator could have translated

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[3] cf. Prov 11:13: ἀνὴρ δίγλωσσος ἀποκαλύπτει βουλὰς ἐν συνεδρίῳ πιστὸς δὲ πνοῇ κρύπτει πράγματα.

[4] The question as to whether the βουλή in LXX Isa 25:1 indicates the translator's belief that "prophesying is the revelation of an age-old divine plan"

עצות with the plural βουλάς just as he does when referring to human "counsels" (cf. Isa 41:21; 47:13; 55:7, 8). Furthermore, his use of the plural θαυμαστὰ πράγματα immediately preceding would have given him a good reason to continue to use plural βουλάς (cf. Prov 11:13: βουλάς/πράγματα). What is then the reason for the translator's use of singular "counsel"? The answer is found in a harmonization with LXX Isa 14:26. Whereas both places mention a divine "counsel," MT has "counsel" in Isa 14:26 and "counsels" in Isa 25:1. The "counsel" of Isa 14:26 is against the "whole world" and against "the nations of the world" (ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην/ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς οἰκουμένης). As it has been noted, the literary context of Isa 25:1 shares with Isa 14:26 the use of οἰκουμένη for the translation of ארץ (cf. Isa 24:1). Like in Isa 14:26, the Lord's anger is directed against the οἰκουμένη (cf. Isa 24:1, 4). Equally remarkable is that Isa 14:16; 25:1-5, 6-8 share a negative view of the ἔθνη "nations" (cf. Isa 24:13 and comments above). The reason for this negative view has to do with the "nations'" control over Jerusalem/Zion. Whereas Isa 14:22 proclaims that the Lord will drive the "Assyrians" from "my land," in Isa 25:5 an unidentified "we" group complains that they are living under the oppression of "ungodly men," another pejorative term for the "nations" mentioned in Isa 25:6-8. That the Lord's βουλή is directed against the oppressors of Zion/Jerusalem becomes clear when one looks at the content of Isa 25:1's βουλή.

The phrase γένοιτο κύριε deserves further attention. Whereas part 1 has noted that the translator read אָמֵן instead of MT's אֹמֶן, it is necessary to ask the question as to the literary function of γένοιτο κύριε. This phrase functions as a request directed to the Lord concerning the "deeds, plan" that he carried out. A "deed" is something that the Lord planned long ago (cf. e.g., Isa 28:22) that must be revealed or fulfilled. By inserting γένοιτο κύριε, the translator betrays his wish that the Lord's "deed/plan" come true (cf. also Isa 25:7 discussed below). If this interpretation is correct, then a better explanation for γένοιτο κύριε is the translator's interpretation of Isa 25:1 as referring to the Lord's "ancient, plan/deed" that must be brought to fruition soon.

(cf. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 110; see also van der Kooij, "Wie heißt der Messias?" 159) will be left out of discussion here because it is not important for the purposes of this dissertation. For a recent discussion of the issue, cf. Troxel, "ΒΟΥΛΗ," 153-171.

The construction ὅτι + second person ἔθηκας clearly indicate that the content of the πράγματα/βουλή concerns the collapse of "strong cities/the city of the ungodly" (Isa 25:2).[5] In contrast to MT, LXX Isa 25:2 refers to "fortified cities" and to the "city of the ungodly."[6] LXX's reference to the "city of the ungodly" is remarkable. Part 1 above has noted the LXX's reading "ungodly" for the Hebrew "foreigner" and the suggestions of a different *Vorlage* and mistake on the translator's part. There are two important questions needing to be asked here. First, how does the reading "ungodly" fit in its literary context? And, second, in view of LXX's reference to "cities" in Isa 25:1-b, it is important to research further whether the translator had a specific "city" in mind. As for the first question, it must be noted the theme of the judgment of the ἀσεβής plays an important role in LXX Isa 24-26. As it has been seen, Isa 24:8 proclaims the cessation of the "ungodly'" arrogance and wealth. It will be seen below that Isa 25:5 mentions the "ungodly" as a group that has control over "Zion." In a complete reworking of the Hebrew Isa 26:10 (יחן רשע), LXX Isa 26:10 declared that the "ungodly has ceased" (πέπαυται γὰρ ὁ ἀσεβής//ἀρθήτω ὁ ἀσεβής) with very similar terms to LXX Isa 24:8 (πέπαυται αὐθάδεια καὶ πλοῦτος ἀσεβῶν). Finally, LXX Isa 26:19, in contrast to MT's "the land of the dead will fall" (וארץ רפאים תפיל), LXX has "the land of the ungodly will fall" (ἡ δὲ γῆ τῶν ἀσεβῶν πεσεῖται). It is becomes clear that "ungodly" in Isa 25:2 was hardly fortuitous. Rather, it indicates that the translator himself introduced the "ungodly" here.[7] It reflects his interest on the theme of the ἀσεβής (cf. Isa 24:8 [עליזים]; 25:5 [זרים]; 26:10 [רשע]; 26:19 [רפאים]). Most important for purposes, it points to a "higher level" interpretation that took Hebrew Isa 24-26 as a reference to certain "ungodly" men (cf. also Isa 25:4-5), in a move that most likely preceded his translation.

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[5] cf. Coste, "Le texte grec," 46; das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 166; van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 43; idem, "Theologie," 16; idem, "Wie heißt der Messias?" 159.

[6] cf. Coste, "Le texte grec," 46.

[7] cf. CTAT, 2:178; van der Kooij, "Isaiah 24-27," 13. One could still argue, in line with Liebmann (cf. "Der Text," 255-256), that the translator's *Vorlage* also read זדים in Isa 25:5; 29:5. The weakness of that proposal, however, is that it lacks support from ancient witnesses.

As for the "city of the ungodly" in the singular, it has been correctly put forward that the "city" in question was important. The events in LXX Isa 24 take place on the "inhabited world" (cf. Isa 24:1: οἰκουμένη) and the translator's use of τῶν ἀσεβῶν (Isa 25:2) recalls the reference to the "ungodly" (ἀσεβῶν) of LXX Isa 24:8. The latter makes clear that the ἀσεβεῖς "are the ungodly, rich and powerful" of Isa 24:8. The "city of the ungodly" must, thus, be an important, powerful city ruling over the οἰκουμένη. A city such as this is best identified as the city of Babylon (cf. LXX Isa 13; 47). First, the picture of the "city" that will never be rebuilt (LXX Isa 25:2) is in line with the picture of Babylon, which will never be inhabited (cf. LXX Isa 13:20). And, second, as in LXX Isa 24:8; 25:2, the concept of the ἀσεβεῖς being punished appears also in LXX Isa 13:11.[8] Thus, it is safe to conclude that the "city of the ungodly" is a reference to the important "city" of Babylon.[9]

Isa 24:2 proclaims that Babylon city will "never ever be rebuilt." First, the expression τὸν αἰῶνα, when used with a negative, conveys the idea of "never ever."[10] Most translations employ the expression "forever" but this translation does not communicate well the idea behind τὸν αἰῶνα in this context.[11] And, second, the sense of τὸν αἰῶνα as "never ever" indicates that οἰκοδομέω must be translated as "to rebuild."[12]

Part 1 above has noted that LXX Isa 25:2a-b mention "cities" instead of MT's "city/town." The question was raised as to whether the translator's *Vorlage* already contained the plural "cities." The analysis of LXX Isa 25:2 in the light of its own literary context strongly suggests that the translator himself was responsible for inserting the plural "cities" in place of the singular "city." The plural "cities" in Isa 25:2 is best explained in the light of Isa 24:10, 12, where LXX has "cities" for MT's

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[8] cf. van der Kooij, "The Cities of Isaiah 24-27," 193.

[9] Against van Menxel, *Ελπίς*, 254, who in passing identified the "city of the ungodly" with Jerusalem.

[10] cf. GELS, 19. See also das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 165: "jamais;" LXX.D: "gewiss nie mehr."

[11] cf. Brenton; Ottley, *Isaiah*, 1:155; NETS.

[12] cf. Coste, "Le texte grec," 45: "La cité des impies pour l'Éternité ne sera pas *rebâtie*" (italics ours).

Isa 25:3-4 must, thus, be taken as a well-knit unit that relates to Isa 25:1-2.

It is important to note Isa 25:3's introduction of the "poor." Part 1 above remarked that scholars have seen the reading "poor" as a mistake. However, it is clear that the translator introduced "poor" intentionally. The reading "poor" fits in well in its literary context. It parallels the ideas behind "wronged men" (v. 3), "every humble city" (v. 4), "those who are feeling despondent" (v. 4), and "faint-hearted men" (v. 5). Besides, the theme of the liberation of the "poor" will appear again in Isa 26:6 below. As such, rather than being fortuitous, "poor" was the result of a particular interpretation of the Hebrew in a move that most certainly preceded the process of translation.

Isa 25:4 presents a few interpretive difficulties. The first problem is to understand the function of the non-verbal clause καὶ τοῖς ἀθυμήσασιν διὰ ἔνδειαν σκέπη. Brenton inserted the phrase "*thou hast been*" in italics in his translation of v. 4, which reveals his understanding that clause 4e is a continuation of the ἐγένου clause in v. 4a by means of ellipsis. As the repetition of σκέπη and the thematic parallelism between vv. 4b,e make his proposal highly plausible, it has been followed here. The sense is that God became a "helper" and a "breeze" to the oppressed.

Another problem is the syntactical function of the phrases σκέπη διψώντων and πνεῦμα ἀνθρώπων ἀδικουμένων. Ottley and NETS took σκέπη and πνεῦμα as nominatives, producing a translation in which clauses 4d-e appear unconnected to its surrounding context.[15] Coste, das Neves, and LXX.D seem to have taken σκέπη and πνεῦμα in apposition to the addressee in ῥύσῃ (25:4c).[16] This option is also recommendable on contextual grounds. The direct address in the preceding clause v. 4c would support taking clauses v. 4d-e as a continuation of that direct address. However, it seems more appropriate to take σκέπη and πνεῦμα as nominatives and insert the comparative "as" to indicate the manner in

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[15] cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 1:155; NETS; Coste, "Le texte grec," 45.

[16] cf. Coste, "Le texte grec," 45, whose capitalization of "Souffle" indicates that he understood clauses 4d-e to be addressed to God. See also das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 165: "tu que és;" LXX.D: "(du)."

which the "you" of clause 4c will save "them." That is to say, the "you" will save them "as" or in the quality of a "shelter" and a "breeze."

In short, LXX Isa 25:3-4 may be described as the poor's praise for their liberation from the oppressive powers of the "fortified cities" mentioned in Isa 25:2. First, that the translator wanted to emphasize the theme of praise is clear from his double use of εὐλογέω instead of MT ירא/כבד (cf. 25:3). Second, contrarily to MT, LXX Isa 25:3-4 focuses on the oppressed as several expressions therein indicate. The phrase ὁ λαὸς ὁ πτωχός "the poor people" (v. 3a; cf. MT: עם־עז "a strong people") parallels in terms of content τοῖς ἀθυμήσασιν διὰ ἔνδειαν "those who are feeling despondent because of poverty" (v. 4; cf. part 1 for the relationship between MT and LXX here). Similarly, πόλεις ἀνθρώπων ἀδικουμένων "cities of wronged men" (v. 3b; cf. MT: קרית גוים עריצים "the city of violent nations") matches πάσῃ πόλει ταπεινῇ "every humble city" (v. 4a; cf. part 1 of the present work for the relationship between MT and LXX here). Also, the phrase ἀνθρώπων ἀδικουμένων occurs twice (cf. v. 3b; 4e). It has been correctly argued that the translator employed ἀδικ-words to refer to Israel's oppressors.[17] The language of oppression pervades LXX Isa 25: cf. "the poor people," "every humble city," "the ones thirsting," "faint-hearted men," and ὄνειδος (cf. comments on this word below). And, finally, the picture of oppression is also present in the term διψώντων "the thirsty ones" (v. 4d). In light of the above, it is clear that LXX Isa 25:3-4 contains the praise of the oppressed in view of the collapse of the "fortified cities" (Isa 25:2). Thus, the theme of liberation from oppression is clear in LXX Isa 25:3-4. The question arises as to the identity of the oppressors.

The oppressors must be identified with the "fortified cities" and "Babylon" mentioned in LXX Isa 25:2. First, the "humble cities" (v. 4a) sharply contrasts with the "fortified cities" in v. 2b. Second, the adverse fate of the "fortified cities" (v. 2a-b) prompts the praise of the "poor people" and the "cities of wronged men" in v. 3a-b. Finally, the expression ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων πονηρῶν "from evil men" designate members of the "city of the ungodly (τῶν ἀσεβῶν πόλις) in v. 2 as the concepts "evil men" and "ungodly" are ideologically parallel (cf. Prov 24:20). Having established the identity of the oppressors, a further question

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[17] cf. Olley, "'Righteousness'," 122.

arises concerning the interpretation of the picture of the oppressed. Should the "oppressed" be interpreted in religious, almost metaphorical, or in material terms? Or should it be read as a combination of both aspects?

Coste took πτωχός, ἀδικούμενοι, ταπεινός, διψῶντες, and ὀλιγόψυχοι as a sign of spiritual poverty or humility, an attitude he believed Judaism had developed. Although he proceeded to a discussion of each one of the terms above, his perception of πτωχός became central to him. For Coste, ὁ λαὸς ὁ πτωχός denotes a pious people deprived from human security, which counts only on God.[18] He contrasted ὁ λαὸς ὁ πτωχός with the "fortified cities" and interpreted the latter in a metaphorical way: the "fortified cities" are cities that arrogantly rely on their own power. In the same fashion, Coste viewed ὁ λαὸς ὁ πτωχός as a metaphor, indicating spiritual poverty.[19] He then interpreted the other terms in a similar way.

Coste explained ἀδικούμενοι as an epithet of the vocabulary of suffering that is applied to the Israelite community.[20] And as the term ἀδικούμενοι corresponds to ὁ λαὸς ὁ πτωχός, Coste read ἀδικούμενοι as pointing to the misery of the Jewish community.[21] As for ταπεινός in πόλει ταπεινῇ (25:4), Coste asserted it designated pious Israel that is object of divine rescue and that searches for no defender other than God. Das Neves accorded with Coste and claimed that ταπεινῇ and βοηθός are not used in a political but in a religious sense.[22] Similarly, Coste interpreted διψῶντες in a metaphorical, spiritual manner, indicating a passionate people whose desire is the rescue that only God will be able to

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[18] cf. Coste, "Le texte grec," 53: "On est donc invité à voir dans le peuple « pauvre » un peuple pieux dépourvu de secours humain, ne comptant que sur Dieu."

[19] cf. Coste, "Le texte grec," 52-53.

[20] cf. Coste, "Le texte grec," 53: "Là encore nous nous trouvons sans doute en présence d'une de ces innombrables épithètes du vocabulaire de souffrance que s'applique volontiers la communauté israélite."

[21] Although Coste refers to "Israelite community," it is clear that he has in mind the Judaism of the 2nd B.C.E. as he refers to it on p. 51.

[22] cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 171.

satisfy.[23] Coste also interpreted the term ὀλιγόψυχοι "faint-hearted" (v. 5) as expressing those who are humble in their soul, rightly comparing the ὀλιγόψυχοι with the διψῶντες and the ἀδικούμενοι of vv. 3-4. It becomes clear from the review above that Coste interpreted the reference to πτωχός and the like in a spiritual, metaphorical way.

The picture of the oppressed in LXX Isa 25:3-4 does not need, however, to be interpreted only metaphorically. Instead, the immediate context recommends a more material interpretation of the oppressed. As argued above, the ["fortified cities"] and "the city of the ungodly" are better interpreted as a reference to "Babylon." Furthermore, although v. 5 will be taken apart from vv. 3-4, it introduces a comparison (cf. ὡς) between the situation of the "we" in that verse with the situation of the oppressed in vv. 4-5. Like the oppressed, the "we" of v. 5 declares that they have been "delivered" into the hands of the "ungodly men." As it will be argued below, this deliverance is concrete and not spiritual or metaphorical.

Moreover, some of the terms Coste interpreted metaphorically can actually denote a more concrete situation. For instance, διψάω or cognate and ἀθυμέω are both used to signify people who had become thirsty and discouraged because of the siege of their city (cf. Judith 7:22, 25). In that same context, βοηθός "helper" and βοήθεια "help" indicate a real liberation from a siege (cf. Judith 7:25, 31). Even the term ὀλιγόψυχος "faint-hearted" denotes a city's citizen's psychological estate due to the siege of their city (cf. Judith 7:19: ὀλιγοψυχέω).

Finally, the translator's use of δι᾽ ἔνδειαν demonstrates that the cause of the despair of the "poor people" (cf. ἀθυμέω, v. 4) is the lack of access to food. Though ἔνδεια appears only here in LXX Isa, the majority of its occurrences in the rest of the LXX denotes famine or hunger (cf. Deut 28:20, 57; Amos 4:6; Job 30:3; Sirach 18:25; Eze 4:16; 12:19). In light of the reference to "fortified cities" and the "city of the ungodly" in v. 2, it is safe to conclude that the inhabitants of the "humble cities" (v. 4) became poor because they were under the oppressive control of the "strong cities."

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[23] cf. Coste, "Le texte grec," 53-55.

As the context of LXX Isa 25:3-4 is the collapse of "fortified cities" and of "the city of the ungodly" (v. 2) and the liberation of "humble cities," I submit that the picture of "being poor," "being thirsty," "humble," "discouraged," and "faint-hearted" all designate a political situation of misery or oppression that was caused by the "fortified cities" and Babylon's control. The references to God as a "helper," "refuge," and "breath" all denote a concrete deliverance that God brought or would bring about through his destruction of the "fortified cities" in v. 2. LXX Isa 25:3-4 is better seen as reflecting a more concrete background.

25:5

LXX Isa 25:5 presents a text-critical issue that has a direct bearing on its interpretation. S A'-26 Q^{mg} and a number of catenae attest to the reading ευλογησουσιν σε, whereas BQ^{txt}L lack it.[24] Swete and Ziegler's critical editions considered ευλογησουσιν σε as a secondary reading, whereas Rahlfs took it as original. The same disagreement holds true in translations. Whereas Coste and das Neves took ευλογησουσιν σε as original, Brenton, Ottley, NETS, LXX.D saw it as secondary.[25] This divergence in the manuscript tradition and in scholarly literature calls for further discussion on the originality of ευλογησουσιν σε.

The originality of ευλογησουσιν σε depends on the weight one assigns to Q. Ziegler viewed Q as the best witness to the original LXX text of Isa. In comparison with A, Q transmits the original LXX text

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[24] cf. Ziegler, *Isaias*.

[25] cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 1:155: "[shall bless thee]; Coste, "Le texte grec," 45: "ils te béniront"; das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 165: "(Bendir-te-ão)." As seen above, Ottley thought the absence of εὐλογήσουσίν σε in B, Q was a possible mistake in light of v. 3. Despite das Neve's translation within parentheses, he apparently considered εὐλογήσουσίν σε as original. In his comments on v. 5, he followed Coste closely, reproducing extensive excerpts from the latter, including comments on εὐλογήσουσίν σε (cf. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega*, 170-173).

more reliably and is almost completely free from Hexaplaric additions.[26] Contrarily, Ziegler pointed out that A contains several secondary readings whose cause lies in the influence of related phraseology from elsewhere in Isa, from LXX 2 Kings 18:13-20:19 in A Isa 36-39, or even from the New Testament. Besides, A contains more Hexaplaric readings than Q, a fact discernible in additions found in A that also occur with an asterisk in Hexaplaric recensions.[27] It was Ziegler's justifiable predilection for Q over A and the former's non-attestation of ευλογησουσιν σε that led him to consider the phrase under discussion as secondary.

The absence of ευλογησουσιν σε in Q[txt] is difficult to elucidate. Ottley suggested that Q and B omitted it as a probable confusion with the end of v. 3.[28] However, his suggestion is unlikely as an explanation for an omission and it would be more appropriate to explain an addition. Considering that Q[txt] is the best witness to the Alexandrian group, it seems that Q[txt] non-attestation of ευλογησουσιν σε is a strong argument to consider the latter as secondary in line with Ziegler's critical judgment.

Furthermore, it can be easily argued that ευλογησουσιν σε in both S and A' was the result of a later scribe's addition influenced by the same phrase in 25:3 to clarify what would be the original difficult reading of v. 5: ὡς ἄνθρωποι ὀλιγόψυχοι διψῶντες ἐν Σιων ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων ἀσεβῶν οἷς ἡμᾶς παρέδωκας. The reading ἀνθρώπων ἀδικουμένων, appearing in both vv. 3, 4, could have led the scribe to insert ευλογησουσιν σε after ἀνθρώπων ἀδικουμένων in v. 4 in analogy with v. 3. For the reasons above, this dissertation has decided to follow LXX Isa 25:5 as presented in Ziegler's critical edition.[29]

The phrase ὡς ἄνθρωποι ὀλιγόψυχοι διψῶντες ἐν Σιων "like faint-hearted men, (we are) thirsting in Zion" calls for further discussion. Translations differ in their interpretation of v. 5a. Brenton translated as

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[26] cf. Ziegler, *Isaias*, 29. Ziegler pointed to καὶ ἀνταποδώσω (= α' σ') and καὶ τὰ ἔκγονα αὐτῶν μετ' αὐτῶν (= σ' θ') in Isa 65:6, 23 respectively as the only two cases of Hexaplaric additions in Q.

[27] cf. Ziegler, *Isaias*, 27-29.

[28] cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 1:155, n. 4.

[29] cf. Ziegler, *Isaias*.

"*We were* as faint-hearted men thirsting in Sion." His translation with "we were" is supported by the phrase "to whom you delivered us" at the end of the verse. While Ottley, NETS, and LBA followed v. 5 closely, "like faint-hearted persons thirsting in Sion," LXX.D offered a more nuanced view of v. 5a: "(*Sie sind*) wie *kleinmütige Menschen*, (*wie wir,*) *die wir Durst leiden in Sion durch gottlose Menschen*." As is clear from the translation above, LXX.D took ἄνθρωποι ὀλιγόψυχοι as another title for the poor, oppressed people in vv. 3-4, while viewing a "we" group as the subject of διψῶντες. For LXX.D, v. 5 offers a comparison of the situation of the "we" with the situation of the poor, oppressed people in vv. 3-4. Among the translations above, LXX.D seems to offer the best interpretation of v. 5.

The comparative particle ὡς further supports LXX.D's interpretation. This particle indicates that a comparison is meant. In the light of the reference to the "we" at the end of v. 5, it becomes clear that a comparison between the situation of the "we" with the situation of "them" (cf. v. 4) was intended. As the ἄνθρωποι ὀλιγόψυχοι and ἀνθρώπων ἀδικουμένων of vv. 3-4, the "we" of v. 5 also finds itself in a situation of oppression. They are "thirsting in Zion because of ungodly men" because they were delivered to them. Thus, it is reasonable to take the "we" group as the subject of διψῶντες.

Further support is found in the translator's use of διψάω (v. 5). This lexical choice recalls the use of the same verb in the phrase σκέπη διψώντων (v. 4). The purpose of διψάω is to compare the "we" with the "they" groups of vv. 4-5. Like "them," the "we" group is thirsting in Zion. Similarly, the phrase ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων ἀσεβῶν parallels ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων πονηρῶν (v. 4). Clearly, the translator intended a comparison between the "we" and "them." As v. 4 declared that the κύριος would rescue "them" from "evil men," the "we" group finds themselves in a similar situation, under the oppression of "ungodly men." Ὡς (v. 5) points out to a comparison of the present situation of the "we" group with that of the "them" in order to ask the κύριος for liberation in light of the liberation that he would give to the "them" (vv. 3-4).

Part 1 above has gone over divergent explanations for the phrase ἄνθρωποι ὀλιγόψυχοι and for scholar's suggestion that the phrase "in Zion" was the result of confusion. Before one can ascertain how the

translator arrived at a particular reading, it is important to find out its function in its own literary context. The phrase ἄνθρωποι ὀλιγόψυχοι "faint-hearted men" should be taken as a parallel to ἀνθρώπων ἀδικουμένων "wronged men" (vv. 3, 4), τοῖς ἀθυμήσασιν δι' ἔνδειαν "those who are feeling despondent because of poverty" (v. 4), and, by extension, to ὁ λαὸς ὁ πτωχός "the poor people."[30] As argued above, the situation of oppression in vv. 3-4 is concrete and it relates to the oppressive powers of the "fortified cities" and "the city of the ungodly" (v. 2). Although the adjective ὀλιγόψυχος appears only three other times in Isa (cf. 35:4; 54:6; 57:15), the verb ὀλιγοψυχέω occurs eleven times in the LXX (cf. Num 21:4; Judg 8:4; 10:16; 16:16 (also in the A text); Judith 7:19; 8:9; Ps 76:4; Sir 4:9; 7:10; Jon 4:8). It is important to note that physical hunger may lead to the state of being ὀλιγόψυχος in Judges 8:4: ὀλιγοψυχοῦντες καὶ πεινῶντες "being faint-hearted and hungry." In Judith 7:19; 8:9, the inhabitants of Baityloua become ὀλιγόψυχοι because their city's siege had cut out their water access. Similarly, the condition of being ὀλιγόψυχος in Isa 25:5 denotes both physical and mental conditions. The "strong cities'" (v. 2) oppressive control over the "humble cities" (v. 4) probably prevented the latter from access to vital supplies, causing them to become poor physically and mentally. In this sense, the phrase ἄνθρωποι ὀλιγόψυχοι correspond in meaning to the picture of being poor and oppressed in vv. 3-4.

The analysis above casts an important light on how the translator arrived at ἄνθρωποι ὀλιγόψυχοι. He reasoned based on the literary context of Isa 25:1-5. As seen above, ἄνθρωποι ὀλιγόψυχοι must be seen as motivated by the immediate context's emphasis on ἀνθρώπων ἀδικουμένων (cf. v. 4[2x]).[31] Realizing that the translator reasoned from the context helps to explain the link between ἄνθρωποι ὀλιγόψυχοι διψῶντες ἐν Σιων with its probable source-text. It becomes clear that the whole phrase "like faint-hearted men (we are) thirsting in Zion" was an interpretation of כזרם קיר כחרב בציון "like heavy rain against the wall, like heat in a dry land" in the translator's *Vorlage*. Rather than being the result of confusion, LXX's reading was the result of a careful "high level" interpretation of the H that paid considerable attention to the immediate literary context.

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[30] cf. Coste, "Le texte grec," 56.
[31] cf. Coste, "Le texte grec," 44.

The expression ἐν Σιων "in Zion" (MT: בציון) is important. As discussed in part 1 above, it has been suggested that ἐν Σιων resulted from a mistake due to the rarity of ציון "desert" in the Tanach.[32] Although a superficial comparison between MT and LXX may lead to such a conclusion, when the LXX is analyzed in detail, paying attention to its immediate context, another explanation becomes more appropriate. The phrase ἐν Σιων recalls the same expression in LXX Isa 24:23, where it translates בהר ציון. There it is said that the κύριος "will reign in Zion." The picture of the Lord reigning in Zion sharply contrasts with the situation of suffering of the "we" group in Zion. In using ἐν Σιων in v. 5, the translator betrays his expectation that the Lord's rule in Zion should come true to solve the burdensome condition of his group. Furthermore, the phrase "on this mountain," which can only refer to Zion, will appear three more times in Isa 25:6-7, 10. These verses depict the "nations" as controlling Zion, while v. 10 celebrates its liberation from its oppressors. Furthermore, "Zion" is depicted as oppressed in Isa 32:2. There, "Zion" is depicted as "a thirsty land" (cf. ἐν Σιων//ἐν γῇ διψώσῃ, MT: בארץ //בצָיון עיפה), awaiting the appearance of the "man" who will restore it. Isa 25:5 shares a similar theme, in that the "ones thirsting in Zion" implies that Zion is under the oppression of an alien rule (cf. Isa 25:6-8). The translator's request that the Lord solve his situation (cf. Isa 25:7) shows that Zion there too needs to be restored.[33] Ἐν Σιων must, therefore, be seen not as an accident but as the result of the translator's unique reading of his *Vorlage* and of his will to produce a coherent text.[34]

The translator's expectation that the Lord brings an end to the suffering of the "we" can also be seen in the phrase οἷς ἡμᾶς παρέδωκας. The verbal form παρέδωκας continues the direct address to the κύριος that had started with ἐποίησας in v. 2. In the immediate context of vv. 3-4, παρέδωκας contrasts sharply in meaning with ῥύσῃ. Whereas God will save the "them" from "evil men" (v. 4), God delivered in the past the "we" to "ungodly men" (v. 5). As vv. 3-4 foresee a time when God

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[32] cf. Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 190.
[33] For a helpful discussion of the relation between Isa 25:5; 32:2, cf. van der Kooij, "Rejoice, O Thirsty Desert!" 19-20.
[34] cf. Koenig, *L'herméneutique*, 147, who correctly saw evidence in LXX's reading "in Zion" for a methodical treatment of homographs.

would deliver the oppressed from the oppressive control of the "evil men," the translator's use of "to whom you delivered us" points to his expectation that God would likewise deliver the "we" group.

Part 1 of the present work has shown that the phrase "to whom you delivered us" either has no counterpart in MT or is somewhat linked to תכניע. It is important now to discuss how this phrase fits in its literary context. Ziegler saw possible influences from Ps 27:12; 41:3.[35] However, it is more likely that the translator interpreted Isa 25:5 in the light of Isa 64:6(7): καὶ παρέδωκας ἡμᾶς διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν "you have delivered us because of our sins"/ותמוגנו ביד־עוננו "you have made us waste because of our sins."[36] The context of Isa 64 is similar to Isa 25. Both places depict God's people as living under the oppression of "ungodly men," "nations" or "adversaries" (cf. Isa 25:5, 6-8; 63:18-19). By using the phrase "to whom you delivered us" in Isa 25:5, the translator betrayed the "conditions of his own time."[37] Namely, that he was living under the oppressive rule of the "ungodly men," who had control over "Zion" (cf. Isa 25:5, 6-8).

ISA 25:6-12: TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

6a: And the Lord Sabaoth will deal with all the nations on this mountain

6b: They will drink joy,

6c: they will drink wine,

6d: they will anoint themselves with ointment[38]

7a: On this mountain, deliver all these things to the nations

7b: for this *is* the counsel against all the nations.[39]

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[35] cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 117

[36] cf. van der Kooij, "Rejoice, O Thirsty Desert!" 18.

[37] cf. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 112.

[38] There is a disagreement in the text critical editions of Rahlfs, *Septuaginta: is est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1979) and Ziegler, *Isaias*, as to the placement of the phrase "on this mountain" (2x) and "they will anoint themselves with ointment." The latter was taken as belonging to v. 6 in this dissertation (see more comments below).

8a: Death, having become strong, swallowed [the nations] up
8b: and, on the other hand, God took away every tear from every face
8c: he took away the disgrace of the people from the face of the earth
8d: for the mouth of the Lord spoke.
9a: And they will say on that day:
9b: "Look, our God, in whom we hoped
9c: and rejoiced in our salvation."
10a: because God will give rest on this mountain,
10b: and Moabitis shall be trampled down,
10c: as they trample a threshing floor with wagons
11a: and he will let his hands free
11b: and like as he himself humbled to destroy
11c: and he will humble his pride
11d: on the things which he laid the hands.
12a: and he will make your high defense wall low[40]
12b: and it will come down as far as the ground.

25:6

There is a disagreement among critical editions on the position of χρίσονται μύρον, which Ziegler took as the beginning of v. 7 and Rahlfs as the end of v. 6. Rahlfs' clause division is highly commendable because χρίσονται agrees in person and number with πίονται (2x) preceding it. As such, in this dissertation, the phrase χρίσονται μύρον ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ will be taken as the end of v. 6.

Καὶ ποιήσει κύριος σαβαωθ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο (v. 6a). The third person reference to the κύριος (cf. ποιήσει κύριος in v. 6a) clearly points to a break with 25:1-5, which addressed the κύριος directly throughout. Besides, the future ποιήσει with the κύριος as the subject indicates that 25:6a must be read in conjunction with Isa 24:23, where

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[39] The phrase ἡ βουλὴ αὕτη can be taken either in an attributive "this counsel" (cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 1:157; NETS) or predicative sense "this is the counsel" (cf. Brenton; LXX.D). For an unambiguous case of an attributive sense of the phrase ἡ βουλὴ αὕτη, cf. LXX Isa 7:7.

[40] For this translation, cf. GELS, 387.

the κύριος also appears as the subject of future verbs (cf. βασιλεύσει/δοξασθήσεται). A further link with 24:23 is the phrase ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο "on this mountain," clearly referring to Zion (ἐν Σιων) in 24:23.[41] But LXX Isa 25:6 is not completely unconnected to 25:1-5. First, the phrase "on this mountain" (vv. 6-7) clearly refers to ἐν Σιων that also appears in 25:5. Second, the picture of abundant drink (v. 6; cf. πίονται [2x]) contrasts with the image of thirst in 25:4-5 (cf. διψάω). And, third, both pericopae share the use of παραδίδωμι (cf. vv. 5, 7). Thus, LXX Isa 25:6-8 must be read in conjunction with both 24:23; 25:1-5.

In his commentary on LXX Isa, Eusebius of Caesarea captured well v. 6's problem when he asked after quoting v. 6: τί δὲ ποιήσει "what will he do?" In fact, some time before Eusebius, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion had already felt this problem, seen in their addition of the Greek πότον: "drinking-party; drink."[42] In taking ποιέω as "to do, make," most translations are forced to add a word or two to clarify the clause καὶ ποιήσει κύριος σαβαωθ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. Brenton and NETS translate "and the Lord Sabaoth will make [a feast] for all nations," while Ottley and LXX.D simply add "it" or "etwas."[43] However, the verb ποιέω followed by a noun in the dative may convey the idea of "treating sbd in a certain way" or "dealing with someone" (cf. Isa 5:4).[44] It is in this sense that LXX Isa 25:6a must be interpreted.[45] The advantage of the translation proposed here is the needlessness of providing an object for the verb ποιέω, as in the case of most translations above.

As argued above, ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο "on this mountain" is a reference to mount Zion and also to Jerusalem (cf. 25:5; 24:23; also LXX

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[41] cf. already Eusebius of Caesarea's comments on LXX Isa 25:6 in J. Ziegler, *Der Jesajakommentar* (Eusebius Werke: Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1975), 9:162, l. 29-36.

[42] cf. Ziegler, *Der Jesajakommentar*, 162, l. 26-27.

[43] cf. Brenton; Ottley, 1:157; NETS; LXX.D.

[44] cf. GELS, 569 for more examples of ποιέω + dative in the sense of "treating sbd in a certain way." The reader will also see there that the most common construction for the sense above is ποιέω + accusative.

[45] cf. Liebmann, "Der Text," 266 had noted that the same nuance is true for the H: "עשה ל muss er infolgedessen im Sinne von „verfahren mit" nehmen."

Isa 10:12). The translation of 25:6a as "the Lord will deal with the nations on this mountain" raises the question as to whether this "dealing" was meant in a positive or negative manner. The answer to this question will become clearer in the rest of the discussion on vv. 6-8.

Πίονται εὐφροσύνην πίονται οἶνον χρίσονται μύρον (v. 6b-d). The plural verbs in these clauses clearly have the plural "nations" (ἔθνεσιν) in 25:6a as their subject. The expressions "they will drink joy, they will drink wine" sharply contrast with the picture of thirst in vv. 4-5. While the "we" group is thirsting in Zion under the oppression of the "ungodly" (v. 5), the nations will be holding rich banquets in the same mountain. The expression "to drink joy" must be seen as an intentional hyperbole to single out the picture of overabundant joy that pervades vv.6b-d. It is interesting to note that "joy and wine" often occur together as the latter is the source of the former. A similar expression to "drink joy, to drink wine" appears in Jdt 12:13: πίεσαι μεθ' ἡμῶν εἰς εὐφροσύνην οἶνον "you will drink wine with us for joy" (cf. also Jdt 12:17; Sir 31:28; Isa 22:13). Thus, the translator's introduction of εὐφροσύνη was clearly not an accident but carefully thought-out in analogy with the reference to "wine" further in v. 6.

The expression χρίω μύρον occurs only three times in the LXX (cf. Jdt 10:3; Amos 6:6; Isa 25:6). Amos 6:6 is important because it shows that the drinking of wine and the anointing with ointment may belong together. As such, it is not surprising to find a reference to "anointing with ointment" in LXX Isa 25:6 in light of the previous mention of "drinking wine." Taken together, πίονται εὐφροσύνην πίονται οἶνον χρίσονται μύρον paint a very positive picture for the nations. For a little while, the nations will hold rich banquets on mount Zion. Despite the seemingly positive tone of v. 6b-d, it will become clear below that the nations' activities on mount Zion will be short lived.

25:7

Ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ παράδος ταῦτα πάντα τοῖς ἔθνεσιν (v. 7a). The phrase ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ recalls ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο in v. 6a above, indicating that the mountain in question is Zion. Ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ also points to an important link between vv. 6, 7. As v. 6 refers to the Lord's future handling of the nations "on this mountain," v. 7 emphatically

urges the Lord to "deliver these things to the nations" on the same mountain.

As for παράδος "deliver," I. L. Seeligmann argued that the imperative addresses the prophet because "it is his task to make God's plan known to the nations."[46] However, the immediate context lacks any evidence that the prophet was being addressed. Rather, the singular direct address παράδος must be seen as addressing the κύριος. Παράδος recalls the second person sing. παρέδωκας at the end of v. 5. In view of the use of second person singular verbs in vv. 1-4 directed at the κύριος (cf. v. 1: ἐποίησας; v. 2: ἔθηκας; v. 4: ἐγένου; v. 5: παρέδωκας), it is clear that the addressee of παρέδωκας is also the κύριος. Thus, παράδος (25:7) should likewise be seen as a direct address to the κύριος.

What would then be the identity of the addresser? The addresser of the κύριος is a member of the group referred to in the "we" (ἡμᾶς, v. 5) and the "I" speaker in v. 1. After having told the κύριος that he was suffering in Zion because the κύριος had delivered (παρέδωκας) him and his group into the hands of the "ungodly" (v. 5), the "I" speaker addresses the κύριος directly in v. 7 and asks him to deliver (παράδος) "all these things to the nations."

The phrase ταῦτα πάντα "these things" deserves further attention. To what does it refer? Ταῦτα πάντα refers to the "drinking" picture in v. 6, which immediately precedes v. 7a. In 25:7, the phrase ταῦτα πάντα parallels ἡ βουλὴ αὕτη in 25:7b. It is important to note then that "drinking" of the nations in v. 6 is the content of the Lord's "counsel" "against" or "concerning" (see below) the nations. The addresser in v. 7 is thus asking the Lord to carry out his βουλή. Is the "drinking" picture to be taken in a negative or positive sense?

The main question of v. 7 is whether the βουλή is "against" or "concerning" the nations as the preposition ἐπί can be taken either as "concerning" or "against." Translations are divided with Brenton and LXX.D taking ἐπί as "upon; concerning" while NETS and Ottley interpreted it in the sense of "against." Ziegler argued that the "counsel" of v. 7 is "against" all the nations. He found support for his claim in

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[46] cf. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 110.

Obad 16, which portrays the nations' drinking in a negative way. Whereas MT reads "all the nations will drink continually and they will drink… and they will be as if they had never been," the LXX has "all the nations will drink *wine*, they will drink, they will go down, and they will be as if they do not exist" (πίονται πάντα τὰ ἔθνη οἶνον πίονται καὶ καταβήσονται καὶ ἔσονται καθὼς οὐχ ὑπάρχοντες). As in Obad 15ff, the "drinking" picture of LXX Isa 25:6 must be interpreted in a negative way: they will drink for awhile but their judgment will come. Ziegler further pointed to the interpretation of the "drinking" of the nations in Targ. Isa 25:6, which also took the "drinking" of the nations in a negative way. It reads: "On this mountain the Lord of hosts will make for all peoples a feast *and* a *festival*; *they think that it is of glory, but it will be to them for shame, strokes from which they will not be rescued, strokes by which they will come to an end*."[47] Moreover, Ziegler showed that the interpretation of the "drinking" in LXX Isa 25:6 as a friendly banquet to the nations goes back to Jerome, who was influenced by the New Testament reading of Matthew 26:29.[48] In addition to Ziegler's remarks above, one may highlight that in LXX Isa itself the image of "drinking" and "partying" carries a very negative connotation. In Isa 5:11-12, for instance, "drinking and partying" are criticized as they ultimately lead to disregarding "the works of the Lord" (NETS). Thus, the "counsel" of v. 7 is "against" the nations. That the "drinking" of the nations was meant in a negative way will become clearer below.

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[47] cf. Chilton, *The Isaiah Targum*, 49 (italics his). Targ. Isa reads as follows: ויעביד יוי צבאות לכל עממיא בטורא הדין שירו וזמן מדמן דהיא דיקר ותהי להון לקלן מחן דילא ישתיזבון מנהון מחן דיסופון בהון. All Aramaic quotations in this article are taken from A. Sperber, ed., *The Bible in Aramaic: based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

[48] cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 145. It is interesting to note that a theological interpretation of H Isa 25:6 is already attested in the Syr. (cf. HUB), which may reflect a Christian interpretation. Syr reads the H משתה שמרים שמנים as a reference to a drinking belonging to "our life-Giver" as ܡܫܬܝܐ. ܕܡܚܝܢ ܡܚܝܢܐ ܕܡܫܬܝܐ can be translated as follows: "a preserved and fat drinking, of our heavenly and mighty life-Giver." "Life-Giver" is undoubtedly a reference to Jesus Christ, cf. van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 273-274, also n. 45-46. Vg.'s *convivium pinguium convivium vindemiae pinguium medullatorum vindemiae defecatae* followed the H closely.

25:8

Κατέπιεν ὁ θάνατος ἰσχύσας (v. 8a). Different from MT (cf. part 1 earlier), LXX portrays death as swallowing up. The first question that arises concerns the object of the verb κατέπιεν. Whereas Brenton added "men" after the verb "to swallow," Ottley, NETS, and LXX.D inserted simply "them."[49] In the immediate context, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη "all the nations" (v. 7) is the best candidate as the object of κατέπιεν.[50] Starkly contrasting with the apparently picture of blessedness for the nations in v. 6b-d earlier, v. 8a declares that the nations were swallowed up.

The reference to the nation's banquet (v. 6b-d) must be read as temporary. The nations will, for awhile, hold banquets on mount Zion, even while the translator's group is thirsting under their oppression (cf. Isa 25:5). However, the Lord will deal with them by carrying out his βουλή (25:7) against them. The past tense verbs of v. 8 (ἀφεῖλεν 2x) indicate that the Lord has started the process of bringing the oppressive rule of the "nations" to an end (cf. also 25:1-2 above). The rest of the commentary on LXX Isa 25:8 will confirm this description.

The phrase ὁ θάνατος ἰσχύσας "death, having become strong" occurs only here and it is not clear what the translator intended. It is important to note that, in LXX Isa, "death" functions as one of the κύριος' agents. In LXX Isa 9:7, it is said that the κύριος sent "death" against Jacob/Israel. The translator read the H דבר, "word" in MT, as "pestilence" (דֶּבֶר).[51] Likewise, "death" in LXX Isa 25:8 must be understood as an agent that the Lord sent to punish the "nations."

Καὶ πάλιν ἀφεῖλεν ὁ θεὸς πᾶν δάκρυον ἀπὸ παντὸς προσώπου τὸ ὄνειδος τοῦ λαοῦ ἀφεῖλεν ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς γῆς (v. 8b-c). As noted in part 1 earlier, πάλιν is a plus in the LXX. It has been correctly noted that πάλιν is typical of LXX Isa because it usually occurs as a plus (cf. LXX Isa 7:4; 23:17).[52] The usual meaning of πάλιν in the LXX is "again."[53] But it

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[49] cf. Brenton; Ottley, *Isaiah*, 1:157; NETS; LXX.D.

[50] cf. Hieke, "„Er verschlingt den Tod für immer" (Jes 25,8a)," 37.

[51] cf. e.g., Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:156.

[52] cf. van der Kooij, *The Oracle*, 72.

[53] cf. GELS, 521.

can also denote a turn of thought "on the other hand."[54] It is this latter sense that is most fitting to v. 8b. There is a contrast between the actions of "death" (v. 8a) and that of God (v. 8b). While death swallows the nations up, God, on the other hand (πάλιν), has started to take away every tear from every face.

Different from MT (מחה "to wipe out"/הסיר "to cause to depart"), LXX employed the same verb (ἀφαιρέω "to take away") twice. This double use of ἀφαιρέω indicates that v. 8b-c must be taken together. As such, the phrase "every face" means the faces of the people in v. 8c and "tears" and "reproach" must be interpreted in light of each other. What is exactly at stake in the translator's use of ὄνειδος?

In the LXX, ὄνειδος may indicate the feeling of shame of those living under the control of foreign nations. In Joel 2:17, for instance, priests ask the Lord: "spare your people, O Lord, and do not subject your inheritance to the reproach of being ruled over by the nations" (NETS; the G reads: φεῖσαι κύριε τοῦ λαοῦ σου καὶ μὴ δῷς τὴν κληρονομίαν σου εἰς ὄνειδος τοῦ κατάρξαι αὐτῶν ἔθνη; cf. also Micah 6:16).[55] Similarly, ὄνειδος in LXX Isa 25:8 denotes the shame of being ruled over by foreign nations. The "nations" are the "nations" referred to in vv. 6-7. The past tense ἀφεῖλεν, different from future ones in MT (cf. יסיר/ומחה), indicate that God has started to take away the shame of the people, that is to say, the shame of being ruled over by the nations. Thus, v. 8 portrays two divergent but interrelated pictures. On one hand, God has sent "death" to swallow the nations up. On the other hand, that act also meant that God had started to take away the "shame" of the people, that is, the shame of living under the oppression of the nations.

At this point, a word about the "nations" (ἔθνος, vv. 6, 7) and the people (λαός, v. 8c) must be said. In the comparison between the LXX and the MT, it was noted that the use of ἔθνος as a translation of עם is unusual. It is now clear that the translator purposefully employed it antithetically to λαός (v. 8). The "nations" should be identified with the ἀνθρώπων ἀσεβῶν "ungodly men" (v. 5), whose city is named "the city of the ungodly" (v. 2). It is noticeable that God's handling of the nations

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[54] cf. LEH, 457.
[55] cf. GELS, 498.

occurs "on this mountain" (vv. 6-7). As argued above, "this mountain" is mount Zion mentioned in v. 5. The picture in v. 5 is that the "we" group is under the oppressive control of the "ungodly" in Zion. In v. 7, an unidentified person asks the Lord to carry out his βουλή in Zion, making it clear he expects the Lord will liberate the "we" group from the control of the "ungodly." The past tense κατέπιεν in v. 8 indicates that the Lord had started to liberate the "we" (25:5) group because "death" was swallowing up the nations. Thus, the translator interpreted his Isa 25:6-8 as judgment against the "nations" (vv. 6-7) and liberation for the "people" (v. 8). For a similar picture, cf. Isa 24:13-16 above.

The reference to λαός differs from MT's "his people" in LXX's mention of only "the people" (עמו; cf. also Isa 1:3, where עמי was simply rendered with ὁ λαός). In its immediate context, λαός must be identified with ὁ λαὸς ὁ πτωχός "the poor people" of v. 3. The "poor people" is described in vv. 3-4 as being under the oppressive control of the "evil men" (v. 4). The reference to "death swallowing the nations up" and to "God removing the disgrace of the people" (v. 8) indicates that the "poor people" (v. 3) started to be liberated. It is interesting to note that, whereas v. 4 portrays the liberation of the poor people as a future reality (cf. ῥύσῃ), v. 8 portrays their liberation as something that has already begun. This interchange between future and past tense verbs can only be explained as due to the translator's view of God's liberation as something that has started but has not been fully completed. However, this point can not be further addressed here.

25:9

καὶ ἐροῦσι τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἰδοὺ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐφ᾽ ᾧ ἠλπίζομεν καὶ ἠγαλλιώμεθα καὶ εὐφρανθησόμεθα ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ ἡμῶν (v. 9). It is important to discuss who the subject of the plural ἐροῦσι is. In its immediate context, the plural group "us" is 25:5 must be taken as the subject of ἐροῦσι. LXX Isa 25:9 introduces the response of the "we" group (25:5), which was occasioned by the liberation of the "poor people" (vv. 3, 8) from oppression. This explains LXX's "in our salvation" (τῇ σωτηρίᾳ ἡμῶν) for MT's "his salvation" (בישועתו). Here one finds the language of the "we" (cf. "our salvation") group. After their liberation is completed, the "we" group will rejoice in the salvation that their God will have brought to them. Thus, the liberation of the "poor

people" will prompt the declaration of the "we" in v. 10. It becomes now clear that Isa 25 envisages at least two different groups being liberated of oppression. There is the "people" (Isa 25:3-4; 25:8) and the "we" group (Isa 25:5, 9-10). The liberation of the former signals to the latter's upcoming salvation as well as to Zion's liberation from her oppressors.

25:10

That the liberation of the "people" (v. 8) marks the beginning of the liberation of the "we" group is clear from v. 10a: ὅτι ἀνάπαυσιν δώσει ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο (v. 10a). The conjunction ὅτι introduces the reason for the declaration in v. 10. The reason is that God "will give rest on this mountain." The phrase "on this mountain" has already appeared twice (vv. 6, 7) and refers to mount Zion (v. 5). It is significant that v. 10 declares that God will "give rest on this mountain." "Rest" (ἀνάπαυσις) indicates that the situation of oppression of the translator's group in Zion will be brought to an end. The future tense verb shows that this situation will occur in the short future, a picture that is in line with v. 6b-d's description of the nations banqueting in Zion for a little while.

Striking is the translator's use of ἡ Μωαβῖτις for מואב, creating an equivalence that is almost unique to LXX Isa (cf. part 1 above). It seems that the translator was referring here to a region. As one scholar has remarked "this name [Μωαβῖτις] was used especially in the Ptolemaic administration for the regions of the southern part of the Ptolemaic province of *Coele Syria*."[56] Why did the translator employ Μωαβῖτις here? The answer lies in his reading Isa 24:10 in the light of the oracle against Μωαβῖτις (MT: מואב) in Isa 15-16. Like Isa 25:10, Isa 15:1 proclaims the collapse of Moabitis' "wall." The term τεῖχος does not necessarily imply a human built wall but may designate natural walls. The latter connotation may well apply to Moab's high mountains located at its border.[57] The same nuance applies to τοῖχος in Isa 25:12.[58] Another link between Isa 15-16; 24:1-12 will be observed below. For now, it becomes clear that the translator had in mind the southern region of *Coele Syria* in his use of Μωαβῖτις.

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[56] cf. Tov, "Personal Names in the Septuagint of Isaiah," 427.

[57] cf. van der Kooij, *The Oracle*, 68.

[58] cf. van der Kooij, *The Oracle*, 68.

25:11

It is not easy to make sense of the Greek ὃν τρόπον καὶ αὐτὸς ἐταπείνωσεν τοῦ ἀπολέσαι because the objects of ἐταπείνωσεν/τοῦ ἀπολέσαι are not clear. Brenton rendered the phrase above as "even as he also brings down *man* to destroy *him*."[59] Differently, Ottley translated as "like as he himself also humbled *him* to destroy *him*," whose translation NETS followed.[60] It seems better to follow LXX.D and take Moab as the subject of ἐταπείνωσεν and "someone else" as its object: "ebenso wie *auch er* (*Moab*) (*andere*) *erniedrigt hat bis zur Vernichtung*."[61] Although the relationship between clauses 11b-c is unclear, the sense seems to be that God will "let his hands free" to punish the region called "Moabitis" in a way similar to what an unknown "he" had done to someone else. Equally unclear is the identity of "his" in "he will humble his pride." The difficulty here is that "Moabitis" is a feminine noun and, consequently, the masculine αὐτός cannot refer to it.

One important aspect here is the translator's utilization of ἀπόλλυμι "to destroy." While part 1 above has indicate that the reading ἐταπείνωσεν τοῦ ἀπολέσαι is the result of re-reading השחה לשׂחות "the swimmer to swim" as השחה לשחת "he brought low to destroy," it is important to ask the question as to why the translator did so. The answer lies in him interpreting Isa 25:11 in the light of Isa 15:1. Like Isa 25:10-12, Isa 15:1 proclaims the destruction of the Moabitis, using the same lexeme ἀπόλλυμι (MT: שׁדד). It is clear that the translator's re-reading was motivated by a "higher level" interpretation of Isa 25:11 that saw a connection between that passages and Isa 15:1.

25:12

It is interesting to note the translator's use of τοῖχος "wall" for חומה (cf. part 1 above). Why did the translator decide to use τοῖχος here? The reason is found in his interpretation of Isa 24:10-12 as referring to the region known as Μωαβῖτις. This region was located in the southern

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[59] cf. Brenton.

[60] Ottley, *Isaiah*, 1:157 (italics ours); NETS.

[61] LXX.D (italics theirs).

part of Coele-Syria. Different from τεῖχος, which can refer to either the "wall" of a "city" or a "region," the term τοῖχος can only refer to the "wall of a region, land." Cf. e.g., Isa 23:13 (and also comments to Isa 25:10 above). In Isa 25:12, it refers to the collapse of the "walls" of the region known as Μωαβῖτις. Why did the translator not use τεῖχος here as he did in Isa 15:1? It seems that he was trying to avoid confusion between the "wall" of a "city" (cf. Isa 24:23; 26:1) and the "wall" of a "region" (Isa 25:12).

<div align="center">SUMMARY</div>

A careful reading of LXX Isa 25:1-12 points to a coherent text as far as its content is concerned. The text under discussion refers to three different groups. First, the oppressors, which are named "strong cities," "city of the ungodly," "the evil men," the "ungodly men," and the "nations" (Isa 24:2, 4-5, 6-7) are described as collapsing (v. 2) as part of God's "age-old plan" (25:1). Similarly, Isa 25:7-8 urges the Lord (cf. "deliver") to punish the nations and bring his counsel to fruition. Second, the oppressed, referred to with several terms such as "the poor people," "wronged men," "humble city," "faint-hearted men," play a role in 25:3-5a, 8. They rejoice by occasion of their oppressors' fall (v. 3), expect deliverance from God (v. 4), a deliverance that is portrayed as something that has already started (cf. 25:8). The third group is the "we" (cf. 25:5, 9-10). This group finds itself in an identical situation of oppression to the second group in vv. 3-5a. Isa 25:5, 6-7 make clear that they are under the oppression of the "nations," which are occupying mount Zion. The liberation of the "people" (Isa 25:3-5a, 8) points to the upcoming salvation of the "we" group from oppression in Zion.

In LXX Isa 25:1-12, both "literal" and "free" translations cohere with each other. A case in point is the free "the poor people" (ὁ λαὸς ὁ πτωχός) (Isa 25:3 [MT: "strong people"]), which coheres with the more lexically literal translation "the people" (λαός) in Isa 25:8. It is also important to note that the free "poor people" and the literal "people" (Isa 25:3, 9) cohere well with the expression "the inhabitants of the earth will become poor" in Isa 24:6. Moreover, it is worthy noticing that several "free" translations come together to create a coherent text. For instance, note the less literal βουλή (MT: plural "counsels") in Isa 25:1 coheres with the very "free" βουλή in 25:7, even though the content of both

"counsels" differ from each other (cf. comments to Isa 25:1-2; 7 above). Furthermore, the "free" translations with "cities" form a coherent message by way of contrast. The phrase "fortified cities" (Isa 25:2) contrasts with "the cities of ill-treated men" (Isa 25:3) and "every humble city" (Isa 25:4). The "fortified cities" are mentioned again in Isa 26:5. There, they contrast with the "fortified city" of Isa 26:1. Also, the "cities" of Isa 25:2 cohere with the "cities" of Isa 24:10, 12, as noted above. The references to the "evil/ungodly men" (Isa 25:4-5) contrast with the "ill-treated men" (Isa 25:3-4). "In Zion" coheres well with the same expression in Isa 24:23 and with the phrases "on this mountain" in Isa 25:6-7, 10. Finally, the "free" rendition "nations" (Isa 25:6-7) is in keeping with the literal "nations" in Isa 24:13.

The translator also created a coherent text through a careful choice of his lexemes. Note, for example, πόλις for קריה/עיר in Isa 25:1-5 (cf. also Isa 24:10, 12). Important also is πόλεις ὀχυράς in Isa 25:2 (cf. also Isa 26:5), which contrasts with the πόλις ὀχυρά in Isa 26:1. For his choice of "ungodly" (Isa 25:2, 5), compare with the "ungodly" in Isa 24:8 and the "ungodly one" in Isa 26:10. Lastly, note the repetition of ἄνθρωπος in Isa 25:3-5, all without clear equivalents in MT. The coherence observed in Isa 25:1-12 points to a "higher level," unique interpretation of the Hebrew that must have preceded the work of the translation.

CHAPTER 7 - LXX ISA 26:1-6 IN ITS OWN RIGHT

ISA 26:1-3B – TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

1a: In that day they will sing this song on the land of Ioudas
1b: saying:
1c: "Look, a fortified city, and *as* our salvation he will set a wall and a surrounding wall.
2a: Open the gates
2b: let a people enter
2c: that keeps righteousness
2d: and that keeps truth
3a: that holds truth fast[1]
3b: and that keeps peace."

26:1-3b

26:1a-b introduces a song. The participle λέγοντες "saying," a plus against MT, makes it clear that the content of the song starts in 26:1c.[2] The change from third person verbs in 26:1c-3b to a direct speech addressed to the Lord in 26:3c-4a clearly demarcates the end of the song in 26:3b. Further, while the references to a "fortified city," its "walls and surrounding walls," and its "gates" tie 26:1c-2 together, the fourfold use of participles qualifying λαός (26:2b) unite 26:2-3.[3] The theme surrounding those verses is on the entrance of a faithful people into a strong city. As such, 26:1-3b should be taken as a subunit of 26:1-6.

The double accusative σωτήριον ἡμῶν/τεῖχος καὶ περίτειχος deserves further comment. All translations (Brenton, NETS, and LXX.D.) take the double accusative as the direct object of θήσει and render them as "and he will make our salvation its wall and outer wall;"

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[1] For this translation, cf. GELS, 59.

[2] For a discussion of the translator's addition of a form of λέγω, cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 58 and, more recently, van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 107.

[3] MT is much less clear in its use of a participle followed by an imperfect in 26:2-3.

"*und* als unser Heil wird er Mauer und Ringmauer aufrichten." This interpretation finds support in Isa 60:18: ἀλλὰ κληθήσεται σωτήριον τὰ τείχη σου/וקראת ישועה חומתיך. In this verse, it is said that the "walls" of Jerusalem (cf. 60:1) will be called "salvation." It is clear that the "walls" of Jerusalem, built by "aliens" (60:10), will provide security for her "righteous people" (60:21: καὶ ὁ λαός σου πᾶς δίκαιος/ועמך כלם צדיקים). It seems the same idea is found in Isa 26:1, where the establishment of a "wall and surrounding wall" will function as "salvation, refuge" for the "lasting city's" inhabitants.

In part 1 above, it was noted that the phrase σωτήριον ἡμῶν represents a different syntactical reading from MT by taking לנו with ישועה. The analysis of the Greek in its own right sheds light on the translator's decision. A similar concept to σωτήριον ἡμῶν "our salvation" appears also in Isa 25:9: ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ ἡμῶν/בישועתו ונשמחה (MT: "his salvation"), where the "we" group sees God's acts as "our salvation." Isa 26:1 presents once again the "we" group celebrating the same salvation. The parallelism between Isa 25:9 ("free translation") and 26:1 ("literal" although different syntactical reading) indicates that the "they" in 26:1 are to be identified with the "we" group. Their liberation from the oppressive control of the "ungodly/nations" in Zion (Isa 25:5, 6-7, 8-9, 10) leads them to see the "fortified city" as their safe haven. It is interesting to note that the translator did not judge it necessary to change the wording of his source-text in Isa 26:1. The reason is that the literal reading "our salvation" cohered well with the "freer" translation "our salvation" in Isa 25:9.

But which city does Isa 26:1 envisage? In LXX Isa, 26:1c; 30:13 are the only places where πόλις ὀχυρά occurs in the singular. Elsewhere, it appears in the plural (cf. Isa 25:2; 26:5; 36:1; 37:26). As Isa 30:13 does not have a specific city in view, it does not help in identifying the "city" in 26:1. Isa 26:1; 33:20 are the only places in the LXX as a whole, where ἰδού followed by πόλις in the nom. case and σωτήριον ἡμῶν occur closely together. Isa 33:20 reads: ἰδοὺ Σιων ἡ πόλις τὸ σωτήριον ἡμῶν/ציון חזה קרית מועדנו. Whereas MT reads "the city of our appointed feasts," "the city, our salvation" is in the LXX. In Isa 33:20, the "city" is identified with Zion and Jerusalem, cf. οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου ὄψονται Ιερουσαλημ. The city Zion/Jerusalem is further characterized as secure, as a city whose tents will not be shaken (cf. μὴ σεισθῶσιν). Isa 26:1; 33:20 share not only

expressions, such as "look, a city; our salvation," but also the theme of a secure city with "fortified city" in 26:1 and a city whose "tents will not be shaken" in 33:20. The link between LXX Isa 26:1; 33:20 indicates that the "lasting city" of 26:1 should be identified with Jerusalem.[4]

In part 1 above, it was indicated that the translator's use of ὀχυρός for עז is unusual. When LXX 26:1-6 is taken in the light of its literary contexts, the reason for the translator's choice becomes clearer. The singular πόλις ὀχυρά stands in sharp contrast with the plural πόλεις ὀχυράς in 25:2; 26:5. It seems that the translator chose ὀχυρός to make the contrast between the establishment of a "fortified city" and the destruction of "fortified cities" clearer.

Furthermore, the translator's use of ὀχυρός indicates he interpreted עיר עז as a "fortified city" instead of a "strong city." In LXX Isa and also elsewhere, the adjective ὀχυρός often qualifies "cities" as "fortified" (cf. e.g., Deut 3:5; 1 Macc 9:50; 2 Macc 12:13, 27; Isa 25:2; 26:5; 30:13; 36:1; 37:26). Contrarily, the phrase πόλις ἰσχυρά "a strong city" occurs rarely in the LXX and elsewhere (cf. Isa 27:3; Dan 11:24; Rev 18:10). It seems that the translator decided to use ὀχυρός in Isa 25:2; 26:1, 5 to communicate his interpretation of the Hebrew as "fortified city(ies)."

The establishment of a "wall and surrounding wall" is in sharp contrast to the fall of "the wall" in Isa 24:23 (MT: "the glow of the full moon will be ashamed). As discussed in the comments to Isa 24:23 above, τὸ τεῖχος there denotes a "city wall." It was also indicated that the "wall" probably refers to the "wall" of the "fortified cities" of Isa 25:2. It is interesting to note now that the fall of "the wall" in 24:23 contrasts neatly with the reign of the Lord in Zion and Jerusalem. The same idea is found in Isa 26:1-5, where the building of a "wall and surrounding wall" as "salvation" for the "strong city," Jerusalem/Zion, contrasts with the fall of "fortified cities" (cf. 26:1, 5).

Isa 26:2-3 presents the contents of the song of the "we" group introduced in 26:1 (cf. comments above on the "they" as the "we"

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[4] van der Kooij, "The Cities of Isaiah 24-27," 194; van der Kooij, "Interpretation of the Book of Isaiah," 65.

group). They welcome a "faithful people" into the "fortified city," namely, Jerusalem/Zion. Part 1 above remarked that the use of λαός for גוי is highly unusual in LXX Isa. With an interesting style (cf. four participles and the thrice use of "to keep"), LXX Isa 26:2-3 introduces a people that "keeps righteousness, truth, and peace." These expressions denote a people that live according to the "law" (cf. the phrase "law[s] of truth" in Neh 9:13; Mal 2:6 and the expression "your law is truth" in Ps118:142). The λαός entering "Jerusalem/Zion" should be equated with the "godly" of Isa 26:7. This passage refers to the "way of the godly," which is to be taken sapientially as an indication of a people that morally keeps the "law" (cf. e.g., Ps 1).[5] The "people" of Isa 26:2-3 contrasts with the "ungodly" who do not learn "righteousness" or practice the "truth" (cf. Isa 26:10). They further stand in opposition to the "breakers of the law" (Isa 24:14).[6] Because only a "godly people" can enter the city of Jerusalem/Zion, while the "breakers of the law" need to be kept out, the translator found the use of ἔθνος for גוי unfitting for the present context.

A further note on the "righteous people" of Isa 26:2 in relation to other groups in Isa 24:1-26:6 is important here. First, "the righteous people" should be identified with the "remnant" (Isa 24:6, 14). Both have as their leader the 'man of godliness' who is intimately associated with "righteousness and truth" (cf. Isa 11:5). Upon the destruction of the oppressors in Zion, the "we" group welcomes the "remnant/righteous people" into Jerusalem. Contrarily, the "righteous people" should be taken in opposition to the "poor people" (Isa 24:6; 25:3). The latter indicates more generally people under oppression without necessarily indicating a "godly people." Although both benefit from God's liberating acts, only the "godly people" is to enter Jerusalem.

The idea that Jerusalem will be delivered and that a "righteous people" will inhabit it finds strong parallels in Isa 60. There, it is said that "salvation" has come to Jerusalem (cf. the references to δόξα κυρίου/ כבוד יהוה and τὸ σωτήριον κυρίου/תהלת יהוה Isa 60:1, 6), that her "walls" (τεῖχος) will be built up (Isa 60:10), and that her "people shall all be righteous" (ὁ λαός σου πᾶς δίκαιος). On the other hand, there is only

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[5] cf. van Menxel, *Ἐλπίς*, 256-257.
[6] cf. van Menxel, *Ἐλπίς*, 256.

"darkness" for the "nations" (ἔθνη in 60:2) and dread for "those who humbled" (ταπεινωσάντων in 60:14) Jerusalem. For the Isa translator, the same theme is present in Isa 26:1-3, where, according to his interpretation, Jerusalem/Zion is a "safe city" for a "righteous people."

<div align="center">ISA 26:3C-6 – TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY</div>

3c: Because in you
4a: they forever hoped, o Lord, great, everlasting God,
5a: who have humbled,
5b: and brought low the inhabitants in lofty places,
5c: you will throw down fortified cities,
5d: and you will bring them down to the ground
6a: and the feet of the meek and humble will tread them under

26:3c-6a

A direct address to the "Lord" characterizes this section throughout with the use of second person pronouns, verbs, and vocatives. The third person verbs in 26:7ff indicate the direct address finishes with 26:6a.

The form ἤλπισαν is interesting. First, it represents a different vocalization from MT, which has the imperative בִּטְחוּ. The unvocalized בטחו would have given the translator ample opportunity to use an imperative verb as he tends to do (cf. e.g., Isa 24:11; 25:7).[7] The question must be asked why he decided to use an imperfect instead. Second, the use of ἐλπίζω for בטח is unusual in LXX Isa, raising the question of the translator's lexical choice. And, third, the question of who the subject of ἤλπισαν is must also be addressed.

The subject of ἤλπισαν is the "they" of Isa 26:1, which has been identified with the "we" group of Isa 25:5. Isa 26:4 gives the reason as to why a "people that keep righteousness" is allowed to enter the city. The phrase ὅτι ἐπὶ σοὶ ἤλπισαν κύριε (26:3c-4a) functions as another explanation for the reason as to why the "people" in 26:2-3 were allowed

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[7] For a discussion of "imperativization" in LXX Isa, cf. Baer, *When We All Go Home*, 23-52.

to enter Jerusalem/Zion (26:1). Besides "keeping righteousness, truth, and peace," they also put their hope in the Lord.

The use of ἐλπίζω was not the result of a thoughtless decision on the translator's part. That root plays an important role in LXX Isa 24-26. The theme of trusting in God as source of deliverance from an oppressive power also appears in LXX Isa 25:9. After God deals with the "nations" that are occupying mount Zion (Isa 25:5, 6-8), the "we" group of Isa 25:5 says: "Look, our God, in whom we trusted (ἐλπίζω/קוה) and we rejoiced in our salvation (σωτηρία/ישועה)." In this context, σωτηρία denotes the deliverance from an oppressive power (cf. 25:10ff). Ἤλπισαν in Isa 26:4 is in line with the same theme. Because the "people" (λαός) trusted in God (ἐλπίζω/בטח) as the source of their "deliverance," they were allowed to enter Zion/Jerusalem. Similarly, Isa 24:14 proclaims hope to the "godly one." The latter had been identified as the 'man of godliness' (Isa 11:2), who functions as the leader of the "remnant/righteous people" group. Like their leader, the "righteous people" is also characterized with putting their hope in the Lord.[8]

Interesting is the translator's use of ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας (cf. part 1 above). A similar phrase appears in Isa 33:22: ὁ γὰρ θεός μου μέγας/אדיר יהוה. The context of Isa 33:20 is similar in content to Isa 26:1-6. In Isa 33, Zion/Jerusalem is portrayed as a city of "salvation" (33:20; cp. with 26:1) as a result of the expulsion of the "lawless" and "ungodly" from Zion (33:14; cp. with comments to Isa 25:6-8). God is described as the one who dwells in "lofty places" and the one who hands the "disobedient" over to judgment (33:2-6; cf. with Isa 25:7). Ultimately, he is the one who saves his people (33:22; cp. with Isa 25:9; 26:1). It seems that the translator's decision to use the phrase ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας had to do with the idea of the Lord as the "great God" who liberates Zion/Jerusalem from the oppressive control of the "ungodly."

When one looks at the translator's world, more can be said about the phrase ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας. Although it has been argued that the translator used ὁ μέγας to avoid anthropomorphism (cf. part 1 above), another explanation may be in order. In its present context, the expression "the

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[8] For a helpful discussion of the "hope" theme in Isa 24-26, see van Menxel, *Ελπίς*, 250-257.

great God" contrasts with "those who dwell in loft places" (Isa 26:5). A similar use of the expression in found in Dan 2:45; 9:4, where it contrasts with "powerful rulers."[9] There may be an aspect of polemics in the translator's decision to ascribe to the Lord the title of ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας against the "those who dwell in loft places."[10] For the translator, the Lord is the only "great, eternal God" who overthrows foreign powers (cf. 26:5).

The phrase ὃς ταπεινώσας requires more comments. The relative pronoun ὃς (MT: כי) links 26:5 with 26:4, making it clear that 26:5 continues the direct speech that started in 26:3c-4a. The relative ὃς further characterizes God as the one who "has humbled and brought low the inhabitants in lofty places." Isa 26:5 raises three important questions: first, the translator's choice of the root ἐνοικέω (cf. discussion in part 1 above); second, the identity of the ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν ὑψηλοῖς; and third, how to account for the use of past tense verbs in 26:5a-b considering the appearance of future verbs in 26:5c-d. The following will address those issues.

Why did the translator employ √ἐνοικέω instead of √κατοικέω? The answer must be found in the translator's interpretive tendency. The translator reserves √κατοικέω when a particular passage refers to God as the one who "dwells in lofty places" (cf. Isa 33:5; 57:15 respectively: ἅγιος ὁ θεὸς ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν ὑψηλοῖς/נשׂגב יהוה כי שׁכן מרום; κύριος ὁ ὕψιστος ὁ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν τὸν αἰῶνα/רם ונשׂא שׁכן עד) or in "Zion" (cf. Isa 8:18). In some places, κατοικέω is also reserved for illegitimate occupiers/settlers (cf. discussion to Isa 24:5 above). Contrarily, when a passage has human beings as the ones "dwelling in lofty places," the

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[9] cf. also the expressions האל הגדל/ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας in Deut 10:17; Jer 39:18, 19; Dan 9:4 and אלה רב/ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας in cf. Dan 2:45. See also LXX Dan 4:37. It is also interesting to note that Antiochus IV assumed the title Θεὸς Ἐπιφανὴς "god manifest."

[10] Interesting also is to note that in the Greek world, some gods were ascribed the title of ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας. See ὡς ἔφυς μέγας θεός, Διόνυσε in Euripides's *Fragmenta* (A. Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta* [Leipzig: Teubner, 1889. Repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1964], frag. 177, line 1) and οἷς θεὸς ὁ μέγας Ὀλύμπιος in Sophocles's *Electra* (H. Lloyd-Jones and N.G. Wilson, *Sophoclis fabulae* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990. Repr. 1992], line 209).

translator uses √ἐνοικέω, cf. Isa 26:5. Thus, the translator's choice of √ἐνοικέω in Isa 26:5 is another example of a careful, well-considered translation of the phrase ישבי מרום.

The phrase τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν ὑψηλοῖς parallels here the "fortified cities" (Isa 26:5). As such, it denotes those who "dwell" in strong places. It carries a connotation of "arrogance, power" that is similar to ὑψηλοὶ τῆς γῆς "the high ones of the earth" in Isa 24:4. The phrase πόλεις ὀχυράς deserves further discussion. As noted in the "comparison between MT and LXX," the LXX diverges from MT in two aspects. Whereas MT has the singular "a lofty city" (קריה נשׂגבה), the plural "fortified cities" appears in the LXX. It was also noted that the use of ὀχυρός for שׂגב is atypical in LXX Isa. For a discussion of the translator's choice of ὀχυρός, cf. discussion above to Isa 26:1. In the Greek, the contrast between the "city" of 26:1 with the "cities" of 26:5 is much clearer than MT's use of עיר עז and קריה נשׂגבה in the same verses. For the translator, Isa 26:1-6 meant that God was going to establish a "fortified city," while he brought down "fortified cities." Thus, his decision to use the lexemes πόλις/ὀχυρός was thus the result of a careful consideration of the meaning of H Isa 26:1-5 on its higher level (cf. discussion to Isa 26:1 above).

Furthermore, the translator decided to use the plural πόλεις ὀχυράς due to his understanding that Isa 26:5 share a similar theme with Isa 25:2. Contrarily, the link between Isa 25:2; 26:1 is less clear in MT, which reads קריה נשׂגבה/קריה בצורה respectively. For the translator, Isa 25:2; 26:1 possess the same theme of the destruction of "fortified cities."

Additionally, the link between Isa 26:5; 25:2 relates the πόλεις ὀχυράς of Isa 26:5 with the "city of the ungodly" (τῶν ἀσεβῶν πόλις) of 25:2. As it was argued under comments to Isa 25:2 above, the "city of the ungodly" should be identified with the city of Babylon. In the same way, the plural "fortified cities" in 26:5, as also in 25:2, should be seen as references to important "cities" of the Babylonian empire. The question as to whether Babylon was used as a cipher for the Seleucids in the translator's day cannot be addressed here. It suffices to say that the translator's careful choice of certain lexemes to form a coherent text highly suggests that his translation work was preceded by a careful interpretation of the H on a higher level.

SUMMARY

In sum, LXX Isa 26:1-6 represents a coherent composition that goes over two inter-related but contrasting ideas. On the one hand, God will establish a "fortified city" that will function as source of deliverance for a "righteous people." On the other hand, God will also destroy "fortified cities," which will signal to the destruction of the "ungodly's" kingdom. In the light of the discussion to Isa 25:2 (cf. comments above), this kingdom should be identified with Babylon. The translator produced this coherence by choosing the same lexemes in 26:1; 5; 25:2: πόλις/ὀχυρός. In contrast, the coherence of MT is less clear because of the use of varied lexemes.

Moreover, Isa 26:1-6 introduces at least two different groups. On the one hand, there is the "they" in Isa 26:1, which must be identified with the "we" group. After their liberation from oppression in Zion, they welcome a "people that keep righteousness" into the "fortified city." On the other hand, the "righteous people" must be taken as the "godly" in Isa 26:7. Their attitude is in conformity with the "law," in contrast with the "ungodly," who "break the law" (Isa 24:16). The "righteous people" is related with the "remnant." Both have the 'man of godliness/righteousness/truth' as their leader (Isa 11:1-5). While there is "salvation" for the "we" group and the "righteous people," there is judgment for the "fortified cities." Such a coherent composition can only be the result of a particular interpretation that must have been well constructed before the translation started.

CHAPTER 8 - CONCLUSIONS

The present work has analyzed LXX Isa 24:1-26:6 in two distinct but interrelated steps. Part 1 has compared the text under discussion with MT and has discussed several divergent readings found in the LXX. More narrowly, part 1 raised questions concerning the translator's lexical choices in several verses. Part 2, on the other hand, took LXX Isa 24:1-26:6 as a text in its own right. It is argued that the Greek version can be seen as a coherent text, a coherence that becomes clear through the translator's lexical choices, among other aspects (cf. e.g., the translator's use of conjunctions like in Isa 24:14). It has further argued that both "literal" and "free" renderings come together to form a coherent ideological text that in its final form differs greatly from MT. What follows is a summary of the main content(s) of LXX Isa 24:1-26:6.

Contrary to MT, the LXX betrays a heightened concern with the theme of "cities." In fact, this theme lends coherence to Isa 24:1-26:6. Whereas MT Isa 24:10, 12 refer to one specific city (cf. "the city of nothingness" and "in the city" respectively), LXX mentions "cities." Besides, it translates two different lexemes in MT (cf. עיר/קריה) with the same Greek word: πόλις. A similar approach is found in the LXX's handling of Isa 25:2. Whereas MT refers to "city," "town," and "citadel" (cf. עיר, קריה, and ארמון), the Greek has "cities," "fortified cities," and "the city of the ungodly" (cf. πόλεις, πόλεις ὀχυράς, and τῶν ἀσεβῶν πόλις). Moreover, while MT Isa 25:3 mentions "the city of violent nations," "the cities of wronged men" is found in the LXX. Interestingly, LXX Isa 25:4 brings up "every humble city" even though "city(ies)" is not mentioned in MT Isa 25:4. In its own context, the "humble cities" of Isa 25:4 parallel the "cities of wronged men" in Isa 25:3. Moving on further, while both MT and LXX Isa 26:1 speak of a "fortified city," in Isa 26:5 one finds another divergence. Whereas MT has "high city" (קריה נשׂגבה) the LXX cites "fortified cities" (πόλεις ὀχυράς). The translator's choice of πόλεις ὀχυράς was clearly motivated by his will to create a contrast between the "fortified city" of 26:1 and the "fortified cities" of 26:5. Furthermore, "fortified cities" appears also in Isa 25:2. Ultimately, the LXX communicates that message that, whereas God brings down "cities," "fortified cities," and the "city of the ungodly" (Isa 24:10, 12; 25:2; 26:5), he liberates the "cities of wronged men" and become a help

"to every humble city" (Isa 25:3-4), at the same as he established a "fortified city" (Isa 26:1). The theme of "cities," therefore, brings Isa 24:1-26:6 together.

Another thematic difference between the LXX and MT concerns at least four distinct groups found in the Greek version. In LXX Isa 24 (cf. chapter 5 above), the Lord's destruction of the οἰκουμένη "world" (Isa 24:1) means both judgment and salvation. It is judgment for the group of the "ungodly" (Isa 24:8 [MT: "jubilant"]). This group is associated with "breaking/rejecting the law" (Isa 24:5, 16) and "changing the ordinances" (Isa 24:5) and are the main reason for the "earth's" "lawless" behavior (Isa 24:5, 20). Other terms for this group are "the high ones of the earth" (Isa 24:4 [=MT]), the "nations" (Isa 24:13 [=MT]), the "rejecters of the law" (Isa 24:16 [MT: -]), and the "kings of the earth" (Isa 24:21 [=MT]). They are to be seen as a group that holds control over the οἰκουμένη (24:1) and as powerful and rich (Isa 24:8). Because of their "lawlessness," they are to receive judgment (Isa 24:13, 20-23). Their judgment means salvation for two distinct groups. First, there is the group referred to as "poor" (Isa 24:6 [=MT]), a group that figures prominently in LXX Isa 25 (cf. below). And, second, there is the group called the "remnant" (Isa 24:6, 14 [MT: -]). In view of the "ungodly's" destruction, those who remain after God's destruction of the "world" rejoice in God's salvation (Isa 24:14-15). The judgment of the "ungodly" is further seen as "hope," in the sense of salvation, for a "godly man" (Isa 24:16). This godly man is to be identified with the 'man of godliness' (Isa 11:2).

The theme of judgment for the "ungodly" and of salvation for the "poor" continues in LXX Isa 25 (cf. chapter 6 above). The "ungodly" are portrayed there as the oppressors, being referred to with terms such as "the evil/ungodly men" (cf. Isa 25:4-5 [MT: "heavy rain," "aliens"]) and the "nations" (Isa 25:6-7). They are associated with a powerful city, the "city of the ungodly" (Isa 25:2 [MT: "the citadel of aliens"]). This city and other "fortified cities" are described as collapsing, picking up the theme of the "wall's" collapse introduced in Isa 24:23 (MT: "sun"). The destruction of the "city of the ungodly" (Isa 25:2) means "salvation" for the oppressed. This group is further denoted as "the poor people" (Isa 25:3 [MT: "the strong people"], "the wronged men" (Isa 25:3-4 ["violent people"/"violent"]), "those who are despondent on account of poverty"

(Isa 25:4 [MT: "the poor"]), "faint-hearted men" (Isa 25:5 [MT: "like the rain against the wall"]) and the "people" (Isa 25:8 [MT: "his people"]). LXX Isa's emphasis on the "poor people" picks up the theme of the "poor" introduced in Isa 24:6. The oppressed is associated with "cities" and "every humble city" (Isa 25:3, 4 [MT: "refuge"]). Their liberation functions as a sign for the salvation of another group, namely, the "we" (Isa 25:5 [MT: unclear]). This group is under oppression in "Zion" (cf. Isa 25:5 [MT: "waterless land"]) resonating with the theme of Zion in Isa 24:23 (LXX=MT). They rejoice in "our salvation" (Isa 25:9 [MT: "his salvation"]) and put their hope in God (Isa 25:9 [=MT]). The theme of "hope" appeared already in Isa 24:16 and it will figure again in Isa 26:4. The fall of the "natural wall" of Moabitis (cf. Isa 25:10-12) also signals to a "rest" that God will give to the "we" group.

The theme of judgment/salvation continues in LXX Isa 26:1-6 (cf. chapter 7 above). The collapse of "fortified cities" (Isa 26:5 [MT: "high city"]; cp with Isa 24:10, 12; 25:2) contrasts with the "fortified city" (Isa 26:1 [MT: "fortified city"]) that functions as "our salvation" (Isa 26:1; different syntactical reading from MT). The "our" in "our salvation" indicates that Isa 26:1 speaks of the liberated "we" group in Zion. They welcome a "people that keeps righteousness, truth, and peace" (Isa 26:2-3) into the "fortified city." The "people" of Isa 26:2-3 should be identified with the "godly" (Isa 26:7), whose leader is the 'man of godliness' (Isa 11:2; 24:16). Like the "we" group, they are also characterized as "hoping" in the Lord (Isa 26:4 [MT: "trust"]). Because they are a "godly people," they are further related with the "remnant" of Isa 24:14, a group that is also associated with the "godly one" (Isa 24:16). In contradistinction to MT, LXX Isa 24:1-26:6 proclaim judgment for the "ungodly" and salvation for the "poor," the "godly ones," and the "we" group under oppression in Zion.

Finally, the relationship between the themes of "city(ies)" and the "ungodly/godly" needs to be addressed. The clearest example of the relation between "city" and "ungodly" is Isa 25:2: "the city of the ungodly." However, the "cities" of Isa 24:10, 12 are also to be connected with the "ungodly" of Isa 24:8. Both are portrayed as receiving judgment. While the "ungodly's" "arrogance and wealth" cease, so are their "cities" destroyed. The "cities" of Isa 25:2 may also be related to the "city of the ungodly." It is possible that they are minor "cities" that

together composed the "ungodly's" empire, represented by its main city, "the city of the ungodly." If so, the "fortified cities" of Isa 26:5 are to be related with the "ungodly" of Isa 25:2 becase the latter also mentions "fortified cities." As such, LXX Isa 24:1-26:6 link the fall of "city(ies)" (Isa 24:10, 12; 25:2; 26:5) with the judgment of the "ungodly" (Isa 24:8; 25:2). In contrast, the "fortified city" of Isa 26:1 is connected with a "godly people" (cf. Isa 26:2-3). Finally, the "cities of wronged men" and "every humble city" of Isa 25:3-4 is related to a group of people that will be liberated from the oppression of the "ungodly."

The coherence of LXX Isa 24:1-26:6 points to a "higher level" interpretation of the Hebrew. This "higher level" reading can be characterized as a very particular way of interpreting Isa 24:1-26:6 as the comments above show. Such a reading could only have been the result of a distinctive reading of Isa that preceded the process of translation. It does not mean that the translator already knew which word he was going to use for which Hebrew term. Rather, it means that the translator had particular themes in mind that came across his lexical choices. If the translator already had an interpretation in mind before he started translating Isa, it stands to reason to say a few words on the most fitting methodology for a study of LXX Isa.

A WORD ON METHODOLOGY

The present research has revealed that LXX Isa 24:1-26:6 should be seen as a coherent text. The final shape of the Greek translation of those verses points to a "higher level" interpretation behind the process of translating Hebrew Isa 24:1-26:6. The realization of this issue has an important implication for a methodological approach to LXX Isa. Part 1 of the present work has shown that many a scholar have explained several divergences between MT and LXX as due to a different *Vorlage*, mistakes, errors in the transmission of the LXX, etc. Most approaches to LXX Isa stop on the level of comparing MT and LXX on a word for word level, hardly paying attention to the LXX as a text in its own right. Seen from the word for word level, many divergences look like mistakes or due to a different source-text. However, the present work advocates that a more fitting approach to LXX Isa is to take it as a text in its own right before one can offer explanations for differences in the LXX.

To cite here only a few cases discussed in the introduction, Scholz argued that the readings "they were ashamed" (Isa 24:9; MT: "in song") and "poor people" (Isa 25:3; MT: "strong people") point to a different *Vorlage* from MT (cf. discussion in the introduction). Besides lacking textual support, such a claim was pronounced without further inquiring whether those readings make sense in their respective literary contexts. The present work has demonstrated that both cohere with other aspects of Isa 24:1-26:6. The reading in Isa 24:9 expresses the shame of the "ungodly" (24:8) after their arrogance and wealth passed way. Likewise, "poor people" (Isa 25:3) is linked to the theme of the oppressed in Isa 24:6; 25:3-5a. As such, the divergent readings in Isa 24:9; 25:3 find their cause in a particular way of interpreting the Hebrew (cf. comments to Isa 24:9; 25:3 above) rather than pointing to a different source-text from MT.

Likewise, Ottley claimed that the reading "the wall will fall" in Isa 24:23 (MT: "the sun will be ashamed) was a mistake (see discussion under introduction above). However, an analysis of the Greek text as a product has revealed that the reading in the LXX coheres well with the theme of the fall of "cities/strong cities/the city of the ungodly" (cf. Isa 24:10, 12; 25:2; 26:5). Rather than being a mistake, it originated with an unique way of reading the Hebrew.

The study of LXX Isa 24:1-26:6 as a product has indicated that several divergences are the result of the translator's unique interpretation of his *Vorlage*. This implies that explanations for the divergences in the Greek must be carried out only after the Greek as a text in its own right has been carefully analyzed. The question must be whether the Greek has any coherence in terms of its contents. If it does, then it is unlikely that its variant reading was fortuitous.

<div align="center">FURTHER RESEARCH</div>

LXX Isa's translation process

The present dissertation has occasionally explained how the translator arrived at a particular reading. A systematic treatment, however, is still needed. Further research should focus on the question as to how the analysis of LXX Isa 24:1-26:6 in its own right shed light into

the process of the translation. Scholars have offered at least three main explanations for the LXX's departure from the H: a different *Vorlage* (cf. Scholz and Troxel, although the latter to a much lesser degree), mechanical error in the process of the translation (Ottley), the translator's ideology (Seeligmann, das Neves, Koenig, and van der Kooij), and, recently, stylistics (van der Vorm-Croughs). This dissertation has argued that an important question is whether the presence or lack of coherence can help in clarifying how the translator arrived at a particular reading. Against the "too-often" claims that the translator made a mistake, this dissertation has argued at certain points that an analysis of the LXX Isa 24:1-26:6's final product point rather to a particular interpretation of the Hebrew. A more systematic treatment is left for future research.

LXX Isa's Hermeneutics and Historical Background

Recent studies (cf. e.g., Troxel; see introductory chapter) on the LXX of Isa have started to question the thesis that the translator actualized some prophecies in Hebrew Isa in the light of his own historical circumstances. A weakness of those studies lies in their atomistic approach to LXX Isa, focusing on words or phrases without paying careful consideration to the translation's final product. It is left for future research to discuss whether LXX Isa reflects a "fulfillment-interpretation" hermeneutics. This dissertation is a plea that such a discussion be carried out only after a passage in LXX Isa - and a passage in the light of others in the same book - has been carefully studied to see if it has any coherence of its own. If it does, it stands to reason to ask whether that particular coherent message has a link with the translator's historical background.[1]

In relation to Isa 24:1-26:6, a few points need to be researched further. The first one is whether οἰκουμένη "denotes the historical background of the smaller and larger Hellenistic states" as Seeligmann argued.[2] Second, in connection with οἰκουμένη, there needs to be future studies to assess whether the "cities" (Isa 24:10, 12; 25:2, 4; 26:1, 5) also

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[1] cf. Boyd-Taylor, review of A. Aejmelaeus, 126: "The translator and his text ought to be situated (to the extent possible) in a specific social and cultural environment."

[2] cf. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version*, 81.

have a link with the translator's time. For instance, could the "city of the ungodly" (Babylon) (Isa 25:2) and the collapsing "cities" (Isa 24:10, 12; 25:3) be seen as a cipher for the Seleucid empire? More research on their identity throughout the book is needed. Third, the translation's reference to the region of Moabitis' fall is intriguing. It would be important to see whether that reference has any grounds in the translator's time. And, fourth, the identity of the different "groups" (cf. summary above) needs to be explored further in other Isaianic passages. Who are the "we" group under oppression in Zion (Isa 25:5)? Who is the "godly people" allowed to enter Jerusalem (Isa 26:2-3)? These questions, and others, beg for future research on the historical background of the translation.

The Identity of the Translator

It has been argued that the translator of Isa was a competent scribe, who was well acquainted with the book of Isa (cf. review of van der Kooij in the introductory chapter above). The present dissertation has by and large offered further support for that view. It has demonstrated that the translator had an encompassing knowledge of Hebrew Isa 24:1-26:6 but also a particular interpretation in mind before he translated it either as a whole or in parts. As such, more research is needed on other chapters of Isa to either confirm or disprove viewing the translator as a scribe.

Im sum, in general, the translator's interpretation tends to be at odds with modern interpretations of MT. Consequently, some accuse the translator of being at fault. However, it is important to realize that the translator had a very particular mode of reading his source-text. As one scholar well put it:

> One should, however, keep in mind that with all types of exegesis the translators had one prevailing intention, namely, to transmit the message of the Bible to their readers, and even if, according to our understanding, the translators seem to be a long way from the simple meaning of the Bible, they were, nevertheless, reflecting what the translators considered to be the basic message of the Bible.[3]

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[3] cf. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 125.

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<center>**SAMENVATTING**</center>

De Septuaginta van Jesaja (LXX Jesaja) wordt evenals LXX Job en LXX Spreuken gekenmerkt door grote en somtijds opmerkelijke verschillen met de Hebreeuwse (Masoretische) tekst van het desbetreffende boek. Deze studie wil een methodische bijdrage leveren tot de analyse van deze verschillen. Voortbouwend op het werk van Ziegler en anderen beoogt het proefschrift aan te tonen dat de vertaler kennelijk een specifieke interpretatie van een gedeelte als Jes 24:1 – 26:6 in zijn hoofd had alvorens hij zijn vertaling aan papier (papyrus) toevertrouwde. Vandaar de titel: "LXX Isaiah 24:1 – 26:6 as *Interpretation and Translation*."

Hoofdstuk 1 biedt een uitvoerige beschrijving van de geschiedenis van het onderzoek dat sinds het einde van de 19[de] eeuw aan LXX Jesaja gewijd werd. Uit dit overzicht wordt duidelijk dat het onderzoek zich heeft ontwikkeld van een sterke focus op de Vorlage, de Hebreeuwse tekst gebruikt door de vertaler, naar aandacht voor de stijl van het vertalen, en vervolgens naar de inhoud (exegese, theologie, ideologie) van de vertaling. Dit alles roept de vraag op welke benadering van LXX Jesaja de voorkeur verdient. In overeenstemming met Toury en anderen wordt betoogd dat de vertaling als 'product' meer aandacht verdient dat vaak het geval is. Daarbij zullen twee specifieke vragen in deze studie centraal staan: (1) Zijn bij het zoeken naar een 'higher level' interpretatie (exegese, theologie) uitsluitend de zogeheten 'vrije' vertalingen belangrijk of gaat het om een combinatie van vrije en letterlijke vertalingen? (b) Vormen vrije en letterlijk vertaalde passages een coherent geheel?

Als tekst is gekozen voor LXX Jes 24:1-26:6. Dit gedeelte wordt in sterke mate gemarkeerd door het thema van 'stad' / 'steden'. De opzet van de studie is tweeledig: Deel 1 biedt gaat in op de relatie tussen de Griekse en Hebreeuwse tekst en doet dit door middel van een gedetailleerde vergelijking tussen beide. Deel 2 bevat een analyse van de Griekse tekst als zodanig, met een bijzondere aandacht voor specifieke lexicale keuzes.

Deel 1 omvat de hoofdstukken 2 (Jes 24), 3 (Jes 25) en 4 (Jes 26:1-6). Doel van dit deel is om de verschillen tussen LXX en MT
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gedetailleerd te bespreken en de lexicale keuzes van de vertaler te noteren. Opvallende keuzes en weergaven zijn onder andere, de term οικουμενη voor 'aarde', 'wet' voor 'wetten' (24:8), 'de arrogantie en rijkdom van de goddelozen' voor 'het rumour van de uitgelatenen' (24:10), 'elke stad' of 'steden' voor 'stad' in het enkelvoud (24:10; 25:2), 'arm volk' voor 'sterke natie' (25:5).

Deel 2 omvat de hoofdstukken 5 (Jes 24), 6 (Jes 25) en 7 (Jes 26:1-6). Anders dan in deel 1 worden hier de betreffende gedeelten uit LXX Jesaja als 'product', als tekst op zich, onderzocht. Een nadere analyse van de woordkeus in LXX laat zien dat deze gedeelten, in onderdelen als ook als geheel, een coherente tekst vormen. Vrije weergaven en letterlijke vertalingen gaan hand in hand zoals met name blijkt uit de woordkeus.

In LXX Isa 24 vallen de noties van onheil voor de goddelozen, en heil voor de vromen in het oog. De goddelozen blijken diegenen te zijn die als de groten der aarde, de koningen der aarde, als ook als de rijken worden aangeduid. Deze groep verwerpt de 'wet' en dit leidt tot 'goddeloosheid' op aarde. De 'overgeblevenen' op aarde (in 24:16 zonder equivalent in MT; zie ook 24:6) vormen een andere groep; zij worden positief getekend. Hun leider is iemand die 'de vrome' wordt genoemd (24:16).

Een nauwgezette lezing van LXX Jes 25 leidt (eveneens) tot de conclusie dat deze tekst, die in de verzen 2-8 in hoge mate van MT afwijkt, een eigen samenhang vertoont. Ook hier gaan 'vrije' en 'letterlijke' weergaven van termen hand in hand zoals blijkt uit specifieke lexicale keuzes. Drie verschillende groepen kunnen onderscheiden worden in deze tekst: (a) de onderdrukkers, samen met uitdrukkingen als 'de stad van de goddelozen', de 'sterke steden'; hun ondergang is bezig zich te voltrekken, in overeenstemming met God's plan (25:1); (b) de onderdrukten, met termen als het 'arme volk', 'elke nederige stad'; (c) de 'wij' in de verzen 5, 9-10; ook zij worden onderdrukt, maar anders dan de tweede groep gaat het hier om een groep in Zion. De komende bevrijding van de tweede groep wijst vooruit naar de redding van de derde groep, te weten van hun onderdrukkers in Zion.

Het gedeelte van LXX Jes 26:1-6 wordt gekenmerkt door twee contrasterende ideeën: enerzijds, God zal een sterke stad vestigen die zal fungeren als bron van bevrijding voor een 'rechtvaardig volk', en anderzijds, God zal 'versterkte steden' vernietigen. In het licht van 25:2 (met 'de stad van de goddelozen' als verwijzend naar Babylon) gaat het hierbij om het rijk van Babylon. Buiten de groep van de onderdrukkers kunnen twee groepen worden onderscheiden: de 'zij' in 26:1, die met de wij-groep in Zion (Jes 25) gelijkgesteld kunnen worden, en 'het volk dat gerechtigheid betracht' van wie gezegd wordt dat zij de 'sterke stad' zullen binnengaan.

Hoofdstuk 8 biedt een samenvattende bespreking van belangrijke thema's in LXX Jes 24:1-26:6. Anders dan in MT verraadt LXX een sterke interesse in het thema '(versterkte) steden' (meervoud; MT enkelvoud). Bedoeld zijn steden van onderdrukkers; een van de steden wordt als 'de stad van de goddelozen' aangemerkt. Daartegenover is er sprake, in Jes 25, van 'steden van onderdrukte mensen' (voor 'steden van gewelddadige naties' in MT) en van 'nederige steden' (niet in MT), verwijzend naar degenen die onderdrukt worden. Verder is daar 'de sterke stad' van Jes 26.

Een ander belangrijk thema betreft de onderscheiden groepen, tenminste vier in aantal, die in LXX Jes 24-26 onderscheiden kunnen worden: (a) de goddelozen, de machtigen, rijken, op aarde, zij die de wet verwerpen of buiten werking stellen. Onheil voor hen betekent heil voor: (b) de groep aangeduid als 'arm'; (c) de 'rest'. Onheil van de 'goddelozen' houdt ook hoop op redding in voor (d) 'de vrome' (enkelvoud), een gestalte die met de 'vrome' uit Jes 11:2 gelijkgesteld kan worden.

Er is tevens sprake van een relatie tussen het thema 'steden' en 'goddelozen'. Belangrijk is in dit verband Jes 25:2, maar ook binnen Jes 24:8-12 is er een duidelijk verbinding tussen beide onderwerpen aanwijsbaar: de arrogantie en rijkdom van de goddelozen zullen ophouden, want hun steden zullen worden verwoest.

Een zorgvuldige lezing van LXX Jes 24:1 – 26:6 leidt tot de conclusie dat de samenhang binnen dit gedeelte naar een specifieke interpretatie van deze tekst wijst. Kennelijk had de vertaler voor hij zijn

tekst vertaalde globaal gezien een bepaalde duiding van de Jesaja-tekst in gedachten. Benaderingen van LXX Jesaja beperken zich vaak tot een vergelijking tussen LXX en MT op woord niveau en besteden nauwelijks aandacht aan de Griekse tekst als zodanig. Deze studie pleit voor een benadering die aan beide aspecten recht doet. Een analyse van LXX Jesaja als 'product' is belangrijk voor een goed verstaan van verschillen tussen LXX en MT. Dit houdt in dat een verklaring voor de verschillen eerst ten volle kan worden behandeld na een zorgvuldige lezing van de Griekse tekst als product. Hoewel in dit proefschrift zo nu en dan een verklaring voor een 'afwijking' in LXX wordt geboden, is een nadere analyse van de verschillen binnen LXX Jes 24:1 – 26:6 een zaak van verder onderzoek. Dit geldt ook voor vragen met betrekking tot de historische context van de vertaling. De vraag of the Griekse tekst refereert aan groepen en personen in de tijd van zijn vertaler (bijv., Verwijzen 'de stad van de goddelozen' [Babylon] en 'de steden' naar de Seleucidische macht?), is eveneens buiten beschouwing gelaten omdat een antwoord op deze vraag niet gegeven kan worden zonder een studie van andere passages in LXX Jesaja.

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