





**THE SEPTUAGINT  
VERSION  
OF CHAPTERS I-XXXIX  
OF THE BOOK  
OF EZEKIEL**

**P.D.M. Turner**



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**THE SEPTUAGINT VERSION OF CHAPTERS I-XXXIX  
OF THE BOOK OF EZEKIEL**

**THE LANGUAGE, THE TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE  
AND THE BEARING ON THE HEBREW TEXT**

**being a dissertation submitted for the degree  
of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of  
Oxford**

by © **P.D.M. Turner**

**December 1995.**

“... καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ νόμος καὶ αἱ προφητεῖαι καὶ τὰ  
λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων οὐ μικρὰν ἔχει τὴν διαφορὰν ἐν  
ἑαυτοῖς λεγόμενα.” [Prologue to *Ecclesiasticus*  
24-26]





## ABSTRACT

The **INTRODUCTION**, which makes extensive reference to the Classified Bibliography and to the work of older scholars, supplies the *rationale* for the new method employed in the body of the dissertation. The study was originally intended to expose the manner and method of the Old Greek version of chapters i-xxxix of the Book of *Ezekiel*, with a view to a cautious assessment of its value for Old Testament philology and textual criticism. It was soon clear, however, that the enterprise could not go forward without considerable work upon the Greek language, the results of which turned out to be more relevant, as well as bulkier, than had been expected. The argument is made that the matters of unity, date and provenance and Hebraism must be studied as Greek Language questions methodologically distinct from and foundational to questions of translation technique. It is demonstrated that the nature of the text, the state of studies, and the need for a systematic approach to the application of the Old Greek to Hebrew text and interpretation combined to produce a pyramidal structure, in which study of the Greek of the version in Part I is the foundation upon which study of rendition method in Part II is based, and study of the bearing upon the Hebrew text in Part III rests on both together. It is also shown that at each stage there were few if any precedents for such an approach to an Old Greek text.

### **PART I: THE LANGUAGE.**

The body of the argument begins with a preamble explaining the peculiar exigencies of language study in the case of translation Greek. It has some remarks about the limitations which these impose on the use of normal method. The Greek language is then described as follows:-

- (1) **Grammar**, a section which notes (a) morphological phenomena deviating from classical forms and (b) the syntax of the phrase, the clause and the larger unit, including matters of order and the relative frequency of word-classes.

- (2) **Vocabulary and Word-Formation**, a section which analyses the vocabulary lists in Appendix B (including transcriptions, hellenized semitisms and probable coinages) and has some discussion of word-formation. The reference is chiefly to dating. The section concludes with a table of the main synonyms.
- (3) **Idiom, Usage and Semantics**, a section which gives an account of the more remarkable cases. It is pointed out that abnormal idiom is exceptional, and usually derived from the Greek Pentateuch. Late and abnormal idioms not thus derived are listed.

It is concluded (1) that the text is not homogeneous, but that the disunity cannot be said to show a pattern, (2) that the text is clearly post-Classical, and was written between c. 150 and c. 50 B.C., possibly in Egypt, (3) that the idiosyncrasies of the text are a result of the influence, direct or indirect, of biblical Hebrew, and are more a matter of the overuse of good Greek forms, and of an un-Greek balance between word-classes, than of particular oddities of grammar and idiom.

## **PART II: THE TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE.**

It is first argued that a comparatively mechanical approach is necessary not only for the question of unity but also to establish sound method in the use of the version for criticism of the Hebrew text. It is noted that, because the Greek vocabulary is much more extensive than that of the original, diversity of rendering is bound to be the rule. The translation technique is then exposed in detail under the following headings:-

- (1) Standardising Renderings (2) Multiple Renderings
- (3) Formulaic Literalism (4) Formulaic Freedom
- (5) Independent Literalism (6) Etymologizing
- (7) Correct Philology (8) Contextual Guesses
- (9) Weak Philology (10) The Outright Omission of Rare Items (11) Contextual Errors (12) Drastic Confusion of Roots (13) Careless Omissions (14) Consequential Errors (15) Portmanteau Renderings (16) Editing of Longer Contexts (17) Interpretative Additions (18) Impressionistic Renderings (19) Paraphrastic Expansions (20) Renderings Based on Sound (21) Tendentious Mistranslation (22) Gratuitous Concessions to Greek Style.

Special attention is paid to marks of difference between parts of the version, and of relationship with other books of the

Greek Bible. The rôle of tradition and of ignorance is emphasized and documented.

It is concluded (1) that the version has a certain unity which results from the pervasive influence of the Greek Pentateuch and certain other books, but that there is also a sense in which it is not a unity, for it falls into four sections differently related to later books of the Greek Bible [i-xv with xxv-xxx.19, xvii-xx, xvi with xxi-xxiv, and xxx.20-xxxix], the original Greek Ezekiel having been truncated, (2) that the four sections can be dated only relatively within the limits set by the linguistic evidence, though the first was certainly made in Egypt, (3) that no section is especially careful or informed, but the third and fourth are less reliable in detail than the rest, and witness to the decline of the tradition.

#### **PART III: THE BEARING ON THE HEBREW TEXT.**

It is stated that the version has already been shown to be valueless in the majority of difficult places in our Hebrew text, for it is apparently based on a text which laboured under the same corruptions and contained many words to which the translators had lost the key. An answer is then sought to the question of whether there are places where the version is certainly of value. Outstanding passages are discussed under the following headings:-

- (1) **Corruptions in the Greek Text.**
- (2) **Passages where the Version may show a Different Text.**
- (3) **Passages where the Version may preserve Sound Tradition.**
- (4) **Passages where the Version may show Knowledge of Abbreviations.**

Numerous parallels are drawn with the methods described in PART II, and reference is made to characteristics of the Greek language established in PART I.

It is concluded that in view of the nature of the translation it is of very doubtful value for the solution of difficulties, and has at best a limited corroborative function.

The **GENERAL CONCLUSIONS** draw together and restate the cumu-

ative results of the argument in Parts I, II and III. These are developed into the following additional points:-

The method as a whole is without precedent in the field; if the approach had been different certain seminal conclusions would never have emerged. Study of the language as though it were any other Greek text has made it possible to explode old theories of multiple authorship without denying the facts which had suggested them, to date the work and to identify what is 'hebraic' about it. It has made possible the formulation of the concept of the "unidiom", and brought to light pivotal examples of the latter. On this foundation, study of the manner and method of the translator(s) has sharply illuminated old theories about unity. The "unidiom" which is literal in one context but not in another has led to new knowledge about relative dating and the inner history of the Septuagintal corpus. So has careful investigation of the source of idiosyncratic philology originating in or borrowed by the text. It is clear on both stylistic and philological grounds that i-xxxix was rendered in four distinct stages. This is the reason why the translation falls into four sections each differently related by dependence and influence to other Old Greek books. At least two sections can be shown from internal evidence to be connected with Egypt. The translation methods of the four sections are not of the same quality or reliability. It is also evident that the mind(s) of the translator(s) were saturated in the language and versional technique of the Greek Pentateuch to an extent consistent with the probability that both original and translation were, if not always perfectly understood, known by heart.

Chapters i-xxxix are paradoxically both a linguistic unity which no trained Hellenist would think of impugning, and a renditional pastiche. The earliest Alexandrian *Ezekiel* (which almost certainly had xl-xlvi as its core) included by way of introduction only those parts of i-xxxix which survived a careful process of bowdlerization. Beginning with xvi, large amounts of text of a highly scatological nature, and full of negative references to Egypt and to her rôle in the apostasy of Israel and Judah, were deliberately censored out.

The obvious explanation of this editorial activity is a desire to avoid material which was thought to be impolitic in the circumstances of the community concerned. A subsidiary motive may have been to put distance between the community and the wrath of God. That the book was shortened in this way suggests a diminished degree of reverence towards the sacred text, and possibly a heightened degree of carelessness in the handling of the original, compared with the attitude to the Greek *Torah*.

The deductions in Part I and Part II concerning the date both relative and absolute and the provenance of the version of i-xxxix establish two facts. In the first place, wherever and however the work was actually done, the demand for it and the point of view that informed it continued to be Egyptian. Secondly, there were at least two and possibly three bouts of activity in the rendering of the Hebrew Bible into Greek. If there were only two, *Ezekiel* xl-xlviiii, with i-xv and xxv-xxx.<sup>19</sup> as extended introduction, occupied something of a middle position in the second bout. If on the other hand there were three such bouts of activity, the original Alexandrian *Ezekiel* was even more signally a pioneering work, marking the earliest engagement on the part of would-be translators with the Latter Prophets and virtually all the Writings. It is interesting that the linguistic evidence so rigorously assessed in Part I leads to a date reasonably consistent with the completion of the Greek Bible by the late Second Century B.C.

A tentative reconstruction of the inner history of the last stage, or last two stages, of translation work produces the following sequence. *Samuel*, *Kings*, *I Chronicles*, *Ruth* and *Canticles* were certainly available to those who made *Ezekiel* A. *Ezekiel* A influenced the versions of *Joshua*, *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah* and *Psalms*. *Ezekiel* xvii-xx, or B, borrowed from the *Psalms* version, but was still early enough to have influenced the Twelve. *Ezekiel* xvi with xxi-xxiv, or C, was influenced by the *Psalms* version, and, significantly, by the Twelve. It shows no sign that the *Isaiah* version existed, but was plainly known to the *Jeremiah* translator(s) at two points. It picks up a striking "unidiom" from *Proverbs* xxxi, providing a clear

back-allusion to what may have been a 'floating' or 'purple passage' piece of selective translation. *Ezekiel* xxx.20 to xxxix, or D, was made later than *Psalms*, the Twelve, *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah* and *Lamentations*. Thus we arrive at *Samuel*, *Kings*, *I Chronicles*, *Ruth* and *Canticles*; *Ezekiel* A; *Joshua* and *Psalms*; *Ezekiel* B; the Twelve, *Proverbs* (xxv to) xxxi; *Ezekiel* C; *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah* and *Lamentations*; *Ezekiel* D; possibly the bulk of *Proverbs*; and *Ecclesiasticus*. Much more in the way of firm dating, both relative and absolute, would emerge if the methods employed in the present study were applied with similar precision to other Old Greek books. Meanwhile Hebraists may note that those who rendered *Ezekiel* A to D were using texts constituted by a date which can be fixed with some exactitude.

It is clear from the conclusions to Part I on the question of hebraism and to Part II on the quality of the version that the text is written in the dialect of a particular community composed of 'People of the Book'. The Greek is profoundly un-Greek. Its characteristics are rooted in the fact that the language is 'translationese', and in the case of our text heavily derivative. The dependence is most obviously upon the Law in its Alexandrian Greek dress. Many locutions and renderings can be understood only as traditional formulae that were not always completely understood or appropriately applied by those who took them up. There are many indications that the *Vorlage* was imperfectly understood, some that Greek itself may have been imperfectly known, or perhaps considered in the context of Bible translation to be somewhat malleable. This does not imply the existence of a colloquial 'Jewish Greek'. Conceivably, however, in the context of prayer, public worship and personal religion a certain stylistic penumbra may have developed about the sacred scriptures.

The quality of the rendering probably reflects an unfortunate coincidence between a decline in knowledge of Biblical Hebrew (without which there would have been no demand for written translation on any scale) and a bruising encounter with a long and difficult original. It seems likely that the production of the Old Greek as a whole was characterized by a

steadily widening gulf between the standard demanded by the difficulty of the original and the standard attainable by the grasp of those who sought to render it. Throughout i-xxxix the method was atomistic, and did not lend itself to reflection, let alone correction. Whatever the cause, no part of the version was done at sufficient leisure for a *Tendenz* or *Tendenzen* to develop: there is an abundance of misinterpreted detail, but nothing that might suggest a sustained interpretative effort. It is nevertheless possible to go some way towards identifying the community which commissioned or at least required an edited version of *Ezekiel* i-xxxix, and its reasons for doing so: namely, Jewish people in exile from the Jerusalem Temple, and needing their devotion to and hope in God to be reinforced with vision but with minimal offence to their pagan neighbours in Egypt. A case could perhaps be made for a desire on the part of that community to distance and dissociate itself from the idolatrous pollutions and compromises of the Palestinian past.

Where the detail of Part I is not directly relevant to the rest of the work, it may at least serve as some contribution to the neglected field of Septuagint grammar and lexicography. The Hebraist's interest is different. In Part III no unequivocal cases of the version's yielding new Hebrew text or interpretation could be found. It remains the case that in this study methods for the application of the Old Greek have been pioneered.

The **APPENDICES AND STATISTICS** back Part I with a Glossary of (A) the Limited Inventories and (B) the General Vocabulary, the latter accompanied by philological notes, and with several Tables of significant linguistic features. Appendix C backs Part II with additional examples of literary relationships within and beyond the Septuagintal corpus.

The **CLASSIFIED BIBLIOGRAPHY**, which runs to several hundred items, is divided for ease of use under the heads of:-

- §A. General Background and Septuagint Origins.
- §B. Greek Text and Language.
- §C. Translation Theory and Practice.
- §D. Hebrew Text and Language.





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## FOREWORD

My warmest thanks are due to my Supervisor, Professor J.A. Emerton, to Dr. D.W. Gooding, Professor G.D. Kilpatrick, Professor J. Wevers, and the late Professor D. Winton Thomas, for generous help and encouragement; to the Electors to the Hall-Houghton Studentship for financial support during two years in Oxford, and to the Board of Management of the Pusey and Ellerton Fund for additional assistance; and to the Librarian and Staff of the Ashmolean Museum, the Bodleian Library, the Cambridge University Library and the Library of Congress for practical help.

This study was delimited to chapters i-xxxix of the Book of *Ezekiel* upon the advice of Professor Sir Godfrey Driver.

## A NOTE ON REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

Where the conventional chapter-and-verse references in printed editions of the Massoretic Text and of the Septuagint differ, the former system is used.

The names of ancient books, common grammatical terms and periodicals are given their normal abbreviations.

The following abbreviations occur in the body of the thesis:—

P : The Greek Pentateuch.

G : The Old Greek of other biblical books.

E : The Old Greek of *Ezekiel* i-xxxix.

Tw : The Old Greek of the Twelve Prophets.

Ge : *Genesis*.                      Ec : *Ecclesiastes*.      Ze : *Zephaniah*.

Ex : *Exodus*.                      Is : *Isaiah*.              Za : *Zechariah*.

Le : *Leviticus*.                  Je : *Jeremiah*.          Ma : *Malachi*.

Nu : *Numbers*.                  La : *Lamentations*.      Ca : *Canticles*.

Dt : *Deuteronomy*.              Ez : *Ezekiel*.              Pr : *Proverbs*.

Jo : *Joshua*.                      Da : *Daniel*.              Si : *Ecclesiasticus*.

Ju : *Judges*.                      Ho : *Hosea*.

Ru : *Ruth*.                        Jl : *Joel*.

Sa : *Samuel*.                      Am : *Amos*.

Ki : *Kings*.                        Ob : *Obadiah*.

Ch : *Chronicles*.                Jn : *Jonah*.

Es : *Esdras*.                      Mi : *Micah*.

Ne : *Nehemiah*.                  Na : *Nahum*.

Jb : *Job*.                         Hb : *Habakkuk*.

Ps : *Psalms*.                      Ha : *Haggai*.

INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

This study was born of a sense of frustration. Like many other students, the present writer encountered early in her career as an Hebraist such texts as *Isaiah*, *Proverbs* and the Twelve Prophets. She found that by the standards of work on the Greek and Roman classics the approach to the use of the Septuagint or Old Greek in connection with the Massoretic text was haphazard and arbitrary, both in and out of print. It seemed that one resorted to it only when at an impasse, and even then it was virtually never on the basis of any clear idea of the date, manner, method, quality or general usefulness of the Greek book in question. The Greek has been handled as though it were something very like a convenient transcribed source of variants *cum* ancient lexicon, without any inkling that the argument from it might ever cut more than one way. These strictures may be amply documented, not merely from the weightiest commentaries, but in the *apparatus criticus* of *BH3*<sup>2</sup>.

It is, moreover, no exaggeration to say that, whether or not the late and narrow textual base upon which our modern editions of the Hebrew Bible inevitably still rest<sup>3</sup> was the main factor, the Hebraist's attachment to the ms. was extreme:

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<sup>1</sup> Publication details of all literature referred to in this Introduction will be found in the Classified Bibliography §§A-D. The reader will be directed to the appropriate Section in each instance. Items by the same author which fall within the same section are differentiated by date.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. trenchant observations on the use of the LXX in the *apparatus criticus* to the text of the Twelve in §C Ziegler.

<sup>3</sup> Our knowledge is beginning to be both enriched and complicated at some points by manuscript discoveries at Qumran.

it appeared to contaminate attitudes to all modern conservative critical editions of the Septuagintal corpus. Perfectly normal texts, with which it would not occur to the Classicist to do anything other than to use them with intelligence, were routinely dubbed "eclectic", and dismissed in favour of the most manifestly corrupt *lectiones*, so long as these had one or more uncials behind them. The implication was that *ab initio* textual criticism was of the essence of Septuagint study. This remained the case whether or not scholars were impressed by more extreme views<sup>4</sup> on the late origins of the Massoretic text. Few were the Hebraists who thought in terms of any progression to later stages of sustained research into Septuagint matters. Thus the old habit of arbitrary application and the newer negativism towards the modern textcritical enterprise jostled one another in an unpeaceful co-existence.

There was one would-be major study of the Old Greek of a long and difficult Hebrew prophetic book by way of a model. In 1948 a monograph on the Septuagint version of *Isaiah* had been published by I.L. Seeligmann.<sup>5</sup> It contains an Introduction with the obligatory continental-style survey of older studies, both the good and the less good [pp. 1-7]; a long discussion of the text and its transmission [pp. 8-38] in which the author states his agreement in principle with the recensional method of Ziegler's then-new Göttingen edition and his broad acceptance of his choice of *lectiones*; a chapter on

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<sup>4</sup> See the material listed in §A, especially Kahle, and for telling refutations of his views Goshen-Gottstein *apud* Altmann ed., Katz, Orlinsky (1941), Wevers.

<sup>5</sup> See §C.

the technique employed in the translation and its relation to the Hebrew text [pp. 39-69] to which I shall return in due course; a chapter on the date and historical background of the translation [pp. 70-90] with an Excursus on Onias III and the Onias Temple in Heliopolis; and a concluding chapter on the translation as a document of Jewish-Alexandrian theology [pp. 95-121] which is with the penultimate chapter the kernel of the work and to which I shall also return. At this stage it is sufficient to note that there is no separate discussion of the Greek language from any point of view, nor is it Seeligmann's aim to elucidate the often very difficult MT of the book. His study is to be commended as an attempt to look at an Old Greek book as a whole and in a fresh way. It is strong on the version as *Midrash*, arguing more or less plausibly for certain semi-overt interpretations by the translator(s) of the original in terms of known places and events. To its plea on pp. 2-3 for a book-by-book programme of Septuagint "monographs"<sup>6</sup>, first heeded in the early Sixties, I owe the initial impulse for this new study. In view of his stated aim, not to mention the well-known atypicality of the *Isaiah* Septuagint, Seeligmann's study cannot be faulted for the fact that though about 500 Hebrew expressions or passages are discussed it fails to engage with the version at a sufficiently basic philological level to shed any real light on the vast majority of difficult points of detail. From the point of view of the struggling Hebraist, however, it appeared that in some books

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<sup>6</sup> Readers of Seeligmann need to understand that in order to share the fruits of his labours, begun in May of 1945 in Theresienstadt, he used a language not native to him. It is, for instance, his habit to write "version" for *lectio*.

at least one ought to be able to enlist the Old Greek more effectively. Precision was needed in the place of vagueness.

It was therefore decided to attempt a more useful approach to a not dissimilar text of which a modern critical edition was available. That there should be such an edition as a starting-point made it more probable that the enterprise would make progress. *Ezekiel* was the obvious candidate. A policy decision was made to cut the textual knot, and to use the new Göttingen edition of 1952 in a pragmatic and critical spirit, with a view to ascertaining what might emerge in the way of solid conclusions. Ziegler's method is cautious almost to the point of timidity: he prints very few emendations, whether his own or other people's. Therefore a number of suggestions for improvement in detail are made in the body of this work. He does not appear to overvalue the witness of pap. 967 (in which because of its probable late Second to Third Century date<sup>7</sup> the present writer is wary of both Atticizing and revising tendencies). In general he appears to take the commonsensical view that the textual tradition cannot be assumed to be free of the effects of revising activity at any point.<sup>8</sup> This dissertation is therefore not except incidentally a textual study. It is assumed throughout that the Lagardian approach to the textual tradition of the Greek Bible is the correct one, and that there was such a thing as an *Ur-Septuaginta*; that the conservative critical edition of J.

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<sup>7</sup> It was almost certainly a codex and therefore not earlier than the late Second Century: see Filson's explanation of the character of its omissions [§B].

<sup>8</sup> See Ziegler §B (1953).

Ziegler is the most adequate basis for study at present available; and that it is reasonable to look to the edition as a basis for identifying apparent divergences between the version and the Massoretic Text, and for proceeding to attempt to explain these either in terms of translation technique, or, where such an explanation proves untenable, on the assumption of a different *Vorlage*.

The first and most obvious step, after an endeavour to gain some kind of mastery over the words of the MT, was to create a parallel text carefully annotated. Precisely at this point the problems of method began. What were the existing examples, ideas and ideals for biblical translation? Were precedents used, and if so for language, for renditional method or for both? Was some dialect of Greek, perhaps a 'Jewish Greek', brought into commission? Are there discernible linguistic and stylistic affinities? There are indications that something of an atmosphere of defensiveness towards both the Palestinian religious authorities and the Egyptian government surrounded the rendering of the *Torah*;<sup>9</sup> did the *Ezekiel* translator(s) work in the same tradition? Did they aim for one-for-one consistency in their renderings, or was fidelity viewed as compatible with variation? Did they make verbal allusions to the work of their predecessors? How large a Greek vocabulary did they have, or feel that it was appropriate to use? Must we reckon with multiple authorship, so that there may be variations in manner and method? What is literalism, and how literal must a rendering be to qualify as

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<sup>9</sup> See §A Bickerman, Gooding, Hanhart, Tcherikover (1958).



a case of it? What is to be said of idiosyncratic Greek which is not literal in a given passage? What kind of Greek is idiosyncratic in the relevant period? Was there a form of 'Jewish Greek'? How paraphrastic must a rendering be before we postulate a new original or perhaps some degree of interpretative activity? What kind of data must be discounted or given less weight because of their vulnerability to scribal or revising activity? It was evident that no firm conclusions could be reached on the subjects of translation technique and any bearing on the Hebrew text in question without thorough and groundbreaking work on the question of what linguistic resources were available to a translator.

Furthermore, it was evident that work on the language *qua* language must be kept rigorously separate from work on the translation technique. The answers to several major questions are partly dependent on the internal linguistic evidence. What is the *terminus ante quem non* of the Hebrew text thus rendered, and where was the work done? What are the implications of the linguistic data for the question of literary unity or disunity? It is well known that the date of the *Ezekiel* version, as of most of the non-Pentateuchal books of the Greek Bible, can be fixed by external evidence only within wide limits:<sup>10</sup> even a tentative dating by reference to the

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<sup>10</sup> It seems clear that the rendering of the Pentateuch was the first major task to be undertaken, but parts of other translations might date from before this time, and in the case of our text some at least of the internal evidence is not inconsistent with such a dating. At the other end of the scale it might be argued that our earliest direct citations of a Greek *Ezekiel* [*Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians* viii.2, printed in J.B. Lightfoot *The Apostolic Fathers* Vol.II, pp. 39-44] are too slight a kind of evidence to provide a *terminus ante quem* for the translation,

language of secular literature may not be without importance, not least because the value of any information which can be gleaned about the text from which the version was made is clearly enhanced if we have some notion of the date at which the work was done. Such a dating would of course need to be followed up by similar analyses of other parts of the Septuagint, and the results collated, before the whole sequence of events could be established.<sup>11</sup> There has been a tacit assumption that the Former and Latter Prophets and the Writings were translated in Egypt for the use of the Jewish community there, but it has not been tested against the facts of the language itself in the light of modern knowledge. The question of unity, however much canvassed in the past, has been approached on a large scale only from the angle of translation technique;<sup>12</sup> but it is clear that strictly speaking linguistic

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especially as the context and other evidence show that there may have been an apocryphal *Ezekiel*; while the earliest textual witness of any length, Chester Beatty-Scheide 967, is sometimes dated late enough to place the version fair and square in the period of the Attic Revival. It is a pity that Philo, whose Greek Bible is known to have been Septuagint in other books, has no more than a doubtful allusion to *Ezekiel* [*Spec. Leg.* III.32].

<sup>11</sup> As long ago as 1906 Redpath [see §B] sought to establish a relative dating for certain books on the limited basis of the rendering of the Divine Names. Even longer ago Frankel [see §A] noted signs that the *Deuteronomy* translator(s) did not know the rest of the Pentateuch in Greek, but he failed to see the possibility that this was because the fifth book was where the translators started.

<sup>12</sup> Thackeray made some attempt to isolate a few strictly linguistic phenomena [see §A (1921), pp. 20-28], but did not go far with it. In any case, his attempt to tie the use of *πάροδος* as a masculine noun [II Sa xii.4, Ez xvi.15, 25] to "Asiatic" dialect, and hence to a semi-literate predecessor of Theodotion, would not now carry conviction in the light of modern knowledge of κοινή Greek. That is to say nothing of the surprising failure to note the classical ὀδοιπόρος in the very next clause after the post-Classical "solecism" at II Sa xii.4.

habits and translating habits are different things, each of which may have its bearing upon the question of unity. Supposing that analysis were to show that these chapters fall into parts, each clearly distinct in respect both of language and translation technique, it would certainly require an explanation. But if such a coincidence of two types of evidence did not occur, disunity from the point of view of translation technique would not weigh absolutely if it were counterbalanced by massive linguistic unity. Indeed, the former might sometimes be explicable in terms of the latter: a translator who is more conscious of the language into which he is translating than of his original may combine inconsistency of rendering with marked linguistic consistency.<sup>13</sup> It may even be that linguistic habits, as opposed to translation technique, will have light to shed upon certain mistranslations, if these can be shown to represent a variation in favour of an habitual structure or idiom. This is the rationale for the tabulation on pp. 65-72 of all the identifiable sets of Greek synonyms which are likely to have been left untouched by scribal interference and cannot, because as alternatives they occur too far apart, be regarded as a matter of normal stylistic variation. They must be examined, not as renderings, but as phenomena in

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<sup>13</sup> This is perhaps especially likely where the original is difficult, so that the work of translation requires great concentration. It may the more easily happen where a translator is of a creative turn of mind and interested in his own composition as such. Who has not had the experience, when rendering a difficult text, of being so delighted by finding a good equivalent that he at once forgets the wording of the original? But even if it could be proved that a translator thought of consistency of rendering as something desirable, it would still have to be shown that he is likely to have worked under conditions in which it was attainable.

their own right, so that appropriate conclusions may be drawn about the unity or otherwise of the Greek *qua* Greek.

The solidest work done on Septuagint Greek is for the most part very old,<sup>14</sup> or at least older than the fund of systematic work on papyrological and inscriptional material now available to Hellenists.<sup>15</sup> Some few major modern studies have been done either on, or on the periphery of, Septuagint language.<sup>16</sup> It remains the case that students of Septuagintal Greek, particularly of individual books, in effect wander in a trackless wilderness. It is striking how frequently their resources will be found if at all in the "*Langue grecque*" section of *L'Année Philologique*. They must, unlike those handling Classical and post-Classical secular texts, to say nothing of New Testament and Byzantine scholars, write their own modern grammar and lexicon. They must pioneer work of the kind upon which, completed generations ago for a multiplicity of texts, the great standard works such as the lexicon of Liddell-Scott-Jones rest for all their data. Even the papyrologist, looking at very little in the way of longer connected material which is post-Classical, is better equipped.<sup>17</sup> The subject has been treated as at best peripheral by specialists

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<sup>14</sup> See in §B Abel, Allen, Bratsiotis, Deissmann (1897, 1901, 1923), Hatch, Helbing (1907, 1928), Huber, Thackeray, Thumb, Viteau, Votaw.

<sup>15</sup> See §B for an extensive listing of the relevant History of (secular) Greek Language material.

<sup>16</sup> See §B Daniel, Johannesson (1925, 1937, 1939, 1942, 1943), Johnson-Gehman-Kase, Soisalon-Soininen (1965), Tcherikover, Wuthnow.

<sup>17</sup> Of the items listed in §B Palmer, Mayser, Preisigke (1922, 1925-66) and Wilcken are particularly foundational to all linguistic work. Gignac's dissertation is important.

in the History of Greek Language: it has after all counted as a curiosity since antiquity. It has been no more than an avocation for Hebraists.

There is a dearth of studies of Septuagint language which move beyond description into analysis. Facts have been gathered but little has emerged in the way of significant conclusions. Even the more substantial surveys labour under one or more major disadvantages: some have failed to look at the data diachronically, others must be termed long on description but short on correlation with the secular evidence, while very few have come to terms with the specifics of individual books. Attempts at language study, whether large-scale or small, have tended to be beset with ambiguity: it has been thought obvious that to study Greek of this kind one must know at least some Hebrew, with the result that students have normally never resolved the question of whether their study was of language or of translation. For them the additional occupational hazard of the too regular reading of biblical Greek is the failure to give one's sense of style a rinse with Greek of other kinds. Phenomena which no sound Hellenist could term normal for any period have gone unremarked. This student therefore arrived at a second policy decision. An effort must be made to write a linguistic description of these chapters which should, within the scope of the present dissertation, be as complete as possible. It should be without compromise a Hellenist's description, seeking so far as possible to lay aside by a process of 'double-think' all knowledge of Hebrew forms,<sup>18</sup> and

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<sup>18</sup> This approach was abandoned on pp. 54-8 for the discussion of probable coinages and their dating, relative and

laying under contribution every scrap of available information about the Greek. It would make exhaustive use of published inscriptional and papyrological material. It would not make jejune and otiose reference to standard works familiar to every Hellenist,<sup>19</sup> but concentrate on what had never been examined in the light of modern knowledge. Such an approach to a Greek text is of course both timeworn and wholly familiar to students of secular Greek of all periods; but I do not believe that it has been employed with equal rigour for any part of the Old Greek.

This undertaking involved months of close work on Greek language of types and periods not normally the object of a Classicist's attention. The burrowing process led to rare and little-read texts of every kind. As a result, while there is nothing inherently innovative in the method of Greek language study, there are numerous fresh observations both within and beyond the sphere of biblical Greek. It has proved possible in the course of composing grammar, lexicon<sup>20</sup> and a critical account of idiom, usage and semantics to supplement and correct standard works of reference at a number of points. It may fairly be claimed that with respect to *Ezekiel* i-xxxix virtually all the observations are new. They include the major phenomena which fall into the category of 'hebraisms', that is to say which cannot in the present state of knowledge be explained as normal features of the history of the Greek

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absolute: reference to Hebrew was unavoidable at that point.

<sup>19</sup> See p. 11 n. 17. Without this discipline Part I alone would rapidly have burgeoned to the point of pressing against the limits of an Oxford doctoral dissertation.

<sup>20</sup> To be found in classified form in Appendices A and B.

language or ascribed to other influences.<sup>21</sup> An attempt is made to isolate this category in a conclusion on the question of hebraism at the end of Part I, and to state what, if any, limitations are found in the influence of the original upon the translation.<sup>22</sup> In addition the indications of date, authorship (single or otherwise), provenance and literary influences are discussed, in so far as they do not belong rather

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<sup>21</sup> It has proved possible to present the most striking of these in graphical form in Tables 1-5.

<sup>22</sup> The question of how one may legitimately isolate a 'hebraism' has been much discussed. Helbing thought of Hellenistic Greek as something so flexible that virtually no linguistic phenomenon could be regarded as strictly a foreign body; thus his definition of 'hebraism' is hedged about with many qualifications: see the *Einleitung* to his *Kasussyntax* pp. VI-X. A slightly different view is that if a phenomenon is documented at any stage in the history of the Greek language the onus is always upon those who wish to prove a hebraism. Its best known exponent is J. Psichari, who in his 'Essai sur le Grec de la Septante' in *JEG* 55 (1908), 161-208 sought to claim a great many remarkable Septuagint features for his own language. Perhaps the great defect of his interesting study is the failure to reckon with the possibility of the widespread linguistic influence of the Septuagint on Medieval and Modern Greek. Such was the prestige of the Greek Bible early in the last century in Greece that an Athens professor, Constantine Oeconomos, put forward the serious claim that the Massoretic Text was the version and the Septuagint the original! The position taken in the present dissertation is that such late evidence must be discounted unless an organic connection can be shown with the language of our period. And no phenomenon which at present lacks documentation in Greek and clearly corresponds in some way to the Hebrew may escape the label 'hebraism' on the grounds that it MAY have been genuine Greek. For this purpose the Jewish-hellenistic literature and the New Testament documents must be excluded, since the possibility of hebraic or Septuagint influence upon them makes any argument from their usage circular. Conversely, all hebraisms thus defined, even though they may be paralleled outside our period, must be discounted when it comes to dating the literature in which they occur. It is, however, doubtful whether many true hebraisms, without parentage in Greek as they are, had any linguistic progeny earlier than the medieval period. Pre-medieval secular Greek was probably not influenced by the Septuagint in any way. Cf. the verdict of "not proven" in Tcherikover and Heichelheim [§A].

to the sphere of translation technique.

*Mutatis mutandis* the method of Part I is identical with that of all traditional History of Greek Language study, seasoned very sparingly with certain obviously useful categories developed in modern linguistics. An effort has been made to avoid jargon, as well as to stress the cumulative nature of the argument in a way conventional in such work. It is essential that the case which emerges for this extended piece of Greek translation should be a sound one by all the standards of modern study. Therefore modern methods have been applied to the text, and with the utmost rigour. The main aim in Part I is to arrive at answers to three questions, namely the question of unity<sup>23</sup>, the question of date and provenance and the question of what constitutes the essence of 'hebraism' in the Greek. The resultant description and analysis of the Greek gives clear answers to these questions, which are stated in three conclusions, namely that the language is not analysable into sections, that its date is fairly definite and later than that of the Greek Pentateuch, and that its peculiarities, many of them paralleled in the Greek Pentateuch or other books of the Old Greek, are largely of a particular type. Language study composes the bottom layer of a pyramid. Part I is thus the foundation of the argument in Parts II and III.

αὐτὸς ὁ νόμος καὶ αἱ προφητεῖαι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων did not find their way into Greek in a cultural and literary vacuum. The practical obstacles to making texts of any length

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<sup>23</sup> It is highly significant in this connection that the distribution of the maximally large number of sets of synonyms presented on pp. 65-72 resisted the most determined efforts to reduce it to graphical form.



were many. The codex book-form, with all its conveniences, was almost certainly developed early in the Second Century A.D., under the same sort of compulsion to come to terms with the very words of the Greek Bible as that which lay at the root of the original Jewish translation-impulse; there is, however, no sign that it gained any appreciable foothold in the pagan world until two centuries later.<sup>24</sup>

Meanwhile the process of reading and writing was decidedly awkward: for either it would be less cumbersome to have two assistants, one at each end of the scroll. Copies and of course précis, potted digests, rough shorthand transcripts for leisurely fine reproduction and renderings into, say, Latin were not made visually but by dictation. The more athletic used self-dictation too, but either method was equally liable to both visual and aural error. It can be shown that in the situation of which we know the most, the Roman *scriptorium*, pressures of time served to compound errors.<sup>25</sup>

If labour was cheap, skilled labour and materials were not, so that book-production or copying (called *edere* in Latin), even when quasi-commercial, was small-scale. Books were valuable and vulnerable articles, so much worth the plundering that they moved West to Rome in quantity with conquest: even if it had not remained conventional until at least the Fourth Century for all reading to be done aloud, and for written composition to be designed in the first instance for oral delivery, memory was bound to be the first resort for

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<sup>24</sup> See §A C.H. Roberts.

<sup>25</sup> See §A Skeat.

reference and quotation. Memory is also likely to have been by modern standards very reliable. In Ptolemaic Egypt, where Homer was as much copied as all other authors put together, and formed the backbone of the curriculum,<sup>26</sup> it was not uncommon for the whole corpus to be known by heart.<sup>27</sup> Since the gymnasium was the most influential institution, what was taught there permeated society. There was no sense of an opposition between a literate and an oral culture. Greek was the *lingua franca*<sup>28</sup> of the Eastern Mediterranean and more; it was to function similarly in due course throughout the Roman Empire. In his day Tertullian, who had a complete orator's training but was not a native speaker of Greek, is known to have produced both texts termed by contemporaries translation, and accurate paraphrase, of long sections of Plato. He may have had texts to hand, which he simply chose not to use, but it is quite as probable that when it came to an old Greek author he lived on his large educational hump.

When those who first clothed the Law in Greek went to work, it is clear that what they produced is in modern terms a 'stained glass'<sup>29</sup> version of the Hebrew. It had been made for the use of Alexandrian Jewry and for urgent practical religious reasons.<sup>30</sup> So much of the colour and texture of the Vor-

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<sup>26</sup> See §A C.H. Roberts, pp. 267-8.

<sup>27</sup> Much as in some cultures the Jewish or Christian Scriptures have been known, or as in Islam very young children may know the Koran.

<sup>28</sup> It is worth noting that what is everybody's second language is not always spoken and written quite as anybody's native language.

<sup>29</sup> For the terms 'stained glass' and 'clear glass' for types of translation see §C Booth *et al.*

<sup>30</sup> See §A Hanhart on the 'foreignness' of the Greek Bible in

lage characterized this attempt that Philo of Alexandria felt obliged to apologize obliquely to his contemporaries for its barbaric Greek.<sup>31</sup> Thus he admits that it eschews the refinements of both metaphrasis and paraphrasis [*De Vita Mos.* II.38].<sup>32</sup> It is unclear what precedents they had for turning so much continuous text, whether prose or poetry, into a non-cognate<sup>33</sup> language. It cannot be assumed that they were aware that the compiler of *Proverbs* had lifted bodily from an Egyptian book of traditional wisdom a sizeable consecutive piece of text [xxii.17-xxiv.22], or that this is very near to a 'clear glass' version<sup>34</sup>.

The subtleties of dynamic equivalence, even if the theory had been known, are manifestly not achieved. The whole tradition about Septuagint origins, indeed, points to an extreme anxiety about verbal fidelity.<sup>35</sup> Some form of Targuming or written Midrash *in extenso*, even if that had been among their conventions, would not have served their turn. The translators saw it as their task to make their ἐπιμνησεία, which is probably rightly rendered "translation and interpretation",<sup>36</sup>

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the Hellenistic world.

<sup>31</sup> This was at a time when Roman *belles-lettres* were in full bloom.

<sup>32</sup> That Philo's Bible, in spite of the text-form in the lemmata, was Septuagint, was brilliantly demonstrated by P. Katz. See §A (1950).

<sup>33</sup> The relatedness or otherwise of languages was not well understood in antiquity. In spite of the fact that educated Latin speakers had a fine grasp of Greek, scarcely anyone detected or defined the relationship with Greek. See §C Boyancé (1956).

<sup>34</sup> See §C Humbert.

<sup>35</sup> See especially §A Bickerman, Gooding, Marcus, Meecham.

<sup>36</sup> So Gooding [§A].

as faithful to the "plain sense" as possible;<sup>37</sup> and in their circumstances fidelity nearly always meant a conscientious literalism (with or without formulaic consistency and whether or not they had in fact lost the philological key). They allegedly ἐτρέποντο πρὸς τὴν ἀναγνώσιν ("reading out") καὶ τὴν ἐκάστου διασάφησιν ("piecemeal elucidation" or perhaps "piecemeal rendering" of each item).<sup>38</sup> An atomistic fidelity of method was bound to result in a radical infidelity to the sense; in addition it would, like some great boulder fallen into a river, change Greek forever, to say nothing of the effects by way of daughter versions on other languages<sup>39</sup>. In the case of the Septuagint it was thought vital, in the face of criticisms from Semitic-speaking Palestine, to propagandise both for the superb quality of the original text and for the incontrovertible accuracy of the version.<sup>40</sup> As we see from the nervousness<sup>41</sup> expressed by Ben Sira's grandson in the preamble to his own translation-attempt, he recognised that all translation is interpretation [15-35]. According to our only reli-

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<sup>37</sup> It is significant that there is no single Greek term for "translation" and cognates; the same holds for Latin.

<sup>38</sup> See section 305 of Pelletier's edition of the *Letter to Aristeas* [listed in §A]. It is perhaps worth mentioning that if these two terms are treated as something other than hendiadys, we have a precise description of what must have happened in practice. The work was done in accordance with the conventions which governed copying: one individual read aloud while another (or more than one other) translated and scribed, the original being processed in short pieces.

<sup>39</sup> E.g. Eng. "Gentile" from the sense of *gentes* and cognates found in the *Vetus Latina* and the *Vulgata*.

<sup>40</sup> See §A Gooding *op. cit.*

<sup>41</sup> Which seems to me on any natural interpretation of the Greek to arise from a fear that the translation-process itself is fraught with danger, as opposed to some sense that his grasp of the original may be inadequate.

able traditions about the origins of the Septuagint proper, strict accuracy in conveying the sense without expansion or contraction was the primary if not exclusive concern. Philo (whose Hebrew and Aramaic must have been exiguous) is at pains to show that the *Torah* in Greek was the genuine article down to the last syllable [*De Vita Mos.* II.26-44]. He insists that the translation of laws so beneficial to all mankind as the Mosaic could be approached only as one would that of a text on geometry or logic [*De Vita Mos.* II.39].<sup>42</sup> This anxiety was to culminate over the next two centuries in intensive Palestinian labours, all in the direction of revisions which were scarcely comprehensible as Greek. The phenomenon gives a new twist to Tertullian's famous "*quid Athenae Hierosolymis, seu academia ecclesiae?*" [*Praescr. Haer.* 9.9]. It is a measure of the inaccessibility to the Greek reader of these successive attempts that Josephus could offer a late account of Biblical history in Greek, as though it had never been done [*Ant.* X.218, cf. I.1].

Pagan society, by contrast, does not seem to have developed translation-methods of its own at any stage. Whatever the theory, it is not possible to document any idiomatic *ad sensum* rendering of foreign literature or long texts of any kind. The contrast with the sophisticated stylistic and rhetorical analysis inherited by any Latin prose writer, and in particular two who claimed to be translators on a large scale, could scarcely be more extreme. Much of the critical

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<sup>42</sup> The choice of subjects is not fortuitous: if Hellenistic culture was on the receiving end at all, it must have been in certain technical areas where Egypt had the older tradition.

work done by Cicero (106-43 B.C.) was concerned with rhetorical style; he was the first Roman to develop a theory of literary criticism which recognised the value of comparison and the importance of historical development. Cicero's training as an orator, and hence as a critic, was a varied one. Whether or not speeches were normally delivered *extempore*, the end-product would have been the same, namely a written text valued at least by the author<sup>43</sup>. For him pure scholarship was likely to have been more than one of the avocations of a Roman gentleman. All Cicero's critical works are interesting for their presentation of the development of his views on style and as a statement of his mature position. His chief classical authorities were Isocrates and Aristotle. He speaks of the former as "*magister rhetorum omnium*" and "*pater eloquentiae*" [*De Or.* II.94, 10], and regularly quotes him as an authority for his practice. From the richness of his references it is abundantly clear that he both fully comprehended Aristotle's technical terms and constantly used him as an arsenal. It is probably in connection with his own use of dialogue form (at for example *De Sen.* 22.79-81 and throughout *De Legibus*) that he commends Plato [*Or.* 3, 12, 151]. His Latinization of Greek expressions for aspects of style and structure is subtle and brilliant [for example at *De Or.* III.119-200]. His stated ideal was "*Latine dicere, plane, ornate, apte*". Quintilian's verdict on Cicero as stylist was that there was really nobody to touch him: his successors and detractors were mere ἐπίγονοι

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<sup>43</sup> E.g. Cicero's ill-fated Greek memoir on his consulship [discussed at *Ad Att.* II.1.2.], and conceivably much of Apuleius (b. 123 A.D.), as, too, such oddities as Tertullian's diatribes in Greek.

[Quint. I.8.8-11, XII.10.12-15].<sup>44</sup>

Furthermore, any Roman man of letters could draw upon an exuberant variety of sensitive Latin adaptation, enculturation and transmutation of Greek forms, incomprehensible to an ancient as to a modern reader without a knowledge of the models. The Latin forms of the hexameter and the elegiac couplet must have been developed in the largely lost poetry of Accius and Laevius respectively. It would be tedious to document the dependence of Lucretius on a long tradition of didacticism in verse,<sup>45</sup> or that of Virgil on tragedy, rhetoric and epic, of Catullus on Callimachus, of Horace on Pindar for his laureate poems, of Propertius on the Alexandrians. This is not likely to have been conscious imitation, which seldom produces great literature, but an unconscious creative process based on instinctive reference and allusion to the profoundly familiar. In an atmosphere where Greek works had been adopted as, in effect, the best of Rome's past<sup>46</sup>, and functioned culturally much as they did later in Greece itself,<sup>47</sup> imitation was in the bloodstream of the ποιητής. In what Tacitus, himself praised for his brilliance as a speaker [Pliny Ep. IV.13], called "*sanctiorem illam et augustiorem eloquentiam*" practice outran theory. Theorizing, however, both on nature *versus* nurture

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<sup>44</sup> For educated Roman attitudes to and knowledge of Greek in the Republican and early Imperial periods see P. Boyancé *op. cit.*

<sup>45</sup> As a propagandist for Epicureanism, given that the master had despised poetry as a diversion, he was pioneering. See Boyancé §C, 1947.

<sup>46</sup> Only in the political sphere was Greece the inferior and therefore the receiving culture. "*Graecia capta Romam captam cepit.*"

<sup>47</sup> See Bowie [§C].

and on the need for one's work to be both *utile* and *dulce*, was not lacking here either. Even under Imperial patronage and censorship poets were in the habit of reflecting aloud upon their work.

A third strand in pagan tradition was that of a semi-popularising free adaptation of technical philosophy. This is perhaps the right category for Cicero's quite extended, though at its closest highly paraphrastic and heavily edited<sup>48</sup>, presentation of the cosmological *Timaeus*. Though the work manages to achieve loose paraphrase, it is only in patches.<sup>49</sup> There is no evidence that he or his readers found Greek difficult, rather that for technical terms Lucretius' "*patrii sermonis egestas*" [*De Rer. Nat.* I.832] required all his ingenuity [*Ad Att.* XIII.16, 25.3]. An uninhibited use of abridgement and expansion was part of the expository method. The accession to Lucullus' library of large amounts of Aristotelian material gave him much joy. In about 51 he embarked on an ambitious programme whose aim was to 'open up' Greek philosophical discourse to Latin readers "...*ut nullum philosophiae locum esse pateremur, qui non Latinis litteris inlustratus pateret*" [*Acad.* I.7]. Parts of it gave him a lot of trouble, nor did he claim originality for his adaptations, which he termed ἀπόγραφα [*Ad Att.* XII.52.3]. Significantly, as so

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<sup>48</sup> It is, for instance, shorn of the dialogue passages and frequently parts company with the 'original' by adding, subtracting and freely altering details of the argument.

<sup>49</sup> For an inadequate and selective analysis of the approach to the Greek see Blatt [§C]. His terminology is confused: verbally translation may be free in the extreme, but it must surely show a minimal semasiological obedience to the *Vorlage* as a continuum in order to qualify.



often with Atticus, he slips into Greek, and in this place Greek for a scribe's copywork. This tends to confirm two points known from elsewhere, that works in Greek were linguistically accessible, but unless copied not physically so. In spite of this disclaimer, his output, particularly in 45-4, is impressive not merely for its bulk but for its creativity as literary and linguistic adaptation. Cicero may well have sought personal consolation in the activity after Tullia's death early in 45; he will also have hoped to be read; what is quite certain is that he neither aimed at nor achieved translation in any real sense of the term. Far from his feeling any nervousness about "*traduttore traditore*", straight translation would have been as dull for him to do as it was superfluous for readers who took at least a passive knowledge of Greek for granted.

By virtue of training, experience and achievement Apuleius stands squarely within Roman traditional culture. He went East for an orator's education [*Apol.* lxxii, *Flor.* xx], at a time when Greek rhetoric was more developed than in Cicero's day. He drank, if not deeply, of all the *τέχναι* [*Flor.* xx.4-10]. If his claims, explicit and implicit, are to be believed [*Apol.* xv.9,10, xxxvi.3-8, lv.10, *Flor.* ix, *De Deo Socr.*, *De Dogm. Plat.*, Preface to *De Mundo*], he emerged a true *philosophus*, if not really competent technically, a serious, curious, cultivated man proud to call himself a sophist. He perfected his Latin in Rome where he almost certainly had some forensic success [*Met.* XI.29-30]. It does not seem inappropriate, his *Hermagoras* and virtually all the rest of his literary output being lost, to call his *Metamorphoses* a styl-

istic *ne plus ultra* of Latinity. He seems to have been adjustable, so that in the *De Mundo*, for instance, he uses a chaster *via media*. His habit of free quotation "*utraque lingua*", though scarcely free of the vanity endemic in any who live off words, their mastery of which has cost time and labour, seems natural. The novel is a *tour de force* of Latinization, combining rhetoric and poetry in a new way.<sup>50</sup>

In the world of Cicero and his cultured Roman successors the translation-ideal was not so much accuracy in itself as a "*sensum pro sensu*" choice of "*sententiae*" and "*formae*" appropriate to Latin usage [*De Opt. Gen. Or.* 14]: the primary interest is in stylistic elegance of a kind unattainable by "*interpretes indiserti*" [*De Fin.* 315], who are by definition not "*oratores*" [*De Opt. Gen. Or.* 14]. Translation must of course have been going on all the time. The paradox is that it was a matter of process not product. There is, for instance, no need to envisage more than an intellectual 'gutting' in the claim that Pliny the Elder read and used 2,000 books, most of them abstruse, for the compilation of his *Natural History* [*HN Praef.* 17]. He was an exceedingly bookish man who insisted on having books read to him even in the bath [*Pliny Ep.* 3.5].

Upon the translation-process there is essentially no recorded reflection apart from incidental remarks by Cicero, who expresses contempt for "*verbum pro verbo...reddere*" [*De Opt. Gen. Or.* 14]. The expression almost certainly includes a literalism of order, which was the occupational hazard of the

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<sup>50</sup> Cf. Raby [§C] pp. 21-22.

simultaneous translator, but wholly incompatible with *latinitas*. (His own free handling of syntactical order, as opposed to the order of ideas, suggests that slavish imitation in this respect was a part of what he meant by being an "*interpres indisertus*".) Nor do we get the impression that fidelity, in some sense, to an original of any appreciable length in its integrity was viewed as an ideal,<sup>51</sup> or that the technical obstacles were given any thorough analysis. To make beautiful and refined Latin evocative of equally subtle and refined Greek was the challenge. The remark put into Scipio's mouth at *Cic. Rep. I.42.20* about the difficulty of "*quod apud Platonem est luculente dictum...id exprimere latine*", if a generalisation at all, must be in praise of Plato's limp id style. The comment made by Aulus Gellius on rendering Greek verse into Latin, though introduced by "...*non semper aiunt*" [*Noct. Att. IX.9.1 ff.*], need imply no knowledge of a developed tradition independent of Horace [*Ars Poet. 133 ff.*]. Translation was not, it seems, a recognised τέχνη. The regular need for interpretation in the Senate [*Cic. De Fin. V.89*] cannot be shown to have led to any refinements; in any case the context, being a discussion of Stoicism, suggests that the function of an *interpres* was elucidation of technical terms. References to written translation-work in Latin are sparse in the extreme. Cicero's lost youthful attempt at Xenophon's *Oeconomica* was probably an exercise. Precise terms for the

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<sup>51</sup> Cicero's mature practice with excerpts appears to be a blend of paraphrase with free literary adaptation [of *Plato Rep. IV.14D, Xen. Cyropaed. VIII.7.17-22*] and incorporation into his own original works [*De Sen. 21, De Rep. I.42-43*]; not that one should necessarily acquit him of drawing on old exercise-material for the purpose.

practitioner<sup>52</sup> or the process are rare to non-existent,<sup>53</sup> and cases where we have the means of setting *Vorlage* side by side with version reduce themselves, when they are not school textbook material or student exercises,<sup>54</sup> to Cicero's *Timaeus* and Apuleius' own attempt to "*explicare*" [*De Mundo* 289] the somewhat inconsequential text of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Περὶ κόσμου*.

There is no means of knowing what translation models lay before Apuleius, or what his aims were. His stated aim is conventional, in that the dedication is to a son, of whose existence and need for edification we have no independent evidence. It is apparent that he had views on the morally improving nature of literary and philosophical study. Apuleius had a good press from one ancient writer for the fidelity of his *Phaedo* version (Sidonius termed it accurate "*ad verbum sententiamque*" [*Ep.* II.9.5]), but this is lost. Other philosophical and scientific versions or adaptations have been lost. Perhaps the choice of a cosmological work has something

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<sup>52</sup> *Interpres* seems to be a term which requires qualification.

<sup>53</sup> Horace is perhaps echoing Cicero's "*verbum pro verbo*" when he includes the "*fidus interpres*" in his indictment of indifferent poets [*Ars Poet.* 133-4, cf. 369 ff.]. It is plausible that he is expressing an awareness that, *vers libre* or parallelism apart, the fusion of sense and form in poetry is always untranslatable. Attractive but far-fetched is the suggestion that *Apelles* indicates Jewish origins [cf. *Ep.* I.5.100], so that he might have had knowledge of the Septuagint.)

<sup>54</sup> His *Timaeus* perhaps started life as an exercise. In 79-7 he studied "philosophy" as a whole at the Academy; such a text might have been set for translation and/or learning by heart. He was a "full man" who admired, for instance, Lucretius [*Ad Q. Fr.* 2.9.3], claimed like many Roman gentlemen to have translated Aratus and was all for literary culture [*Or.* 12], from which no-one would have distinguished a grasp of natural philosophy.

to do with Cicero's example; however, all being grist to Apuleius' mill, a text devoid of human or ethical reference will not have struck him as inapposite. Apuleius will scarcely have been immune to the normal urge of the *littérateur* to be writing something. Furthermore he uses his original to make propaganda for his own brand of Platonism.<sup>55</sup> But when all is said and done he did not translate it.<sup>56</sup>

In the Antonine period translation is scarcely documented for the pagan world. Clearly, however, translation was merely a mental way-station in the educational process; the aim was to inculcate the normal cultivated individual's ability to progress to the stage of unmediated comprehension and easy use of two or more languages without consciously changing gear. There can be no doubt that in Roman society fluency in Greek as well as Latin was the mark of culture and that the Carthaginians used both, well enough to find declamation in either entertaining [*Flor.* xviii.36 ff., xx.6]: there was effectively no linguistic barrier, though an Apuleius needed to go to Rome to polish his Latin<sup>57</sup>. "*Eruditus*" is a term elastic enough to cover a learning process which must have been one of direct method if not of immersion. There was no large Greekless public to need or demand exact written versions, no impulse to bring culture or learning to the masses and no democratic conviction that "We must educate our masters". From translation the pagan, up to and including Apuleius with his contempor-

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<sup>55</sup> See Hijmans [§C].

<sup>56</sup> See Müller [§C].

<sup>57</sup> Thus rendering himself trilingual. Cf. *Apol. passim*, esp. xxxviii.5, 7-8, lxxxii.2, lxxxvii.5, xcvi.6-8.

aries, was apparently cut off, because it was necessarily encountered only in its Biblical form. I see no reason to doubt Tertullian's assertion at *Test. An.* 1.2 ff. that no pagan saw a Bible until converted. Tertullian's *floruit* was probably very close to that of Apuleius. If Apuleius knew the Greek Bible we see no sign of it. The hydra-headed phenomenon known as the *Vetus Latina* was not circulating as an entity. For what it is worth, the unfavourable reference at *Met.* IX.14 suggests an outsider's complete incomprehension of either Judaism or Christianity.

For the Septuagint translators, pioneering in Greek as they undoubtedly were, pagan society thus had little or nothing to offer by way of translation theory or practice. It seems probable that if they had had access to such approaches both they and those who stood in their succession would have been horrified by them, at least when it came to the Pentateuch. The aims were by devout standards frivolous, the methods irreverent. Philo was undoubtedly partisan, but his attitude to their version was perhaps partly informed by such comparisons. They could rely on only one ancient convention, that of the pedantically literalistic handling of law<sup>58</sup> and other technical material. The principle at work is decidedly not that of 'dynamic equivalence' either; and it is possible that those who rendered the Torah would, if they had known of that, have rejected it with indignation. They were therefore forced into creating a lingo which can only be termed 'trans-

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<sup>58</sup> Rome must have taken over from older empires this approach to the rendering of legal texts, always necessary to strong government.

lationese'<sup>59</sup>.

That the Septuagint proper was so obviously unique as literature is likely to have given it added authority for every aspect of later translation-work. It is therefore necessary for Part II of this study to reckon with the high probability of detailed dependence on the Alexandrian Pentateuch for both method in general and information about meaning in particular. Part II is based on an application of all the information about the Greek language already assembled and evaluated to the *minutiae* of rendition method and interpretation in particular contexts. There is a sustained effort to observe what form the translation-process took and to categorize the various approaches to the original. While it is obviously unsound to attach much if any significance to Greek which is unexceptionable as Greek or as translation, there is very much fine detail in the translation method which can be explained only in terms of inner-Septuagintal dependence and influence. The evidence for Septuagintal affinities is carefully noted throughout Part II. Certain of the conclusions to which it leads are startling.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Perhaps its most obvious large-scale peculiarity, as I shall demonstrate in detail, is a rigidly un-Greek order. Cf. Dover [§B] for an account of basic regularities in order.

<sup>60</sup> One salient fact is that in spite of all the vicissitudes of transmission and revision it is still possible to reach Septuagintal or Old Greek textual bedrock. Renditions which are neither idiomatic nor literal in a given context, or are plainly based on a notion of the sense which is appropriate in one passage but not in another, must be original in the textual sense. It is inconceivable that such phenomena would have originated with Atticizing scribes or scrupulous revisers; on the contrary, scribal and revising activity would tend to eliminate them.

There is extraordinarily little modern analysis of Septuagintal or Old Greek translation technique. Some comment has already been made on Seeligmann's work on the *Isaiah* version. His second chapter on the technique employed and the relation of the version to the Hebrew text begins with a discussion of the theory that there were two translators, the second of whom took up the work at xl. He has no difficulty in assembling evidence of such variety of rendering within the putative two sections that inconsistency can be termed both pervasive and deliberate. This is in spite of the fact that his mind is open to the possibility that the version is a blend of several pre-existent written strata of varying age. He then argues that his translator tended to avoid literalism and to aim for good Greek style. He reinforces the point by a comparison with eight renderings of the parallel material in II Ki xviii-xx, concurring with Thackeray that the language is "good κοινὴ" [pp. 42-3]. He states that the translator had a sound knowledge of Greek because "he possessed a big vocabulary" [p. 43]. At the same time he admits that one aspect of the inconsistency in rendering is that for the same Hebrew expression literalism of a hebraizing kind is sometimes avoided and sometimes not. He detects the spirit of its Jewish-Hellenistic origins in the whole tone of the version. He mentions a handful of formulae which he terms a "far from negligible number of standardized expressions relating to traditional homiletics and religious practice" [p. 45]. He then cites a much larger number of renderings which he sees as certainly derived from the Greek Pentateuch [pp. 45-9]. Here he mingles cases of accurate renderings of *Isaiah* with some which he calls



"strikingly free". He finds some Aramaisms in his text. He gives five examples to back his claim that "On repeated occasions" [p. 50] the translator availed himself of current etymological theory from which lost Hebrew meanings may be recovered. A very few more examples are linked by him with Targumic usage. He finds in certain passages traces of knowledge of lost meanings of רָגַע, תִּרְדָּמָה and other words more traceable elsewhere in the Septuagint such as אֲרִימֹן. He shows that there is some confusion of Hebrew roots. The translator is shown to be both inconsistent and careless in his rendering of specifically Hebrew grammatical forms, leading to the conclusion that his grammatical grasp was not as good as his lexical. Seeligmann then moves on to discuss in a brief and tentative way<sup>61</sup> the relation of the version to the Hebrew text.

Seeligmann's third chapter, in which he takes up his real subject, the matter of the translator as a contemporising interpreter, begins with the assertion that his version contains strata from different periods [p. 70]. He then moves on to attempt a relative dating of certain books on the basis of certain "renderings"; it is concluded on the basis of seven *Psalms* passages, four from the Twelve and several from *Ezekiel* [xvi.25, xxiii.19, xxv.16, the recurrent phrase ἐπὶ τὰ πρόθυρα in ch. viii] that the version is later than all these Old

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<sup>61</sup> I make no comment on these not very productive few pages except to say that they are vitiated by a paucity of examples and weak argumentation. Seeligmann commits himself to a principle which is precisely wrong, that "correction consciously applied is inconsistent with misunderstanding of the original". For every scribe, and, as I shall show, for more than one translator, *omne ignotum pro errato* is the rule. The question of the relation to the Hebrew text is not the only point at which he appears to be feeling his way methodologically.

Greek texts. Evidence is also adduced that it influenced the Old Greek of *Daniel*, *Ecclesiasticus* and *Kingdoms*<sup>62</sup>. It is stated that the Greek language itself cannot be used in arriving at an absolute dating [p. 76]. Geographical and cultural notions are attached to such "renderings" as *Δαγών* at xlvi.1, *Ἀραβία* at x.9, xi.11, *Ἀρμενία* at xxxvii.38, *Περσῶν* at xlix.12. Historical reminiscences are found in viii.23 and xiv.18-20, where there are "clear" references to Antiochus Epiphanes IV [pp. 82-3]. Seeligmann is not so certain that viii.8 refers to Onias III [p. 84]. x.24 refers to the forced emigration to Egypt under Antiochus Epiphanes [p. 85].<sup>63</sup>

*ἄλλοφύλων* at xi.14 may reflect Jonathan's capture of Philistine coast-cities and the subsequent Jewish use of their fleet, or this may be an echo of the rendering at I Sa v.6 [p. 86]. The date of the version may be fixed by means of these indications at or about 140 *ante* [pp. 86-7]. Distortion of x.5-6

הַי אֲשׁוּר שָׁבַט אֲפִי וַיִּמְסֶה-הוּא בִּירָם וְעַמִּי :

בְּנֵי חֲנָף אֲשַׁלְּחֵנּוּ וְעַל-עַם עִבְרָתִי אֲצַוֶּה לְשַׁלֵּל לְבָבִי בָּם וְלִשְׁמוֹ

וְלִשְׁמוֹ מִרְמָס כַּחֲמֵר חוֹצוֹת :

so as to make the passage favourable to the people of God, and the inclusion of the phrase *ἔθνος ἄνομον*, make a reference to Seleucid Syria [pp. 87-8]. xxiii.11-12 and the addition of *καὶ ἀδικεῖν* reflect the anti-Jewish movement in Phoenicia during the Maccabæan wars [pp. 88-9]. xv.7 ff. and the use of

<sup>62</sup> This last on the grounds that in the well-known parallel passage the *Isaiah* translation is less literal in about thirty places. The reasoning is dependent on Thackeray's.

<sup>63</sup> Though Seeligmann cites the Old Greek of Dt xxviii.63, Am iv.10 he does not see that we may have a purely verbal back-reference here, and moreover one possibly made to one or both of the Hebrew originals.

ἐπάγειν... Ἰσραβας reflect knowledge of the expansion of the Nabatæan state and its conquest of Transjordan during the Second Century *ante* [p. 89]. Seeligmann thinks it possible but not certain that xx.5, xxii.5 hint at revolutions and Ethiopian rebellions in Ptolemaic Egypt [pp. 89-90]. He is prepared to date ch. xxiii to the mid-Second Century *ante* on the basis of what he sees as an allusion in v. 10 to the attempt by Carthage to become an agrarian state after the destruction of its sea-power in 250-10 [p. 90].

Chapter Four looks at the translation with a view to finding signs of a theological *Tendenz*. Here Seeligmann finds fewer significant passages. His approach is more selective. He admits that there are methodological difficulties: there are numerous parallels with the theological outlook of Septuagint books which must be earlier, literal renderings are as revealing as are changes, and changes may be unconscious [pp. 95-6]. His cases of significant changes which must originate with his version are as follows. He finds several terms such as κύριος, αἰώνιος, δίκαιος, δικαιοσύνη and ἔλεος the use of which in context emphasize God's intimate care for his people against the Hebrew [pp. 97-8]. There are traces of a polemic against heathen deities: the sense is reversed by θήσουσι αὐτὰ καὶ οὐ κινηθήσονται<sup>64</sup> for לֹא יִמוּט פֶּסַל לֵאמֹר at xli.7, the Hellenistic cult of (Ἄγαθος) Δαίμων and Τύχη is attacked at lxv.11, σαίρῆνες occurs in the possible sense "demons of death" for בְּנֵי יַעַר at xliii.21, xxxiv.13, xliii.20 and

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<sup>64</sup> The argument is somewhat weakened by the fact that κινεῖσθαι is perfectly good Greek for being shaken by earthquake or other disturbance.

ἑωσφόρος, connected with the festivities in honour of Alexander, stands for  $\text{לֵילֵה}$  at xiv.12 [pp. 98-100]. There are two original cases of a form derived from Jewish ceremony and liturgy: ἡμέραν μεγάλην, later the name for  $\text{יום כפור}$ , at i.13, and ἄγιος coupled with ἐν ὕψηλοῖς at xxxiii.5 [101-2]. εὐσεβής [xxiv.6, xxvi.7 bis] and εὐσέβεια [xi.2, xxxiii.6] were chosen to point up the Jewish conviction that ethics and religious practice are united; there is an extension in several passages of the sense of δικαιοσύνη<sup>65</sup> from a divine to a human virtue which is reinforced in four passages by an emphasis on the claims of the poor [pp. 103-4]. Reference is made to the Law, the Torah and the sight of the Gnosis at xxiv.11-16, viii.25, xxxiii.6 [pp. 105-8]. Belief in the power of prophecy is introduced without support from the Hebrew at xxi.10, xlii.9, li.16, xxv.7, xlix.1, xxx.27 [pp. 109-10]. There are signs of a reaction against the classic prophetic view of the  $\text{גלות}$  as a just punishment at xxxiii.12, x.20, li.23, xxv.1 ff., xxxv.8 [pp. 111-13]. Zion and Jerusalem as national symbols are introduced at i.26, xviii.4, xxxi.9, lxiii.17-18, the idea of deliverance from exile at li.14, i.27, xxxiii.20, xxxviii.11, lii.10, x.22, x.20, xxxvii.32, vi.12, xxiv.14, iv.2 [pp. 113-16]. There is an expectation that the Remnant will increase and an identification of that Remnant with the community in Egypt at xi.16, xix.24-5, xiv.2, lvi.8 [pp. 116-17]. xli.25, xli.1a, xlv.16b, lxiv.15, lxvi.5 signify a hope for the turning of the whole world to the worship of the one true God [pp. 117-18]. ix.6

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<sup>65</sup> Here I cannot follow in view of the standard use of the noun from Socrates on.

possibly, and certainly xi.4, speak of Messiah and of universal peace [pp. 118-19]. The translator's *Weltanschauung* shows very little sign of Hellenization. A major implication is that all books of the Septuagint must be studied and viewed "as ancient testimonies of the Jewish exegesis" [pp. 120-1].

It would be unjust to the author not to grant that he has adumbrated, particularly in his effort at relative dating, a method which has been found extraordinarily fruitful in the present study. It is intelligent to seek to uncover the roots of major divergences between the version and the original. His demonstration of diversity of rendering is useful. On balance he has, in my view, established in Chapter Three that there are deliberate references to events and situations in Palestine and Egypt in the mid-Second Century B.C. as seen in Heliopolis. In Chapter Four he maintains a smaller number of conclusions but his evidence is stronger. As an early reviewer noted, he did his work at an exceptionally difficult time.<sup>66</sup> However, a chain is as strong as its weakest link; and an insensitivity to the importance of the Greek of his text as Greek vitiates much of his work. It is insufficient, for example, to speak of a large vocabulary when no effort is made to compare the scale with that of any other text. If he had grasped the significance of stylistic features which, whether literal or unliteral as renderings, require an explanation as language, he could have been much more certain of the validity or otherwise of some of his examples. He has no sense that mere verbal coincidence leads nowhere unless the Greek is

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<sup>66</sup> See Otto Eißfeldt [§C].

somehow problematic as Greek.<sup>67</sup> As a result his relative dating, even though with the exception of *Kingdoms* and part of *Ezekiel* I shall be found to concur with him, is insecurely based. By proceeding to deny that the language can be used in dating the version absolutely, for which opinion he cites no written authority, but only the personal view of one scholar, he cuts himself off from a major source of information. Other serious weaknesses are the wholly unproven assumptions that there were "synagogal traditions" of interpretation [p. 79] and that various literary strata are preserved in part in his version, that historical reminiscences cannot be much older than the text in which they appear, that one can eat one's cake and have it over passages which may simply depend on older Septuagintal precedents and that Targumic parallels necessarily provide independent confirmation of, as opposed to being quite possibly derived from, Septuagintal interpretations.

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<sup>67</sup> One cannot be happy with the confident assertion that at viii.23 οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ τὴν παραλίαν κατοικοῦντες was "literally taken over from" Ez xxv.16, and that this is a case of a conscious interpretation of the text in terms of the Seleucid domination of the "technical formulation" παραλία. The Greek phrase as a whole is clearly different from τοὺς καταλόγους τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν παραλίαν, its order is more idiomatic, and it is at least as likely to be a direct reminiscence of the original in that place, quite independent or even an echo of Jo ix.1 οἱ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ παραλίᾳ τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς μεγάλης, Dt i.7 ... πάντας τοὺς περιόκους Ἀραβα ... πρὸς λίβα καὶ παραλίαν, Ju v.17 Ἀσηρ ἐκάθισεν παραλίαν θαλασσῶν or their respective *Vorlagen*, which are all geographical catalogues. In the second place, τὰ μέρη τῆς Ἰουδαίας cannot be called a "technical formulation" for the districts of Judah as they were in the translator's own time, when the term is found in the form τὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίας μέρη for מְרָאֵי יְהוּדָה at I Sa xxx.14, another geographical context. Only the immediately intervening καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, Γαλιλαία τῶν ἔθνων, is left to bear the weight of the argument. This is one example only of how easily some of Seeligmann's evidence may dissolve away.

Perhaps the root defect of Seeligmann's study is its very narrow evidentiary base. The reader of the foregoing summary is bound to notice how frequently, particularly in his longer Chapter Three, assertions about interpretative activity are based on one example only. That one example is sometimes weak or ambiguous. There is a vagueness about the technical principles on which the translators operated.<sup>68</sup> Given the large amount of text in the whole book, the body of phenomena which are examined in any detail is very slender. It is left to the reader, for example, to guess or assess how many more "excessively free renderings" there may be than those which are discussed, and to ask himself whether interpretative activity is the exception or the rule in these. Nor is it pedantic to expect a scholar to develop a more precise way of designating conspicuously free recasting and creative writing than the term "rendering": in many of the cases so termed there is by no stretch of the imagination any relation between the Greek and even a hypothetical *Vorlage*. Before one credits translators with subtle and deliberate interpretation, one ought to show weighty evidence that they did not, through following precedent, sheer ignorance or some other unintended cause, very regularly misinterpret.<sup>69</sup>

H.M. Orlinsky is responsible for some of the most sophisticated commentary on problems of methodology in such ana-

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<sup>68</sup> There is a similar vagueness about whether they considered anachronistic interpretation a desperate expedient, a legitimate application of religious truth or an inspired composition.

<sup>69</sup> It is my own impression that in the case of the *Isaiah* version their Hebrew was normally unequal to the task.

lysis. Between 1957 and 1965 he produced a substantial and remarkable series of articles in *HUCA*,<sup>70</sup> which included a perspicacious analytical survey of older work, detailed examination of the methods of the *Job* version, study of the then-present state of the Greek text, the text and script of the *Vorlage* and useful remarks on what he viewed as sound method, of which he supplied examples. In his articles 'On the Matter of Anthropomorphisms....' [1959, 1961] he presented evidence which constitutes a strong warning against prejudice about Septuagintal translation technique.

For the *Ezekiel* version C.H. Cornill supplied, in the magisterial 175 pages of *Prolegomena* to his 1886 commentary on the Hebrew text,<sup>71</sup> an investigation of characteristic features on a larger scale than that of any predecessor. His verdict was one which G.A. Cooke thought so soundly based that there was no need to restate it in 1936 for his own commentary.<sup>72</sup> It is in effect still regnant. It is indicative of how neglected the subject is that this should be so, whereas Cornill's once equally authoritative survey of the manuscript tradition in pp. 13-95 has been superseded by more recent work. Working on the basis of fewer published manuscripts and far fewer critical editions, as well as much less ample Greek Language resources than modern students, he sought to discover how the individual whom he called "der Grieche" went about his work. With some sporadic exceptions which he could not explain, he described what he believed to be a witness to a Third Century

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<sup>70</sup> §C.

<sup>71</sup> See §D, pp. 96-103 'Die LXX als textkritische Zeuge'.

<sup>72</sup> See p. xl of his Introduction [§D].



B.C. Hebrew text as essentially faithful in the extreme. He was able to find numerous examples where guesswork was deliberately avoided; word-order and syntax in general were forced into a literal and un-Greek shape; *καί* stood for *ἔ* however unhappy the result; pronouns were retained or omitted precisely as in the original; *ἔ* was felicitously rendered by sundry Greek conjunctions; prepositions were translated as literally as possible; tense, voice and aspect were exactly reproduced; Hebrew idioms were rendered by slavish but "hair-raising" Greek; and significant additions to the Hebrew were faithfully rendered because, as he believed, they were present in the *Vorlage*. Cornill confessed himself unable to explain certain expansions as original to the version, and maintained that the version was even in the tiniest details "eine absolut treue". Hence it must be treated as a completely reliable witness to the Hebrew current in Alexandria when it was made.

Since Cornill's classic commentary the concentration has been on a possibility first mooted early in this century<sup>73</sup> by H. St. John Thackeray, and fully developed in Appendix III of his Schweich lectures of 1920<sup>74</sup>. Linking what he saw as a pattern of rendering which pointed to two distinct translators with a detail in Epiphanius concerning the production of the

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<sup>73</sup> See Thackeray §C 1903.

<sup>74</sup> See §C; this was not the only book for which in 1920 he propounded the bisection theory. He thought of this, not in literary terms, but as a mechanical effect of the finite length of scrolls. In the case of *Ezekiel* he was forced to conclude [*op. cit.* pp. 37-39] that after two scrolls were assigned, presumably in order to save translation time, the second translator handed the work back to the first when he came face to face with the difficulties of xl-xlviiii.

Septuagint proper<sup>75</sup>, he proposed that the book was divided between them, one having completed i-xxvii, which he called α(i) and xl-xlviii, or α(ii), and the other xxviii-xxxix (with the omission of a short section of xxxvi), which he called β.<sup>76</sup> He tabulated in section (1) a total of 13 contrasts between his two main translators, ἑρεῖς and εἰπόν for חַרְוִי, (ἐπι)γνώσ(ονται) ὅτι/δίστι ἐγὼ Κύριος and γνώσ(ονται) ὅτι/δίστι ἐγὼ εἰμι Κύριος for חַרְוִי אֲנִי כִי ... , Σόρ and Τύρος for צָר, צַר, ἢ σὺμπασα καὶ τὰ παρατείνοντα and Μόσοχ καὶ Θοβέλ for "Tubal and Mesech", οἱ ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι/παράταξις and οἱ περί/οἱ μετά for מִפְּנֵי, ἀφανίζεῖν/ἀφανισμός and ἔρημοῦν/ἔρημος/ἔρημία/ἀπώλεια for חַרְוִי, מַמְשׁ and cognates, διαρπάζειν/διαρπαγή and σκυλεύειν/σκῦλον for בָּנִי, מַמְשׁ and cognates, διασκορπίζεῖν/διασπείρειν/σκορπίζεῖν and λικμᾶν for חַרְוִי, ἐνδέχεσθαι and συνάγειν for צָרָה, καλός and ἀγαθός for טוֹב, κλῆμα and κλάδος for חַרְוִי etc., κραταίος/δυνατός and ἰσχυρός for חַרְוִי, צָרָה, and lastly ὑπερηφανία and ὕβρις for חַרְוִי. He then stated that the β portion had "many other peculiarities"<sup>77</sup>, e.g. (i) of syntax about 30 occurrences chiefly in prepositional usage, (ii) a handful of items of general vocabulary, and (iii) the relatively rare placing of a dependent

<sup>75</sup> There is, I believe, a more straightforward explanation of the tradition that the workers operated in pairs. For Epiphanius' note to this effect see Swete [§A] i.14.

<sup>76</sup> As I have already suggested, the question of the unity or otherwise of the version is not insignificant for the larger aim of this study. It is therefore taken seriously. I shall show that there is a way of looking at the evidence which covers all the facts, both the cogent observations and the indigestible exceptions.

<sup>77</sup> These appear when inspected to be matters of Greek style as opposed to renditional method, though this is not made entirely clear. The ambiguity is unhelpful.

genitive before its governing noun, which also occurs but even more rarely in  $\alpha$ . His remaining examples in section (1) are "rarer" ones of 23 agreements in renderings, which with other "sporadic" examples he attributed to "chance or to co-operation".

In section (2) he listed renderings common to the two portions of  $\alpha$  but absent from  $\beta$ . These total 30, of which four are peculiar to the book as words or renderings. He stated that the "instances abound", although a careful count shows that the majority occur infrequently, some only twice. He found over against "this habitual agreement of the two parts of Ez.  $\alpha$ " an apparent discrepancy in the treatment of the double divine name. The evidence had been set out in full in 1913 in an essay<sup>78</sup> on the Divine Names in *Ezekiel* by J. Herrmann, who believed that xl-xlviiii was translated by a third hand, and noted independently that somewhere about ch. xxvii there was some intermingling of styles. Thackeray concluded that the inconsistency of practice in the treatment of the double divine name lay in the *Vorlage*.

Less relevant to the present study is Thackeray's section (3), in which he tabulates 39 renderings common to his  $\alpha$  portion and *I Kings*. The Hebrew is often doubtful, the sense sometimes technical and the text not always at all certain in either language. Some renderings are peculiar to these two books in the Old Greek. It is worth noting that there is some overlap with  $\beta$ , and that even doubtful cases become thinner on the ground between ch. xv and ch. xl. In section (4) the

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<sup>78</sup> Unfortunately never accessible to me.

argument is made that xxxvi.24-38, or ββ, is by another hand altogether, on the grounds that the Greek is Theodotonic. Very few examples, and most of these showing variants, are given by way of support.

Thackeray's schema might be considered less than watertight even if all his examples were firm. As it is, a good proportion are unstable. In the first place, the text itself is fairly frequently in doubt, for example in the phrases used for אֶרֶץ and אֶרֶץ יְהוּדָה. σκοπέειν is almost certainly spurious at v.12 and there is confusion in the tradition over its synonyms. Between the Atticizing scribe and the standardising reviser prepositional usage and order in general, unless they are either passable Greek or literal rendering, are peculiarly liable to be 'improved' one way or another. The discrepant renderings of place-names look suspiciously like the results of revising activity, which is surely quite as likely as translation to have been associated with the neat bisection of books. In the second place, much work has been done on κοινή Greek since Thackeray suggested his division of the text. The rarity of items of general vocabulary in the Septuagintal corpus is not significant when, as is nearly always the case, there is attestation both in the Greek Pentateuch and in secular Greek of the period.<sup>79</sup> It is hard to see why a translator should not introduce a moderate variety into his vocabulary when he has both biblical and secular models before him. Furthermore, a glance at the table of Greek synonyms on pp. 65-72 will show that several of the items tabul-

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<sup>79</sup> Of the general vocabulary tabulated in section (1) only διασκοπέειν lacks Classical attestation.

ated by Thackeray overlap significantly with others with which he contrasts them: they operate stylistically according to a quite different schema, or more accurately in accordance with no schema at all. Thirdly, from the point of view of rendition method Thackeray's tabulation does not reckon with the possibility that in a given context not all his contrasting renderings of identical Hebrew may be operating synonymously. ὕβρις and ὑπερηφάνια are not synonyms. In due course we shall see that context exerted considerable force upon the sense of 'meaning' felt by the translator(s). Conversely certain of his "common renderings" have more than one Hebrew lexeme or 'meaning' behind them. We shall see in Part II that though a root-for-root method was pervasive, that did not tie the translator(s) to any principle of one-for-one equivalency.

For Ezekiel Thackeray had by 1921 established the probability that the book was bisected for translation. His case may be summed up by saying that though it explained some curious variations his firm examples were not very numerous, and to cover some anomalies he had to postulate an artificial degree of co-operation between his two translators. In 1923 J. Herrmann<sup>80</sup> argued, using a larger number of cases of varied renderings, that xl-xlviii ought to be ascribed to a third translator. Unfortunately it must be said of him as of Thackeray that he has sufficient exceptions tucked away in footnotes to overturn the argument, and with it his analysis. Some fifteen years later A.C. Johnson, H.S. Gehman and E.H.

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<sup>80</sup>See §C Herrmann and Baumgärtel, *Beiträge*, pp. 1-19.

Kase<sup>81</sup> returned to the question in the light of the relevant fragments of pap. 967. They could find only two translators, explaining the residual phenomena in terms of a later revision of a roll containing i-xxvii.

Interestingly Thackeray's theory that bisection was routine, and his view of i-xxvii as distinct, remained unchallenged for several decades. In a relatively recent article<sup>82</sup> Nigel Turner has argued for a modified synthesis of Thackeray and Herrmann. He considers it "very probable that the three scholars were making use of earlier versions of various kinds, not necessarily complete translations of Ezekiel. The whole book, or at least i-xxxix, was finally subjected to the editorial activity of a single hand". He believes that one of the three translators ended his labour after ch. xxv. He says of the significant agreements between the work of  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  that "Thackeray's suggestion of chance just will not do, but his further explanation is reasonable: that there was co-operation, or overlapping, of labour on the part of the translators". He adduces more cases of renderings and Greek language features<sup>83</sup> which appear to him to show a pattern of contrast between  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ , namely that " $\alpha$  has ὅπως seventeen times as often as ἴνα, while  $\beta$  has ἴνα twice as often as ὅπως; that

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<sup>81</sup> See §C pp. 52 ff.

<sup>82</sup> §C 'The Greek Translators of Ezekiel.'

<sup>83</sup> While there is some unclarity in places as to whether he is arguing from linguistic or rendition data, his case rests primarily on the latter type. The distinction is important: the balance of ἀπό and ἐκ, for example, is much more likely to be an effect of unconscious habit than the choice of Σορ as against ἴσορ. Thus if from about xxvii the textual transmission was subject to different influences, deliberate Hellenizing might coexist with distinctively post-Classical forms such as the encroachment of ἀπό.

$\alpha$  renders  $\eta\psi\zeta$  by καταπέλοιθα,  $\beta$  by πέλοιθα, together with many other differences of rendering; that in  $\alpha$ , μετά is followed by the genitive four times as often as by the accusative, but fourteen times as often in  $\beta$ ; that the optative mood, twice used in  $\alpha$ , never occurs in  $\beta$ ; that, down to xxiv, there is a decided preference for πρός after εἰπεῖν, λέγειν (fifty-two, against only eight datives), whereas from that point until xxxviii the dative is certainly preferred". Noting that "as time went on, the province of ἀπό gradually encroached on that of ἐκ in Hellenistic Greek, until the difference between them became largely a matter of individual style," he shows that the proportion of ἀπό/ἐκ in  $\alpha$  (193:187) is so different from that in  $\beta$  (64:37) that by the standards of "the two halves of Jeremiah" and New Testament books known to be by the same hand  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  are extraordinarily dissimilar. For  $\alpha$ (ii) separated off from the whole he discovers a new development: in respect of ἀπό and ἐκ the sections  $\alpha$ (ii) and  $\beta$  go closely together:  $\alpha$ (ii) shows 1.8:1,  $\beta$  1.7:1, while  $\alpha$ (i) stands apart with 0.8:1. He then argues with Herrmann for a distinct translator of xl-xlviii, noting that declarative διότι is frequent in  $\alpha$ (i), absent from  $\alpha$ (ii), that  $\lambda\kappa$  after words of speaking is rendered only by πρός from xl.4 on, and that the introduction of  $\phi\omega\zeta$  without equivalent is a feature only of  $\alpha$ (ii). He tabulates on pp. 14-15 some 26 Hebrew items rendered distinctively in  $\alpha$ (ii). The "few common features of  $\alpha$ (i) and  $\alpha$ (ii)" he ascribes to the standardising work of a later editor. He then moves to argue that the dividing line between  $\alpha$ (i) and  $\beta$  must be drawn at the end of xxv [pp. 16-17].

Section IV of Turner's article presents evidence which

points in his view "either to extensive co-operation on the part of the translators, or to a subsequent process of revision and standardization". The examples are chiefly of particles, of which  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  comes in patches<sup>84</sup>, and of prepositions. In section V he moves on to observe in a total of 19 chapters (that is in virtually half the book and distributed over all three of the portions which Herrmann and he claim to have identified) what he calls "a bewildering variety of renderings". This he cannot explain except by means of "a theory of several co-operating translators or, more probably, the incorporation of the work of previous translators", which left in certain "interesting" passages "traces of earlier fragmentary versions" [*op. cit.* p. 20].

Turner has gathered very considerable hitherto unpublished detail on the unity question. For the Greek language his is a much more informed method than that of his predecessors. It is unclear, however, quite how it advances the topic. We are left with an editorial unity which is not a unity, a position which brings us no nearer to being able to characterize the component parts. While his treatment has the merit of taking account of diachronic differences within some sets of renderings, and he is relatively sure-footed as a Hellenist, there is less substance to his argument than meets the eye<sup>85</sup>. He does not note the distinction between such textually vulnerable variations as  $\delta\tau\iota/\delta\iota\acute{o}\tau\iota$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}/\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$  and forms of the

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<sup>84</sup> A phenomenon which suggests to him that the passages concerned are parts of older versions.

<sup>85</sup> To be fair, it will be found when more facts are collated that in setting a demarcation at the end of ch. xxv he is getting warmer than his predecessors.



Divine Name on the one hand, and genuinely synonymous common nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs which a scribe is much less likely to touch. I see the figures for ἀπό/ἐκ<sup>86</sup> as so strikingly different for α and β that the theory of two translators working at roughly the same period cannot account for them; given that in good Greek until the early Byzantine period they always govern the same case, so that no other changes follow, it is very much more likely that we are looking at a purely mechanical break, where the transmission now became subject to different influences. This would explain why even his fresh investigation of where precisely the break between α and β is to be found involves untidy exceptions. Nor do the horrendous problems of circularity involved in establishing a Greek text of xl-xlvi give him pause. There are other respects in which the question of unity is more complex than he has perhaps realised. He does not distinguish between renderings which are of synonyms and those where the original does not present us with a synonymous set, between renderings which are strong and those which are less so, nor does he note systematically which renderings point to relationships of dependence and influence within the Septuagint corpus<sup>87</sup>. It is inadequate to emphasize that a word such as πέλιτη [op. cit. p. 13] occurs nowhere else in the Septuagint when it is a perfectly ordinary Classical and post-Classical item<sup>88</sup>. Perhaps through a failure to be sensitive to the particular effect of repet-

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<sup>86</sup> Which I have not myself computed separately.

<sup>87</sup> It is at this last point, as will be amply demonstrated in Part II, that he misses the golden thread in the unity question.

<sup>88</sup> See Appendix B List 3.

ition within a short context in Greek, he cannot come to terms with a great variety of renderings as quite feasibly the work of one hand. This lands him in a contradiction in terms: if there is "no reason why" words should be differently rendered within a very small compass, there is no reason why a putative final translator or team of translators should have tolerated such inconsistencies. Quite how, therefore, in the "re-editing or incorporation of certain older strata" so many striking inconsistencies of method should have escaped standardisation is a mystery. It is not clarified when ch. xvi, which is indeed interesting, is by implication included with passages "having material of abiding interest and avoiding the excesses of condemnation against God's people" [p. 23 *ibid.*]. One is left with the by now familiar sense of an explanation of admittedly awkward phenomena which is a matter of *obscurum per obscurius*. Again there are too many exceptions, but this time they are explained away.

My own method in Part II is independent of all of these, not invariably in principle, but almost always in practice. In particular I have walked warily in places where the translation appears to smooth out a serious difficulty. Any translator must have felt a certain obligation to make sense of his original. Given that the Hebrew which we have is often difficult, and generally considered to be corrupt in many places, it is perilous to assume that renderings which at first sight suggest a simpler underlying text are most naturally explained in such terms. Seeligmann identified in the case of his very difficult original certain "excessively free renderings" which were clearly the counsel of despair. The

translation methods in Ez i-xxxix will be found to have rather different characteristics. However, a different approach to an obscure or apparently irrelevant text, even an approach which seems much more 'faithful' than that of the *Isaiah* version, may still conceal an actual evasion in the face of some intractable problem.

I have looked at the translation methods in i-xxxix in a teachable and flexible way: given the facts of the language, certain well-defined categories of rendering began to emerge from the mass of detail. It has already been stated that a parallel MT-Old Greek text was made for i-xxxix and that it proved to be a blunt instrument. The most finely-tuned categories which could be applied to it, without a detailed appraisal of the Greek language resources, consisted of reasonably accurate renderings, free renderings, obviously mistaken renderings, apparent omissions and apparent additions. Part I supplied the means of a much more refined analysis.<sup>89</sup> It was now possible to group very many otherwise incomprehensible renderings either on the basis of their relation to traditional Septuagintal method, or on that of the inability of the tradition to offer precedents. The philological and stylistic rôle of tradition was found to be large. Very many apparent mistranslations were found to be traditional formulae inappropriately applied in contexts which were not fully understood. These are traced to source as often as may be. Much

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<sup>89</sup> It must be said without further delay that this stage of the work could not have made progress without habitual reference to Hatch and Redpath [§C]. The concordance is the great unmined lode for New Testament as well as Septuagintal Greek. The whole Septuagintal corpus in the broadest sense was constantly searched by means of it.

in the way of gross misunderstanding could now be explained as desperate guesswork where tradition had nothing to offer. The habit of "*verbum pro verbo*" literalism, but without much concern for wholesale root-for-root consistency, was obviously maintained. Though independent etymologizing was relatively uncommon, there was plenty of reliance on tradition for notions, sound or unsound, of meaning. These notions too are traced to source wherever they can be. In addition there was natural human resort to the simple omission of rare expressions, guesses happy or unhappy from the context, and renderings based on sound. Some renderings are clearly a consequence of natural human error. Yet others are consequential upon error. There was very little conscious avoidance of infelicitous Greek, as though the translation-language had an authority of its own. The amount of apparent independent editing, interpretation, expansion or tendentious mistranslation is with one major exception very small. That the translators were out of their depth, under pressure to complete their task, or subject to some combination of these two factors, is overwhelmingly the most reasonable explanation of practically all looseness and error in the version.

Virtually none of these categories could have been developed without the foregoing work on the Greek. They supply the framework for the appraisal of translation technique in Part II. By means of them it has been found possible to account for a very high proportion of the material in i-xxxix. It will be seen from the conclusion on the unity of the version how vital it was to identify idiosyncratic Greek in Part I, and to trace examples of it, as well as cases of 'philolog-

izing', to source as often as possible in Part II. This first conclusion leads directly to a second, on a relative dating of the stages in the translation-work on *Ezekiel* and other books, and on the Egyptian provenance of parts at least of i-xxxix. The third conclusion supplies a basis on which in Part III apparent MT-Old Greek divergences can be weighed partly as aspects of qualitative differences between disparate parts of the version.

Part III requires little comment. In Parts I and II a new and finely-honed instrument, with which most of the Greek text has already been evaluated, has been created. The vast majority of cases of apparent divergence, textual or philological, between the MT and the version have already been eliminated from discussion on the basis of Greek language, Greek text, translation technique or failure to grasp the sense. The process of elimination has thus led to two results: the residue of unexplained passages in the version is not large, and the classic arsenal of methods used in existing studies of the Hebrew text<sup>90</sup> has been augmented and refined by a battery of analogies. Every refinement of method, old and new, is employed in Part III. Parallels from the whole earlier discussion are frequently drawn. That so very little emerges that is unequivocally new, by the standards of weighty older treatments which constantly invoked the Old Greek, is not in itself a negative conclusion. It signifies that the version must be used more like a laser than an axe. It indicates, too, that Septuagint study must, if it is to be useful in the con-

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<sup>90</sup> See §D *passim*.

text of Hebrew text and interpretation, start with careful evaluation of the Greek as language and as rendition. That other Old Greek books, similarly assessed, might prove much more fruitful, is entirely possible.

# PART I





PART I  
THE LANGUAGE.

For the purposes of the present dissertation it seems best to give the description first, under the heads of (1) Grammar, (2) Vocabulary and Word Formation and (3) Idiom, Usage and Semantics. Analysis of the phenomena, with an eye chiefly to the questions of dating and unity, will come second. Only general phenomena of morphology and syntax, and certain limited inventories such as pronouns and prepositions, are included under the head of "Grammar", the itemisation of particular formations being assigned to "Vocabulary and Word Formation", while particular cases of government will appear under "Idiom, Usage and Semantics". Orthographica will be left out of account, firstly because the matter was dealt with in great detail by Thackeray,<sup>1</sup> and secondly because orthography is of all linguistic phenomena the most subject to change, whether of a modernising or of an archaising kind, and essentially helps us only to fix the date of a given witness to the text of the Greek *Ezekiel*. In the case of a document written once and for all it can be relied upon as representing the original state of affairs; but in the case of our text questions of orthography can be settled only in accordance with an *a priori* notion of the date of the original, and on the basis of external linguistic evidence of the same date. This method appears to have been used by Ziegler, in heavy

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<sup>1</sup> See Thackeray *Grammar* pp. 1-139.

reliance upon Thackeray's evidence,<sup>2</sup> and it is clear that the resultant orthography does not constitute independent evidence of the linguistic character of our version.<sup>3</sup> For this enquiry more stable phenomena must be employed, and phenomena of several kinds and on a large scale. No case, for instance, for multiple authorship can be built upon one criterion or one type of criterion alone: there must be a coincidence of several sets of phenomena, grammatical, semantic and lexical, before a conclusion can be established. Morphology, especially in the case of terminations in Greek, frequently resolves itself into orthography,<sup>4</sup> but even where it does not morphological phenomena are clearly more vulnerable to scribal change than other features more deeply embedded in the language. Little stress will therefore be laid upon morphology, and far more upon syntactical patterns, usage and vocabulary.

It is no simple matter to date these chapters by the language, and well-nigh impossible within the very wide limits which an extreme scepticism might allow.<sup>5</sup> It is true that if

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<sup>2</sup> See *Orthographika* in the *Einleitung* to the *Ezekiel* edition, pp. 66-79.

<sup>3</sup> To list some examples at random:-  
 ἀγιάζω for ἀγίζω [xx.12 etc.].  
 γεῶν for γῶν [xxxvi.24].  
 ἠνοίχθην for ἀνεῴχθην [i.1, xxiii.22].  
 ἰχθύας for ἰχθύς [xxix.4,5].  
 κάθημα for κάθημα [xvi.11].  
 νοσσεύω for νοττεύω [xxxi.6].  
 ὀστέων, -έοις for ὀστών, -οῖς [xxxvii.1,5].  
 προμαχών for προμαχέων [iv.2].  
 ῥιφήσομαι for ῥιφθήσομαι [vii.19].  
 χωνεύω for χωανεύω [xxii.20,21,22].  
 οικοδόμημαί for οἰκοδόμημαί [xi.3].

<sup>4</sup> See the section on "Accidence", pp. 140-258 in Thackeray's *Grammar*, where Accidence is frequently not really the point at issue at all.

<sup>5</sup> It would be a help if the notice of the younger Ben Sira

the linguistic evidence does not exclude a date earlier than the time at which according to tradition the Law was translated, nor a date after the beginning of the Attic Revival, this same evidence renders, say, a late B.C. date improbable, so that a certain limitation has been achieved. But we are scarcely better off with such a conclusion than if we had left the linguistic evidence alone. It is worth attempting to extract some more precise indication from the phenomena; and our chances of success are perhaps increased if by abandoning, at least provisionally, the enormous *Spielraum* which scepticism grants us we can limit the period within which linguistic parallels must be sought. In the present study, therefore, an explanation of the phenomena will be sought on the assumption of a date not earlier than the middle of the third century B.C. nor later than the end of the first century A.D., and this assumption will be abandoned only in the face of strong evidence. These limits are fixed by simple probability: even supposing that some part of *Ezekiel* was translated before the Law, it is unlikely that the bulk would have been attempted at that stage; on the other hand, though the rather free citation

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[text in Göttingen edition of J. Ziegler XII/2 p. 125] could be relied upon as evidence for the existence of our version. One cannot agree that the writer is simply "commenting on the defects of translation" [A.C. Johnson - H.S. Gehman - E.H. Kase *The John H. Scheide Biblical Papyri: Ezekiel* (Princeton. 1938) p. 10], and implying nothing about the existence of Greek versions of the Hebrew Scriptures: it would scarcely prove his point about translation if he were to quote mythical examples. But we cannot be sure to what versions of αὐτὸς ὁ νόμος καὶ αἱ προφητεῖαι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων he is referring, nor precisely what he included under his second and third terms. The New Testament contains only one possible verbal echo, the expression πρόσωπον στηρίζω at *Lk.* ix.51; but this might equally come from the Greek *Jeremiah* [iii.12, xxi.10].

in Clement's *Letter to the Corinthians* of 96 A.D. does not prove the existence of the whole of our version, it is almost certainly a citation from a version, since it is very unlikely that the rendering of *Ezekiel* would have been left any later than this; and if of a version, is it not more likely to be of our version than of some other, seeing that the wording corresponds?<sup>6</sup> Within these limits it is of course always easier to find evidence for a late than for an early date, since no feature of the classical language can be assumed to have died during the κοινή period, particularly in literary circles,<sup>7</sup> and the translator of a strange and difficult text may well have been driven to a kind of archaizing by the very nature of his original. (It would perhaps be interesting to examine the language of the Greek Pentateuch in the light of this possibility.) For instance, a phenomenon which persists throughout the classical period and into the third century B.C. is weaker evidence for a third century date than one which is first attested in the third century; but neither is conclusive, since

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<sup>6</sup> There is in fact a considerable difference between the very loose paraphrase of xviii.30 ff., μετανοήσατε οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνομίας ὑμῶν, and the still loose but recognisable quotation of xxxiii.11-12, which though it substitutes synonyms for τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς and τὸ ἀποστρέψαι τὸν ἀσεβῆ ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ, and makes other minor changes, preserves the idiosyncratic ὡς. But unfortunately the other versions are scarcely preserved here: one of them may have been much closer.

<sup>7</sup> The comparative paucity of our sources for the literary κοινή is well known. Cf. for instance the remarks of E. Schwyzer in his review of Mayser *Grammatik* in *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 198 (1936), 233-41. It is noteworthy that the Greek *Ecclesiasticus* and *I* and *II Maccabees*, all books which are known to be fairly late, preserve a number of classical words which might otherwise be assumed to have disappeared from the language. Many words, as may be observed from Preisigke's *Wörterbuch*, apparently go underground until the Attic Revival owing to the nature of our sources.

they might equally occur in a still later text.<sup>8</sup> But due weight must be given to post-Classical phenomena, especially if they be numerous and seem to cluster about one particular date. The formation of those words which are attested only in our text within our period, and not at all at an earlier date, is clearly of great potential significance; whether or not they represent coinages for the specific purpose in hand, they are likely to be of types which were common at the time of composition.<sup>9</sup> The cases of hellenized semitisms and of transliterations, *prima facie* a fruitful source of information about date and provenance, must be handled with care, and can properly be discussed only under the heading of translation technique: the influence of the original and of (possibly erroneous) ideas as to how it was to be understood, let alone represented in translation, must always be taken into account<sup>10</sup>. But the grammatical features exhibited by hellen-

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<sup>8</sup> Given that the Greek Pentateuch was available, dependence upon it cannot be excluded any more than dependence upon classical literature and usage; and there is no means of knowing how late such archaizing could have taken place, especially in a bible translation. Thus no Pentateuchal feature which appears in our version can be used in dating. The same applies to the items which our version has in common with other Septuagint books, and which are otherwise unattested in our period: we do not know the chronological relation of these versions, so that each must first be dated separately on the basis of those features which it has in common with secular literature but not with other parts of the Septuagint: we may then be in a position to determine whether, say, the version of the Twelve Prophets may have borrowed certain coinages from that of *Ezekiel*.

<sup>9</sup> If they are much older than our version one would expect them to be attested elsewhere, whereas if they are neologisms they will probably have been modelled on the favourite word-types of the period. While it is possible that they did in fact arise earlier than the date of our version, but happen to be unattested, we must draw what tentative conclusions we can from what has survived.

<sup>10</sup> Thus the fact that the version apparently fails to make

ized semitisms which appear to originate with our version, as by other apparent neologisms, merit careful study. Great caution must be exercised in trying to extract indications of date from cases of usage and semantics. Although we are sometimes in a position to plot the probable course of semantic changes in Greek, the dating of such shifts, a delicate matter even in well-documented modern languages, is out of the question here. We cannot tell whether all the recorded meanings, and others as well, may not have been current simultaneously in the classical language. We must certainly be on our guard against any notion that the semantic potentiality of the 'early' stage of any language is bound to be somehow less elaborate and sophisticated. Often the most that one can say is that a particular case seems to be altogether unidiomatic.<sup>11</sup> In the case of our text the question is complicated by its relation to the original, which gives rise to many examples of utterances which are either unidiomatic or downright nonsensical. Here the reference itself can often not be determined, let alone its expression related to the development of the

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use of a particular hellenized form does not necessarily indicate that it was unknown to the translator. He may not have connected it with his original, or have preferred to transliterate in certain cases: that is, it is a question of his knowledge of Hebrew rather than of Greek or of the world in general. The number of transliterations is not small, and we may suppose that the tendency was against the creation of hellenized forms in and for the translation: as a result the version is likely to be later than the first occurrence of particular examples of such forms in the language. In this matter too the evidence of books in which the linguistic innovations or borrowings of Septuagint Greek may have been taken up must be discounted.

<sup>11</sup> Such expressions are used frequently and confidently as though they were idiomatic; it may be helpful to coin the term "unidiom" for them.

Greek language.<sup>12</sup>

There is no consensus about how 'hebraism' manifests itself in Greek. For reasons which have already been given, it is essential to the question of the usefulness of the version for matters of Hebrew text and interpretation to arrive at a definite idea of the nature of the Greek, including its idiosyncrasies. The evidence must therefore be analysed from a third point of view. However difficult and delicate the work, 'hebraism' must be identified in detail, by a systematic comparison of the phenomena with the linguistic norms. It is not sufficient to locate 'hebraism' in, for instance, the area of prepositional usage or of 'nonsense' utterances and to list a small number of examples.

There are in fact three types of discourse in these chapters. The first can be read without difficulty as idiomatic Greek, and the fact that the natural interpretation may often turn an utterance into what is in strict logic a mis-translation is beside the point at this stage of the enquiry; so, too, are the cases where literalism proves perfectly compatible with both good Greek idiom and good translation<sup>13</sup>. The

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<sup>12</sup> The version abounds in such grammatical but nonsensical utterances. They are a result of literalism, very much along the lines of the note of the German to his English landlady: "A train runs through my room, and unless you give me one more ceiling, I must undress". [Quoted in A.D. Booth et al. *Aspects of Translation* (London. 1958) p. 125.]

<sup>13</sup> It is a nice point whether we have to do with hebraism when, for instance,  $\square$  in the sense "shed blood, death" is rendered by  $\alpha\iota\mu\alpha$ , used metaphorically for "death" in classical poetic diction. The translator may or may not have been consciously exploiting a semantic parallel. But in view of the well-known tendency for languages widely separated in family and without the chance of mutual influence to have idioms in common, perhaps a logical distinction ought to be made between such coincidences and hebraism proper.

second consists of cases where the language is not really idiomatic, but can be made to yield a meaning; here again, it is not to the point that there are gradations within this type, and that the interpretation which lies nearest to hand may not be the meaning of the original text. The third consists of the hard core of 'nonsense' utterances, which can be understood only by reference to the original; these are nearly always a direct product of the semantic anisomorphism of the two languages concerned, which a technique of translation involving the rendering of each word in order as it came did nothing to mitigate. At this stage our interest must be focussed, not upon what the translator may have understood, but upon what he succeeds in conveying. These may well be different things, as will be shown later. "Zunächst muss die Erklärung der Erscheinungen auf griechischem Boden gesucht werden"<sup>14</sup> is a fundamental principle in other spheres than the grammatical: resort should be made to the Massoretic Text only in intractable cases, where the crystal of hebraic content remains obstinately undissolved in the solution of the Greek language. But let the facts now speak for themselves.

The diction of these chapters leaves a threefold impression (1) of monotony (2) of simplicity and plainness and (3) of what can only be described as a pervasive oddness. Closer analysis reveals that the vocabulary, which is rich and varied and does not teem with un-Greek elements, is hardly if at all to blame, and that the impression must be laid at the door of a number of general stylistic features. Virtually all clauses

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<sup>14</sup> See Schwyzer *op. cit.* p. 240.



are built from a handful of syntactical elements undiversified by particles, and, more interesting still, from a handful of syntactical elements arranged in a well-nigh formulaic order.<sup>15</sup> The question of order and the balance of word-classes, and their part in the "pervasive oddness", will be more fully discussed. It is sufficient at present to note the almost total absence of hyperbaton even of the simplest kind, for instance the middle attributive position; such phenomena as the postponement of the relative, and the middle position of the verb between substantive and adjective, are non-existent, which is the more remarkable in a highly inflected language which in theory might and in fact did allow very free order and extreme hyperbaton<sup>16</sup>. The writer greatly prefers a string to a chain of syntactical elements; and the simplicity of the order combines with the prevalent parataxis to produce an impression of unrelieved λέξις εἰρομένη. Asyndeton virtually never occurs, and neither does initial anaphora. The types of clause are few, only relieved by a sprinkling of participles

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<sup>15</sup> These are features interesting to the student of comparative syntax. Since the occasions when the Greek represents a radical departure from the linguistic form of the Hebrew are very rare indeed, a statement about the relative frequency of word-classes, cases and syntactical elements, and their order, is for all practical purposes a statement about the syntax of the original Hebrew. Though the task is a large one, a full-scale investigation of other books of the Hebrew Bible with a view to a comparative syntax of Biblical Hebrew and (non-biblical) Greek, or even as a prelude to a comparative syntax of Semitic and Indo-European, would surely prove illuminating; there is certainly scope for such a study. Cf. R.H. Robins *General Linguistics: an Introductory Survey* (London. 1964) ch. 8 on Linguistic Comparison, pp. 294-341, especially the remarks on Grammatical Typology on p. 331.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. J.D. Denniston *Greek Prose Style* (Oxford. 1952) pp. 47-59; H. Schöne 'Eine Umstrittene Wortstellung des Griechischen.' *Hermes* 60 (1925), 144-173.

and some quasi-formulaic infinitive expressions. There are a few, but very few, examples of formal chiasmus. Alliteration and assonance, apart from certain set examples of *figura etymologiae* and other juxtapositions of cognate words, are rare. Homoioteleuton of a rudimentary kind is widespread owing to the repetition of pronouns, particularly in the genitive. The hendiadys of two verbs is absent; so is that of two abstract nouns, the combination noun-noun in dependent genitive being preferred. There is an almost total lack of antithetical expressions, frequent in Greek prose even where no logical antithesis is present.

Although these chapters consist in principle of a mixture of narrative and oratorical prose, no clear division can be made between the two on purely stylistic grounds.

(1) THE GRAMMAR.<sup>17</sup>

## (a) Morphology.

The major morphological changes in the life of the Greek language did not set in until the early medieval period, and for the most part make their appearance in written texts still later. Our text reflects a linguistic situation in which virtually all the forms current in the classical language remain unchanged; and most, if not all, of the major paradigms of classical and Hellenistic Greek are in evidence. Accordingly there are few facts of a strictly morphological kind which need to be noted. They are as follows:-

The vocative singular of θεός is θεέ [iv.14].

There is a number of examples of the 'Doric' genitive in -α in the case of a noun in -ας [iv.6, viii.1,17, ix.9, xxv.3,8,12, xxxvii.19 (bis)].

The Attic second declension in -ός does not appear, λαός and υἱός being declined in -ο [examples *passim*].

The adjective πᾶς has masculine accusative singular πᾶν in three places [xxviii.13, xxxvi.10, xxxviii.21]; elsewhere it is quite regular.

Whereas the cardinals εἷς, τρεῖς<sup>18</sup> and τέσσαρες display no irregularities, δύο is indeclinable [xxi.21, xxiii.13].

Compound cardinals take the following forms: εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε [xi.1], πενήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν [iv.4], ἑνενήκοντα καὶ

<sup>17</sup> Throughout the description and subsequent analysis reference to standard works for standard features is to be assumed. The text would otherwise be bottom-heavy with notes.

<sup>18</sup> The oblique cases are not in fact required in any context.

ἑκατόν [iv.5,9].

Compound ordinals take the following forms: ἑνδέκατος [xxvi.1, xxx.20, xxxi.1, xxxii.1], δωδέκατος [xxxii.1,17, xxxiii.21 (*bis*)], πεντεκαδέκατος [xxxii.18], ἑβδόμος καὶ εἰκοστός [xxix.7].

The third person plural ending in -(σ)αν in the imperfect and aorist indicative active appears (confined to certain verbs) a number of times [ix.2, xii.16, xiv.1, xx.1, xxii.9, 11,12 (*bis*), xxiii.17,42, xxxii.24, xxxvi.20,20,21, xxxvii.21,23].

The third person plural ending in -αν in the perfect indicative active appears once [xix.13].

The second person singular ending in -σαι in the future indicative middle appears several times in the case of certain verbs only [iv.9,10 (*bis*), 11 (*bis*),12, xii.18 (*bis*), xxii.32, 34, xxxvi.14].

The aorist imperative active in -άτωσαν is found once [xxxvii.9].

The first person singular of the imperfect indicative of εἶμί appears once in the form ἤμην [i.1]; there is no case of the alternative form ἦν.

There is no example of the dual.

## (b) Syntax.

### (i) The Phrase.

The use of the definite article is haphazard. It is not normally repeated with coordinated nouns. It is very frequ-

ently omitted with proper names<sup>19</sup> and with abstract and general nouns including participles<sup>20</sup>. ἥλιος is undetermined at xxxii.7 [but cf. viii.16] and so is σελήνη in the same place. ἄλς (instrumental dative) is undetermined at xvi.4. γῆ in the general sense is normally determined. θάλασσα is determined except at xxvi.5,17, xxvii.4,25,26,34, xxviii.2,8. ὕδωρ in the general sense is determined at xii.18,19, xxxi.14 [but cf. xxxi.4]. θάνατος is normally undetermined. μῆν and ἔτος followed by an ordinal with the article are determined at xxiv.1; i.2, xx.1, xxiv.1, xxix.1. In phrases consisting of a noun followed by a dependent genitive there is a strong preference for the form in which neither is determined. Even if we except the set phrases πρὸς ἀνθρώπου, λόγος κυρίου there is a large number of cases of this type where the sense admits the determination of both nouns. Often the dependent genitive

<sup>19</sup> I.e. Αβρααμ, Αιλαμ, Αμμων, Ασηλ, Ασιμοιθ, Ασσουρ, Βουζι, Γελαγελ, Γομερ, Γωβελιν, Γωγ [except at xxxii.14,17, xxxix.11 (ter),15], Δανιηλ [except at xxviii.3], Δαρωμ, Δαυιδ [except at xxxiv.25], Δεβλαθα, Δεδαν, Ελισαι, Εφραιμ, Θαρσις, Θεγραμα [except at xxviii.6], Θοβελ, Ιακωβ, Ιεζεκιηλ, Ιερουσαλημ [except at iv.1, v.5, ix.4, xvi.2,3], Ισραηλ [except e.g. at xxxiv.2], Ιωακιμ, Ιωβ, Ιωσηφ [except at xxvii.16], Κεδεμ, Κηδαρ, Κουε, Μοσοχ, Μωαβ, Ναβουχοδονοσορ [except at xxvi.7, xxix.19], Νωε, Ραββαθ, Ραγμα, Ρως, Σαβα, Σαδδαι, Σανιρ, Σηῖρ, [except at xxvi.15, xxvii.3 (bis)], Σουε, Ταφνας, Φακουδ, Φαρσω, Χανασαν, Χαρμαν, Κορχορ; ἄβαμα, Αἰγύπτιοι, [except at xiii.14], Αἴγυπτος, Αἰθίοπες, Ἀράδιοι, Ἀσσύριοι, [except at xxiii.5,12], Βαβυλων, Βοῦβαστος, Βύβλια, Δαμασκός, Διδόπολις, Ἡλιούπολις, Θαιμας, Ιεζονίας [except at xi.1], Ιουδας [except at xxvii.16], Καρχηδόνιοι, Κρήτες, Λίβυες, Λύδοι, Μάγδωλον, Μέμφις, Μίλητος, Οολα [except at xxiii.4 (bis),5,36], Οολιβα [except at xiii.4 (bis),36], Παθούρη, Πέρσαι, Ῥόδιοι, Σαῖς, Σαμάρεια, Σιδών, Σόδομα, Συήμη, Συρία, Τάνις, Τύρος, Φαλτίας, Χαλδαίοι [except at xxiii.20], Χαννα, Χελβ-(?). These represent the large majority of transcriptions and a good proportion of hellenized names.

<sup>20</sup> Examples of undetermined generalising participles are to be found at ii.1, v.14, vi.8, xii.24, xvi.8,27,34, xviii.7, xxi.16, xxii.10.

is qualified by a possessive, which seems almost to do duty as an article. (Where the dependent genitive is a proper name there is a tendency to determine only the head-word. In a small proportion of such phrases the opposite is the case: a determined genitive has an undetermined noun as its head-word.) The same pattern holds good for attributive words and phrases in general:<sup>21</sup> normally neither head-word nor attribute is determined, though there are some examples of an undetermined noun standing before a determined attribute [e.g. vii.9, xvii.24, xx.12, xxi.19, xxii.5,23, xxiv.14, xxxviii.17], and even of an undetermined attribute before or after a determined noun; with one exception [xxxvi.5] this latter form holds good for phrases with attributive  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ . In prepositional phrases the noun is more often determined than not; in recurrent phrases the article gives a somewhat ponderous effect, and it sometimes spoils what would otherwise be normal idiom. Some adverbial phrases, shown by context to be attributive, are undetermined, though the head-word may have the article; one such undetermined attributive phrase stands before its head-word [ $\epsilon\acute{\xi}$  Ἀσηλ σίδηρος xxvii.19]. Perhaps the oddest form of all is that in which neither is determined [xvi.5, xxvii.5, 5,6,7,7,15,16,18,18,36, xxviii.7, xxxi.12, xxxii.12,21]. In participial phrases the oblique cases of nouns are undetermined more often than strict grammar requires. In the few cases where the participle stands second the oblique case is undetermined [xxii.25,25,29,29]. Inconsistent use of the article is found in several places [e.g. i.3, xi.1, xiii.18, xvii.24,

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<sup>21</sup> See Table 1.

xix.7, xxii.24,26, xxiii.18, xxiv.14, xxv.5, xxvii.27,33, xxviii.2,5, xxxi.1, xxxii.1,17]. To sum up, the impression is that while the language has some redundant articles, in general there are too few.

The adverbial use of the oblique cases is relatively uncommon. The following examples occur:-

(α) Accusative.

Cognate at x.6,15, xxvii.31, xxxvii.26, xxxviii.10.  
of Manner at xx.35, xxvii.31, xxxvi.11,11.  
of Time at iv.4,10, xii.8, xxiv.18,18, xxix.11,12,  
xxxiii.22, xxxvi.11,11, xxxix.9.  
of Matter at xxxix.20 (*quater*).  
of Specification at ii.10,10, ix.11, xxxvi.37.

(β) Genitive.

Absolute at ix.5, x.14, xv.5, xxvi.10.  
of Comparison at iii.9, xvi.61, xxviii.3, xxxii.21.  
of Matter at iv.16, xvi.49, xvii.3, xxviii.13,16,  
xxx.11, xxxii.4, xxxv.8, xxxvi.38,  
xxxvii.1.  
Objective at xxvii.17.  
of the Part Concerned at viii.3.  
Predicative at xxi.19, xxiii.13,15, xxxvii.22,24.  
Subjective at xxxi.18, xxxii.20,21,29,30,32.  
of Time at xii.4,4, xxiv.18, xxxii.17, xxxiii.22.

(γ) Dative.

after γνωστ(ός), ὅμοι(ος) at v.9, xiv.10, xxi.8,8;  
xxxvi.32.  
Ethic *passim*.  
of Instrument or Manner *passim*.  
of Place at xxi.35.  
Pleonastic, often with *figura etymologiae*, *passim*.  
of the Recipient *passim*.  
of Respect at ix.11, xvii.3,6,7, xxxi.3,3.  
of Time at i.1,2, viii.1, xx.1, xxiv.1, xxvi.1,  
xxix.1,17, xxx.20, xxxi.1, xxxii.1,17,

xxxiii.21, xxxvi.33, xxxix.13.

Of oblique cases functioning as adverbs only one example, and that an interrogative, stands before its head-word [xxxii.21].

The details of government by prepositions are set out in Table 2.<sup>22</sup> ἐν with the dative is easily the commonest single construction; the use of the dative after prepositions is otherwise minimal. The 'proper' prepositions prefer the accusative, examples of this case after διά, ἐπί, κατά and πρός accounting for a very high proportion of all prepositional phrases. (There are numerous examples of the enclitic form of personal pronouns, especially after πρός.) Notable is the large number of prepositions, especially among the 'improper' ones having a local reference, which are virtual synonyms. It may be that this superabundance is simply the result of a desire for variety, given what is probably a very high incidence of prepositions for a Greek text. The semantics and usage of particular prepositions will be discussed later. Here it is necessary to note the considerable number of examples of predicative εἰς with the accusative, which practically replaces the nominal complement after the copula, and is at times accompanied by a dative noun or pronoun [e.g. at iii.26, iv.9, xi.11,16,20,20, xiv.11,11, xviii.30, xxiv.24,27, xxvi.5, xxxiv.24, xxxvi.3,4,12,28,28, xxxvii.23,23, xxxviii.7, xxxix.13].

Expressions with the infinitive, some of which in fact function not as nouns or adverbs, but as clauses in their own right, take several forms. Some have no introductory words,

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<sup>22</sup> See Appendix A List 1 for a complete list of prepositions.



or are simply negated [xiii.22,22, xx.1,3,23, xxi.26, xxvii.7, xxviii.17, xxx.9,11,21, xxxviii.9,12,12,13 (*ter*), 16]. The infinitive in such cases is always an aorist. Some are introduced by τοῦ, the tense of the infinitive being either present or aorist. Verbs are found with others:— ἄρχομαι τοῦ with aorist infinitive [xiii.6], βούλομαι with present infinitive [iii.7], δεῖ with aorist infinitive [xiii.19,19], δύνανται with aorist infinitive [xxxiii.12], ἐγγίζω with aorist infinitive [xxxvi.8], ἐθέλω with aorist infinitive [iii.7, xx.8], εἰμί with dative pronoun, ἔτι and aorist infinitive [xvi.63], λαλέω τοῦ with aorist infinitive [iii.18], μανθάνω with present infinitive [xix.6] and προσίθηναι with ἔτι and aorist infinitive [xxxvi.12]. A strange case is πολλή τοῦ παραπικραίνειν at xxiv.14. An aorist infinitive depends on ἦγημα [xvii.3] and another on ἰσχύς [xxx.21]. A few are introduced by τό: both present and aorist infinitives are found at xviii.23, xxxiii.11. The large majority are governed by prepositions, the forms being as follows: ἅμα τῷ with present or aorist infinitive [xvii.10,xxiii.40], ἀντὶ τοῦ with present or aorist infinitive [xxix.9, xxxiv.8,8, xxxv.5, xxxvi.3,3,6], διὰ τό with present infinitive [xxxiii.28, xxxiv.5, xxxv.10], εἰς with aorist infinitive [xxiv.8], ἐν τῷ with present or aorist infinitive [*passim*], παρὰ τό with present infinitive [xxxiv.8], πρὶν with aorist infinitive [xxxiii.22], πρὸ τοῦ with aorist infinitive [xvi.57]. Throughout our text the aorist infinitive predominates. The negative is always μή, and stands immediately before the infinitive.

With only one exception [xxxviii.13] infinitive phrases of all kinds follow any words which govern them, and normally

directly. It is the rare case [xiii.22, xvi.54, xvii.14, xx.15, xxii.30, xxiv.8, xxix.16, xxxiii.15, xxxiv.10, xxxvi.6,12, xxxvii.7, xxxviii.13] where the infinitive does not stand before all other elements in the phrase. In accusative and infinitive constructions the next element is normally the noun or pronoun corresponding to the subject of a clause; hyperbaton between the two occurs only at xvii.10, xxiv.7, xxx.21 and xxxv.5, and object is separated from subject only at v.15, xiii.19, xvi.54, xxvi.19, xxviii.22, xxx.18, xxxvi.6 and xxxvii.13. The complement never precedes the subject. In infinitive phrases without a subject there is even less scope for variations of order: object is separated from verb at xv.3, xvi.5, xvii.15, xxii.20, xxvii.5,7, xxx.21; in some examples it seems to be omitted altogether [xv.3, xxi.26, xxiv.26, xxv.15, xxxvi.5]. Adverbs in infinitive phrases tend to the end. There is some tendency to pile infinitive phrase on infinitive phrase [e.g. xxi.26, xxxviii.12,13] in a manner whose monotony and clumsiness is normally unrelieved by any attempt at chiasmus or some other elegance.

Expressions with the infinitive function as adverbs in the following ways:—

of Purpose, sometimes with passive infinitive [xxii.20, xxiv.8, xxviii.17, xxx.21 (*ter*), xxxiii.19] and normally introduced by τοῦ.

Temporal [*passim*] normally introduced by ἐν τῷ.

Causal [xxix.9, xxxiii.28, xxxiv.5,8 (*ter*), xxxv.5, 10, xxxvi.3,3,6] introduced by causal prepositions.

Doubtful. A large number of expressions with the

infinitive are of unclear reference.

The infinitive is often introduced by τοῦ, as though purpose were intended, but purpose is excluded by the meaning of the wider context. Some infinitives with ἐν τῷ fall into this 'doubtful' category [e.g. xiv.30,52,54].

Very few participial phrases function as other than nouns or attributes. In a handful of cases the tense of the participle is future [xxvi.19] or aorist [xxi.3, xxxiii.5,6, xxxix.10,11] rather than present or perfect. The negative is οὐ [with present participle xxii.24,29] or μή [with future participle xxvi.19]. The incidence of circumstantial and other<sup>23</sup> phrases is low, there being an average of less than one in every two chapters of text; most of these stand at the end of the clause or immediately before the verb. It is the rare participial phrase of any kind which stands first in the clause. Within the phrase the object or oblique case governed by the participle stands first only four times [xxii.25,25,29,29]. Of several dozen examples a good proportion are of the form which would lend itself to the sandwiching of the object or oblique case, i.e. the participle is determined; but there is no example of the type οἱ τὰς πόλεις κατοικοῦντες, let alone of the type ὁ κρίμα ποιῶν καὶ δικαιοσύνην. There is a curious example of a participle left hanging at xxvi.16 (ὡς εἰσπορευόμενος etc.).

Attributes<sup>24</sup> of all kinds (i.e. numerals, demonstrative and pronominal adjectives, dependent genitive nouns and pro-

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<sup>23</sup> The phrase at xvii.15 may be conditional, that at xxxiii.5 concessive.

<sup>24</sup> See Table 1.

nouns, participles, adjectives and adverbial phrases) have an overwhelming tendency to stand after what they qualify. (Unqualified words are in fact rare in our text.) Exceptions are (α) the cardinals, of which only εἶς, δύο and τέσσαρες are postponed in a few places (β) the ordinals, which are never postponed (γ) ἐκεῖνος and οὗτος at xx.6, xxiv.26,27, xxxiii.17, πόσος and τίς at xxvii.33 and (δ) the adjective πᾶς, which is postponed only once [xxxvi.5]. There are some cases where because of the habit of omitting the copula it is not quite clear whether a demonstrative is in fact attributive; with these included there is a larger total for adjectival οὗτος in preposition. Dependent genitive nouns stand before the head-word only four times; there is only a dozen or so examples of genitive pronouns in this position<sup>25</sup>. Adjectives of quantity and quality are virtually always postponed [except in τῆν καλὴν νομήν xxxiv.18, πολὺς ὁ ἵος αὐτῆς xxiv.12, ἐν τῇ πολλῇ ἐπιστήμῃ σου xxviii.5]. The middle position is distinctly infrequent. Postponed attributes are sometimes widely separated from the head-word; the form of ἄνδρες οἱ ἄγαθοι is found, but infrequently: here the attribute is often a participle, and head-word and attribute are frequently divided by an intervening possessive. (Attributive participles are almost without exception present or perfect in tense, i.e. they denote a current action or state.) A recurrent phenomenon is a pleonastic present participle of λέγω, normally standing last in the sentence; it is always nominative, with odd effect at x.6.

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<sup>25</sup> Ought we not, however, to prefer this form at ix.10 [with the whole tradition], xxxiv.6 [with B], 8 [with 967], xxvi.11 [with B, 967 and L']?

At xii.22,27, xviii.2 we find a kind of *ad sensum* form with λέγοντες [cf. the similar *lapsus concordiae* at xxxviii.12]. Most attributes are adjectives or dependent genitives, of which there may be a succession of up to half a dozen at a time [e.g. viii.3,14, ix.2. xvii.3. xxii.25. xxiii.12], attributive adverbial expressions being a comparative rarity. Possessive adjectives, as opposed to genitive pronouns, are infrequent. εἰς takes precedence over ὀστράκινος at iv.9, ἕτερος over μέγας at xvii.7, πόσος over τίς at xxvii.33. The negative is οὐ with attributes of all kinds [xx.25, xxii.24,29; cf. xxxiii.17,17,20] except at xxvi.19 and xxxvi.31, where the attributes are of a generalising kind.

Adverbial expressions modifying adjectives and participles scarcely ever precede their head-word. The vast majority of adverbial expressions are prepositional phrases, of which there may be a succession of as many as half-a-dozen at a time, quite often including one or more attributes of their own. This means that adjectives and participles, rather like the average sentence whose structure will be described more fully in due course, tend to drag behind them an adverbial 'tail' which is often quite unwieldy. There is no example of a negative.

#### (ii) The Clause.

There is *lapsus concordiae* in a number of places, and not only with the present participle of λέγω. Other participial phrases are ill-adapted to the context [e.g. xxvi.16], and there is a very elaborate example at xxxviii.3-6 of a change of case in mid-sentence. At v.1 αὐτούς and at viii.1 ἐπ'

αὐτοῦ have no grammatical antecedent. There are several milder examples where the construction is simply *ad sensum* [e.g. xxvii.13,20,23,23, xxxi.17,22,23,24 (*ter*),26 (*ter*), xxxvi.21, xxxviii.12,12, xxxix.13,13,22,23]. The juxtaposition of cognates, often in a pleonastic manner, is frequent [e.g. xxiii.4]. Examples of hyperbaton are few and far between, nor are they at all daring, amounting in most cases to nothing more than the intervention of an adverb between, for instance, the verb and its object, and tending to go with a disruption of normal order. The frequency of adverbs is marked; the simple adverb is rare, but a large number of sentences has more than one adverbial expression, and this category probably accounts for upwards of a quarter of all the syntactical elements found.

Where subject and verb are directly juxtaposed, there being no object, the order verb-subject is found twice as often as the reverse.<sup>26</sup> Even when we except cases of the recurrent fixed phrases λέγει κύριος and ἐγένετο/ἐγενήθη λόγος κυρίου the preponderance is striking. These proportions are reversed in sentences where subject and verb are separated by one or more syntactical elements; in sentences of this latter type the verb is most often copulative, so much so that one may fairly speak of a dislike for the juxtaposition of subject and copula. (The large majority of sentences having a complement omit the copula; very frequently it is a past tense which must be supplied.) Where object and verb are directly juxtaposed, there being no subject expressed, the order verb-

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<sup>26</sup> See Tables 3a and 3b.

object is found three times as often as the reverse. The preponderance is more striking when we except cases where the object before the verb is a demonstrative. Where object and verb are separated by one or more syntactical elements slightly more have the order verb-object than the reverse. Where both subject and object are expressed the verb interposes between the two in nearly two-thirds of the cases. Subject precedes object in slightly less than half, object precedes subject in slightly more than half the examples. Of three hundred-odd cases only twenty-two, that is less than eight per cent, show the order subject-object-verb. Of all the cases of this kind where subject precedes verb, about one half involves an unemphatic nominative pronoun. Very many of the cases of this kind where object precedes verb involve the fixed phrase *τάδε λέγει κύριος*.

In the fewer than a dozen examples of a verb's governing an oblique case we find only one clause where the verb does not precede, directly or indirectly, the element which it governs.

In main clauses without initial *καί* adverbial expressions stand first more often than any other single element.<sup>27</sup> In clauses of all kinds with an initial *καί* this is no longer the case, and a verb is four times as likely to stand first after the *καί*. A nominative noun is twice as likely to be found in first place in a clause without initial *καί* than is an accusative noun; where there is initial *καί* the imbalance disappears. A curious oddity is the behaviour of the verb:

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<sup>27</sup> See Table 4.

copulative verbs are few in any case, but of the other examples, where there is no initial καί a verb standing first is nearly twice as likely to be intransitive than transitive, whereas with initial καί it is more likely to be transitive. There is no single example of a postponed relative. In subordinate clauses an adverbial expression scarcely ever stands first after the relative adverb or other introductory word: a subordinate clause is twice as likely to begin with a verb than is a main clause, and at least two-thirds of the subordinate clauses do so begin; an initial verb is more likely to be intransitive than transitive. Final position in clauses of all types is occupied in a very high proportion of cases by an adverbial expression of some kind. (Infinitive and participial phrases are almost always at either the beginning or the end of the clause.) An average sentence consists of main syntactical elements flanked by adverbial expressions, and there may even be a third adverb inserted somewhere in the middle. (Causal clauses introduced by ὅτι/διότι are an exception.) If adverbs have any serious rival in final position it is the accusative noun and pronoun and the transitive verb. It is tentatively suggested that it is the predilection for adverbial expressions in final position which dictates the relative strengths, in half the sentences at least, of initial intransitive and transitive verbs: such expressions are most typically linked with intransitive verbs. Why the καί sentences should be different is only partly explained by the fact that in them transitive verbs suddenly preponderate over intransitive verbs, since this fact itself demands an explanation.



Predicative nouns and adjectives have a marked tendency to stand at the beginning of their clause, in the order predicative noun/predicative adjective-verb-object. The complement, too, normally stands at the beginning, before the subject. Where the copula is expressed it tends to precede both subject and predicate, with adverbs at the end.

The functioning of conjunctions, particles, relative adverbs and negatives within the clause is as follows:-

ἀλλά [v.7] is used as a strong adversative with οὐδέ followed by an indicative.

ἀλλὰ καί [xviii.11] is used with an indicative in the contrastive sense "but, actually".

ἀλλ' ἢ is used at xiv.16, xxxix.10 with a future indicative in the contrastive sense "no, rather". At xxxvi.22 it contrasts an adverb with a preceding οὐχ ὑμῖν.

ἄν is found with the optative at xv.2 (suppressed condition) with ὅς and the aorist subjunctive at xiv.4 (*ter*), 7 (*quater*), xii.28, xxxiii.2,12, xxxviii.18, with the aorist indicative in the apodosis of a conditional at iii.6, and with the aorist indicative in εἰς ὃν ἄν τόπον at x.11 [Cf. καθὼς ἄν, οὗ ἄν below].

ἀντί τούτου has a present indicative [xxviii.7].

ἀνθ' ὧν (*plus* ὅτι at xxxvi.34) is found only with the aorist indicative, which normally follows immediately, or else in noun clauses with the copula understood.

ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας, ἀφ' ὧν, ἀφ' οὗ are followed immediately by an aorist indicative.

δέ is adversative and contrasts one clause with another

with emphasis on an initial noun or pronoun at iii.7,21, vi.12, vii.15, xviii.5,20, xxii.12, xxviii.2, xxx.25, xxxiii.8, xxxiv.8, xxxvi.8. It emphasizes an initial noun or pronoun without a contrast at x.13, xviii.20. It introduces a condition with εἰ at xiv.21 (after τάδε λέγει κύριος), xvi.27, xviii.14,18,24, xxii.13, xxxiii.9. It amounts to "for, whereas" at xxviii.9.

ὅτι is found after an aorist imperative at xvii.12, xviii.24.

ὁὐ τοῦτο [*passim*] always has an indicative verb.

εἰν (μή) with the subjunctive is frequent. It is sometimes placed after the subject, the object, or after a vocative.

εἰν καί with present subjunctive occurs at xiv.15, xv.5. εἰν ἄρα with aorist subjunctive at ii.5,7, iii.11,11.

εἶ occurs with various tenses of the indicative [*passim*], εἶ μήν similarly [v.11, xx.33, xxiii.27, xxxiv.8, xxxv.6, xxxvi.5, xxxviii.19].

ἕνεκα τίτος is found at xxi.12 with present indicative, ἕνεκα τούτου (with backward reference) with perfect indicative [vii.20] and aorist indicative [xxxi.5].

ἐπεὶ has the imperfect indicative at the end of the clause at xxxiv.21.

ἐπειδή is followed immediately by the perfect indicative at xxviii.6.

ἕως governs the aorist indicative [xxiii.38, xxviii.15, xxxiii.22], which follows it immediately.

ἕως οὐ/οὔτου always governs the aorist subjunctive [iv.8, xxi.32, xxiv.13, xxxix.15], which follows it immediately.

ἢ contrasts two nouns at xiv.16, two conditions with εἰ ἄρα ii.5,7, two main clauses at xxviii.3,5. ἢ καί introduces a condition with εἰ at xiv.17, a condition without εἰ with aorist subjunctive at xiv.19.

ἦν καὶ ἄν is followed immediately by an aorist subjunctive [xxxii.9, xxxiii.33, xxxv.11].

ἵνα is followed immediately by an aorist subjunctive [xxxvi.27 (ter), xxxviii.16, xxxix.12], ἵνα μὴ by a present subjunctive [xiv.11, xxxvii.23].

ἵνα τί has a present indicative [xviii.31, xxxiii.11].

καθότι/καθώς normally has a past indicative, which follows immediately except at xvi.55. At xxii.20 the tense is present. There is an apparent ellipse of the verb at xvi.7, 44-5. At i.16 we find καθὼς ἄν with the present optative.

καί, besides being easily the commonest link between nouns, pronouns, attributes, adverbs and so forth, outnumbered other conjunctions seven to one as a link between clauses. The text begins with καί. It frequently does duty as an adverbative; at xxi.22 it is found together with ὁέ. Many clauses have καὶ οὐ or καὶ μὴ at the beginning, and we even find καὶ οὐδέ [xvi.28,29,47]. καί introduces the protasis of a condition with future indicative at iii.20, xviii.27, and with a subjunctive at iii.18, xviii.24,26, xxxiii.8,13,14-15, 18,19. (This is to include only those examples where we may not assume the ellipse of εἰ, εἴ, which of course itself frequently occurs.) καί introduces an apodosis at v.16, vi.9, xxxiii.18, xxxix.27. It sometimes has the sense "even, actually" [e.g. xvi.47, xxiii.39, xxx.10].

μή is frequent with various subjunctive tenses. It is normally detached from ἔτι, which tends to stand last in the clause. μή...οὐκέτι also occurs. It is the only negative with the imperative (including the third person singular), only the present imperative being negated at all. It is found with indicatives at viii.17, xv.4, xvii.10,18, xviii.23, xxviii.3,4,9. At xviii.25,29 μή...οὐ occurs with the present indicative.

μηδαμῶς is found at iv.14, in what amounts to a negative wish with ellipse of the verb.

μή ὅτι occurs at xv.5, with apparent ellipse of the words introducing the indirect question εἰ ἔσται and so forth.

μήδε...μήδε sometimes coordinates two clauses.

ὅθεν is found with an aorist indicative [xxix.14].

Clauses with ὃν τρόπον are either nominal or have an indicative verb. At x.10 we find ὃν τρόπον ὅταν followed immediately by a present subjunctive.

ὅπως (μή) with the subjunctive is quite common. ὅπως οὐ μή with the subjunctive is also found [xxiv.12].

ὅταν normally governs the subjunctive; there may be a present indicative at xxiv.25. The verb always follows immediately.

ὅτε always has an imperfect indicative, and the verb always follows immediately.

ὅτι/διότι "because" always governs the indicative, which tends to stand late in the clause. ὅτι/διότι "that" always governs the indicative, and where the subject is expressed it always follows immediately.

οὐ̄ always governs the indicative when the verb is expressed. It is frequently combined with a pleonastic ἐκεῖ at the end of the clause. It functions like οὐ̄, ὅποι, at i.12, 20.

οὐ̄ ἄν has the imperfect indicative at i.12,20, and the aorist subjunctive at xi.16, xxi.21.

οὐ̄, besides its use with attributes and adverbs, is the normal negative with the complement [e.g. xxxiii.17,17,20, xxxiv.18]. It is found with indicative verbs in questions at xvii.10,10 [cf. οὐ̄χί at xvii.9] and in statements [e.g. xxxiii.11], separated from a final ἔτι with the indicative at xxvi.21, xxviii.19, xxix.16, xxx.13, xxxiv.10,10,28, xxxvii.22 [but cf. οὐ̄κέτι with the indicative at xiii.21, xxvii.36, xxxiv.29], and coupled with a final οὐ̄κέτι with the indicative at xxi.10, xxviii.24, xxxvi.15, xxxix.7,29 [cf. the double negative οὐ̄δέ...οὐ̄ at v.7, xv.5, οὐ̄χί...οὐ̄ at xviii.25,29]. The double negative οὐ̄ (δέ/τε) μή (...ἔτι) with the subjunctive often occurs [e.g. iii.7]. οὐ̄κέτι μή with the aorist subjunctive is found at vii.13, xii.23, xxxiv.28, and a triple negative οὐ̄ μή...οὐ̄κέτι with aorist subjunctive at xvi.41,42, xxiii.27, xxiv.27. οὐ̄ μή governs the future indicative at xxiii.48, xxxiii.31,32.

οὐ̄δέ, in addition to conjoining clauses, links adverbs [vii.11, xvii.9] and nouns [xiv.18, xxxiv.7]; at xvi.47 we find οὐ̄δ' ὥς "not even so". οὐ̄τε is not found with these latter functions.

οὕτως/ὥς normally introduces the second of two clauses with the sense "so, thus" [xii.11, xv.6, xviii.4, xx.36, xxii.20,22,26, xxiii.44, xxxiv.12, xxxvi.38]. At xxxiii.10 the

reference is to what follows. At iv.13, xxiii.39 the sense is rather "in this same way" with a backward reference. οὕτως means "therefore" at xxi.9, xxxii.14. It is followed immediately by an indicative verb where the verb is expressed, except that at xxxii.14 τότε is interposed.

πλήν is found at xvi.49 with a nominal sentence.

ποῦ has a present indicative [xiii.12].

πῶς has a future indicative at xxxiii.10, an aorist indicative at xxvi.17.

τί (with ellipse of the verb) is found before a ὅτι clause at xviii.19.

ὥς, besides being found with nouns, adjectives and adverbs, introduces clauses with an indicative verb and noun clauses.

ὥστερ, besides modifying an adverbial phrase at xxxvi.11, introduces a clause with the indicative [xxxiv.12].

Interjections function within the clause as follows:—

εὖγε [vi.11, vii.26, xxi.20,20, xxvi.2, xxxvi.2] stands first in the clause. It amounts to a substantive at vi.11.

ἰδοῦ normally introduces a statement, and the verb is indicative if expressed. Clauses with ἰδοῦ tend to begin with the subject rather than the verb; intransitive verbs tend to the end. Some clauses consist simply of ἰδοῦ and a nominal subject. In some examples ἰδοῦ stands after the subject.

ὄμμοι [ix.8, xi.13 (bis)] is always followed by the vocative.

οὐαί [ii.10, vii.26, xiii.3,18] functions virtually as a substantive, with apparent ellipse of the copula at xiii.3,18.

ὦ [xxii.3, xxiv.6, xxx.2 (*bis*), xxxiv.2] stands with a nominative.

The oblique cases of nouns and pronouns<sup>28</sup> are rare in general outside prepositional phrases. A few verbs<sup>29</sup> govern the dative. There are cases of the nominative used for the vocative.<sup>30</sup> A large number of participles and participial phrases function as nouns; the tense is virtually always present. Infinitive phrases function as nouns only at xviii.23, xxxiii.11. Personal pronouns, whose precise reference is sometimes unclear [*e.g.* the repeated αὐτῆς at xxiii.11] are frequent and indeed often quite otiose, especially as nominatives and as qualifying genitives. They normally do duty as reflexives. They are often simply resumptive. ἕκαστος frequently functions in a circumstantial clause [*e.g.* viii.12, ix.2]. It stands first, and an *ad sensum* construction normally follows [*e.g.* xx.39, xxii.6,11 (*bis*), xxiv.23, xxxiii.20; but *cf.* the second clause in xxii.11]. ἑκάτερος is rare [i.11,12, xxxvii.7] and has an *ad sensum* construction at xxxvii.7. ἐκεῖνος is pronominal only at xxxii.31, where it stands first. ἐμός is used predicatively at xviii.4.4. Pronominal ἕτερος is always reciprocal [i.23, iii.13]. ὅδε, which is only pronom-

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<sup>28</sup> For a complete list of pronouns and pronominal adjectives see Appendix A List 2.

<sup>29</sup> *I.e.* apart from verbs of saying, commanding etc. ἁμαρτάνω [xiv.13], ἀναβαίνω [xxxvi.3], βοηθέω [xxx.8], δουλεύω [xx.40], ἐγγίζω [xxiii.5], ἐγκαθίζω [xxxv.5], ἔμπορεύομαι [xxvii.13], ἐπιψοφέω [xxv.6], ἦκω [xxxi.11], θύω [x.28, xxix.17,19], καθῆκω [xxi.32], κατακαίω [xxix.10], λατρεύω [xx.32 (*bis*)], πορεύομαι [xviii.9], ὑπάρχω [xvi.49].

<sup>30</sup> At vi.3, xviii.25,29,30,31, xx.31,39, xxii.24, xxiv.14 (*bis*), xxvi.17, xxxiii.11,20, xxxvi.22,33, xxxvii.4, xxxviii.7.

inal, occurs only as a neuter plural accusative standing first in the clause and having a forward reference. ὅς is the usual relative; ὅστις occurs at ii.3, xxxix.15, and ὅσος at xii.6, xvi.44,63, xviii.22, xx.11, xxiv.24, xxxvi.36. οὗτος normally stands first in its clause [but cf. xvii.8, xx.31]. It precedes the verb as subject [except at xxiv.24], but as object is preceded by the verb [xvi.59, xxiii.30, xxxvii.3]. In nominal clauses it normally stands first with the copula understood. Less usually the copula is expressed [xi.30, xxxiii.20, xxxvii.1, xxxix.8] and οὗτος stands after it [iv.3, xvii.12, xxiv.19]. It is sometimes resumptive [xviii.4,27, xxvii.13,17,21,22,23]. The reference is always backward to some person or thing previously mentioned or implied. It follows an attributive πᾶς at xvi.5,30,43, xvii.18, xviii.13. Reflexive pronouns are used but rarely,<sup>31</sup> and normally follow immediately upon the verb [but see the hyperbaton at xxxvi.5, xxxvii.17] even in prepositional phrases [except at xvii.12]. Indefinite τις is pronominal only at xvi.5 (τοῦ παθεῖν τι ἐπὶ σοί). Interrogative τίς always stands first in the clause; it is the normal interrogative in both direct and indirect questions. τοιοῦτος is used predicatively at xxi.31,32, with odd effect.

The Middle Voice of verbs is on the whole infrequent, there being a tendency for passive formations to replace middle ones<sup>32</sup>. For examples see section (2). The tense of the

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<sup>31</sup> At iii.21, iv.1,3,9 (*bis*), v.1 (*bis*), xii.3,5, xvi.16, 17,24 (*bis*),52, xvii.12,15, xviii.31 (*bis*), xxi.23, xxiv.2, xxvii.3, xxviii.4, xxxi.2, xxxiii.2,9, xxxiv.2,8, xxxvi.5, xxxvii.16 (*bis*),17.

<sup>32</sup> The middle is, however, normal for perfect participles,



imperative is normally aorist [*passim*], more rarely present. The tenses are mixed at ii.8, iii.4,11, ix.7, xx.7, xxi.14, xxiii.47, xxiv.4-5, xxxix.17; in some of these cases of mixing the rationale is unclear. Otherwise the choice of the present is in most cases felicitous, that of the aorist less so: the present might have been better, for example, at xxxiii.10,11,12, and similar cases could be adduced. The tense of finite verbs is normally present, future or aorist. The perfect and imperfect occur, but are not common. Examples of the historic present with dramatic force are at i.28, iii.23, ix.8, xi.13. There is a futuristic present at xviii.31, xxxiii.11. The perfect is used with a clear sense of its difference from the aorist, that is as a present perfect or else as a resultative<sup>33</sup>; there is no clear case of an aoristic perfect<sup>34</sup>. (The participle, however, shows a striking tendency to shed the aorist in favour of the perfect tense.) A curious phenomenon is the perfect functioning as a vivid future or future perfect [xiii.12, xiv.9, xvi.58, xxxviii.8].<sup>35</sup> The aorist at times behaves similarly [xviii.27,28, xxxiii.5,6,9], and this is the only hint of a tendency to confuse perfect and aorist. There is a 'gnomic' future at xviii.5 ff.<sup>36</sup>

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which are largely adjectival in function, as has been shown.

<sup>33</sup> Virtually all perfects are resultative, although only about half (or slightly more than half if we exclude cases of the recurrent fixed phrase ἐγὼ [κύριος] λελάληκα) are actually transitive. Present perfects are limited to γέγονα [xvi.20 (*bis*), xvii.18], ἤγγικα [vii.7, ix.1, xii.23], μεμγάλυμαι [ix.9], πέποιθα [xxxiii.13].

<sup>34</sup> The only plausible candidates are at xvi.48, xvii.18, xviii.12,15.

<sup>35</sup> Other possible examples, often with ἰδοῦ, are at iii.25, ix.10, xi.21, xviii.9 [*bis*], xxv.10.

<sup>36</sup> Are the curious aorists at xviii.11 ff. 'gnomic'?

Periphrastic tenses are at xxxiv.29 (ἔσονται ἀπολλύμενοι), xxxvi.13 (κατέσθουσα εἶ, ἠτεκνωμένη ἐγένου), 32 (γνωστὸν ἔσται), 34 (ἠφανισμένη ἐγενήθη).

The subjunctive mood is fairly common; the optative occurs only at i.16, xv.2. The subjunctive sometimes functions as a kind of future, especially in clauses of the 'strong denial' kind. Examples of its coordination with the future will be given in section (iii).

There are some examples of a neuter plural subject with a plural verb [i.9, x.19,19, xvii.24, xxxi.9]. Some examples of *ad sensum* constructions have been noted; at xi.15 the verb agrees with the NEAREST subject.

The structure of the average simple sentence has been described at the beginning of this section. The other main kinds of clause are as follows:-

Clauses consisting of the oath-formula ζῶ ἐγώ do not stand alone, but form a unity with a second clause; together they amount to a strong asseveration or strong denial. The second clause takes one of the following forms: ἐάν μή with future indicative [xvii.16,19], εἰ with aorist subjunctive [xiv.20, xviii.3], εἰ with future [xiv.16, xx.3,31] or perfect indicative [xvi.48], εἰ μήν with future [v.11, xx.33, xxxiii.27] or aorist indicative [xxxv.6; there is anacolouthon at xxxiv.8], καί with future [xxxv.11], οὐ with present indicative [xxxiii.11], and οὐ μή with aorist subjunctive [xiv.18]. In most cases the second clause is correctly understood by the simple subtraction of the conditional element in it; in a few examples the oath-formula serves to reverse the sense of the

second clause, amounting in effect to a negative [xiv.16,20, xvi.48, xviii.3, xx.3,31].

Clauses with the impersonal narrative καὶ ἐγένετο/ἐγενήθη [the latter only at xxvi.1, xxxiii.21] have up to three adverbial expressions after the verb, which stands alone only at xvi.19. These expressions always constitute a note of time: the first is normally a prepositional phrase; or a phrase with ἐν and the infinitive [which is aorist only at xxxvii.7] stands alone. The second and third are prepositional phrase and adverb respectively except at xxxii.17, where both are adverbs. These narrative clauses are coordinated with one or more statements except at xvi.19. For the syntax of these combinations see section (iii) below.

Clauses with the impersonal narrative καὶ ἔσται sometimes stand alone [vii.25, xxi.12,18, xxxix.8]. For coordination with other clauses see section (iii). They are negated at vii.25, xx.32, xxi.18. In a few a prepositional phrase noting time follows the verb [xxxviii.10,18, xxxix.11].

Causal clauses are with ἀνθ' ὧν (ὅτι), καὶ γάρ, εἰ with perfect indicative [iv.15; possibly vii.10], ἐπεὶ, ἐπειδὴ and ὅτι/διότι.

Circumstantial clauses normally consist of a nominative with an adverbial expression, the copula being understood [e.g. iii.13, xxiii.4].

Clauses of command and exhortation normally have an imperative verb with the vocative before it.<sup>37</sup> At xxxiii.30 we

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<sup>37</sup> There are some places where a future seems to express a command [xii.6 shows a series of futures culminated by a clause of the 'strong prohibition' variety with οὐ μή and the subjunctive].

find a first person aorist subjunctive. There is no indirect command.

Clauses expressing comparison are with καθότι/-ώς (ἄν), ὄν τρόπον ὅταν, ὡς and ὥσπερ. For the form of the associated main clauses see section (iii).

Conditional protases are: (α) past supposition with no implications as to fulfilment with εἶ and the perfect indicative [vii.10] (β) past unfulfilled supposition with εἶ and the aorist indicative [iii.6, xxi.18] (γ) vivid future supposition with εἰάν (μή) and the subjunctive [*passim*], εἰάν ἄρα [ii.4,7, iii.11], and ἐν τῷ with the infinitive [iii.18,20, v.16, vi.9, xviii.24,26,27, xxxiii.8,13,14-15,18,19, xxxix.27]. There is a suppressed condition at xv.2. At xv.5, xx.39, xxi.18 there is no apodosis; the combination of protasis and apodosis will be described in section (iii).

Conditional relative clauses are either (α) of an actual condition with ἄν, aorist or imperfect indicative [i.12,20, x.11] or (β) of a hypothetical or general condition with the aorist subjunctive [xi.16, xii.28, xxi.21, xxxiii.2; and the instances of ὅς ἄν referred to above] and ἄν.

Clauses expressing contrast have ἀλλ' ἢ or ἀλλὰ καί.

Deliberative questions have an aorist subjunctive with εἶ [xiv.3] and τί [xvi.30].

Exclamations, with which we should perhaps classify the sentences with ἰδοὺ and a subject mentioned above, include οἴμοι with the vocative, πῶς with the aorist at xxvi.17 in the sense "how greatly!" and ὦ with nominatives.

Object clauses have ὅτι/διότι. Direct speech is, however, greatly preferred, and is normative after verbs of

saying.

Prohibitions are expressed by μή with the present imperative or with the subjunctive. Probably some of the cases of double and triple negatives with subjunctive ought to be included here, as a form of strong prohibition. Virtual prohibitions in context are certain negative predictions with οὐ and the future; the endings are of course often identical.

Purpose clauses have ἵνα (μή) or ὅπως (μή/οὐ μή) with the subjunctive.

Direct questions include those with εἰ [xv.3 (*bis*), xvii.9,15, xx.3,4,30, xxii.2,14, xxxvii.3], and with πῶς and the future [xxxiii.10] in the sense "However are we to...?"; there are questions expecting the answer "Yes" with οὐ [xviii.25,29, xxxiv.18] and εἰ μή [e.g. xvi.56], and questions expecting the answer "No" with μή [e.g. xv.5, xviii.25,29].

Indirect questions are few; they occur with τί [viii.6, xvii.12, xviii.19, xxiv.19, xxxvii.18] and the verb is indicative if expressed; in addition two cases with εἰ and ellipse of the main clause are found [xv.5, xx.39]<sup>38</sup>.

Relative clauses include those with ὅθεν, οὗ and local ἧ [xxi.35].

Clauses of Strong Asseveration are with εἰ μήν and an indicative [xxxvi.5, xxxviii.19].

Clauses of Strong Denial, which might often also be termed Negative Predictions or Strong Prohibitions, include constructions with οὐ...οὐκέτι, οὐ μή and the indicative, the array of combinations of οὐ, μή, ἔτι/οὐκέτι with the subjunct-

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<sup>38</sup> The question with μή at xxviii.3 may be indirect.

ive, and the triple negatives with future or subjunctive. The strength of the denial in each kind is hard to determine; there seems to be variety rather than distinction here.

Subject clauses have ὅτι [xviii.19, xxxiv.18; and probably the elliptical case at xv.5].

Temporal clauses include those with ἀφ' οὐ/ἄν, ἕως οὐ/ότου, ἥνικα ἄν, ὅταν, ὅτε; ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας [xx.5, xxviii.14,15], ἐν ἧ ἡμέρα with the aorist indicative [xvi.4,5, xxxi.15] ἐν ἧ ἄν ἡμέρα with the aorist subjunctive [xxxiii.12], ἧ ἡμέρα with the aorist [xxxix.13], the temporal relatives at iv.4,34, xxxvi.33, and the temporal relative with ἄν and aorist subjunctive at xxxviii.18.

The only example of a Wish is the elliptical μηδαμῶς, κύριε κύριε at iv.14.

### (iii) The Larger Unit.

The number of sentences interrupted by a subordinate clause of any kind is very small. With some exceptions main clauses take precedence over subordinate clauses. The lack of interruption is at least partly accounted for by the fact that the typical relative clause has as its antecedent not a simple noun or pronoun, but the noun part of a prepositional phrase, which by definition tends to the end of its clause. Since the language scarcely rises above the lowest level of articulation in any case, subordinate clauses dependent on subordinate clauses are so few as to provide no additional scope for interruption.

There is but one example of a parenthetic sentence [xxvi.7].

Some aspects of coordination between clauses have already been described; the remainder will be discussed in this section. It should be noted that very nearly half the total number of clauses, both main and subordinate, begin with *καί*. Over half begin with *καί* or some other conjunction. Asyndeton occurs in less than one third of all main clauses, and there is a tendency to 'soften' the start of subordinate clauses with a not indispensable *καί*.

Clauses with the impersonal narrative *καὶ ἐγένετο/ἐγενήθη* are followed by an apodotic clause, whose verb is always a past indicative, but which has otherwise no set form. Several begin with *καί*, one with *καὶ ἰδοὺ* [ix.8, x.6, xi.13, xxxvii.7], and these are attached to the *ἐν* with the infinitive part of the narrative clause; others have *καί* without this element, and some have no conjunction [viii.1, xx.1, xxvi.1, xxxiii.21 etc.].

Clauses with the impersonal narrative *καὶ ἔσται* are combined with a clause which follows them at xx.32 (*ὅν τρόπον ὑμεῖς λέγετε*) xxi.12 (*ἐάν* with aorist subjunctive and an apodosis with future verb), xxxvii.18-19 (*ὅταν* with present subjunctive followed by *καί* with a future) and xxxviii.10,18, xxxix.11 (simple prediction with the future).

Causal clauses on the whole follow the main clause; but several with *ἀνθ' ὧν* precede the main clause, which sometimes has a conjunction of its own, e.g. *διὰ τοῦτο* [passim], *καί* [v.11, xvi.36,43, xxiii.35, xxxi.10], both sometimes reinforced by *ἰδοὺ; εἰ* and *ἐπειδὴ* clauses stand first; and one *ὅτι* clause does the same. *ἐπειδὴ* is picked up by *ἀντί τούτου* in the main clause.

Circumstantial clauses have a strong tendency to trail after the main clause to which they refer, being joined to it by καί.

Some clauses of command and exhortation with the imperative are followed by a future [xii.3,5, xiii.2, xix.1-2, xx.3,4-5,27, xxi.7,11,14,33, xxii.2-3, xxiv.3, xxv.2-3, xxvii.2-3, xxxii.2, xxxiii.2, xxxvii.4] or a prohibition with the subjunctive [ix.5].

Clauses expressing comparison normally precede their main clause; but in some cases the order is reversed, i.e. with καθότι/-ώς (ἄν) except at xvi.7,<sup>39</sup> 44-5, xxii.20; with ὅν τρόπον ὅταν [x.10]; and with ὅν τρόπον [xx.32]. Main clauses standing second have an initial οὐτως or καί [xvi.44-5] except at xvi.7. Normally the main clause constitutes a prediction with the future, but past tenses also occur.

Conditional protases stand before the apodosis except at xxi.18, xxiv.13, where the apodosis is a question. Some protases are linked by καί to indicative verbs; εἰάν with the present subjunctive is found with a future [xiv.15], εἰάν with the aorist subjunctive with the aorist or the perfect [xviii.10-13,14-17], and ἐν τῷ with the infinitive with the subjunctive or the future. Apodoses normally have no conjunction after the protasis; but καί is used after ἐν τῷ and the infinitive, and sometimes after εἰάν with the aorist subjunctive [xiv.13, xvi.27, xxi.12]. Protasis (α)<sup>40</sup> has the perfect indicative in the apodosis; protasis (β) has ἄν with the aorist

<sup>39</sup> Unless this is one clause, not two, with a harsh lack of agreement.

<sup>40</sup> See section (ii).



indicative at iii.6 (the apodosis is elliptical at xxi.18); protasis ( $\gamma$ ) always has a future or the equivalent in the apodosis.

Conditional relative clauses stand after the main clause except at i.12,20, x.11, xiv.4,7. The clause at xxxiii.2 is clumsily augmented by a series of aorist subjunctives with καί, the construction remaining unfinished. The construction at xiv.4,7 is also odd. In general a conditional relative with an indicative will have an indicative referring to the same time in the main clause. οὐ ἄν with the aorist subjunctive is found with future or imperative verbs.

Clauses expressing contrast stand after the main clause, which has a negative expressed or implied. A future (or the equivalent) is followed by a future at xiv.16, xxxix.10, an aorist indicative by an aorist indicative at xviii.11.

Object clauses follow after verbs of knowing, and the tense and mood are as they would be in direct speech.

Purpose clauses follow the main clause except in the case of the imperative at xxi.15. With ἵνα (μή) clauses the main clause always has a future or the equivalent. With ὅπως and the present subjunctive there are some imperfects; otherwise ὅπως with present or aorist subjunctive has a future or the equivalent in the main clause. ὅπως μή with present subjunctive has a main clause with the future [xiv.11, xvi.63]; ὅπως μή with aorist subjunctive has the aorist indicative in the main clause [xix.9, xx.9,14,22, xxxi.14]. ὅπως μή/οὐ μή with the aorist subjunctive has a main clause with the future [xx.44, xxiv.12, xxv.10, xxvi.20, xxxvi.30].

Indirect questions follow ἐπίσταμαι [xvii.12], λέγω [xviii.19, ἀναγγέλλω [xxiv.19, xxxvii.18] and ὁράω [viii.6]. Tense and mood are as in direct speech.

Relative clauses follow the antecedent, omitted only at xxi.32. Assimilation is common, and so is an otiose personal pronoun duplicating the relative pronoun. One or two cases of attraction are found, especially with ἡμέρα.

Clauses of Strong Denial are sometimes coordinated with sentences with a future [e.g. xiv.18].

Subject clauses always follow the clause with which they belong; tense and mood are as they would be in direct speech.

In Temporal clauses the note of time is often either anticipated by an antecedent, which may be attracted into the temporal clause [e.g. ἐν ἡμέρα ἣ ἂν ἔλθῃ... xxxviii.18, ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας... xx.5, xviii.13,15, ἣ ἡμέρα... xxxix.13, τῶν ἡμερῶν αἰς... iv.4,9, ἐν ἡμέρα ἣ... xxxvi.33, ἐν ἣ ἡμέρα... xvi.4,5, xxxi.15, ἐν ἣ ἂν ἡμέρα πλανηθῇ xxxiii.12, τὰς ἡμέρας... ὅτε... xvi.22] or else picked up in the main clause to which the temporal clause refers [e.g. ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρα... xx.6]. At xxiv.2,25-26 we find both. The main clause stands first except with ὅταν at xxiv.25,26, ἥνικα ἂν at xxxiii.33, and at xvi.4-5, xviii.14, xxxi.15, xxxiii.18. Where the temporal clause has ἐν ἡμέρα ἣ ἂν, ἥνικα ἂν or ὅταν with subjunctive the main clause always has the future or the equivalent. In other main clauses a variety is found.

## (2) VOCABULARY AND WORD-FORMATION.

Appendix B contains a classified glossary of the nouns, adjectives (excluding numerals and pronominal adjectives), verbs and adverbs which occur. The classification is intended primarily as a chronological one which will incidentally give an impression of the lexicographical links between our text and other parts of the Greek Bible. Unfortunately it has had to be built up piecemeal from a number of sources; and since none of the existing lexicographical works is without its defects there may be mistakes in the classification here and there. Sources which seemed likely to yield earlier evidence for the rare and late words in Lists 8 and 9, such as the Hellenistic-Jewish fragments published by Jacoby<sup>41</sup> and the *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*<sup>42</sup>, were scrutinised at first hand; for other writers it has been possible to supplement the existing large lexica by indices and word-lists of various kinds.<sup>43</sup> Mistakes in classification are unlikely to be so numerous as to affect judgment in any significant degree.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> F. Jacoby *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Leiden. 1958) Nos. 722-737.

<sup>42</sup> V. Tcherikover and A. Fuks *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*. Vols. 1-3 (Cambridge, Mass. 1957-64). This publication has a long Introduction important for the Jewish background of our period. (*Prolegomena*. Vol. I, pp. 1-111.)

<sup>43</sup> It is a pity that there is no glossary of extra-biblical Jewish Greek to make the work easier. The edition of the fragments of early Hellenistic-Jewish literature promised by N. Walter in the *Vorwort* to his work on the Aristoboulos fragments (Vol. 86 of *Texte und Untersuchungen*. Berlin. 1964) will be most welcome.

<sup>44</sup> It would always be a matter of pushing back the attestation of rare and late words, and of reducing the list of words which seem to be only classical. The lexica to Polybius and Josephus have filled several gaps; unfortunately both are incomplete.

Nothing can alter the fact that, as List 3 shows, the backbone of the vocabulary consists of words which are firmly attested from before the Hellenistic period. Indeed, the majority of these items have a long and practically uninterrupted history from the earliest classical literature up to the Attic Revival and even beyond. These words are the backbone of the vocabulary both in the sense that they form overwhelmingly the largest category, and also in the sense that the words of highest frequency are almost without exception to be found among them. At the other end of the scale, the 'late' and 'unique' words are all of very low frequency indeed, and several are *ἄπαξ λεγόμενα* in our text<sup>45</sup>. Thus even without a calculation of frequency for the *tota graecitas* of these chapters, it is clear that the vocabulary is more deeply coloured by the chronologically all-pervasive class in List 3 than by any other type of word.

List 1 requires little comment. It consists of items which are curiosities from a linguistic point of view; many of them are to be designated foreign bodies in Greek on grounds of phonology alone,<sup>46</sup> quite apart from grammatical considerations. It will be noted that the majority are common to our

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<sup>45</sup> I.e. (7) ἔνδεσμος [xiii.11]. (8) ἀνέλιθησα [ii.10].  
 ἐξατιμόμαι [xvi.61]. ἐσύρισα [xvii.36].  
 ἐξολέθρευσις [ix.1]. καθοδηγέω [xxxix.2].  
 μεγαλορημονέω [xxxv.13]. παρακαλύπτω [xxii.26].  
 παροιστράω [ii.6]. πέλυξ [ix.2].  
 στιβίζομαι [xiii.40]. πλαγιάζω [xiv.5].  
 τεκταίνω [xi.36].  
 φυρμός [vii.23]. (9) Examples *passim*.

<sup>46</sup> Many end in consonants other than ν, ρ and ζ. Σηῖρ is unexceptionable grammatically, for it need never be construed as anything but nominative or vocative; but it seems to be an unparalleled combination of letters in Greek.

text and to the Pentateuch or else some other part of the Greek Bible, and that only a handful of words can safely be assumed to be the creation of the translator(s) of our text<sup>47</sup>. One has the impression of a standardised tradition of the form in which the commoner names were to be reproduced, and although the uniformity may be a result more of later scribal activity than of the translators' original policy there seems to be no means of determining priority among the later books of the Greek Bible. It is interesting to note the affinities of our text in regard to these words; it will be shown elsewhere, however, that they are largely governed by similarities in the various *Vorlagen*. It is impossible to tell whether transcriptions were more likely to occur at one period than another. Depending somewhat upon their circumstances, Jews in a Greek-speaking environment used Hellenized Jewish names or even adopted Greek names, though there was a revival of indeclinable personal names such as Ἰωσήπ and Ἰακώβ under the later Roman Empire; but forms such as those in List 1 could co-exist with Hellenized forms such as Ἱεροσόλυμα, attested as early as 259 B.C. in a Jewish papyrus, and Ἀβραμὸς (165 B.C.), as may be observed from writers such as Pseudo-

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I.e. Βουζι.  
 γελγελ.  
 (Γωβελιν *em.*).  
 Δαρωμ.  
 Θαμμουζ.  
 Κουε.  
 Σαδδαι.  
 Σουε.  
 Φακουδ.  
 Χαρμαν.  
 Χοβαρ.  
 Χορχορ.

Eupolemos.<sup>48</sup> The failure of loan-words to decline is a feature of classical Greek as well as of the Ptolemaic papyri, and the latter are also rich in examples of the defective or irregular declension of foreign names. Indeclinability in Egyptian names is found, too, in the post-Ptolemaic papyri. The habit of letting such forms stand in a Greek text could therefore have been caught by the translators of the Law from at least one non-Jewish source, and need not have originated with them. It would be easily transferred to the treatment of a Hebrew text in a country where Egyptian names were constantly having to be written in Greek letters. It is reasonable to suppose that our translator(s) would have reproduced particular forms already available in the Greek Pentateuch; there are certainly no grounds for supposing that such forms represent the pronunciation of Hebrew peculiar to the translator(s). The prevalence of transcription throughout our period may perhaps help to explain why our translator(s), in the cases where precedent was lacking, hellenized some names but transcribed others. Such incongruities are found even in Philo.

Many of the words in List 2 are known from sources which antedate the Greek Pentateuch, and indeed several are classical and will yield no local colour whatever, let alone a chronology. Of the post-Classical names a high proportion appear in the papyri from the third century B.C., or else in literary sources of the Hellenistic period. Many are found in the Pentateuch or elsewhere in the Greek Bible, if not in

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<sup>48</sup> At least one Hellenistic Jew seems to have been conscious enough of the variant forms Ἱερουσαλημ/Ἱεροσόλυμα to comment upon them: see Jacoby *op. cit.* no. 723, p. 676, 11.20-24.

secular literature, and cannot be assumed to be creations of the translator(s) of our text. With their origins we are not now concerned, though it is interesting to note that in the case of one hellenized semitism at least the declension appears to be a by-product, and not originally regarded as essential<sup>49</sup>. The close correspondence between the occurrence of such words in the Pentateuch and their attestation in secular sources of the third century B.C. is confirmation, if it be needed, of the reliability of the traditional dating of the Greek Pentateuch.<sup>50</sup> The following forms<sup>51</sup> may be assumed to have been originated by the translator(s):-

αβαμα.  
 Βυβλι(α), -ων.  
 Οολα, -αν.  
 Οολιβα, -αν.  
 Χελβ(?), -ων.

It may be possible to trace a slight development in the process of hellenizing in the case of Ἰδουμαία, which always

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<sup>49</sup> The -α form of σάββατα seems to have been the earliest, due simply to the need to make the third consonant of the Hebrew form heard. Only later, and then not invariably, was the word regarded as a neuter plural with singular in -ov. See E. Schwyzer, 'Altes und Neues zu (hebr.-) griech. σάββατα (griech.-) lat. sabbata.' *ZnS* 62 (1935), 1-16. In the Greek Bible the declension has settled down to be that of a neuter in -ov, plural -α, -ων. The translators of the Pentateuch can scarcely take the credit for this particular formation, at least; it must be classed with the adjective ἀπερίτμητος, which (though not listed as such by Preisigke) appears in a non-Jewish papyrus of 257 B.C.: many words of obvious usefulness will have been borrowed or coined by Jews before the first translators went to work.

<sup>50</sup> Where our text has words of other kinds in common with the Pentateuch a striking number of cases are paralleled in papyri of the third century B.C.

<sup>51</sup> Strictly the list ought to include αβαμα and Χελβων, but these have no inflection to make them at all significant as formations. Essentially they are placed in List 2 rather than List 1 because in context they cannot be faulted grammatically.

appears with the article in our text (and sometimes elsewhere in the Greek Bible), whereas the Pentateuch has the less idiom-atic γῆ Ἰδουμαία.<sup>52</sup> The declension of Ἰουδαῖος seems to fluctuate: Ἰουδοῦ appears in 174 B.C. and in texts of the early centuries A.D., but is not universal, and Philo has the same form as our text. The name Σαμάρεια is found virtually throughout our period and earlier, but the designation in our text seems to be exclusively biblical<sup>53</sup>. Τύρος appears in the papyri in the third century B.C., which may explain why it is more frequent in the Greek Bible than the alternative Σορ, which is confined to our text and *Jeremiah*; the fluctuation in our text, however, is not thereby explained. One or two names, such as Ἀμορραῖος, Ἀράδιοι, Δαμασκός, Θαιμάς, Σόδομα and Χετταῖος may be suspected to be coinages of the Pentateuch translators, since they are not found earlier and amongst later sources are virtually confined to writers who may be assumed to have worked within the biblical tradition.<sup>54</sup> Βασανῖτις is found only in our text and in a minority of the Twelve Prophets; the same original is rendered by the unhellenized Βασαν throughout the Pentateuch, the historical books, *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah*. Παθούρη is shared by our text only with *Jeremiah*, though a variant in -ῦρις appears quite early in the Ptolemaic papyri. This is not, however, the place to trace in detail the links between our text and other biblical books. Here it

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<sup>52</sup> Perhaps this is because of the presence of יְדוּמָא in the original. The Pentateuch prefers Εδωμ for יְדוּמָא and γῆ Εδωμ for ארץ יְדוּמָא, though it sometimes has Εδωμ for the latter.

<sup>53</sup> The same holds for Λίβανος, known as a word but not as a name in classical Greek.

<sup>54</sup> The sole exception is Σόδομα, found in Strabo as well as in Philo and Josephus.



is sufficient to note that as far as hellenized forms are concerned, the books other than the Pentateuch with which our text has the clearest affinity are *Jeremiah* and the Twelve Prophets.

Some comment upon List 3 has already been made. Perhaps the most striking facts about this category are the high proportion of Pentateuchal words and the low proportion of words which our text could not have derived from some part of the Greek Bible.<sup>55</sup> While any word in the list could have been used in our text quite independently, as part of common Greek, and while the cases where our text stands alone in using words absent from the Greek Bible but well-documented in Greek show that the translator(s) did in fact draw on the normal linguistic stock,<sup>56</sup> the general pattern strongly suggests, if it does not prove, a unified tradition of bible translation. In the case of a number of these 3 words the Pentateuch supplies the only documentation for the early Hellenistic period, and it is an attractive conclusion that the translated Law may have acted as a literary preservative of certain elements of classical diction, which would otherwise have remained unknown

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<sup>55</sup> It should be noted that many of the Pentateuchal words reappear in biblical books other than our text, and that these books may in this respect have helped to weight the scales in favour of particular items, supposing our text to be posterior to some or all of them. But to document the cases of Pentateuchal words taken up elsewhere would be to give a false picture of literary affinity: any biblical text could have derived any such item from the Greek Pentateuch quite independently. In the case of possible Pentateuchal coinages it is of course to the point to observe whether our text stands alone in taking them up. Cf. List 5.

<sup>56</sup> Only in the case of about one word in every thirty within this list is this so. But cf. the words marked "E" in later lists.

to the later translators. But most of these elements reappear within our period in sources which make it plain that they have simply been subject to the normal accidents of transmission.<sup>57</sup> There is a tendency of an opposite kind for the documentation to fade away in the late centuries B.C., and for many words to go underground, as it were, until about the second century A.D.; but to date our text on these grounds very early in our period, or very late, would be to beg the question. The only safe course is to regard the words in List 3 as very significant from a literary point of view, in that they give our text, for all its peculiarities, an indelibly classical and literary tone, and as wholly irrelevant to the problem of dating. It is very doubtful whether words of this type can contribute anything to solving the question of provenance.

A number of the words in List 4, which as far as the evidence goes arose within the half century before the Law was translated, reappear in the Pentateuch, which cannot therefore have originated them, though some look very plausible as biblical coinages. The fact that they antedate the Greek Pentateuch does not exclude the possibility that some might be con-

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<sup>57</sup> There seems to be no clear case in our text of the misuse of an element of classical diction apparently kept alive by the Pentateuch. There is no reason to doubt, indeed there is positive evidence, that the translator(s) had independent access to the complete *Wortschatz*, literary and colloquial, of the Greek language. It is to be expected that the language used would be coloured by but not limited to that of the Law, which would have been used more strictly as a reference work not for language but for renderings. Given a somewhat cautious approach to the rendering of the linguistic forms of the original, vocabulary is the one sphere in which creativity might be expected to find an outlet.

cealed semitisms or hebraisms, for the creation of which there must have been plenty of opportunity during the long period till about 150 B.C. during which Egyptian Jews continued to speak some Aramaic<sup>58</sup>. There is no evidence for the existence of Jewish ghettos in the Ptolemaic period, and we must envisage a situation in which Jews would have lent and borrowed quite freely terms of cultural and religious significance: to isolate the specifically Jewish terms is perhaps neither possible nor profitable. Four words are confined to our text in the Greek Bible.

The probability that we have to do with biblical coinages is much stronger in the case of List 5, in the absence of earlier attestation. Many words are practically technical terms, for instance  $\theta\nu\eta\sigma\mu\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$  for  $\theta\nu\eta\sigma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ : while this does not in itself exclude the possibility that they might antedate the Greek Pentateuch, it is hard to see what use there would have been for specifically Israelite cultic words such as  $\delta\iota\chi\omicron\tau\omicron\mu\eta\mu\alpha$  outside the context of bible translation. Apart from later books of the Greek Bible, this category scarcely reappears in our period outside Philo, whose interest in the details of Pentateuchal regulations is well known. A study of Pentateuchal word-formation in the light of the papyri would

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<sup>58</sup> The speaking of "Aramaic-Greek" was of course not a mark of Jewishness, but a quite general phenomenon. See F. Büchsel 'Die griechische Sprache der Juden...'. ZAW 60 (1944), 132-149. Semitisms may have entered Greek quite apart from Jewish influence: there was a continuous stream of Syrian immigrants into Egypt throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Another source of un-Greek influence may have been Egyptian, which was never ousted by Greek in the countryside. See L.-Th. Lefort 'Pour une Grammaire des LXX'. *Le Muséon* 41 (1928), 152-60, a review of F.M. Abel *Grammaire du Grec biblique*. Paris. 1927.

surely be fruitful from a linguistic point of view; for the present purpose only a few formations are relevant, those which our text has in common with the Pentateuch, where one, *πίσσαί*, is a chronological anomaly<sup>59</sup>.

A number of the words in List 6 owe their dating in the second century B.C. to sources such as the younger Ben Sira and *II Maccabees*. A significant proportion, however, are found in Polybius and other writers who can scarcely be credited with borrowing from biblical books: *διαβούλιον* and *σπαταλάω*, for instance, are certainly not biblical coinages. In spite of the strongly biblical tone of several and their obvious usefulness in rendering Hebrew, one cannot be certain that the lack of extra-biblical attestation for this or an earlier period is not accidental. In the case of *φάγεσαι* suspicion is strong that it has been dated too early:<sup>60</sup> completeness demands that it be listed here because of the dated biblical books in which it occurs. Perhaps the most interesting question which arises, however, is whether any of these words can be shown to have been borrowed from our text by dateable sources. A form such as *φάγεσαι* yields nothing, since its interest depends on the termination, whose appropriateness in rendering the second person singular in Hebrew is neither great nor small. In the case of *γομφιάζω*, *ἐμπαίγμός*<sup>61</sup> and *ζητηθήσομαι*, in *Ecclesiasticus* but in no secular source of this date, the Hebrew is unfortunately not preserved, though

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<sup>59</sup> See the remarks on the *-σαι* ending under "Morphology".

<sup>60</sup> Cf. note 59 above.

<sup>61</sup> The Ptolemaic papyri show a number of new formations in *-παίγμός* from the various compound verbs in *-παίζω*, so that if this word is a coinage there were analogies for it.

the appropriateness of these renderings in one source as against another might not have been discernible. This leaves the compound adjective *σκληροκάρδιος*, attested in our period<sup>62</sup> only in our text at iii.7 and at *Proverbs* xvii.20 and *Ecclesiasticus* xvi.9. Unless it is secondary in the latter, the impression is unavoidable that it has been dragged in as a choice piece of vocabulary which the writer wished to employ; it could certainly not have been coined on the basis of the Hebrew.<sup>63</sup> It is therefore possible that it was borrowed either from our text or from the *Proverbs* passage. At *Proverbs* xvii.20 it stands for *עקש-לב*, in our text for *קשה-לב*. Assuming that the word is a coinage made for one of these two passages,<sup>64</sup> the balance is clearly in favour of the originality of the *Ezekiel* rendering.<sup>65</sup> The possibility that a given word might have been part of the contemporary language can never be ruled out in even the most cast-iron cases, so that its special appropriateness as a translation of even an unique Old Testament expression cannot amount to actual proof. This case is therefore not conclusive, but points to a sequence *Ezekiel-Proverbs-Ecclesiasticus* or even *Ezekiel-Ecclesiastic-*

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<sup>62</sup> The use by Symmachus at *Isaiah* xlvi.12 is undateable, and is likely to be imitative, especially since it is not a particularly exact rendering of *אכיר לב*.

<sup>63</sup> The translator seems to have put *ἔθνεσι σκληροκαρδίοις* quite without warrant from his *Vorlage*.

<sup>64</sup> There is no occurrence of a biblical phrase elsewhere which could have given rise to such a coinage in a hypothetical era of "targuming" in Greek. The cognate noun *σκληροκαρδία* [P, Si, Je], which theoretically might have given rise to the adjective at any time, cannot weigh against the singular appropriateness of the adjective at *Ezekiel* iii.7.

<sup>65</sup> It will be shown that there are analogous formations based on the same Hebrew construction which were almost certainly coined for our text.

*us-Proverbs* rather than to the priority of *Proverbs*.

Of the words in List 7 two depend for their dating on *I Maccabees*, but most are found outside the biblical literature. None can be unequivocally labelled a biblical coinage. For this reason it is not to the point to list the words which are not found in the Greek Bible outside our text, ἑξατιμῶ, λειοπετρία and φουρμός, as important formations: whether typical of the first century B.C. or not, they can scarcely be neologisms in our text, since the first appears in Philodemus and the other two in Diodorus Siculus. It need hardly be added that the remaining words cannot contribute anything to an absolute dating.

To the words in List 8 much the same remarks apply, except that two formations which our text does not share with other biblical books, ἀνείλησα and the substantive ἡ ἐπτάμηνος, though first found in firmly secular sources of the first century A.D.,<sup>66</sup> might readily have been formed for our text by simple analogy at an earlier date, without any question of their secular occurrences being derivative, while a third, στουγνάζω, might be a coinage in our text<sup>67</sup>.

In List 9 we meet a number of words which, as we shall see, were almost certainly coined for our text.<sup>68</sup> The list falls into two main categories. The first consists of words

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<sup>66</sup> The form ἐπτάμηνος appears in *I.G.* 12(1).53, but this cannot be firmly dated, and is not earlier than 1 B.C. Plutarch gives us a clear dating for the noun.

<sup>67</sup> This word is a puzzle. Apart from *Ezekiel* xxvii.35, xxviii.19 and xxxii.10, where its appropriateness as a coinage is by no means clear, it appears only at *Ev. Marc.* x.22, in a magical papyrus of 346 A.D., and in even later sources.

<sup>68</sup> Special verb forms bearing no necessary relation to the *Vorlage* are ignored in this discussion.

which, being apparently rather late, reappear in sources which can hardly be dependent on our text. In most of these cases the formation is so unremarkable that it might readily have occurred quite independently at almost any time. However, that these words were coinages for our text is, in the light of their relationship to the original, extremely unlikely: in no case is the appropriateness of the translation unequivocal, even where interference from other biblical books can be discounted, and in several the rendering is either weak, for example ἀλλόφωνος, δηλαΐστός, or downright mistaken, for example ἀποτροπιάζομαι, συναναφύρομαι, τροχίας.<sup>69</sup> It is scarcely likely that coinages would be made for expressions which were not understood. Accordingly these must be ordinary secular words, though they need not be as late as their sources.<sup>70</sup> The second category consists of words which are either confined to one or more biblical books or found outside the Greek Bible only in writers who would have known the texts concerned. Four are found in other biblical books besides our text. ἐξακονάομαι renders (רמ) Hoph. in our text and (שש) Pu. at *Psalm* lii.2. καταπάτημα stands for עטל in our text, for סממ at *Micah* vii.10, *Isaiah* vii.25, xxviii.18 and *Daniel* LXX viii.13, for כבוסה at *Isaiah* xxii.5, and for עלל Pi. at *Lamentations* ii.8; for בוס at *Isaiah* xiv.25 there stands the expression εἰμὶ εἰς καταπάτημα. μεγαλυθῆσομαι stands for גדל

<sup>69</sup> ἐξαστράπτω at i.4, συναναμίσγω at xx.18 correspond to nothing at all.

<sup>70</sup> στεατόομαι, for example, might be far earlier than the late compilation in which it is found. It is perhaps somewhat technical, and its absence from the papyri is no surprise.

Hithpa'ēl in our text and at *Daniel* (TH) xi.36 and 37, for גרל at *Psalm* xx.6, *Micah* v.3 and *Zechariah* xii.11, for גריל at *Daniel* (TH) viii.25, and for יזכר at *Psalm* xx.8.

παροικεσία stands for מגורים in our text and for a probably corrupt מגיר at *Zechariah* ix.12. In no case can we be sure that the Greek was coined for one of these passages. The most that can be said is that if the words are coinages לעג in our text, בלע Pi. in *Lamentations*, and יזכר in *Psalm* xx are not strong candidates for priority. Ten words are not found in other biblical books. βαθύχευλος renders עמק-שפה in our text. It appears in a quotation of this passage in Origen's *Sel. in Ezech.* 3; and Cyril of Alexandria couples it with ἀλλόγλωσσος in the text of his commentary on *Jonah* [*Jon.* 21], where no citation is involved, but there is perhaps a desire to recall the passage in *Ezekiel*. βαρύγλωσσος, which renders כבד-לשון, also appears in Origen at *Sel. in Ezech.* 3, though some homiletic comment is offered upon the word in addition to the quotation: Origen does not see the reference to foreign languages, and explicitly repudiates that interpretation in favour of a spiritualising one; he explains our word as meaning "grave of speech" i.e. "serious-minded", as opposed to κουφόγλωσσος, an adjective which seems to be of his own creating. In Nonnus *Par. Jo.* 10 the word has come to mean "evil-speaking", as the context shows. It is evident that both writers are faced with a word which they do not understand. ἐκσεσαρκισμένα for מבחר seems to be a translation, presumably by means of a known word, of a misunderstood original. ἥπατοσκοπέομαι, allowing for aberrant syntax, stands for ראה בכבד. εὐπάρυφα for מכלול is an odd choice if intended as a neuter plural noun, when the



idiomatic feminine might have been used; perhaps it is not intended to be more than a vague neuter, so that ἐνδεδυκότας εὐπάρυφα means simply "gorgeously clothed". μεγαλοπτερυγος renders מִגְדָּלֵי (ה) לְרִגְלֵי. μεγαλόσαρκος stands for בְּשָׂרֵי לְרִגְלֵי, a quasi-technical term found only in our text; the only other occurrence of μεγαλόσαρκος is as a very improbable *varia lectio* for φιλόσαρκος in Origen's commentary on the Fourth Gospel [Jo. 11]. προσηλυτεύω stands for I רָגַל reproducing the play on cognates found in the original; twice in Aquila [Psalm v.5, cxv.5] and twice in the work of the translator called by Origen ὁ ἄλλος [Leviticus xix.34, xxv.6] it renders the same verb. The first occurrence in Aquila is comical in context, but an etymologizing coinage would be in his manner; the other translator has a word-play to reproduce at Leviticus xix.34 exactly parallel to that in our text. Any one of these translators might be dependent for a coinage on any other in this case. προχώρημα for the unique הַפְּסָחִים is of wholly obscure origin, the cognate verb having no attested sense at all close to what must be postulated for the noun. χαρακοβολία stands for הַלְּבָבוֹת הַפְּסָחִים; βάλλω is idiomatic with χάρακας. It may be fairly claimed that in the case of βαθύχειλος, βαρύγλωσσος, ἥπατοσκοπέομαι, μεγαλοπτερυγος, μεγαλόσαρκος and χαρακοβολία, the simplest explanation of their total absence from secular sources and sometimes special treatment in patristic ones combined with their special relation both of form and content with passages rendered by them in our text is that they are coinages originating with the translation. A less certain case is προχώρημα while ἀλλόφωνος and ἥγημα are still more doubtful. It follows from the above discussion that none of

the second category in List 9, the words which are only biblical, can be firmly dated on literary grounds: each is as early as, or earlier than, the oldest biblical translation in which it appears: in at least six cases the date is that of our text. Of the first category, the words which appear to be in secular use, scarcely any need be dated later than the second century A.D. on literary grounds.

The words in List 10 must be treated cautiously: more literary sources from our period might banish this category entirely. Several of the examples, moreover, are not significant. Some words, for instance, though not necessarily particularly common in classical sources, are found in more than one place in the Greek Bible. With these the difficulty is that dependence of any one translator for even a rare word or form<sup>71</sup> on classical authors cannot be proved, since he might have obtained it at second hand from some other part of the Greek Bible. Priority within the biblical corpus can never be established, for here the argument from appropriateness breaks down. One may go so far as to suggest, however, that particular verbal paradigms such as ἀκουσθήσομαι, ἐσβέσθην, and κατεργασθήσομαι, suppose that they were in fact felt to be literary or archaizing, were brought in because of their particular suitability as renderings in some contexts; they may also reflect a bias in favour of particular kinds of formation. With ἀναθάλλω, ἀντιστήριγμα, ἐκδιηγέομαι, κολεός, ὀλορίζω, παγίς, παραφύας, πορνικός, προμαχών, σπάργανον,

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<sup>71</sup> In any case frequency of occurrence is far less significant than occurrence as such. Rash conclusions, for instance, have been drawn from the high frequency of some words in the Pentateuch or the papyri.

φρύαγμα and ὄραιότης, attractive though it would be to draw large conclusions from the types of source in which they occur in the classical period, we cannot tell which translator first used a word or indeed whether all our rival claimants may not have been acting quite independently of one another. In any case scarcely any of these words are particularly rare. With a few words direct dependence of our text on classical authors seems fairly certain: these are ἀφορισμός, γλυκάζω, ἐθλάσθην, ἐναφίημι, ἐργασθήσομαι, ἠδύφωνος, ἠλίσθην, θρήνημα, ὀνειδίωμα, προπαγγέλλω, στενακτός. Verbal paradigms in this list are not very significant because they are virtually demanded by the original: there is no question of Atticizing forms here, since there are no post-Classical alternatives. Some of these words are common enough and are not confined even to one type of source: these, as might be expected, reappear in at least one place soon after the end of our period. Uncommon words are ἠδύφωνος, which is confined to lyric poetry; θρήνημα, found only in Euripides; ὀνειδίωμα, which is confined to Herodotus; προπαγγέλλω, found only in Aeneas Tacticus; and στενακτός, a tragic word. Formation may have had something to do with the choice of all these. As with all the vocabulary of our text, there is no means of knowing how literary or poetical a tone they may have been felt to possess: words may have a particular tone at one time and not at another, or in one collocation but not in another; and one may be mistaken in matters of this kind even where documentation is plentiful, which it is not for our period. ἠδύφωνος is close in form and content to the original. θρήνημα may have been brought in as the synonym for θρήνος which was thought to be required; the

Hellenistic  $\theta\rho\eta\nu\omega\mu\alpha$  has no textual support here. The remaining three 'classical' words are not good renderings in context.

Of a total vocabulary of some 1650 nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs only a very small proportion is not shared with some other part of the Greek Bible. Our text stands alone in respect of 15 indeclinables [List 1], a handful of hellenized names [List 2],<sup>72</sup> 30 words of wide diffusion [List 3], 4 specifically early hellenistic formations [List 4], 3 formations dating from the second century B.C., 3 from the first century B.C., 3 from the first century A.D., 24 which appear to be undateable and a fluid but limited number of apparent archaisms. In addition our text uses five Penta-teuchal formations not found in other biblical books. Of the cases where there is a proper Greek morphology no very clear pattern of formation emerges; but the following types include all or most of the words in question:-

Compound substantives; the exceptions are  $\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\upsilon\omicron\nu$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ,  $\gamma\alpha\lambda\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\alpha$ ,  $\eta\lambda\epsilon\kappa\tau\rho\nu$ ,  $\kappa\acute{\omega}\pi\eta$ ,  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\tau\eta$ ,  $\sigma\kappa\omicron\lambda\iota\acute{o}\tau\eta\varsigma$ ,  $\tau\alpha\iota\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ;  $\beta\eta\rho\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$ ,  $\lambda\iota\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ ;  $\varphi\upsilon\rho\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ ;  $\tau\rho\chi\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ ;  $\eta\gamma\eta\mu\alpha$ ,  $\theta\rho\eta\nu\eta\mu\alpha$ ,  $\delta\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$ .

Substantives in  $-\mu\alpha$ ; i.e.  $\xi\kappa\rho\eta\gamma\mu\alpha$ ;  $\delta\iota\chi\omicron\tau\acute{o}\mu\eta\mu\alpha$ ;  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\chi\upsilon\rho\alpha\sigma\mu\alpha$ ;  $\pi\rho\omicron\chi\acute{\omega}\rho\eta\mu\alpha$ ;  $\eta\gamma\eta\mu\alpha$ ;  $\theta\rho\eta\nu\eta\mu\alpha$ .

Substantives in  $-\acute{\mu}\omicron\varsigma$ ; i.e.  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\chi\upsilon\rho\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ ;  $\varphi\upsilon\rho\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ ;  $\acute{\alpha}\varphi\omicron\rho\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ .

Substantives in  $-\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ; i.e.  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ,  $\tau\alpha\iota\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ;  $\lambda\epsilon\iota\omicron\pi\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ;  $\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\omicron\beta\omicron\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha$ .

Compound adjectives; the exceptions are  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\tau\iota\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\sigma\tau\iota\beta\alpha\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ ;  $\delta\eta\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\sigma\tau\epsilon\nu\alpha\kappa\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ .

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<sup>72</sup> These are not taken into account here.

Adjectives in -ος; there is no exception.

Compound verbs; the exceptions are διπλασιάζω, περύσσομαι, φορτίζω, ψοφέω; ἱστάνω; στυγνάζω; προσηλυτεύω, στεατόομαι; γλυκάζω.

Verbs in -άζω; i.e. διπλασιάζω; στυγνάζω; ἀποτροπιάζομαι; γλυκάζω.

Verbs in -ίζω; i.e. φορτίζω; ἔκσαρκίζω.

Verbs in -έω; i.e. ἀνειλέω, ψοφέω; ἐπιψοφέω; σωματοποιέω; ἥπατοσκοπέομαι.

In tense formation there is a fondness for sigmatic futures in all voices. Other features are the use of first future and first aorist passive forms, three examples of the -σαν termination in the third person plural of the imperfect or aorist indicative active, and one case of the ending in -αν in the third person plural of the perfect indicative active. It will be observed that the category of words in which our text stands apart from the later Greek Bible is a macrocosm in respect of formation of the apparent coinages in List 9.

The literary affinities of our text in respect of the words in Lists 9 and 10 have already been noted. It is doubtful whether anything can be gleaned from those in Lists 3 and 5: it would be injudicious to press the evidence of words which were simply part of Common Greek or of words which might have been derived straight from the Greek Pentateuch. It is equally unsound to treat the words in List 4 and Lists 6 to 8 as simple witnesses to the literary and cultural background of our text.<sup>73</sup> Only if a word is clearly a biblical coinage, and

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<sup>73</sup> J. Ziegler seems to commit a fundamental error in his analysis of the vocabulary of the Greek *Isaiah* [in the section on the Alexandrian background of the version, pp. 175-212 in his *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaïas*.

not necessarily even then, can we be certain of the relative chronology of its uses in various parts of the later Greek Bible. In all the examples of lexicographical affinity which occur in List 4 and in Lists 6 to 8 the sequence is wholly unclear, except in the case of σκληροκάριος, where a tentative chronology has been suggested. In effect, only the words peculiar to our text in the Greek Bible can properly be examined in the present connection. Leaving aside the words whose interest depends on their formation alone, a handful emerge as being certainly derived from secular Greek. Five are names: Βούβαστος, Διόσπολις, Καρχηδόνιοι, Μίλητος and Σᾶις; only Διόσπολις is specifically post-Classical, and all but Καρχηδόνιοι and Μίλητος are current in the Ptolemaic and post-Ptolemaic papyri. Both of these latter names long persist in literary sources. The absence of the Καρχηδόνιοι from the papyri may perhaps be accounted for by the history of their native place, whose name also disappears from non-literary sources: the town was razed and given a Roman name in the second century B.C. There is no reason to date the occurrence in our text earlier than that event. The non-appearance of Μίλητος in papyri between the end of the second century B.C. and the seventh century A.D. must be accidental: although the town passed early into the Roman orbit it retained virtual

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*Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen* xii. Münster i. W. 1937]. In several cases he quotes Pentateuchal words as evidence for the translator's vivid sense of some feature of Egyptian life. In his 'Zum Wortschatz des griechischen Sirach.' *BZAW* 77 (1958), pp. 274-87, he falls into the opposite error of emphasizing the biblical links at the expense of the secular: many of his Pentateuchal "affinities" are illusory; and incidentally here as in the *Isaiah* study the argument from frequency in one kind of source is grossly overworked.

independence and its Greek name; and the adjective *Μιλήσιος* does not disappear for nearly so long. Nine are words attested at or after the beginning of the hellenistic age:

*ἐνεχυρασμός*, *ἑξατιμόω*, *ἐπιψοφέω*, *ἡ ἐπτάμηνος*, *κωπηλάτης*, *λειοπετρία*, *στιγνάζω*, *σωματοποιέω*, and *φυρμός*; all but *ἑξατιμόω* in Philodemus and *λειοπετρία* in Diodorus Siculus appear in more than one source, and only *κωπηλάτης* is confined to one kind of writing, being found in our period in Clearchus Historicus and Polybius. No weight can be placed on the occurrence of *ἑξατιμόω* in our text and in Philodemus: it is a variant formation of a textually vulnerable kind, even if the reading in Philodemus were more certain than it is.

*λειοπετρία* is used by Diodorus Siculus [3.16] as though it were the most natural expression in the world: speaking of fishers he says ... *τὰς μὲν σάρκας ἐπὶ τίνος ληοπητριάς κατατιθέμενοι...*; the word is evidently in casual use. *σωματοποιέω* and *φυρμός* are found in sources both numerous and diverse. From these words it is not possible to derive any clear-cut idea of literary affinities between our text and post-Classical sources, and none has a particular literary colour, with the possible exception of *κωπηλάτης*.

It has already been argued that for the much-canvassed question of unity sound method demands that synonymy be examined as a stylistic feature conceptually distinct from a diversity of rendering of particular Hebrew originals. Vocabulary of the 'unlimited inventory' kind (but excluding the Divine names) has been identified as textually more stable than such phenomena as unexceptionable conjunctions and prepositional phrases. A relatively large number of sets of

words and expressions function in our text as virtual synonyms at least in some contexts. For the most part these sets cannot be analysed in terms of differences in dating or provenance. The main cases of synonymity, ignoring border-line examples and examples where the words occur very close together in the text, are as follows:-



ὁ ἀδελφός iv.17, xiv.23, xxxiii.30, xxxviii.21.	ὁ πλησίον xviii (x4), xxii.11.	"neighbour".
αἰσχύνῃ xvi.36, xxii.10, xxiii (x2).	αἰδοῖον xxiii.20.	"private parts".
αἰχμαλωτεύομαι vi.9, xii.3, xxxix.23.	ἄγομαι αἰχμάλωτος xxx.18.	"go into captivity".
αἰώνιος xvi.60, xxvi.20, xxxv (x2), xxxvi.2, xxxvii.26.	αἰώνος xxvi.20.	"everlasting".
ἀνακαίω v.2 v.l.	κατακαίω v.2, 4, xxxix.10.	"burn", in transitive use.
ἀνάπτω xxi.3.	ἀνακαίω xxiv.10 v.l.	"kindle".
ἀνομία viii (x5), ix (x1), xi (x2), xii (x1), xvi (x7), xviii (x3), xx (x2), xxii (x2), xxiii (x1), xxxii (x1), xxxiii (x2), xxxvi (x2), xxxvii (x1).	ἀνόμημα xvi (x2), xxxix.24.	"impious act", in concrete use.
ἄνωθεν i (x2).	ἐπάνω i.27, xxxvii.8.	"up above", in adverbial use.
	ἐπάνωθεν i.22.	

ἀποθνήσκω iii (x4), xi.13, xiii.19, xviii (x10), xxviii.8, xxxiii (x6).	τελευτάω xii.13, xvii.16, xviii.17.	"die".
ἀποτροπιάζομαι xvi.21.	ἐξιλάσκομαι xvi.63.	"propitiate".
ἀρπάζομαι xviii.7.	ἀρπάσσομαι xviii.18.	"plunder", in future tense.
ἀτιμώ xvi (x2), xvii (x3).	ἀτιμάζω xxviii (x2), xxxvi (x2).	"despise, do despite to".
ἀφανισμός xii.20.	ὄλεθρος xiv.16.	"liquidation, destruction".
ἀσηγούμενος xi.1, xii.10, xxi (x2), xxii (x2).	ἠγούμενος xvii.13, xix.11, xxi.2, xxiii (x3).	"ruler".
βάσανος iii.20, vii.19, xii.18, xvi (x2), xxxii (x2).	κόλασις xiv (x3), xviii.30.	"penalty".
βρώμα iv.10.	ἄρτος iv (x3), v.16, xii.18, xiii.19, xiv.13, xviii (x2), xxiv (x2).	"food".
ἡ γύνη ἐν ἀφέρῳ οὔσα xviii.6.	ἡ ἀποκαθημένη xxii.10, xxxvi.17.	"menstruous woman".

δένδρον vi.13.	ξύλον xv (x3), xvii.24 (x5), xx (x2), xxi (x3), xxxi (x8), xxxiv.27, xxxvi.30, xxxix.10.	"tree".
διασκορπίζω v (x3), vi (x1), x (x1), xi (x1), xx (x2), xxviii (x1), xxxix (x1).	διασπείρω xi.17, xii (x1), xvii (x1), xxxix (x1), xxx (x2), xxxii (x1), xxxiv (x4), xxxvi (x1).	"scatter".
δίδομι iii (x2), xii (x1), xvi (x2), xxi (x1), xxii (x1), xxv (x3), xxvi (x3), xxviii (x3), xxxix (x2), xxx (x1), xxxii (x1), xxxiii (x3), xxxv (x3), xxxvii (x1).	τίθημι iv.3, vi.14, xxi.32, xxv.13, xxxv.9.	"make", with predicate.
ὁ διοδεύων v.14, xiv.15.	διεσθήμεν xvi.30.	"passer-by".
δῶμα xx (x2).	δῶρον xx.39, xxii.12.	"gift".
δύναμις xvii.17, xxvii (x2), xxxix (x3), xxxii.24, xxxviii (x2).	ἰσχυς xxxii (x6).	"force, army".

εἶθέλω xviii (x2), xx.8.	βούλωμαι xxxiii.11.	"desire, be willing", with acc. or inf.
εἰσέρχομαι i.ii (x4), iv (x1), vii (x1), viii (x2), ix (x1), x (x3), xi (x2), xii (x1), xiii (x1), xvi (x3), xvii (x1), xx (x1), xxi (x2), xxxvi (x4), xxxvii (x2).	εἰσπορεύομαι x.3, xx.29, xxiii (x2), xxxvi.10.	"approach, enter".
εὔστηκα i.21, iii.23, viii.11, x (x3).	ἔστην ix.2, x (x2), xi.23, xiii.5, xxxi.14, xxxvii.10.	"stood".
ἐκλαύσθη xxiv.16.	ἐκλαυσα xxiv.23.	"mourned".
ἐνδεδυκώς ix (x3), x (x3), xxiii (x2).	ἐνδεδυμένος xxxviii.4.	"wearing".
ἐνεχίρασμός xviii (x3).	ἐνεχύρασμα xxxiii.15.	"pledge, security".
ἐξαλείφω ix.8, xx.17, xxii.30, xxv.15.	ἐξαναλίσκω xx.13, xxxv.15.	"liquidate, destroy".

ἐσθίω ii.8, iii.3, iv (x6), v (x2), xii (x2), xvi.13, xviii (x3), xix (x2), xxii.9, xxiv (x2), xxv.4, xxxiv.28, xxxvi.14, xxxix (x3).	βιβρώσκω iv.14, xviii.15.	"eat".
ἐσθηκός (in compounds only) xx.38, xxxiv.18.	ἕστως xxii.30.	"standing".
ἕτερος xi.19, xii.3, xvii.7, xxxiv.23.	ἄλλος xix.5.	"another", in adjectival use.
ἐτοιμάζω πρόσωπον iv.3, 7.	στηρίζω πρόσωπον vi.2, xiii.17, xiv.8, xv.7, xxi (x2), xxv.2, xxviii.21, xxix.3, xxxviii.2.	"direct the gaze".
ἐπάζομαι xxiii.6, 12.	ἵππεύω xxiii.23.	"ride".
κάθημαι viii.1, 1, 14, xxiii.41, xxxiii.31.	καθίζομαι xxvi.16.	"sit".
τὸ καθόλου xiii.3, 22, xvii.14.	ὀλοσχερῶς xxii.30.	"altogether".
κατευθύω xvii (x3), xviii (x3).	κατορθόω xviii (x3).	"prosper, succeed".

κεφαλή i (x2), v.1, vii.18, ix.10, x.1, xi.21, xiii.18, xvi (x2), xvii.19, xxii.31, xxiii (x2), xxiv.23, xxvi.16, xxvii.30, xxix.18, xxxii.27, xxxiii.4.	κορυφή viii.3, xvii.22.	"head".
κίδαρις xvi.31.	μίτρα xxvi.16.	"turban".
κυκλόθεν i (x2), v.17, x.12, xvi (x2), xix.8, xxii.22, xxxvii.2.	κύκλω i.27, ii.6, iv.2, viii.10, xvi.57, xxiii.24, xxvi.8, xxvii.11, xxxvii.2.	"round about", in adverbial use.
λαός iii (x2), vii (x2), ix.9, xii.19, xx (x4), xxii.29, xxiii.24, xxv.7, xxvii.3, xxviii.25, xxxi.12, xxxii (x2), xxxiii.2, xxxvi (x2), xxxix.13.	ἔθνος v.7, 7, xxvi (x3), xxxii.10, xxxv.10, xxxvi (x6), xxxvii (x2), xxxviii (x8), xxxix.4.	"people", in ethnic sense.
μισών xvi.27.	ἐχθρός xxxv.5, xxxvi.2, xxxix (x2).	"enemy".
μοιχάσμαι xvi.32, xxiii (x2).	μοιχεύω xxiii.43.	"commit adultery", be adulterous".

οἶκος iii.24, viii (x3), ix (x3), x (x5), xi.1, xvi.41, xxiii.47, xxv.9, xxvi.12, xxvii (x2), xxxviii.6.	οἶκία xi.3, xxviii.26, xxxiii.30.	οἶκημα xvi.24.	"house, dwelling".
ὀξύνομαι xxi (x3).	ἐξάκονομαι xxi.16.		"be whetted, sharp".
πεδῖον vii.15, xvii.24, xxvi (x3), xxxi (x4), xxxiv (x2), xxxviii.20, xxxix (x2).	ἀγρός xvi.7, xxxi.13, xxxiii.27, xxxiv.5, xxxvi.30.		"field, countryside".
πετελόν xvii.23, xxix.5, xxxi (x2), xxxii.4, xxxviii.20, xxxix.4.	ὄρνειον xxxix (x2).		"bird".
πίμπλημι iii.3, viii.17, ix (x3), x (x4), xxiii.33, xxviii.16, xxx.11, xxxii.4.	πλήρωω vii.19.		"fill".
πλήρης i.18, vii (x2), x.12, xvii.3, xxxvi.38.	μεστός xxxvii.1.		"full", with gen. ματ.
πνεῦμα i.4, v.2, xiii.11, xxxvii.9.	πνοή xiii.13.		"wind".

ποδήρης ix (x3).	στολή x (x3).	"robe".
ποιμνιον xii.5, xxxiv.12.	πρόβατον xxv.5, xxxiv (x25), xxxvi (x4).	"sheep".
σαλπίγγω (Ἔν) σάλπιγγι vii.14, xxxiii.3.	σημαίνω σάλπιγγι xxxiii.6.	"give a trumpet- signal".
Σορ xxvi (x5), xxvii (x5).	Τύρος xxviii.12, xxix (x3).	"Tyre".
συλλαμβάνομαι xii.13.	ἀλόκομαι xvii.20, xxi.29.	"be caught".
τι τρώσκω xxviii.7.	τραυματίζω xxviii (x2), xxx.4, xxxii.28, xxxv.8.	"wound".
τραυματίας vi (x3), xi.6, xxi (x2), xxvi.15, xxviii.8, xxx.11, xxxi (x2), xxxii (x13), xxxv.8.	τετραυματισμένος xxviii.23, xxx.4, xxxii.28, xxxv.8.	"wounded".



**(3) IDIOM, USAGE AND SEMANTICS.**

Only the more remarkable features will find mention here; because much of the language is quite straightforward and in no way exceptional, the account will be highly selective.

**(a) The Limited Inventories.****(i) Prepositions.**

In common with the generality of prepositions ἀνά μέσων is normally repeated with consecutive nouns and pronouns, with very laboured effect at, for instance, xviii.8.

ἀπό is used frequently either in a causal sense or of the agent. In some places ἀπό with the genitive amounts to a genitive of matter after ἐπίμπλημι [xxvii.33 (*bis*), xxxii.5,6], a partitive genitive [xvii.5] or a privative genitive [xxxvi.12].

εἰς with accusative may be used for ἐπί with dative at x.11, xvii.8, xxxi.7. The predicative use has already been noted.

ἐκ with the genitive is used partitively in a number of places [v.4, vi.8,9, vii.16, viii.11, xii.16, xiv.1,4,7 (*bis*),22, xvi.5,16, xvii.13,22 (*bis*), xix.5, xx.1, xxii.30, xxxiii.2,6]. It is apparently privative at vii.26 (*bis*), xvi.42, xxii.15, xxiii.27 (*bis*),48, xxiv.16, xxv.13, and equivalent to a genitive of matter or respect at vi.14, xxxvi.33; it is instrumental at vi.14, and apparently comparative at xv.2. At xxvi.16 it seems to be the equivalent of a simple possessive. It has the sense "in, among" at iii.12, xxii.30, xxiii.8, and "from in, from among" at xxv.7 (*bis*), xxvi.17,

xxviii.25. The second example at v.6 is puzzling, and better sense would result if ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ τὰ νόμιμά μου were dropped with some manuscripts.

ἐν with dative, the all-purpose and ubiquitous form, is frequently instrumental, and the preposition is quite otiose in many places [e.g. iv.14].

ἐπί with the genitive in the sense "near, by" is fairly frequent, and not only in the idiomatic ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ [i.1, iii.15,23, viii.16, x.15,20,22, xi.1, xvi.25, xxi.24,26, xxvii.3, xxxviii.8,16, xxxix.20]. At iv.4 it is proleptic. ἐπί with the accusative occurs with the same local sense "near, by" at i.8,17, xix.9, xxvi.16, xxvii.29, xxxiv.13, xxxviii.12, xxxix.17,26; at xviii.13 it is causal, a sense in which ἐπί with the dative is common, though ἐπί with the genitive also occurs [xxix.18, xxxiii.5].

#### (ii) Numerals.

εἷς appears to be used for ἕκαστος at i.6 (*bis*), x.9 (*bis*), 11,21 (*bis*). It has the sense "a single" at i.16, iv.9, x.10, xvi.5, xxi.24, xxii.19, xxiii.2,13, xxxiii.24, xxxvii.17,19,22,24, and may be functioning as an indefinite article at i.15, viii.8. It is an ordinal at xxvi.1, xxix.1,17, xxxi.1, xxxii.1.

#### (iii) Pronouns and Pronominal Adjectives.

ἐκάτερος may be used for ἕκαστος at i.11,12.

ἐκεῖνος as an adjective normally refers to a remote future time, with an ominous undertone.

Adjectival ἕτερος has the sense "a different" at xi.19, xii.3, xxxiv.23.

πόσος is used only in the idiomatic πόσον τίνα "About how much?" at xxvii.33.

τοιοῦτος forms part of a piece of nonsense αὐτῆ οὐ τοιαύτη ἔσται at xxi.31 [cf. xxi.32].

**(b) The General Vocabulary.**

**(i) Proper Names.**

The only notable point is the use at xxiii.15 of what must be construed to be, with an abrupt transition, the neuter plural Χαλδαῖα in the sense "Chaldæa". Both continuity and more normal idiom would be restored if Βαβυλωνός were inserted after Χαλδαίων. (Some manuscripts in fact have the word after υἱῶν, but the sequence υἱοί - name of people - name of place is more in accordance with the manner of our text). τῆς may be right for γῆς, though four genitive nouns in a row is not impossible<sup>74</sup>.

**(ii) Common Nouns, Adjectives, Verbs and Adverbs.**

ἀγιάζω is always used in a non-cultic sense; the meaning "offer up" is clearly incongruous everywhere [xx.12 etc.], and especially in the cases, which are in the majority, where the verb is passive with God as subject.

ἀγίασμα has the sense "sanctuary" at xi.16 (but cf. xx.40 where the meaning is probably rather "thing offered").

ἄγιος, -ov is used *passim* in the neuter plural in the sense of τὰ ἱερά [xxvii.6, xxviii.18].

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<sup>74</sup> It will be shown that it is possible to settle the reading on the basis of the Hebrew.

ἀγορά has the sense "merchandise" wherever it occurs [xxvii.12 etc.].

ἀγρός is used only to qualify other nouns [xvi.7, xxxi.13, xxxiii.27, xxxiv.5, xxxvi.30], the usual word for "country", as opposed to "town", being πεδῖον.

ἀθετέω governs εἰς with the accusative at xxxix.23; at xxii.26 we find the simple accusative νόμον.

αἶρειν τὴν χεῖρα is used with God as subject at xx.28,42, xxxvi.7; partly because of the accompanying εἰς or ἐπί with accusative this does not seem to be the normal idiom with the sense "vote in favour". At xxxvi.7 hostile action is clearly implied.

αἰσχύνη is used in the concrete sense of αἰδοῖον at xvi.36, xxii.10, xxiii.10,18. The same concrete sense is probably present in the phrase αἰσχύνη πορνείας σου [xxiii.29], where πορνείας must be equivalent to an adjective "unchaste".

αἰχμαλωσία is used concretely of a body of captives at i.1, iii.11,15, xi.24,25, xxxii.9.

αἰχμαλωτεύομαι means "go into captivity" [vi.9, xii.3, xxxix.23]; but cf. the classical idiom αἰχμάλωτοι ἀχθήσονται at xxx.18.

Adverbs with αἰῶν are ἀπ' αἰῶνος [xxxii.27], εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα [xxvi.21, xxvii.36, xxviii.19, xxxvii.25,26,28], and ἕως αἰῶνος [xxv.15].

The construction with ἀκούω seems odd in ἤκουον αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος πρὸς με [ii.2] and ἤκουσα τῆς φωνῆς τῶν βλασφημιῶν [xxxv.12].

ἀλαλάζειν followed by ἐπὶ σὲ τῇ φωνῇ αὐτῶν is curious [xxvii.30]. The future tense, too, which as a formation is of

late date, is perhaps odd in Greek; if no future is certainly attested before our text and the date of the rendering of *Isaiah* xli.4, *Jeremiah* xlvii.2 it may be because none was in use.

ἄλλότριος, -ον is always used nominally in the sense "foreigner".

The use of ἁμαρτάνω is not remarkable except at xiv.13, where the following infinitive phrase is both odd grammar and pleonastic in sense, and at xvi.51, where the accompanying prepositional phrase is highly unnatural.

ἀναβαίνω has the sense "enter (the head)" with abstract subjects at xx.32, xxxviii.10; the prepositional phrases which accompany the verb are also odd idiom. ἀναβαίνω of persons (ἀνέβητε λάλημα γλώσση) at xxxvi.3 is pure gibberish. The verb is also used of the sea [xxvi.3] and of wrath [xxiv.8, xxxviii.18] "rising"; these idioms are less harsh. The verb is reasonable with δέρμα as subject [xxxvii.8], but ἐπάνω has an odd ring.

ἀναβάται ἵππων at xxxviii.15 is strange.

ἀναβλέπω is always [viii.5 (bis)] used with an otiose τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς.

ἀνάγω is used with σάρκα as object at xxxvii.6.

ἀναθάλλω is transitive [xvii.24].

ἀναμιμνήσκομαι is used passively at xxxiii.13,16.

ἀναμιμνήσκω always governs the accusative.

The sense of ἀναστρέφομαι at iii.15 is unclear. If the post-Classical meaning attested for ἀναστροφή may be extended to the verb, it might mean "be upset, in a daze". The usual sense "live, have one's being" is found elsewhere in our text.

The verb has an ethical tone at xxii.7, 29, 30; in the first two places it has a prepositional phrase with πρὸς and accusative for the person affected by the behaviour.

The present participle passive of ἀνασώζω is discordant at vi.8, 9, vii.16, xxiv.26, 27. Much better is the perfect at xiv.22, in favour of which there is a variant at vi.8, and the aorist at xxxiii.21.

κατὰ ἀνατολάς at xi.1 is curious. πρὸς ἀνατολάς at viii.5 is more idiomatic.

άνήρ is used in the sense "someone, anyone" at xiv.1, xviii.8, xx.1, xxii.30. εἷς άνήρ appears at ix.2 without a superlative. The coupling of άνήρ with βάρβαρος [xxi.36], ληστῆς [xxii.9] and πολεμιστής [xxvii.10, 27, xxxix.20] is clumsy.

άνθρακες πυρός [i.13, x.2] does not seem to be idiomatic for "live coals"; even άνθρακες *simpliciter* would be better.

άνθρωπος is used with ἀδελφός at xxxiii.30), xxxviii.21 where an expression with ἀλλήλων, which is not in use, might have been expected. At iv.17 άνθρωπος καὶ ἀδελφός αὐτοῦ simply means "everyone". At vii.13, xviii.7, xx.11, 13, 21 it amounts to an indefinite pronoun. It is used pleonastically with εἷς [xxxiii.2] and ἐκεῖνος [xiv.8]. At xiv.4, 7 we find it repeated, apparently in a distributive sense.

When ἀνίστημι governs an object the expression as a whole seems unidiomatic. The verb governs διαθήκην [xvi.60, 62], λόγον [xiii.6], ποιμένα [xxxiv.23, with ἐπ' αὐτούς, which is also un-Greek], and φυτόν [xxxiv.29].

ἀνομέω governs the accusative of the person wronged at xxii.11.

ἀντιλαμβάνομαι has the usual genitive at xii.14, xx.5,6, but the accusative χεῖρα at xvi.49. At xx.5,6 there is an otiose τῆ χειρὶ μου.

ἀπαλλοτριόω, always used in the passive, has ἀπό with the genitive of the person from whom the subject is estranged [xiv.5,7].

ἀποκάθηναι is used only in the present participle in a quasi-technical sense [xxii.10, xxxvi.17].

ἀποκριθῆναι is used in a Middle sense at xiv.3, xx.3.

ἀπόλλυμι and ἀπόλλυμαι tend to have constructions with ἐξ [vii.26, xxv.7] and ἀπό [xxix.8, xxxv.7] expressing the effect of the event rather than constructions expressing cause; apart from the figure at xxv.7 we find only one such construction, a dative [xxxiv.29]. The intransitive favours abstract subjects [vii.26, xii.22, xix.5, xxx.18, xxxiii.28, xxxvii.11].

ἀποστέλλω is used intransitively at vii.3. Twice it has ἐπί with accusative and a hostile connotation [vii.3, xxxix.6].

ἀποστρέφω is used both transitively and intransitively. The transitive use is very common, and few of the objects seem quite idiomatic. This is particularly the case with abstracts [xii.23, xvi.53 (*quater*), xxiii.27,34,48, xxix.14] where the sense is usually quite opaque. The transitive is expanded by a negative infinite phrase at xxxiv.10. The perfect participle passive at xxxviii.8 must in context mean "rescued" or the like.

ἀποστροφή is always found, in accusative or dative, with the cognate verb.

ἀποτροπιάζομαι [xvi.21] governs an accusative and a dat-

ive, but what these are in grammar is unclear from the context, and with them the sense of the verb.

ἀποφέρω is used at xxxii.30 with object βάσανον apparently in the sense "receive, get". It is not the same as either the use of the Middle in the classical language for getting justice i.e. from a defendant or the use in P with ἀμαρτίαν apparently with the sense "be paid back for".

ἀπόλεια is normally used predicatively after a copula [xxviii.19] or after transitive verbs, the whole expression being a periphrasis for a passive or active verb.

The expression ἐν ἀριθμῷ [v.3, xx.37; cf. the variant at xii.16] is unidiomatic in itself; at xii.16, xx.37 the wider meaning is obscure even if we extend to this idiom classical and post-Classical senses associated with the simple dative. The late sense "in number" fits reasonably only at v.3.

At xxxvii.7 ἀρμονία is used in the sense "pair, fellow".

τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὕμῶν at xxxvi.11 is very odd.

ἀσχηνοσύνη [xvi.8] is used of improper nakedness.

ἀτμίς qualified by θυμιάματος [viii.11] is perhaps unusual, for ἀτμίς is normally a moist vapour.

The meaning of ἀφορισμός at xx.31,40 is wholly unclear. Is "fixed rule" intended?

βασιλεύω is used with a direct object in a causative sense at xvii.16. At xx.33 it is used intransitively with ἐπί and the accusative.

βλέπω is used of seeing visions at xiii.6.

βόθρος [xxvi.20 etc.] is used to mean "grave".

βόσκω is found with ἐν νόμῃ at xxxiv.14 instead of the accusative or simple dative.



The phrase ἐν βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ at xx.33,34 is nonsense.

βρέχω τι ἐπί τινα is found at xxxviii.22. The accusative is normal for the recipient of the precipitation.

γεννάω is oddly curt without an object at xxxi.6.

γῆ referring to a particular country is normally followed by the name not in apposition but in the genitive. The frequent ἐπί τῆς γῆς, and the examples with the accusative after ἐπί with a locative sense, are unidiomatic. The use of the article is often clumsy, for instance at xxxviii.20, where ἐπί γῆν would be good. What is meant by γῆ ἀπερριμμένη at xxxviii.11? γῆ ζωῆς [xxvi.20, xxxii.23,24,26,32] is an "unidiom".

γράφω is used transitively with ἐπί and accusative at xxxvii.16, intransitively at xxxvii.20 with ἐπί and the dative. Odd is the passive with ἐν γραφῇ at xiii.9.

διακρύω with τὸ πρόσωπον as subject [xxvii.35] is highly unnatural, unless the sense intended is "exude moisture".

διαβούλιον means "debate" at xi.5.

The idiom with διακρίνω is πρός and the accusative with the medio-passive [xx.35,36] and ἀνὰ μέσον with the genitive after the intransitive active.

διαπορεύομαι is odd with ἐν προστάγμασι ζωῆς at xxxiii.15.

διαστέλλω is twice used with ἀνὰ μέσον and the genitive [xxii.26 *bis*].

The perfect participle passive of διαστρέφω is curious functioning as complement at xvi.34.

διατίθημι with object διαθήκην has πρός and accusative for the party with whom the covenant is made at xvii.13; at

xxxiv.25, xxxvii.26 we find the usual dative.

διαφθείρω with object τὴν ἐπίθεσιν [xxiii.11] is unclear Greek.

There are several strange idioms with δίδωμι. Both δίδωμι with εἰς of the recipient [iii.3] and the more frequent δίδωμι εἰς χεῖρας are good Greek, though the former is uncommon. Less acceptable are δίδωμι with εἰς (τὴν) χεῖρα [xvi.16, xxx.24], with εἰς κεφαλὴν [xvii.19],<sup>75</sup> and the very widespread use in the sense "make" with object and predicate,<sup>76</sup> and in the sense "put, place"<sup>77</sup>. δίδωμι τῷ πυρί [xv.6, cf. xv.4] is not entirely natural. δίδωμι (ἀργύριον) ἐπὶ τόκου [xviii.8], μετὰ τόκου [xviii.13] are not the proper idiom for "lend at interest". What is meant by the expressions at xxiii.7,49 is obscure.

διέρχομαι is construed with a simple accusative [ix.4, xxix.11], with ἐπί and accusative [v.17, xvi.6], with διὰ and genitive [xiv.17, xvi.8] and, if the text is right, once with ἐν and dative [xxix.11]. Intransitive use is normal only of the passage of time, which makes these latter idioms doubly strange.

δικαιοσύνη is used in the plural in the sense "righteous act" [iii.20 (*bis*), xviii.24, xxxiii.13].

δικαίω is used in the sense "justify, regard as righteous" [xvi.51,52 (*bis*)].

δικαίωμα is used *passim* in the sense "ordinance".

<sup>75</sup> ἀνατίθημι or τρέπω would be normal.

<sup>76</sup> The construction appears from iii B.C., but only in the sense "appoint".

<sup>77</sup> Some classical idioms come near to this.

The usage with δόξα at iii.12, x.22 suggests a concrete sense, or at least a personification.

δουλεία is used of "service" at xxix.18 (*bis*). The nearest sense to this in secular Greek is the use in the papyri for the state of slavery.

ἐν δυναστείᾳ at xxii.25 is unclear and unidiomatic.

ἐπὶ δυσμάς δυσμῶν at xxvii.9 is abnormal.

ἐγγίζω, besides the construction with the infinitive, which is of doubtful sense, has πρὸς [xxii.5] and ἐπί [ix.6] with the accusative.

ἐγγύθεν is apparently temporal [vii.8].

ἐδαφίζω has the sense "dash to the ground" [xxxix.12].

εἰμί is equivalent to ἐξειμί at xvi.63. While as copula it is frequently understood, the present participle is sometimes used unnecessarily [e.g. at i.25, xviii.6]. εἰμί is often used as part of a periphrasis which might more naturally be expressed by a single verb [e.g. xxxiv.6,22].

ἐπ' εἰρήνης [xxxviii.8,11,14, xxxix.6,26] is in itself an acceptable idiom; but the sense "in peacetime" is not appropriate.

The use of εἰσδέχομαι with ἐκ of the source [xi.17, xx.34,41] is odd.

εἰσέρχομαι has the normal πρὸς and εἰς, though without distinction between persons and places. It also has ἐκεῖ [xi.18, xii.16, xxxvi.20,21,22, xxxvii.21], ἐν [xvi.8], and, if the prepositional phrase is not attributive, ἐπί with accusative [xxi.25 (*ter*)].

εἰσπορεύομαι πρὸς, which refers to legitimate relations, is oddly discordant at xxiii.44. The verb otherwise has εἰς

or ἐκεῖ; the isolated accusative at xxvi.10 probably should not be read, but εἰς inserted with some manuscripts.

ἐκεῖ is most commonly used pleonastically in clauses with οὐ.

ἐκεῖθεν seems to mean "of their number" at v.3.

ἐκζητέω has the sense "demand an account of" at iii.18, 20, xxxiii.6,8, xxxiv.10.

ἐκκενώ μάχαιραν [v.2,12, xii.14, xxviii.7, xxx.11] is without parallel even in the classical ἐκκενώ ἰούς.

ἐκλείπω means "remain" at xxiv.11, and "be sick" at xxxiv.16,21.

ἐκπορνεύω is used with a variety of constructions, some of which [e.g. at vi.9, xvi.16, xxiii.5] suggest motion.

The expression with ἐκφέρω at xxiv.6 is wholly obscure.

ἐκψύχω is odd with σάρξ and πνεῦμα as subject instead of a physical being [xxi.12].

It is not clear what is meant by the present participle of ἐλέγχω at iii.26.

The phrase ἐν ἐλπίδι is not idiomatic [xxviii.26 (bis), xxxiv.28]. ἐλπίς means "object of hope" at xxix.16, and possibly at xxxvii.11.

ἐμπαίζω governs ἐν and the dative [xxii.5].

ἐμπίπλαμαι is used not of GASTRIC satiety at vii.19, xvi.28 (bis),29. The active has this kind of sense; but perhaps the origin was rather the passive with ψυχή as subject in P. The active with ἀπό at xxvii.33, xxxii.5,6, and the passive with the accusative *materiae* at xxxix.20 are doubtful idiom.

ἐμπορεύομαι has ἐν of the material [xxvii.13,21] where

the accusative or dative would be right. [Examples could be multiplied of the encroachment of ἐν with other verbs as well].

ἐμφοσάω has not εἰς but ἐπί with accusative at xxi.36, making a different idiom from that at xxxvii.9.

What is meant by the neuter plural ἐναντία at xvii.15, xviii.18 [cf. Na i.11]?

ἐναφίημι with object θυμόν [xxi.22] is without parallel.

ἐνέχομαι with ἐν [xiv.4,7] is of doubtful sense. The use with the dative at Genesis xlix.23 is not the same.

ἐνεχυράζω has a cognate noun for object [xviii.16].

The expression εἰς ἐνιαυτόν at iv.6, though idiomatic in a temporal sense i.e. "for a whole year", is odd for equivalence i.e. "corresponding to a whole year". The nearest parallel is at Genesis i.14.

ἐνισχύω is used transitively in the sense "strengthen" [xxvii.9, xxx.25, xxxiv.4,16].

ἐντρέπω in the sense "be ashamed" [xxxvi.32] finds its closest parallel in the use of the middle in P.

ἐξαιροῦμαι with object ψυχὴν in the positive sense "rescue, save" is odd [xxxiii.5,9].

ἐξάιρω and its middle voice are used intransitively at i.4,19,20,21. The passive means "be removed" at vi.6, xvi.42.

ἐξάλειψις has the sense "destruction" [v.16 (emendation), ix.6], which is a late sense in secular Greek, and then only in connection with the cognate verb, which earlier had the literal sense "whitewash".

ἐξαποστέλλω is used with βολίδας [v.16] and συστήματα [xxxi.4] and, less idiomatically, with λιμόν [v.17, xiv.13].

It is idiomatic with persons and groups of persons: in the passive projectiles are commonly the subject. P shows parallels to our text.

ἐξεγείρομαι has the bizarre subject πρόσωπον at xxi.21.

ἐξιλάσκομαι, normally used in the sense "make propitiation", is used passively at xvi.63 with the dative of the person concerned and κατά with accusative for the offence.

ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς is used at xxxvi.38 where we should expect the simple dative.

ἐπαίρω with ὀφθαλμούς [xviii.6] is not quite normal.

ἐπαναπαύομαι has ἐπί and the accusative at xxix.7.

The meaning of ἔπαρσις qualified by τῆς καυχήσεως [xxiv.25] is unclear.

ἐπέκεινα refers to future time at xxxix.22.

ἐπέρχομαι has πρός and the dative, unless the prepositional phrase is attributive [xxxix.11].

ἐπερωτάω has the accusative of the person consulted and ἐν for the subject of the enquiry [xiv.7].

ἐπιβλέπω has εἰς at x.11. The present middle participle is abrupt at xvii.5.

ἐπιθύμημα is qualified by ὀφθαλμῶν at xxiv.16, 21, 25.

ἐπικαλέω has object ὄνομα at xx.29.

ἐπικαλύπτω is used intransitively with ἐπάνω and the genitive [i.11; but cf. 23].

ἐπικρατέω has ἐπί and the accusative [xxix.7].

τὰ ἐπίλεκτα [xvii.3, 22] is a phrase of uncertain reference.

ἐπιστρέφομαι with πρός and accusative [xxvi.2], though found in P, is unclear in context in our text.

ἐπισυνίστημι has ἐπί and the accusative [ii.6].

ἐπιτηδεύματα is somewhat comically qualified by μείζονα at viii.15 [but cf. the pl. for "idolatrous practices" in P].

ἐπιτίθεμαι with ἐπί and the accusative [xxiii.5,7,9,12, 16,20] is without parallel, especially in the sense "lust after" [but cf. the cognate noun at xxiii.11].

ἐπιχαίρω has ἐπί and the accusative at xxv.3,6. The verb has a negative sense, i.e. one of *Schadenfreude*.

ἐπιψοφέω is followed by a somewhat otiose τῷ ποδί [xxv.6].

The phrase εἰς ἐργασίαν [xv.3,4,5 bis] is unclear.

The perfect participle passive of ἐρημόω appears at xxxiii.24,27, xxxvi.10, xxxviii.12 as an otherwise unknown feminine noun.

ἔρχομαι πρὸς [xvi.33] is good idiom, but odd in context, like εἰσπορεύομαι πρὸς.

ἐσθίω always has the accusative where the genitive might have been used.

ἐπ' ἐσχάτῳ [xxxv.5] and ἐπ' ἐσχάτων [xxxviii.16] are used in a temporal sense.

ἑσώτερος is only used as an adjective [viii.16, x.3].

ἔτι is always used as οὐκέτι would be for the future repetition of an action, in the sense "yet again, ever again, again", normally after a negative. The use is comprehensible but not idiomatic: at v.9, for instance, ἄλλους is required. ἔτι is separated from the negative everywhere except at vii.13, xii.23, xxxiv.28.

ἔτοιμάζω has object πρόσωπον at iv.3,7, where it must mean "set".

εὐρίσκω μισθόν is used at xxvii.33.

εὐφραίνομαι has ἐν at xxiii.41.

ἐπίστημι has the sense "put on (the fire)" [xxiv.3].

ζάω is frequently strengthened with the cognate ζωῆ in predictions.

ζηλώω with διὰ and the accusative has the sense "be zealous for" at xxxix.25.

The future passive of ζητέω is used with the dative of the person concerned [xxxvi.37] in what seems to be a special sense.

ζυγός is qualified by σταθμίων [v.1].

ζώνυμι has various constructions [ix.11, xvi.10, xxiii.15] but never the double accusative.

ἤκω with the dative is used in a hostile sense [xxxii.11].

Much of the idiom with ἡμέρα is quite abnormal. The general sense is unclear at xxiv.2, xxxviii.8; but more remarkable is the frequent dative plural with ἐν, often qualified by a dependent genitive noun [e.g. xvi.56], for a period of time, and the singular with pregnant significance [vii.7,12, xxx.2].

θησαυρούς ἐκλεκτούς [xxvii.24] is unidiomatic.

θλίψις has the sense "affliction" [xii.18, xviii.18].

θρηνέω governs ἐπί with accusative [xxxii.16,18].

θυγάτηρ is used, like υἱός, with the names of countries and peoples in the genitive [xvi.28,46,57; cf. xxxii.16].

The expression μετὰ θυμοῦ [viii.18, xiii.13] is odd; the more idiomatic ἐν θυμῷ also occurs.

θυρέος is used of a shield [xxiii.24].



ἵππεύω [xkiii.23] is less idiomatic than ἵπλάζομαι [xkiii.6,12] with ἐφ' ἵπλων.

What is meant by ἴστημι πρὸ προσώπου τινός [xkii.30]?

ἰσχύς is used of "produce" at xxxiv.27.

ἀπὸ καιροῦ ἕως καιροῦ [iv.10,11] is odd.

καίω with ἐν of the thing burnt [xxxix.9] is most odd.

ἐν καρδίᾳ acquires an almost prepositional sense [xkvii.25,26,27, xkviii.2]; but the noun is not used in Greek as a metaphor for "midst", and "depths" in Liddell-Scott-Jones is fanciful.

καταδέω (A) has the sense "bind up" [xxx.21, xxxiv.4,16].

καταδουλόω means "make to serve" [xxix.18, xxxiv.27].

κατακαίω has an otiose πυρί at xxxix.10.

καταπατέω seems rather strong at xxvi.11, xxxii.13.

καταπάτημα appears to have a concrete sense [xxxvi.4].

κατασκήνωσις is used concretely [xxxvii.27].

κατάσχεσις means "holding fast, possession" [xxxiii.24, xxxvi.2,3,5,12].

κατευθύνω means "prosper" at xvii.9,10,15.

κατισχύω has the sense "strengthen" [iii.8, xiii.22, xx.24].

κατοικέω sometimes governs the accusative [e.g. vii.7] but tends much more to unidiomatic prepositional phrases [e.g. xkviii.25].

κατοικίζω with εἰς and accusative is odd [xkvi.20].

κάτω is used only with ἕως [i.27, viii.2].

καυσώ is used only in the phrase ἄνεμος ὁ καυσῶν [xvii.10, xix.12].

κεφαλίς is a puzzle in the sense "(book-)roll" [ii.9,

iii.1,3 bis]. The semantic development from "corner, capital", and in P sometimes "pillar, base", is wholly unclear. The same idiom occurs at *Psalms* xl.7.

What is intended by the use of κηρίον at xx.6,15?

κληρονομία has the sense "possession" [xi.15, xxv.4,10].

κομίζω is used in the sense "receive the punishment for" at xvi.58.

κρεμάννυμι has ἐπί with accusative [xv.3].

κρίμα has the sense "condemnation, sentence" at v.8, xxiii.25, xxviii.26, xxx.19, and "justice" at xviii.5 etc.

κρίνω governs the accusative except at xxxiv.22, where we find ἀνὰ μέσον κριοῦ πρὸς κριόν.

κροτέω has ἐπί and accusative at xxi.17.

κτάομαι has an otiose σεαυτῷ at v.1.

κυκλόθεν is reinforced by κύκλω at xxxvii.2.

λάλημα means "byword" at xxiii.10, xxxvi.3.

λαμβάνω, which naturally suggests "bearing off" rather than "bearing", is used frequently with words for sin and punishment. It means "remove" in many passages. Used with σεαυτῷ and the name of some portable article in the accusative [iv.1 etc.] it is perhaps rather violent. λαμβάνω θρῆνον ἐπὶ τινα [xix.1, xxvi.17, xxvii.2,32, xxviii.12, xxxii.2] is not idiom.

λαός is oddly qualified by αἰῶνος at xxvi.20.

λέγω is more usually followed by πρὸς with accusative than by the dative, even when recurrent fixed phrases are excluded.

λίθος χρηστός is an unique idiom [xxvii.22, xxviii.13].

λίθοι χαλάζης [xxxviii.22] is strange.

λικμάω means "scatter like chaff" [xxvi.4, xxix.12, xxx.23, 26, xxxvi.19].

λιμῶ, ἐκ λιμοῦ, and ἐν λιμῶ [xxxiv.29; xii.16; v.12, vi.11, 12] all occur. Only the second is not found in P, but ἀπό λιμοῦ there is very close.

The phrase ὁ μακρῶν [vi.12] is not idiom. The adverb is used at xii.22 in a temporal sense "far off".

μάχαιρα always means "sword".

μεγαλύνω has the sense "increase" at xxiv.9.

μεγέθει modifies a number of adjectives of size [xvii.6, xxxi.3, 10].

μέλος is perhaps over-cheerful in context at ii.10. κατὰ μέλος αὐτῆς at xxiv.6 is poor idiom.

μεταμελοῦμαι governs ἐπί and the accusative [xiv.22].

μηκύνω is used without an object [xii.25, 28] in contexts where it does not seem possible to understand the idiomatic λόγον.

μιμνήσκομαι governs the genitive except at xvi.61, xx.43, xxxvi.31. It is used passively at iii.20, xviii.22, 24.

ἐν μίσει [xxiii.29] is an odd phrase.

μυκτηρίζω seems to mean "turn up the nose, sneer" [viii.17].

The plural of μύρον is strange [xxvii.17].

The meaning of νεῖκος at iii.8 (*dis*) is obscure.

νέος is compared at xvi.46, 61.

νύμφη appears to mean "daughter-in-law" [xxii.11].

The plural of ὁδός is frequently used for "way" in the moral sense.

οἰκοδομέω is oddly used at xxxvi.33,36 with reference to places rather than things built.

ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ [viii.1] is clumsy. οἴκος ἀλώδης [xxvii.6] is strange.

ὀλολύζω is used of a mourning cry, and that on a man's part [xxi.17].

ἄλυσρα in the singular [iv.9] is perhaps less than usual.

ὄνειδος means "object of reproach" [xvi.57, xxii.4].

ὄρασις has the sense "vision" at i.1, iii.23, vii.26, viiii.3,4, xi.24, xii.22,23,24,27, xiii.7, xxi.34.

ὄράω φωνῆν at iii.13 is very harsh. ὄράω is used of seeing visions at xii.27, xiii.7,9,16, xxii.28.

ὄσμή is always qualified by εὐωδίας [vi.13, xvi.19, xx.28,41] i.e. the connotation is pleasant rather than noisome.

ὀφθαλμοί at xx.24 forms part of a piece of nonsense.

ὀφθαλμὸς ζωῆς [vii.13] is odd.

παραβαίνω διαθήκην [xvi.59, xvii.15,16,18,19] is not idiom; but of course the idea is not usual either.

παραβολή regularly has the sense "saying, proverb" [xii.22,23 (*dis*), xvi.44, xvii.2, xviii.2,3, xix.14, xxi.5, xxiv.3].

παρακαλέω means "comfort, console" at xxxi.16, xxxii.31.

παραλύω τὸν ὄμρον at xxv.9 is odd.

παραπίπτω governs εἰς and accusative at xx.27.

ἐν παρατάξει at xxiv.16 is unclear. The noun is used more conventionally in P.

What is meant by παροικέω ἐπὶ ῥομφαία [xxi.17]?

παροργίζω καρδίαν [xxxii.9] is strange.

γῆς is coupled with πατρίς at xxiii.15.

πεδίον is used *passim* of the "field" or "country". ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ at vii.15 is a poor substitute for ἐπ' ἀγροῦ, ἐν ἀγρῷ.

πείθω ἐν at xvi.15 is not idiom.

πέρας ἦκει at vii.2 has an odd ring; the noun generally has a local or ideal sense.

περιάγω τινὰ ἐπ' αὐτὰ κυκλόθεν [xxxvii.2] is not idiom.

περιβάλλω normally has the accusative of the person; but at iv.2, xxxii.3 we find ἐπί with the accusative of the person. The accusative of the thing is usual in our text; but at xvi.10 we find the dative. The single accusatives, for the person or the thing, at xvi.18, xviii.7,16 are most abnormal.

περιέχω has ἐν λιμῷ at vi.12 where the simple dative would serve. At xvi.57 it is reinforced by κύκλω.

περικεφαλαία has a martial connotation [xxvii.10, xxxviii.4,5].

περιπλέκω is used in the passive with πρός and accusative [xvii.7].

περιτίθημι has περί with accusative of the thing covered at xvi.11.

πικρός is used adverbially at xxvii.30.

πλεονασμός has the sense "usury" [xviii.8,13,17, xxi.12].

εἶς πλησμονήν [xxxix.19] is less than idiomatic.

πνεῦμα has the sense "mind", of the thinking part, at xi.5, xx.32.

τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ νότου [xxvii.26] is clumsy.

ποιέω μετά is found at xxiii.25. At xxviii.4 the active is used in the sense "acquire".

πορεύομαι is frequently used metaphorically, of "living" in the ethical sense. With ἐν αἵχμαλωσίᾳ [xii.11, xxv.3, xxx.17] it is not idiom.<sup>78</sup> The verb has the sense "flow" at xxxii.14.

τὰ πρόθυρα τῆς πόλεως is odd [viii.3,14, x.19, xi.1], indeed tautologous.

προνομεύω regularly means "plunder, carry away captive".

προσκεῖμαι governs ἐπί with accusative at xxxvii.16 instead of the usual dative or πρὸς with accusative, both of which are found in P [cf. xxxvii.19]. πρὸς with accusative should perhaps be read with most manuscripts.

προσκυνέω governs the dative [viii.16].

The phrase πρόσωπον κατὰ πρόσωπον [x.35] is unclear. κατὰ πρόσωπον naturally conveys "in person".

προφητεύω always has ἐπί with accusative for the hearer and the person or thing prophesied about.

The expression ῥάβδος ἰσχύος [xix.12,14] is obscure. An attributive sense would normally be turned by an adjective. ῥάβδος has the sense of βακτηρία at xxix.6.

ραίνω has ἐπί with accusative for the object besprinkled [xxxvi.25].

ῥῆμα seems to mean "idea" at xxxviii.10.

The instrumental dative of ῥομφαία does not occur; ἐν is always added.

σάρξ qualified by πᾶσα seems to mean "all living things" [xxi.4,10,12].

σκολιότης has a moral connotation [xvi.5].

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<sup>78</sup> P has a close parallel with ἀπέρχομαι.

σπένδω has the plural object σπονδάς [xx.28].

σπέρμα has the sense "family" at xvii.13.

στενάζω governs ἔνεκα [xxi.12].

στήριγμα qualified by ἄρτου [iv.16, v.16, xiv.13] is obscure.

The repeated use of στηρίζω with object πρόσωπον is unidiomatic. Some usages in P are near it.

στίβαρος τῆ γλώσση [iii.6] is un-Greek.

στιβίζομαι somewhat oddly governs ὀφθαλμούς as object [xxiii.40].

συλλαμβάνομαι in the sense "be caught" has ἐν [xii.13, xix.4,8].

συντέλεια regularly has the sense "finishing off" i.e. of destruction. Even in P the sense is more positively "completion".

συντελέω normally means "destroy" [but cf. vi.12, xxii.12 for a play on two senses].

συσκοτάζω has a personal subject [xxx.18, xxxi.15, xxxii.8] and is transitive at xxxii.7.

τάσσω with αὐτὸν λέοντα at xix.5 makes queer sense.

τάφη has the concrete sense "grave" [xxxii.22].

εἰς τέλος has the sense "thoroughly".

τίθημι frequently governs a predicative εἰς. The use with object ὀφθαλμούς [xviii.12,15] is clumsy.

τρισός appears to have a technical sense at xxiii.23.

ἕτερος εὐλογίας [xxiv.26] is a curious phrase.

υἱός, apart from its use in certain set phrases, is normally not omitted before the father's name in the genitive [but cf. the ellipse at viii.11, xi.1,13].

ὑπερκεῖμαι means "excel" [xvi.47].

ὑπόστασις seems to mean "grounds of hope, confidence" at xix.5.

τὰ ὑψηλά is of unclear reference at vi.3,6.

ὑπόω has object φωνήν at xxi.27. Other uses with the passive, notably at xxviii.2,5, xxxi.14 are poor idiom.

φείδομαι never governs the simple genitive, but has ἐπί with accusative [xx.17], with dative [xvi.5] and ὑπέρ with genitive [xxiv.21]. The instrumental dative at ix.5 is strange.

φυλάσσω is commonly used for "observing" statutes and so forth; but cf. xviii.19 for better idiom.

φῦτον εἰρήνης [xxxiv.29] is a strange phrase.

φωνή frequently means the sound made by an inanimate object, an idiom which is admissible. But the use is very harsh at xix.7, xxvii.28, since the word in the sense "sound" is normally coupled only with a genitive of the SOURCE.

τὰ πρὸς χάριν [xii.24] is odd; the usual meaning "as a favour" for the prepositional phrase seems out of place here. "With a view to gaining favour" fits better, and would correspond with a common meaning of the noun in P. Cf. the phrase at Pr vii.5, xv.17.

χάσκω governs object στόμα at ii.8.

ἐν χειρί is used [xxv.14] as well as the idiomatic διὰ χειρός for "by the agency of".

ψοφέω, like the compound verb already mentioned, has a strengthening τῷ ποδί [vi.11].

ψυγμός is qualified by σαγηνῶν [xxvi.5,14].

ψυχή functions as a reflexive at xxxiii.5. It means



"person" at xiii.18 (*bis*), 19 (*bis*), 20 (*bis*), xvii.17, xxii.25, xxxiii.6, xxxvi.5.

The two most striking features of this aspect of the language are the general correctness and the very wide scope of possible dependence on P. Much of the above evidence has been noted for the sake of abnormality; but when the mass of normal usage is taken into account it is not the case that the odd isolated sound idiom shines like a good deed in a naughty world. As for the potential dependence on P, it is impressive, in both normal and abnormal usage. The impression can scarcely be avoided that P was used as a source of idiom, if only at second hand, wherever it could be enlisted. Only in a few cases is our text more correct or less correct than P.<sup>78</sup> Where P was of no help the idioms which have been noted are of two kinds, i.e. clearly post-Classical, some being found elsewhere in the Greek Bible, and (a much larger category) clearly abnormal, many being unique<sup>79</sup>.

Of the idioms in our text for which P uses a less correct equivalent only one, *μισθὸν εὕρισκω*, could not have been derived from some other book of the Greek Bible. No part seems to be especially 'classicizing'. Clearly post-Classical idioms not shared with P are as follows:-

*ἀπαλλοτριῶμαι ἀπό*, a construction found in Polybius.

*διαβούλιον* "debate" [Polybius; G].

*διακρίνομαι πρός τινα* [iii B.C.; G].

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<sup>78</sup> Where it is more correct there is no case without a parallel in other biblical books. The less correct idioms will be discussed under the head of translation technique.

<sup>79</sup> These abnormal idioms are normally best explained as the desperate measures of the translator, as will be seen.

The encroachment of εἰσπορεύομαι [iii-i B.C.; G].  
 ἐνεχυρασμὸν ἐνεχυράζω [222 B.C.].  
 εἰσώτερος only as adjective [iii B.C.].  
 Θυρῆος "shield" [iii B.C.; G].  
 κατασκήνωσις used concretely [iii B.C.; G].  
 πικρόν adv. [Polybius].  
 ψυγμός σαγγηῶν [Alexandrian Apocalypse].

It will be observed that all these expressions, including those not shared with other parts of the Greek Bible, can be dated to the first or earlier centuries B.C. Certain chapters, notably i-vii and xxviii-xxxvi, are quite free of them.

The following are the clear cases of abnormal idiom which could not have been derived from P or any other part of the Greek Bible:-

The sense of ἀρμονία [xxxvii.7].  
 The sense of βόθρος [xxvi.20 etc.].  
 γῆ ἀπερριμμένη [xxxviii.11].  
 γῆ ζωῆς [xxvi.20, xxxii.23, 24, 25, 32].  
 δακρῶν with πρόσωπον as subject [xxvii.35].  
 δίδωμι μετὰ τόκου [xviii.13].  
 Temporal ἐγγύθεν [vii.8].  
 ἐκκενόω μάχαιραν [v.2, 12, xii.14, xxviii.7, xxx.11].  
 ἐκλείπω "be sick" [xxxiv.16, 21].  
 ἐκπορνεύω ἐπί with accusative [xvi.16].  
 The use of ἐκψύχω [xxi.12].  
 ἐπίμπλαμαι with accusative *materiae* [xxxix.20].  
 ἐναφίημι θυμόν [xxi.22].  
 The use of ἐνέχομαι [xiv.4, 7].  
 The use of ἐξεγείρομαι [xxi.21].  
 The idiom with ἐξιλάσκομαι [xvi.63].  
 The use of ἔπαρσις [xxiv.25].  
 ἐπέρχομαι πρὸς with dative [xxxix.11].  
 The participle of ἐπιβλέπομαι [xvii.5].  
 The idiom with ἐπικαλύπτω [i.11].  
 The idiom with ἐπικρατέω [xxix.7].  
 The idiom with ζηλώω [xxxix.25].

- The use of ζητοῦμαι [κxxvi.37].  
 ζυγὸν σταθμίων [v.1].  
 θησαυροὶ ἐκλεκτοί [κxvii.24].  
 ἰπλεύω ἐφ' ἰπῶν [κxiii.23].  
 ἀπὸ καιροῦ ἕως καιροῦ [iv.10,11].  
 The idiom with καίω [κxxix.9].  
 The use of καταπατέω [κxvi.11, κxxii.13].  
 ἕως κάτω [i.27, viii.2].  
 The use of κηρῖον [κx.6, 15].  
 κυκλόθεν κύκλω [κxxvii.2].  
 λαὸς αἰῶνος [κxvi.20].  
 λίθος χρηστός [κxvii.22, κxviii.13].  
 Temporal μακρᾶν [xii.22].  
 The use of μέγεθος [κvii.6, κxxi.3,10].  
 The idiom with μεταμελοῦμαι [κiv.22].  
 ἐν μίσει [κxiii.29].  
 The use of νεῖκος [iii.8 bis].  
 ὀφθαλμὸς ζωῆς [vii.13].  
 παραλύω ὄμον [κxv.9].  
 The construction with παραπίπτω [κx.27].  
 παροικέω ἐπὶ ῥομφαία [κxi.17].  
 The use of πέρας [vii.2].  
 The idiom with περιάγω [κxxvii.2].  
 περιβάλλω τι ἐπὶ τινα [iv.2, κxxii.3].  
 The idiom with περιπλέκω [κvii.7].  
 τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ νότου [κxvii.26].  
 ποιέω μετὰ [κxiii.25].  
 ῥάβδος ἰσχύος [κix.12,14].  
 The use of σκολιότης [κvi.5].  
 The use of σπέρμα [κvii.13].  
 The idiom with στενάζω [κxi.12].  
 στιβαρὸς τῆ γλώσση [iii.6].  
 ὑετὸς ἐυλογίας [κxxiv.26].  
 φυτὸν εἰρήνης [κxxiv.29].  
 The idiom with ψοφέω [vi.11].

**CONCLUSIONS.****(1) The Question of Unity.**

Discussion of the unity question, in so far as it has been based on purely linguistic evidence, has in the past been characterized by circular argumentation. It is impossible to avoid the impression, when reading the chief expositions of the view that we have to do with more than one writer, that the evidence put forward, besides being selective and insubstantial in itself, has in fact suggested a theory which is equally insubstantial. The great mass of evidence, which does not leap to the eye because it reflects a steady consistency throughout our text, is ignored. But the moment an attempt at objectivity is made, even in the comparatively limited sphere of vocabulary, the disunity theory is rendered improbable. Selected synonyms may reveal a pattern; a more complete account reveals none beyond certain unusual preponderances which may be readily explained by the need for variation in a long and repetitive text.<sup>81</sup> When the distribution of other widespread phenomena is studied the conclusion is the same. Features which predominate in one part virtually never disappear from others; and the normal pattern is for sets of features to remain in much the same proportion to one another throughout the text. A striking example is the incidence of "unidioms".<sup>82</sup> Unusual preponderances have a random relation to those in

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<sup>81</sup> However much labour was expended on them, the sets of synonyms gathered in pp. 65-72 would yield no pattern whatever. This result obtained even when they were followed up into xl-xlvi.

<sup>82</sup> See Table 5.

other sets. For example, in chapters xxx-xxxix causal ὅτι is unusually frequent in relation to causal διότι, which practically disappears. Our text nearly always prefers the laconic form ἀνὴρ πόλεως in dependent genitive phrases; but the form ὁ ἀνὴρ τῆς πόλεως predominates over it in chapters iv, ix, xi, xiv-xv, xvii-xviii, xxxi, xxxiii. The copula is more usually omitted, except in chapters iii-v, ix-x, xviii, xxi, xxiv, xxviii-xxx, xxxii, xxxiv-xxxix. The present infinitive predominates over the aorist only in i, viii, x, xi, xix, xxix, xxxiv; in xx, xxii the present imperative predominates over the aorist. The preferred order of object and verb remains much the same except that in chapters xii, xviii, xxii, xxvii, xxix and xxxiv more sentences have OV than have VO, and in chapters xvi, xxx, xxxvi-xxxvii, xxxix the preponderance of VO sentences is unusual. Our text is certainly not homogeneous. But while parts are odd by comparison with other parts, they are scarcely ever odd in the same ways.

**(2) The Question of Date and Provenance.**

It is not hard to find linguistic parallels with post-Classical usage. The -οσαν ending; the lack of a dual; the usual form of compound numerals;<sup>83</sup> the disappearance of the Attic second declension in -ώς; the indeclinability of δυό; the decline of ᾤ with the vocative and of ὅστις; the position of numerals; the relative weakness of the Middle; the use of direct interrogative pronouns in indirect questions; the confusion of relative and interrogative pronouns; the retreat of reflexive pronouns; the loss of ἀλλήλων; the nearly exclusively adjectival use of ἐκεῖνος; the definite use of ὅστις; the construction with οὐ μή and the subjunctive; the infinitive of purpose after ἐγγίζω; the encroachment of ὅτι upon the infinitive for indirect speech; certain forms with the infinitive after verbs, nouns and adjectives; articular infinitives; undetermined head-words with determined attributes; εἶς for τις; the infrequency of δέ, τε; ἕτερος in the sense of ἄλλος; the form ὁ τοῦ δεῖνος with the genitive determined; the loss of the simple dative and the encroachment of prepositions in general; local ἐπί with the accusative; prepositional ἕως; neuter plural subjects with plural verbs; nominative participles which violate concord; the preference for direct speech; the paucity of post-positive particles; all these are marks of Hellenistic Greek. Very many of these phenomena are shared with P; and if, for instance, there are still optatives, and future participles, these may well be the result of the brak-

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<sup>83</sup> The order of parts in the cardinals at iv.4,5,9, while possible in Attic, is neither Hellenistic, nor in accord with later popular usage, nor directly hebraizing.

ing effect of the earliest model of Biblical Greek. Some idioms are almost certainly later than P, though none takes us beyond the end of the first century B.C. Not earlier than the second century B.C. are masculine accusative singular  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$ , the use of  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$   $\mu\acute{\eta}\nu$ , and causal  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\iota}$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$  with infinitive; and the last does not appear in secular Greek until late in that century. The exclusive use of  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon$  [found also in Jo, Ru, Sa, Ki, Ch, Tw] cannot be much earlier than the first century B.C. On the other hand relatively little of the vocabulary is later than the first century A.D.;<sup>84</sup> and several characteristic phenomena of the New Testament period are quite absent: the imperfect is quite correctly used; the present perfect and the resultative perfect are still in force; perfect and aorist are still held apart; there are proportionately fewer 'improper' prepositions than in the New Testament (28 'improper':17 'proper', as against 42:18); and  $\mu\acute{\eta}$  with participles is not yet the rule.

In the light of all this it is suggested that our text is scarcely earlier than 150 B.C. nor much later than 50 B.C.

There is nothing in the language incompatible with an Egyptian origin.

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<sup>84</sup> See Appendix B, List 9.

**(3) The Question of Hebraism.**

How do we account for the pervasive oddness of our text? It is comparatively simple to attribute it to the influence, direct or indirect, of Biblical Hebrew, for no other explanation is equally straightforward.<sup>85</sup> Yet it clearly goes deeper than isolated oddities of grammar and idiom. In addition to the "unidioms" already noted, there are grammatical oddities, for instance the form with predicative εἰς and the dative; τοῦ with the infinitive not of purpose; the construction with ἄρχομαι; the shortage of articles; clauses of the 'strong denial' and 'narrative' kinds, and clauses with ἰδοῦ; πῶς with the future; the preposition of ἕνεκα; the preposition of πᾶς; the οὐ...πᾶς form; ἀπὸ προσώπου and the like singular before plural nouns; the enclitic form of pronouns after prepositions where no emphasis is intended; conditional ἐν τῷ; the use of cognate participles; determination in prepositional phrases; εἶς for "first"; the 'ominous' use of ἐκαίνος; probably the order of subordinate clauses; adverbial προστίθημι with the infinitive; prepositions formed with πρόσωπον; the large-scale omission of the copula, especially other than ἐστίν; *lapsus concordiae* with λέγων, -οντες; the ζῶ ἐγώ form; Direct Questions with εἰ; καί after narrative ἐγένετο. In many cases, however, it is more a matter of balance: the Greek form is acceptable, but is much overworked by reason of literalism, for example the 'short' form of attributive phrases; ἐν with

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<sup>85</sup> Latin influence is scarcely possible so early, at least in Egypt; Coptic influence is possible, but could not account for all the phenomena; there were no κοινή dialects at this date; and there is no evidence for the existence of a special "Jewish Greek".



the dative, robbing the accusative with prepositions of its clear preeminence; periphrastic tenses; repetition of prepositions; ἐν τῷ, εἰς τό, τοῦ with infinitive; the use of λέγων; πᾶς before a determined noun; the attributive rather than predicative use of οὗτος and ἐκεῖνος; partitive prepositions; instrumental ἐν; the cognate dative; πρός with accusative.

If the somewhat dry topic of order has been dealt with in fair detail it is because at this point we reach the very bones, so to speak, of our text; it is no longer a question of isolated phenomena, but of the deepest structure of the language. It is scarcely necessary to say that the patterns which emerge are the more significant in the light of the improbability that they result from wholesale scribal rearrangement. These patterns are strongly marked: we are left in no doubt which are the majority sentence types. It is equally clear that, while there are few strictly 'un-Greek' forms to be found, the favourite forms of Greek tend to be in the minority. The forms Subject-Predicate, Subject-Copula, Subject-Verb, Object-Verb and Subject-Object-Verb are normal in Greek,<sup>86</sup> abnormal in our text; where the adverb stands at the beginning or the end of the clause in Greek the tendency is for the reader to feel a special effect, but in our text most adverbs stand in these positions; in general Greek strives to avoid the unrelieved succession of the governed on the governing word or phrase, while our text overwhelmingly prefers it; Greek prefers postposition for adjectives unless they are

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<sup>86</sup> In secular Greek contemporary with the New Testament the verb is moving forward to middle position; but this position is probably hebraizing in our text.

'affective', but our text carries postposition to extremes. It is probable that if we knew more about normal Greek order in particular kinds of clause other contrasts would appear; if it is true that in post-Classical Greek the verb tends to stand early in subordinate clauses, late in main clauses, it represents an unusual coincidence with the usage of our text.

It is the extreme difference at points such as these between normal Greek order and the normal order of our text which accounts for the impressions of monotony and of bombast. The former derives from the absence of the tension between order and syntactical relation so common in Greek, the latter from the overworking to the point of anticlimax of forms which suggest special emphasis.

A second matter which has to do with the very structure of the language is the relative strength of word-classes. Its contribution to the oddness of the language is more subtle than that of order, but equally fundamental. These remarks are based neither on much research in Greek, where the work largely remains to be done, nor on a thorough computation of our text, but on general impressions corrected by the computation of a few samples. In our text finite verbs do a very great deal of the work, but, more strongly than in normal Greek of any period, they are reinforced by numerous prepositional phrases, unaccompanied by which we scarcely ever find even a compound intransitive verb. The copula by contrast is rare. Nouns unbolstered by an epithet are few and far between, as though they were incapable in themselves of bearing much semantic weight. It appears that there is much more 'give' in Greek verbs and nouns than in Hebrew ones.

## **PART II**



PART II

THE TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE.

A complete description of the translation technique in all its aspects would be both dull and unenlightening. At the same time the evidence must be presented in sufficient detail to give more than an impressionistic result. The need for a comparatively mechanical approach is especially clear when it comes to the unity question, to which the linguistic evidence could give only half an answer, and which has suffered from selectivity in the past. But our other main concerns, the question of the closeness and the quality of the translation, and the question of its origin and its place in the sequence of Greek bible translations, require the collation of a good many apparently trivial details if the conclusions are to stand. In addition, to gather detail is the only way of establishing categories, and to establish categories is the only way to avoid the error of fastening upon an example of some quite widespread phenomenon and of proceeding to use it in textual criticism or for philological insight.

An important initial observation is that the Greek vocabulary, even when all the rare and unique Hebrew words are taken into account, is much more extensive than that of the original. This may be simply a reflection of the relative scale of the vocabulary of the two ancient languages, but for our purposes it is enough to note that diversity of rendering is bound to be the rule, whether or not variety was deliberately sought. It follows that inconsistency without a pattern is not significant in itself, though downright error may be.

That there may have been some effort to avoid monotony is perhaps indicated by the very great variety of rendering which is used for the commonest features of the original. It is instructive to note the array of Greek prepositions standing for a mere handful of Hebrew equivalents, and the flexibility of Greek subordinate clauses, which represent their very rigid Hebrew equivalents in ways so varied that the inducement to seek a non-existent pattern is strong. In vocabulary, too, the items which recur are especially the subject of variation in rendering. 'Umbrella' renderings are hard to find, the chief examples being as follows:-

(1) STANDARDISING RENDERINGS.

αἰχμαλωτεύομαι	: גלה [xii.3, xxxix.23, Am, Mi], שבה [vi.9, P].
ἀνομία [ <i>passim</i> ]	: רשעה [P], רשע [Ps, Tw], חמס [Ps, Ze, Is], הועבה [Je], חטאה [P], זמה [P], עון [P], עול [Ps].
ἀνόμημα [ <i>passim</i> ]	: עון [P], הועבה [E], פשע [I Sa, Ps].
ἀτιμώ	: בזה [xvi.59, xvii.16, 18, 19, Ob], כלם Ni. [xvi.54, G].
ἀφηγούμενος	: שר [xi.1], נשיא [xxi.17, 30, xxii.6].
διασπείρω	: פרש [xvii.21], נכה Hi. [xxxii.15], שגה [xxxiv.6], זרה [xii.14, 15, xx.23, xxii.15, P, Ps, Je].
δύναμις	: המון [xxxii.24, G], חיל [ <i>passim</i> , P].
δῶρον	: מתנה [xx.39, Pr], שחר [xxii.12, P].
ἐθέλω	: אבה [iii.7, xx.8, P, G], חפץ [xviii.23, 32, P].
ἔθνος [ <i>passim</i> ]	: גוי [P], עם [P].

ἐνεχρησμός	: חבלה [xviii.7], תבל [xviii.12,16].
ἐπάνω adv.	: מלמעלה [xxxvii.8, P], למעלה [i.27, P].
ἐπιγιγνώσκω	: ירע [passim, P], ראה [xx.48, Es].
ἕτερος	: אחר [xi.19, xvii.7, xxxiv.23, P], אחר [xii.3, P].
ἐχθρός	: אויב [xxxvi.2, xxxix.27, P], צר [xxxix.23, P].
ἡγούμενος	: אילים [xvii.13], פותח [xxiii.6,12,23, Ma, Je], משלים [xix.11, II Ch, Pr, Tw].
κατακαίω	: שרפ [v.4, P], בער [xxxix.10].
κατευθύω	: תכן Ni. [xviii.25 ter], צלח [xvii.9,10,15, Ju, Ki].
ὄρνεον	: כנף [xxxix.4], צפור [xxxix.17, P].
πέτεινον	: טיף [passim, P], כנף [xvii.23, xxxix.4].
ὁ πησών	: איש [xviii.8], רעה [xviii.8, P].
πρόβατον [passim]	: צאן [P], שה [P].
σαλπίζω (ἐν) [σάλπιγγι]	: תקע בחקיע [xxxiii.3, Jo], תקע בשופר [vii.14].
στηρίζω	: שים [passim, Am, Je], נתן [xiv.8, xv.7].
τίθημι "make"	: נתן [passim, P], שים [xxi.32, xxv.9, P].
τίθημι "put"	: עלם Hi. [xiv.3,4,7], נתן [passim, P], שים [passim, P].

It is worth noting that several of these cases span sections which have been thought to be disparate. But this kind of rendering is exceptional, and largely confined to cases where Hebrew is rich in synonyms, or presents the translator with a rare item. Nor is this a tidy category, for some of the Hebrew items are subject to multiple rendering at times. This is not surprising in view of the plethora of examples of the latter.

## (2) MULTIPLE RENDERINGS.

Prepositions and other recurrent items are subject to great inconsistency of rendering, sometimes even within a short passage:—

- לָא : πρὸς with accusative [xxx1.2], simple dative [xxx1.2].
- כִּנָּא : πρὸς with accusative [xxvi.20], μετὰ with genitive [xxvi.20].
- כּ : simple dative [iii.18], automatic ἐν with dative [*passim*].
- כִּנָּא "as regards" : ἐν with dative [xx.16], nominative case [xxxv.10].
- וְלֵא : οὐδὲ μή [vii.4,9, viii.18, ix.10], οὐδ' ὥς [xvi.47], οὐ μή [xxiii.27, xxiv.27], ἵνα μή [xxxvii.23]<sup>1</sup>.
- וְיֵי rel. adv. : ἀνθ' ὧν [*passim*], ἀπειδή [xxviii.6].
- וְלֵבָלָב : τὸ καθόλου μή [xiii.3,22, xvii.14], τὸ παράπαν μή [xx.9,14,15,22, xl ff.; cf. I Ki, Ze, Je for the expression].
- מִן : ἐκ [xxxiv.13], ἀπό [xxxiv.13].

There are many examples in the rendering of ordinary vocabulary and idiom:—

- הִבָּא : ἐθέλω [iii.7, xx.8, P, G], βούλομαι [*passim*, P, G].
- לֵאכָל : ἐσθίω [*passim*, P, G], βιβρώσκω [iv.4, xviii.15, P, G], κατασθίω [iii.1, P, G], συντελέω [viii.15].
- כִּנָּא Ni. : καταστενάζω [ix.4, xxi.11, P, La], στενάζω [xxi.11,12, Is, La].

<sup>1</sup> This construction may, in the light of the Hebrew, be intended imperatively.



- ארץ תחתית : γῆς βάθος [xxxi.4,18, xxxii.24], βάθη  
τῆς γῆς [xxvi.20], τὸ βάθος τῆς γῆς  
[xxxii.18], γῆ [xxxii.16].
- בז/בז : διαρπάζω [vii.21, P, G], σκυλεύω  
[xxvi.12, xxix.19, xxxviii.12,13,  
xxxix.10, II Ch], διαρπαγή [xxiii.46,  
xxv.7, P, G], προνομή [xxxiv.28, xxxv.5,  
P, G].
- ביה : οἶκος [passim, P, G], οἰκία [xi.3,  
xxviii.26, xxxiii.30, P, G].
- בער Pi. "kindle" : ἑκαίω [xxi.4, I Ki, Is], καίω [xxxix.9,  
P, G].
- ברק : στίλβωσις [xxi.15,20], ἀστραπή [i.13, P,  
G].
- גאין : φράγμα [vii.24, xxiv.21, Za, Je],  
ὑπερηφανία [vii.20, xvi.49,56, Ps, Pr,  
Tw], ὕβρις [xxx.6,18, xxxii.12,  
xxxiii.28, P, Jb, Pr, Tw, Is, Je].
- גבה "be high" : ὑψόομαι [xix.11, xxxi.5,14, I Sa, Jb,  
Is], μέγας γίγνομαι [xxxii.10].
- גיא : ναπή [vi.3, xxxvi.6, Nu xxi.20 (?)],  
φάραγξ [xxxii.12, xxxv.8, G], χεῖμαρρος  
[xxxvi.4, cf. φάραγξ used just before].
- דבר את : λάλω πρὸς τινα [ii.1, iii.22,24,27,  
xx.3, P, G], λαλέω τινί [xiv.4, P].
- דמוח : ὁμοίωμα [i.5 and passim, II Ki, Is],  
ὁμοίωσις [x.22, P, Ps, Da].
- הלך : πορεύομαι [passim, P, G], βαδίζω [i.9,  
iii.4,11, P, G].
- הרג Qal : ἀποκτείνω [ix.6, xxiii.10,47, P, G],  
ἀναιρέω [xxvi.8,11, xxxviii.9, P, G].
- הרס Qal : κατασκάπτω [xiii.14, xvi.39, Ki, Ch, Pr,  
Tw], καταβάλλω [xxvi.4,12, Jb xii.14].
- זרה : διασκορπίζω [v.2,10, vi.5, Ps, Za],

- διασπείρω [xii.14,15, xx.23, xxii.15, P, Ps, Je].
- רִחַן : δυνατός [iii.8, Ju], paraphrased with κατισχύω [iii.8], κραταῖος [iii.9, xx.33,34, P, G], ἰσχυρός [xxx.22, xxxiv.16, P, G].
- לִחַן : φείδομαι [v.11, vii.4,9, kxxvi.21, P, G], ἔλεέω [viii.18, ix.5,10, Is], πάσχω τι [xvi.5].
- רָחַן : βολίς [v.16, P, Tw, Je], τόξωμα [kxxix.3,9, P, Je].
- רַחַן : ἐγχειρίδιον [kxi.8,9,10, P], μάχαιρα [passim, P, G], ξίφος [xvi.40, xxiii.47, Jo, Jb], ῥομφαία [passim, P, G].
- רַחַן : ὄνειδος [xvi.57, xxii.4, P, G], ὀνειδισμός [kxi.33, kxxvi.15,30, G].
- רַחַן : γένεσις [xvi.3,4, P, Ru], πατρίς [kxiii.15, Je xxii.10].
- כֹּסֶף Pi. : ἐπικαλύπτω [i.11,23, P, Ps, Pr], καλύπτω [vii.18, xvi.8, xxiv.7, kxx.18, kxxii.7, kxxviii.9,16, P, G], συγκαλύπτω [xii.6, P, G, Tw], περιβάλλω [xvi.10,18, xviii.7,16, P, G], κατακαλύπτω [kxvi.10,19, kxxii.7, P, G].
- כֹּסֶף Qal : ἀποθνήσκω [passim, P, G], τελευτάω [xii.13, xvii.16, xviii.17, P, G].
- כֹּסֶף Pi. : πίμπλημι [iii.3, ix.7, x.2, P, G], πληρώω [vii.19, G, but cf. Qal in P], ἐμπίμπλημι [xi.6, kxvii.33, kxxii.5, kxxv.8, P, G].
- כֹּסֶף Ni. : ὑπάρχω [kxvi.21], εὐρίσκομαι [kxviii.15, P, G].
- כֹּסֶף Hi. : κροτέω [vi.11, kxi.19,22, II Ki], τύπτω [vii.9, P, G], κόπτω [ix.5,7,8, P, Jo,

Ju, II Sa, I Ki, Je].

- נשא** Hithp. : ἐπιείρομαι [xvii.14, I Ki, but *passim* for √], ὑψόομαι [xxix.15, but G for √].
- (**נתן**) Ni. : χωνεύομαι [xxii.21, Ki, Ch], τακέομαι [xxiv.11, Na].
- מסביב** : κυκλόθεν [*passim*, G], κύκλω [*passim*, P, G], περικύκλω [xxxvii.21, xxxix.7].
- צע** : δένδρον [vi.13, P, G], ξύλον [xv.2 and *passim*, P, G].
- עשה אק** : ποιέω πρός [xvii.17], ποιέω with dative [vii.27, xx.44].
- פרש** Qal : ἀνειλέω [ii.10], ἐκπετάζω [xii.13, xvii.20, xix.8, P, Pr, La], διαπετάζω [xvi.8, Ki, Ch, Ps, La].
- פשב** : ἀσεβέω [xviii.21, Tw, Is, Je], ἀφίστημι [xx.38, II Ch, Je].
- פשפ** : παράπτωμα [xiv.11, xviii.22, Jb], ἀσεβεία [xviii.28,30,31, xxi.29, G], ἄνομημα [xxxix.24, I Ki, Ps].
- פתח** Qal : διανοίγω [iii.2, xxi.27, Jb, Pr, Za], ἀνοίγω [iii.27, xxxiii.22, xxxvii.12,13, P, G].
- Ni. : ἀνοίγνυμαι [i.1, xxxiii.22, P, Jb], διανοίγνυμαι [xxiv.27, Na, Za].
- קבר** : μνήμα [xxxii.26, xxxvii.12 *bis*, P, G], τάφος [xxxvii.13 *bis*, P, G], μνημεῖον [xxxix.11, P, Ne, Is, Je].
- מראה** : εἶδος [i.26, P, G], ὄψις [i.10, xxiii.15, P, G].
- ראש** : κεφαλή [*passim*, P, G], κορυφή [xvii.22, P, G].
- רץ** Qal : ἐγκαθῆμαι [xxix.3], κοιμάομαι [xxxiv.14, P].

חַר : πνεῦμα [i.4, v.2, xiii.11, xxxvii.9, P, G], πνοή [xiii.13, Pr, Is].

רַבב : ἱππάζομαι [xxiii.6,12, Je], ἱππεύω [xxiii.23, II Ki].

I (רַמַּם) Hithpo'el : ἐπαιρώ [x.15, cf. P, G for √], μετεωρίζομαι [x.17,19, cf. P, G for √].

חַשַׁב Ni. : καταλύω [xxvi.13, Ru, Ps, Je], ἀπόλλυμι [xxx.10, xxxiv.25 (A), P, Is].

כַּשְׁכַּן : σκήνωμα [xxv.4, Jb, Ps, Ca, Tw, Je, La], κατασκήνωσις [xxxvii.27].

חַפַּח Ni. : συλλαμβάνομαι [xii.13, P, Ps, Je], ἀλίσκομαι [xvii.20, xxi.29].

רַקַּע בַּשּׁוֹפָר : σαλπίγγω σάλπιγγι [xxxiii.3, Jo], σημαίνω σάλπιγγι [xxxiii.6, Je].

These are by no means the only examples, but they may serve to establish a principle. There is variety, but with no discernible pattern which might help to distinguish parts of the text. Noteworthy, however, are certain cases of renderings which stand apart from the main tradition.

### (3) FORMULAIC LITERALISM.

Literalism is of course quite compatible with inconsistency, and there is considerable overlap between this category and (2) above. But it would be wearisome to note all the renderings which are both literal and conventional, and recur in the Greek Bible as formulae. Formulaic literalism is, however, so widespread a phenomenon that some examples must be given, with the caveat that it is hard to distinguish between renderings which have been consciously borrowed and renderings which arise from literalism working semi-automatic-

ally with similar or identical originals. It frequently lies at the root of common "unidioms" of the kind noted earlier. It sometimes gives unfortunate results, either in principle or in some contexts.

(a) Reasonably Appropriate Renderings.

- כֵּן *partitivum* : ἐκ [xvi.16,17 bis, P, G *passim*].
- עַל : ἐπί with dative [xvi.15, P, G *passim*].
- אָרוֹם : Εδωμ<sup>2</sup> [xxxiii.29, P].
- אֵיב : Ἰωβ [xiv.14,20, Jb].
- (ו) בְּנֵיהֶם : Βαναίου [xi.1,13, I Ki].
- גֹּמֶר : Γομερ [xxxviii.6, Ho].
- דָּדָן : Δεδαν [xxvii.20, xxxviii.13, P, I Ch, Je].
- שָׁבַא : Σαβα [xxvii.22, xxxviii.13, P, G].
- שָׁפָן : Σαφαν [viii.11, II Ki, II Ch, Je].
- תְּרַשִּׁישׁ : Θαρσις [xxvii.16, P, G].
- בְּרֵל חִי : διαστέλλω [xxii.26, xlii.20, P, I Ki].
- גִּן-עֵדֶן : κήπος [xxxvi.35, P, G] followed by τρυφή [P, G]<sup>3</sup>.
- הַעֵן : ἔν [iv.11, P, G].
- תְּרַפָּה : Θηριάλωτος [iv.4, P].
- לָחֶם : ἄρτος [*passim*, P, G].
- עֲזַב חַי : ἐγκαταλείπω [viii.12 etc., P, G].
- עֲלִילָה : ἐπιτήδευμα [xx.43,44, I Sa, Ps, Ze, I Ch].

<sup>2</sup> This must surely be the text rather than the obviously corrupt ἐδόθησαν, which occurs just above at xxxiii.25.

<sup>3</sup> Hardly a "Theodotonic" rendering [Cf. H. St. John Thackeray *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship* p. 126]. This is a conventional response to the Hebrew.

- עפרה : μόλιβος [xxii.18, xxvii.12,  
P, Jb, Za, Je].
- שאה : ἀρχή [xvi.25, P, G].
- רב : πλήθος [xxxii.15, P, G].
- I רבה Pi. : πληθύνω [xi.6 etc., P, G].
- סמט : καταπατέω [xxxiv.18, Ch, Ps, Is, Da LXX].
- I שעשע : σείομαι [xxvi.10,15, G].

## (b) Renderings Which are Nowhere Especially Fortunate.

- במוח : ύψηλά, τά [vi.3,6, Ki, Ps, Tw, Je].
- רבר : θάνατος [v.12 etc., P, G].
- זכר Ni. : ἀναμιμνήσκομαι [xxxiii.13,16, P, Jb, Ps];  
cf. μιμνήσκομαι [iii.20, xviii.22,24,  
Jb, Ho, Je].
- זקן : πρεσβύτερος [vii.26 etc., P, G].
- ללה adj. : τραυματίας [vi.4 etc., P, G].
- מחנה : παρεμβολή [iv.2, P, G].
- יער : δρυμός [xv.2, xxi.2, P, G].
- מורשה : κληρονομία [xi.15, xxv.4,10, P].
- כובע : περικεφαλαία [xxvii.10, I Ki, II Ch, Is,  
Je].
- מרי : παραπικραίνων [ii.5 etc., cf. P, G for  
מרה].
- נוח Hi. B : ἀφίημι [xvi.39, P, G].
- נפש : ψυχή [xxxiii.6, P, G].
- מספר gen. : ἀριθμῶ [xii.16, P].
- עבר Hi. : καταδουλώ [xxix.18, P].
- עבדה : δουλεία [xxix.18,18, P, G].
- ערב : κόσμος [vii.20, xvi.11, xxiii.40, P,  
Je].
- ענן : ἀτμός θυμιάματος [viii.11, P].

- פליש : ἀποσφζόμενος [vi.8 etc., Tw, La], cf. P, G ✓ for ✓.
- פרך : μόχθος [xxxiv.4, P].
- צואר : τράχηλος [xvi.34, P, G].
- קבץ Pi. : ἀθροίζω [xxxvi.24, cf. P, Sa, Ki for Qal, Ni.].<sup>4</sup>
- קדש Pi. : ἀγιάζω [xx.12,20, xxxvi.23, xxxvii.28, P, G].
- קדוש : ἅγιον [v.11 and *passim*, P, G].
- קהל : συναγωγή [xxvi.7, xxvii.27,34, xxxviii.4,7,13,15, P, Ps, Pr, Je].
- קנאה : ζηλός [v.13 etc., P, G].
- קדחה : φαλάκρωμα [vii.18, P, Tw, Is, Je].
- קדחה : τὸ πλεονάζον [xxiii.32, cf. P, G for ✓].
- קדחה : πλεονασμός [xviii.8,13,17, xxii.12, P, Pr].
- קדחה : ὁσμὴ εὐωδίας [vi.13, xvi.19, xx.28,41, P, G].
- קדחה : καταπατέω [xxvi.11, Ch, Ps, Is, Da LXX].
- I קדחה : σείομαι [xxxviii.20, G].
- קדחה/קדחה : καταπατέω [xxxii.2, II Ch, Ps, Is, Da LXX].
- קדחה : στερέωμα [i.22 etc., P, Ps].
- קדחה : πλησμονή [xvi.49, xxxix.19, Is, cf. P, G for ✓].
- קדחה Ni. : ἀλχμαλωτεύομαι [vi.9, P, I Sa].
- קדחה Pā., Pu. : ἀποστρέφω [xxxviii.8, xxxix.27, cf. P, G for ✓].
- קדחה : διαφθορά [xix.4,8, Jb, Ps, cf. G for ✓].

<sup>4</sup> This too is a chimera [cf. Thackeray *op. cit.* p. 125], for it is traditional, not "Theodotonic".

רנר : φυλάσσω [xi.20 etc., P, G].

שפש Ni. : κρίνω [xx.36 (2), xxxviii.22, Ps, Pr, cf. P, G for ✓].

(c) Renderings Which are Unfortunate in Our Text.

רחר : εἷς [viii.8], ἕτερος [xi.19, xvii.7, xxxiv.23], ἄλλος [xix.5].

נס : εἰάν [xiv.20, xviii.3], εἶ [xx.31 etc.].

אל-א : εἰάν μή [xvii.16, 19].

רשר : ὅς [xvii.16 bis].

ב of cause etc. : ἐν [xiv.7, xvi.9, 14, xx.8, xxiv.23].

ב essentiae : ἐν [xx.40].

ראא "as regards" : accusative case [xxix.4].

כ : κατὰ [viii.4, xxxvi.17].

ל : κατὰ [xvi.63, xxxvi.23, 34], εἰς [passim].

כן *privativum* : ἐκ [xxiv.16].

כן *comparativum* : ἐκ [xv.2].

על : διὰ with genitive [xvi.8], μετά with the genitive [xxviii.17]; both are close and accurate in other places.

מצרים : Αἴγυπτος [xxix.12, xxx.23, 26], Αἰγύπτιοι [xxx.4].

אבר : ἀπόλλυμαι [xxxiv.4].

נאני משרל : ζυγός [v.1, P, G] with σταθμίων [P, cf. G for ✓].

לה : ἀρά [xvii.13, 16].

יש : ἄνθρωπος [xviii.7, 16].

ברל Hi. : διαστέλλω [xxxix.14].

ברק Ni. : ῥήγνυμι [xiii.11, 13].

(ברק) Pi. : ἐπισκέπτομαι [xxxiv.11, Le xiii.36].



- גב : vōtos [i.18 bis].
- גדג Hi. : μεγαλύνω [xxiv.9].
- גדל : ὕψος [xxx.2, cf. P, G ✓ for ✓].
- גשמי בדכה : ὑετός [xxxiv.26] with εὐλογίας.
- גדך : ὄδος [ix.2].
- גדש Ni. : ζητέομαι [xxxvi.37, cf. P, G Active for Qal].
- גדע : σπέρμα [xvii.13].
- גיה (gen.) : ζωής [i.20, 21].
- גיה : νόμιμα [xvi.27].
- גיה שפ : ἀρπάζω ἀρπάγματα [xix.3, 6, xxi.25, 27].
- גיה Hi. : ἐλέγχω [iii.26].
- גיה Qal ptc. : τὰ ἐκπορευόμενα [xxiii.30].
- גיה Qal : καθίζω [xxxvi.35].
- גיה Hi. : ἐτοιμάζω [iv.3, 7, P, G].
- Ni. : ἀνορθοῦμαι [xvi.7, II Sa, I Ch].
- גיה Pi. : συντελέω [iv.6, 8], cf. Passive for Qal [v.12 etc.].
- גיה : συντέλεια [xi.13, xiii.13, xx.17].
- גיה : πτέρυξ [vi.2, xvi.8].
- גיה Hi. : παροργίζω [xxxii.9].
- גיה : ἄρτος [xii.18].
- גיה מלאכה : ἐργασία [xv.3, 4, 5 bis].
- גיה : ἐνώτιον [xvi.12].
- גיה Ni. : μεταμελοῦμαι [xiv.22], παρακαλοῦμαι [xxxii.31].
- גיה פשוט : ῥάβδος [xix.12, 14, P, G] with ἰσχύος [P, G].
- גיה Hi. : κατακόπτω [v.2].
- (גיה) Hi. : ἐξαιροῦμαι [xxiii.9].

- נשא Qal : αἴρω [xxxvi.7], ἀναλαμβάνω [x.19],  
 ἀποφέρω [xxxiii.30], λαμβάνω [iv.4 etc.].  
 נתן : δίδωμι [xxiii.49].  
 סבב Ni. : ἐπιστρέφομαι [xxvi.2].  
 ין : ὄρασις [i.4, 22, viii.2].  
 עבר Hi. : διάγω [xx.37, xxiii.37].  
 I יזב : ἐγκαταλείπω [xx.8, xxiii.8].  
 עלה : ἀναβαίνω [viii.11].  
 יע : ζύλον [xv.2].  
 שער (ה) פתח : πρόθυρα [viii.3, 14, x.19, xi.1, P, G]  
 with πύλης [P, G].  
 I מצור : περιοχή [iv.2].  
 קים Pi. : ἀνίστημι [xiii.6, cf. P, G for Qal].  
 (קלל) Hi. : κακολογέω [xxii.7, cf. P, G for Pi.].  
 יק : πέρας [vii.2 bis etc.].  
 שאש : ἀρχή [x.11].  
 רב : πλῆθος [xxxii.6].  
 I רבה Pi. : πληθύνω [xix.1, cf. P, G for verb].  
 חרר : πνεῦμα [xi.5, xx.32].  
 שים : τάσσω [xix.5]. This automatic rendering  
 scarcely supports a sense "appoint" for  
 the Hebrew.  
 שביח : ἀποστροφή [xvi.53 bis, cf. P, G ✓ for  
 ✓שוב].  
 שוב Hi. : ἐπιστρέφω [xxxiv.4, 16].  
 שלח : ἐξαποστέλλω [v.16 etc.].  
 חמיר : διὰ παντός [xxxix.14].

The renderings in group (c) leave the impression that some of the original did not strictly pass through the translator's mind at all, but was automatically turned into Greek

with scant regard for the right shade of meaning in context. There is a strong element of etymologizing. The method here suggests that the translator may have used some checklist, mental or written, of stock equivalents. Chapters xxvii to xxviii are quite free of this automatic element, and have only one or two examples of formulaic literalism at all.

#### (4) FORMULAIC FREEDOM.

Another large group of renderings is formulaic in language but not literal, at least in our text, and capable of attaching itself to more than one Hebrew original with reasonable appropriateness. Some of these renderings are not idiomatic Greek; and in some of these cases there is a strong presumption that they originated with the Hebrew text of which they are a literal version. Some weak transliterations are listed here.

##### (a) Renderings Which are Nowhere Very Literal.

- אחל : Ασηλ [xxvii.19], P for יחצאל
- אר : Ἡλιούπολις [xxx.17], P for א(ו)א
- ארם : Σύρια [xvi.57, P, G].
- בשן : Βασανίτις [xxvii.6, Jo, Tw].
- יאנייה(ו) : Ιεζονίας [viii.11, xi.1, II Ki, Je].
- כיש : Αἰθίοπες [xxix.10, xxx.4, 9, xxxviii.5, P, G].
- מגד(ו)ל : Μάγδαλ(ον) [xxix.10, xxx.6, P, Je].
- פתר(ו)ס : Παθούρης [xxix.14, xxx.14, Je].
- צען : Τάνις [xxx.14, P, Ps, Is].
- צ(ו)ר : Τύρος [xxviii.12 etc., G].

רבה : Ραββαθ [xxi.25, II Sa, Je].

שמרון : Σαμάρεια [xvi.46, 51, 53, 55, xxiii.4, 33, G].

סחפנח : Ταφνας [xxx.18, Je].

I אולם : τὰ αἶλαμ [viii.16, I Ki, II Ch].

אין : μάταια [xi.2, Ho, Is].

אחרים : κατάλοιποι [xxiii.25 bis, Am].

באחרים : ἐπ' ἐσχάτων [xxxviii.16, Pr, Tw].

נהר : ἐν ἀφ᾽ ὄρω [xviii.6, P], ἀποκαθηνμένη  
[xxii.10, xxxvi.17, P, La].

בצור III בצור : ὄχυραί [xxxvi.35, P, G].

הלך כשבי : αἰχμάλωτος ἄγομαι [xxx.18], Am, Is for  
√להל.

המון : δύναις [xxxii.24, II Sa, I Ki, Je].

II זהר Hi. : διαστέλλομαι [iii.18, II Ch].

חבר : προσκεῖμαι [xxxvii.16, 17], P, G for  
various originals, προστίθεμαι  
[xxxvii.16], P, G for various originals.

חוס על : φείδομαι with dative [xvi.5, P, Is, Je].

חזק Hi. : ἐνισχύω [xxvii.9], Ju, Ps, Da TH, Da LXX  
for Pi.

על-כחם : ἐπ' ὤμων [xii.6, P, Is].

לחם : ἄρτοι [iv.9, P, G].<sup>5</sup>

מים : ὕδωρ [iv.11 etc., P, G].<sup>6</sup>

מקל : ῥάβδοι [xxxix.9, P, Tw, Is, Je].

II (נמשל) denom. Qal : λέγω παραβολήν [xii.23, xvii.2, xxiv.3,

<sup>5</sup> The singular collective would serve quite well here; but perhaps ἄρτος was thought of as pre-empted for "food".

<sup>6</sup> The singular is unfortunate at xxvi.19, xxvii.26, and so is the accompanying adjective: the rendering is a case of inappropriate Formulaic Freedom.

II Sa].

נתן : περιτίθημι [xvi.11, P, Es, Jb, Je].

I עזר m. : οὐ βοηθοὺ [xii.14, Ju, Ps, Na].

פרש : περιβάλλω [xxxii.3, Ru, II Ki, Pr].

פשע : πλάνη and cognate verb [xxxiii.10,12],  
P, G for various originals.

שבת : αἰχμαλωσία [xxxix.25, Ps, Tw], cf. שבות  
[xxix.14].

תמם Qal : ἐκλείπω [xxiv.11, P, I Sa, Ps, Je, La].

(b) Renderings Which are More Literal Elsewhere.

מן *privativum* in כמלאה [xii.19] becomes σύν, making the phrase which is more literal at I Ch xvi.32.

נף : Μέμφεις [xxx.13, Is, Je], but at Ho ix.6  
for נף.

פוט : Λίβυες [xxvii.10, xxxviii.5, Je], but  
for לובים [Ch, Na].

מבוא pl. (Q) : εἴσδος [xxvii.3], but for singular [G].

דבר אה : λαλέω with dative [xiv.4, P], but for  
the familiar אל idiom [P, G].

היה : ἐκτείνω [xiii.9] with χεῖρα [cf. P, G].

הרג : ἀποκεντέω [xxi.16], but for רקר [P,  
I Sa].

הוס : φείδομαι with wrong subject and wrong  
dative [ix.5], but more literal at Ge  
xlv.20.

מחמר : ἐπιθυμήματα [xxiv.16,21,25, I Ki, La],  
but literal at Ho ix.16.

חרבה pl. : ἡ ἔρημος [xiii.4, xxxvi.33,12, Is, Je],  
but for singular nouns [P, G].

מורשה : κατάσχεσις [xxxiii.24, xxxvi.2,3,5], but  
for אחזה [P, G].

כסמח pl. : ὀλίγα [iv.9], but literal at Ex ix.32.

כאס ב : ἀποθέω with accusative [v.6, 20, xvi.24, Je], but for transitives [P, G].

נכה Hi. : ἐπάγω [xxii.13], but for שוכ Hi. with the same object at Am i.8, Za xiii.7, Is i.25; διασπείρω [xxxii.15], but for פּרץ Hi. in similar contexts [Is xxiv.2, Ez xxix.12 etc.].

נפל : γίγνομαι [viii.1], but literal *passim* in our text.

עמר : ἐπιβαίνω [x.18], for עלה [I Ki, Je].

על I צור : συγκαλείω [iv.3, Je], but for סגר [P, G].

קבר pl. : ταφή [xxxii.23, Na, Is], but literal [P, G].

קרר Hi. : συσκοτάζω intransitive [xxxii.8], but for Qal, Hithp. [I Ki, Tw, Je].

קדוש בישראל : ὁ ἅγιος Ισραηλ [xxxix.7], but literal in II Ki, Is, Je.

בקר : εἰς τὸν τοῖχον [xii.5], but literal at I Sa xix.10.

In one or two cases the syntax has been affected by Formulaic Freedom:-

At xiii.6 the main verb חז became a wrong βλέποντες, the participle being literal at I Ch xxix.29.

At xxxvii.19 the imperative דבר becomes the formulaic καὶ ἐρεῖς.

At ix.11 משיב דבר becomes the formulaic καὶ ἀπεκρίνατο.

(c) Coinages and Unidiomatic Expressions Which are More Literal Elsewhere.

- את : ἄφ' in a relative clause [xxiii.22] making a typical formulaic "unidiom" with the preposition supplied from the end of

the Hebrew clause.

- מן *causae* : κατά [vii.27] which is familiar with τὰς ὁδοῦς.
- על : ἐν [xxxiii.19, xxxvi.31 *bis*, xxxvii.27] making formulae.
- ארוד : Ἀράδιοι [xxvii.8,11], but singular for ארודי at Ge x.18.
- גבל : Βύβλα(ια) pl. [xxvii.9], but Βίβλα(ια) at I Ki v.32 (A) for גבלים.
- יִיִקִין : Ἰωακίμ [i.2], but more appropriately elsewhere [II Ki, Ch, Je, Da LXX, I Es, II Es].
- פלטערו : Φαλίτις [xi.1,13], slightly closer for פלטטה at I Ch iii.21, iv.42.
- בארץ : ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς [xxxiv.29], very frequent for על-הארץ.
- בוא with suffix : ἦκα τινί [xxxii.11], but for בוא ל at Ho vi.3, xiii.13.
- בז/בוז pred. : ἐν προνομῆ [xxiv.28, xxxv.5], making a formula.
- גרל Hithp. Imperf. : μεγαλυθήσομαι [xxxviii.23], but for Qal imperfect [Ps, Mi, Za].
- דבר אל : λαλέω μετά with genitive [iii.10], but formulaic for דבר את [P, G].
- דרך : ὁδοί [iii.18, xi.21, xiv.22,23, xvi.43, xxii.31], making a formula.
- זנה תחת : ἐκπορνεύω ἀπό [xxxiii.5], but at Ho iv.12 for זנה מתחת.
- תגור ב : ἐξωσμένος ἐπί with accusative [xxiii.15], but the active occurs with this construction for שים על at I Ki xxi.27.
- חרד Ho. : ἐξακονάομαι [xxi.16], but for לטש Pu. at

Ps lli.2.

מחמל : paraphrastic ὑπὲρ ὧν φείδονται [xxiv.21], but the Greek construction occurs at Jn iv.10,11 for חס על.

בחמתו : μετὰ θυμοῦ [xiii.13, Je], cf. P, Na, Is for the phrase, but it is literal at Dt xxxii.24 for עם־חמתו.

חרבה : (ἡ) ἡρηωμένη [xxxiii.24,27], but the plural stands at Je xxxiii.10 for a Ni. feminine plural, with πόλεις close by.

חרפה pred. : εἰς ὄνειδος [xxii.4] making a formula; cf. the treatment of קלסה just below.

ביום : ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις [xvi.56] making a formula.

תוכחה : ἐκδίκησις [v.15], but P, G for נקם and שפט.

כלה pred. : εἰς συντέλειαν [xx.17] making a formula.

לקח ל : κτάομαι with reflexive [v.1 (2)], but for לקח ל [Je, Ru].

#### מות Qal

with inf. abs. : θανατόομαι θανάτω [iii.18, xxxiii.8, 14], but for Ho. with infinitive [P].

נקם Ni. : ἐκδικάω ἐκδίκησιν [xxv.12] making a Pentateuchal formula.

נשא עינים : τίθημι ὀφθαλμούς [xviii.12,15], but for the noun with שית [Ps xvii.11] and שים [Je xl.4].

נתן בנשך : τὸ ἀργύριον ἐπὶ τόκῳ δίδωμι [xviii.8], but literal at Le xxv.37, Ps xv.5.

פרר ברית Hi. : παραβαίνω διαθήκην [xvi.59], but for פרר ברית [Jo, II Ki, Ho].

פתח Qal : παραλύω [xxv.9], but for כשל [Is], רפה [xxi.12, Je] and חתח [Je], all with reference to limbs.



קָרַמָּה : τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ [xxxvi.11], but more literally [G].

הִקָּרָה : ὑπόστασις [xix.5, Ru i.12], for other words in Ps passages, but at Ps lxix.3 for the unique מַעֲנֵךְ.

Renderings which are more literal elsewhere are not necessarily significant for literary relationships unless they are bad Greek, for otherwise dependence cannot be proved. It is, however, striking that with only one exception<sup>7</sup> coinages and hebraizing elements<sup>8</sup> can so readily be traced to passages where they are literal, and that some cases are so simple that the dependence of our text is virtually certain at that point.

Formulaic Freedom extends into every part of our text.

#### (5) INDEPENDENT LITERALISM.

Whether the literalism which lies at the root of virtually all the syntactical hebraizing noted in Part I is formulaic or independent is a matter of definition: the fact is that literalism however classified is the source of very many un-

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<sup>7</sup> There is one curious example of an "unidiom" which cannot be traced to source: ἀθετέω εἰς [for מַעַל בְּ at xxxix.23] occurs in I Ki, I Ch, Je, but is never literal. Cf. the equally unidiomatic and unliteral παραπίπτω εἰς [xx.27] which may be modelled on it. One might speculate that false etymology from θέτις is at work. Some of the passages seem to make better sense if "wrong, misbehave towards" is intended.

<sup>8</sup> Probably to be included here are some minor grammatical examples of Formulaic Freedom, the omission of the article at xvi.3 and xviii.20 bis, and changes of order at ii.6, xxvii.24, xxxi.17, xxxii.4, xxxiii.21,22, xxxiv.6,24, xxxvii.6,16, xxxix.23. In each case the change, while against Greek usage, is very much in the general manner of the text. There is one equivocal example of a name, where argument depends on the vocalisation: עִיָּר : Εἰσα [xi.1], but more appropriately in I Ch.

Greek features of our text, and does not confine itself to vocabulary and idiom. It gives rise to many passages where the sense is thoroughly opaque, or a wrong emphasis is given, or the idiom is quite unnecessarily harsh. Laziness and ignorance must both have been influential. A prime example of ignorance is the translation of xxvii-xxviii, where the abysmal level of the version shows how much at a loss the translator was [e.g. xxvii.14]. Particularly bad examples of slavish literalism are as follows:-

ἐχομένη [iii.13].

αὐτοῦς [v.1], which has no antecedent at all.

κύκλω αὐτῆς [v.2], where the termination is wrong in Greek.

διότι βάσανος...ἐγένετο [vii.19], where the sense is obscure, the verb disguising neatly the difficulty of identifying a subject.

ἔτι [viii.6,13,15].

μία [viii.8].

οὐ after οὐδέ [xiii.9], reversing the sense.

αὐτά [xvi.18], which must make "you put them on (yourself)".

καὶ μετὰ σὲ οὐ πεπορνεύκασιν [xvi.34].

καὶ ὀπίσω τῶν ἐνθυμήματων τῶν πατέρων αὐτῶν ἦσαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτῶν [xvi.24].

αὐτήν [xxi.32].

αὐτῆς [xxiv.5 bis] which has no referent; cf. xxiv.11 for the same case (*ter*).

πάν πλῆθος ἐθῶν [xxxi.6]: two articles in Hebrew would

be required to give this sense.

πάντες οἱ πίνοντες ὕδωρ [xxxix.14].

καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ ἐκζητῶν etc. [xxxiv.6; cf. xxxiv.28,  
xxxix.26 for the same phenomenon].

ἀρῶ τὴν χειρὰ μου [xxxvi.7] i.e. "I vote in favour"!

Not all cases of literalism are so intolerable.

**(a) The Use of Idiosyncratic Greek for Commoner  
Originals.**

אלישה : Ελισαι [xxvii.7], but Ελεισα at Ge x.4.

בני כרם : υἱοὶ Κεδεμ [xxv.4, <10>, Je xlix.28], but  
paraphrased [Ju, Jb, Is].

יחזקאל : Ιεζεκιηλ [i.3, xxiv.24], but Εζεκηλ at I  
Ch xxiv.6.

שרי : Σαδδαι [x.5], but paraphrased elsewhere  
[P, G].

אבן יקרה : λίθος χρηστός [xxvii.22, xxviii.13], but  
λίθος τίμιος [Sa, Ki, Ch, Da].

ארץ החיים : γῆ ζωῆς [xxvi.20, xxxii.23, 24, 26, 32],  
but γῆ/χώρα ζώντων [Is, Je, Ps, Jb].

בור : βόθρος with word play [xxvi.20 etc.],  
but variously rendered in G.

במה (ה) : Αβαμα [xx.29 bis], but variously render-  
ed in G.

בני כרם Pi. : καίω ἐν [xxxix.9], but more idiomatic  
[P, G].

גלגל : Γελλελλ [x.13], but normally τρόχος<sup>9</sup>.

דרום : Δαρωμ [xxi.2], but νότος [Ez xl ff., Jb,  
Ec].

זנה על : ἐκπορνεύω ἐπί with accusative [xvi.16],

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<sup>9</sup> τρόχος has, however, just been used.

but ὀργίζομαι [Jb xix.2].

עֲבֹר־שֹׁפֵר : βαθύχειλος [iii.5], but βαθύφωνος at Is xxxiii.19.

ל קנא Pi. : ζηλώω διά with accusative [xxxix.25],  
but more idiomatic [P, G].

שִׂרְשִׁי : θαρσις [i.16], but χρυσόλιθος [P].

(b) The Use of Literal Greek for Rare and Unique Hebrew.<sup>10</sup>

אֶהְלֵה : Οολα [xxiii.4 etc.].

אֶהְלִיבָה : Οολιβα [xxiii.4 etc.].

כוֹזֵי : Βουζι [i.3].

חֶלְבֹן : Χελβ(ων) [xxvii.18].

כֹּבֵר : Χοβαρ [i.1 etc.].<sup>11</sup>

תִּמּוֹן : Θαμμουζ [viii.14].

גִּדּוּל-כִּנְפַיִם : μεγαλοπτέρυγος [xvii.3,7].

גִּדּוּל-בֶּשֶׂר : μεγαλόσαρκος [xvi.26].

הִלַּל Pu. ptc. : ἐπαινετός [xxvi.17].

יִפְהַקֵּל : ἠδυσφώνος [xxxiii.32].

כִּבְדֵי-לֶשֶׁן<sup>12</sup> : βαρύγλωσσος [iii.5].

לִכְטָה : ἕως κάτω [i.11, viii.2].

עִם עוֹלָם : λαὸς αἰῶνος [xxvi.20].

עֹמֵד לְפָנַי : ἵστημι πρὸ προσώπου [xxii.30].

מַעַת עַד-עַת : ἀπὸ καιροῦ ἕως καιροῦ [iv.10,11].

עַל פְּוָה Hi. : ἐμφυσάω ἐπί [xxi.36].

<sup>10</sup> When the Greek is not original transcription, coinage and "unidiom", it is not found elsewhere in the Greek Bible. See Part I, pp. 54-60, and Appendix B, Lists 8-10.

<sup>11</sup> This appears at Jb xlii.17<sup>c</sup> (A), for no Hebrew original.

<sup>12</sup> This becomes βραδύγλωσσος at Ex iv.10, but the sense is different.

- I פרח Hi. : ἀναθάλλω transitive [xvii.24, but cf. Si].
- צחית סלע : λειομετρία [xvii.7,8, xxxvi.4,14].
- ראה בכבר : ἠπατοσκοπέομαι [xvi.26].
- I רנוח : Ραμωθ [xxvii.16].
- ריק הרב Hi. : ἐκκενών μάχαιραν [v.2 etc.].
- שבעה חרשים : ἐπτάμηνος [xxxix.12,14].<sup>13</sup>
- שפך-סללה : χαρακοβολία [xvii.17], βαλεῖν χῶμα [xxi.27].

## (c) Renderings Which are Less Literal Elsewhere.

- רבלחה : Δεβλαθα [vi.14], but for other Hebrew in Je.
- כנה : Χαννα [xxvii.23], but for גלה at Jo xv.51 (B).
- סנה : Σνήνη [xxix.10, xxx.6], but for סין [xxx.16], and for סבא at Is xliii.3.
- צ(1)ר : Σορ [xxvi.2 etc., xxvii.2 etc.], but at Je xxi.13 for ציר.

- 
- הגר אשר יגור : οἱ προσήλυτοι οἱ προσηλυτεύοντες [xiv.7],<sup>14</sup> but the wordplay is less literal at Is liv.15.
- מגור : παροικεσία [xx.38], but wrongly at Za ix.12.
- זנה ב : ἐκπορνεύω ἐν [xvi.17], but not literal at Je iii.1.
- כרמס : πάτημα [xxxiv.19], but wrongly at II Ki

<sup>13</sup> ἐπτά μῆνας, which stands for the Hebrew at I Sa vi.1, would have been better at xxxix.12.

<sup>14</sup> P and Jo, which have the Hebrew, content themselves with a προσ-prefix for both noun and verb.

xix.26.<sup>15</sup>

קשילב : σκληροκάρδιοι [iii.7], but not literal  
at Pr xvii.20, Si xvi.9.

It will be seen that Independent Literalism is not particularly widespread;<sup>16</sup> at the same time it has no especially marked distribution. There is a certain correlation between literal rendering by means of coinage, "unidiom" and untypical Biblical Greek, and rare or unique Hebrew expressions, as if to point up the nature of the original, and this kind of pedantry has its parallels in the treatment of other rare items, as will be seen. Yet group (a) represents a more arbitrary tendency. The translation can in fact use formulae for rare originals, and Independent Literalism for more familiar items, without rhyme or reason.

#### (6) ETYMOLOGIZING.

An element of etymologizing enters into several kinds of rendering in our text, but is not fundamental. In some cases, however, especially when the translator was faced with a rare item which could not be guessed from context, resort was made to etymology. Sometimes it is of an obvious kind, and the notion is widespread in the Greek Bible, if not particularly

<sup>15</sup> The rendering might be derived in either place from the formulaic rendering of the noun and verb by compounds in -πατέω, -πάτημα.

<sup>16</sup> Grammatical cases are very few: at xiv.13 ff., xxxvi.33 is rendered where Greek would omit the conjunction, at xvii.3, xxxiii.21, xxxviii.20 the article is un-Greek, at i.4, xxiv.11,12, the literal rendering by the same gender is wrong, certain Hebrew Imperfects become inappropriately Future [xvi.36, xvii.12 bis, 13 bis, xviii.31, xx.25,26, xxxiii.31] or Subjunctive, as if they were prohibitions [xxiv.12, xxxvi.15, xxxvii.22,23, xxxix.10 bis], and at xviii.32 an aorist participle would have been better.

sound; sometimes the source may be traced more narrowly.

(a) **Correct Etymology Leading to a Weak Result.**

- אָרַךְ : μακρὰν εἶναι [xii.22], cf. xvii.3, Jb, Je.
- לְבַשָּׁה : ἐν ἐλπίδι [xxviii.26 bis, xxix.16, xxxiv.28, Ju, Ps, Pr, Tw, Je], cf. ἐλπίς for מְבַשָּׁה [Ps, Pr, Je].
- כֹּן Hi. : κρίνω [vii.14], cf. the sense of II כֵּן adj. [P, G].
- מִפְּלֵא : πτώσις [xxvi.15, 18, xxvii.27, xxxi.13, 16, xxxii.16], cf. P, G ✓ for ✓.
- מִפְּרֵשׁ : στρωμνή [xxvii.7], cf. P, G for general sense.
- מִקְרֹב : ἔγγυθεν [vii.8], cf. P, G ✓ for ✓.
- קָרְמָה : ἀπέναντι [viii.16], cf. P, I Sa, Jn.
- קָרְמוּנִי : ἀπέναντι [x.19], κατέναντι [xi.1], cf. P, I Sa, Jn.
- שְׁבֵרוֹן : συντριβή [xxi.11], cf. P, G ✓ for ✓.

(b) **False Etymology Leading to a Reasonable Result.**

- חֻזְקֵי-מִצָּה : φιλόνοικοι [iii.7], cf. G νῆκος for מִצָּה.
- נָצַר : περιέχω [vi.12, Ps xxxii.7], probably connected with the commoner צֹרֵר, צָרָר.
- נִקָּה : ἀφίστημι [xxiii.18, 22, 28], cf. Ez, Je for (יָקַע).

(c) **False Etymology Leading to a Weak Result.**

- II אָבֵל Hi. : πενθέω [xxxii.15], cf. P, G for I אָבֵל.
- זֶרַע : συγγενεῖς [xxii.6], σπέρμα [xxxii.7], cf. P, G for זֶרַע.
- חָלַל : βέβηλος [xxi.30], cf. P, Sa for חָלַל.
- III חָלַל Pi. : τιτρώσκω [xxviii.7], τραυματίζω

- [xxviii.16], cf. **לל** [I Ki xxxi.3], **ללח** [P, Sa, Ki, Ch].
- II **חרבה** : ῥομφαία [xxix.10], cf. P, G for **רב**.
- ל** Hi. : συντελέω [xxiii.32], συντέλεια [xxi.33], cf. P, G for **כלה** and cognates<sup>17</sup>.
- כלה** : ἐξαναλωθήσεται [xxxv.15], cf. P, G for **כלה** Pi.
- כפיר** : κόμη [xxxviii.13], cf. I Sa, Ca for a similar ✓.<sup>18</sup>
- (**מגר**) : παροικέω [xxi.17], for **גור** P, G.<sup>19</sup>
- מוטה** : σκῆπτρον [xxx.18], cf. I Sa, Hb for **מוטה**.<sup>20</sup>
- I (**נז**) Ni. : ἀπαλλοτριούμαι [xiv.7, Ho], cf. xiv.5, Ps for I (**נז**) Ni.
- II **ערב** : δυσμαί [xxvii.9], cf. P, G, σύμμεικτοι [xxvii.27], cf. Ez, Je<sup>21</sup>.
- I **מצודה** : περιοχή [xii.13, xvii.20], cf. Sa, Ki, Ch for II **מצודה**.<sup>22</sup>
- מקנה** : κτώμενος [viii.3], cf. P, G for **קנה** Qal.
- צפון** : ἐπισκοπή [vii.22], cf. I **צפה** [P, G].<sup>23</sup>
- צפצפה** : ἐπιβλεπόμενον [xvii.5], cf. Ps, Mi for I **צפה**.

<sup>17</sup> Well rendered δέχομαι at II Ch vii.7.

<sup>18</sup> The word similarly rendered at Ne vi.2 may be the source, though it is not quite identical.

<sup>19</sup> (**מגר**) Pi. : καταρράσω [Ps lxxxix.45].

<sup>20</sup> **מוטה** : κλοιός [Je xxvii.2 etc.].

<sup>21</sup> I **ערב** receives precisely the same treatment [xxvii.9 etc.].

<sup>22</sup> The same notion reappears at xix.9, i.e. φυλακή stands for **מצודה**. The confusion with **מצוד** appears to be endemic in the Greek Bible.

<sup>23</sup> **צפון** : τὰ κεκρυμμένα [Ps xvii.14].



Group (a) is closely allied to Formulaic Literalism (b) and (c), reflecting the same insensitive approach to the text. Group (b) is acceptable in context more by luck than judgment. Group (c) is etymologizing in a pure form, the result being glaringly wrong in context. Etymologizing cannot, however, be described as more than sporadic in our text.

**(7) CORRECT PHILOLOGY FOR LESS STRAIGHTFORWARD HEBREW.**

There are traces of a sound tradition for harder items<sup>24</sup>, sometimes shared with other places in the Greek Bible, sometimes independent. Renderings which could have been deduced from context are not properly to be included here, although sound philology rather than intelligent guesswork may be their origin.

**(a) Renderings Where the Notion is Not Confined to Our Text.**

יָן : Ἑλλάς [xxvii.13, Is lxvi.19], cf.  
Ἑλλην [Tw, Is].<sup>25</sup>

כַּרְחִים : Κρητες [xxv.16, Ze ii.5].<sup>26</sup>

לֹד : Λουδοί [xxvii.10], cf. Je xlvi.9, for  
לֹדִים.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> "Harder items" include those where other versions have a poor notion of the meaning, as well as those where there are no other renderings. Some occur several times, but the Greek Bible has difficulty with each occurrence, as though they were felt to be hard.

<sup>25</sup> Ἰωσαν at Ge x.2,4, a crude version compared with that here.

<sup>26</sup> Transcribed in Sa, Ki, Ch, and not necessarily understood.

<sup>27</sup> לֹד : Λουδοί [Is lxvi.19].  
לֹדִים : Λουδοισμ [Ge x.13]. Both renderings may betray ignorance.

שִׁרְשֵׁי : Καρχηδόνιοι [xxvii.12, xxxviii.13], *cf.*  
Is Καρχήδων.

כְּרִיל : μόλιβος [xxii.18, 20, xxvii.12, Nu  
xxxii.22].

מִבְּחָר : ἐπίλεκτοι [xxiii.7, Ex xv.4], τὰ ἐκλεκτά  
[xxi.16, P, Is, Je].

כֶּסֶד : ὄμφακα [xviii.2, Is, Je, Jb].

שִׁרְשֵׁי : πίτυς [xxxii.8, Za xi.2].

גְּבַה "be haughty" : ὑψόομαι [xxviii.2, 5, 17, II Ch].

מְהוֹמָה : θόρυβοι [vii.7], *cf.* ταραχή [I Sa v.9,  
Is xxii.5].

וְרִין : ὕβρις [vii.10, Pr, Je], *cf.* P, Ob  
ὑπερηφάνια.

עוֹרָה : ταραχή [xxiii.46], *cf.* ἔκστασις [II Ch  
xxix.8].

I (לְבַל) : ἐνεχυράζω [xviii.6, P, Jb].

לְבַל : κυβερνήτης [xxvii.8, 27, 28], πρόφρευς  
[xxvii.29], *cf.* πρόφρευς for רַב הַחַבֵּל [Jn  
i.6].

I (לְהַל) Ni. : ἀσθενέω [xxxiv.4, Da LXX], *cf.* Ho for  
Qal.

(לְפָן) : δράξ [x.2, Ec iv.6], χεῖρ [x.7, P].

שִׁרְשֵׁי : τεκταίνων [xxi.36], *cf.* Ps, Pr, Si for √.

שְׂבוֹר : ὀμφαλός [xxxviii.12, Ju].

(שִׁו) : ἀλείφω [xiii.10 etc., xxii.28], *cf.*  
ἔξαλείφω [Le xiv.42, I Ch xxix.4].

(עֲרִי) : ἀφίστημι [xxiii.17, 18, Je].

כֹּאב Ni. : διαστρέφω [xiii.22], ὀδύνης [for ptc.  
xxviii.24], *cf.* P, Ps, Jb for the sense  
of the √.

מִצְנַנָּה : κίδαρις [xxi.31, P].

- (מקק) Ni. : τακέομαι [iv.17, xxiii.3,<sup>28</sup> P, Za].
- משדד : μέτρον [iv.11,16, Le xix.35, I Ch xxiii.29].
- נגג : φέγγος [i.4,13,27, II Ki, Tw].
- נגג Pi. : κερατίζω [xxiv.21, I Ki, Ps, Da LXX, TH].
- נגג : διχοτόμημα [xxiv.4 bis, P], μέλος [xxiv.6, P].
- (נתח) Hi./ (תחה) : χωνεύω/χωνεύομαι [xxii.20,22, II Ki, II Ch].
- (גש) : στρατηγός [xxiii.6,12,23, Es, Ne, Je].
- גס : σεμίδαλις [xvi.13,19, xlv.14, P, Ki, Ch].
- געג : ἐγκρυφίας [iv.12, P, Ho, I Ki].
- געדג : φακός [iv.9, Ge, II Sa].
- גשג : θλίψις [xviii.18], καταδυναστεία [xxii.12, Je], cf. Am for דשדשג.
- גלג : κύαμον [iv.9, II Sa xvii.28].
- גהג : ἠγούμενος [xxiii.6,12,23, Ma i.8].
- גרהג : ἐκδίκησις [ix.1, Ho, Mi, Je].
- I פדג Hi. : ἀναθάλλω [xvii.24], cf. ἀνθέω [Jb xiv.9], ἔξανθέω [Ps xlii.13].
- (פתח) : κλάσμα [xiii.19], for פג P, Ju.
- (פצג) : κόπρος [iv.12], for פצג II Ki, Is.
- פצג : σημεῖον [xxxix.15], cf. II Ki xxiii.17 σκόπελον.
- פצג Qal : ἀνθέω [vii.10], for Hi. Ps xc.6.
- (סלג) Pi. : ἐμπαίζομαι [xxii.5], cf. καταπαίζω [II Ki ii.23], ἐντροφάω [Hb i.10], ἐμπαίγμος

<sup>28</sup> There seems to be no sound reason for printing ἐντακέομαι instead at xxiv.23.

- for the unique cognate noun [xxii.4].
- קרב Pi. : συνάπτω [xxxvii.17], cf. ἀνακαίωμα [Ho vii.6], προσλαμβάνω [Ps lxn.5].
- מדבג : νομή [xxv.5, Ze ii.15].
- (רכלה) : ἔμπορία [xxviii.5,16,18], cf. ✓ for ✓ xxvii.3 etc., I Ki x.15.
- I רמיר : ψέλιον [xvi.11, xxiii.42, P].
- מסצ : ἀνατολή [xvi.7, xvii.10, Za, Je], cf. τὰ ἀνατέλλοντα [P, Ps].
- צרי : ῥητίνη [xxvii.17, P, Je].
- קרבב : πέλτη [xxiii.24], cf. I Sa xvii.38 περικεφαλαία.
- קרבמ : πρὸς with dative [xxxix.11], cf. Ge ii.14, iv.16, I Sa xiii.5.
- משש : ψυγμός [xxvi.5,14], cf. P for שש.
- לש : εὐθηνία [xvi.49, Ps, Da TH].
- שש Ni. : διακρίνομαι [xx.35,36, J1 iv.2].
- לכלת : ὑάκινθος [xxvii.7,24], cf. ὑακίνθισα [xxiii.6, P, Es].

## (b) Independent Renderings.

- נ : Διόσπολις [xxx.14,16].
- פי-בסב : Βούβαστος [xxx.17].
- 
- בלה : ἀπώλεια [xxvi.21, xxvii.36, xxviii.19].
- קח : κέγκρος [iv.9].
- I (להל) : ἴος [xxiv.6 bis, 12 bis].
- עב : στέλεχος [xix.11].
- פג : κασία [xxvii.17].

## (8) CONTEXTUAL GUESSES.

Guesswork, not necessarily dependent on sound philology, but on the context, is a common method of dealing with rarer items. As we shall see, it leads the translator badly astray at times; but here our concern is with fortunate guesses leading to a reasonable result.

אף כי "surely if" : μή ὅτι ἔάν [xv.5].

אנף : οἱ περί [xxxviii.6 bis, 9, xxxix.4], οἱ μετά [xxxviii.22].

I אור : πῦρ [v.2, Is xliv.16, xlvii.14].

אלגביש : χαλάζα [xxxviii.22], resulting in an "unidiom" found at Jo x.11, Si xliii.15.

(אנף) Ni. : κατοδύνομαι [ix.4].

(אפיק) : φάραγξ [vi.3, xxxii.6, xxxiv.13, xxxvi.4,6, Is viii.7].

אציל : ἀγκῶν [xiii.18].

אשכר : (οἱ) μισθοί [xxvii.15].

בהל Ni. : παραλύομαι [vii.27], cf. xxi.12, xxv.9 for the Greek.

(בוס) Hithpo<sup>e</sup>l : πεφύρμαι [xvi.6,22].<sup>29</sup>

(בקררה) : ζητέω [xxxiv.12].

I ברא Pi. : κατακεντέω [xxii.47].

בתק : κατασφάζω [xvi.40].

גזר Ni. : διαφωνέω [xxxvii.11], cf. Nu xxxi.49 for the Perfect form.

גלב : κουρεύς [v.1].

(גל) : βόλβιτον [iv.12,15]; the sound may have

<sup>29</sup> This is a case of unusual Greek for Hebrew unique to our text.

been influential here.

(גלג) : εμπορία [xxvii.24].

גניג : θησαυροί [xxvii.24].

גג : ἐξαίρω [xvi.27].<sup>30</sup>

(גלג) : ταρασσώ [xxxii.2, 13].<sup>31</sup>

ג : οὐαί [ii.10]; the sound must have helped.

גלג "flow" : μολύνομαι [vii.17, xxi.12].

גג : διεστραμμένον [xvi.34 bis].

גגג : κλήματα [xv.2, P, Na].

I גגג : ραίνω [xxxvi.25].

II גגג Qal "touch" : συζεύγνυμαι [i.11].

II גגג adj. : ὄξύς [v.1, Is xliv.2, Ps lvii.5]; cf. the correct notion for the cognate verb at xxi.14, 15, 21.

גגג Qal : ἀπειθέω [iii.27 bis].<sup>32</sup>

גגגג : ταραχή [xxx.4, 9], cf. xxx.16 for גגג.

גגג Pu. ptc. : διαγεγραμμένος [viii.10].

גגג Qal : θερμαίνομαι [xxiv.11].

(גגג) Pu. : σπαργανοῦμαι [xvi.4], cf. σπαργάνοις for the Ho. here.<sup>33</sup>

גגגג : μάλαγμα [xxx.21].

(גגגג) : ῥίζα [xvi.3], ᾗ γεγέννησαι [xxi.35].

(גגג) : στιβίζω [xxiii.40].<sup>34</sup>

<sup>30</sup> The form of words is difficult: v.11 is the other place where it occurs.

<sup>31</sup> καταπατέω at xxxii.13 (2) seems to be for variety.

<sup>32</sup> The sense "refuse to hear" is special to our text, and the verb normally has a complement.

<sup>33</sup> The active at Jb xxxviii.9 for an unique גגגג may be derived.

<sup>34</sup> The "unidiom" with ὀφθαλμούς reappears at II Ki ix.20 for

מכלול : εὐπάρυφα [xiiii.12].<sup>35</sup>

הנ : ἀναβολή [v.3].

(כסכ) : προσκεφάλαιον [xiii.18,20].

(מחא) Pi. : κροτέω [xxv.6], Ps xcvi.8 for the Qal.

(י) מש : τριχαπτ-όν or -ά [xvi.10,13].<sup>36</sup>

למחוק : γλυκάζον [iii.3].

(נאצא) : βλασφημία [xxxv.12], cf. Is verb for verb.

הרה : μισθώματα [xvi.33].

I (נה) : μισθώματα [xvi.33].

II (נסח) : ἄρχων [xxxii.30, Ps lxxxiii.11, Jo xiii.21].

שלוך : σκόλοψ [xxviii.24].

(מספחה) : ἐπιβόλαιον [xiii.18,21].

(סרעפה) : κλαδός [xxxi.5], cf. סעיף [Is xvii.6], παραφυσάς [xxxi.6,8].

ספק : κροτέω [xxi.17, La].

ערב Hi. : ἀποτροπιάζομαι [xvi.21].

(עגב) : ἐπιτίθεμαι [xxiii.5 etc.], cf. Je iv.30 for the sense.

II ערה : κοσμέω, κοσμοῦμαι [xvi.11,13, xxiii.40], cf. Is lxi.10 κατακοσμέω.

עזבוך : ἀγορά [xxvii.12 etc.].

I (מעלה) : τὰ διαβούλια [xi.5].

II עשה Pi.

דדי-בחולים : διαπαρθενεύω [xxiii.3,8].<sup>37</sup>

וחשם כפוך עינים, perhaps the origin.

<sup>35</sup> See note 29 above.

<sup>36</sup> See note 29 above.

<sup>37</sup> Perhaps this rendering is less a guess than an attempt to be more polite.

- עשק : ἐκπιέζω [xxii.29].
- פארה : κλάδος [xxxii.6,8].
- פרד "spread" : ἐκτείνω [i.11]; פרש [P, G] may have been in mind in addition.
- פרש Ni. : διαχωρίζομαι [xxxiv.12].
- פשק : διάγω [xvi.25].
- I (פה) Pu. : πλανάομαι [xiv.9], cf. ἀπατάομαι [Je xx.10].<sup>38</sup>
- צבר : ἐκλεκτά [vii.20], cf. Ha ii.7 for the Greek phrase.
- (קה) : γομφιάζω [xviii.2].
- (קטר) : ἀποκνίζω [xvii.4,22], cf. Dt xxiii.26 συλλέγω.
- (קלל) Pilp. : ἀναβράσσω [xvi.26].
- (קם) : ἐκτένω [xxxvii.6].
- (רביד) : κάθεμα [xvi.11].
- רפה Pi. : καταπαύω [i.24].
- רצן Ni. : θλάομαι [xxix.7], cf. Ju, Sa, Ki, Is for ✓.
- רקע : ψοφέω [vi.11], ἐπιψοφέω [xxv.6].
- צפה : προχώρημα [xxvii.6].<sup>39</sup>
- צפיט : βόλβιτον [iv.15].
- כש"ט : κώπη [xxvii.6], cf. κωπηλάτης for ש"ט ptc. [xxvii.8,26], חגשי-כש"ט [xxvii.29].
- ששנ : καθοδηγέω [xxxix.2].
- שואר : ύेतός [xxxviii.9].
- ששנ/ש"ט : ἀτιμάζω [xxviii.24,26, xxxvi.5].

<sup>38</sup> Pr xxv.15 εἰσοδία is curious in the light of these renderings.

<sup>39</sup> See note 29 above.



- I (שׂר) ptc. : ἔμπορος [xxvii.25].
- שׂמח Hi. : ἀναστρέφομαι [iii.15].<sup>40</sup>
- (שׂעל) : δράξ [xiii.19], cf. χεῖρ at Is xl.12].<sup>41</sup>
- (שׂפעה) : πλήθος [xxvi.10], cf. Is lx.6 ἀγγέλαι.
- (שׂקט) : paraphrastic καθεστηκός [xxxiv.18].
- (שׂש) : βύσσοσ [xvi.10, xxvii.7, P, Pr],  
βύσσινα [xvi.13, P].
- (שׂשר) : γραφίς [xxiii.14] with wordplay.
- (שׂתל) : καταφυτεύω [xvii.22,23], φυτεύω  
[xix.10,13, Ps].
- תבנית : ὁμοίωμα [viii.3, x.8, P, Ps].
- (תורה) Hi. : δίδωμι [ix.4] making a formula with the  
object.
- תור : ἐτοιμάζω [xx.6].
- תער : κολεός [xxi.8,9,10, II Sa, Je]; ξυρόν  
[v.1, P, Ps, Is, Je].
- תין : ἴστός [xxvii.5, Is].

It will be noted that there are slight tendencies here to the formulaic on the one hand and to the pointing up of rare Hebrew on the other.

#### (9) WEAK PHILOLOGY.

Certain renderings are dependent not on etymologizing nor on contextual guesswork but on an unsound notion. Sometimes the notion is shared by more than one text; at other times it contradicts a sounder tradition elsewhere.

<sup>40</sup> This is only reasonable if "be upset, in a daze" be intended. Cf. pap. ἀναστροφή "confusion".

<sup>41</sup> The rendering is wrong in the Isaiah context.

## (a) Renderings Where the Notion is Not Confined to Our Text.

- אגד advers. : καί [xvi.28, xx.15,23, Ps xcvi.9].
- ררן : ῥόδοι [xxvii.15], cf. Ge x.4 for רורני; simple misreading is probably not the origin, in the light of this parallel in P.
- (אלם) Ni. : ἀποκωφόομαι [iii.26, xxiv.27], cf. Ps xxxix.3,10 κωφόομαι.<sup>42</sup>
- (גרף) Pi. : παροργίζω [xx.27], cf. P, Is παροξύνω.
- (גו) : σῶμα [xxiii.35, I Ki, Ne].
- ריק : προφυλακή [xxvi.8], προμαχῶνας [iv.2], cf. περίτειχος [II Ki xxv.1].
- הגה : μέλος [ii.10], cf. Jb xxxvii.2 μελετή.
- המן : ἀφορμή [v.7, Ch, Je].
- I זמה : ἀσεβέω, ἀσεβεία [xvi.27,43,58], ἀνομία [xxiii.21,44, P].
- חירה II (חור) : διάγομαι διήγημα [xvii.1], cf. διήγησις for the noun [Hb].<sup>43</sup>
- (ישם) : ἀφανίζομαι [vi.6, xii.19], cf. the common rendering of שכם [Tw, La, Je].<sup>44</sup>
- משכול : ὁ ἀσθενῶν [xxi.20], cf. I Ki, II Ch, Je ✓ for ✓.<sup>45</sup>
- מצבה (pl.) : ὑπόστασις [xxvi.11], cf. I Sa, Na for the ✓.
- פאר : τὸ τρίχωμα [xxiv.17], αἶ κόμαι [xxiv.23], cf. κόμη [Le xix.27].
- הפארה : καύχησις [xvi.12 etc., I Ch xix.13, Pr

<sup>42</sup> The right notion is found at Is liii.7, Ps xxxii.19, Da LXX x.15.

<sup>43</sup> προβάλλω πρόβλημα [Ju xiv.12,13,16] is better.

<sup>44</sup> ἔρημόομαι [Ge xlvi.9] is better.

<sup>45</sup> σκάνδαλον [Le xix.14, I Ki, Ps] is better.

xvi.31].

(רדש) : ἀπόλλυμι [xxxii.12, Je, Is].

**(b) Renderings Reflecting a Notion Which is Sound Elsewhere.**

ררר : ἐκλέγω [xx.38], but correctly at I Ch xvi.41.

הגלה : κεφαλός [iii.1, 2, 3 (cf. ii.9), II Es, Ps], but cf. κεφαλή for הגלה [P, I Ch].

יניקה : ἀπαλότης [xvii.4], possibly by deduction from the sense of the participle "babe, suckling" [P, G].

יקר : τιμαί [xxii.25], but correctly in Es, Ps, Da LXX, Da TH.<sup>46</sup>

מרט : μαδάω [xxix.18], but correctly for the Ni. [Le xiii.40, 41].

הנד Ni. ptc. : πλανώμενος [xxxiv.4, 16], but correctly at Dt xxii.1.

ב (הפב) : ἐμφυσάω εἰς [xxxvii.9], but correctly at Ge ii.7.

**(c) Idiosyncratic Renderings.**

אלין : paraphrastic ἐλάτινος [xxvii.6], but δρός [Am ii.9, Za xi.2].<sup>47</sup>

היה : οὐαί [vii.26 bis], perhaps partly by reason of the sound, but τλαιπωρία [Is xlvii.11].

משך Ni. : μηκύνω [xii.25, 28], but χρονίζω [Is xiii.22].<sup>48</sup>

<sup>46</sup> ἔντιμον [Jb xxviii.10] is sound.

<sup>47</sup> Is it possible that this curious rendering by a word unique in the Greek Bible is influenced by ἰστός ἐλάτινος in Od. ii.424?

<sup>48</sup> The "unidiom" with μηκύνω reappears at Is xlv.14 for

עֲרֵנוֹן : ἐλάτη [xxx.8], but πλάτανος [Ge xxx.37].

It is remarkable how very rarely tradition and context are abandoned in favour of a truly independent philology, whether sound or unsound. Precisely how much original philology is present, however, is a question which cannot be answered without a clearer idea of the history of the Greek Bible as a whole.

#### (10) THE OUTRIGHT OMISSION OF RARE ITEMS.

Rare forms, rare meanings and rare combinations sometimes appear to provoke the desperate remedy of excision not only of the offending item but also of its accompanying phrase. This normally does not occur unless tradition, etymologizing and guesswork were of no avail, that is to say in the same kind of situation in which some more modern critics of *Ezekiel* have tended to excise. But in view of the fact that the translation sometimes omits better-attested items, with which, say, it can be shown to have had difficulty elsewhere, the argument from Septuagintal silence should be used with caution. The main cases are as follows:—

כֹּיב ἄπ. [xxx.5]; עֲרֵן, a proper name which stands alone only here [xxvii.23]; חֲאָנִים ἄπ. [xxiv.12] with its verb;<sup>49</sup> אָשָׁם "bear punishment" [vi.6], a somewhat harsh combination with the subject, and poorly rendered elsewhere; (כִּבְרָח) ἄπ. [xvii.21]; גְּדוּפָה ἄπ. [v.15];<sup>50</sup> הַמְלָה [i.24], wretchedly render-

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גֵּרָל Pi., for which it appears unsuitable.

<sup>49</sup> There may be a mechanical cause, however.

<sup>50</sup> Ps xliv.17, and passages in Ze, Is, might have offered a

ed at Je xi.16; II זרר Hi. [xxxiii.7] with its phrase, a form with which the translation is never quite at home; זרר [viii.2], correctly rendered λαμπρότης at Da TH xii.3; חר ᾗπ. [xxxiii.30] with its whole phrase; חרב ᾗπ. [xviii.7], חוקי-לב [ii.4] as part of a larger omission; I חלל Pi. ptc. ᾗπ. [xxviii.9]; ᾗπ. אל-חנם [vi.10]; חרש III חרש [xxx.3];<sup>51</sup> הגאיות כיוני [vii.16], a unique phrase; (יִנְקָה) [xvii.22];<sup>52</sup> יחר Hi. [vi.8, xxxix.28], an unparalleled intransitive construction; כון Pol. pass. [xxviii.13], a near-unique form;<sup>53</sup> ᾗπ. (מכליל) [xxvii.24]; כוס Pi. [xxii.21, xxxix.28] with its phrase;<sup>54</sup> כעס Hi. [viii.17] without an object; כעס-קרבן [xx.28], an unique phrase, with the rest of the clause; לעג [xxiii.32] which is never well rendered elsewhere; מוטה [xxxiv.27], never rightly rendered except at Je xxvii.2 etc.; ᾗπ. משעי [xvi.4]; נרה Hi. "banish" in a difficult form [iv.13]; נוה חמה Hi. A [v.13], an Ezekiel idiom never well rendered [xvi.42, xxi.22, xxiv.13]; נחם Hithp. [v.13], poorly rendered at Ge xxvii.42; עבות adj. [vi.13], uniquely with אלה;<sup>55</sup> II עהר Hi. ᾗπ. [xxxv.13] with its whole phrase; (עתר) ᾗπ. [viii.11];<sup>56</sup> III פרה [xiii.20], a near-unique form; קרה [xxvii.19]; קח ᾗπ. [xvii.5]; קט ᾗπ.

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hint.

<sup>51</sup> δρομός [II Ch xxvii.4] is good, but the rendering is wrong at Is xvii.9.

<sup>52</sup> There are sound renderings at Jb viii.16, xiv.7, xv.30, Ho xiv.7, Ps lxxx.12.

<sup>53</sup> κατεσθίνομαι [Ps xxxvii.23] is reasonable.

<sup>54</sup> ἐπισυνάγω [Ps cxlvii.2] is reasonable.

<sup>55</sup> The adjective is well rendered by δασύς [Le xxiii.40, Ne viii.15].

<sup>56</sup> The version certainly lends no support to a sense "vapour" [cf. H.S. Nyberg in *Le Monde Orientale* 14 (1920) pp. 202-3].

[xvi.47]; רקק adj. [xxiv.11]; ציצת [viii.3]; III צלל Hi. ᾄπ. [xxxix.3]; צפירה [vii.7,10] with its verb; שוב Po'ēl "entice" [xxxviii.4], poorly rendered at Is xlvi.10; שאת [xxv.6] with its phrase, a word which caused difficulty [xxv.15, xxxvi.5]; שגה "go astray" [xxxiv.6].

#### (11) CONTEXTUAL ERRORS.

Possibly the largest single influence upon the version apart from tradition was the feeling for context. Wise guesswork occurs, but so does gross distortion of the sense under the influence of an *idée fixe*. Especially with hard items, which had to be guessed, there tends to be a strong element of false etymology or crude misreading and of the insertion of biblical formulae giving a quite wrong sense. Once the translator has the wrong end of the stick, he may then proceed to take the bit between his teeth, treating even easy and familiar items, not to mention suffixes and other grammatical markers, with the utmost carelessness. Space forbids the listing of all the cases; the list given here could easily be enlarged.

##### (a) Unsuccessful Guesses.

אח : εὐγε εὐγε [vi.11].

אם...אם : misunderstood as a future condition [ii. 5,7,11], the Hebrew construction being uncommon.

אף כי "furthermore" : ἐὰν δὲ καί [xiv.21].

ואח "as regards" : παρά with accusative [xvi.22] as though "in addition to".

עוד-ואח : ἕως καὶ ταῦτα [xxiii.38]; ἕως τοῦτου

- [xx.27].
- גמרים : φύλακες [xxvii.11].
- ודרנה : διωκόμενοι [xxv.13].
- מניח : μύρα [xxvii.17].<sup>57</sup>
- חל אביב : μετέωρος καὶ περιήλθον [iii.15], probably with חלה and סבב in mind.<sup>58</sup>
- אבחה : εἰς σφάγια [xxi.20], cf. xxi.33 for לטבח, σφαγή for טבח [xxi.20].
- אבד : ἔκτασις [xvii.3].<sup>59</sup>
- אנה : παράταξις [xvii.21].
- איבת עולם : ἕως αἰῶνος [xxv.15]; the Hebrew syntax is hard.
- אלגביש : πετρόβολος [xiii.11,13].
- אמלה : διατίθημι with predicate [xvi.30]<sup>60</sup> for an unique form.
- אם : ἀρχαῖος [xxi.26] for an unique idiom.
- (מסדה) אפ. : ἀριθμός [xx.37].
- (אפיק) : πεδίον [xxi.12], cf. the common rendering of בקעה.
- אשם "sin" : μνησικακέω [xxv.12].<sup>61</sup>
- בגדי חפש : κτηνῶν ἐκλεκτῶν [xxvii.20].
- בדים : ποδήρης [ix.2,3,11], στολή [x.2,6,7].<sup>62</sup>
- כרך : βουλή [xxvii.9, cf. xxvii.27].

<sup>57</sup> Ju xi.33 might have hinted at a proper name. The un-Greek μύρα is literal at Ca iv.10,14, Am vi.6.

<sup>58</sup> Jo viii.28 χῶμα might have helped with חל.

<sup>59</sup> Ps lv.7, Is xl.31 hold the clue; a -πτέρυγος word had just been used up, on the other hand.

<sup>60</sup> Apparently a conscious echo of Ho xi.18 (for אתך איך).

<sup>61</sup> The near-unique phrase with the cognate noun is well rendered at Le v.19.

<sup>62</sup> With the addition of τὴν ἁγίαν at x.6,7, the latter makes a P formula.

- בחן : δεδικαίωται [xxi.18].
- מבחר : ἐκσεσαρκισμένα [xxiv.4], apparently as if the text were מבשר.
- (בלה) : ἐν τοῦτοις [xxiii.43].<sup>63</sup>
- בכות : εἴδωλα [xvi.16].
- בת-אשרים : οἴκοις ἀλσώδεις [xxvi.6], the adjective probably being intended to connote idolatry.
- כצע Pi. "defraud" : συντελέω [xxii.12] with cognate, cf. xxii.13.<sup>64</sup>
- לחבקע : ἔκρηγμα [xxx.16], cf. P, G, ✓ for ✓.
- כצע I Pi. : ἐπ' ἀρχῆς [xxi.24(2)], cf. P, G, for כראש.<sup>65</sup>
- כדיה : ἰσχυρός [xxxiv.20], in spite of a correct βρωμα [II Sa].
- כרוש : κέδρος [xxvii.5], probably "coffin" is meant, cf. ὑκοδομήθη; the word is never well rendered, πεύκινος [I Ki] being the nearest rendering.
- ברמים : ἐκλεκτούς [xxvii.24], cf. בדר [I Ch].
- גדר גדר Qal : ἀναστρέφομαι ὀρθῶς [xxii.30]; συνάγω ποίμνια [xiii.5], cf. עדר [P, G], רגר [Je xvii.11].<sup>66</sup>
- (גיה)/(גוח) Hi. : κερατίζω [xxxii.2], cf. P, G for נגג in spite of Jb xl.23 προσκρούω.
- גלה Hi. : ἐπιφαίνω with wrong cases [xxxix.28], cf. the rendering of the Qal at Ge

<sup>63</sup> Jo ix.5,44,45 might have been helpful.

<sup>64</sup> This wrong notion of the verb reappears at Pr i.19, Je vi.13.

<sup>65</sup> Jo xvii.15,18 have ἐκκαθαίρω.

<sup>66</sup> Hints of the right meaning of the two words are found [P, Ho, Am, La, Jb].



xxxv.7 and the construction there.

- גלל : διανόημα [xiv.3.4, cf. 4 a.f.], ἐνθύμημα [xiv.5 etc.]; μεγιστᾶνας [xxx.13], cf. Jn iii.7, Na iii.10 for גלל, i.e. 'brass hats' in a context with a military tone.
- גלל : σκολιότης [xvi.5], the unidiomatic moral tone being apparently derived from the use of the adjective in P, G.
- גדע Qal : ἀπωθοῦμαι [v.11] with an object supplied.
- מגדש inf. : ἀφανίσει [xxxvi.5].
- מגדש pl. : φόβω [xxvii.28].
- ראגה : ἐνδεία [iv.16, xii.19]; θλιψις [xii.18].
- רבק אל-חך Hi. : συνδέω [iii.26].
- רוד : καταλύων [xvi.8, xxiii.17, cf. 21].
- רוד : ὑποκαίω [xxiv.5] for the unique sense "pile up".
- מדררה : δαλός [xxiv.9].
- דיק : βελόσταςεις [xvii.17, xxi.27].
- דמה : ἐν μέσῳ [i.13] because of the harsh construction.
- דמה ἄπ. : πόσον τίνα [xxvii.32] with half the word omitted.
- מדררה : φάραγξ [xxxviii.20], cf. Is x.29 for מערבה.
- (הבני) ἄπ. : τὰ εἰσαγόμενα [xxvii.15].
- דד ἄπ. : μετὰ ὀδίνων [vii.7], probably with some thought of דרה.
- דמה ἄπ. : μετὰ θορύβου [vii.11].
- (דמה) : ἀποκτείνω [vii.16] for an unique participial form.
- (הצן) ἄπ. : ἀπὸ βορρᾶ [xxiii.24].

- II **הר** Hi. : προαπαγγέλλω [xxxiii.9]; φυλάσσομαι [xxxiii.8]; σημαίνω [xxxiii.3].
- הרבה** : αἰδοῖτον [xxiii.29 bis].
- (**הרר**) pl. : κοιτών [viii.12] in spite of good renderings at II Sa xiii.10, I Ki xx.30, J1 ii.16.
- הרר** ἄπ : ἐξίστημι [xxi.19] with the wrong case.
- הרר** : τὰ πρὸς χάριν [xii.24] for an unusual figurative sense. Cf. p. 96.
- הרר** Qal : προσκαίωμα [xxiv.11], an unique form rendered by an unformulaic word.
- הרר** : imagination is given free rein [xxxix.11].
- הרר** : ἐν δυναστείᾳ [xxii.25] making a formula out of a hard adverbial use.
- הרר** Pu. ptc. : ἐζωγραφημένος [xxiii.14].
- הרר** לדגעים : φοβέομαι τὴν ἀπώλειαν [xxvi.16], προσδέχομαι τὴν πτώσιν [xxxii.10].
- הרר** (לבש) : ἔκστασις with cognate verb [xxvi.16].
- הרר** Ni. : a very weak translation [xv.4,5, cf. the omission with the subject at xxiv.10].
- הרר** שבוליים : τιάραι βαπταί [xxiii.15].<sup>67</sup>
- הרר** Pu. : βρέχομαι [xxii.24], cf. P, G for **הרר**.
- הרר** adj. : ῥαπτός [xvi.16].<sup>68</sup>
- הרר** צנח : τὰ προανατέλλοντα [xvii.9].
- הרר** : ἔκλυσις [xxiii.33], the word being not frequent and the parallel strange.
- (**הרר**) Pi. : ἄρχομαι [xiii.6], cf. **הרר** Hi.

<sup>67</sup> The participle might have been guessed from Ex xxvi.13 συγκαλύπτω.

<sup>68</sup> This puzzling rendering could be eliminated if we read v for π, arriving at the sound rendering of Ge xxx.35.

- מוֹסֵר : στενακτή [v.15] in a hard context.
- יער Ho. : ἐξεγείρομαι [xxi.21], cf. ✓ער, but Je xxiv.1 has κεῖμαι.
- אצ Ho. : ἐξέρχομαι [xxxviii.8], ἐξάγω [xiv.22].
- שב Ni. : καταλύομαι [xxvi.17].<sup>69</sup>
- (כהה) Hi. ἄπ. : διαστρέφω [xiii.22] with a following omission.
- כהה Pi. : ἐκψύχω [xxi.12], in spite of Le xiii.6, 56 ἀμαυρός εἶναι.
- ל כלל I : περιτίθημι [xxvii.4, cf. 3].
- ל כלל I : θώρακας [xxxviii.4].
- כל Ni. : ἐκκλίνω [xvi.27] making a formula.
- מסה : περιβόλαια [xxvii.7] with some etymologizing.
- סע Qal : μεριμνάω [xvi.42] with a probable verbal echo of II Sa vii.10.
- (כפן) ἄπ. : a wild guess [xvii.7], but cf. Na i.10, Je xlvi.14 for the Greek verb.
- ל כלל Ni. : κακώ [xxxiii.12] with wrong subject, for עשׂר Hi. at Is 1.9.
- Hi. : ἀτεκνώνω [xxxvi.14], cf. the omission at xxxvi.15. The Greek is a P word found elsewhere, and normal for ל כלל Pi.<sup>70</sup>
- ל כלל : βάσανος [iii.20 etc.], κόλασις [xiv.3 etc.] in spite of some sound renderings [cf. note 45].
- לע : καταπάτημα [xxxvi.4].
- לע Hithp. : ἐξαστράπτω [i.4], in spite of Ex ix.24 φλογίζω.

<sup>69</sup> This may be a mindless formula rather than a guess: cf. καταλύω for the Qal [Nu xxv.1].

<sup>70</sup> τροπώ [II Ch xxv.8 bis, cf. σκῶλον xxviii.23] is good.

- קבלי : λόγχοι [xxvi.9].  
 ממכר : ὁ πωλῶν [vii.13], cf. P, G for the Qal, but P, Ne πρᾶσις.  
 מלל : κωπηλάτης [xxvii.9, 27], ἐπιβάτης [xxvii.29], in spite of Jn i.5 ναυτικοί.  
 מער Hi. : συγκλάω [xxix.7].  
 (מער) Pu. : πίπτω [xxiii.3].  
 מעיל : μίτρα [xxvi.16] for a near-unique plural; but II Sa xiii.18 has χιτῶν.  
 מצה Qal : τὰς ἑορτάς [xxiii.34] making a formulaic pair of words; Is li.17 renders the form correctly.  
 (מרח) : θυμῶν [xxi.14], ἕτοιμος εἶναι [xxi.16], σπάομαι [xxi.33].  
 מרח Qal : κοιμάομαι [xxxii.20], cf. P, G for ✓ שכב.  
 II משהל Pi. : great confusion [xxi.5] leading to further errors.  
 מגפה : παράταξις [xxiv.16], making an "unidiom" which stands for various military terms [P, Ju, Ki]; P, I Ch have πληγή.  
 מהל אל : παρακαλέω with accusative [xxiv.23], cf. P, G for ✓ מהל.  
 מוצח : ὄνυχες [xvii.3, 7].  
 מהל אה : μετὰ σπουδῆς [vii.11].  
 מהל Pi. : παροργίσει [xvi.54] with a wrong object.  
 מהל Hi. : ἐπιβλέπω [xxi.2, 7].  
 משהל : καταβάλλω [xxix.5]; there may be some confusion with משהל [Ho, Na].  
 משהל : στακτή [xxvii.16].  
 משהל : σπινθηρ [i.7].  
 I (משהל) אה. : ἀποθήκη [xxviii.13].

- נשא יר** : a fanciful rendering [xx.5,6] with resultant errors.
- משאה** : ἀφορισμός [xx.40], perhaps picked up from xx.31.
- נשק** Hi. : πτερύσσομαι [iii.13, cf. the omission at i.23].
- נחש** Ho. : κατακλάομαι [xix.12].
- סוגה** ἄπ. : κημός [xviii.9].
- (סחר) Pi.** ἄπ. : λικμάω [xxvi.4].
- סי (ל)** : vague paraphrase [xxii.18 bis, 19].
- מלן** : ἐπισυνίστημι [ii.6].
- סמך** : ἀφαιρέομαι [xxiv.2].
- סערה** : ἐξάίρω ptc. [i.4, xiii.11,13], in spite of (πνεῦμα) καταγίδος [Ps].
- (סרה)** : ἀσθενέω [xvii.6].
- סותם** : σοφοί [xxviii.3], in spite of Ps li.8 τὰ κρύφια.
- עבות** adj. : κατάσκιος [xx.28].
- עבר בנים באש** Hi. : διαπορεύεσθαι [xx.26]; ἐν τοῖς ἀφορισμοῖς [xx.31].
- עבח** : νεφέλαι [xxx.3,10,14].
- (עגב)** : ψεῦδος [xxxiii.31], cf. Ps, Jb, Is for **כזב, אכזב**; ψαλτήριον [xxxiii.32].
- I עוה** ἄπ. : ἀδικία [x.32].
- עון חיה** : ὀφθαλμός ζωῆς [vii.13], cf. the normal rendering of **עין**.
- (עזבון)** : μισθός [xxvii.27,33].
- עטה I שפם** : παρακαλέομαι with the noun misread [xxiv.17,22], in spite of περιβάλλω [Le xiii.45] and μύσταξ [II Sa xix.25].
- עלטה (ב)** : κεκρυμμένος [xii.6,7,12], cf. Jb, La for

עלם Hi.

II (עמם) : παιδεύω [xxviii.3]; τοιαῦται [xxx.8],  
but La iv.1 ἀμαυρόομαι for the Ho.

ע "when" : νῦν [xxvii.34].

(עדוגה) מן/על : σὺν τῷ βώλῳ [xvii.7,10].

II עשה : utter confusion [xxiii.21].

משוש : ἔπαρσις [xxiv.25], cf. √נשא [Ps, Ez],  
√שאה [II Ki, La], חפארה [2a xii.7].

פארה : στέλεχος [xxx.12,13]; ἀναδενδράς  
[xvii.6], cf. Ps lxxx.10 for this  
somewhat technical word.

פגול : ἕωλος [iv.14], missing the ceremonial  
connotation caught at Le xix.7, Is  
lxv.8.

פלגש : Χαλδαῖοι with suffix omitted [xxiii.20]  
for an unique masculine sense.

I (פלל) Pi. : φθείρω [xvi.52], as if כלל were read, in  
spite of Ps cvi.30.

פלצוח : θάμβος [vii.18].

פלש Hithp. : ὑποστρώννυμαι [xxvii.30], in spite of  
καταπάσσομαι [Mi, Je]. This hardly sup-  
ports a sense "sprinkle" for the Hebrew.

(פרוה) pl. : ἀπερριμμένη [xxxviii.11], cf. Ps cxli.7  
for פור Ni.

III פרע : διαστέλλω [xxiv.14], cf. Ho xiii.5 for  
פרא Hi., the absolute use being unique.

פרץ pl. : στερέωμα [xiii.5] with a wrong verb,  
making a sentence reminiscent of Ge  
i.15; the plural noun is not badly  
rendered at Am ix.11 by τὰ πεπτωκότα.

פריץ pl. : ἀφυλακτῶς [vii.22].

(פרק) Hithp. : ἐκδικέομαι [xix.12].

- שׁר Ni. : διασπείρω [xvii.21].
- מפתח : τὸ αἴθριον [ix.3,x.4].
- צבי : ἐκλεκτήν (γῆν) [xxv.9], cf. vii.20, and the Greek at Za vii.14, Je iii.19.
- I צור Po'el : compounds of στρέφω [xiii.18 bis, 20 bis].
- I מצודה : συστροφή [xiii.21] as if from I צור in spite of Ps lxvi.11 παγίς.
- (קינן) denom. Po'el : θρήνημα [xxvii.32], a rare word for the synonym which was thought to be needed here after the mistranslation of בנייהם.
- קלל adj. "burnished" : ἐλαφραί etc. [i.7] in spite of Da x.6 ἐξαστράπτων.
- (קלס) Pi. : συνάγω [xvi.31].
- קנה : τροχίας [xxvii.19], in spite of Ca iv.14 κάλαμος.
- (סוק) Po'el ἄπ. : σαπέομαι [xvii.9].
- קפדה ἄπ. : ἐξιλασμός [vii.25], cf. P for כפרים.
- (קרם) : ἀναβαίνω [xxxvii.8], cf. קום.
- (קרש) : τὰ ἱερά [xxvii.6].
- קשקשת : πτέρυξ [xxix.4].
- רנה ἄπ. : βάσανος [xii.18], a word used elsewhere in our text.
- רמה : πορνεία [xvi.25] in spite of I Sa xxii.6 βουδός; the translator concentrates on the idea of literal harlotry in this passage, missing the intertwined thread of idolatry.
- (רזה) adj. : ἀσθενής [xxxiv.20], cf. Nu, Jb for רפה.
- רכבה ἄπ. : ἄρματα [xxvii.20] with etymologizing.
- רכל ptc. : τετειχισμένην [xvii.4] after πόλιν, making a formula.

- רכיל : ληστής [xxii.9], making a formula with ἄνδρες.
- (רעם) denom. : δακρύω [xxvii.35], the unique Qal perfect being wrongly connected with דמעה.
- רעש : ὀδύνη [xii.18] for an unique psychological reference.
- (רצח) : βοή [xxi.27].
- (רקק) Hi. : ἐλαττόομαι [xxiv.10] for an unique form.
- מרקה : ζωμός [xxiv.10], cf. Ju vi.19,20 for מרק.
- רקמה : ἦγημα [xvii.3] for an unique reference to plumage. May this oddity originate with Ps lxviii.27 ἡγεμόνες for דגמה אפ., a rendering clearly guessed from context?
- (רתח) Pi. : ζέω with wrong syntax [xxiv.5].
- (רתח) אפ. : ἔξεσε [xxiv.5].
- (צחר) אפ. : ἐκ Μιλήτου [xxvii.18]; Milesian woollens were world-famous.
- (בצים) : σπεύδοντες [xxx.9] as if בצים were read.
- צמרה : ἐπίλεκτα [xvii.3,22]; ἀρχή [xxxii.3,10,14].
- (קבל) : possibly ἀπέναντί σου [xxvi.9].
- ב קוט Ni. : κόπτομαι [vi.9, xx.43]; προσοχθίζομαι κατά [xxxvi.31].
- נשיש (א) : (εἰς) παράλυσιν [xxi.15].
- משכית : κρυπτός adj. [viii.12] in spite of hints at Le xxvi.1, Nu xxxiii.52.
- שער שער : ἐξίστημι ἐκστάσει [xxvii.35, xxxii.10] in spite of φρίττω at Je ii.12 for the verb.
- על שפח לשון : ἀλάλημα γλώσση [xxxvi.3] as though לשון were in apposition to the subject; the



phrase is unique.

II (שאף) : μισέομαι [xxxvi.3] in spite of καταπατέω [Ps].

שכר Ni. : ὀμόμοκα [vi.9] for a very difficult use.  
 שוב Hi. "give in exchange" : ἀντιδίδωμι [xxvii.15], a plausible commercial term chosen for an unique sense.

שואט/שואט : περιέχω [xvi.57].

שואט : ἐπιχαίροντες [xxv.15] with confusion; ἀτιμάσαντες [xxxvi.5].

שכר : αἰχμαλωσία [xxxii.9] for what appears to be an odd figurative use.

שחר : φορτίζω [xvi.33].

שחת מן Hi. declar. : ὑπερκεῖμαι with object [xvi.47], an "unidiom" which stands for עלה על at Pr xxxi.29.<sup>71</sup>

שלהבת : ἡ ἐξαρθεῖσα [xxi.3] as though ש were read as a relative; Ca viii.6 has φλόγες, but this noun had just been used up.

שלו בה : ἀνεκρούοντο [xxiii.42] in spite of correct renderings of the ✓ at xvi.49 [Za, Ps].

שלוש : τρισῶς [xvi.30], cf. τρισσός for שלוש [xxiii.23, I Ki].

שמים Hi. : στυγνάζω [xxxii.10], cf. the reasonable use at xxvi.16 etc. for the Qal.

כשנה : δηλαῖστός [v.15, xxxiii.28] in spite of ὄλεθρος [vi.14, cf. Is xv.6].

I שכיר : διὰ παντός [iii.9], cf. P, G for תמיד.

שקט Hi. : σπαταλάω [xvi.49].

(שר) : μαστούς for the nominative [xvi.7], cf. P, G for שר.

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There is a pretty irony in this allusion.

(שׁל) : πιάνω [xvii.8,10].

ךך : τὰ ταμειῖα [xxviii.16] for the rare non-prepositional use; cf. the confusion at xv.4.

כך Ni. : κατορθόω [xviii.29 *ter*], cf. I Ch. Ps, Pr for כן Ni.

ללל אפ. : κρεμάσω αὐτόν [xvii.22], cf. P, G for אלל, הלל.

(נסם) Hi. : τακέομαι [xxiv.10] for an unique use.

אל תעך : μὴ καταλύσης [xxi.35].

II תפל : πίπτω future [xiii.10,11,14,15, xxii.28].

ךך : θησαυρός [xxviii.13] for an unique sense, cf. xxviii.4.

#### (b) The Mistranslation of Familiar Items.

This phenomenon is normally easy to recognise. As with Unsuccessful Guesses, there is an underlying tendency to a formulaic result; but the element of crude assimilation to another form is not prominent, since the translator is here more careless than perplexed, and sits loose to the letter of the text. It is the very frequent features which are most subject to this kind of mistranslation, and for this reason to give all the examples would be impossible. Aspect and suffixation, for example, go awry in many passages because of prejudice; different parts of the verb are confused with a fine disdain, and tenses and persons altered to fit the context; number in the third person of verbs is chronically mistreated, on the assumption that the Hebrew verb is indefinite. Prepositions, conjunctions and relative adverbs are much mistreated, and in passages where the Hebrew is quite straightforward; and

this consideration should give us pause when we find congenial renderings in places where corruption seems likely. Under the influence of context some highly imaginative renderings arose, resulting in a blurring of the sense in places:-

- כיום : ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας [xx.5, xxviii.13].
- הנה (ו) : ἅμα τῷ [xxiii.46].
- להם : τῷ Δαυιδ [xxxiv.25].
- אדם : ἄνθρωποι [xxvii.16].
- ואכרך : καὶ ἤγαγέ σε [xxviii.16], the passage being construed of rescue.
- אדם : νεκρός [xxxii.18].
- אלמנה : τῷ θράσει [xix.7].
- אפי : ἐγώ [vii.3] with resultant wrong syntax.
- ארך : πλῆθος [xxxi.7].
- כרים : ἐκλεκτά [xix.14].
- בני : ἐξουδένει [xxi.5].
- בצע : μιάσματα [xxxiii.31].
- בצור : ἐν μέσῳ with a wrong suffix [xxi.25].
- כרכרה : ἐν τάχει [xxix.5], a P phrase with verbs of destroying.
- דרך : ἡμέραι [xxviii.15].
- הלך Hi. : γεννάω [xxxvi.12].
- הלך Hithp. : συστρέφομαι [i.13] wrongly attached to the λάμπαιδες.
- הרג הרג : σπάω μάχαιραν [xxvi.15].
- חין : ράβδος [xxi.26].
- חצר : ὁδός [ix.7].
- (טול) Hi. : πίμπλημι [xxxii.4] with wrong syntax.
- ידע : νέμω [xix.7].

- יִצְאָ Hi. : συνάγω [xxxviii.4]; but cf. II Sa x.16, where the context is similarly military.
- יָרַךְ : τὴν χεῖρά σου [xxi.17], cf. the Greek at La ii.15.
- כִּזַּב Pi. : ἀποφθέγγομαι [xiii.19], cf. Ps, Mi of prophecy.
- כָּל : τῆς φωνῆς [xxxv.12], where dictation is strongly suggested as a secondary factor.
- כָּרַח Pu. : δέω [xvi.4].
- מִלְאכָה constr. : ἐνέπλησας [xxviii.13].<sup>72</sup>
- מִשָּׂא : ἀφηγούμενος [xii.10].
- עָרַךְ : καιρός [xxii.4, 30].<sup>73</sup>
- עֵשׂוּ : πλῆθος [xxxix.4].
- עֲנִי : ἀδικία [xviii.17].
- עֲרַלִּים : αἰῶνος [xxxii.27], τραυματιῶν [xxxii.29].
- אֲנַשְׁךָ : ἡμαρτες [xxxv.6].
- פָּקַד Ni. : ἐτοιμάζομαι [xxxviii.8] with the wrong person.
- פָּרַץ : ὀλοσχερῶς [xxii.30].
- צָדִיק : ἄδικος [xxi.8, 9] in a judgement passage.
- קֶשֶׁר : ἥς [xxii.25].
- רָאשׁ : πτέρυξ [i.22].
- רִבֵּץ : γίγνομαι [xix.2].
- I רָדַח : εἶναι πλείονας [xxix.15].
- רָחַח : θυμός [xxxix.29].
- צָפַר : θηρίον [xvii.23] with an extra καί to

<sup>72</sup> Dictation must have caused the error at v.6.

<sup>73</sup> If this be correct philology at xxii.4 is it not odd that the sense which results is so weak?

make a formula.

קבץ Ni. : περιστέλλω [xxix.5], apparently because of the sense "bury".

שדה : ἡγούμενος [xxi.2].

שים על : εὐφραίνομαι ἐν [xxiii.41], an "unidiom" literal at Dt xxvi.11.

שבר Ni. ptc. : τεταμένος [xxx.22], of a βραχίον.

שוב Hi. : κατοικίζω [xxix.14].

(שבל) Pi. : τιμωρέομαι [v.17, xiv.15].

שם : ὀνομαστόν [xxxix.11], cf. the Greek phrase at Is lvi.5.

שמד Hi. : φυλάσσω [xxxiv.16].

שמם : ἀτιμάζομαι [xxxvi.3].

שפת : πλαגיάζω [xiv.5].

### (c) Misconceived Additions and Omissions.

Parallel with the mistranslations of (b) above are many additions and omissions, normally of a trivial kind, which tidy or elucidate the text in the direction of the translator's notion of the meaning. The mental process is not unlike that which leads to scribal error, and indeed at times the line between careless mistranslation of this kind and inner-Greek corruption is hard to draw:--

καί is very frequently added where there is asyndeton, but normally without affecting the division of the sense or causing any important rewriting. Where the addition is mistaken it is still a venial error in the light of the normal manner of our text. The addition of the copula, too, is frequent everywhere, though it is wrong at xvi.57, xxvi.7, and the wrong tense is put at xi.23, xvii.12. The slightly heavy

ἐγένετο at iii.14 is similar. Pronouns in oblique cases are added against the text [xvi.5, xx.20,21,26, xxi.16, xxvii.28,35, xxviii.23, xxxix.3].

Demonstratives are twice dropped through misinterpretation [xii.10, xxxiii.24]: so is כ [xviii.19,20, xxvii.27, xxxii.29]. א occasionally goes unrepresented, and in a handful of cases this makes a different division of the sense. Suffixes disappear when their reference is not understood [i.27, vi.14, xiii.13, xvi.33, xvii.4,23, xviii.17, xx.16, xxxi.4, xxxii.3,10,26,29, xxxviii.7].

Other additions of this kind are εὶ καὶ at vii.10, ὁμοίᾳ σοι [xvi.32], and αὶ γυναικας by misinterpretation of the verb ending at xxx.17. Omissions are common, and include וכנפיהם [i.8], this subject having been disposed of, as the translator supposes; τοῖς τέσσαρα [i.15] because FOUR wheels, not sixteen, are the total in his view; זכנים [ix.6] with further mistranslation because of a wrong connection with the preceding passage about idolatry; לכרוכים, הכרוב [x.7] on the assumption that the אש is still the subject; כ [xii.4] by literal-mindedness; שקר [xiii.22]; לו יהי [xvi.15]; לו [xvi.20] because the *double entendre* was not understood, cf. σου below; יעשה וחי [xviii.24] because the following clause was seen as the apodosis; והשכתי את־ידי [xx.22] because the whole passage is thought to deal with judgement, not mercy; תשלחנה [xxiii.40] as otiose in view of the next clause; פדר [xxvii.14] to make a common formulaic pair; אשר עשו לי [xxix.20] because it was thought to be tautologous, being misunderstood; לא [xxxii.27] because it seems more suitable for fearsome ones to join the גבורים; חיי יהיה [xxxiii.13] poss-

ibly through an obsession with judgement upon the δίκαιος; נרכה [xxxiv.26] after a verb which was not understood as governing two objects; and numerous trivial cases which result from other mistranslations.

(d) False Parallels.

Closely allied with the almost editorial activity of (c) above is the tendency to find non-existent parallelism. It gives rise to errors: at iv.7, where στερεώ is not merely a natural verb in context, but makes a parallel with the transitive ἐτοιμάζω; at xxviii.12 the omission of כלא חכמה makes a neat pair; at xxx.4 the infinitive is mistranslated with a tidy result; at xxxi.11 an easy phrase with שגרה Pi. is dropped; at xxxii.3 small omissions occur; and at xxxii.30 the participle is dropped.

(e) False Contrasts.

Certain curiously unhappy renderings, often in close proximity to correct ones, are best explained by a wrong assumption of variety in the subject-matter. Thus (חכה) becomes τέμενος at vi.4,6; רטה becomes ἄκθεμα at xvi.24, where MT has a parallel, and βάσις at xvi.31,39 after πορνείον; ערה becomes κακία [xvi.37]; חוטה becomes the imitative ὄρμοι at xxvii.11 (2); סין becomes Συήνη at xxx.16; נ is Μέμφις at xxx.15; חרם becomes ἄγκιστρον [xxxii.3] after δίκτυα; רב becomes πληθος at xxxii.6 after αἷμα; ניה becomes τροφή at xxxiv.14 after μάνδρα; ניה is τὸ γαι [xxxix.11,15] after the punning guess τὸ πολυανδρεῖον.

## (12) DRASTIC CONFUSION OF ROOTS.

False etymology and unsuccessful guesswork of the kinds noted above are at least understandable, in the work of a weak student pressed for time, and faced by what probably amounted to unseen translation without reference works. Without the tradition to help him, the translator would probably have resorted to these methods more often. It is, therefore, not surprising that there are some much worse attempts, where, whether by misreading, mishearing, or a desperate need to connect the root somehow with something more familiar, quite implausible identifications are made. That modern criticism has sometimes been driven to similar expedients should not blind us to the probably unscientific nature of the procedure in our text:—

(אנח) : אנה [xxiv.17, xxvi.15], cf. ix.4 etc.

גלול : עלילה [passim, I Ki], cf. xx.43 etc.

חמר : ✓חרר [xxiii.6, 12, 23, cf. J1 iv.5 for מחמר], cf. xxiii.7, xxiv.5.

השך : חשך [xxx.18], cf. Am, Je.

ἀπ. כרכר : as if כרכר, which is non-existent [xxvii.16], in spite of Is liv.12 ἄπιστος.

מרר : מרר [ii.3 bis], cf. Dt xxxii.16, probably the earliest occurrence of the Greek verb.

נטש : רטש [xxxi.12], cf. Ho, Na; נטה [xxxii.4], cf. P, G passim.

סוד : ✓יסר [xiii.9], cf. P, G.

עדי : עיר [xvi.7], cf. P, G passim.



- עלילה : עלה ✓ [xiv.22,23, xxiv.14]; גלול  
[xxxvi.17], cf. P, II Ki, Ez.
- עלף Pu. : עשף [xxxi.15], cf. La.
- III (פרח) : זרה [xiii.20 (2)], cf. vi.8.
- נחתי צבי : יצב Hithp. [xxvi.20], cf. Nu xxii.22.<sup>74</sup>
- (צרב) Ni. ὄπ. : צרף [xxi.3], cf. P, G.
- שבת Hi. : שוב Hi. [vii.24, xii.23, xvi.41,  
xxiii.27, xxxiv.10, Ho ii.13], cf. P, G  
passim.
- תכנית : תבנית [xxviii.12], cf. P, Ps.

It is impossible to say whether the translator's text may sometimes have been what he appears to have read.

#### (13) CARELESS OMISSIONS.

Many omissions are best described as mechanical, that is to say that they are caused by the kind of mental lapse which causes haplography in manuscripts. In fact inner-Greek haplography would account for some of these, and frequently some part of the Greek manuscript tradition will supply the lacuna; similarly some, but not all, of the surplus Hebrew might be a result of inner-Hebrew dittography. Whole lines are omitted by homoioteleuton and homoiarchon, for instance at i.9,14 (possibly through a misread ביק), 24,25,27, ii.2, vi.5, vii.5 ראה...באה, vii.13 ישוב...רעור, vii.14 המונה...כי, vii.19 with misreading, viii.7,18, x.9, xvi.6, xx.26, xxi.28, xxiv.9 [cf. 6 above], 13 with misreading, xxvi.17,18, xxx.13, xxxii.25 (a major omission), xxxiii.25-27 (a major omission), xxxv.6,15,

<sup>74</sup> The version is never happy with צבי. The translator almost certainly read our text here.

xxxvi.18, xxxvii.25,26, xxxviii.4, xxxix.28. Shorter items are omitted: ויהי [iii.16], הרשע [iii.18], ולחרפה [v.14], באף ובחמה [v.15], הרעים [v.16], ונשבתו [vi.6], אשר [vi.9], כל [vi.13], באה הצפירה [vii.7], הפנימית [viii.3], בקיר [viii.8],<sup>75</sup> ויאמר [x.2], מאצלם [x.16], ארבעה [x.21], אחיך [xi.15], וגלה [xii.3], לעיניהם [xii.4], כלי [xii.7], הנבלים [xiii.3], ויפל [xiii.11], חוץ [xiii.16], לפדחתו [xiii.20], רבר [xiv.9], ושפחה רם [xvi.38], חיבש [xvii.9], רבות [xvii.17], מאלה [xviii.10], עליהם [xviii.26], צמא [xix.13], הכרית [xx.38], כרא [xxi.24], ביד [xxiii.28], סוכאים ἄπ. [xxiii.42], את-שם [xxiv.2], האנים הלאה [xxiv.6], לנתחיה [xxiv.3], שפת [xxv.4], ויאמר [xxv.9], לנן [xxv.19], ויאמר [xxvi.21], רבים [xxvii.16], וירן [xxvii.19], וירקמה [xxvii.24], מיר מחלליה [xxvii.33], ושלחתי-בה [xxviii.9], מיר מחלליה [xxviii.23], ענין, חדיה שפלה [xxix.15], שממה [xxix.12], מלך מצרים [xxix.3], הנפלים בחב [xxx.9], מלפני [xxx.3], וקרוב יום [xxxii.28], ואתה בן-אדם [xxxii.31], כל...ו [xxxii.31], רשע [xxxiii.8], ואתם [xxxiv.23], הוא ידעה אתם [xxxiv.31], עמי [xxxiv.30], את-הדריו [xxxiv.31], אדם [xxxiv.5], בעת אידם [xxxv.8], ואתה [xxxvii.2], עמי [xxxvii.12], לאמר [xxxvii.18], פשע [xxxvii.23], גדול [xxxix.13], הנכאים [xxxix.17], את-העבדים [xxxix.14].

#### (14) CONSEQUENTIAL ERRORS.

That error breeds error has already been seen in certain examples. Many consequential errors are quite inevitable once the initial divergence has occurred; but the cumulative effect

<sup>75</sup> Not both occurrences can have been dropped, for the unliteral ἐπ' αὐτοῦ at 10 below would then have no referent.

may be to lead the translator very far from the letter of his text. The method of translation seems normally to be linear, that is that a hard word will be guessed from what goes before, or at the most what follows very closely, and an error at this stage will infect the rendering of easy and potentially helpful items later on. Individual words and idioms go awry in this way as follows:-

- אֵל : ἐν μέσῳ [ii.6].
- אֵם-לֵא : ἐπί with accusative [xxxvi.7].
- לֵאשֶׁר : εὐθύς [xxiii.40].
- כּ : διότι [vii.9].
- נָף צִרִי : διαχυθήσεται [xxx.16], a guess helped by מִמֶּנּוּ, but springing from the wrong ἔκρηγμα above.
- רַעִיד : κακίας σου [xxii.12].
- בָּקָע : ἐπικρατέω [xxix.7] after the wrong ὄτι, and leading in turn to a wrong but natural χεῖρ as subject.
- גֹּיִם : τῆς ζωῆς [xxxi.17] because of the wrong ἀπώλοντο.
- הָיוּ בָרְבִיבִים : συνανεφύροντο [xxii.6], the idea of debauchery being deduced from a mistranslation.
- חָרַל : πτοέομαι [ii.5,7], ἐνδίδωμι [iii.11] making the verbs complementary because the construction was not caught.
- כִּיּוֹם : ἀφ' ἡμέρας [xxxii.10].
- מִשִּׁיב נֶגֶן : εὐαρμοστός [xxxiii.32].
- סָן : δόξα [xxvii.7] because the ship metaphor had already been lost.

עבר : ἔξαίρετα [xx.39] making a biblical common-place.

העלה : σὺςτεμα [xxxi.4] because the wrong subject is assumed.

(רמות) ἄτ. : ἄμῳ [xxxii.5] because the tree reference had already been lost.

More serious errors are the following:-

At i.7 a whole noun clause is squeezed out of קלל to parallel the wrong περὶ αὐτοῖς above; at i.18 καὶ εἶδον αὐτὰ results from wrong division; at ii.3 the omission of פשע has a similar cause; at ii.5 εἶ σύ derives from the misunderstanding in an optimistic sense of the whole verse; at iii.6 the wrong construction results from the misunderstood אב-לא; at v.16 two clauses are dropped because in καὶ ἔσονται the wrong subject is attributed to אשר; at vi.6 the last phrase is dropped because the phrase before is misconstrued; at vi.9 אשר is omitted, and there are other errors, as a result of the dropping of the hard והוחרתי above; at vi.10 rewriting results from the omission of the unique לא אל-חנם; at vi.14 אב and other errors result from the wrong abstract nouns above; at vii.10 the wrong condition arises from the omission; at vii.14 the omission of two clauses results from the wrong imperatives; at vii.16 ἀποκτενεῖσθε is at least partly a result of the omission before it; at viii.6,13 the adjective is made comparative as though ער were not temporal; at viii.11 the whole drift is wrong, largely because the circumstantial clause was not caught; at ix.7 mistranslation and omission of the adverbial בעיר result from ἐκπορευόμενοι (cf. the omitted verb); at x.18 נפתן is dropped to make a natural idea; at xii.10-12

major confusion results from ὁ ἀφηγούμενος; at xii.25,27 because of the wrong μηκύνω the whole context is askew, prophecy unfulfilled being turned into longwinded prophecy; at xiii.13 ἐπάξω is added because of the initial wrong accusative; at xiv.10 rewriting results from an initial literal κατά; at xvi.23 לך אן אן is dropped through wrong division; at xvi.29 τὰς διαθήκας and the omission result from Χαλδαίων; at xvi.31 אָל is dropped because of the wrong συνάγουσα; at xx.13 πορεύεσθε καί is added because of error just before; at xx.44 there are additions because of a misconstrued לָמַעַן שָׁמַי, and errors ensue; at xxiii.32 wrong sense and syntax result from the dropping of a hard phrase; at xxiv.4 מָלֵא is dropped through mistranslation; at xxiv.13 mistranslation results from ἐκλίπη above, for the translator sees the punishment as a matter of remaining dirty for ever; at xxiv.17 הַשִּׁים is omitted because of wrong division; at xxiv.18 there is gross mistranslation partly because of the vague τὰ ἐπιθυμήματα at 16 above; at xxvi.7 the addition of ἐστί, and the genitives, result from the wrong nominative; at xxvi.9 ἀπέναντί σου is added because of wrong division; at xxvi.16 the added adverbial phrase derives from μίτρας; at xxvi.17 ἡ δοῦσα and the wrong suffix result from an omission; at xxvii.7 καὶ περιβαλεῖν σε is added because of the phrase before; at xxvii.24 בְּמַרְכְּלֶיךָ is omitted because of the previous accusatives; at xxvii.25 ἐν αὐτοῖς results from wrong division; at xxviii.14 omissions result from the mistake over אָא; at xxviii.24 ἔσονται is written because the nouns are wrongly viewed as a complement; at xxx.13 the omission and the plurals result from the fact that

a parallel is wrongly supplied from below; at xxx.16 δια-  
 χυθήσεται ὕδατα arises from ἔκρηγμα; at xxxi.4 ἤγαγε derives  
 from the misunderstood ΠΝ; at xxxi.15 יָנַס is dropped because  
 the verb is not understood; at xxxi.17 ἀπώλοντο is added after  
 the wrong participle, for the translator is not expecting a  
 positive idea here; at xxxi.18 κατάβηθι results from the  
 earlier loss of the tree reference; at xxxii.19 there is a  
 large omission because the singular reference had been obscur-  
 ed above; at xxxii.20 errors result from הָרַח above in 18 not  
 being given due weight; at xxxii.25-26 the misplaced ἐκεῖ and  
 other errors derive from wrong division; at xxxiv.14 סָרַח is  
 dropped because an object has been supplied; at xxxv.8 omiss-  
 ion and mistranslation result from an awkward construction  
 which was not caught; at xxxvii.13 omissions result from a  
 wrong accusative; at xxxviii.4 שָׁפַח and סָלַח disappear because  
 the nouns just before are mistranslated; at xxxviii.18-19  
 errors result from wrong division; at xxxix.4 δοθήσονται is  
 added for a similar reason; at xxxix.15 a wrong emphasis on  
 totality results from διὰ παντός in 14.

(15) PORTMANTEAU RENDERINGS.

Certain renderings suggest an impatience with repet-  
 itiousness in the original. Here items of similar import are  
 cannabalised into more succinct Greek:—

βδέλυγμα [v.11], συντελοῦμαι [v.13], συντριβήσονται  
 [vi.4], καὶ ἐξαρθήσεται τὰ τεμένη ὑμῶν [vi.6], ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς  
 βδελύγμασιν αὐτῶν [vi.9], ἐπὶ πάντα βουνὸν ὑψηλὸν καὶ ὑποκάτω  
 δένδρου σισκίου [vi.13], τῶν βδελυγμάτων αὐτῶν [vii.20], ἄρχων

ἐνδύσεται ἀφανισμόν [vii.27], μάτια βδελύγματα [viii.10], μέσην τὴν Ἱερουσαλημ [ix.4], ἀνθ' ᾧν [xiii.10], πορνεία [xvi.22], ἐν γῆ ἀνδρῶ [xviii.13], ἐξεπόρνευσαν [xiii.3], ἀφανισμοῦ [xiii.33], οὐδὲ μὴ ἐλεήσω [xiv.14], οὐδὲ μὴ κλαυθῆς [xiv.16], ἐκδικήσεις [xv.17], κατελύθης [xvi.17], <sup>76</sup> ἐκ πλήθους πάσης δυνάμεώς σου [xvii.18], πλήθους [xvii.33], ἐποίησας [xviii.4], καὶ εἶπον [xix.3], τὰ ἐκλεκτά [xxi.16], ἔρημον [xxiii.28], ἐν τοῖς εἰδώλοις αὐτῶν [xxvii.23], κτήσιν [xxviii.13], κάουσι [xxix.9].

Probably to be counted here is the very frequent κύριος for the double divine name.

#### (16) EDITING OF LONGER CONTEXTS.

A reasonable explanation of certain larger omissions is editorial activity. Some shortening is to be expected in so long and prolix a text as *Ezekiel*. A repetitious passage about מַבְרָח is dropped at ii.4; there is shortening at xiii.2-3; a whole line is cut at xiii.7; further descriptions of signs of mourning disappear at xvii.31; at xxxv.11 ideas of anger and vengeance are pruned to a phrase; and verbs of multiplying are dropped at xxxvi.11. It is not always possible to draw a sharp boundary between conscious editing and mechanical error.

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<sup>76</sup> This is not in fact fortunate in both cases [see נַשׁ' Ni. on p. 153], but the translator seems to be taking advantage of a Greek *double entendre*.

**(17) INTERPRETATIVE ADDITIONS.**

There are numerous small additions of a plausible kind, which are so much in the manner of the translation that they might be scribal at times. Trivial though they are, they reflect the tendency to looseness which we have already seen. Recurrent vocatives, imperatives, conjunctions and adverbs are added in suitable contexts; so are other items which help the sense:-

καὶ ἀνέλαβέ με καὶ ἐξῆρέ με [ii.2], ὁ ἄνομος [iii.19], καθὼς ἡ ὄρασις καί [iii.23], εἶπον [vii.2], καὶ ἀκαθαρσίας [ix.9], καὶ οὗτοι [x.16], ὑποκάτω τῆς δόξης θεοῦ Ἰσραηλ [x.22], μὴ συναναμίσεσθε [xx.18], καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ὑμῶν [xxi.29], καὶ τοὺς μόχθους σου [xxiii.29], ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν [xxvi.16], διὰ πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν σου [xxviii.17], καὶ ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων αὐτῶν [xxviii.26], τοῦ πρώτου μηνός [xxxii.17],<sup>77</sup> βασιλεύς [xxxii.31], τοῦτό ἐστιν ὄ [xxxiii.20], τὰ πρόβατά μου [xxxiv.5], καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀκαθαρσίαις αὐτῶν [xxxvi.17], ἀνθρωπίνων [xxxvii.1], ἐλεύσεται καί [xxxviii.8].

In the same category come certain cases of the addition of the article in a generalising sense, and of the very frequent adjective πᾶς.

**(18) IMPRESSIONISTIC RENDERINGS.**

Sometimes the general drift and tone of a passage are preserved but details are confused, a phenomenon which becomes at times a kind of Formulaic Freedom in extenso. This is

<sup>77</sup> This is unusually idiomatic Greek, as we should expect if the translator were not translating anything.



especially true of pairs of words and of lists, where order is freely handled [e.g. vi.11, xvi.13, xx.38, xxii.18,20, xxvii.21, xxviii.23], but longer items may also be exchanged [e.g. vi.12, ix.5, xix.8,9, xxi.20, xxviii.4]. The most spectacular example of the impressionistic rendering of a list is at xxviii.13, where the catalogue of precious stones is not only in an order so wrong that it defies rearrangement, but has too many items: it is in fact word for word the list at Ex xxxix.11-13.<sup>78</sup> At iv.2 siege-vocabulary is put in without exact equivalence, and much the same occurs at xxi.27. Impressionistic renderings of individual items, which are simply less precise than they might be, are very numerous:-

אכל : συντελέω [viii.15]; we might suspect a misreading as  $\sqrt{\text{כל}}$  were it not that συντελέω is so common in famine contexts.

במח : ἔρημα [xxxvi.2].

אח-בני ישראל : πάντα οἶκον Ισραηλ [xxxvii.21]; cf. οἱ υἱοί for ארץ at xxvii.17, ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς for על-ארבת [xviii.2]. There is small support for a theory of abbreviation here.

עדן (עצי-)

ג (אשר ב) : (τὰ ξύλα) τοῦ παραδείσου τῆς τρυφῆς [xxxix.9].

<sup>78</sup> Ingenious but unnecessary is the idea that the wrong order originated with an interlinear version. On pp. 123-4 of an article on transliterations in the Greek Old Testament [JQR N.S. 16 (1925), 117-25] Max Margolis revived an idea of his own that the oldest Septuagint texts were interlinear, hence some inversions of order. This is not to say that he may not have been right about other cases of inversion; but here his solution is inadequate to the complications, whereas direct quotation from P, however motivated, is as elegant as an explanation as it may have been as a solution to a practical problem.

- מגן : περικεφαλαῖαι [xxxviii.4,5], cf. xxvii.10 for the whole phrase correctly.
- דבֿת־עַם : δνειδισμα ἔθνεσι [xxxvi.3], cf. xxii.4, which may be the source of the aberrant wording here, including εἶς.
- מִהוֹמָה : ἐν ταῖς ἀνομίαις [xxii.5] in a denunciatory passage.
- הַדְרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל : γῆ Ἰσραηλ [xxxviii.8].
- חַטָּה : σῖτος [xxvii.17].
- חַיִּיחַם : ζωῆς [xxxvii.5] making a formula.
- חֶלֶב : πιότης [xxv.4].
- (שִׁירָה) : ἀπαρτία with rewriting [xxv.4], the Greek phrase being closely paralleled in P, Ju.
- שִׁמְתָה הַנְּהַר : ἡ ἀποκαθημένη ἐν ἀκαθαρσίαις [xxii.10].
- כֹּרֶבַע : πέλται [xxxviii.5], cf. מִגֵּן above.
- כֹּלֵי : ἄγγος ὀστράκινον [iv.9], a near-formula.
- נַגַּח Hi. : ἰδού [vii.2].
- נֹחַ Hi. B : συνάγω [xxii.20]; cf. II Ki xxii.4 ff. for this verb in the same context with χωνεύω.
- נֹכַח Hi. : ἀπόλλυμι [xxxix.3].
- עַתָּה : πέρας [xxx.3], cf. doom passages in chs. vii, xxi.
- עֶשְׂקָה : ἀδικία [xxii.7,29, Ps].
- פְּרִי : ἐκλεκτά [xix.12], a favourite word in our text.
- צִבְיָה : κήριον [xx.6,15].<sup>79</sup>

<sup>79</sup> It is hard to know how to classify this odd rendering, which looks like an ignorant misreading of the noun at Ps xix.10 as a comparative adjective!

II צנה : πέλται [xxxviii.4], κοντοί [xxxix.9].

מרעית : ποίμνιον [xxxiv.31].

רשע : λοιμός [vii.21].

(תעב) Hi. : ἀνομέω [xvi.52].

תרשיש : ἄνθραξ [x.9].

#### (19) PARAPHRASTIC EXPANSIONS.

In some cases we find the translator making a double shot at the sense, probably through an unsureness about the real meaning, and thereby inflating his text:—

כברי-לשון : ἀλλόγλωσσος (οὐ)δὲ στίβαρος τῆ γλώσση [iii.6].

מטה אָפ. : ἀδικία καὶ ἀκαθαρσία [ix.9].

אלגביש : πετρόβολος εἰς τοὺς ἐνδέσμους αὐτῶν [xiii.11], cf. the translation of ביה at I Ki vi.10.

בבנותיך : ἐν ταῖς θυγατράσι σου...ἠκοδόμησας [xvi.30-31] after a guess at the unique form ששלש.

(בצל) רליותיו תשבנה : (ὕπὸ τὴν σκιάν) αὐτοῦ ἀναπαύσεται καὶ τὰ κλήματα αὐτοῦ ἀποκατασταθήσεται [xvii.23].

המון : πλῆθος τῆς ἰσχύος [xxxi.18].

לבשה : ἐν ἐλπίδι εἰρήνης [xxxiv.27].

#### (20) RENDERINGS BASED ON SOUND.

Sound was a secondary factor at times, as we have seen; in a few cases it is primary:—

ביר : βόθρος [xxvii.20 etc.].

II בער : βάρβαρος (εἶναι) [xxi.36].

כָּל : πᾶσα ἡ γῆ [xxxii.5].

יְרוּחַ : ἁρμονία [xxiii.42].

(21) TENDENTIOUS MISTRANSLATION.

It is not always possible to distinguish between genuine error and deliberate mistranslation, but in any case the end-product is normally a trivial deviation rather than a significant distortion. At times, however, the drift is definitely altered, or the emphasis is laid on rather thick:-

At iv.5 by the addition of an archaic πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, a form literal at Ge viii.3, the translator connects the judgement which Ezekiel is to act out with the flood. At iv.14 γένεσις somewhat overemphasizes the prophet's ritual purity. At xvi.28 θυγατέρας heightens the depravity by making lust into perversion. At xxix.14 ὅθεν ἐλήμφθησαν overemphasizes the idea of exile. At xxx.5 the translator softens the note of judgement with the partitive τῶν υἱῶν and other small changes. At xxxiv.2 μή makes an indignant question. At xxxv.5 ἐγκαθίζω and the rest make Edom an even worse villain. At xxxvii.19 ἐπὶ τὴν φυλὴν Ἰουδα and the wrong Ἰουδα below overemphasizes the gains of Judah. At xxxvii.21, xxxix.17 כָּסָפִים is expanded to make the idea of a circle of enemies. At xxxix.21 ἐν ὑμῖν turns the text into a promise to Israel. These changes probably do not amount to a significant tendency to exonerate or exalt Israel, connect the past with the present community or highlight the priesthood. They are too few; accurately rendered passages in opposing senses render them nugatory.

Probably pure romancing are the astonishing versions at

xxx.24 (where פָּרַעַה is not obviously either softened or made more pointed by the substitution of Αἴγυπτος) and xxxv.7. In both cases foreign nations are involved, and in both the translator wanders off into formulae, but the rationale is unclear. ἀπηλιώτης at xxi.3,9 is curious: does it represent נֹגַב as viewed from a location in Egypt?

It is interesting that our text nowhere displays a special sensitivity about the person of God. If the occasional verb with יְהוָה as subject is smoothed away, it is for stylistic reasons, and at xxxii.6 we find a gratuitous change to an active verb.

#### (22) GRATUITOUS CONCESSIONS TO GREEK STYLE.

Concessions to Greek style are normally of a trivial variety, for instance the omission of otiose epithets and adverbs, minor changes of number and person which smooth the syntax, small order changes and constructions *ad sensum*. The plural of a Hebrew noun often amounts to an abstract, and sometimes becomes a Greek singular; and at times the opposite occurs, especially with כֹּל-phrases, either because the singular was felt to be too abstract, or a *Pluralis Poeticus* was desired, or to avoid a distributive singular. Such concessions are entirely random, but of course greatly outweighed by the prevailing hebraism. Just here and there we find really unnecessary changes, for instance the future instead of the aorist at xviii.18, xxiv.13, νεκρός at xxxvii.9, and the omission of אָחִיךָ at xxxvii.16.

## CONCLUSIONS.

## (1) The Question of Unity.

The evidence of the translation technique is at first sight almost as ambiguous as that of the language.<sup>80</sup> Diversity of rendering shows no clear pattern, and of the general tone and quality the most that can be said is that in xvi, xx-xxiv or so, and in xxx-xxxix a certain difference is felt, but at the same time many examples bind the whole version into a unity. The present writer suggests, however, that parts of our version must be distinguished on different grounds: in our text there is a pattern of relationship with other parts of the Greek Bible which is not uniform. One section, which we may call *Ezekiel A*, appears to have consisted of i-xv (stopping at the denunciations of ch. xvi), xxv-xxx.19, and probably also of xl-xlvi. It shows knowledge only of the Greek Pentateuch, *I Samuel*, *Kings*, *I Chronicles*, *Ruth*, and *Canticles* as versions [κεφαλὴς ii.9 etc.,<sup>81</sup> ὀλύρα iv.9,<sup>82</sup> περιοχὴ xii.13,<sup>83</sup> εἰς τοὺς ἐνδέσμοις xiii.11,<sup>84</sup> ἀνασταθῆς xxvi.20,<sup>85</sup> ἐκλεκτούς xxvii.24,<sup>86</sup> Βύβλια xxvii.9,<sup>87</sup> ῥόδοις xxvii.15,<sup>88</sup> τι τρώσκω xxviii.7,<sup>89</sup> τραυματίζω xxviii.16,<sup>90</sup> μαδάω xxix.18,<sup>91</sup> σκῆπτρον xxx.19<sup>92</sup>] or as literature [θανάτῳ θανατωθῆσις iii.18,<sup>93</sup> κτήση

<sup>80</sup> See pp. 100-1.

<sup>82</sup> See כסמים p. 124.

<sup>84</sup> See אלגביש p. 177.

<sup>86</sup> See ברמים p. 150.

<sup>88</sup> See דן p. 144.

<sup>90</sup> As n. 89 *supra*.

<sup>92</sup> See מטת p. 134.

<sup>81</sup> See מגלה p. 145.

<sup>83</sup> See סצורה p. 134.

<sup>85</sup> See נתח צבי p. 167.

<sup>87</sup> See גבל p. 125.

<sup>89</sup> See III הלל Pi. pp. 133-4.

<sup>91</sup> See מרוטה p. 145.

<sup>93</sup> See מתח p. 126.

σεαυτῶ v.1,<sup>94</sup> φείδομαι τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ix.5,<sup>95</sup> ἐπιβαίνω x.18,<sup>96</sup> Φαλτίας xi.1,<sup>97</sup> εἰς τὸν τοῖχον xii.5,<sup>98</sup> ἐκδικάω ἐκδίκησιν xxv.12,<sup>99</sup> Ἀράδιοι xxvii.8,11,<sup>100</sup> μύρα xxvii.17<sup>101</sup>], though it did not invariably use them<sup>102</sup>. It shows independence of *Psalms*,<sup>103</sup> *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Lamentations*, *Proverbs*,<sup>104</sup> the *Twelve* and *Nehemiah*<sup>105</sup>. It influenced at least *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah* and *Joshua* [Δεβλαθα vi.14,<sup>106</sup> οἱ προσήλυτοι οἱ προσηλυτεύοντες xiv.7,<sup>107</sup> δράξ xiii.19,<sup>108</sup> Χαννα xxvii.23,<sup>109</sup> Συήνη xxix.10<sup>110</sup>] and probably the *Psalms* version in one place<sup>111</sup>.

<sup>94</sup> See ל לקח p. 126.

<sup>95</sup> See חוס p. 123.

<sup>96</sup> See עמר p. 124.

<sup>97</sup> See פלטיהו p. 125.

<sup>98</sup> See בקיר p. 124.

<sup>99</sup> See נקם Ni. p. 126.

<sup>100</sup> See ארור p. 125.

<sup>101</sup> See מניה p. 149.

<sup>102</sup> Relationship with most of these texts persists through our version, and is both philological [see כן Ni. p. 119, מצודה p. 134, ברר p. 145, חלל p. 133, פאר p. 144, נרח Ni. p. 145, (בקר) Pi. p. 118, כפיר p. 134, גלה Hi. p. 150] and literary [נח Hi. B p. 176, חגוד ב p. 125, מגפה p. 154, ב (נפח) p. 145]. There is nowhere any sign that II Ch, Jo, Ju, Jb, Da, Ec were known. For minor indications of literary relationships see Appendix C.

<sup>103</sup> Some of the *Psalms* must have existed in Greek, for the translator of *Ezekiel* A knew *Ruth*, and *Ruth* shows the ὑπόστασις meaning which appears to go back to Ps lxix.3. Cf. תקיה p. 127.

<sup>104</sup> For the complicated relationship of our text with *Proverbs* see I (פתה) p. 142, מן שחה Hi. declar. p. 159 and Appendix C.

<sup>105</sup> See סטרה p. 155, (אלם) Ni. p. 144, עמקי-שפה p. 130, פגול p. 156, עבות p. 147, צפון p. 134, היה p. 145, חרד p. 152, משך Ni. p. 145, גדר p. 150, פריץ pl. p. 156, I מצודה p. 157, אלן p. 145, מלח p. 154, כדכד p. 166, פלש Hithp. p. 156, סתום p. 155, II מושה p. 134.

<sup>106</sup> See רבלתה p. 131.

<sup>107</sup> See הגר etc., p. 131.

<sup>108</sup> See (שעל) p. 143.

<sup>109</sup> See כנה p. 131.

<sup>110</sup> See סונה p. 131.

<sup>111</sup> ἔτοιμάζω πρόσωπον [iv.3,7] is unidiomatic and not literal at Ps xxi.12.

A second section, which may be called *Ezekiel B*, and forms a literary unit stopping where the Oracles against Foreign Nations begin, seems to run from xvii to xx. It reflects a philological acquaintance with the version of *Psalms* [ἐπιβλεπόμενον xvii.5,<sup>112</sup> ἤγημα xvii.3<sup>113</sup>] and has a verbal echo of it [τίθημι ὀφθαλμούς xviii.12,15<sup>114</sup>]. παροικεσία at xx.38<sup>115</sup> seems to have been taken up in the Twelve [Za ix.12].

A third section, or *Ezekiel C*, consisted of xxi-xxiv with the omitted xvi. Again knowledge is shown of the *Psalms* version [ἐξακονάσαι xxi.16<sup>116</sup>], but phrases are also picked up from the Twelve [ἐπάγω xxii.13,<sup>117</sup> φείδομαι ὑπέρ xxiv.21,<sup>118</sup> and ἐκπορνεύω ἀπό xxiii.5,<sup>119</sup> and further examples given in Appendix C], which was used for philology [διαστέλλω xxiv.14<sup>120</sup>]. The Greek *Isaiah* appears to be still unknown,<sup>121</sup> the *Jeremiah* version is plainly later [ἐκπορνεύω ἐν xvi.17,<sup>122</sup> ἐξεγείρομαι xxi.21<sup>123</sup>].

*Ezekiel D*, as it may fairly be termed, consisted of xxx.20 to xxxix. It shows a philological acquaintance with the *Psalms* version [ἀπερριμμένη xxxviii.11<sup>124</sup>], the Twelve [ἐδαφίζω xxxi.12<sup>125</sup>], *Lamentations* [ἐκλύομαι xxxi.15<sup>126</sup>] and *Isaiah* [φάραγξ xxxviii.20<sup>127</sup>], and literary dependence upon the versions of *Psalms*, the Twelve, *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah*

112 See צפצפה p. 134.  
 114 See נשא עינים p. 126.  
 116 See חדר Ho. p. 125.  
 118 See מחמל p. 126.  
 120 See III פרע p. 156.  
 122 See זנה ב p. 131.  
 124 See פדוה p. 156.  
 126 See עלף Pu. p. 167.

113 See רקמה p. 158.  
 115 See מוגד p. 131.  
 117 See נכה Hi. p. 124.  
 119 See זנה חתח p. 125.  
 121 See מצה Qal p. 154.  
 123 See יעד Ho. p. 153.  
 125 See נשש p. 166.  
 127 See מדרגה p. 151.



[μάλαγμα xxx.21,<sup>128</sup> ἦκω τινί xxxii.11,<sup>129</sup> ἡ ἡρημωμένη xxxiii.24,<sup>130</sup> μεγαλυνησονται xxxviii.23<sup>131</sup>]. Verbal echoes of earlier parts of our version may be the origin of some of the less precise translation found in these chapters.

This is not the place to attempt a reconstruction of the order in which the books of the Greek Bible were done, but the evidence of our text seems to point to the following conclusion. We have here a reflection of the way in which our version was made, that is by stages with other translations intervening.<sup>132</sup> There are of course other books which have been thought to have existed originally in a truncated form. This conclusion has nothing to say about authorship, only about method: except that one man might as well have done the work at a sitting as break it into sections, one man might have executed the whole if the four stages were sufficiently close in time. Our text is a unity because certain earlier versions were used throughout, but it is not a unity in the sense that at various stages fresh influences were brought to bear. The instinct, at least, of older scholars was sound at this point. In the glacier-like progress of the Greek Bible, each stage was bound to carry with it an ever-larger *detritus* of traditional material: something was added, but more was retained, by each translator.

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<sup>128</sup> See לְהַחֲלִי p. 140 and Appendix C.

<sup>129</sup> See בְּנֵי with suffix p. 125.

<sup>130</sup> See חֲרֵבָה p. 126.

<sup>131</sup> See גִּלְגָּל Hithp. p. 125.

<sup>132</sup> Unless we are to assume that certain books of the Greek Bible had local currency only.

SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE for (1) dependence on P and other books earlier than the whole text (2) dependence on later books and (3) influence.

ii.	9 κεφαλίς [◀P, I Ch]	
iii.	18 θανάτω θανατωθήση [◀P]	
iv.	9 ὄλυρα [◀P]	3, 7 ἐτοιμάζω πρόσωπον [▶Ps xxi]
v.	1 κτήση σεαυτῶ [◀Ru]	
vi.		14 Δεβλαθα [▶Je]
ix.	5 φείδομαι τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς [◀P]	
x.	18 ἐπιβαίνω [◀I Ki]	
xi.	1 Φαλτίας [◀I Ch]	
xii.	5 εἰς τὸν τοῖχον [◀I Sa]	
	13 περιοχὴ [◀Sa, Ki, Ch]	
xiii.	11 εἰς τοὺς ἐνδέσμους [◀I Ki]	19 δρᾶξ [▶Is]
xiv.		7 οἱ προσήλυτοι κτλ. [▶Is]
<hr/>		
xvi.	7 ἀνορθοῦμαι [◀II Sa, I Ch]	47 ὑπερκεῖμαι [◀Pr xxxi]
		17 ἐκπορνεύω ἐν [▶Je]
<hr/>		
xvii.	20 περιοχὴ [◀Sa, Ki, Ch]	3 ἡγήμα [◀Ps lxviii]
		5 ἐπιβλεπόμενον [◀Ps, Mi]
xviii.		12, 15 τίθημι ὀφθαλμούς [◀Ps xvii]
xix.		5 ὑπόστασις [◀(Ru) Ps lxix]
xx.	38 ἐκλέγω [◀I Ch]	6, 15 κήριον [◀Ps xix]
		38 παροικεισία [▶Tw]
<hr/>		
xxi.	30 βέβηλος [◀P, Sa]	16 ἐξακονάομαι [◀Ps lii]
xxii.	20 συνάγω [◀II Ki]	13 ἐπάγω [◀Tw]
xxiii.	15 ἐξωσμένος ἐπὶ [◀I Ki]	5 ἐκπορνεύω ἀπὸ [◀Tw]
xxiv.	16 παράταξις [◀P, Ki]	14 διαστέλλω [◀Tw]
	17 τρίχωμα [◀P]	φείδομαι ὑπέρ [◀Tw]
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xxv.	12 ἐκδικᾶω ἐκδίκησιν [◀P]	
xxvi.	20 ἀνασταθῆς [◀P]	
xxvii.	8, 11 Ἀράδιοι [◀P]	
	15 Ῥόδιοι [◀P]	
	9 Βύβλια [◀I Ki]	
	17 μύρα [◀Ca, Am]	
	24 ἐκλεκτοῦς [◀I Ch]	23 Χαννα [▶Jo]
xxviii.	7 τιτρώσκω [◀I Ki]	
	16 τραυματίζω [◀I Ki]	
xxix.	18 μαδάω [◀P]	10 Συήνη [▶Is]
xxx.	19 σκήπτρον [◀I Ki]	
<hr/>		
xxxi.		12 ἐδαφίζω [◀Tw]
		15 ἐκλύομαι [◀La]
xxxii.		11 ἦκω τινί [◀Tw]
xxxiii.		24 ἡ ἡρημωμένη [◀Je]
xxxiv.	4, 16 πλανώμενος [◀P]	
	11 ἐπισκέπτομαι [◀P]	
xxxvii.	9 ἐμφυσᾶω εἰς [◀P]	
xxxviii.	13 κόμη [◀I Sa, Ca]	11 ἀπερριμμένη [◀Ps cxli]
		23 μεγαλυνθήσομαι [◀Ps, Tw]
		20 φάραγξ [◀Is]
xxxix.	28 ἐπιφαίνω [◀P]	

## (2) The Question of Date and Provenance.

A relative dating of the four parts of our version may be deduced from the relationships outlined above; an absolute dating can be made only within the limit of a century or so given by the linguistic evidence<sup>133</sup>. It is a matter of opinion how late we are to date *Ezekiel A*, which is later than the main historical texts, perhaps *Proverbs xxv-xxx*, and *Canticles*, but early enough to have influenced the *Psalms* version, and how late we should date *Ezekiel D*, which is later even than the *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah* versions, but still ignored several other versions and influenced *Ecclesiasticus*. *Ezekiel A* is certainly our earliest source for certain rare Greek words; and a later date for *Ezekiel D* chimes with the clustering there of late grammatical phenomena.

*Ezekiel A* must be Egyptian: not only does it cut short a large-scale denunciation of Egypt in the Hebrew, but it has a sound tradition of Egyptian names in xxvii-xxx<sup>134</sup>. More equivocal is the tendency to improve upon names in *Genesis x* and other sources by hellenizing and to flounder with unfamiliar Palestinian names. Its one possible allusion to the Homeric corpus<sup>135</sup> is unfortunately no proof of the writer's cultured Hellenization, for some acquaintance with it was inevitable where Greek was the *lingua franca*. Since this translator worked before the versions of the Twelve, *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah*, these versions must be in his debt for the sound topographical

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<sup>133</sup> Cf. pp. 101-103.

<sup>134</sup> See p. 138.

<sup>135</sup> See p. 145 for the possible link between xxvii.6 and Od. ii.424.

tradition which they all share<sup>136</sup>. *Ezekiel C* might be Egyptian in the light of ἀπηλιώτης [xxi.3,9]. For the rest it is a matter of speculation who would have troubled to fill the gaps in the original Alexandrian *Ezekiel*, a labour never bestowed on *Jeremiah*.

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<sup>136</sup> See pp. 135-6.

## (3) The Question of Quality.

*Ezekiel A*, a pioneering version of a prophetic text, has the grave defects which are to be expected of such an attempt.<sup>137</sup> The translator is often quite at sea, and is responsible for some very bad examples of Contextual Error. At the same time some of the best original philology is found here: later prophetic versions would have been the poorer for lack of it, for to *Ezekiel A* must be attributed much which is shared with, say, the Twelve<sup>138</sup>. The version is a brave attempt, but extremely unreliable in detail.

*Ezekiel B* is a comparatively sober piece of work, helped by the *Psalms* version. Consequential Error is rare, and so are loose additions to the text. There is some sound original philology [ῥοφακα xviii.2, θλιψις xviii.18, διακρίνομαι xx.35,36, στέλεχος xix.11],<sup>139</sup> but the Hebrew is not easy, and the version is by no means faithful.

*Ezekiel C* tends to be impressionistic, as though the translator were impatient of detail. It has a little sound original philology [ταραχή xxiii.46, ἀπίστημι xxiii.17,18, στρατηγός xxiii.6 etc.]<sup>140</sup> but also some bad, and avoidable, errors, and one apparent solecism based on the *Psalms* version.

*Ezekiel D* might be the work of the same translator, but done in the light of the *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah* versions, except

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<sup>137</sup> This is a quite sufficient explanation of the peculiarities of chapters xxvii-xxviii, i.e. Σορ and the aspects noted on pp. 120-1, 127-8. The language is tough, the translator was raw.

<sup>138</sup> See pp. 135-8.

<sup>139</sup> See pp. 135-8.

<sup>140</sup> See pp. 135-8.

that it is innocent of sound original philology in spite of its length, and is even more impressionistic, formulaic, careless and free in spite of the relative simplicity of the original. It is even less to be trusted in detail than the earlier stages of our text.

No part of our version is an especially careful or informed piece of work. There are many marks of haste. The phenomenon of wrong division suggests that the original was read in very short pieces, often less than a clause at a time, which were translated as they came; and there are other errors which could have been corrected at leisure, but were not. Within the four sections the signs of interpretative activity are equivocal. Whether one looks for theological sensitivity or for a desire, say, to soften or suppress the harsher tones of judgment on the nation, examples appear to cancel one another out. The practicalities of ancient book-production were such that one man could not both read and write together: at least two, therefore, must have been at work, possibly with a translator as middle-man. Clearly such a co-operative system would tend to have a 'pacing' effect and discourage emendation or reflection. Who the translators were, and whether they were Aramaic-speaking with a Greek veneer, it is impossible to say; but only Jews with some Hebrew could have known and used earlier Greek versions as our translators did, and the verbal echoes seem to preclude the possibility that the ultimate Greek version was a freer 'writing-up' by a non-Jew, the actual translation-work being done in rough by a Jew. But we are certainly witnessing stages in the decline of the tradition which reached its acme with the Pentateuch version.

## **PART III**





PART III  
THE BEARING ON THE HEBREW TEXT.

It will already be clear from numerous examples in Part II that in the majority of the dark and difficult places in our Hebrew text the version, even in its better aspects, is a rope of sand. No one would seek to defend the Massoretic Text at all costs: but again and again it seems most probable that the translators were faced with a text which, while it cannot be assumed to have been identical in all respects with ours, apparently laboured under the same fundamental corruptions, and contained many words for which the translators possessed no sound tradition. Are there places where it may confidently be argued that a different Hebrew text was used, or that a sound tradition has been preserved?

(1) **CORRUPTIONS IN THE GREEK TEXT.**<sup>1</sup>

Scattered suggestions for emendation of the Greek have already been made. There are other places where even if the result for the Hebrew of taking the text seriously were not comparatively trivial, inner-Greek corruption is the probable explanation.

(a) **Additions by Dittography.**

ii.7 οἶκος, vii.10 τὸ πέρας, viii.12 αὐτῶν, xi.13 οἴμμοι, xi.22 αὐτῶν, xiii.10 εἰρήνη (2), xiii.18 πᾶσαν, xiv.22 τὰ κακά, xxi.32 τοιαύτη, xxii.9 ἐν σοί, xxii.12 ἐν σοί, xxiii.10

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<sup>1</sup> For the Greek text see especially Katz in *Biblica* 35 (1954) pp. 29-39.

εἰς τὰς θυγατέρας, xxvi.10 αὐτοῦ *bis*, xxvii.12 σοῦ, xxviii.15 ἐγενήθης, xxviii.18 σοῦ, xxx.5 ἐν αὐτῇ, xxx.22 αὐτοῦ, xxxii.26 both πάντες and τραυμαῖαι, xxxiii.29 αὐτῶν, xxxiv.10 μου, xxxiv.21 ὑμῶν, xxxvii.17 σεαυτῶ, xxxviii.12 πολλῶν, xxxix.13 αὐτούς.

(b) Omissions by Haplography.

At viii.5 there is an intolerably harsh anacolouthon, the construction with ἰδοῦ being without parallel. Something must have been written here to complete the sense; if it followed the pattern of the end of 3 above it could easily have fallen out. At xvi.20 αὐτάς could easily have dropped out before αὐτοῖς. At xxiii.15 the explanation of the difficulty in the Greek noted earlier<sup>2</sup> must be that Βαβυλωνός stood after υἱῶν [cf. υἱοὶ Βαβυλωνός just below].

(c) Wrong Readings.

Inner-Greek contamination could well account for the following:-

ii.6 προσώπου, vii.2,6 ἦκει τὸ πέρας misplaced, viii.1 πέμπτῳ, ix.3, x.2,4 τῶν χερουβιν plural, xvi.46 ὑμῶν, xxiii.7 αὐτῆς, xxix.18 ἐπὶ Τύρον, xxxiii.16 ἐν αὐτοῖς, xxxvi.31 αὐτῶν. Other probable wrong readings are:-

iv.5,9 ἐνενηκοντα καὶ ἑκατον: unless the translator himself wrote this, it must be a piece of scribal arithmetic arising from the need to make the figure here and the τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας in 6 tally with the wrong number inserted

<sup>2</sup> See p. 75.

in 4 above [cf. τὰς δύο ἀδικίας (sic!)]. The atticizing form suggests late scribal activity.<sup>3</sup> Read τριακοσίας καὶ ἑνενήκοντα with some mss. at 5.

xviii.4 bis, xxxv.10 ἐμαί: read ἐμοί to conform with the usage of our text.

xx.4 εἰ ἐκδικήσω αὐτοὺς ἐκδικήσει: read εἰ ἐκδικήσεις αὐτούς, ἐκδικήσεις.

xx.21 ἐπ' αὐτούς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ: read ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ after the SECOND ἐπ' αὐτούς.

xx.28 τοῖς θεοῖς: read τὰς θυσίας.

xxii.9 ἀνόσια: read ἀνομία, cf. xxiii.21,44.

xxv.15 ἐξανέστησαν: read ἐξεδίκησαν with some mss., for the translator has the Niph'al right at 12 above.

xxix.18 (ἐπὶ Τύρον) καὶ τῆς δουλείας: read (ἀπὸ Τύρου) διὰ τῆς δουλείας.

xxxi.16 θρηνήσεις: read θρηνήσουσιν.

xxxiii.21 δωδεκάτω: read δεκάτω.

## (2) PASSAGES WHERE THE VERSION MAY SHOW A DIFFERENT TEXT.<sup>4</sup>

There remain some outstanding cases where the possibility of differences between the *Vorlage* of the Version and the Massoretic text must be discussed. Left out of account here is the question whether such differences in fact constitute a BETTER text: it is simply a matter of whether, in the light of the methods outlined in Part II, where it was shown that small changes were an integral part of the procedure, a different

<sup>3</sup> See p. 101.

<sup>4</sup> For this section and section (3) below cf. Driver in *Biblica* 35 (1954) pp. 145 ff., 299 ff.



But what is to be made of the hebraizing address at the end? It is not a word-for-word repetition of the passage at xxii.5, and is scarcely a trivial addition. In fact it verges upon the loose relationship to our text found in *Ezekiel D*, and we should have to take seriously the probability of a fuller underlying Hebrew were it not found in a section of our version which is almost as casual. As it is, the words from ἡ ἀκάθαρτος may represent self-quotation coupled with imaginative expansion upon the wickedness of the city.

(b) Passages Where the Version May Show a Shorter Text.

iii.1: את אשר תמצא אכול

It cannot be shown that these words were not read by the translator. Omissions both of the mechanical and of the editorial kind abound in this section of the version; and not only does אכול follow upon the last word here, which might readily have caused the eye to slip, but the clause might have been dropped as otiose.

iii.14: מר

That the translator knew this root in the kind of sense required here is clear from πικρόν at xxvii.30. At the same time he may not have been able to fit the word in here explicitly, and may have thought that it was sufficiently implied by ἐν ὀργῇ and very similar in sense to the Hebrew phrase which follows it.

viii.16: וחמשה

That the translator did not have this number before him is no more likely than that he wrote down εἴκοσι as an approximation

fully warranted by  $\acute{\omega}\zeta$ . Probably he did not grasp the use of  $\kappa$  to introduce numerals.

x.12: וכל בשרם

So many words hereabouts end in  $\text{ם}$  that this might be a case of mechanical omission. But the phrase may also have seemed tautologous in context. Another possibility is that a less 'proper' sense of the noun was recalled, and edited away.

x.14: וארבעה פנים לאחד...פני-נשר

This may be a case of editing. The translator, plunged into a repetitive passage about wheels, wings, faces and eyes at the beginning of his work, is here faced with more of the same, and he may well have found this piece of description simply too much of a good thing.

xi.12: אשר...עשיתם

Causal  $\text{אשר}$  does not seem to have been well understood elsewhere [vi.11, xxix.20] and this use may be the whole cause of the omission of the passage here. But it might have been rendered by a relative without losing the general sense. Possibly this is a case of shortening, with the advantage of making the passage end with a common refrain.

xvii.20: והביאתיהו...אשר מעל בי

Although it contains a hard Niphal, only in another section really well rendered [xx.35,36], and an adverbial use which may have caused the translator to stumble, these factors alone perhaps do not account for this apparent omission. Is it possible that the passage was dropped because of  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\eta\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\delta\omicron\upsilon$ ? Once a human siege rather than a divine snare were in

mind the rest will have seemed incongruous.

xviii.32: והשיבו ויהי

A quite sufficient explanation here is the desire to edit away an essentially repetitive passage which spoils the finality of the incantatory λέγει κύριος.

xxiii.38,39: ביום ההוא

It is possible that the translator had these words before him only once, or not at all. At the same time he is a comparatively careless worker, and had already slipped into the imperfect tense: what more natural than to discard a note of POINT of time?

xxxvii.7: קל

The translator of this section is wedded to formulae. It is therefore very likely that even if he read קל here he would have dropped it to obtain a classical narrative clause with καὶ ἐγένετο.

(c) Passages Where the Version May Show a Variant Text of Similar Length.

i.8: וידו אדם καὶ χεῖρ ἀνθρώπου

It is hard to know what was read here. Especially in the light of ὁμοίωμα ἀνθρώπου above, where EACH creature bears a human look, the translator might have put a singular, intended distributively, whatever form he read, envisaging one human hand under each wing. In addition, number is always loosely treated.

v.14:	ואתנך	καὶ θήσομαί σε
	להרבה ולחרפה	εἰς ἔρημον
	בגוים אשר סביבוכך	καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας σου κύκλω σου
	לעיני כל-עובר	ἐνώπιον παντὸς διοδεύοντος

If the translator read our text this is a very bad error. But error it may be, by a combination of formulaic thinking, linking the rejected women with daughters, and literal-mindedness after the ambiguous literalism of θήσομαί σε εἰς ἔρημον. The translator misses the idea of the nation publicly disgraced among the gentiles, and envisages simply a group of defenceless females.

vii.11:	החמס קם	καὶ συντρίψει
	למטה-רשע	στήριγμα ἀνόμου

The translator was not much at his ease in this passage, and used both omission and guesswork. Guesswork is as likely an explanation as any of the verb here. He may have had הרס, rendered similarly in P, in his mind; and the end-product is alliterative as well as plausible sense.

vii.23:	עשה הרחק	καὶ ποιήσουσι φεγγμόν
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It would be wrong to argue for ועשר on the basis of the version, for this is precisely the kind of detail for which it is unreliable. After three third person plural verbs it was only natural to put a fourth, and to add a καί.<sup>6</sup>

viii.2:	רמות כמראה-אש	ὁμοίωμα ἀνδρός
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Whether or not אש is right here, it is not clear that it was

<sup>6</sup> Cf. p. 148, and Driver *op. cit.*, p. 149.





x.8: וירא לכרובים και εἶδον τὰ χερουβιν

That וירא was read is possible, but not necessarily so. The passage is an account of things seen and heard by the prophet [cf. x.9 below] and an active verb would be an easy *ad sensum* change here.

x.21: ארבעה ארבעה פנים τέσσαρα πρόσωπα τῶ ἐνί  
לאחר

וארבע כנפים לאחר και ὀκτώ πτέρυγες τῶ ἐνί

It is not necessarily special pleading to argue that ὀκτώ could have been written although our text was read. In this section numbers are rewritten without scruple [v.2,12] and the translator has an imprecise idea of the number of wheels per creature [i.15]. What is written here gives a symmetrical result, with two wings per face. The translator may also have taken the dual כנפים to mean "pairs of wings".

xii.2: כתר בית המרי ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἄδικαίων αὐτῶν

This is a very puzzling case. There is confusion in the Greek manuscripts, some having a more conventional equivalent here, but one which seems a little long to lie behind our Greek text. It is tempting to cut the knot by emendation to οἴκου τοῦ ἀδίκου [cf. ἀσεβῆς at xx.38 for כתר].

xvii.22: מראש ינקותי ἐκ κορυφῆς  
ךך אקטף καρδίας αὐτῶν ἀποκνιῶ

The substantival use of ךך occurs only here, and might well have foxed the translator. At the same time it is hard to see how he obtained this nonsense from our text, even if the difficult ינקותי had been simply dropped. ךך הלבב is a phrase

found at Dt xx.8, II Ch xiii.7, and rendered δειλός τῆ καρδία.

Might this have been the basis for a desperate guess here?

xviii.10-11:	והוליר	καὶ ἐὰν γεννήσῃ
	בן-פריין שפך רם	υἷὸν λοιμὸν ἐκχέοντα αἷμα
	ועשה אח מאחר מאלה	καὶ <u>ποιοῦντα ἁμαρτήματα</u>
	והוא אח-כל-אלה לא עשה	<u>ἐν τῷ ὄδῳ τοῦ πατρός αὐτοῦ τοῦ</u>
		<u>δικαίου οὐκ ἐπορεύθη</u>

ἁμαρτήματα looks very like a guess at a confused text, probably with **חטא** in mind, the syntax being modelled on that of the preceding phrase. The rest, though very free, was virtually required in context to avoid a breakdown of the sense.

xix.1:	ואתה שא קינה	καὶ σὺ λάβε θρήνον
	אל-נשיא ישראל	ἐπὶ <u>τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ</u> Ἰσραηλ

It would be hazardous to assert that the translator necessarily read a singular here. Carelessness might account for this sort of change, and the immediate context would make a singular natural. In addition, if it is true that the translator of this section had "Ezekiel A" before him, he will have been familiar with passages in xxv ff. where SINGLE rulers are denounced [e.g. xxviii.12].

xxvii.19:	וין מאול	καὶ <u>οἶνον...ἐξ</u> Ἀσηλ
	ברזל	σίδηρος

That וין is the right reading here has been convincingly argued.<sup>9</sup> At the same time it need not have been the translator's text, for we have seen far more drastic cases of mis-

<sup>9</sup> By A.R. Millard 'A Note on Ez. xxvii.19' JSS 7 (1962), pp. 201-3.

reading than this<sup>10</sup>. He had οἶνος in his context one line earlier.

The order in ἐξ Ἀσηλ σίδηρος is most untypical<sup>11</sup> and highly suspect. Quite apart from the question of what would imply a sensible Hebrew text, we may suspect that there is dislocation in the Greek here. ἐξ Ἀσηλ probably slipped from after οἶνον because it conveyed no clear idea to the scribe.

xxx.5: כּוּשׁ וּפּוֹט וְלוֹד      Πέρσαι καὶ Κρήτες καὶ Αἴβυες

Allowing for the kind of small change in order of which we have seen other examples<sup>12</sup> only two items merit discussion here. Both כּוּשׁ [xxix.10, xxx.4,9] and לוֹד [xxvii.10] are competently handled in this section of the version. But a different text from ours was not necessarily read. This may be an impressionistic rendering, with an echo of the triad at xxvii.10, and possibly an element of false contrast with Αἰθιοπία just above.

xxxii.1: יִהְיֶה      καὶ ἐγένετο  
בְּשָׁתִי עֶשְׂרֵה שָׁנָה      ἐν τῷ ἐνδεκάτῳ ἔτει

In this the most unreliable section of the version it would be wrong to assume a different *Vorlage* here. The translator is quite capable of simply reproducing what he wrote at xxx.20 at the inception of his task. Some Hebrew mss. do, however, show a variant עֶשְׂרִי here.

<sup>10</sup> See pp. 166-7, and compare the writing of, for instance, the Isaiah A scroll from Qumran, where it is sometimes impossible to know whether ' or ' was intended.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. pp. 19 a.f.-21.

<sup>12</sup> See p. 174 a.f. ff.

xxxii.30: שמה נסיכי צפון ἐκεῖ οἱ ἄρχοντες τοῦ βορρᾶ  
 כלם וכל-צרני πάντες στρατηγοί Ἀσσοῦρ

In this section of the version, where very free rewriting took place [e.g. xxx.24, xxxv.7], it is quite as likely that the translator was led astray by צפון as that he read a text different from ours.<sup>13</sup>

xxxiv.29: והקבתי להם כשע καὶ ἀναστήσω αὐτοῖς φυτόν  
 לשם εἰρήνης

BH3 and others cheerfully rewrite with שלם. There is indeed a certain abruptness about the prepositional phrase<sup>14</sup> which renders the suggestion attractive. However, not only does εἰρήνης stand in a context where εἰρήνη has already been used more than once to render כשע, but the same Hebrew is found in other not particularly straightforward figurative passages which, like this one, promise vindication in the face of the contempt of the heathen. A more cautious view would treat this as an example of a *lectio difficilior*<sup>15</sup> which the translator did not grasp [cf. the obvious failure to deal adequately with the same phrase at xxxix.13 in the same section]. The clause might be freely rendered "I will sow the seeds of their good reputation".

<sup>13</sup> Ἀσσοῦρ here is probably the source by contamination of the odd Ἀσσοῦρ at 19 above. It has been argued elsewhere that Εδωμ originally stood there [p. 115].

<sup>14</sup> It has parallels at I Ch xxii.5, Ne vi.13, Is lv.13, Je xxxiii.9, Ze iii.20; it tends to stand late in the clause. It is clearly distinct from יהיה לשם in Temple-building contexts.

<sup>15</sup> To make interpretation of these few examples harder, the sense of כשע is not always positive. It may mean "byword".

xxxvii.17: לעץ אחר εἰς ῥάβδον μίαν τοῦ δῆσαι αὐτάς  
והיו לאחרים בדרך καὶ ἔσσονται ἐν τῇ χειρὶ σου

τοῦ δῆσαι αὐτάς looks at first sight like a weak interpretative addition of the kind often found in this section. But the next line has so little sense as it stands that a more plausible explanation is that the translator misplaced by mechanical error, and carelessly mistranslated, לאחרים. He need not have READ this order of items.

xxxviii.21: וקראתי עליך καὶ καλέσω ἐπ' αὐτὸν  
לכל-ההר הרב πᾶν φόβον

This very general noun is unlikely to represent more than an attempt to connect a difficult text with something more familiar, a method of which we have many examples. הרב becomes φοβέομαι at xxvi.16, a passage which this translator should have known.

### (3) PASSAGES WHERE THE VERSION MAY PRESERVE SOUND TRADITION.

In three cases, all in "Ezekiel A", plausible renderings are given for words of doubtful meaning:-

חשמל : ἤλεκτρον [i.4,27, viii.2].

רחיק : φουρμός [vii.23].

שלש : φαρέτρα [xxvii.11, Je].

To suggest that חשמל can hardly be amber (or electrum) because amber does not give forth a sparkle in fire<sup>16</sup> seems a little prosaic. At the same time this rendering, together with the

<sup>16</sup> See Driver 'Ezekiel's Inaugural Vision' VT 1 (1951), pp. 60-62.

other two, is not necessarily to be swallowed completely. Every one bears the marks of a Contextual Guess, and if it were not for our ignorance might have to be dismissed as an unsuccessful guess at that. Against this must be set this translator's genuine record in philology at some points, and the probability that this is the earliest part of the version and the most likely source of genuine lost meanings in our text.

(4) PASSAGES WHERE THE VERSION MAY SHOW KNOWLEDGE OF ABBREVIATIONS.<sup>17</sup>

MT בית becomes οἶκος at iii.1, iv.3, xii.24, xxxvii.16.

MT בני becomes οἶκος at ii.3, xxxv.5.

κύριος appears, with no equivalent in MT, after a ' at xi.2, xxxvii.23, xxxviii.20.

יהוה has no equivalent at xxvi.14 after MT אני.

ישראל has no equivalent at xxxvi.8 after MT עמי.

In none of these cases can loose *ad sensum* translation be ruled out, and it is significant how many of these cases occur in "Ezekiel D", the least punctilious part of the version. It is questionable whether this translator, at least, would have allowed it to cramp his style even if he had known that no such practice as abbreviation existed.<sup>18</sup> But other parts of our version treat loosely certain common phrases,<sup>19</sup> and make small additions and omissions.

<sup>17</sup> See especially Driver in *Textus 1* (1960), pp. 112-131, 4 (1964), pp. 76-94.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. the comment on Ιουδα at xxxvii.19 on p. 178.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. את-בני ישראל on p. 175.

**CONCLUSION.**

It must unfortunately be admitted that our version is of very doubtful value for the solution of difficulties. Its merits almost never coincide with our needs, its defects all too often add to our difficulties. Its value is at best corroborative, and that at very few points. Its characteristics as a translation fundamentally disqualify it as a reliable source of original insights, simply because the argument virtually always cuts both ways. When one considers the task which the translators faced, one admires their achievement: but in the nature of things their work falls far short of the ideal. Their text, however faulty, would be of far more value to us than is their version.



## **GENERAL CONCLUSIONS**



## GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Methodologically speaking, this dissertation has examined the Old Greek of chapters i-xxxix of the Book of *Ezekiel* in three distinct but interdependent ways. The enquiry has been genuine: the method was entirely dictated by the nature of the material, nor was the end foreseen in the beginning. The text has been read as Greek by a Hellenist, as translation by a Hellenist turned Hebraist and as a potential source of textual and philological illumination by a student of the Massoretic text. The resulting pyramidal structure, in which Part II rests on Part I, and Part III cannot stand without Part I and Part II together, is composed of very large amounts of detail carefully analysed. The conscientious reader might be excused at times for wondering whether some of this may not be inconsequential. It is in particular unprecedented for so much attention to be paid to every aspect of the Greek language of so long a piece of Septuagintal text simply as Greek. It is also unprecedented for anyone to describe so minutely how the work of translation was done, or to attempt to arrive at a more or less complete picture of the thought-processes behind it. In the third place, there is no precedent for the culminating stage of the work, the scrutiny of the residual apparent Massoretic-Old Greek divergences which had been isolated in this laborious way.

It should be emphasized that if the method and approach had been different certain seminal conclusions would never have emerged. Study of the language as though it were any other Greek text has made it possible to explode old theories

of multiple authorship without denying the facts which had suggested them, to date the work and to identify what is 'hebraic' about it. It has made possible the formulation of the concept of the "unidiom", and brought to light pivotal examples of the latter. On this foundation, study of the manner and method of the translator(s) has sharply illuminated old theories about unity. The "unidiom" which is literal in one context but not in another has led to new knowledge about relative dating and the inner history of the Septuagintal corpus. So has careful investigation of the source of idiosyncratic philology originating in or borrowed by the text. It has been demonstrated beyond doubt that i-xxxix was rendered in four distinct stages, at least two of which are connected with Egypt, and that the resultant four sections are not of the same quality or reliability. This is the evidentiary basis for the verdict in Part III that in passage after passage, where *prima facie* there is a case to be made for a *Vorlage* different from the Massoretic text or for understanding it in a new way, the argument is too lightly rooted in the facts to be at all decisive. Lastly, it is evident that the minds of the translator(s) were saturated in the language and versional technique of the Greek Pentateuch to an extent consistent with the probability that both original and translation were, if not always perfectly understood, known by heart.

In view of the delimitation of the present study to i-xxxix, it is ironical that the weight of interest on the part of the Jewish community whose urgent practical and religious needs were to be met by the translating enterprise was almost certainly in the contents of xl-xlvi. In these later chapt-

ers we find a hopeful vision of the idealised Temple and of a people renewed. The contrast with much of the earlier material is pronounced. In the light of the firm conclusions to Part I [pp. 100-1] and Part II [pp. 180-4] on the question of unity, chapters i-xxxix are paradoxically both a linguistic unity which no trained Hellenist would think of impugning, and a renditional pastiche. The earliest Alexandrian Ezekiel included by way of preamble only those parts of i-xxxix which survived a careful process of bowdlerization. Given the highly scatological nature of extended passages involving (to a degree unequalled anywhere else in the Hebrew Bible) the development in lurid detail of the intertwined idolatry-adultery metaphor, a very negative view of the People of God, who are termed congenital idolaters from before the Exodus, and the uninhibited condemnation of Egypt and all her ways, only these selected parts of the earlier chapters were deemed acceptable in a society where the community hoped to establish and maintain a prosperous and happy life. Beginning with xvi, large amounts of text were deliberately censored out. This choice represents an attitude markedly different from the extreme scrupulosity which must have characterized the approach of the translators of the Law. Whatever the motives of those who worked in due course to repair the omissions, we must reckon among other things with a diminished degree of reverence, and as a corollary with a possibly heightened degree of carelessness, for example in the matter of smaller-scale expansion and abridgement.

Hitherto Septuagintal study has worked with two fixed dates only, that of the traditional early Third Century B.C.

rendering of the Law, and the general if not wholly undisputed assumption that by the late Second Century B.C. the translator of *Ecclesiasticus* was looking at a completed threefold Greek Canon. It seems likely that work on the bulk of the Former Prophets would not have been delayed more than a century after the Law was rendered; but until the present study no concentrated effort has been made, using modern methods and modern knowledge of the history of post-Classical Greek, to date or place geographically any of these non-Pentateuchal canonical books. The deductions concerning the date and provenance of i-xxxix in Part I [pp. 101-3] and Part II [pp. 185-6] (given the tendency for scribal interference to make documents look if anything somewhat later than they are) establish incontrovertibly two facts. In the first place, wherever and however the work was actually done, the demand for it and the point of view that informed it continued to be Egyptian. Secondly, there were at least two and possibly three bouts of activity in the rendering of the Hebrew Bible into Greek. If there were only two, *Ezekiel* xl-xlviii, with i-xv and xxv-xxx.<sup>19</sup> as extended introduction, occupied something of a middle position in the second bout. It came later in the sequence than most if not all of the Former Prophets (showing knowledge of *Canticles* but influencing *Joshua*) but certainly served as something of a trail-blazer for such overwhelmingly hazardous enterprises as the rendering of *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah* (and possibly of parts of *Psalms* and *Proverbs*). If on the other hand there were three such bouts of activity, the original Alexandrian *Ezekiel* was even more signally a pioneering work, marking the earliest engagement on the part of would-be

translators with the Latter Prophets and virtually all the Writings, with their textual and philological pitfalls. It is tempting to suggest that whether there were two such post-Pentateuchal 'pushes' or three, relatively early acquaintance, perhaps as an honorary 'Former Prophet', with *Canticles* served as a powerful disincentive to any translator who might think himself equal to any of the Writings. In any case it is interesting that the linguistic evidence so rigorously assessed in Part I leads to a date (c. 150-50 B.C.) reasonably consistent with the completion of the Greek Bible by the late Second Century B.C. There is attraction in an hypothesis that the author of a Greek book which is so complete a tissue of biblical allusion to both Hebrew and Greek texts, and whose Greek is so good that he was perhaps less than first-rate as a Semitist, had formed part of the translating team, and that his is the voice of experience in more than the demands of the limited task of which he writes.

A tentative reconstruction of the inner history of the last stage, or last two stages, of translation work produces the following sequence. *Samuel, Kings, I Chronicles, Ruth* and *Canticles* were certainly available to those who made *Ezekiel A*. *Ezekiel A* was available to those who made versions of parts at least of *Joshua, Isaiah, Jeremiah* and *Psalms*. *Ezekiel xvii-xx*, or B, is later than part at least of the *Psalms* version, but earlier than part at least of the Twelve. *Ezekiel xvi* with *xxi-xxiv*, or C, is later than yet more of the *Psalms* version, and, significantly, later than several parts of the Twelve. It shows no sign that the *Isaiah* version existed, but was plainly known to the *Jeremiah* translator(s) at

two points. It picks up a striking "unidiom" from *Proverbs xxxi*, providing a clear back-allusion to what may have been a 'floating' or 'purple passage' piece of selective translation of that very difficult book. It is plausible that in this case the more connected matter in *xxv-xxx* had already been rendered into Greek, but it is difficult to believe, not least because of the notoriously poor quality of the work, that the collection was attempted at all early in its entirety.

*Ezekiel xxx.20 to xxxix*, or D, was made later than parts at least of *Psalms*, the *Twelve*, *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah* and *Lamentations*. Thus we arrive at *Samuel*, *Kings*, *I Chronicles*, *Ruth* and *Canticles*; *Ezekiel A*; *Joshua* and *Psalms*; *Ezekiel B*; parts at least of the *Twelve*, *Proverbs* (*xxv* to) *xxx*; *Ezekiel C*; *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah* and *Lamentations*; *Ezekiel D*; possibly the bulk of *Proverbs*; and *Ecclesiasticus*. It is not possible to say more about the place in this sequence of *Job* and *Ecclesiastes* than that they are at least as unlikely as *Proverbs* to have been attempted early as complete books. Much more in the way of firm dating, both relative and absolute, would emerge if the methods employed in the present study were applied with similar precision to these and other Old Greek books. *Daniel* is a case in point. Meanwhile Hebraists may note that those who rendered *Ezekiel A* to *D* were using texts constituted by a date which can be fixed with some exactitude.

It is clear from the conclusions to Part I on the question of hebraism [pp. 103-6] and to Part II on the quality of the version [pp. 187-8] that our text is written in a dialect of Canaanite. The Greek is profoundly un-Greek, not so much in its vocabulary or its idiom, usage and semantics, as in its



fundamental structure. With the Septuagint proper, the collection of Old Greek versions constitutes the largest surviving body of Greek prose dating from the Hellenistic period; yet much of it has a foreign ring, and is opaque to the pagan reader. These characteristics are rooted in the fact that the language is 'translationese', and in the case of our text heavily derivative. The dependence is most obviously upon the Law in its Alexandrian Greek dress. Many locutions and renderings can be understood only as traditional formulae that were not always completely understood or appropriately applied by those who took them up. The version is unapologetically of the 'stained glass' variety, exemplifying an equation of fidelity with literalism. Moreover much of the glass has been moved into place from older structures. Perhaps because the models were virtually uniformly prose renderings of prose works, i-xxxix appears to be innocent of lexical refinements of the kind which mark the difference between a high poetic or rhetorical Greek style and plain prose. There are many indications that the *Vorlage* was imperfectly understood, some that Greek itself may have been imperfectly known, or perhaps considered in the context of Bible translation to be somewhat malleable. It is legitimate to wonder of what language those who rendered i-xxxix into Greek were true native speakers. This does not mean that there is substance to the notion that anyone ever spoke Greek like this, except that conceivably in the context of prayer, public worship and personal religion a certain stylistic penumbra may well develop about the sacred scriptures.

Even given the fact that dynamic equivalence was clearly

not the aim, the quality of the rendering cannot be termed high. It probably reflects an unfortunate coincidence between a decline in knowledge of Biblical Hebrew (without which there would have been no demand for written translation on any scale) and a bruising encounter with a long and difficult original. It seems likely that the production of the Old Greek as a whole was characterized by a steadily widening gulf between the standard demanded by the difficulty of the original and the standard attainable by the grasp of those who sought to render it. *Ezekiel* A and B are somewhat less unreliable than C and D. All, however, are weak and to be taken with a heavy pinch of salt by the serious Hebraist. Probably for completely unavoidable mechanical reasons the method was atomistic, and did not lend itself to reflection, let alone correction. One may hazard a guess that commercial pressures were involved; but whatever the cause, no part of the version, if we discount the major editorial decision made, one must believe, when *Ezekiel* A was excerpted, was done at sufficient leisure for a *Tendenz* or *Tendenzen* to develop: there is an abundance of misinterpreted detail, but nothing that might suggest a sustained interpretative effort. Even the use of the Greek *Torah* cannot be shown in more than one place to have been theologically informed. The work of the present writer may nevertheless have gone some way towards identifying the community which commissioned or at least requested a version of *Ezekiel* i-xxxix, and its reasons for doing so: namely, Jewish people in exile from the Jerusalem Temple, and needing their devotion to and hope in God to be reinforced with vision but with minimal offence to their pagan neighbours in Egypt.

A case could perhaps be made for a desire on the part of that community to distance and dissociate itself from the idolatrous pollutions and compromises of the Palestinian past.

This study was originally intended to expose the manner and method of the Old Greek version of chapters i-xxxix of the Book of *Ezekiel*, with a view to a cautious assessment of its value for Old Testament philology and textual criticism. It was soon clear, however, that the enterprise could not go forward without considerable work upon the Greek language, the results of which turned out to be more relevant, as well as bulkier, than had been expected. It is hoped that where the detail of Part I is not directly relevant to the rest of the work, it may at least serve as some contribution to the neglected field of Septuagint grammar and lexicography. The Hebraist's interest is different; but the present writer, herself an Hebraist who originally expected the Old Greek to lead to much in the way of fruitful emendation and suggestive philological insight, and who never lost sight of that original aim, urges her fellow-students to come to terms with the whole of the argument. In the pyramidal structure, Part III [pp. 189 ff.] is the apex. Here the outstanding apparent divergences between the Massoretic text and our version are scrutinised in the light of the work embodied in Parts I and II. It was disappointing to find no unequivocal cases of the version's yielding new Hebrew text or interpretation. It may be that the results appear somewhat negative, as though much shaking and sifting has served to pan out very few grains of gold; yet it remains the case that in this study methods for the application of the Old Greek have been pioneered. If some

lasting methodological principles have emerged the work will perhaps have been worthwhile, for if anything has characterized the use of the earliest version it has been a lack of method. Let the days of light-hearted and light-minded retroversion be gone. It is surely better to go shopping and come home empty-handed than to buy a pig in a poke. The present writer believes that wherever and whenever in the future materials for genuine textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible come to hand, this approach will be abundantly vindicated.

APPENDICES  
AND  
STATISTICAL TABLES

APPENDIX A. The Limited Inventories.

## List 1. Prepositions.

ἀνά μέσον  
 ἀντί  
 ἄνωθεν  
 ἀπέναντι  
 ἀπό  
 ἀπό προσώπου  
 διά  
 ἐγγύς  
 εἰς  
 εἰς μέσον  
 εἰς πρόσωπον  
 ἐκ  
 ἐκ δέξιων  
 ἐκ μέσου  
 ἔμπροσθεν  
 ἐν  
 ἐναντίον  
 ἕνεκ-α, -εν  
 ἐν μέσῳ  
 ἐνώπιον  
 ἐξ εὐωνύμων  
 ἐπάνω  
 ἐπί  
 ἐπί προσώπου  
 ἕως  
 κατά  
 κατά πρόσωπον  
 κατέναντι  
 κατόπισθεν  
 κύκλῳ  
 μετά  
 ὀπίσω  
 παρά  
 παρέξ  
 περί  
 περικύκλῳ  
 πρό  
 πρός  
 σύν  
 ὑπέρ  
 ὑπεράνω  
 ὑπεράνωθεν  
 ὑπό  
 ὑποκάτω  
 ὑποκάτωθεν

List 2. Pronouns and pronominal adjectives.

αὐτός  
ἐαυτοῦ  
ἐγώ  
ἕκαστος  
ἐκάτερος  
ἐκεῖνος  
ἐμαυτοῦ  
ἐμός  
ἕτερος  
ἡμεῖς  
ὄδε  
ὅς  
ὅσος  
ὅστις  
οὗτος  
πόσος  
σεαυτοῦ  
σύ  
τίς  
τις  
τοιούτος  
ὕμεῖς

APPENDIX B. The Vocabulary.

The form quoted is normally the nominative singular in the case of nouns, and the first person singular present indicative active in the case of verbs. These forms are taken to represent respectively the remaining cases and the other active and medio-passive forms which may occur. Where the medio-passive is quoted instead this indicates that the active does not appear in our text, or that the medio-passive is a significant phenomenon in its own right. Other first person singular forms are quoted only when the particular paradigm is significant; here too the first person singular form is taken to cover the occurrence of the other persons and of the corresponding participle and infinitive forms in our text. Other persons are quoted by and for themselves. The attestation of a compound verbal form has not normally been assumed to have the evidential value of the simple form, nor *vice versa*; but a participle or infinitive is taken to indicate the existence of the corresponding verbal paradigm.

The following special signs are used in the vocabulary lists:-

- P: occurs in the Greek Pentateuch or Septuagint proper.
- G: occurs in the Old Greek version of one or more of the remaining books.
- E: occurs only in *Ezekiel* in the Greek Bible.

The abbreviations for the names of biblical and apocryphal books are those of Hatch and Redpath; for other sources they are those of Liddell-Scott-Jones and Lampe.



- List 1.** A list of words and names having no recognisable Greek morphology, or a morphology not appropriate to the syntactic function revealed by context. A note of number and gender is added where these are deducible. An asterisk indicates that the word is always determined.
- Αβρααμ m.s. [xxxiii.24] P, G.  
 Αιλαμ m.s. [xxxiii.24] P, G.  
 \*αιλαμ pl. [viii.16] G III Ki, II Ch.  
 Αμμων m. or n.s. [xxi.25,33, xxv.2,3,5,5,10,10] P, G.  
 Ασηλ [xxvii,19] E; TH Za xiv.12.  
 Ασιμουθ [xxv.9] P, G.  
 Ασοουρ m. or n.s. [xvi.28, xxvii.23, xxxi.3, xxxii.22,29,30] P, G.  
 Βουζι m.s. [i.3] E.  
 \*γαι n.s. [xxxix.11,15] P, G.  
 γελλελ s. or n.pl. [x.13] E; AQ, SM Jo xii.23.  
 Γομερ m.s. [xxxviii.6] G Ho i.3 [f.s.].  
 (Γωβελι v em.) [xxvii.4] E.  
 Γωγ m.s. [xxxviii.2,14,17,18, xxxix.1,1,6,11,11,11,15] P, G.  
 Δανιηλ m.s. [xiv.14,20, xxviii.3] G I Ch, II Es, Da LXX, Da TH, Bel, I Ma, III Ma, IV Ma.  
 Δαρωμ [xxi.2] E.  
 Δαυιδ m.s. [xxxiv.23,24,25, xxxvii.24,25] G *passim*.  
 Δεβλαθα [vi.14] G Je.  
 Δεδαν [xxvii.20, xxxviii.13] P, G.  
 \*Εζερ m.s. [xi.1] G I Ch.  
 Ελτοαι [xxvii.7] E.  
 Εφραιμ xxxvii.16,19] P, G.  
 \*θαμμουζ m.s. [viii.14] E; HEB, SYR *ibidem*.  
 Θαρσις [i.16, xxvii.16] P, G.  
 Θεγραμα m. or n.s. [xxvii.14, xxxviii.6 em.] P, G.  
 Θοβελ [xxxii.26, xxxviii.2,3, xxxix.1] P, G.  
 Ιακωβ m.s. [xx.5, xxviii.25, xxxvii.25, xxxix.25] P, G.  
 Ιεζεκιηλ m.s. [i.3, xxiv.24] G Si, IV Ma.  
 Ιερουσαλημ f.s. [*passim*, some 25 times] P, G.  
 \*ι v m. or n.s. [iv.11] P.  
 Ισραηλ m.s. [*passim*, some 140 times] P, G.  
 Ιωακιμ m.s. [i.2] G IV Ki, Ch, Je, Da LXX, I Es, II Es.  
 Ιωβ m.s. [xiv.14,20] G Jb.  
 Ιωσηφ m.s. [xxxvii.16,19] P, G.  
 Κεδεμ [xxv.4,10] G Je.  
 Κησαρ [xxvii.21] P, G.  
 Κουε [xxiii.23] E; SM, TH *ibidem*.  
 \*Μαγωγ m. or n.s. [xxxviii.2] P, G.  
 Μοσοχ [xxxii.26, xxxviii.2,3, xxxix.1] P, G.  
 Μωαβ m.s. [xxv.8,9,10] P, G.  
 Ναβουχοδοσορ m.s. [xxvi.7, xxix.18,19, xxx.10] G *passim*.  
 ναγεβ [xxi.2,3] G Jo, Ob, Je.

Νωξ	m.s. [xiv.14,20] P, G.
Ραββαθ	[xxi.25] G II Ki, Je.
Ραγμα	[xxvii.22] P, G.
Ραμωθ	[xxvii.16] P, G.
Ρως	[xxxviii.2,3, xxxix.1].
Σαβα	[xxvii.22, xxxviii.13] P, G.
Σαδδαι	m.s. [x.5] E.
Σανιρ	[xxvii.5] P, G.
•Σαφαν	m.s. [viii.11] G Jo, IV Ki, II Ch, Je.
Ση'ρ	[xxxv.2,3,7,15] P, G.
Σορ	f.s. [xxvi.2,3,4,7,15, xxvii.2,3,3,8,32] G Je.
Σουε	[xxiii.23] E.
Ταφνας	[xxx.18] G Je, Ju.
Φακουδ	[xxiii.23] E; SM, TH <i>ibidem</i> .
Φαραω	m.s. [xxvii.17, xxix.2,3, xxx.21,22,25, xxxi.2,18, xxxii.2,31,32] P, G.
Χανσαν	[xvi.3, xvii.4] P, G.
Χαρμαν	m.s. [xxvii.23] E.
Χαρραν	m.s. [xxvii.23] P, G.
Χερουβ,	-ιν m.s. and pl. [ix.3, x.1,2,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,15, 16,16,18,19,20, xi.22, xxviii.14,16] P, G.
•(Χετι'ν em.)	pl. [xxvii.6] P, G.
•Χοβαρ	m. <u>of</u> n.s. [i.1,3, iii.15,23, x.15,20,22] E; TH Ez x.22.
Χορχορ	[xxvii.16] E.

**List 2.** A list of hellenized names and other words, including some of semitic or other foreign origin. A note of number and gender in our text is added where these are deducible. Terminations as they appear in our text are indicated; nominative forms which do not occur appear in brackets. The singular form is quoted unless only the plural occurs in our text. An asterisk indicates that the word is always determined.

- ἄβαμ-α f.s. **or** n.pl. [xx.29,29].  
 Αἰγύπτι-οι, -ους, -ων m.pl. [xxix.13,14, xxx.4,10].  
 Αἰγυπτ-(ος), -ον, -ου f.s. [passim].  
 Αἰθίοπ-ες, -ων m.pl. [xxix.10, xxxviii.5].  
 \*Αἰθίοπ-(τα), -ιαν, -ιᾶ f.s. [xxx.4,9].  
 Ἄμωρραῖ-ος adj. [xvi.3,45].  
 \*Ἀράδι-οι, -ων m.pl. [xxvii.8,11].  
 Ἀσσύρι-(οι), -ους, -ων m.pl. [xxiii.5,7,9,12,23].  
 Βαβυλῶν, -ῶνα, -ῶνος s. [passim].  
 \*Βαναί-(ος), -ου m.s. [xi.1,13].  
 \*Βασσανίτ-(ις), -ιδος f.s. [xxvii.6].  
 Βούβαστ-(ος), -ου s. [xxx.17].  
 Βύβλ-(τα), -ίων pl. [xxvii.9].  
 Βύσσ-ος s. [xvi.10, xxvii.7].  
 Δαμασκ-ός s. [xxvii.18].  
 Διόσπολ-(ις), -ει f.s. [xxx.14,16].  
 \*Ἐλλάς f.s. [xxvii.18].  
 Ἐλιούπολ-(ις), -εως f.s. [xxx.17].  
 Θάμ-(ας), -αν s. [xxi.1].  
 \*Ἰδομαία, -αν, -ᾶ f.s. [xxv.12,13,14,14, xxxv.15, xxxvi.5].  
 Ἰεζον-ίας, -ίαν m.s. [viii.11, xi.1].  
 \*Ἰουδαί(α), -αν f.s. [xxi.25].  
 Ἰούδ-ας, -αν, -α m.s. [passim].  
 κάμηλ-(οι), -ους, -ων m.pl. [xxv.5, xxvii.21].  
 Καρχηδόνη-οι m.pl. [xxvii.12,25, xxxviii.13].  
 κασ-(ία), -ίας s. [xxvii.17].  
 Κρήτ-ες, -ας m.pl. [xxv.16, xxx.5].  
 κυπάρισσ-ος. -ου, -οι f.s. and pl. [xxvii.5, xxxi.3,8].  
 \*Λίβαν-ος, -ον, -ου, -φ m.s. [xxvii.5, xxxi.3,15,16].  
 Λίβυ-ες m.pl. [xxvii.10, xxx.5, xxxviii.5].  
 Λύδ-οι m.pl. [xxvii.10, xxx.5].  
 Μάγῶν-(ον), -ου s. [xxix.10, xxx.6].  
 Μέμφ-(ις), -εως f.s. [xxx.13,15].  
 Μίλητ-(ος), -ου s. [xxvii.18].  
 Ὀολ-α, -αν f.s. [xxiii.4,4,5,36,44].  
 Ὀολιβ-α, -αν f.s. [xxiii.4,4,11,22,36,44].  
 Παθούρ-(η), -ης f.s. [xxix.14, xxx.14].  
 Πέρσ-αι m.pl. [xxvii.10, xxx.5, xxxviii.5].  
 Ῥόδι-(οι), -ων m.pl. [xxvii.15].  
 σάββατ-α, -ων n.pl. [passim].  
 Σᾶ-(ις), -ιν f.s. [xxx.15].  
 Σαμάρει-α, -ας f.s. [xvi.46,51,53,55, xxiii.4,33].

- σάφιρ-(ος), -ον, -ου s. [i.26, ix.2, x.1, xxviii.13].  
 Σιδ-(ών), -ῶνα s. [xxvii.8, xxviii.21,22].  
 σίκλ-(οι), -ους m.pl. [iv.10].  
 Σόδομ-α, -ων n.pl. [xvi.46,48,49,53,55,56].  
 Συήν-η, -ης f.s. [xxix.10, xxx.6,16].  
 Σύρι-(α), -ας f.s. [xvi.57].  
 Τāv-(ις), ιν f.s. [xxx.14].  
 Τύρ-(ος), ον, -ου s. [xxviii.12, xxix.18,18,20].  
 Φαλτί-ας, -αν m.s. [xi.1,13].  
 Χαλδαί-(οι), -ους, -ων m.pl. [passim].  
 Χάνν-α f.s. or n.pl. [xxvii.23].  
 Χελβ-(α), -ων pl. [xxvii.18].  
 Χετταί-(ος) adj. [xvi.3,45].

List 3. A list of words attested at least as early as the fourth century B.C. and surviving in the post-Classical language at least as late as the mid-third century B.C.

ἀγαθός adj. P.	ἀλώπηξ G.	ἀνόμημα P.
ἀγαπάω P.	ἄμα adv. P.	ἀνομία P.
ἄγγελία G.	ἄμαρτάνω P.	ἄνομος adj. P.
ἄγγελος P.	ἄμαρτημα P.	ἀνορθόω G.
ἄγγος P.	ἄμαρτία P.	ἀνόσιος adj. G.
ἄγιάζω P.	ἄμαρτωλός adj. P.	ἀντιδίωμι G.
ἄγιος P.	ἄμέθυτος P.	ἀντιλαμβάνομαι P.
ἄγκιστρον G.	ἄμνος P.	ἄνυδρος adj. P.
ἄγκών G.	ἄμπελος P.	ἄνωθεν adv. P.
ἄγορά G.	ἄμπελόν P.	ἄπαίρω P.
ἄγρός P.	ἄμωμος adj. P.	ἄπαλλοτριόω G.
ἄγω P.	ἀναβαίνω P.	ἄπαλότης P.
ἄδελφή P.	ἀναβάτης P.	ἄπαρτία P.
ἄδελφός P.	ἀναβιβάζω P.	ἄπαρχή P.
ἄδης P.	ἀναβλέπω P.	ἄπας adj. P.
ἄδικέω P.	ἀναβοάω P.	ἄπειθέω P.
ἄδίκημα P.	ἀναβολή G.	ἄπελαύνω G.
ἄδικία P.	ἀναβράσσω G.	ἄπείριδομαι G.
ἄετός P.	ἀναγγέλλω P.	ἄπειρω P.
ἄθροίζω P.	ἀνάγω P.	ἄπηλιώτης P.
αἰδοῖον E.	ἀναδενδράς G.	ἀποδίωμι P.
αἶμα P.	ἀναιρέω P.	ἀποθήκη P.
αἰρετίζω P.	ἀνακαίω G.	ἀποθνήσκω P.
αἶρω P.	ἀνακράζω G.	ἀποκάθηναι P.
αἰσχύνη G.	ἀνακρούω G.	ἀποκαθίστημι P.
αἰσχύνω P.	ἀναλαμβάνω P.	ἀποκαλύπτω P.
αἰχμαλωσία P.	ἀναλίσκω P.	ἀποκεντέω P.
αἰχμάλωτος adj. P.	ἀνάλωσις P.	ἀποκνίζω P.
αἰών P.	ἀναμίγνυμι G.	ἀποκρίνω P.
αἰώνιος adj. P. <sup>1</sup>	ἀναμιμνήσκω P.	ἀποκτείνω P.
ἄκαθαρσία P.	ἀναπαύω P.	ἀπόλλυμι P.
ἄκάθαρτος adj. P.	ἀνάπτω G.	ἀποπηδάω G.
ἄκανθα P.	ἀναστρέφω P.	ἀποπλύνω G.
ἄκοή P.	ἀνασώζω P.	ἀπορρίπτω P.
ἄκολουθέω P.	ἀνατέλλω P.	ἀποστέλλω P.
ἄκούω P.	ἀνατολή P.	ἀποστρέφω P.
ἄκρος adj. P.	ἀναφέρω P.	ἀποστροφή P.
ἄκρωτήριον P.	ἀνιλέω E.	ἀποτίνω P.
ἄλαλάζω P.	ἄνεμος P.	ἀποφέρω P.
ἄλειψω P.	ἄνήρ P.	ἀποφθέγγομαι G.
ἄλίζω (B) P.	ἄνθεω P.	ἀπόφθεγμα P.
ἄλίσκομαι P.	ἄνθος P.	ἄπτομαι P.
ἄλλόγλωσσος adj. G.	ἄνθραξ P.	ἄπυθέω G.
ἄλλότριος adj. P.	ἄνθρώπινος adj. P.	ἄπώλεια P.
ἄλλοφυλος adj. P.	ἄνθρωπος P.	ἄπώρυξ E.
ἄλοιφή P.	ἄνθρωπος P.	ἄρά P.
ἄλος P.	ἀνίστημι P.	ἄργυρος P.
ἄλωδης adj. G.	ἀνοίγω P.	ἄργυροῦς adj. P.
	ἀνομέω P.	

ἀριθμός P.	βοηθός adj. P.	διαπειλέω G.
ἀριστερός adj. P.	βόθρος G.	διαπετάννυμι G.
ἄρμα P.	βόλβιτον G.	διαπορεύομαι P.
ἄρμονία E.	βορέας P.	διαρπαγή P.
ἀρπάζω P.	βόσκω P.	διαρπάζω P.
ἄρτος P.	βουλεύω P.	διαρρήγνυμι P.
ἀρχή P.	βουλή P.	διασπείρω P.
ἄρχομαι P.	βούλομαι P.	διαστέλλω P.
ἄρχων P.	βουνός P.	διαστρέφω P.
ἀσεβεία P.	βοῦς P.	διασώζω P.
ἀσεβέω P.	βραχιών P.	διατάσσω G.
ἀσεβής adj. P.	βρέχω P.	διατίθημι P.
ἀσθενέω G.	βρώμα P.	διαφθείρω G.
ἀσθενής adj. P.	βύσσινος adj. P.	διαφθορά G.
ἀστραπή P.	βῶλος G.	διαφωνέω P.
ἄστρον P.	γάλα P.	διαχέω P.
ἀσχημονέω P.	γαλεάγρα E.	διαχωρίζω P.
ἀσχημοσύνη P.	γένεσις P.	δίδωμι P.
ἀτιμάζω P.	γένημα P.	διεξέρχομαι G.
ἀτιμία G.	γεννάω P.	διέρχομαι P.
ἀτιμώ G.	γῆ P.	διηγέομαι P.
ἀτιμία P.	γίγας P.	διίστημι P.
αὐλή P.	γίγνομαι P.	δίκαιος adj. P.
ἀφανίω P.	γιγνώσκω P.	δικαιοσύνη P.
ἀφανίζω P.	γλυπτός adj. P.	δικαιόω P.
ἀφανισμός P.	γλώσσα P.	δικαίωμα P.
ἄφεδρος P.	γνόφος P.	δίκη P.
ἀφηγέομαι P.	γνωρίζω P.	δικτυον G.
ἀφίημι P.	γνωστός adj. P.	διοδεύω P.
ἀφίστημι P.	γραφή P.	διορύσσω G.
ἀφορμή G.	γραφίς P.	διπλασιάζω E.
ἀφυλάκτως adv. E.	γράφω P.	διωθέω G.
ἀχάτης P.	γυμνός adj. P.	διώκω P.
βαδίζω P.	γυνή P.	δόλος P.
βάθος G.	δακρύω G.	δόμα P.
βαθύς adj. P.	δαλός P.	δόξα P.
βάλλω P.	δει P.	δοξάζω P.
βαπτός adj. E.	δείκνυμι P.	δουλεία P.
βάρβαρος adj. G.	δένδρον P.	δουλεύω P.
βαρύνω P.	δεξιός adj. P.	δοῦλος P.
βάσανος G.	δέριμα P.	δράκων P.
βασιλεία P.	δεσμός P.	δράξ P.
βασιλεύς P.	δέω (A) P.	δρυμός P.
βασιλεύω P.	διαγράφω G.	δύναμαι P.
βάσις P.	διάγω G.	δύναμις P.
βέβηλος adj. P.	διαθήκη P.	δυναστεία P.
βιβλίον P.	διαίρεω P.	δυνατός adj. P.
βιβρώσκω P.	διακρίνω P.	δυσμή P.
βλαστός P.	διαμαρτύρομαι P.	ἕσρον P.
βλασφημία G.	διανόημα G.	ἐγγίζω P.
βλέπω P.	διάνοια P.	ἐγγύθεν adv. G.
βοή P.	διανοίγω P.	ἐγγύς adv. P.
βοηθέω P.	διαπαρθενεύω E.	ἐγγίρω P.

ἐγκάθηναι P.	ἐλάτη P.	ἐπαινετός adj. E.
ἐγκαθίζω G.	ἐλάτινος adj. G.	ἐπαίρω P.
ἐγκαταλείπω P.	ἐλαττώω P.	ἐπάνω adv. P.
ἐγκλείω G.	ἐλαφρός adj. P.	ἐπάνωθεν adv. P.
ἐγκρυφίας sc. ἄρτος	ἐλεγχος G.	ἐπαρσις P.
ἐγκρύφω G.	ἐλέγχω P.	ἐπαφήμι G.
ἐγχειρίδιον P.	ἐλεεώ P.	ἐπέκεινα adv. P.
ἐγγέω P.	ἐλεος P.	ἐπέρχομαι P.
ἐθαφίζω G.	ἐλεφάντινος adj. G.	ἐπερωτάω P.
ἐθέλω/θέλω P.	ἐλέφας G.	ἐπιβαίνω P.
ἔθνος P.	ἐλπίζω P.	ἐπιβάτης G.
εἶδος P.	ἐμβάλλω P.	ἐπιβλέπω P.
εἶδωλον P.	ἐμπαίζω P.	ἐπιγιγνώσκω P.
εἰκόν P.	ἐμπίμπλημι P.	ἐπίθεσις G.
εἰμί P.	ἐμπίμπρημι P.	ἐπιθύημα P.
εἰρήνη P.	ἐμπορεύομαι P.	ἐπιθυμητός adj. G.
εἰσάγω P.	ἐμπορία G.	ἐπικαθίζω P.
εἰσακούω P.	ἐμπόριον P.	ἐπικαλέω P.
εἰσδέχομαι G.	ἔμπορος P.	ἐπικαλύπτω P.
εἰσέρχομαι P.	ἔμπροσθεν adv. P.	ἐπικρατέω P.
εἴσοδος P.	ἔμπυρος adj. G.	ἐπιλαμβάνω P.
εἰσπορεύομαι P.	ἐμφυσάω P.	ἐπίλεκτος adj. P.
ἐκδικέω P.	ἐναντίος adj. P.	ἐπιλήθω P.
ἐκδύω P.	ἐνδεής adj. P.	ἐπιμαίγνυμι G.
ἐκεῖ adv. P.	ἐνδεια P.	ἐπιπορεύομαι P.
ἐκεῖθεν adv. P.	ἐνδέω P.	ἐπισκέπτω P.
ἐκζητέω P.	ἐνδίδωμι P.	ἐπιστή P. <sup>4</sup>
ἐκθλίβω P.	ἐνδύω P.	ἐπισταμαί P.
ἐκκαίω P.	ἐνεχυράζω P.	ἐπιστήμη P.
ἐκκενόω P.	ἐνθύημα G.	ἐπιστρέφω P.
ἐκκλησία P.	ἐνιαυτός P.	ἐπισυνίστημι P.
ἐκκλίνω P.	ἐνισχύω P.	ἐπιτάσσω P.
ἐκλέγω P.	ἐντέλλομαι P.	ἐπιτήδευμα P.
ἐκλείπω P.	ἐντήκω G.	ἐπιτίθημι P.
ἐκλεκτός adj. P.	ἐντολή P.	ἐπιφαίνω P.
ἐκλυσις G.	ἐντρέπομαι P.	ἐπιχαίρω G.
ἐκλύω P.	ἐνώτιον P.	ἐραστής G.
ἐκπετάννυμι P.	ἐξάγω P.	ἐργάζομαι P.
ἐκπιέζω G.	ἐξαιρέω P.	ἐργασία P.
ἐκπορεύομαι P.	ἐξαίρω P.	ἔργον P.
ἐκρηγμα E.	ἐξαλείφω P.	ἐρημία G.
ἐκσπάω G.	ἐξανάλισκω P.	ἔρημος adj. P. <sup>5</sup>
ἐκστασις P.	ἐξανίστημι P.	ἐρημός P.
ἐκστρέφω P.	ἐξάπτω P.	ἔριον P.
ἐκτασις G.	ἐξεγείρω P.	ἐρπετός adj. P. <sup>6</sup>
ἐκτείνω P.	ἐξερημόω P.	ἔρπω P.
ἐκτρέφω P.	ἐξέρχομαι P. <sub>2</sub>	ἔρχομαι P.
ἐκφέρω P.	ἐξήνεγκα P. <sub>2</sub>	ἐσθίω P.
ἐκφορέω P.	ἐξιλάσκομαι P.	ἐσπέρα P.
ἐκφυσάω G.	ἐξίστημι P.	ἐστώς ptc. G. <sup>7</sup>
ἐκχέω P.	ἐξώθεν adv. P.	ἔσχατος adj. P.
ἐκψύχω G.	ἐορτή P.	ἔσω adv. P.
ἔλαιον P.	ἐπάγω P. <sup>3</sup>	ἔσωθεν adv. P.

ἔτι adv. P.	θηρίον P.	καινός adj. P.
ἐτοιμάζω P.	θησαυρός P.	καιρός P.
ἔτοιμος adj. P.	θάλα G.	καίω P.
ἔτος P.	θλίβω P.	κακία P.
εὖ adv. P.	θλίψις P.	κακολογέω P.
εὐάρμοστος adj. G.	θόρυβος G.	κακός adj. P.
εὐθανία P.	θράσος G.	κακῶ P.
εὐθύς adj. and adv. P.	θραύω P.	κακῶς adv.
εὐλογέω P.	θρηνέω G.	καλάμι νος P.
εὐλογία P.	θρήνος G.	καλέω P.
εὐπρέπεια G.	θρίξ P.	κάλλος P.
εὐρίσκω P.	θρόνος P.	καλός adj. P.
εὐφραίνομαι P.	θυγάτηρ P.	καλύπτω P.
εὐφροσύνη P.	θυμίαμα P.	κάμινος P.
εὐωδία P.	θυμιατήριον G.	καρδία P.
εὐώνυμος adj. P. <sup>8</sup>	θυμός P.	καρπός P.
ἐπίστημι P.	θυμοῦμαι P.	κασσίτερος P.
ἐφοράω G.	θύρα P.	καταβαίνω P.
ἔχθρα P.	θυρέος G.	καταβάλλω G.
ἔχθρός P.	θυρία P.	καταβιβάζω P.
ἔχω P.	θύω (A) P.	καταβιβρώσκω P.
ἔψω P.	θῶραξ G.	κατάγω P.
ἔωλος adj. E.	Ἰασις G.	καταδέω (A) P, (?) G.
ζάω P.	Ἰασις P.	καταδουλόω P.
ζέω P.	ἴδιος adj. P.	καταδυναστεύω P.
ζήλος P.	ἱερεύς P.	καταισχύνω G.
ζηλόω P.	ἱερός adj. G.	κατακαίω P.
ζητέω P.	ἱκανός adj. P.	κατακαλύπτω P.
ζυγός P.	ἱμάτιον P.	κατακεντέω G.
ζωγραφέω G.	ἱματισμός P.	κατακλάω E.
ζωή P.	ἴός (C) G.	κατακλύζω G.
ζωμός G.	ἱππάζομαι G.	κατακόπτω P.
ζώνη P.	ἱππεύω G.	καταλείπω P.
ζώννυμι P.	ἱππεύς P.	κατάλοιπος adj. P.
ζῶν P.	ἵππος P.	καταλύω P.
ἡγέομαι P.	ἴστημι P.	καταπατέω G.
ἡδυσμα P.	ἴστος G.	καταπαύω P.
ἦκω P.	ἰσχυρός adj. P.	κατασκάπτω P.
ἡλεκτρον E.	ἰσχύς P.	κατασκηνώω P.
ἥλιος P.	ἰχθύς P.	κατάσκιος adj. G.
ἡμέρα P.	ἶχνος P.	κατασφάζω G.
ἡμισυς adj. P. <sup>9</sup>	καθαίρέω P.	κατάσχεσις P.
ἡσυχάζω P.	καθαρίζω P.	κατεργάζομαι P.
ἡσυχία G.	καθαρός adj. P.	κατεσθίω P.
θάλασσα P.	κάθαρσις P.	κατευθύνω G.
θάμβος G.	καθέζομαι P.	κατέχω P.
θάνατος P.	κάθεμα G.	κατισχύω P.
θανατόω P.	καθεύδω P.	κατοικέω P.
θάπτω P.	καθήκω P.	κατοικία P.
θεῖον (A) P.	κάθημαι P.	κατοικίζω P.
θεμέλιον P.	καθίζω P.	κατορθόω G.
θεός P.	καθίστημι P.	κατορύσσω P.
θερμαίνω G.	καθόλου adv. P. <sup>10</sup>	κάτω adv. P.



καύχησις G.	κύαμος G.	μέλος P.
κεγκρός G.	κυβερνήτης G.	μεριμνάω P.
κέδρος P.	κυκλόθεν adv. P.	μέρος P.
κέρας P.	κύκλος P. <sup>11</sup>	μέσος adj. P.
κεφαλή P.	κύμα P.	μεστός adj. G.
κεφαλίς P.	κυπαρίσσινος adj.   G.	μεταμελοῦμαι P.
κημός G.	κύριος P.	μετεωρίζομαι G.
κῆπος P.	κωλύω P.	μετέωρος G.
κηρίον G.	κώμη P.	μέτρον P.
κίδαρις P.	κώπη E.	μέτωπον P.
κλάδος P.	λαλέω P.	μηδαιῶς adv. P.
κλαίω/κλάω P.	λάλημα G.	μηκύνω G.
κλήμα P.	λαμβάνω P.	μήν P.
κληρονομέω P.	λαμπάς P.	μηρός P.
κληρονομία P.	λαός P.	μήτηρ P.
κλήρος P.	λατρεύω P.	μήτρα P.
κλίνη P.	λέβης P.	μιαίνω P.
κοιλία P.	λέγω P.	μίσσασμα P.
κοιμάω P.	λειτουργία P.	μικρός adj. P.
κοίτη P.	λέων P.	μιμνήσκομαι P.
κοιτών P.	ληστής P.	μισέω P.
κόλασις G.	λίθινος adj. P.	μισθός P.
κόμη P.	λίθος P.	μίσθωμα P.
κομίζω P.	λικμάω G.	μίσος G.
κονιορτός P.	λιμός P.	μίτρα P.
κοντός G.	λογίζομαι P.	μνεία P.
κόπρος P.	λογισμός G.	μνήμα P.
κόπτω P.	λόγος P.	μνημεῖον P.
κορυφή P.	λόγχη (A) G.	μνησικακέω P.
κοσμέω G.	λοιπός adj. P.	μοιχεύω P.
κόσμος P.	λούω P.	μόλυβδος P.
κουρεύς (A) G.	λύκος P.	μολύνομαι (Act.) P.
κράζω P.	λυμαίνομαι P.	μόνος adj. P.
κραταιός adj. P.	λυπέω P.	μόσχος P.
κρατέω P.	μαδάω P.	μουσικός adj. P.
κραυγή P.	μακρᾶν adv. P.	μόχθος P.
κρέας adj. P.	μακρός adj. P.	μοχλός P.
κρείττων adj. comp.   P.	μάλαγμα G.	μυκτήρ P.
κρεμάννυμι P.	μάνδρα G.	μυκτηρίζω G.
κριθή P.	μανθάνω P.	μύρον P.
κρίθινος adj. P.	μαντεία P.	νάος G.
κρίμα P.	μαντεύομαι P.	νάπη P.
κρίνω P.	μαστός P.	νεανισκός P. <sup>12</sup>
κρίός P.	μάταιος adj. P.	νεῖκος G.
κρίσις P.	μάτην adj. G.	νεκρός P.
κροτέω G.	μάχαιρα P.	νέμω P.
κρύπτω P.	μεγαλαυχέω G.	νέος adj. P.
κρυπτός adj. P.	μεγαλύνω P.	νεότης P.
κρύσταλλος P.	μέγας adj. P.	νεῦρον P.
κτάομαι P.	μέγεθος P.	νεφέλη P.
κτήνη, τά P.	μεγιστάν G.	νήπιος adj. G.
κτήσεις P.	μέθη G.	νηπιότης G.
κτιζέω P.	μέλι P.	νήσος P.

νομή P.	ὀρθῶς adv. P.	πενθέω P.
νόμιμος adj. P.	ὄριον P.	πένθος P.
νόμος P.	ὄρμη P.	πέρας G.
νοσσεύω G.	ὄρμος P.	περιάγω G.
νότος P.	ὄρνεον P.	περιβάλλω P.
νουμηνία P.	ὄρος P.	περιβόλαιον P.
νύμφη P.	ὄρύσσω P.	περιέρχομαι G.
νῦν adv. P.	ὄρφανός P.	περιέχω G.
νῶτος P.	ὄσμη P.	περιζώννυμι
ξηραίνω P.	ὄστέον P.	περικεφαλαία, ἡ G.
ξηρασία G.	ὄστράκινος adj. P.	περικύκλω adv. P.
ξηρός adj. P.	ὄσφύς P.	περιοικοδομέω G.
ξίφος G.	οὐκέτι adv. P.	περιοχή G.
ξύλον P.	οὐρανός P.	περιπλέκω G.
ζυρόν P.	οὐς P.	περιποιούμαι P.
ὄδος P.	οὐτω(ς) adv. P.	περίστασις G.
ὄδοῦς P.	ὀφείλω P.	περιστέλλω G.
ὄδῦνη P.	ὀφθαλμός P.	περιτίθημι P.
οἰκέω P.	ὄχλος P.	πετεινός adj. P. <sup>13</sup>
οἰκῆμα G.	ὄχιρος P.	πέτομαι P.
οἰκία P.	ὄψις P.	πέτρα P.
οἰκοδομέω P.	παιδεία P.	πετρόβολος adj. G.
οἶκος P.	παιθεύω P.	πηγή P.
οἶνος P.	παραβαίνω P.	παινω G.
ὄλεθρος G.	παραβολή P.	πικρία P.
ὀλίγος adj. P.	παραδείκνυμι P.	πικρός adj. P.
ὀλόκληρος adj. P.	παράδεισος P.	πίμπλημι P.
ὀλος adj. P.	παραδίδωμι P.   G.	πίνω P.
ὄλυρα P.	παραθαλάσσιος adj.	πίοτης P.
ὄννυμι P.	παρακαλέω P.	πίπτω P.
ὄμοιος adj. P.	παραλία P.	πίτις G.
ὀμοίωμα P.	παράλυσις E.	πίων P.
ὀμοίως adv. G.	παραλύω P.	πλανάω P.
ὀμοίωσις P.	παράπαν adv. G.	πλάνη G.
ὀμορέω G.	παραπίπτω G.	πλατεῖα (sc.) ὄδος P.
ὀμφαλός G.	παράταξις P.	πλατύς adj. P.
ὄμφαξ G.	παρατείνω P.	πλεονάζω P.
ὄνειδος P.	παραμβολή P.	πλεονασμός P.
ὄνομα P.	παρθένος P.	πλεονεκτέω G.
ὄνομαστός adj. P.	παροδεύω G.	πλεονεξία G.
ὄνος P.	παροικέω P.	πλευρά P.
ὄνουξ P.	παροργίζω P.	πλευρόν P.
ὄνυχιον P.	πᾶς adj. P.	πλήθος P.
ὄξύω G.	πάσσαλος P.	πληθύνω P.
ὄξύς adj. G.	πάσχω G.	πλήρης adj. P.
ὄπισθε(ν) adv. P.	πατήρ P.	πληρώω P.
ὄπισθιος adj. P.	πατρίς P.	πλήρωμα G.
ὄπλη P.	παχύς adj. G.	πλήρωσις P.
ὄπλον G.	πεδίον P.	πλησίον adv. P. <sup>14</sup>
ὄρασις P.	πείθω P.	πλησιονή P.
ὄράω P.	πεινάω P.	πλίνθος P.
ὄργή P.	πέλιτη E.	πλοῖον P.
ὄρθός adj. G.	πένης adj. P.	πλουτίζω P.

- πνεῦμα P.  
 πνοή P.  
 ποδήρης P.  
 ποιέω P.  
 ποικιλία P.  
 ποίκιλμα G.  
 ποικίλος adj. P.  
 ποιμαίνω P.  
 ποιμήν P.  
 ποίμνιον P.  
 πολεμικός adj. P.  
 πολεμιστής adj. P.  
 πόλεμος P.  
 πόλις P.  
 πολλαχῶς adv. G.  
 πολὺς adj. P.  
 πονηρός adj. P.  
 πόνος P.  
 πορεύομαι P.  
 πορνεία P.  
 πορνεῖον G.  
 πορνεύω P.  
 πορνή P.  
 πορφύρα P.  
 ποταμός P.  
 ποτήριον P.  
 ποτίζω P.  
 ποῦς P.  
 πρᾶσις P.  
 πρεσβύτερος adj. P.  
 προανατέλλω E.  
 πρόβατον P.  
 πρόθυρον P.  
 προνομή P.  
 προσάγω P.  
 προσδέχομαι P.  
 προσδίδωμι P.  
 προσκαίω E.  
 προσκεῖμαι P.  
 προσκεφάλαιον G.  
 προσκολλάω P.  
 προσκυνέω P.  
 πρόσταγμα P.  
 προστίθημι P.  
 προσφάτως adv. G.  
 πρόσωπον P.  
 προφητεύω P.  
 προφήτης P.  
 προφυλακή P.  
 πρῶτ' adv. P.  
 πρῶρεὺς G.  
 πρῶτος adj. P.  
 πτέρυξ P.  
 πτερυόσομαι E.  
 πτερωτός adj. P.  
 πτοέω P.  
 πτώσις P.  
 πτωχός P.  
 πύλη P.  
 πυλὼν P.  
 πῦρ P.  
 πύργος P.  
 πύρινος adj. G.  
 πυρός P.  
 πώγων P.  
 πωλέω P.  
 ῥάβδος P.  
 ῥαίνω P.  
 ῥαπτός adj. E.  
 ῥέω P.  
 ῥήγνυμι P.  
 ῥῆμα P.  
 ῥητίνη P.  
 ῥίζα P.  
 ῥίπτω P.  
 ῥόμφια P.  
 ῥύομαι P.  
 ράκκος P.  
 σαλπίγξ P.  
 σαλπίζω P.  
 σανίς G.  
 σάρδιον P.  
 σάρκινος adj. G.  
 σάρξ P.  
 σβέννυμι P.  
 σεισμός G.  
 σείω G.  
 σελήνη P.  
 σεμίδαλις G.  
 σημαίνω P.  
 σημείον P.  
 σήμερον adv. P.  
 σῆψω G.  
 σιαγών G.  
 σίδηρος P.  
 σιδηρούς adj. P.  
 σίγλος P.  
 σῖτος P.  
 σκέλος P.  
 σκέπη P.  
 σκεῦος P.  
 σκῆνωμα P.  
 σκῆπτρον G.  
 σκιά G.  
 σκολιότης E.  
 σκόλοψ P.  
 σκοπός P.  
 σκορπίος P.  
 σκότος P.  
 σκυλεύω P.  
 σκύλον P.  
 σκύμνος P.  
 σμάραγδος P.<sup>15</sup>  
 σοφός adj. P.  
 σπαργανώω G.  
 σπάω P.  
 σπείρω P.  
 σπένδω P.  
 σπέρμα P.  
 σπεύδω P.  
 σπήλαιον P.  
 σπινθήρ G.  
 σποδός P.  
 σπονδή P.  
 σπουδή P.  
 σταθμίον P.  
 σταθμός P.  
 στακτή P.  
 σταφυλή P.  
 στέαρ P.  
 στέλεχος P.  
 στεναγμός P.  
 στενάζω G.  
 στερεόω G.  
 στερέωμα P.  
 στέφανος G.  
 στήλη P.  
 στήριγμα G.  
 στηρίζω P.  
 στιβαρός adj. E.  
 στίλβω G.  
 στολή P.  
 στόμα P.  
 στρατηγός G.  
 στρέφω P.  
 στρωμή P.  
 στρώνυμι G.  
 συγγενής adj. P.  
 συγκαλύπτω P.  
 συγκλάω G.  
 συγκλείω P.  
 σύγκρασις E.  
 σύλλαμβάνω P.  
 σύμβουλος G.  
 σύμμικτος adj. G.  
 σύμπας adj. G.  
 συμπεριλαμβάνω G.  
 συμπίπτω P.  
 συμπλέκω P.

συμπορεύομαι P.	τόξευμα P.	φυλακή P.
συνάγω P.	τόξον P.	φύλαξ P.
συναγωγή P.	τόπος P.	φυλάσσω P.
συνάπτω P.	τότε adv. P.	φυλή P.
συνδῶ P.	τράπεζα P.	φύρομαι G.
συνέρχομαι P.	τραῦμα P.	φυτεία G.
συνέχω P.	τραυματίας P.	φυτεύω P.
συντέλεια P.	τραυματίζω G.	φυτόν P.
συντελέω P.	τραχηλός P.	φύω P.
συντηρέω G.	τρισσός adj. G.	φωνή P.
συντρίβω P.	τρισῶς adv. G.	φῶς P.
συρίζω G.	τριχαπτός E.	χαίρω P.
συρράπτω G.	τρίχωμα G.	χάλαζα P.
σύσκιος adj. G.	τρόπος P.	χαλκός P.
συσκοτάζω G.	τροχός G.	χαλκοῦς adj. P.
σύστημα P.	τρυφή P.	χάραξ P.
συστρέφω P.	τύπτω P.	χάρις P.
συστροφή G.	ὑακίνθινος adj. P.	χάσκω P.
σφαγή P.	ὑακίνθος P.	χεῖλος P.
σφάζω P.	ὑβρις P.	χείμαρρος adj. P.
σφόδρα adv. P.	ὑγρασία G.	χείρ P.
σχοινίον G.	ὑδωρ P.	χέω G.
σῶζω P.	ὑετός P.	χήρα P.
σῶμα P.	υἱός P.	χιλιός P.
ταινία E.	ὑπάρχω P.	χλωρός adj. P.
ταμιεῖον P.	ὑπερηφανία P.	χοῦς P.
ταπεινός adj. P.	ὑπέρκειμαι G.	χρήσιμος adj. P.
ταπεινός P.	ὑπεροράω P.	χρηστός adj. G.
ταράσσω P.	ὑπνώω P.	χρίω P.
ταραχή G.	ὑποδέω G.	χρυσίον P.
τάσσω P.	ὑπόδημα P.	χῶμα P.
τάφη P.	ὑποκαίω G.	χωνεύω P.
τάφος P.	ὑπόστασις P.	χώρα P.
τάχος P.	ὑποστρώννυμι G.	ψαλτήριον P.
τείνω G.	ὑφίστημι P.	ψέλιον P.
τειχίζω P.	ὑψηλός adj. P.	ψευδής adj. P.
τειχος P.	ὑψος P.	ψεῦδος G.
τελειός P.	ὑψόω P.	ψοφέω E.
τελευτάω P.	φαίνω P.	ψυχή P.
τέλος P.	φακός P.	ψομίζω P.
τέμενος G.	φαλακρός adj. P.	ᾤδε adv. loc. P.
τέρας P.	φάραγξ P.	ᾤδεις P.
τήγανον P.	φαρέτρα P.	ᾤμος P.
τήκω P.	φάγγελος G.	ᾠροῦμαι G. <sup>16</sup>
τιάρα G.	φείδομαι P.	ὡς adv. P. <sup>16</sup>
τίθημι P.	φέρω P.	ὡς adv. G.
τίκτω P.	φθειρώ P.	
τιμή P.	φιλόνεικος adj. E.	
τιμωρέω G.	φλόξ P.	
τιτρώσκω P.	φοβέω P.	
τοιούτος adj. P.	φορτίζω E.	
τοιχος P.	φρόνησις G.	
τόκος P.	φρύαγμα G.	

**List 4.** A list of words first attested in secular sources of the third century B.C.

αἴθριον G.<sup>17</sup>  
 ἀπέναντι adv. P.  
 ἀπερίτμητος adj. P.<sup>18</sup>  
 ἀποσφράγισμα G.  
 διήγημα G.  
 ἔκθεμα G.  
 ἐκλαύσθην E.  
 ἐλάβοσαν P.  
 ἐνεχυρασμός E.  
 ἐξάλειψις G.  
 ἐξαποστέλλω P.  
 ἐξουθενώ G.  
 ἐπιψοφέω E.  
 ἐσώτερος adj. G.  
 ἐτοιμασθήσομαι G.  
 ἦμην P.  
 ἰσάνω E.  
 κατάλυμα P.  
 κατασκήνωσις G.  
 καταφάγομαι P. G.<sup>19</sup>  
 κατέναντι adv. P.<sup>20</sup>  
 μακρόθεν adv. P.  
 μετοικεσία G.<sup>21</sup>  
 οἰκοδομή G.  
 προνομεύω P.  
 συνεσχέθην P.  
 συντελέσω P.<sup>22</sup>  
 συντριβή P.  
 ψυγμός P.

## List 5. A list of words first attested in the Greek Pentateuch.

ἄβυσσος, ἡ G. <sup>23</sup>	περιστόμιον G.
ἄγίασμα G.	πίεσαι G. <sup>34</sup>
ἀθετέω G.	προσεγγίζω G.
αἰχμαλωτεύομαι G. <sup>24</sup>	προσήλυτος G.
ἀποκαθημένη, ἡ G.	προσοχθίζω G.
ἄρπαγμα G.	σβεσθήσομαι G. <sup>35</sup>
ἀτεκνόνω G.	τέταρτον, τό sc. μέρος G. <sup>36</sup>
βδέλυγμα G.	τοπάζιον G.
βεβηλώω G.	φάγομαι G. <sup>37</sup>
βηρούλλιον E.	φαλάκρωμα G.
βολίς G.	
δεδικαίωμα G.	
διασκορπίζω, -ίω G.	
διχοτόμημα E.	
εἰσήλοσαν G.	
ἐκδίκησις G.	
ἐκπορνεύω G.	
ἐκχεῶ G.	
ἐνδοξάζομαι, -ασθήσομαι G.	
ἐνεχίρασμα E.	
ἐξιλασμός G.	
ἐξολεθρεύω G.	
ἐξώτερος adj. G.	
ἐπαναπαύομαι G.	
ἐπαποστέλλω G.	
ἐπιβλέψω G. <sup>25</sup>	
ἐπίμεικτος adj. G.	
ἐπισκοπή G.	
ἐπλούτισα G. <sup>26</sup>	
ἤγγικα G. <sup>27</sup>	
ἦλθοσαν G.	
ἡμάρτοσαν G.	
θηριάλωτος adj. E. <sup>28</sup>	
θνησιμαῖος adj. G. <sup>28</sup>	
θυσιαστήριον G.	
καθαρισθήσομαι G. <sup>29</sup>	
κατάβρωμα G.	
καταδυναστεία G.	
κατακληρονομέω G.	
καταστενάζω G. <sup>30</sup>	
καταφυτεύω G.	
κατοδυνάω G.	
καύσων G. <sup>31</sup>	
κερατίζω G.	
κλάσμα G.	
λιγύριον E.	
λιθοβολέω G.	
ὀλιγοστός adj. G. <sup>32</sup>	
παραδειγματίζω G. <sup>33</sup>	
παραπικραίνω G.	

List 6. A list of words first attested in the second century B.C.

- βελόσταις G Je, I Ma.  
 γομφιάζω G Si.  
 διαβούλιον G Ps, Wi, Si, Ho.  
 διασκορπισμός G Je; Da TH.  
 διήνοιξα G IV Ki, Jb, Pr, Ho, Za, Is, La, II Ma.  
 ἐλαμβάνουσιν E.  
 ἔμπαιγμός G Ps, Wi, Si, II Ma, III Ma.  
 ἐξουθενέω G *passim*.<sup>38</sup>  
 ἐπιβόλαιον G Jd.  
 ζητηθήσομαι G Ps, Wi, Si.<sup>39</sup>  
 ἠδάφισα G Ho.  
 κωπηλάτης E.  
 ὀλοσχερώς adv. G I Es.  
 ὄνειδισμός G *passim*.  
 παράπτωμα G Jb, Ps, Wi, Za; Da TH.  
 πάροδος, ὅ (A) G II Ki, Wi, Sy.  
 πολυανδρεῖον, τό G Je, II Ma, IV Ma.  
 σκληροκάρδιος adj. G Pr, Si.  
 σπαταλάω G Si.  
 σωματοποίηω E.  
 φάγεσαι G Ru, Ps, Si, Mi, Is, II Ma.

**List 7.** A list of words first attested in the first century B.C.

ἔνδεσμος G III Ki, Pr, III Ma.  
 ἑξατιμόομαι E.<sup>40</sup>  
 ἐξολέθρευσις G Jd, Ps, I Ma.  
 λειοπετρία E.  
 λοιμός adj. G *passim*.<sup>41</sup>  
 μεγαλορημονέω G Jd, Ps, Ob.  
 παροιστράω G Ho.  
 στιβίζομαι G IV Ki.  
 συγκλεισμός G II Ki, Jb, Ho, Mi, I Ma.  
 τεκταίνω G Ps, Pr, Ba.<sup>42</sup>  
 φερμός E.



List 8. A list of words first attested in the first century A.D.

ἀνείλησα E.<sup>43</sup>  
 ἐπτάμηνος, ἡ E.<sup>44</sup>  
 ἐσίρισα G La.<sup>45</sup>  
 καθοδηγέω G Jb, Je.  
 μοιχαλίζ G Pr, Ho, Ma.  
 μοιχάομαι G Je.<sup>46</sup>  
 ὀρκωμοσία G I Es.  
 παρακαλύπτω G Is.<sup>47</sup>  
 πέλυξ G Je.  
 πλαγιάζω G Is.  
 σαγήνη G Ec, Hb, Is.  
 στίλβωσις G Ps.  
 στυγνάζω E.

List 9. A list of words not attested in any dateable source within our period nor in the earlier language. A note of sources is added, together with an indication of the date of the earliest of these in each case.

- ἀλαλάξω [xvii.30] G Is, Je;<sup>48</sup> Arr. ii A.D.  
 ἀλλόφωνος adj. [iii.6] E; Sm. ii/iii A.D., Hsch. v A.D. (?).<sup>49</sup>
- ἀπελάσω [xxiv.12] E.  
 ἀποκωφόμαι [iii.26, xxiv.27] G Mi; Arr. ii A.D., Eus., Leont. B.  
 ἀποτροπιάζομαι [xvi.21] E; P. Oxy. ii a.f./iii a.i. A.D., Thd., Phleg., Or., Synes., Aristænet., Sch. A.
- ἀρπῶμαι [xviii.7] G Ho.<sup>50</sup>  
 βαθύχειλος adj. [iii.5] E; Or. iii A.D., Cyr.<sup>51</sup>  
 βαρύγλωσσος adj. [iii.5] E; Or. iii A.D., Nonn.<sup>52</sup>  
 βρέξω [xxxviii.22] G Ps, Am, Jl.<sup>53</sup>  
 δηλαϊστός adj. [v.15] E;<sup>54</sup> Hsch. v A.D. (?).  
 ἐκσαρκίζω [xxiv.4] E.  
 ἐξακονάομαι [xxi.16] G Ps.<sup>55</sup>  
 ἐξαστράπτω [i.4, 7] G Na, Da LXX; Ev. Luc., Zos. Alch. iii/iv A.D., Tryph.  
 εὐπάρυφα, τά [xxiii.12] E;<sup>56</sup> Phot.  
 ἥγημα [xvii.3] E; Inscr. Perg. ii A.D., Phot.<sup>57</sup>  
 ἠνόμουσαν [xxii.11] E.  
 ἥπατοσκοπέομαι [xxi.26] E.  
 ἥσθσαν [xxii.9] E.<sup>58</sup>  
 καταπάτημα [xxxvi.4] G MI, Is, La, Da LXX; Eus. iv A.D., Isid. Pel., Cyr., Gregent.  
 μεγαλοπτέρυγος adj. [xvii.3, 7] E.  
 μεγαλόσαρκος adj. [xvi.26] E; Or. (?) iii A.D.<sup>59</sup>  
 μεγαλυνθήσομαι [xxxviii.23] G Ps, Mi, Za; Da TH.  
 παροικεσία [xx.38] G Za;<sup>60</sup> Theophl. Ant. ii A.D.  
 πάτημα [xxxiv.19] G IV Ki; Aret. ii A.D., pap. iii A.D., Geoponica.  
 πεφύτευκα [xix.10, 13] G Ps, Ec, Da LXX.  
 πεφύτευκαν [xix.13] E.  
 ποτισθήσομαι [xxxii.6] E.<sup>61</sup>  
 προσηλυτεύω [xiv.7] E; Aq., Al.  
 προχώρημα [xxxii.6] E.  
 στεατόομαι [xxxix.18] E; Hippia trika ix A.D.  
 σπηριῶ [xiv.8] G Si, Am, Je.<sup>62</sup>  
 συναναμίσγω [xx.18] E;<sup>63</sup> Thd., Steph. vii A.D.  
 συναναφύρομαι [xxxii.6] E; Luc. ii A.D., Gal., Hermes, P. Holm.  
 τροχίας [xvii.19] E; Poll. ii A.D., Hsch., Phot.  
 ὑποστρώσομαι [xxvii.30] E.  
 χαρακοβολία [xvii.17] E.

List 10. A list of words found in the fourth century B.C. or earlier, but in no secular sources of our period. Where the classical sources are few they are noted. Where a word reappears in secular Greek in the early centuries A.D. the sources are noted, together with the date of the earliest of these.

- ἀκουσθήσομαι [xxxvi.15] G Is, Je.  
 ἀναθάλλω [xvii.24] G Ps, Wi, Si, Ho; Ael. ii A.D.  
 ἀντιστήριγμα [xxx.6] G Ps, Si; Hp.  
 ἀφορισμός [xx.31, 40] E; Gal. 200 A.D., Alex. Aphr.,  
 Thd.  
 γλυκάζω [iii.3] E; Hierocl. i/ii A.D., Epict., Ath.  
 Gramm., Plot.  
 ἐθλάσθην [xxix.7] E; Hp., Alex., Theoc.; Dion. C.  
 ii/iii A.D.  
 ἐκδιηγέομαι [xii.16] G Jb, Ps, Si, Hb; Hp., Arist.  
 ἐναφήμι [xxi.22] E; pap. ii A.D.  
 ἐργασθήσομαι [xxxvi.34] E; S., Isoc.  
 ἐσβέσθην [xxxii.7] G Jb, Wi, Si, Is; App. Philostr.  
 ἠδύφωνος [xxxiii.32] E; Sapph., Pratin. Lyr.;  
 Aristænet. v A.D. a.f. at  
 earliest.  
 ἠλίσθην<sup>64</sup> [xvi.4] E; Emp., Hdt.  
 θρήνημα<sup>64</sup> [xxvii.32] E; E.  
 καθεδουμαί<sup>65</sup> [xxvi.16] G Je; Luc. ii A.D., Phot.  
 κατεργασθήσομαι [xxxvi.9] E; Isoc.  
 κολεός<sup>66</sup> [xxi.8, 9, 10] G II Ki, I Ch, Je; Hsch. v  
 A.D. (?).  
 ὀλολύζω [xxi.17] G Ho, Am, Za, Is, Je; Luc. ii A.D.,  
 Hld.  
 ὀνειδίσιμα [xxxvi.3] E; Hdt.<sup>67</sup>  
 παγίς [xxix.4] G *passim*.  
 παραφυάς [xvii.21, xxxi.3, 5, 6, 8] G Ps, IV Ma;  
 Thphr., Arist.; Plot. iii A.D.,  
 Stob.  
 πορνικός adj. [xvi.24] G Pr; Vett. Val. ii A.D.  
 προπαγγέλλω [xxxiii.9] E; Aen. Tact.; Dion. C.  
 ii/iii A.D.  
 προμαχών [iv.2] G To, Je; Hdt.; Hsch. v A.D. (?).  
 σπάργανον [xvi.4] G Wi; Luc., S. E. ii A.D.  
 στενακτός adj. [v.15] E; S., E.  
 φρούαγμα [vii.24, xxiv.21] G Ho, Za, Je, III Ma; A.,  
 E., X.; Luc. ii A.D., Philostr.  
 ὠραιότης [xvi.14] G Ps, Is; X.; Xen. Eph. ii A.D.  
 (?), Hld.

## NOTES ON APPENDIX B.

- (1) Once [xxxvii.2] of three terminations. Classical usage is hard to determine; in a papyrus of 99 B.C. αἰώνιον χάριν occurs; later, but not invariably, it has three terminations. Elsewhere in our text it has two, but we are at the mercy of scribes in a matter of this kind. The post-Ptolemaic papyri show a clear tendency to make all adjectives of three terminations.
- (2) This -α form is overwhelmingly frequent in the papyri of the fourth and third centuries B.C. In the second and first centuries B.C. an about equal number of examples of the Middle in -άμην are found.
- (3) Aor. ἐπήγαγον, the more usual classical form, with the possible exception of ἐπάξω at xii.13; this might, however, be future. P has the regular classical form throughout; διαξή<<σθε>> appears in a papyrus of 112 B.C.
- (4) The form appears in Theognis, but -ασαί and -α were classical. P has this form, which is normal in the Ptolemaic papyri, -ασαί being rare.
- (5) Appears both as adjective and as substantive ἡ ἔρημος (γῆ) in our text; the latter too is classical as well as being found later.
- (6) As n. pl. substantive at xxxviii.20; cf. the classical language and P.
- (7) The form is classical and appears in the first century B.C. The Egyptian κοινή of the third and second centuries B.C. almost always has ἐσθηκώς, which is universal in Attic inscriptions of the same date and in P. The later LXX shows both.
- (8) Only in the adverbial phrase ἐξ εὐωνύμων, which is classical.
- (9) Used in the classical way, its gender and number being governed by the dependent noun in the genitive. In P and the papyri it is used as a neuter noun.
- (10) Only adverbially with τό, the classical use. P has the adverbial use, but without the article; a papyrus of the first century B.C. has the phrase, but probably substantial in the context. But the expression occurs in Philodemus with the sense "wholly".
- (11) Only in the dative, as an adverb or preposition. For the prepositional use see 'Syntax'.
- (12) This is much more frequent in the Greek Bible than νεανιάς, which P never has.

- (13) Normally as a neuter substantive, but an adjective at xxxi.17. Both uses are classical; only the former appears in P.
- (14) Only in the classical phrase, which appears in P, ὁ πληροῦς (sc. ὄν). The adverb occurs in the papyri in the second century B.C. and later.
- (15) This word would be listed by some among hellenized semitisms. But it has been argued [by W. Porzig, 'Smaragd.' Glotta 25 (1936), 194-7] that it is rather a translation of Hebrew בָּרַק.
- (16) I.e. modifying a cardinal number; the usage is classical.
- (17) The word, generally supposed to be derived from Lat. atrium, appears in a papyrus of iii B.C., though Preisigke allows it "kein Beleg aus Ptolemäerzeit". In some LXX books it appears as a m. in -οϚ.
- (18) The occurrence in a non-Jewish papyrus of 257 B.C. has not found its way into the lexica, though noted by Mayser.
- (19) The papyri exhibit no Future form.
- (20) The classical forms are in -ίον and -ία.
- (21) There seems to be no semantic distinction between this form and the classical μετακία I.
- (22) If SIG 1044 belongs to the fourth century B.C. the form should appear in List 3, but the dating is not firm. The sigmatic future appears again in 237 B.C., and there are more examples in the second century B.C., though the Attic future in -ῶ continues to appear. A general preference for sigmatic futures is apparent in the post-Ptolemaic papyri.
- (23) The adjective is classical; the noun reappears in two post-Christian papyri. The Ptolemaic papyri show several new formations of this type.
- (24) Perhaps simply a variant of the Hellenistic αἰχμαλωτίζομαι.
- (25) The Middle is classical; the papyri show no future.
- (26) The classical language has no Aorist, probably an accident of preservation.
- (27) The First Aorist Active is found in Aristotle, the Present Active in a papyrus of the third century B.C.
- (28) Apparently always used as a neuter substantive.

- (29) Other passive tenses are classical; a Future Middle in -οὔμαι is found in Hippocrates. The papyri show no alternative.
- (30) The classical form is καταστένω.
- (31) There seems no good reason for not accenting this word καυσῶν, i.e. making it a participle, throughout our text.
- (32) The word is a v.l. in some codices of classical authors.
- (33) The simple verb is classical in the Passive; προσπικρανθείς occurs in a papyrus of the third century B.C.
- (34) The form can hardly be original; but the papyri show no Future for this verb at all.
- (35) The form does not reappear until the second century A.D., but there is no classical or post-Classical alternative.
- (36) The phrase is classical, but in a (temporal) adverbial sense.
- (37) Classical ἔδομαι. The papyri have no Future form.
- (38) The LXX mss. show considerable fluctuation between this verb, first attested, and that indistinctly, in a papyrus of 13 B.C., and the third century B.C. form in -όω. It is included here because of its apparent occurrence in *II Maccabees*.
- (39) A Future Passive of this verb is most suitable to an Old Testament text; perhaps the paradigm is 'hebraic' at least in the first person.
- (40) A variant of classical ἔξατιμάζω.
- (41) This familiar noun seems to function as an adjective in many LXX passages, a usage which reappears almost exclusively in authors influenced by the Greek Bible. The description of a person as a λοιμός in the sense of a metaphorical 'pest' is found in Demosthenes: perhaps the LXX use is best explained as appositional rather than adjectival. Polybius has a perfectly serviceable λοιμικός in a figurative sense. In early patristic writers λοιμός has become a true adjective, capable of comparison.
- (42) Only Middle, sometimes with Passive sense, in the classical language.
- (43) The form is found in Plutarch. The Passive is classical, the simple form found in the LXX.
- (44) The adjective is classical; nouns from analogous compound adjectives consisting of a cardinal plus -μηνος are found throughout our period.

- (45) Classical ἐσύριζα. There is no papyrus form.
- (46) Only the Active is classical.
- (47) Only the Middle is classical.
- (48) The classical future was probably Middle: cf. the *v.l.* for the present Middle at E. Ba. 593. But a future cannot often have been required.
- (49) In our text the form of this word is appropriate, its content not particularly so; in Symmachus' rendering of *Psalm* cxiv.1 the content is rather weak, though correct, the form clearly not based on that of the *Vorlage*. The case for a coinage by either translator is bad. This must be a lost secular word, as the mention in Hesychius might suggest.
- (50) This future stands as a *v.l.* at *Leviticus* xix.13. The Classical form is ἀπάσομαι, which Ziegler prints in our text at xviii.18. There is no future form in the papyri. The N.T. and Josephus have the variant classical form ἀρπαγήσομαι, which appears sometimes in the Greek Bible. Editorial consistency is perhaps desirable though certainty is probably unattainable.
- (51) Sophocles' "thick-lipped" is a lexicographical curiosity.
- (52) L.-S.-J. give the fanciful meaning "grievous of tongue".
- (53) There is no classical form. The verb occurs throughout our period in papyri. It might be argued that the promise, prediction or threat represented by this form is somewhat hebraic, at least in the first person.
- (54) This is for all practical purposes simply an orthographic variant of the classical δαίλαιος which recurs in a late papyrus.
- (55) Hatch and Redpath cannot be right to make this an Active in -έω.
- (56) Photius appears to be quoting the form found in our text, which he treats as a neuter adjective.
- (57) Photius' interpretation "βουλή, γνώμη" fits our text but not the Pergamum inscription.
- (58) The paradigm is poetic in the classical period, but P and a papyrus of the mid-third century B.C. show the imperfect in ( )εσθ-.
- (59) Delightfully rendered "corpulent" in Sophocles!
- (60) A variant of the classical παροικία.

- (61) The sigmatic future, both of the simple active and of the passive of ἐπιποτίζω, appears in the papyri c. 250 B.C. The classical form is found in P, and in the papyri c. 260 B.C. and after 138 B.C.
- (62) The classical form is in -ίξω.
- (63) The -μίγνυμι form is found in G and Philodemus.
- (64) Little reliance can be placed on this isolated form: it might be an Atticizing correction of θρήνωμα, which appears in a papyrus of 72 B.C.
- (65) If this form is genuine here and at *Jeremiah* xxx.18 it is an example of Atticizing. P has κατεσθήσομαι while the form from the second century A.D. at least was κατεδήσομαι.
- (66) This appears as a neuter noun in a Delian inscription of the third century B.C.
- (67) If this word is genuine in our text it may be part of the κοινή, much of which is derived from classical Ionic.

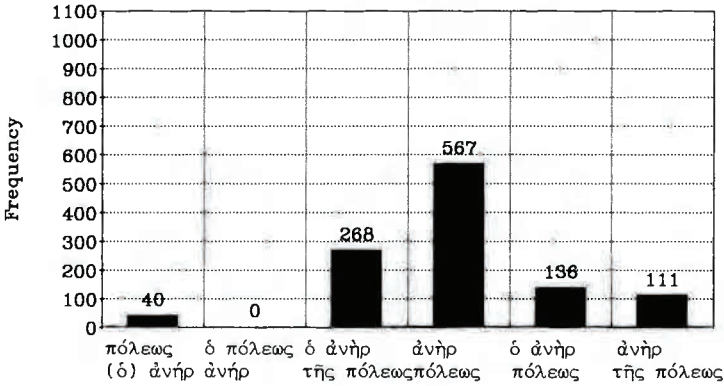


APPENDIX C. Minor Indications of Literary Relationship.

- | (1) Dependence                                 | (2) Influence  |
|--|--|
| iv.13 ἀκάθαρτα ◀P                              | iii.7 σκληροκάρδιος ▶Pr, Si<br>vi.8, xiii.20 διασκορπισμός<br>▶Je xxiv.9 |
| viii.15 ἐπιτηδεύματα ◀P                        |  |
| x.7 τὴν στόλην τὴν ἀγίαν ◀P                    | xii.24 τὰ πρὸς χάριν ▶Pr vii.5   |
| <hr/>  |  |
| xvi.5 πάσχω τι ◀Am vi.6                        |  |
| 30 διατίθημι with pred. ◀Ho xi.8               |  |
| 38 μοιχαλὶς ◀Ho, Ma                            |  |
| 42 μεριμνάω κτλ. ◀II Sa vii.10                 |  |
| <hr/>  |  |
| xvii.6 ἀναδενδράς ◀Ps lxxx.10                  |  |
| xvii.15,                                       |  |
| xviii.18 ἐναντία ◀Na i.11                      |  |
| <hr/>  |  |
| xxi.17 κρότησον ἐπὶ τὴν<br>χεῖρά σου ◀La ii.15 | xxii.11 ἀνομέω with acc.<br>▶Da TH xi.32                                 |
| xxiii.37 δι' ἐμπύρων ◀Am iv.2                  |  |
| 41 εὐφραίνομαι ἐν ◀P                           |  |
| 45 ἐκδικήσει μοιχαλίδος ◀xvi.38                |  |
| <hr/>  |  |
| xxv.4 ἐν τῇ ἀπαρτίᾳ αὐτῶν ◀P                   |  |
| xxvii.6 ἐλάτινος cf. Od. ii.424                |  |
| xxvii.23 χαρμαν cf. P, I Ch<br>χαρμει          |  |
| xxx.6 τὰ ἀντιστηρίγματα<br>◀Ps xviii.18        |  |
| <hr/>  |  |
| xxx.21 μάλαγμα ◀Is i.6                         |  |
| xxxi.3 ταῖς παραφάσι<br>◀Ps lxxx.11            | xxxii.9 παροργίζω καρδίαν<br>▶Si iv.3                                    |
| xxxiii.12 κακῶ ◀Is l.9                         |  |
| xxxiv.4,16 καταδέω cf.<br>Is i.6 καταδεσμούς   |  |
| xxxix.11 ὀνομαστόν ◀Is lvi.5                   |  |

TABLE 1. The Form of Noun-Attribute Phrases.

(a) With Dependent Genitive Nouns



(b) With All Other Attributes

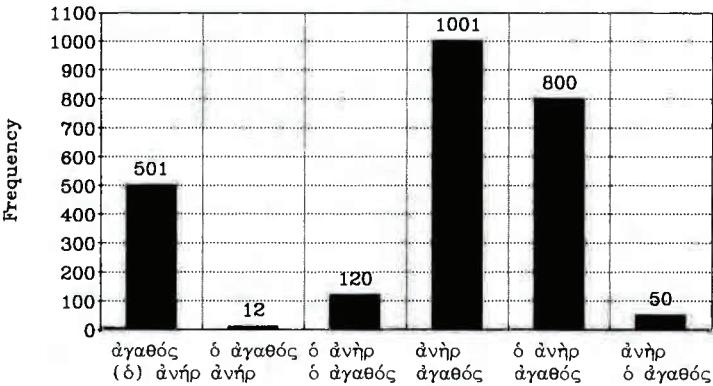


TABLE 2. Government by Prepositions.

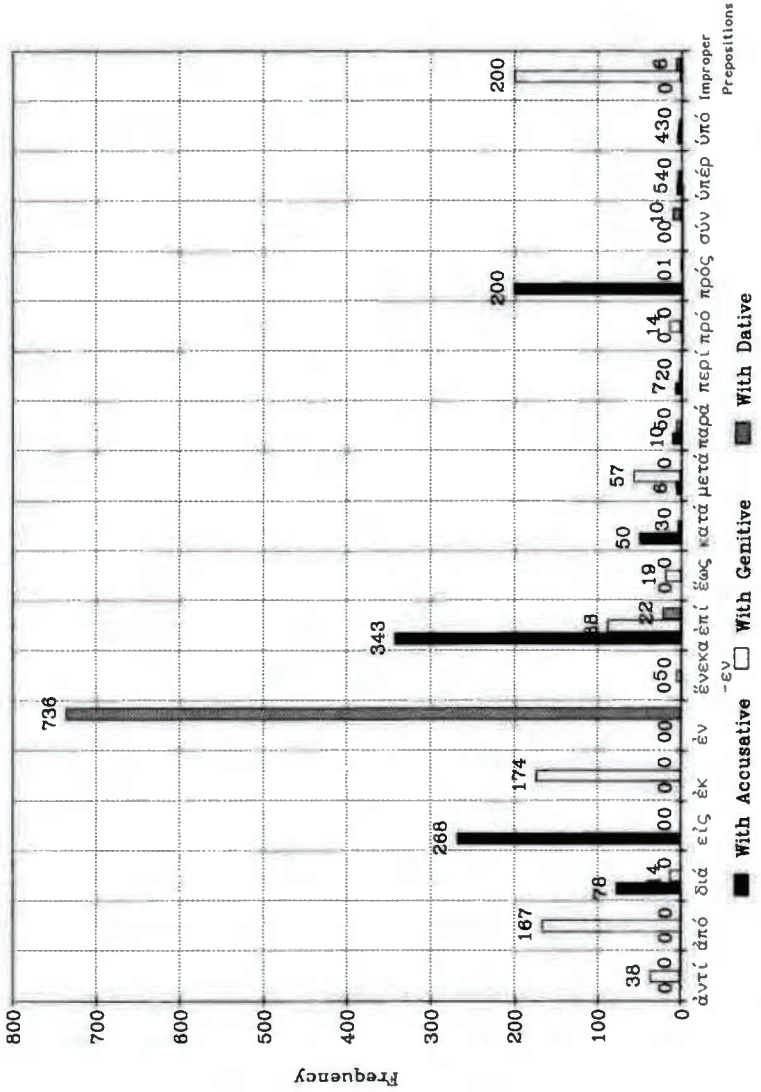


TABLE 3(a). The Order of Subject, Object and Verb in Relative Clauses.

^ indicates the intervention of other elements.

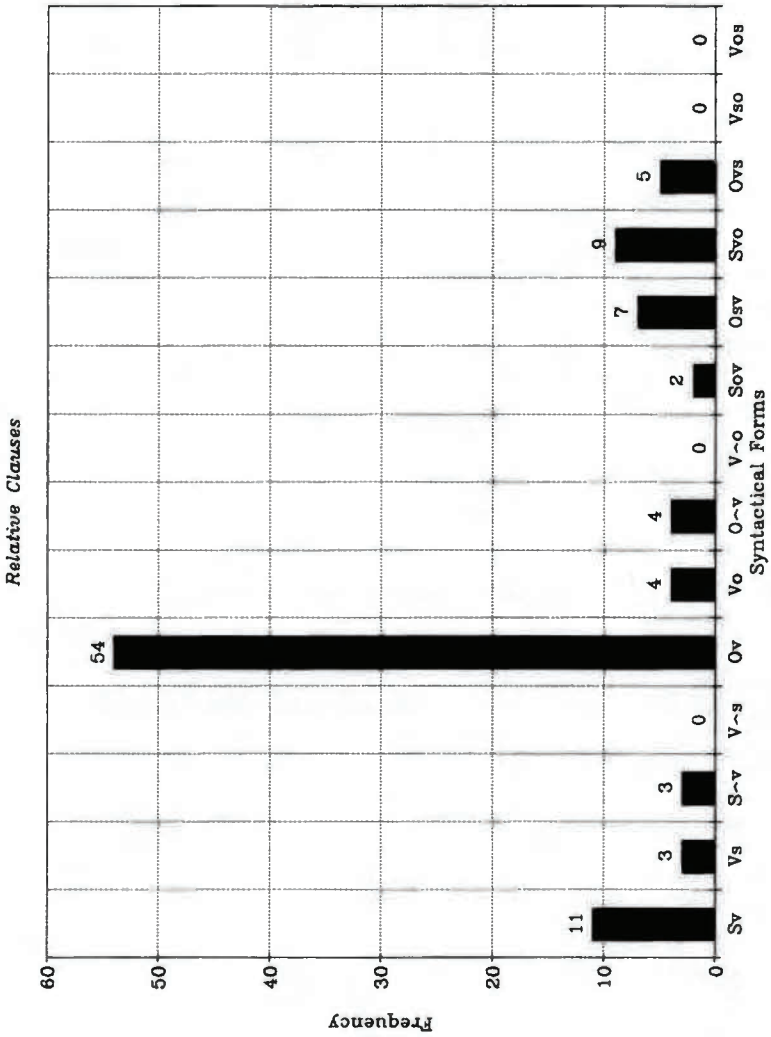
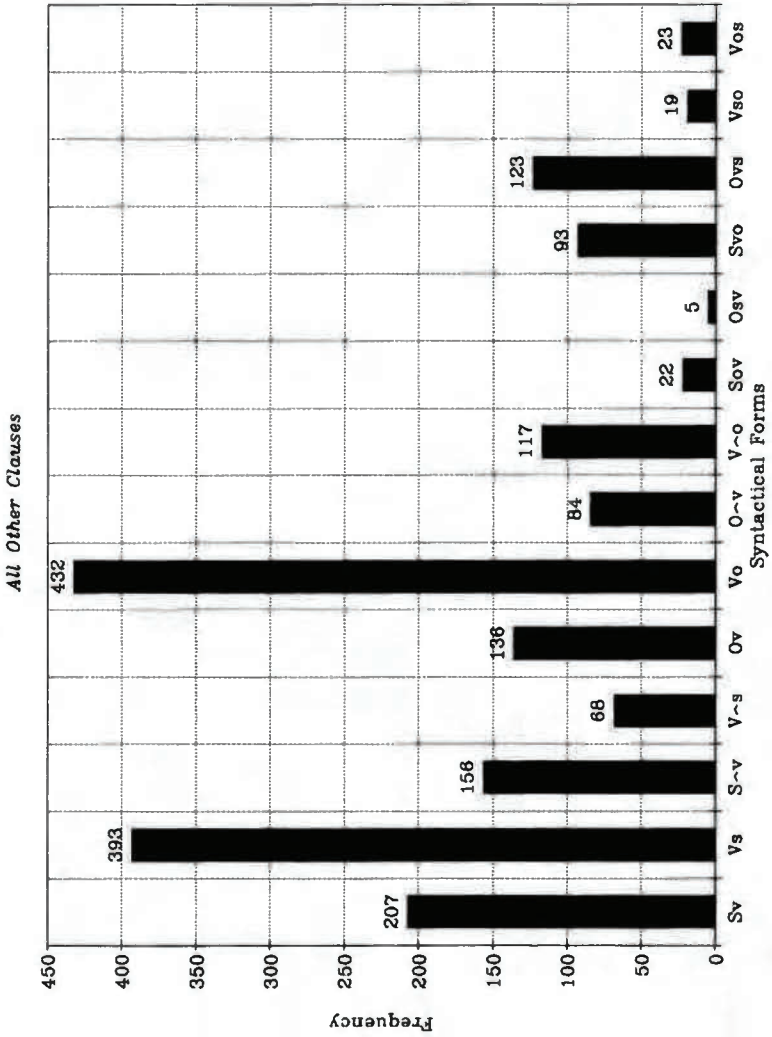


TABLE 3(b). The Order of Subject, Object and Verb in All Other Clauses.

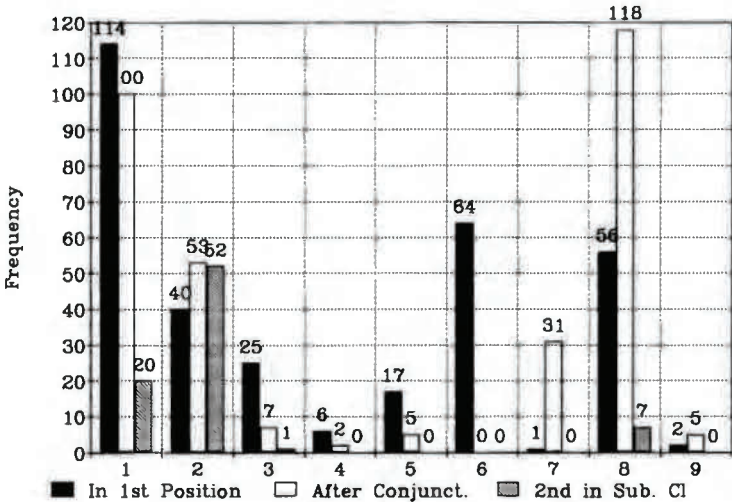
^ indicates the intervention of other elements.



**TABLE 4. The Precedence of Grammatical Elements in the Clause (Items 1-18).**

1 Nom. Noun	2 Nom. Pron.	3 Nom. Demonstr.
4 Nom. Interrog.	5 Nom. Rel.	6 Voc. Noun
7 Voc. Pron.	8 Acc. Noun	9 Acc. Pron.
10 Acc. Demonstr.	11 Acc. Interrog.	12 Acc. Rel.
13 Gen. Noun	14 Gen. Pron.	15 Gen. Demonstr.
16 Gen. Interrog.	17 Gen. Rel.	18 Dat. Noun

(a) Items 1-9



(b) Items 10-18

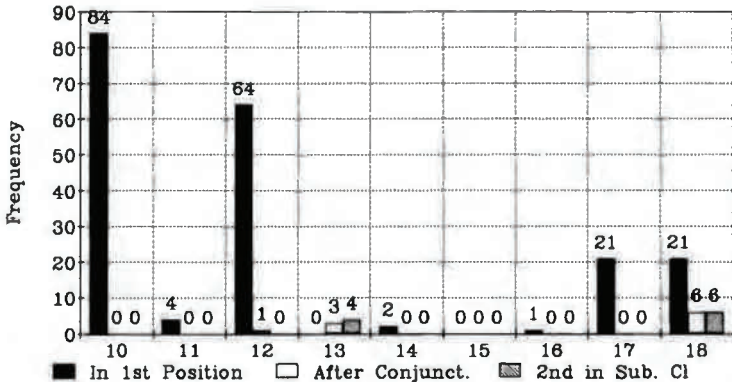


TABLE 4. The Precedence of Grammatical Elements in the Clause (Items 19-27).

- |                      |                    |                    |
|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 19 Dat. Pron.        | 20 Dat. Demonstr.  | 21 Dat. Interrog.  |
| 22 Dat. Rel.         | 23 Noun Complement | 24 Adj. Complement |
| 25 Predic. Noun/Adj. | 26 Trans. Verb     | 27 Intrans. Verb   |

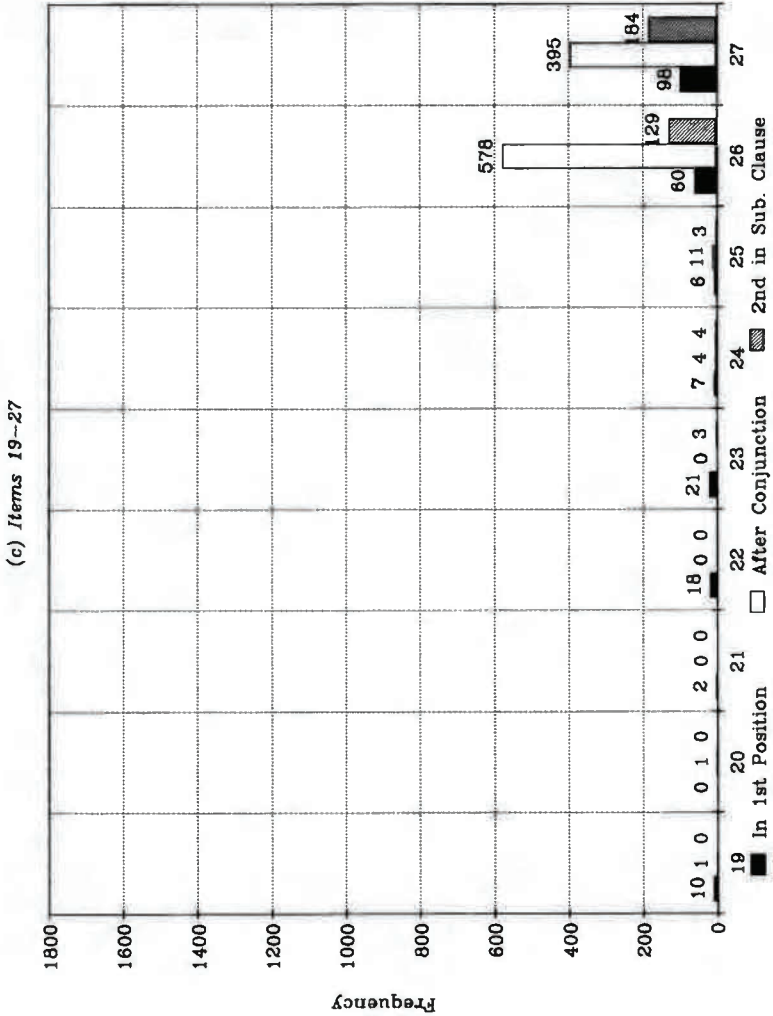


TABLE 4. The Precedence of Grammatical Elements in the Clause (Items 28-36).

- |                      |                        |                        |
|----------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| 28 Copul. Verb       | 29 Imper. Verb         | 30 Adv. not Inf. Phr.  |
| 31 Adverb. Inf. Phr. | 32 Interject. not ἰδοὺ | 33 ἰδοὺ                |
| 34 Neg.              | 35 Conjunct.           | 36 Rel./Interrog. Adv. |

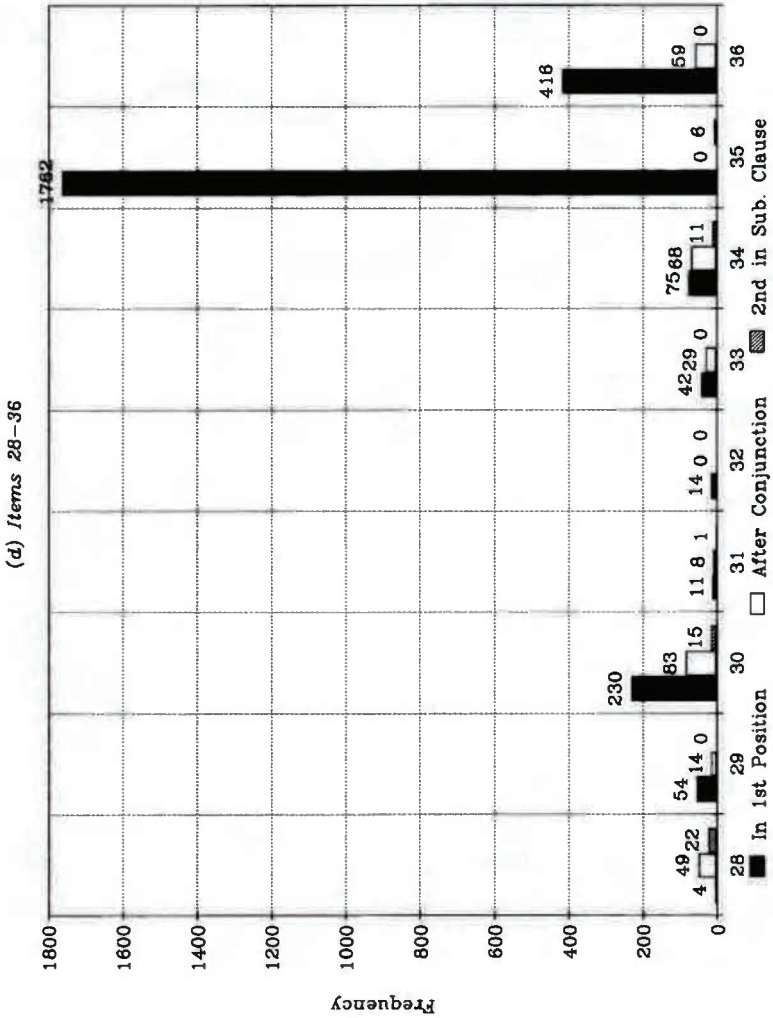
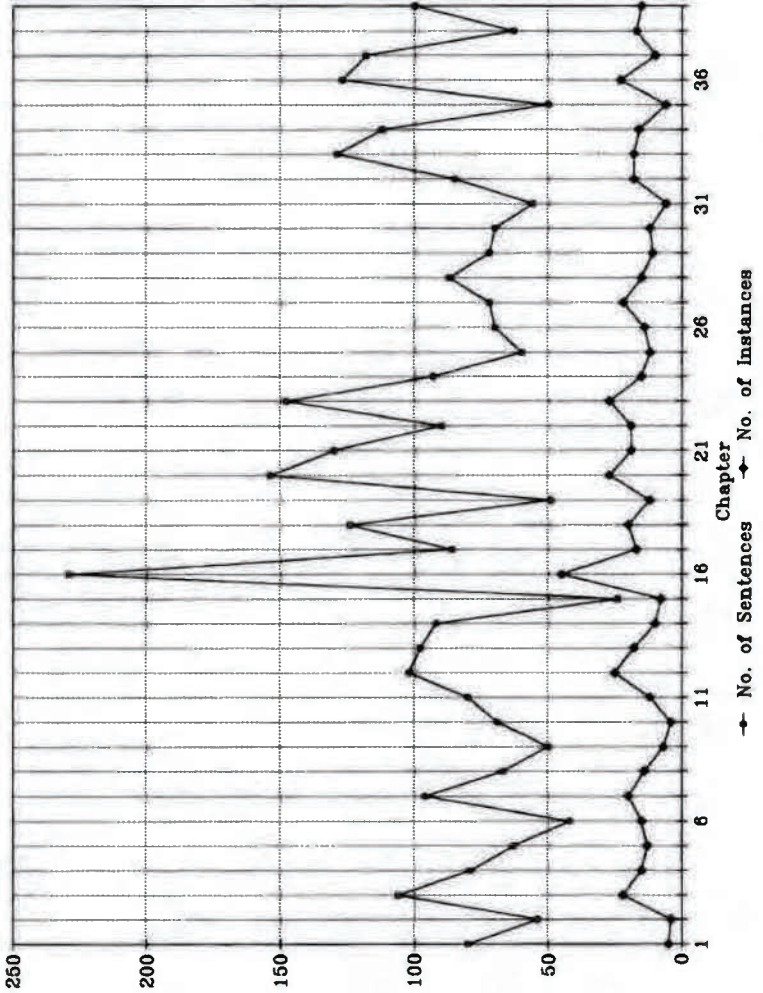




TABLE 5. The Incidence of Abnormal Idiom with Common Nouns, Adjectives, Verbs and Adverbs.





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<sup>1</sup> Listed in §§A and C.

<sup>2</sup> Listed in §§A and B.

<sup>3</sup> An invaluable modern handbook regrettably unavailable to me until the research for this dissertation was complete.

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<sup>4</sup> Listed in §§A and B; its main relevance is to general Egyptian culture and background, but it contains an interesting note linking the language of Ez xxvi.5 with pap. Oxy. xxii. p. 92.

<sup>5</sup> Listed in §§A and B.

<sup>6</sup> Listed in §§A and B.

<sup>7</sup> Available to me as Ash(molean) 305.1 pamph.

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<sup>16</sup> Though this venerable work is by modern standards neither philological nor critical, it abounds in useful points concerning both translation technique and Hebrew text. Hence its listing here and in §D.

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