<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vol. XXXIII</th>
<th>January 1983</th>
<th>No. 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>CONTENTS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. I. Davies, The wilderness itineraries and the composition of the Pentateuch</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Dimant, The biography of Enoch and the books of Enoch</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. C. Exum, The theological dimension of the Samson saga</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. L. Hicks, <em>delet</em> and <em>megillah</em>. A fresh approach to Jeremiah xxxvi</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Van der Kooy, On the place of origin of the Old Greek of Psalms</td>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O. Munnich, La Septante des Psaumes et le groupe <em>kaâgê</em></td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Sasson, An unrecognized “smoke signal” in Isaiah xxx 27</td>
<td>90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SHORT NOTES</strong></td>
<td>96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BOOK LIST</strong></td>
<td>118</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ISSN 0042-4935**

**LEIDEN**

**E. J. BRILL**

1983
remember that if the king cut the scroll three times at the sutures, the result would be four sheets.

Starting with the logical minimum of four sheets with three columns each, we achieve a scroll having 12 columns. In line with our earlier projections, such a scroll would contain about 14 or 15 chapters of the Masoretic Jeremiah. But our survey indicates that ancient biblical scrolls ran three to four columns per sheet. Accordingly, four sheets averaging 3 1/2 columns each would give 14 columns, covering 16 or 17 Masoretic chapters. Further, if we allow yiqra⁵ to signify the moderate figure of four cuts by the king, five sheets would result. Then, using three columns per sheet, we get a total of 15 columns. With four columns per sheet, the scroll would have 20 columns. On these bases, the Urrolle would have contained between 18 and 24 chapters of our Masoretic book of Jeremiah.

If the procedures employed here are appropriate, most scholars have been far below the mark in reconstructing Baruch’s book.⁴⁹ One merit of the final projection made above is that it would allow the original scroll to contain substantially the first twenty-five chapters of Jeremiah which could include, as is proper (cf. xxxvi 2), words spoken against “all the nations”.⁵⁰

Obviously, major problems remain. It has not been my purpose here to delineate the pericopae constituting Jeremiah’s first scroll, though my list would be considerably longer than most proposals to date. My concern, rather, has been to suggest a new method for attacking a perennial problem and to muster fresh data with which that method can work objectively.

⁴⁹ Among recent proposals, William L. Holladay’s are most commendable both in terms of the range they envision and the criteria they employ. See first Jeremiah: Spokesman Out of Time, pp. 154, n. 5, and most recently “The identification of the two scrolls of Jeremiah”, VT (1980), pp. 452-76. His reconstruction of the two scrolls is reasonable as well as responsible and his methods are more objectively controlled than most previous efforts. The assumption that in dictating the contents Jeremiah proceeded from an orderly structure which Baruch, as a trained scribe, would recognize and preserve faithfully is fundamentally sound and comports well with what we know of the Near Eastern scribal art. Further, the grounds on which Holladay establishes the additions to the first scroll are solidly based in a larger understanding of the prophet’s deepening perception of his role. I find Holladay’s evaluation of the so-called Deuteronomic passages in Jer. i-xi particularly constructive. The total corpus of his reconstruction (approximately 250 verses of the Masoretic text) would easily fit within the minimal length of the migilat-séper as I have projected it here.

⁵⁰ This would be the case even if the MT order of ch. xxv were followed. If the LXX form were adopted, the Urrolle would easily contain oracles against other nations.
ON THE PLACE OF ORIGIN OF THE OLD GREEK OF PSALMS

by

ARIE VAN DER KOOIJ

Utrecht

I

In his well-known book *Les devanciers d'Aquila, SVT* 10 (1963), D. Barthélemy has convincingly shown the existence of the so-called *kaige*-recension. This recension, dating from the beginning of the first century A.D., appears to be a revision of those books of the Septuagint that had already been translated into Greek; and new translations were made of books not previously translated (for instance in the case of Ezra and Nehemiah). All this was done in order to bring the Greek translation, the Old Greek Version, as closely as possible into agreement with the Hebrew text of the Bible. The main characteristic of this recension is the rendering θαίγε for *gam*. Barthélemy has further pointed out the close relationship between the *kaige*-recension (KR) and the translation of Aquila. Because of this close relationship he argues that the KR, like the translation of Aquila, originated in rabbinic circles in Palestine. Further, from the agreements between the characteristics of KR and the translation of Theodotion he concludes that Theodotion had something to do with this recension. Like E. Schürer before him, he dates Theodotion before Aquila.

His thesis about the KR has been widely accepted, but his dating of Theodotion before Aquila has not. The reason is that one generally considers the dating of Theodotion, in the second half of the second century A.D., as given by Epiphanius in his *De Mensuris et Ponderibus Liber* (Ch. 17), to be reliable. Therefore, some, admitting the close agreements between the translation of Theodotion

---

1 The revision of a paper presented to the Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, held at Vienna, 22-23 August 1980.

and the KR, speak of KR as Proto-Theodotion. In this article, however, I cannot enter into the details of this last question. I have dealt with them in my book, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches. Ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte des Alten Testaments* (Fribourg/Göttingen, 1981). I reached the conclusion that the dating of Theodotion by Epiphanius cannot be trusted (pp. 132-9), and that Barthélemy’s suggestion of bringing Theodotion and the KR together, and placing them in the milieu of the school of Hillel, in which the translation of Aquila also originated, is right (pp. 142-55).

As has been pointed out by Barthélemy and others, one cannot simply assume that for each book of the Bible the Theodotion-text from the Hexapla of Origen belongs to the KR. This must be investigated for each book. So, for example, it has been made clear by Barthélemy that, not the Theodotion-text, but the Quinta of the Dodekapropheton belongs to the KR (pp. 253-60).

For the book of Psalms the situation is interesting. Some years ago, H. J. Venetz wrote a book on this subject entitled *Die Quinta des Psalteriums. Ein Beitrag zur Septuaginta und Hexaplafororschung* (Hildesheim, 1974). On the basis of several characteristics of the KR, he reached the interesting conclusion that not only the Theodotion Ps, but also the Quinta Ps belonged to the *kaige*-group (pp. 84-90 and 57-71). Because there seems to be some evidence for a closer relationship between the Quinta Ps and Aquila Ps than between the Theodotion Ps and Aquila Ps, Venetz regards the Quinta Ps as ‘ein ‘späteres’, reiferes Stadium’ within the *kaige*-group (p. 90).

II

After this introduction it is time to deal with my specific subject: the place of origin of the Old Greek version of the book of Psalms. As far as the term “Old Greek” of Psalms is concerned, I am aware of the fact that we cannot consider the text of the edition of A. Rahlfs to be in every detail the Old Greek of Psalms. Yet we can use this edition, critically of course, as a starting point for investiga-

---

THE ORIGIN OF THE OLD GREEK OF PSALMS

As with so many books of the Septuagint, one is inclined to think of Egypt as the place of origin for the Greek Ps. Venetz, however, reaches another conclusion. In dealing with the relationship between the two kaige-texts of Ps (Theodotion and Quinta) and the Greek Ps, he points out several striking connections between some specific Greek renderings in both (pp. 52-7). A good example is the rendering of the Hebrew יְהוָה חַדָּו with λόγος τῶν διώκειν in the Greeks Ps and in the kaige-texts. In the Greek Ps one does not find, however, the rendering καί γάρ for γαμ. This particle has not been treated as consistently in the Greek Ps as in the KR; yet, several times in the Greek Ps, γαμ has been translated by the Greek expression καί γάρ, which shows some resemblance to καί γάρ.

After having paid attention to the relationship between the kaige-texts of Ps and the Greek Ps, Venetz formulates his thesis, namely that, in all probability, the Greek Ps did not originate in Egypt, but in Palestine (p. 80).

In support of this thesis, he adduces three arguments:

1) He points to the close relationship between the Greek Ps and the kaige-group, as far as specific Greek renderings are concerned. Since the KR was written in Palestine, the same is presumably true of the closely related, but older, Greek Ps (p. 80).

2) A characteristic rendering of the KR is the translation καί γάρ for the so-called “including” particle γαμ. Although this rendering does not occur in the Greek Ps, one finds several times (in fact one third of the occurrences) for γαμ the Greek καί γάρ, whereas this rendering is used ten times for another “including” particle (γάρ). “Man kommt kaum um den Schluss herum, dass der Urheber des o'-Textes mit dieser Art der Exegese wenigstens einigermassen vertraut war” (pp. 80-1). In other words, one gets the impression that the author of the Greek Ps paid the same kind of attention—though not yet so consistently—to particles as did the authors of the kaige-texts.

5 For important additional textual evidence not used by Rahlfs, see especially R. Kassel and M. Testuz, Παπυρος Βοδμερ XXIV. Παπυρος XVII-CXVIII (Cologny/Genève, 1967), and A. Pietersma, Two Manuscripts of the Greek Psalter in the Chester Beatty Library Dublin (Rome, 1978). For further references, see Pietersma, pp. 6-15.

6 Venetz, p. 73. So already Barthélemy, pp. 42-3.
3) Venetz points out that the word βαρίς (and πυργόβαρίς) is a characteristic rendering not only for the kaige-group, but also for the Greek Ps. In Ps xlv 9 the Greek βαρίς renders the Hebrew הֶהָכָל, and in Ps xlviii 4, 14 it renders the Hebrew יָרְםֹנ, whereas in Ps cxxi 7 this last word has been rendered by πυργόβαρις. Through Jerome we know that this Greek word (with the meaning “fortress”) was used only in Palestine. That means that this element too points to Palestine as the place of origin of the Greek Ps.

These are the arguments adduced by Venetz in support of his thesis of a Palestinian locale for the Greek Ps. They are, in my view, convincing. Besides the specific common renderings both in the Greek Ps and in the kaige-texts of Ps, the use of βαρίς (and of πυργόβαρις) for the Hebrew יָרְםֹנ is an especially important element. Not arising from a secondary revision of the Greek Ps, as Venetz makes clear, and belonging therefore, in all probability, to the original Greek Ps (pp. 82-3), this word (βαρίς) favours the view of a Palestinian origin of the Greek Ps. Apart from inscriptions from Laodicea, it occurs only in Jospehus, in texts of the so-called kai gar-group (LXX Ps and LXX 2 Chron.) and in texts of the kaige-group.

Further, Jerome tells us that this word βαρίς "verbum sit ἐπιχώρον Palestinianae".

On the other hand, there also occurs in Greek texts relating to Egypt, a word βαρίς, but this one has a different meaning ("boat") and a different, Egyptian, background. That means that the use

7 pp. 81-3. Here he also mentions the other places in the Greek Bible, where the rendering βαρίς occurs.
8 Of the 988 known parallel renderings between the Greek Ps and the Quinta (kaige-text) of Ps, 661 renderings seem to be common ones (i.e. 74.4%). For these numbers, see J. R. Busto Saiz, La traduction de Simaco en el libro de los Salmos (Madrid, 1978), pp. 295f.
10 See Ant. 8,396; 10,264/5; 11,99; 12,230; 20,85; Vita 246. For the βαρίς of the temple of Jerusalem, see Bellum 1,75.118.
11 Venetz, p. 81 (he also mentions the translation of Aquila). On the rendering of καὶ γάρ (for γάμ or 'ap) in the Books of Psalms and in 2 Chron., see Barthélemy, Les devanciers d'Aquila, pp. 41-3.
12 See Migne PL 22, col. 633 (Letter 65).
of βασις (and of πυργόβασις), in the sense of "fortress" in the Greek Ps points to Palestine rather than to Egypt as its place of origin, because it would have been misunderstood in Egypt.

III

In connection with this thesis of a Palestinian locale for the Greek Ps, I shall now draw attention to some superscriptions of the Greek Ps. As is well known, many superscriptions in the Greek Ps do not have a corresponding text in the Hebrew. This also applies to all the following superscriptions with the exception of one. They are numbered according to the LXX:

Ps xxiii 1: φαλμός τοῦ Δαυίδ, τῆς μιᾶς σαββάτων
Ps xlvi 1: φαλμός ὡδῆς τοῖς νύσις Κορε, δευτέρα σαββάτου
Ps xciii 1: φαλμός τοῦ Δαυίδ, τετράδι σαββάτων
Ps xcii 1: εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ προσαββάτου, ὅτε κατώχισα τῇ γη: αίνος ὡδῆς τοῦ Δαυίδ
Ps xci 1: φαλμός ὡδῆς, εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ σαββάτου.

For our purpose only those parts of the superscriptions are important which refer to some day of the week. There is evidence for the first, second, fourth, sixth days and for the sabbath day, whereas the Hebrew text has evidence only for the sabbath day (see MT Ps xcii 1). In the Greek witnesses, there appears to be no evidence for the third and fifth days of the week. As for these two days, only daughter-translations attest the designation for the fifth day, the day of Ps lxxxi. So the Old Latin has above this psalm the reading "quinta Sabbati".

As has been observed by several scholars, the assigning of these psalms to certain days of the week corresponds with Jewish tradition. From the Mishnah (Tamid VII 4) we know that just these psalms were sung by Levites, when the daily burnt-offerings were presented in the temple of Jerusalem. They are numbered according to the Hebrew text:

---

14 This word also occurs in Ps Sol. viii 19. Just as in Ps cxii 7 this text uses it as referring to the fortresses of Jerusalem. It forms one of several specific agreements (still to be studied) between the Greek Ps and the Greek text of Ps Sol.

Ps xxiv: on the first day of the week;
Ps xlviii: on the second day;
Ps lxxxii: on the third day;
Ps xciv: on the fourth day;
Ps lxxxi: on the fifth day;
Ps xciii: on the sixth day;
Ps xcii: on the sabbath day (see also Aboth de Rabbi Nathan I).

Thus, the superscriptions mentioned above can be regarded as liturgical notes and seem to point to the milieu of the temple of Jerusalem.

As I have said, the manuscript tradition of the Greek Ps does not attest a complete set of designations for each day of the week. There is no evidence in any manuscript of the Greek Ps for the third and fifth day. Although some daughter-translations, such as the Old Latin, probably reflect a Greek text with a designation for the fifth day, there is no evidence for the third day in any textual witness of the Greek Ps. I cannot explain the incompleteness of the designations in the Greek Ps, but I am of the opinion that there must have been a complete set for each day of the week, because an incomplete set does not make sense.

More important, however, is the following question: did these liturgical designations belong to the original text of the Greek Ps or are they additions? In his edition of the Greek Ps, Psalmi cum Odis (Göttingen, 1931), p. 72, A. Rahlfs incorporates these and other extra-MT superscriptions when they are "zweifellos jüdischer Herkunft". But, as A. Pietersma recently remarked in VT 30 (1980), p. 214, this proves nothing more "than that it predates Christian use of the Psalter or that it originated in a Jewish rather than a Christian milieu". Further, Pietersma states that the Greek Ps are "a fairly literal translation of the Hebrew" (pp. 214-5), whereas many superscriptions in the Greek Ps are an expansion on the Hebrew text. He seems to suggest that these superscriptions are therefore suspect and may be regarded as later additions. In my view, however, we must not only differentiate between types (liturgical, exegetical) and milieus (Jewish, Christian) of superscriptions, but also make a distinction between the text of the psalms itself and the several superscriptions above the psalms. One gets the impression that the text of the psalms has been treated more carefully than what stood, or did not stand, above the
psalms. It seems to me difficult, therefore, to view the superscriptions in the Greek Ps in their relation to the Hebrew text in the same way as the text of the psalms in Greek in its relations to the Hebrew.

It must be asked again whether or not our liturgical designations in the Greek Ps already belonged to the original Greek Ps. I think they probably did. The fact that they are attested by the main witnesses of the Greek Ps²⁷ points to an early date. Further, in being Jewish (and not Christian) notes and in reflecting the daily liturgy of the temple of Jerusalem (in Palestine), they fit into the thesis of a Palestinian origin of the Greek Ps. From this country, then, the text of the Greek Ps may have spread into several other countries, such as Egypt (see also Venetz, p. 83). In the third place, not only the translation of Aquila, but also the kaige-texts of Ps make it difficult to assume that, within the Jewish milieu of the first and second centuries A.D. in Palestine, the Greek Ps still held an important place. This means that our liturgical extra-MT superscriptions date from an earlier period.

Since the close relationship between the Greek Ps and the kaige-texts of Ps favours not only a congenial, Pharisaic milieu common to both,²⁸ but also a date not long before the beginning of our era, the first century B.C. was probably the period in which the Greek Ps came into existence.²⁹ If this is true, then it is quite possible that our liturgical superscriptions, which also date from a period before that of the kaige-texts, belonged to the original Greek Ps.

As will be clear, this cannot be fully proved by these arguments. The important thing, in my view, is to examine, whether the Greek Ps originated in temple-circles of Jerusalem. If that is the case, then

---
²⁶ Cp. e.g. the free rendering of the Hebrew superscription to Ps lv (MT: lvii). Later on, the same was probably the case with Origen, see O. Caloz, Étude sur la LXX Origénienne du Psautier (Fribourg/Göttingen, 1978), p. 357. Cp. also the Peshitta Version of the Psalms; see W. Bloemendaal, The Headings of the Psalms in the East Syrian Church (Leiden, 1960).
²⁷ See Rahlfs, Psalmi cum Odis, ad loca. Except for Ps xxiii, they are also attested, with some slight variations, by the prehexaplaric witness Papyrus Bodmer XXIV (see n. 5).
²⁸ For the dating of the kaige-texts at the beginning of our era, see p. 000 above, and my book, pp. 142-55.
²⁹ For the supposed milieu of the kaige-recension of the Greek Bible, the school of Hillel, see above.
³⁰ For this dating, see also A. Posner, "Stoischer Einfluss im LXX-Psalter", ZAW 43 (1925), p. 276.
it stands to reason that liturgical superscriptions such as those for the days of the week belonged to the original Greek Ps. The same could be said, then, of the liturgical notes above Ps xxi (πρὸ τοῦ χριστῆνα), which connects this psalm with the anointing of the High-Priest,21 and above Ps xxviii (ἐξεσέσθησεν σκηνή), which assigns this psalm to the last day of the feast of tabernacles.22

According to M. Flashar, there are indications in the Greek Ps, which betray a great interest in the temple of Jerusalem.23 In this connection I point to the rendering of seta by διάφαλαμα, for instance in psalms which were sung during the daily burnt-offerings. From Jewish sources we know that these psalms were sung with intervals, in which the priests sounded their trumpets. The rendering διάφαλαμα could very well be understood as referring to such an interval between the singing.

IV

To summarize, the arguments of Venetz for a Palestinian place of origin of the Greek Ps are convincing, whereas the above-mentioned liturgical superscriptions, certainly of Jewish origin, point to the same place of origin. In connection with this thesis, it is worth while to examine whether, as these liturgical superscriptions probably suggest, the Greek Ps originated in temple-circles in Jerusalem. If that is so, then we not only have another argument for the thesis of a Palestinian locale of the Greek Ps, but also a good argument for our assumption that the liturgical superscriptions belonged to the Greek Ps from the beginning. A Palestinian place of origin means, not only that Aquila had forerunners in Palestine, namely the kaige-texts, but also that the kaige-texts had forerunners in Palestine.24

---

21 See Rahlfs, Psalmen zum Odes, p. 72. Comp. also Schürer, Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes II (Leipzig, 1907), p. 285. According to E. Slomovic, the title of this psalm (in his translation: "(A Psalm of David) before he was anointed") suggests, that "the psalm was recited just prior to David’s anointing as king of all Israel" (Slomovic, "Toward an Understanding of the Formation of Historical Titles in the Book of Psalms", ZAW 91 [1979], p. 356). But, first, the words πρὸ τοῦ χριστῆνα do not necessarily mean "before he (David) was anointed", and secondly, v. 4 of this psalm ("to dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life") points to the functioning of a (High) Priest in the temple.

22 See Hedley, p. 65. Cp. also Slomovic, p. 357.


LA SEPTANTE DES PSAUMES ET LE GROUPE KAIGE

par

OLIVIER MUNNICH

Paris

A partir de l'étude de la Quinta authentique du Dodécaprophéton, contenue dans des fragments du premier siècle de notre ère découverts en 1952, Dominique Barthélémy nomma "groupe kaigé" un ensemble de traductions et de recensions de l'Ancien Testament, réalisées en Palestine au premier siècle. Il les attribua à des "devanciers d'Aquila" car ces textes manifestaient l'influence de l'exégèse rabbinique contemporaine mais non les principes que devait développer Aqiba et qu'Aquila adopta dans sa version.1 Barthélémy proposa d'inclure dans le groupe kaigé la Quinta des Psautres et suggéra d'établir une relation entre ce groupe et la LXX Ps. elle-même.2

Dans son ouvrage, Die Quinta des Psalteriums, Ein Beitrag zur Septuaginta- und Hexaplaforshung (Hildesheim, 1974), H. J. Venetz se propose de développer ces deux idées formulées par Barthélémy; mais, si la démonstration qu'il apporte pour la première convainc, celle qu'il avance pour la seconde laisse quelque peu sceptique.

Les arguments de Venetz sont de trois ordres:
1) La parenté du vocabulaire de la LXX Ps. et du groupe kaigé.
2) La traduction, dans la LXX Ps., de gam par xai γάρ.
3) La présence, dans la LXX Ps. et le groupe kaigé, de βασίς et de τοῦ ριζώματος au sens de "château", "maison forte".

Examinons successivement ces arguments.

I. Le vocabulaire de la LXX Ps. et celui du groupe kaigé

1) "Es wird auffallen, wie viel Gemeinsamkeiten das LXX-Psalterium mit dem Vokabular dieser Gruppe hat" (Venetz, pp. 57-8). Dans les quinze pages qui suivent cette affirmation de Venetz, le lecteur prend beaucoup plus la mesure des divergences

---

2 On notera la prudence avec laquelle Barthélémy avance cette idée (p. 47).