Transformations in the Septuagint
Towards an Interaction of Septuagint Studies and Translation Studies

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ABBREVIATIONS & SIGNS

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

Allereerst wil ik God danken, die mij de gaven en steeds vreugde heeft gegeven om dit onderzoek uit te voeren, ondanks een aantal ingrijpende gebeurtenissen tijdens de afgelopen negen jaar.


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Dit werk draag ik op aan de nagedachtenis van mijn vader, Cok van der Louw (1940-2003).
Chapter 1

State of the question and purpose of this study

INTRODUCTION AND OUTLINE

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

1 M.A. Knibb (ed.), The Septuagint and Messianism, (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium), Leuven (forthcoming).
2 For the forthcoming online proceedings, see www.helsinki.fi/collegium.
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Chapter Three presents an inventory of transformations. The labels have been drawn from early Translation Studies. Under each category I give a number of illustrations, taken from published modern translations. To demonstrate their validity for Antiquity, I have provided examples from ancient translations as well.

In chapters Four to Six I have analyzed three sections from the Septuagint, viz. Genesis 2, Isaiah 1 and Proverbs 6, with help of the just mentioned catalogue of transformations. The LXX-chapters have been chosen more or less at random, but the choice of books is deliberate. It is known that Genesis, Isaiah and Proverbs have been translated differently. At the same time the source texts used by the LXX-translators did not differ notably from MT, for all we know. Chapters Four to Six have the character of an in-depth interview. In social research, statistical methods of inquiry, such as polls or surveys, are often complemented by in-depth interviews. The advantage is that these yield a very good picture of backgrounds and motives, but the results of in-depth interviews cannot be generalized. The same holds true for the in-depth analysis of the three chapters. The study ends with Conclusions and a summary in Dutch.

TRANSLATION STUDIES IN SEPTUAGINT STUDIES

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


Brock e.a., Classified Bibliography to the Septuagint; Dogniez, Bibliography of the Septuagint.

5 This term (and others marked with *) is explained in Definitions and Concepts.


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

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

De Waard’s contributions offer a starting point for a more systematic description of transformations in the LXX. Such research has as yet not been conducted. But the tide is turning. This can be deduced from some recent articles by Septuagint scholars who make a case for interdisciplinarity and use publications from the field of Translation Studies.

In January 2005 an interdisciplinary symposium was held at the Collegium for Advanced Studies of Helsinki University, where scholars approached translation in antiquity and the Middle Ages from different perspectives. In a certain way it is understandable that until now Septuagint Studies have hardly absorbed insights from Translation Studies, as study of the Septuagint began long before the emergence of Translation Studies. Septuagint scholars developed questions and methods of their own. The continually growing literature on the Septuagint can be subdivided into four areas of research. According to Martin Rösel these are:

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

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7 J. de Waard, Gleiche Übersetzungsprobleme über zwei Jahrtausende, 63-64.
10 Boyd-Taylor, *The Evidentiary Value of Septuagintaal Usage*, 47-80 draws upon the work of Gideon Toury to elucidate the characteristics of linguistic interference and their disheartening implications for projects aiming at a lexicon of the Septuagint. B.G. Wright, *Access to the Source: Cicero, Ben Sira, the Septuagint and their Audiences*, *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 34 (2001), 1-27 also pleads for interdisciplinarity. He offers an analysis of the translational attitudes of Cicero, Ben Sira’s grandson and the translators of the LXX-Pentateuch with help of historical Translation Studies.
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2 study of translation techniques of separate books;
3 study of the LXX as a document of the Wirkungsgeschichte of biblical texts in Hellenistic Judaism;
4 study of the Septuagint as the Bible of ancient Jews and Christians.

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

Study of linguistic phenomena

A. Study of lexemes. Much attention has been payed to theological terms (often on behalf of New Testament research) and divine names. One possibility is to take a Hebrew word(field) and map the various Greek renderings. Scholars also go the other way round and map which Hebrew words have been rendered by one specific Greek lexeme.

B. Study of syntactic phenomena. Researchers in this line, notably the ‘Helsinki school’, take a syntactic phenomenon in Hebrew and survey the Greek renderings found in the Septuagint. The results are often statistically summarized. The huge amount of material permits a general overview of how the various books of the Bible have been translated.

Study of ‘translation techniques’

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

- **Homeophonic translation**, i.e. the rendering of a Hebrew word by a Greek term that sounds similar. It is debated whether the alleged instances really are phonological renderings or should be explained otherwise.

- **Anaphoric translation** involves deliberate use of parallel passages in the same book or in another one.

- **Transpositions** of words, sentences or complete verses.

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14 B. Lemmelijn, Two Methodological Trails in Recent Studies on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint, in: Sollamo & Sipilä, Helsinki Perspectives, Göttingen 2001, 43-63 gives a different division: a school concentrating on “literalness” (Barr, Tov) on the one hand and scholars concentrating on “freedom” (the Helsinki school) on the other hand. Lemmelijn rightly stresses the necessity for Septuagint research of making clearer what “freedom of translation” is.
17 For publications see Brock e.a., *Classified Bibliography*, 25-28; Dogniez, *Bibliography*, 29-34., where the share of Finnish scholars (Aejmelaeus, Soisalon-Soininen, Sollamo) is clear.
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- **Translation of metaphors**: Research has mainly focused on the questions how metaphorical denotations of God (‘rock’, ‘shield’) have been rendered in the Greek translation and whether there are theological underlying motives for it.\(^{21}\)
- **Avoidance of anthropomorphisms / anthropopathisms**: Passages in which human acts or feelings are attributed to God have received much attention. In a number of cases the Septuagint gives an abstract rendering for a concrete SL expression. It is debated whether these are theologically motivated softenings, based on a more abstract image of God, or transformations that are linguistically motivated.\(^{22}\)
- **Stereotyping**: The rendering of one Hebrew word with (in most cases) one Greek word is studied widely, due to its importance for text criticism. Less attention is given to the rendering of one Hebrew word by several Greek words or the rendering of several Hebrew words by one Greek word.\(^{23}\)
- **‘Exegetical translation’**: There is a growing interest in the exegetical principles that have guided the translators. The question is whether or not exegetical translation is a translation technique.

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


\(^{21}\) E.g. S. Olofsson, *God is my Rock: A Study of Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis in the Septuagint* (Coniectanea Biblica OTS 31), Stockholm 1990 and the literature mentioned there.

\(^{22}\) See Dorival, Harl, Munnich, *La bible grecque des Septante*, 214 and the relevant literature.


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In Chapter II three additional translation techniques that are more characteristic of free translation pass under review, this time under the heading of ‘exegesis’.

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

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

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

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

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30 Witness e.g. Rösel, Übersetzung als Vollendung der Auslegung; Van der Kooij, The Oracle of Tyre; Ekblad, Isaiah’s Servant Poems etc.
31 See, e.g. Aejmelaeus, What can we know, On the Trail, 94, where the lack of an adequate terminology causes some confusion; and more recently Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, passim.
32 Aejmelaeus, What can we know, On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators, 85.
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3. Literal renderings are, Barr says, easier to study than ‘free renderings’. He adds: ‘Freedom in translation is not a tangible method, so suitably to be grasped and comprehended.’ 33

It is one of the purposes of the present study to show that ‘free renderings’ can be grasped and comprehended. Although transformations were not always employed consistently, they often have a logic in their own right.

4. Certain ‘free renderings’ are sometimes regarded as raw material for the historian, viz. as visible traces of the translator, in which his (midrashic or actualizing) exegesis shows. This is why certain types of ‘free renderings’ have become a focus of interest for scholars who try to reconstruct the historical background of the Septuagint and the translators’ Hellenistic and/or Jewish ideology. Yet this concern can easily miss the fact that free renderings are first of all linguistic material.

Insights from Translation Studies can offer a helpful correction to the methods used in Septuagint research, since they force the researcher to explain more precisely which ‘free renderings’ result from linguistic demands and which are the result of the translator’s exegesis. As in textual criticism, here too the restriction is valid that a ‘free rendering’ can only be connected to the translator’s way of thinking if it cannot be explained with translational factors. 34

THE SEPTUAGINT IN TRANSLATION STUDIES

The academic study of translating and translations is of a fairly recent date. The emerging discipline counts several ‘schools’, of which the respective positions are developing at a high pace: ‘in research terms, work published in the early 80s is already out of date.’ 35

Several surveys have appeared that provide a helpful overview of the field of Translation Studies. 36 The newest development is the emergence of Interpreting Studies as a separate discipline. 37

An outsider who wants to explore the field of Translation Studies will find it confusing. For example, work on translation sometimes gives the impression that it radically departs from its predecessors, thereby couching theories in a novel terminology, but a closer look may

33 J. Barr, The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations (Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens 15, NAWG I, Phil-Hist. Kl.), Göttingen 1979, [7].
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reveal that there is not so much difference altogether. Thus the age-old polarity literal versus free serves as the background of almost every book, only under different disguises:\(^{38}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>literal</th>
<th>↔ free</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>verbum de verbo</td>
<td>↔ sensus de sensu (Jerome)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verfremdend</td>
<td>↔ domesticating (L. Venuti)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>direct</td>
<td>↔ oblique (Vinay &amp; Darbelnet)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>direct</td>
<td>↔ indirect (E.-A. Gutt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>overt</td>
<td>↔ covert (J. House)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>documentary</td>
<td>↔ instrumental (C. Nord)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semantic</td>
<td>↔ communicative (P. Newmark)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>formal-equivalent</td>
<td>↔ dynamic-equivalent (E.A. Nida)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>formal-correspondent</td>
<td>↔ functional-equivalent (Nida - De Waard)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

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

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\(^{38}\) For Septuagint scholars this may help to put A. Pietersma’s labels ‘isolated’ versus ‘contextual’ (in: Manual for NETS Translators, Ada 1996) in the proper perspective.

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


\(^{41}\) Delisle & Woodsworth, Translators through History (BTL 13), Amsterdam / Philadelphia 1995, 164.

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and the status of the target culture illustrate the role of authority in the production of the LXX. The identical results of the seventy translators are a claim to the expertise of the translators. The dimension of trust (in the experts) is involved, because the audience has to believe that the translation is a fair representation of the source text, a conviction which became problematic in the Jewish reception of the Septuagint. The fourth dimension is image, 'the image a translation creates of an original, its author, its literature, its culture.' The Septuagint is extensively discussed by Vermeer. He devotes a large section to early Jewish and Christian Bible translations. Vermeer distinguishes several methods that were in use for the translation of sacred Scriptures. 'Morphematic translation', as practised by Aquila, logically arises from reverence for the sanctity of the original’s Wortlaut. In his treatment of the Septuagint, Vermeer points to Wörtlichkeit (literalness) as its main characteristic. Yet many passages have been translated quite freely. Vermeer lists five causes for deviations from the standard of literalness, apart from obligatory shifts or errors:

1. When the TL lacks a corresponding term, translation results in a change of meaning.
2. The cultural difference implies a changed function for the translated text, which the translator will (sometimes) take into account.
3. The text is translated for actual use in a (different) religious community: ‘jede Rezeption (re)konstituiert erst ihren Text.’
4. The translation is the product of the translator’s interpretation (which can radically differ from ours).
5. The ‘dragoman method’ (see below).

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

The stepmotherly treatment of the LXX can be explained: the modern student of translation finds the study of the LXX fraught with difficulties. Firstly, few researchers can read both Classical Greek and Biblical Hebrew. The current secondary literature is not very accessible to them: Septuagint research has its own terminology and methods, connected to theology and textual criticism. Secondly, Septuagint research is handicapped in several respects: there is no established source text; no native speakers can be consulted; little is known about the translators apart from a short note by Ben Sira’s translator and there are no documents in which the translators account for their method of translation. In the third place, the study of the LXX can hardly be called ‘relevant’ in the eyes of policy-makers and is less likely to attract subsidies or grants than research projects in Translation Studies. Despite these difficulties I am convinced that the study of the Septuagint can contribute to Translation Studies. An interdisciplinary study can materially advance the knowledge of translation practice in pre-Ciceronian antiquity, if only by making Septuagint literature more accessible to translation researchers. The Septuagint as a major translation deserves its place within Translation Studies. The present study will show to what extent models and methods from Translation Studies are useful for the study of an ancient translation.

45 Vermeer, Skizzen zu einer Geschichte der Translation, Bd. 1, 251-284.
46 Vermeer, Skizzen I, 256-268.
47 Vermeer, Skizzen I, 260-261.
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APPROACHES IN TRANSLATION STUDIES AND THEIR USE FOR THE STUDY OF THE SEPTUAGINT

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

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

A well-known theory in Septuagint studies claims that the working method of Egyptian 'dragomans' or commercial interpreters served as a model for the Septuagint translation which constituted an unprecedented enterprise. Now what is considered typical of the dragoman style? Rabin lists the following characteristics of the Septuagint which in his view are due to the dragoman technique: 1. non-appreciation of poetic diction, 2. the tendency to replace metaphors by plain statements, 3. omission of parts of the text, 4. mechanical renderings (Verlegenheitsübersetzung), 5. lack of consistency and 6. translating word for word without regard for the word order or the syntax of the target language.

It is of course possible to criticize this theory with the help of common sense. For example, that interpreters do not pay attention to poetic diction seems an obvious claim, but interpreters are seldom confronted with poetry. And replacement of metaphors we find in any written translation. Since Rabin's article process-oriented research into translating and interpreting has emerged. Translators are trained to think aloud, so that the translation process could be tape-recorded, pairs of cooperating translators were filmed, the working methods of translators and interpreters were compared and other experiments were executed. The aim is to reconstruct what goes on in the 'black box' during the complex process of translating. Was in den Köpfen von Übersetzern vorzugeht, as an important monograph by H.P. Krings is titled. The results are enlightening. The so-called 'features of the dragoman style' are by no means characteristic of interpreters versus translators, but of beginning versus professional.

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


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

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

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

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

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

60 C.B. Roy, Interpreting as a Discourse Process (Oxford Studies in Sociolinguistics), New York / Oxford 2000. An anecdote from Vinay & Darbelnet, Comparative Stylistics, 39 shows how bridging of cross-cultural gaps can work out: “[T]here is the story of an interpreter who, having adapted “cricket” into “Tour de France” in a context referring to a particularly popular sport, was put on the spot when the French delegate then thanked the speaker for having referred to such a typically French sport. The interpreter then had to reverse the adaptation and speak of cricket to his English client.”
61 Vermeer, SKIZZEN I, 56. Antiquity presents the same picture. It is often said that Cicero denounced interpreters in general because they translated literally. But translating literally is not characteristic of interpreters generally, it is only the trade mark of interpretari indiserti ‘clumy interpreters’, as Cicero calls them (De finibus 3, 15). Cicero, who studied at Rhodos and breathed in Greek, so to speak, addressed the senate of Syracuse in fluent Greek (Adams, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 576).
62 If he used an interpreter in Cilicia, this interpreter must have had the most excellent command of Greek thinkable. Although Snellman, De interpretibus romanorum I, 102, 154, leaves open the possibility that indigenous languages of Asia Minor made this interpreter necessary, it is not sure whether a citizen of the ruling Roman power would condescend to the study of a barbarous sermo.
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The contributions of early or linguistic Translation Studies are useful for the study of the Septuagint, in my opinion. In the early days of Translation Studies attention was mainly focused on word- and sentence-level. Authors identified and described ‘shifts’ that occur in the transfer from one language to another. Transformations were categorized according to the semantic relationship they express: generalization (‘spear’ → ‘weapon’), specification (‘weapon’ → ‘spear’), omission, addition, explicitation, literal translation etc. These labels are so useful, because, first, the transformations are micro-level phenomena, which in general suits the character of the LXX with its small translation units. A method that starts with the micro-level is essentially inductive (bottom-up) and is therefore less dependent on hypotheses about the intended function of the translation, the target culture etc. than other approaches. Secondly, categories of transformations are descriptive labels and can be fruitfully used in descriptive research. Those phenomena that have often been termed vaguely ‘translation techniques’ or ‘free renderings’ can now be categorized, counted and described. Thirdly, when we relate a Greek rendering to a recognized transformation, we implicitly acknowledge that the translator adopted a solution, which forces us to ask why this transformation was actually employed. Fourthly, the linguistic orientation of this method stipulates that linguistic explanations of certain renderings are sought before either text-critical or cultural and theological factors are called in. This procedure can offer a helpful correction to the methods used in Septuagint research, since they force the researcher to explain more precisely which ‘free renderings’ result from linguistic demands and which are the result of the translator’s exegesis or a different parent text.

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

64 For a good introduction cf. Fawcett, Linguistic Theories Explained.
65 Munday, Introducing Translation Studies, Ch. 4; Stolze, Übersetzungstheorien, Kap. 4–5. Authors in this line are Vinay & Darbelnet, Catford, Langeveld and Newmark.
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Campbell’s interesting study can serve as an example of what I mean. For the purpose of assessment and training Campbell explores the characteristics of translated texts, produced by translation students who are not working into their mother tongue, but into the second language. I expected his findings would be relevant to the question whether translators of some LXX-books were native speakers of Greek or had acquired it as a second language. But throughout the whole monograph the ideal of a natural sounding target text is assumed, and the (normative) notion of ‘text competence’ is connected to target language conventions, close to the old notion of ‘stylistic equivalence’. The characteristics or ‘deficiencies’ which Campbell notes have little significance within a literal translation strategy.

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

The functionalist approach, originating in Germany, is decidedly non-descriptive, but tells the translator how to work. A good translation is not ‘a text that says the same thing in a different language’. The perspective is much wider, for the translator operates in a social context. There is a commissioner who needs the translation and pays for it, a target text producer, there is a source text, there are financial restrictions, target text recipients and the function the text is intended to fulfill (the Skopos). The act of translation is successful only when it adequately meets the intended function (skoposadäquat), no matter what it entails. Reiss and Vermeer put it radically: ‘Für Translation gilt: Das Zweck heiligt die Mittel.’ The source text is no longer the norm. The Skopos of the target text is by definition different from the Skopos of the source text. ‘Translatorial action’ may therefore include adaptation, reworking and other kinds of changes. Despite its prescriptive character the functionalist approach offers a conceptual framework that forces us to take into account the social and material reality in which the production of a translation is embedded. Also the emphasis on the determinative role of the function (Skopos) in the production of the translation is valuable for the study of the Septuagint.

Scholars who are already working on similar lines might profit from a more consistent application of the functionalist model. It could be that the surprising alternation between Hebraisms and idiomatic renderings is related to the function of the LXX. The same holds true for exegetical renderings or the translators’ treatment of anthropomorphisms, the omission or addition of phrases or passages etc. These elements could perhaps be brought together in a more comprehensive model, in which the function of the translation is a

68 Munday, Introducing Translation Studies, Ch. 6-7; Gentzler, Contemporary Translation Theories, 30ff.; Hatim / Munday, Advanced Resource Book, Sections A13, B13, C13.
determinative factor. Of course, it is not one and the same function that governed each individual book of the Septuagint.

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

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

The second step in Toury’s model is the analysis of the ‘adequacy’ of the translation by way of comparison of source and target text, a procedure that is relevant to Septuagint studies and similar to what is already being done. The established (non-obligatory!) ‘shifts’

71 By way of illustration, J. Ribera Florit, Relación entre el talmud y las versiones antiguas. Los talmudes de Jeremías y Ezequiel comparados con LXX, Peshitta y Vulgata, Estudios Bíblicos 52 (1994), 317-328 thinks the translators wanted to produce an intelligible text, reflecting an adequate interpretation of the source text, comparable to the talmuds. S. Olofsson, The Septuagint and Earlier Jewish Interpretative Tradition - Especially as Reflected in the Targums, SJOT 10 (1996), 197-216 holds that the Greek translation was read in the synagogue and that translators wanted to produce a kind of substitute source text.


73 Munday, Introducing Translation Studies, Ch. 7; Th. Hermans, Translation in Systems. Descriptive and System-Oriented Approaches Explained (Translation Theories Explained 7), Manchester 1999.

74 G. Toury, Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond (BTL 4), Amsterdam/Philadelphia 1995. Toury’s and Van Leuven’s approaches are discussed by Koster, From World to World, Chapter 4, who offers his own model of analysis, developed for the analysis of translated poetry.
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should be related to one another in order to construct a hierarchy of translational norms. I think this procedure offers many stimulating elements for students of the Septuagint, as the construction of such a hierarchy provides a more comprehensive framework than much current Septuagint research. The identification of non-obligatory, translator-specific shifts has to be carried out with great care. When you are in search of the translator’s interpretation, you may easily be tempted to 'detect' translator-specific shifts, where simply the norms of the target language have been obeyed. This temptation already exists in the study of modern translations, and is not surprisingly very common in Septuagint studies. Toury’s concept of ‘assumed translation’ could open a new area of research for Septuagint scholars. In his view, not merely factual translations, but ‘assumed translations’ should be object of descriptive study. Any text the target culture regards as translation should be studied as such. This means that pseudotranslations, original texts that are erroneously regarded as translations, have to be included. Pseudotranslations are revealing because they often deliberately display features that the target culture considers characteristic of translations. It might be that some biblical books that were probably directly written in Greek fall into this category, for example, Wisdom, 3-4 Maccabeans and the additions to Daniel and Jeremiah. Of course it remains possible that one day a source text will be found.

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

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

75 A further discussion of this concept in C. Schäffner (ed.), Translation and Norms, Clevedon 1999.
76 See the detailed criticism on K. van Leuven’s intricate model of comparison by Verstegen, Vertaalwetenschap versus vertaalwetenschap. On methodological grounds Van Leuven’s model is criticized by Hermans, Translation in Systems, Chapter 5. But in my opinion the bottom-up starting point of Van Leuven is not appreciated enough.
77 Harl, La bible grecque des Septante, 85.
78 Munday, Introducing Translation Studies, Ch. 3, 6; Stolze, Übersetzungstheorien, Kap. 6; Gentzler, Contemporary Translation Theories, Ch. 3.
79 M. Olohan, Introducing Corpora in Translation Studies, London / New York 2004. It closes with an overview of the resources available to researchers, including a bibliography with useful web-links.
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questions can be asked to the corpora to reveal translation-specific or translator-specific features and what the findings contribute to the discussion of translation universals. Because of her pedagogical interests it has not occurred to Olohan that corpus-based research could be applied to ancient translations, in our case to debated issues in LXX-studies, e.g. how pseudo-translations can be distinguished from real translations. Looking over the fence can save scholars from reinventing the wheel. That holds true for both sides. The study of large corpora of translated text has led to the formulation of so-called translation universals. These are probabilistic maxims that inform us what has often been noticed and what is likely to happen in the transition from one language to another. Translation universals that have been proposed so far:\footnote{Chesterman, Hypotheses about Translation Universals, in: Hansen, Claims, Changes and Challenges in TS, 5, 8. See further Mauranen / Kujamäki, Translation Universals. Do they exist?}

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

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

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

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Chapter 2
Translating and translations in Antiquity

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

1 Seele, Römische Übersetzer, 19.
2 Munday, Introducing Translation Studies, Chapter 2.
Greek philosophers have left us next to no theoretical utterances on translation, but they did express themselves on language and the nature of meaning. I will give a short survey.1 Greek linguistics originated in a well-defined historical context. The fifth century BC was a century of major changes in the Greek world. City-states, notably Athens, experienced a transition from aristocracy to democracy. This brought new opportunities for citizens of the Greek polis, but at the same time these changes asked for special skills that would enable the citizen to function successfully in the city’s democracy. Increasing intellectual questioning – even religious scepticism – made the gods recede into the background and helped humans to assert independence and freedom of action. The world was gradually demythologised. The withdrawal of the gods gave rise to the question: how can we know anything about the nature of reality? The phenomenon of constant change troubled the pre-Socratic philosophers: if everything is in a flux, how is it possible to know anything fixed? These political and religious questions were taken up by philosophical schools. The Sophists developed tools with which the citizen could successfully operate in the emerging democracy. Today we would call them ‘communication specialists’. Protagoras is credited with the first division of ‘speech acts’: prayer/wish, question, answer and command. Truth was no longer imposed from above, as in the days of aristocracy or tyranny.


4 W.I. Snellman, *De interpretibus romanorum deque linguae latinae cum alis nationibus commercio* (tomus I & II), Lipsiae 1914/1919; H.E. Richter, *Übersetzer und Übersetzungen in der römischen Literatur*, Erlangen 1938 [short survey of translations into Latin from 300 BC to 600 AD]; H. Marti, *Übersetzer der Auguste-Zeit. Interpretation von Selbstzeugnissen* (Studia et testimonia antiqua XIV), München 1974; F.M. Rener, *Interpretatio. Language and Translation from Cicero to Tytler* (Approaches to Translation Studies 8), Amsterdam / Atlanta 1989 [Excellent. Counts the misconception that there existed no translation theories from Antiquity until Romanticism. ‘It seems that the translators’ prefaces and letters, their comments and particularly the ‘commonplaces’ presuppose a common set of norms with which their readers were so familiar that a “commonplace” expression of them was sufficient to catch their attention.’ (5) The shared views of language and translation were a heritage of Classical Antiquity that held out until Von Humboldt. Elements of it lie scattered in prefaces, treatises and handbooks. ‘By assembling the tesserae of this mosaic, a whole manual on translation has been compiled [sc. by Rener] which, though never written, nevertheless existed and was known to all translators and particularly to their critics.’ (7)]; R. Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages. Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 11), Cambridge 1991 [not concerned ‘with a narrow pragmatics or theory of translation’ but ‘seeks to show how translation is inscribed within a large disciplinary nexus, a historical intersection of hermeneutical practice and rhetorical theory’ (p. 1), i.e. translation in the ongoing competition between rhetoric and hermeneutics; H.J. Vermeer, *Skizzen zu einer Geschichte der Translation*, Bd. I. Anfänge - Von Mesopotamien bis Griechenland, Rom und das frühe Christentum bis Hieronymus (Translatorisches Handeln Wissenschaft 6.1), Frankfurt 1992; A. Seele, *Römische Übersetzer. Not, Freiheiten, Absichten* [builds a bridge between modern Translation Studies and classical philology]. Methodological: A. Pym, *Method in Translation History*, Manchester 1998.
but it had to assert itself in the democratic process. Truth could be shared or strengthened by way of persuasion. Now the Sophists stressed the diversity of communicative situations: what is true in one situation can be quite beside the point or even false in another. Their interest lay in the effect of language in establishing situational truth. They did not study individual words, but their studies transcended word and sentence level and envisioned texts as a whole within their communicative situations. For Plato language was of paramount importance in the search for truth, but in a different way: "If we can no longer take it for granted that we all have access to the same ultimate reality, then how can I be sure that when you talk about important issues like freedom and responsibility and prejudice, you mean the same realities that I do?" Now according to Plato, anything on earth is an imperfect reflection of the world of Ideas. This concept is able to account for both the unchanging truth and the apparent diversity as we experience it. With help of the Socratic method people can be helped to recollect their prebirth knowledge of the world of Ideas. The next question is then, how is the world of Ideas accessed by means of language? This problem is analysed in Plato's Cratylus, a dialogue that deals with the ‘truth of words’, a question that is foreign to modern thought. Between the opposite views that words are purely conventional and that words are true, i.e. express the nature of what they denote. Plato finds a middle road: words are mirrors of reality, but imperfect ones. The relationship between words and reality must be unearthed, but there is a relationship, knowable with help of the intellect (νοῦς), Plato concentrated on the content of words, not on style and communication, as the Sophists did. Vermeer assumes this concern promoted literal translation.

According to Aristotle the relation between words and things is a matter of convention, differing from one language to another. At the same time, the mental affections themselves, of which these words are primarily signs, are the same for the whole of mankind, as are also the objects of which those affections are representations or likenesses, images, copies. In modern terms, we would call this a universalist theory of language. The belief that all men are essentially similar whereas only their words differ, guarantees the possibility of translation and explains at the same time that words in a translation can be different from or more numerous than those of the original. Translation is not only possible between different languages, but also within a language, by expressing the same content with different words. Thus a corollary of the Aristotelian view of language is the distinction between content (what is said) and form (how it is said). Aristotle’s main interest lay in language in actual use. His systematic essays are devoted to the role of language in thinking (logic) and in the expression of emotions (poetry, rhetoric). Neither Plato nor Aristotle were interested in

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7 Law, History of Linguistics, 18.
9 Vermeer, Skizzen I, 127-154; but see Chapter 7 of this study.
10 Aristotle, De interpretatione 16a, quoted in Rener, Interpretatio, 19.
Translating and translations in Antiquity

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

Among scholars concerned with language there existed two controversies that were partly related. The first one went between advocates of nature (φύσις) and of convention (άρμος). Were laws and institutions, and, for that matter, language, grounded in nature or were they a product of convention? The ‘naturalists’, largely Stoics, pointed to onomatopoea to defend the natural relationship between word form and word meaning and by way of etymologies they tried to reconstruct the natural or most original forms of words. The etymologies they produced are often fanciful and amazing for the modern reader. The ‘conventionalists’, on the other hand, held that the relation between form and meaning was arbitrary, that it could change over time and vary between languages. This was essentially the position of Aristotle. The second controversy, between anomalists and analogists, is sometimes seen as a later development of the same issue. The reliability of its description by Varro, De lingua latina (1st century BC) is contested. As neither grammars nor dictionaries of Greek existed, the foundations of what we call grammar had to be developed from scratch, which partly explains the extreme viewpoints. The two positions came to be identified with two important centres of learning, Pergamon and Alexandria respectively.11 In Pergamon the Stoics, especially Chrysippus and Crates of Mallos, were theoretically interested in the nature of language and favoured anomaly.12 They believed that no orderly classification of grammatical phenomena could be made because of the great number of irregularities (διόνυσις). Words as well as literature were seen as intrinsically related to nature, and therefore expressions of truth and virtue. This a priori was applied to the writings of Homer, the author par excellence. Morally disturbing or seemingly irrelevant passages could therefore not be taken literally, but were seen as hidden expressions of truth and virtue. This hidden relationship needed to be exposed, which they did by ingenious use of the already known allegorical method. Thus Homer became a teacher of Stoic doctrines.

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

11 Fraser, Ptolemaic Alexandria I, 465f. See also W. Ax, Sprache als Gegenstand der alexandrini- schen und pergamenischen Philologie, in: Schnitter, Geschichte der Sprachtheorie 2, 275-301.
TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE SEPTUAGINT

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

Γραμματική ἄττικον ἐμπειρία τῶν παρὰ ποιητῶν τικα καὶ συγγραφέων ώστε τὴ πολὺ λεγομένη. Μήρα δὲ κατὰ ἑαυτὴν εἶσαι Τ. Πρῶτα αὐτότικα ἐντυπώσομεν κατὰ προσωπικόν, δεύτερον ἐξίσου κατὰ τοὺς ἐνπρόσφορους ποιητικούς γράμτας, τρίτον γλυκάσαν τι καὶ ἰστορικῶν προμέχρων ἀπόφασις, τέταρτον ἐντυπολογίας ἐφεσίς, πέμπτον ἀναλογίας ἐκκλησίας, ἅττων κρίσις ποιητῶν, ὁ δὲ κακοτριῶν ἑτεροποιήσων τῶν ἐν τῇ γλώσσῃ.

Grammar is the practical knowledge of the general usages of poets and prose writers. It has six parts: first, accurate reading (aloud) with due regard to the prosodies; second, explanation of the literary expressions in the works; third, the provision of notes on phraseology and subject matter; fourth, the discovery of etymologies; fifth, the working out of analogical regularities; sixth, the appreciation of literary compositions, which is the noblest part of grammar. It is actually a definition of linguistics in a broad sense. Grammar in the modern sense of the word is only treated by Dionysius in the fifth paragraph.

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

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

TRANSLATING AND TRANSLATIONS INTO GREEK

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

And in the whole work I supplied what was mentioned in passing, I cut superfluous things, shortened verbose narrations and passages, and simplified complicated matters. Therefore, o Lord, I consider that I have been able to complete this book through your favour, not through my own intelligence.

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

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

\begin{quote}
οὐδὲ γὰρ πάντως τὴν ἀπέρι διασποῖς διαφόρους μεθημερισμένους τὰ ὁνόματα, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἔθνους μοιάζοντας, ἀπόδοντα τις ἄλλοι ἔθνος ὡς φως ἐμφάνισθαι ἐπιτέλευσε καὶ ἐν οἷον ταῦτα μεθημερισμένους, ἀλλὰ πλήρες δόμινον ὑπὸ κυρώσει τὴν ἀπέρι.
\end{quote}

In translation words do not preserve exactly the same sense: each people has characteristics impossible to transfer from one language to another; thus, even though one can translate these words, they still do not preserve the same force.

Δόμινος is often rendered literally with ‘force’, and since we do not usually speak of the force of words, it is claimed to refer to a belief in a magical force of words.\textsuperscript{27} We have therefore to trace the use of δόμινος in Greek. Plato’s \textit{Cratylus} touches upon this question, when Socrates asks Cratylus:

\begin{quote}
τινος ομίλε δόμινον έχει τα ὁνόματα καὶ τί φώμεν πολλά καλόν ἀπεφεξεθεί:
What is the function of names and when do we think they function optimally?
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
[upon which Cratylus answers:] Δόμινος ἔχει τά ὁνόματα, καὶ τοῦτο πάντα ἄλλα ἀναφέξεθε.
\end{quote}

I think, Socrates, that their function is to instruct, and this is the simple truth, that he who knows the names knows also the things named.\textsuperscript{29} The best translation of δόμινος here is ‘function’. Plato does not use δόμινος in the sense of ‘magical force’ of words, on the contrary, this whole idea is a viewpoint that Plato combats. Nor does he use δόμινος in the sense of rhetorical power.\textsuperscript{30} In Plato as well as later writers,

\begin{quote}
Gorgias 447c, 456a, 460a speaks about the δόμινος, as a craft.
\end{quote}

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

\textsuperscript{24} R. Reitzenstein, \textit{Die griechische Tefnutlegende} (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Ak. der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse), 1923.

\textsuperscript{25} For more information see R. Loredana Cardullo, Skeptiker und Neuplatoniker, in: Schmitter, \textit{Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft} 2, 238-272.

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


\textsuperscript{28} E.g. Veltri, \textit{Tora für Talmai}, 143.

\textsuperscript{29} Plato, \textit{Cratylus} 435d, cf. also 493b (ed. H.N. Fowler).

\textsuperscript{30} Not even in his discussions of rhetoric, \textit{Gorgias} 447c, 456a, 460a speaks about the δόμινος, as a craft.”
Translating and translations in Antiquity

the δόμημας of a word is its meaning.31 In Iamblichus’ text the term δόμημας is precluded by δόξαν ‘sense’, which appears as a synonym. Of course, in Iamblichus’ neoplatonist thought, this meaning is of a divine origin.

Roman translation theory took over the concept of δόσημας into Latin vis. [T]he notion of vis is normally connected with meaning and not with ornamentation, which is the province of rhetoric.32 Cicero clearly uses vis as a synonym of sensus ‘meaning’. The antithesis between verbum de verbo and sensus de senso is expressed as follows by Cicero:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{non verbum pro verbo necesse habui reddere, sed genus omne verborum vinque servavi.} & 33 \\
\text{I did not consider it necessary to render word by word, but I retained the style of all words and their meaning.}
\end{align*}
\]

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

Rhetoric and Translation in Rome

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

31 Cf. LSJ 452b and the references, which I have checked.
32 Rener, Interpretatio, 154. He allows that vis means ‘impact’ in Augustine’s writings.
33 De optimo genere oratorum, 14; see Marti, Übersetzer der Augustin-Zeit, 64. Cf. also the interesting passage from Seneca quoted by Marti 65 that contains the same word.
34 See further Veltri, Torà für Talmai, 143f.
37 The cultural background was the Roman sense of cultural inferiority. In the post-classical period, when Latin literature could stand on its own feet, the concept of aemulatio lost its significance. See Seele, Römische Übersetzer, 9.
whole passages. Translators did not try to efface themselves but were very ‘visible’, while bilingual Romans regarded their products as metatexts, and enjoyed them as such.38 Although the Romans inherited much of their scholarly heritage from the Greeks, the field of translation was relatively untrodden. Young Romans received a bilingual education. Romans had to engage with Greek as a foreign language in a way Greeks had never had to engage with any other language. Several utterances on translation date from the Roman period, among them one that has become so famous that it is seldom missing from textbooks. In De optimo genere oratorum,39 which was meant as a preface to a translation of two speeches by Aeschines and Demosthenes, Cicero (106-43 BC) stresses that every orator shares the same supreme goal, i.e. to convince his audience. The purpose of his own translation is to provide students of rhetoric with two excellent examples they can follow. He then continues (§ 14):

\[
\text{nec converti ut interpres, sed ut orator, sententiiis idem et eorum formis taqquam figuriis, verbis ad nostram consuetudinem aptis. In quibus non verbum pro verbo necesse habui reddere, sed genus omne verborum vimque servavi. Non enim ea me ad numerare lectori putavi oportere, sed tamquam appendere.}
\]

And I did not translate them as an interpreter, but as an orator, keeping the same ideas and the form, and as one might say, the ‘figures’ of thought, but in language which conforms to our usage. I did not hold it necessary to render word for word, but I preserved the general style and force of the language. For I did not think I ought to count them out to the reader like coins, but to pay them by weight, as it were.40 Further on Cicero again clarifies how he translated the two Attic orators (§ 23):

\[
\text{Quorum [i.e. of Aeschines & Demosthenes] ego orationes si, ut spero, ita expressero virtutibus utens illorum omnibus, id est sententiiis et eorum figuris et rerum ordine, verba perseveruens eatas, ut ea non abhorreant a more nostro - quae si e Graecis omnia conversa non erant, tamen ut generis eiusdem sint, elaboravimus - erit regula, ad quam eorum dirigantur orationes, qui Attice volent dicere.}
\]

If I shall succeed in rendering their speeches, as I hope, by retaining all their virtues, that is, the thoughts, the figures of thought and the order of the topics, and following the language only in so far as it does not depart from our idiom - if all the words are not literal translations of the Greek, we have at least tried to keep them within the same class or type - there will be a norm by which to measure the speeches of those who may wish to speak in the Attic manner.42

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

40 It should be emphasized that \textit{interpres} meant ‘interpreter, dragoman’ in classical Latin, not ‘translator’, see Seele, Römische Übersetzer, 93. This is also the case in Horace’s famous dictum \textit{nec verbo verbum curabis reddere fidus / interpres} ‘You should not render word by word, as a faithful interpreter does’ (Seele, Römische Übersetzer, 94).
41 Translation from Robinson, Western Translation Theory, 9. N.B. For ‘force’, cf. preceding section.
42 Translation from Robinson, Western Translation Theory, 10.
it correct – that Cicero (or Antiquity in general), knew only two methods of translating, *ut orator* ‘as an orator’ and *ut interpres* ‘as an interpreter’. He expressly denies that philosophers can be treated as playwrights, which means that he applied different approaches to various literary genres. According to Springer’s analysis Cicero distinguishes three genres (text types), for which he follows different strategies: rhetoric (see above), poetry (competitive translation), and science and philosophy (literal translation). This represents the classical tripartite division into *rhetorica, poetica* and *historia*, which survives in text typologies up to the present day. Cicero’s *ut orator*-approach was designed for translating Attic orators. Had he translated Thucydides, he would have translated *ut historicus*, and Aristophanes *ut poetar*.

Cicero subscribes to a theory of language. He shares the Aristotelian view of language, in which words are regarded as conventional signs of things (‘verbum est signum rei’). Words express mental affections, which in turn refer to external objects. Given the importance of rhetoric as the ‘applied linguistics’ of Antiquity, it is worthwhile to have a closer look at rhetoric and its relationship with translation. In classical education, the study of the professional use of language was divided into two *artes*, namely grammar and rhetoric, a division originating in the content-form dualism. ‘The basic aspects were studied in grammar, whose function was to impart the instructions necessary for making communication possible. Once this was accomplished, rhetoric took over and provided the instructions for making communication effective.’ Grammar was the art of the correct use of language, whereas rhetoric was the art of the successful use of language in entertaining or persuading the audience. This roughly corresponds to the modern division into semantics and syntax on the one hand and stylistics and pragmatics on the other hand. The handbooks by Cicero and Quintilian absorbed much of earlier Greek thinking on the subject. Their works are summaries of previous experience and classical scholarship. *Grammar* is traditionally concerned with the four constituents of speech: the letter, the syllable, the word and the sentence, of which the last two are relevant for translation. Once the source text has been understood, the right words, which express the *res* of the source text with adequacy (*proprietas*), must be selected. Eligible words must be accepted parts of the vocabulary of a language (*puritas*). To be considered ‘pure’, words, according to Quintilian’s four criteria, have to be commonly known and understood (*consuetudo*).

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44 Quoted by Vermeer, *Skizzen* 1, 214. By audaciously utilizing the source material, whereby he equates rhetoric with ‘translatorisches Handeln’ (?), Vermeer (224-249) reconstructs from Cicero’s oratorical writings a complete theory of translational text production, about which Cicero says little.
48 In a definition from a later period: *ars recte dicendi* versus *ars bene dicendi*, see Rener, *Interpretatio*, 151. We limit ourselves here to those aspects of rhetoric that are relevant for translation. A recent introduction to all (other) aspects of rhetoric in Antiquity is Andersen, *Im Garten der Rhetorik*. For the teaching of grammar and rhetoric in Hellenistic Egypt, see R. Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind. Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*, Princeton / Oxford 2001, Chapters 7-8.
49 Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, presents the following division of translation difficulties: a. lexicon and semantics; b. syntax and stylistics; c. pragmatics. This is derived from modern semiotic division: semantics, syntax and pragmatics. I retain the distinctions found in the classical sources.
51 Rener, *Interpretatio*, 58. Quintilian lived from ca. 35-96 AD, a century after Cicero.
if they want to convey a sense; they must be in long use (vetustas), not novel, preferably be used by renowned authors (auctoritas), and if possible, fit into the morphological and grammatical patterns of the language (analogia). Next to proprietas and puritas, the factor of perspicuitas, clarity to the addressee, governs the selection of words. From the selected words, a correct sentence has then to be construed in accordance with the rules of the language. Each language, however, possesses a large number of expressions that defy the above rules, namely idioms (locutiones).

The task of rhetoric is to adorn the content in such a way that it will not only reach the addressee, but actually be effective with him. In the composition of a rhetorical text, this sets the goal for a second selection of words. Words can be selected with respect to their degree of grace (elegantia) and dignity (dignitas), i.e. their register in modern terms, their sound (including their rhythmic quality), and their emotional impact or connotations. For orators boredom was considered to be the main pitfall. They therefore strove to avoid repetitiveness and monotony, which would be the sure result of sticking to the ordo naturalis. It was thus essential to employ variation of different kinds. Variation in the meaning of words (tropi) include e.g. metaphor (verbum translatum), metonymy, synecdoche and irony. It was also possible to vary within the syntactical order (figurae), or even to deviate from it deliberately in order to obtain special effects. Great attention was further paid to the construction of the sentence, especially a fine sentence ending, and its connection to preceding and following sentences. A good intuition and a certain musical feeling were indispensable for this. Of course variation knew its limits, for unbounded variation would impede comprehension and thus the rhetorical purpose.

Certain conventions governed the style of a literary work. An important factor was the subject matter and its social standing, being elevated, neutral or low (genus sublime, mediocre, humile). A second limitation was imposed by the category of writing (text type, in modern terms). Three categories of writers were distinguished in Antiquity: historici, oratores and poetae. The personality of the author also influenced the style, although he was not regarded all-important, as it is in the 21st century.

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

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52 In practice this meant: understood by the elite, who were mostly the intended readership. Quintilian states: Ergo consuetudinem sermonis vocabulo consensum eruditorum, sicut vivendi consensum bonorum ‘Thus by “what is common in speech” I understand the consensus of the elite’. He warns against taking the majority as criterion: Quod pluris faciunt (...) periculosisimum dabit praeciputum non orationi modo, sed quod maxim est, vitae ‘The practice of the majority gives a very dangerous model, not only in speech, but, what is more, in life.’ (Quoted in Rener, Interpretatio, 61ff.) This guideline was widely followed in all periods.
53 This paragraph summarizes Rener, Interpretatio, 38-87. Cf. Andersen, Garten der Rhetorik, 64ff.
54 Renaissance writers use sometimes vis in the sense of ‘emotional impact’. But, according to Rener, Interpretatio, 154, ‘The notion of vis is normally connected with meaning and not with ornamentation, which is the province of rhetoric.’
56 This rhetorical preoccupation survives to this day as Functional Sentence Perspective.
57 Rener, Interpretatio, 152-166. Andersen, Im Garten der Rhetorik 69ff. uses a somewhat different terminology.
58 Rener, Interpretatio, 166-181.
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At the meeting of the above criteria for a concept of the source language (a 'lexical gap'), the translator was faced with a difficulty. Cicero describes in such a case four procedures:


2. Though all the same it need not be a hard and fast rule that every word shall be represented by [1] its exact counterpart, when there is [2] a more familiar word conveying the same meaning. That is the way of a clumsy interpreter. Indeed, my own practice is [3] to use several words to give what is expressed in Greek by one, if I cannot convey the sense otherwise. At the same time I hold that we may fairly claim the licence [4] to employ a Greek word when no Latin word is readily forthcoming.

In our terminology: [1] loan translation, [2] Bedeutungslehnwort, [3] 'addition' and explicitation, [4] borrowing or loan word. It is clear that the decision as to which of these procedures to use depends on the (estimated) degree of education of the expected reader and their needs. Since lemma’s of SL and TL vocabulary do not neatly correspond, the translator sometimes has to resort to approximations. For example, when a SL word is polysemous, or when several TL synonyms exist, he is forced to modulations or lexical changes.

With respect to the construction of correct sentences in translation (the realm of syntax), the different grammars of two languages necessitate numerous transformations. This holds also true for translation from Greek into Latin (e.g. the systems of declension and conjugation, definite article, role of participles, predominance of tempus or aspect). Cicero, who always aimed at naturalness, employed these transpositions or grammatical changes, as they are called in our terminology, very frequently.

Ambiguous phrases often had to give way to clear and unambiguous sentences, a tendency that can be observed in all sorts of modern translations as well. Cicero did not halt at obligatory transpositions, but endeav-

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60 Rener’s discussion of grammar and translation, Interpretatio 88ff., concentrates on later writers, especially Renaissance.
62 Seele, Römische Übersetzer, describes these four procedures as loan translation (25, 26-30), Bedeutungslehnwort (25, 30-33; she explains Bedeutungslehnwort as a TL word that receives a additional or new meaning by its use in the context of the translation), paraphrase (25, 34-36) and exotism (25, 36-40) each of which she illustrates with other relevant quotations from Cicero and numerous examples from translations by Cicero and others. Compare H.-J. Hartung, Ciceros Methode bei der Übersetzung griechischer philosophischer Termini, Hamburg 1970, 17-24. Rener, Interpretatio, speaks of neologism, which includes the Bedeutungslehnwort (104-108), circumlocution (108-112) and borrowing (99-103).
63 For example, the translator had to decide when to insert clarifying additions or explicitations (Seele, Römische Übersetzer, 86-88).
64 In Seele’s terminology ‘lexikalisch-semantische Modifikationen’ (45), which are in her view illustrations of the liberties Roman translators took to adapt the text to their or their public’s taste. But I find her discussion of this topic (40-45) confusing, as her examples are mostly drawn from poetical texts, where lexical choices are not purely governed by semantic considerations, but rather by all sorts of stylistic constraints.
65 Rener, Interpretatio, 112-123, 138-142.
66 The problem of divergent syntax was not expressly thematized in Cicero’s surviving writings, but Seele, Römische Übersetzer, (51-64) illustrates his techniques. All categories of grammatical changes the present study distinguishes are represented.
Transformations in the Septuagint

oured to make the sequence of thoughts more logical than it was in the original. Massive transformations are required in rendering idioms, proverbs and sayings, because a faithful translation of the words often does not result in the right sense. Although the primary sources that link translation and rhetoric to each other in a consistent and systematic way date only from the Renaissance, they represent a current of tradition that goes back to Cicero. The fact that Cicero saw translating as the rhetorical exercise *par excellence* proves that beyond question. Being textual experts, translators need the same skills that orators need. Intimate knowledge of rhetoric is indispensable for the translator during the three phases that constitute the act of translation, *intellegi* ‘understanding’, *exponi* ‘interpretation’ and *converti* ‘translating’.

The source text has to be analyzed from a rhetorical point of view, so that stylistic features can be recognized as such (stylistic level and its meaning, figures of style). The translator then decides whether it is desirable to transfer stylistic features, and if so, whether these can be realized on the spot or elsewhere in the target text (compensation). He does so with a keen eye to text type (e.g. too much rhetorical embellishment can hinder understanding) and to the taste of his readership.

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

The Roman translator’s desire to surpass the source text (*aemulatio*), especially with respect to poems and plays, could entail the omission of elements that were considered difficult, unfit or superfluous, and the addition of elements that could outdo the original, ranging from words to larger passages. These practices had significant effects on the macrostructure. *Aemulatio* also explains that the source text was sometimes corrected, so as to forestall criticism of the translation that could be launched against the source text.

Veritable plagiarism without source reference was rare. With respect to the readership, translation could fulfill three functions, depending on the text type. When Cicero translates Greek orators as a pedagogical model, he aims at stil-

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68 Rener, *Interpretatio*, 183. It is the same tripartite division found by J. Barr, Guessing in the Septua-
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istiche Äquivalenz, as Seele calls it. The translation of Greek philosophers demands equivalence of content, whereas translated plays have to display Wirkungsäquivalenz. As emerges from the sources, translators were eminently conscious of the pivotal role of the pragmatic function and the three different strategies to which it led.

BILINGUAL TEXTS

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

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

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

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

75 Seele, Römische Übersetzer, 80-86. See especially the early fragmentary remarks by Terence (ca. 195/190 - 159 BC).
76 Adams, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, Chapter 2.
79 F. Daumas, Les textes biligues et trilignes, in: Textes et langages de l’Égypte pharaonique (Bibliothèque d’Étude LXIV/3), 41-46.
hieroglyphic text formed the basis for the Demotic and Greek ones. But according to more recent studies this is not possible, since in the Ptolemaic period hieroglyphs were fossilized whereas Demotic was the living variant of Egyptian. Therefore the Demotic version was probably produced first. But the text in all three versions is quite composite. For example, it seems that in passages steeped in Pharaonic ideology the hieroglyphic text holds the primacy and that the Greek and Demotic texts contain translations and interpretations of the Pharaonic titles and names. 'The record of the decree thus represents an intricate coalescence of three vital textual traditions, and the composition of the text cannot be reduced historically to a primary draft in one of the three scripts.'

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

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

Recto (X, 4-7)

am[bitio]

καταρχήκειν

[nullus mortals falsos fie’ri subgetit]

ex την προτέρου

[psectore, alid in lingua iīn promptum habere]

Verso (XI, 6-7)

ὶδικά

[ri ca. privativ et pupilice rapere, delubra spolia-]

81 C. Lagier, Autour de la pierre de Rosette, Bruxelles 1927, 17.
83 See J. Kramer, Glossaria bilingua in papyris et membranis reperta (Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 30), Bonn 1983; idem, Glossaria bilingua altera (c. gloss. biling. II), Leipzig 2001.
84 Munday, Introducing Translation Studies, 5. For the Homeric fragment, see Pietersma, Interlinear Model, 340f.
85 P. Ryl. 477 (5th century AD).
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The third relevant papyrus, which constitutes a stage between interlinear and full-fledged translation, is a copy of Vergil’s *Aeneid* I.\(^{87}\) It contains the Latin text and its Greek translation in two parallel columns. The text is very long so I will print a fragment (I, 236-238):\(^{88}\)

```latex
\text{hinc} \\
\text{fore duxitores} \\
\text{revocat\o} \\
\text{a sanguine Teucri} \\
\text{qui mare} \\
\text{qui terras} \\
\text{omni diecione} \\
\text{tenerent} \\
\text{pollicitus} \\
\text{quae te genitor} \\
\text{sententia} \\
\text{vertit hoc equidem} \\
\text{occasum Troiae} \\
\text{tristesque ruinas}
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According to the editor both columns have been written by the same experienced scribe. The text was probably copied ‘for some scholastic purpose; but it is out of the question that a copy so finely written and on such a scale was the work of a schoolboy. It may perhaps have been a schoolmaster’s copy or that of a private student of Vergil.’ It seems probable indeed that this papyrus belongs to the schoolroom. The style of the Greek translation is not a sign of incompetence, but is devised as a student’s aid. The word by word translation is not meant to replace the Latin, but to explain it.\(^{89}\) The text is cut into tiny units that help the student to see which Greek word translates a Latin one. The translation cannot serve as an independent text, but of course someone could use the right column as the basis for a Greek Vergil translation. I would imagine that the most striking Latinisms would then be replaced, but that the syntax would remain thoroughly Latin, because the lay-out of the right column hinders an overview of syntactic structures and of the text as a whole.

On the analogy of these texts, Pietersma has recently made a case for interlinearity as a model that could have underlain the translators’ approach in the LXX-Pentateuch.\(^{90}\)

\(^{87}\) There exist more papyri like this, sometimes confusingly called ‘word-lists’. R.E. Gaebel, *The Greek Word-Lists to Vergil and Cicero*, Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 52 (1969/70), 284-325 describes the particulars of a large number of such Latin-Greek papyri. See also the texts nrs. 8, 9, 10 in J. Kramer, *Glossaria bilingua altera (c. gloss. biling. II)*, Leipzig 2001.

\(^{88}\) P.Ryl. 478 (4\textsuperscript{th} century AD). For the sake of convenience I have omitted editorial signs.

\(^{89}\) Reichmann, *Römische Literatur in gr. Übersetzungen*, 48. We also have translations from Greek by students of Latin, full of Latin language mistakes (P. Amb. II.26), discussed extensively by Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 725-750.

\(^{90}\) Pietersma, Interlinear Model. See further our Conclusions to Genesis 2.
JEWS VIEWS ON LANGUAGE AND TRANSLATION

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

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

Παρακαλόμεθα ὑμᾶς μετά τόν τοιόνον καὶ προσφέροντα τήν ἀνάγκην τοιαύτην καὶ συγκήρυξιν ἔχον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐν διαθήκῃ τῶν κατὰ τήν εἰρημένην περιολογίαν τούτων τῶν λέξων ἀδύναμεν· οὐ γὰρ ἱσόδομοι αὐτὰ ἐν εἰσαγωγῇ ἔφραστοι λεγόμενα καὶ ὅταν μεταμεμεριῆσθαί εἰς τέτοιο γίγνονται· οὐ μόνον δὲ τάτα ἄλλα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ νόμος καὶ αἱ προφητείαι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων εἰς μικρὰ ἐχεῖ τήν διαφοράν ἐν εἰσαγωγῇ λεγόμενα.

You are asked, then, to read with sympathetic attention, and to make allowances wherever you think that, in spite of all the devoted work that has been put into the translation, some of the expressions I have used are inadequate. For what is said in Hebrew does not have the same meaning (lit. force) when translated into another tongue. Not only the present work, but even the law itself, as well as the prophets and the other writings, are not a little different when spoken in the original. (REB)

Many scholars take his statement ‘as a purely rhetorical disclaimer that aims to head off any criticism of the work.’ This is correct, in my opinion. The central statement is that ‘what is said in Hebrew does not have the same force (ὡς ἱσόδομαι) when translated into another tongue.’ Δῆδομαι, lit. ‘force’ is meaning. The verb ἱσόδομαι means literally ‘to have the same force’ and is also used in the sense of ‘to (counter)balance’. In connection with language the verb ἱσόδομαι is ‘have the same meaning’, as appears from the

82 D. Daube, Rabbinic Methods of Interpretation and Hellenistic Rhetoric, Hebrew Union College Annual 32 (1949), 239-264. The teachers of Hillel, who is credited with the Seven Principles of Torah Interpretation, are said to have studied and taught in Alexandria (p. 241).
83 Wright, Access to the Source, 15. Wright himself proposes a new interpretation: Ben Sira’s grandson wants to explain the difference between the idiomatic style of his preface and the Hebraistic Greek of his translation. But I daresay that he could have solved this ‘problem’ by not writing a preface at all...
84 See our section on Translations and Translating into Greek (Iamblichus).
85 Timaeus Locrius, De natura mundi et animae 95b, uses the term to describe the interrelationship of the different elements within the one world. It is translated as ‘Gleichgewicht der Kraft’ by the editor W. Marg (Leiden 1972).
86 Polybius, Histories II, 56 says that he had to consult different points of view on what happened, ἵνα μὴ τὸ φέουδος ἐν ταῖς συγγράμμαις ἵσοδομαίνῃ· so that we will not give falsity the same chance as truth.”
references in the lexica. Philo too uses the verb in this sense. Having stated that Menasseh is Joseph’s elder son, but the weaker one, he continues:

Εἰκόνως καλάται γὰρ ἐκ λήψεως τὸ ἡ τρέχων ἐνόμισεν.
And rightly so, for he is called ‘saved from oblivion’, which has the same meaning as ‘remembering’.

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

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

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

97 Philo, De migratione Abrahahi 205.
98 He wrote καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ παροικίᾳ ἰδιοκυρίῳ φιλολόγον προεκπαιδευτός τὴν ἄνεμον βασιλείαν also for the use of those who have made their home in a foreign land, and wish to study and so train themselves to live according to the law.’ (REB)
99 Cf. Wright, Access to the Source, 19; Van der Kooij, The Origin and Purpose of Some Bible Translations in Ancient Judaism, 213.
102 Aristeas to Philocrates, 308-311.
103 An enigmatic and much debated remark about inaccurate existing manuscripts (Hebrew or Greek?) in Aristeas to Philocrates 30 is taken by some scholars to mean that the new translation should surpass existing Greek translations – indeed, the starting point of every translation. Cf. Jellicoe, The Septuagint and Modern Study, 51.
TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE SEPTUAGINT

The Jewish scholar Philo of Alexandria (1st AD) absorbed many elements from Greek philosophy, notably Platonism and Stoicism. Philo’s view of language is summarized as follows by Otte: ‘In einem einzigen, ungeteilten Sein haben die Weltwirklichkeit, die Menschen und die Sprache als zeitlich vergangene und gegenwärtige ihre wesensmässige Begründung, weil sie als jeweilige Konkretionen dieses Seins gedacht sind. Die Qualität der jeweiligen Umwelt, des Menschen und der Sprache bemisst sich aus ihrer Nähe zum Sein. Die in den Phänomenen wirkende Kraft des Seins ist Massstab für die Gestalt und noetische Relevanz des Seienden:

1. Nur unter der Wirksamkeit des Seins stehende Menschen können echte Sprache schaffen und verstehen.

Sprache, Mensch und Umwelt stehen in einem vom Sein bestimmten Korrelationsverhältnis, dessen variable Grössen Mensch und Umwelt, dessen konstante Grössen die schriftlichen Sprachzeugnisse sind. Das Verständnis echter Sprache verlangt deshalb eine ihr gemässe Umwelt und einen ihr gemässen Menschen. Die Idealität einer Umwelt vermittelt sich durch den Menschen in die zu schaffende Sprache.\textsuperscript{104}

Philo gives parallel accounts of three types of wise men who employed speech in its most adequate sense: the Therapeutae, the Essenes and the Septuagint translators.\textsuperscript{105} The latter had ideal qualifications, lived in ideal surroundings, and worked with ideal hermeneutics. Were the above summary all we know of Philo, we could have deduced that he did not cherish a theory of easy translatability, since the conditions for true and real speech are so limited in his philosophy. But he had to account for the Greek translation of the Torah, which served as a source text for his biblical exegesis. Philo found the answer by extolling the Septuagint translation into an unparalleled and unrepeatable event.\textsuperscript{106} It was commissioned by the most excellent representative of the most exalted dynasty. The task was entrusted to Jewish men who emerged from King Ptolemy’s examinations as the wisest men on earth. They were given the most purified place, the Island of Pharos, among the four elements: earth, water, air and heaven.\textsuperscript{107} These elements were the rough material of creation, with which the Torah opens, and at the same time hermeneutical catalysts.\textsuperscript{108} In this primeval setting the translators, \textit{καθήπτεν ἐνθουσιώδες προφήτης, ἀπὸ άλλα ἄλλοι, τὰ δ’ αὐτὰ πάντες ἀνόματα καὶ ἀρματεῖ, ἀπερ ὑπεβολῶν ἔκτος ἀρχαῖς ἐνερχόμενος,} as if inspired by God, became like prophets, not everyone with different words, but everyone with the same words and the same turns, as if an invisible prompter had dictated them.\textsuperscript{109}

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

\textsuperscript{104} Otte, \textit{Sprachverständnis}, 12. In the summary ‘Sprache’ does not mean ‘language’ but ‘speech’.
\textsuperscript{105} Otte, \textit{Das Sprachverständnis bei Philo von Alexandrien}, 11-43.
\textsuperscript{107} \textit{De vita Mosis} II, 37.
\textsuperscript{108} Otte, \textit{Das Sprachverständnis bei Philo von Alexandrien}, 37, 96.
\textsuperscript{109} \textit{De vita Mosis} II, 37.
\textsuperscript{110} Cf. S. Jellicoe, \textit{The Septuagint and Modern Study}, 40-41. Veltri, \textit{(U)übersetzbarkeit} 304, is therefore mistaken when he makes Philo believe in basic translatability.
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to say that the choice of synonyms and stylistic variants (the normal procedures of translation) did not occupy the thoughts of the wise men. But with mathematic precision

\[(\text{φασι}) \ \text{συνεχόντας} \ \text{δώ ἐκ τῶν κύριων ιδίων ἀνήκει, τά Ἐλληνικά τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς, ἣμασθήσατε ἐκ μᾶλλον τοῖς δηλομένωις πράγμασιν}.\]

the appropriate Greek words rendered the appropriate Chaldaic [Hebrew] words, optimally adapted to the things that had to be explained.

This miraculous correspondence between the Hebrew and the Greek texts is confirmed by expert bilinguals, says Philo, who acknowledge the translators as 'mystery teachers and prophets'. Indeed, as Otte says, '[e]r geht nicht in erster Linie um die Gleichheit der beiden sprachlichen Fassungen, sondern um die Identität von Sein und seinsgemäßer Sprache in jeder der Fassungen, und erst auf Grund dieser Identität wird im zweiten Schritt die Gleichheit der beiden sprachlichen Fassungen gefolgert.'\(^\text{111}\) The implication of Philo’s view is that for biblical exegesis recourse to the Hebrew text is not necessary and certainly not superior to an exegesis of the Greek text.

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

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

\(^{111}\) De vita Mosis II, 38.

\(^{112}\) Otte, Sprachverständniss, 35.

\(^{113}\) I refer to the extensive study by G. Veltri, Eine Tora für den König Talmai.

\(^{114}\) Veltri, (Un)übersetzbarkeit, 313.


\(^{116}\) The Gemara (6th century AD) seeks to establish Aquila’s translation method as the sole one and from this viewpoint discredits the Septuagint; see Veltri, Tora für Talmai, 213-216.
Next to this particularist view, the universalist view of language is attested in rabbinic sources. Some sayings have been recorded by Veltri,\(^{117}\) but he missed one of the most radical assertions I know of. In a midrash on Exodus 20:1 ‘And God spoke all these words’, the rabbis discuss several questions. Now according to Jewish tradition all nations of the world, seventy in total, were gathered at the foot of Mount Sinai. On that occasion the Holy One, blessed be He, invited every nation to accept his Torah, but in vain. Only the people of Israel would take it. Against this background we can understand the following saying:\(^{118}\)

Rabbi Jochanan said: One voice was divided into 7 voices and these divided themselves into 70 languages.

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

\(^ {117}\) Other universalist sayings are recorded in Veltri, (Un)übersetzbarkeit, 309ff.

\(^ {118}\) Shemot Rabba / Exodus Rabba 28.

\(^ {119}\) The Midrash is attributed to Rabbi Jochanan (3\(^{rd}\) century AD), but it underlies the famous NT passage of Acts 2 and must hence be older. There a multiplication of languages takes place on the Feast of Weeks (Pentecost), at which the giving of the Torah (!) was celebrated (יוֹסֵפָה הַשָּׁמוֹשׂ עַל הָאָרֶץ).\(^ {120}\) A digression: one is reminded of the ‘pure language’ of the Jewish philosopher Walter Benjamin, which in his view is hidden, even fettered in texts ‘bis ans messianische Ende’: “Jene reine Sprache, die in die fremde gebannt ist, in der eigenen zu erlösen, ist die Sage des Übersetzers. (...) Die wahre Übersetzung ist durchscheinend, sie verdeckt nicht das Original, steht ihm nicht im Licht, sondern lässt die reine Sprache, wie verstärkt durch ihr eigenes Medium, nur um so voller aufs Original fallen.” However, by placing all weight upon form (‘die Art des Meinens’) instead of content (‘das Gemeinte’), Benjamin ends up in the relativist camp and advocates literal translation. He therefore continues: „Das vermag vor allem Wörtlichkeit in der Übertragung der Syntax, und gerade sie erweist das Wort, nicht den Satz als das Urelement des Übersetzers. Denn der Satz ist die Mauer vor der Sprache des Originals, Wörtlichkeit die Arkade.” W. Benjamin, Die Aufgabe des Übersetzers [1923], in: H.J. Störrig (ed.), Das Problem des Übersetzens (Wege der Forschung VIII), Darmstadt 1963, 155-169; English translation in: L. Venuti, The Translation Studies Reader, New York and London 2000, 15-25.


\(^ {124}\) Into Aramaic or other languages, see Veltri, Tora für Talmai, 180ff.

\(^ {125}\) Cf. the tradition in Mishna Megilla 4 about sensitive passages that are to be left untranslated.
interpretations of all kinds etc. The famous dictum by Rabbi Yehuda bar Ilai (2nd century AD) has to be understood in the light of this tradition:

Rabbi Yehuda said: Who translates one verse literally is a falsifier, who adds anything is a blasphemer.

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

CONCLUSIONS

Our survey of thoughts on language and translation in Antiquity presents a consistently diverse picture. The debate between the universalist and relativist views on language (with their implications for translation) went through all linguistic and religious communities we have discussed, not only the Greek, but also – which is little known – the Jewish. From Jewish translations and relevant reflections it emerges that Jewish views of language and translation were much more diverse than is often assumed. They ranged from the particularist notion of the holy tongue to the opposite, universalist language view. Within the latter framework the translation strategy was related to the intended function. Throughout the Hellenistic period language was professionally studied in different contexts, originating in literary / textual criticism and rhetoric. Etymological, morphological and grammatical issues were studied. Word classes, for example, were known and it is no coincidence that adherence to word classes is an important feature of the bilingual Vergil

126 Tosefta Megilla 4.41; Babylonian Talmud Qiddushin 49a.
127 See Veltri, *Tora für Talmai* 209f. for a discussion. The fact that Veltri in his interpretation of the two passages focuses on illegitimate paraphrasing but ignores the phrase ‘who translates one verse literally is a falsifier’ suggests that the connection of the saying with its context is secondary.
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texts. The professional study of language for the purpose of rhetoric was highly developed.
Sophists and orators showed high awareness of the decisive roles of target audience, text
type, pragmatic function, style, metaphors etc. The art of rhetorica was applied to transla-
tion by the Romans. Most problems arising from today’s practice of translation were
already discussed as such by Roman translators. Roman translations range from very literal
to very free, depending on the intended function of the texts. Translators, Cicero in particu-
lar, used three (not two) translation strategies, depending on the three classical text types
and their intended function (historia, poetica, rhetorica).
The practice of translation yielded many insights. People involved in language differences
discovered, for example, that lemmas in two languages never overlap (Cicero, Ben Sira’s
grandson). In Antiquity there were no advocates of either ‘literal’ or ‘free’ translation.
Cicero and the translators of Ben Sira’s Wisdom and the Life of Imuthes were conscious of
the determining role of the intended function of the translated text, to which the method of
translation was made subordinate. This explains the difference between various styles,
ranging from the very free targums to the very literal bilingual Vergil texts, which could
exist side by side. Bilingual texts open up a fruitful area in this respect.
Chapter 3

Inventory of transformations

INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the procedures translators use to solve their problems and to achieve their goals. We will not focus on how translators should work, but on how they do work. Every category is therefore illustrated with examples from both modern and ancient translations.1 This shows that translation procedures have not changed over 2000 years. Modern linguistic labels can be applied to ancient translations with surprising ease. The identification of transformations is only the first step. Apart from the helpful terminological refinement, the advantage of labelling is that it raises the real question, why do translators apply transformations.2 The answer is obvious: because a literal translation does not work! Literal translation is always the easiest and fastest method. Even the ‘free translator’ proceeds literally most of the time, at least in prose and transformations are used to solve translational problems that would arise from a literal rendering. This has an important methodological implication. Behind each transformation stands a literal rendering that has been rejected. Thus when we encounter a ‘free rendering’ we should not only categorize it as a transformation, but also investigate its rationale by studying the literal translation that was not chosen. In many cases the translational problem then surfaces. The rejected literal rendering – often there is more than one possibility – should be scrutinized first from a linguistic angle, then from the viewpoint of style, logic, communicative purpose, culture and world view / ideology.3 This order should be kept, for we cannot point to ideology where simply the norms of the target language have been obeyed. We should also check whether the translator just takes the ‘next-literal’ rendering, or seizes the opportunity for farther reaching operations. If we suspect the latter, we should look at the rejected next-literal rendering too. When we have found out for all transformations in a section on what levels the translator identified his translational problems, we get an impression of the translational norms that guided him.4 The relationship between the motives behind the transformations will also reveal something about the hierarchy of these norms in the mind of the translator. Not that this hierarchy is always conscious. A beginning translator, for example, starts with unconscious assumptions about ‘translating faithfully’. A hidden hierarchy will stamp his work.

1 With the examples of Vinay and Darbelnet this is not always the case, but the examples in the systematic part of their book are matched by examples from published translations in their discussion of translated passages at the end of the book.
2 Cf. Toury, Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond, 85.
3 ‘Man darf sich nicht vom ersten Eindruck der theologischen Exegese täuschen lassen’; A. Aeime-
laeus, Von Sprache zur Theologie. Methodologische Überlegungen zur Theologie der Septuaginta (§ 3), in: Knibb, Septuagint and Messianism. On methodology cf. Th. van der Louw, Linguistic or Ideological Shifts?
4 Toury, Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond, 56ff., 93ff; C. Schäffner (ed.), Translation and Norms, Clevedon 1999.
Transformations, obligatory or not, can be employed for different reasons. The same sort of transformation can be used to arrive at a grammatically correct sentence or a natural sounding target text, to dispose of a nasty logical problem, to change the meaning of the source text or to excel it. What unites classical and modern translation practice is that translation serves communication. In other words, translators are concerned with bringing across (their interpretation of) semantic content and if possible, in an attractive way. Many translators are first concerned with content, only in the second instance with form. A separate problem is posed by prose translators for whom the transfer of form is of first importance, even at the expense of intelligibility. Often they try to imitate SL morphology in the TL. Such translations, like the version of Aquila and the decrees of the Roman Senate, could be called ‘literal’, but in fact they go beyond literalness, i.e. in the opposite direction compared to ‘free translation’. For example, if a translator renders ‘neulich’, ‘offensichtlich’ and ‘Kreissparkasse’ with respectively ‘newly’, ‘opensightedly’ and ‘circle-spare-cashbox’ (see below), these are not literal but morphematic translations. Since I want to count transformations for statistical comparison, I cannot use ‘morphematic translation’ and ‘graphological translation’ (see below) as labels. If I would count them as transformations and process them statistically, I would have to list three transformations, whereas a text with the literal renderings ‘recently’, ‘apparently’ and ‘regional bank’ would get zero transformations. This would lead to a distorted picture. How to deal with this issue? Although one could correctly consider morphematic and graphological translation as ‘mirrored’ or ‘negative’ transformations, it is not helpful to pursue this line of thinking, because it becomes difficult when you have to count them. Counting transformations that could have been employed is subjective, for it silently poses an ideal translation, a normative concept. Another possibility is ranking transformations. You could give transformations on the morphemic level a zero, transformations on word level a 1 or a 2 and transformations on sentence or discourse level higher figures. But it is difficult to rank all transformations appropriately and even if you would succeed, such ranking would entail a great deal of interpretation before entering figures into a chart. For the time being we have to accept that no suitable equipment to deal with the morphematic style of translating exists. This is because it is historically peripheral, whereas Translation Studies deals with mainstream translations. For the sake of clarity I have mainly limited myself to prose translations and collected transformations that are fairly obvious. This does not mean that the examples below always represent the best possible renderings. Other renderings are also possible. If nineteen translators handle the same ST, this will result in 19 different translations. As process-oriented research has shown, transformations are not consciously applied by translators. They do not think: ‘Antonymic and converse translations haven’t worked, let me try a specification.’ A translator is faced with a problem and solutions then come to mind, the ones requiring least effort first. Larose rightly concludes: ‘Or, les procédés dont
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parlent Vinay et Darbelnet ne sont pas des algorithmes de traduction, mais des étiquettes apposées à des résultats. From existing studies no categorization can be adopted unmodified for the purpose of the present study. The classic by Vinay and Darbelnet, *Stylistique comparée du français et de l’anglais*, which has demonstrated its practical value so well that an English translation appeared in the 1990s, distinguishes seven ‘translation procedures’:

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

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

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

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

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9 Different classifications are listed in Fawcett, *Linguistic Theories Explained*, Chapter 4.
11 Wilss, *Übersetzungswissenschaft*, Kap. V.
13 See the criticism by Stolze, *Übersetzungstheorien*, § 5.3.
14 A. Langeveld, *Vertalen wat er staat. Aspecten van het vertalen*, Amsterdam 1988 [Dutch, with a summary in English]. This is an augmented edition of *Vertalen wat er staat*, Amsterdam/ Antwerpen 1986/1994. The page-numbering is based on the dissertation, the numbers between square brackets refer to the trade edition.
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2. lexical changes
   a. concretization
   b. generalization
   c. cause - effect v.v.
   d. antonymic translation

3. additions

4. omissions

5. rearrangement of semantic features (componential analysis)

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

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

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

Graphological translation

Phonological translation

Transcription / borrowing (loanword)

Loan translation / calque

Literal translation

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

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

‘Addition’

‘Omission’

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Redistribution of semantic features
Situational translation
Idiomatic translation of idiom
Non-idiomatic translation
Explicitation
Implicitation
Anaphoric translation
Stylistic translation & compensation
Morphematic translation

CATEGORIES OF TRANSFORMATIONS

Phonological translation

In Catford’s definition, the theoretical category of phonological translation is ‘restricted translation in which the SL phonology of a text is replaced by equivalent TL phonology.’\textsuperscript{16} As most translations are semantically oriented, pure phonological translation is exceptional. But there are cases where ‘the translator attempts to reproduce at least some features of SL phonology in the TL text – i.e. performs a partial phonological translation [...]’.\textsuperscript{17}

Examples given by Catford (not from translated literature):

\begin{tabular}{ll}
  [English] & had \hline
  [German] & \textit{hat}  \\
  [English] & platonic love \\
  [Japanese] & puratonik-kurabu \\
\end{tabular}

Transcription/borrowing (loanword)

Three kinds of transcription exist, depending on the degree of assimilation of the SL word to the TL system.

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

\textsuperscript{16} Catford, \textit{Linguistic Theory}, 56.
\textsuperscript{17} Catford, \textit{Linguistic Theory}, 61. Whether it occurs in LXX is debated (see Chapter 1).
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Loanwords owe their existence to this procedure, in Dutch e.g. ‘déjà-vu’, ‘enfant terrible’, ‘ghost-writer’, ‘computer’, ‘Vorlage’ and ‘Weltschmerz’.

2. Transcription in its commonly accepted sense is a transformation whereby the (supposed) pronunciation of an SL word (be it a proper name or a lexeme) is represented by means of the TL writing system and its conventions. This happens between languages with a different writing system. A student’s word list with transcriptions of Latin words and their Greek counterparts has been found:

\[
\text{ΛΙΚΟΥΣ (equus) = ΠΙΠΟΣ} \\
\text{ΛΟΥΠΟΥΣ (lupus) = ΛΥΚΟΣ etc.}
\]

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

\[\text{enter, ut Latine loquar, nisi in huiusque modo verbis ut philosophiam aut rhetoricam aut physicam aut dialecticum appellemus, quibus ut alis multis consuetudo iam utitur pro Latinis.}\]

Ich werde mich bemühen, Latein zu sprechen, ausser bei Wörtern wie Philosophie, Rhetorik, Physik oder Dialektik, die wie viele andere auch, der Sprachgebrauch schon wie Lateinische Wörter gebraucht.

3. A third category is ‘naturalized transcription’, whereby the transcribed word is normalized, i.e. adapted to TL morphology. Examples of this are ‘thatchérisme’ (in French), ‘Performanz’ (in German), ‘surfén’ (in Dutch), and הָבָשָׁה ‘to phone’ (in Modern Hebrew), which probably originated as neologisms in translations. Examples in Koine Greek are κολυμβητής (comitium), Ἀκουσάς (Aquila), in Latin e.g. evangelizare and Οὐλίμπος (Ulysses).

Loan translation/calque

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>German</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sky-scraper</td>
<td>Wolkenkratzer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gastarbeiter</td>
<td>guest-worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the man in the street</td>
<td>l’homme dans la rue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orbis (terrarum)</td>
<td>εἰς τὴν οἰκ.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Literal translation

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

How many fish have you caught? Wieviele Fische hast du gefangen?

In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth. (Genesis 1:1, REB)

Mais notre pourcentage du PNB consacré à la dépense de l’enseignement supérieur est quand-même plus grand que celui de presque tous nos voisins.

Ter manus gladiatorum dedi meo nomine et quinque filiorum aut nepotum nomine, quibus muneribus depugnaverunt hominum circiter decem milia.

[...]

Modulations or lexical changes

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

24 Reichmann, Römische Literatur in gr. Übersetzung, 18.
25 Seele, Römische Übersetzer, 29.
26 W. Wilks, Übersetzungswissenschaft, 115.
27 Newmark, Textbook, 68.
29 Langeveld, Vertalen wat er staat, 81: ‘Regelmatig worden BT-woorden en -woordgroepen vertaald met DT-woorden of -woordgroepen die niet hun normale, in woordenboeken vastgelegde equivalenten zijn. Wij kunnen dan van lexicale veranderingen spreken.’
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a. Antonymic translation

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

It does not seem unlikely

He is no mean performer on the violin

Il ne tardera pas à rentrer.

γένοις ὑπὸ ὁνόματι [not having an origin]

… μὴ ἔλλογο τι εἶναι τὸ αὐτό

ἔστω κενόν ὑπὸ ψυχῆς
[that there is nothing that is moving itself except the soul]

It est fort probable\(^35\)

Il joue supérieurement du violon\(^31\)

He ’ll be back in a moment.\(^32\)

carens generatione\(^33\)

[not having an origin]

qua e est una ex omnibus. quae se ipse mo-

veat…\(^34\)

[the nature of the soul] which is unique. That

which moves itself…

b. Converse translation

A converse translation is a transformation that renders SL phrases with their TL converse counterparts.\(^35\)

Il sera distribué à chaque homme...

Die Erzeugung und Verteilung von Energie

in no small measure on the generation and distribution of energy.

As if he owned the house...

cum … Romani fame laborarent

λαμβοῦ ὧ λάπων ἀνέχόται αὐτός,…\(^39\)

\(^{30}\) Vinay & Darbelnet, Comparative Stylistics, 252.

\(^{31}\) Newmark, Textbook, 89.

\(^{32}\) Newmark, Textbook, 86.

\(^{33}\) Seele, Römische Übersetzer, 53.

\(^{34}\) Seele, Römische Übersetzer, 62.

\(^{35}\) M.L. Klein, Converse Translation. A Targumic Technique, Biblica 57 (1976), 515-537 uses ‘converse translation’ when a SL expression is rendered by its opposite, a transformation that I have not found in modern literature.

\(^{36}\) Vinay & Darbelnet, Comparative Stylistics, 140.

\(^{37}\) Wilss, Übersetzungswissenschaft, 113.

\(^{38}\) Vinay & Darbelnet, Comparative Stylistics, 251.
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[since … the Romans were starving] [a famine besides having afflicted them]

c. Translation of cause and effect and vice versa

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

[and gave an impression] of having only just got off a horse [lit. of just having finished horseriding] 

This baffles analysis Ceci échappe à l’analyse

firewood bois de chauffage [heating = purpose of fire]

[dedicated the altar] τὸν θυσίαν ἀνέθηκεν

[erected the altar] [he was a lover of philosophy, educated by the Stoics]

philosophiae deditus Stoicae

[d. Specification]

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

Le tableau est au mur The picture hangs on the wall

Lacks what? Franny said In wat? vroeg Franny

Sir mon lieutenant / mon capitain / monsieur le Directeur etc.

When things go well with you, remember me and do me the kindness of bringing my case to Reichmann, Römische Literatur in gr. Übersetzung, 63.

Langeveld, Vertalen wat er staat, 131 [84].

Vinay & Darbelnet, Comparative Stylistics, 251.

KAI nr. 42 (4th century BC).

Reichmann, Römische Literatur in griechischer Übersetzung, 67.

Vinay & Darbelnet, Comparative Stylistics, 89.

Vinay & Darbelnet, Comparative Stylistics, 56. They give many other examples in Chapter 2.
**Transformations in the Septuagint**

Pharaoh’s notice; help me to get out of this house. (Genesis 40:14, REB)

divinis corporibus onustum

[loaded with divine bodies]

id autem nec nasci nec mori

[but that cannot be born nor die]

### e. Generalization

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

- a confused buzz of voices
- un bruit confus de voix
- On the way down from London to Brighton.
- En allant de Londres à Brighton.
- virgines Vestales [Vestal virgins]
- îépres [priestesses]
- eti eti periôsou yptu w’ oido
touw têw òmoleis kai òmous w’
ugísterou.
- [And since for this revolution there was no need of feet he made it without legs and without feet.]

### f. Modification

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

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

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48 Seere, Römische Übersetzer, 57ff.
49 Seere, Römische Übersetzer, 61f.
50 Vinay & Darbelnet, Comparative Stylistics, 55.
51 Vinay & Darbelnet, Comparative Stylistics, 171.
52 Reichmann, Römische Literatur in griechischer Übersetzung, 23.
53 Cicero, Timaeus 34a (ed. Giomini).
Inventory of transformations

repeated in the same context and that the reader, like the character, experienced extraordinary chromatic variety through lexical variety. The second example offers a double modification. In our third example a logical relation ('therefore') is replaced by a temporal one ('c’est à partir de ce moment que') which is intended to fulfil the same function.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dutch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a black eye</td>
<td>[Du], een blauw oog / [Germ.] ein blaes Auge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De ganzen zijn net onze tantes</td>
<td>The ducks are like our cousins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He read the book from cover to cover.</td>
<td>Il lut le livre de la premièure page à la derniere page.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In fact, the more we advance in IT, the</td>
<td>En réalité, plus on avance dans le domaine des technologies de l’information, plus on se rapproche de celui de la langue et c’est à partir de ce moment qu’on devient véritablement conscient des difficultés que pose le traitement des langues naturelles pour l’informatique.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more we move into the domain of language</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and are therefore aware of the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>difficulties encountered by computers in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the process of handling language.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[\text{quod simper movetur, aeternum est}^{57}\]
\[\text{ac difficil factu est a deis ortis fidem non ha-}
\[\text{bere}\]
\[\text{[what always moves is eternal]}\]
\[\text{[it is impossible to mistrust the children of gods]}\]
\[\text{[and it is difficult not to believe in gods that have been born]}\]

**g. Cultural counterpart**

A cultural counterpart is a transformation whereby ‘a SL cultural word is translated by a TL cultural word.’ An example is the conversion of Roman *milia passuum* into Greek *σμήνα*.

baccalaureat A-level

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54 Eco, *Experiences in Translation*, 32.
55 The translator explained why he resorted to these transformations; he did so in order to make alliterations and word plays possible in the rest of the poem: J.S. Holmes, *Translated Papers on Literary Translation and translation Studies* (Approaches to Translation Studies 7), Amsterdam 1988, 15f.
57 Vinay & Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics*, 327.
60 Newmark, *Textbook*, 82-83 (calls it ‘cultural equivalent’), from which the first three examples come; the fourth I have adapted.
TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE SEPTUAGINT

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

Transpositions or grammatical changes

This category comprises transformations that change the grammatical appearance of words or the grammatical appearance of the sentence by assigning different functions to SL elements without necessarily introducing new or different meanings.

Langeveld divides ‘grammaticale veranderingen’ (grammatical changes) into two categories: change of word class and change of syntactic structure. But there are more grammatical changes than these two. A first additional subcategory would be change of accidence. Langeveld, an experienced translator, seems to have omitted it because changes of accidence are mostly obligatory and part of his routine. A second additional subcategory in my opinion consists of changes in word and clause order (which Langeveld surprisingly sees as a separate category ‘omzettingen’). Changes in word and clause order are often applied to obtain a grammatically correct or idiomatic word order as well as a correct sentence perspective. It is therefore justified to classify the changes in word and clause order as grammatical changes.

a. Change of ‘accidence’

A change of accidence is a change in the outward appearance of a word. In European languages nouns may vary in person, number, gender and case, while verbs may vary in person, number, gender (in case of a participle), tense, aspect and modality. Translation from one language into another often entails many changes of accidence. It is obvious these are obligatory in most cases. They may be called for by the lexicon of the TL, like the change from singular to plural (vice versa) in the translation of ‘furniture’ with Fr. ‘des meubles’ and of ‘trousers’ with Du. ‘broek’. These renderings are so obvious that you could classify them as ‘literal translations’. Sometimes the TL demands an explicit choice with respect to the gender of a noun, e.g. when you are translating ‘friend’ into Modern Hebrew (רְאוּם or רעָם), or with respect to the cases of the noun (as in German or Russian).

Changes of accidence are often required by the TL grammar, as in ‘die Polizei hat ... verhaftet’ ← ‘police have arrested...’. Obligatory changes between closely related languages are required in the translation of verbal tenses, as the works of Vinay & Darbelnet show. Not only grammar or lexis, but also style may call for a change of

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

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

Troops can never be expected to fight on empty stomachs.

As soon as he comes, let me know.

Je suis ici depuis dix heures.

Il ne faut jamais demander aux troupes de se battre le ventre vide. [sing./plur]

Dès qu’il arrivera, prévenez-moi. [pres./fut.]

I have been here since ten. [pres./pres.perf.]

Und eine halbe Studen später wachte ich über den Gedanken auf, daß er nun Zeit sei den Schlaf zu suchen. [incl./subj.]

But God made the soul elder regarding origin and excellence and placed it above the body that should obey it as lord and master.

Ille mi par esse deo videtur [plur./sing.]

Ille mi par esse deo videtur [plur./sing.]

That man seems to me equal to gods.

That man seems to me equal to a god.

b. Change of word class

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

Blériot flew across the Channel. Blériot traversa la Manche en avion.

J’aime Newport, ses arbres, ses avenues, I love Newport, the trees, the avenues, the

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TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE SEPTUAGINT

ses ponts. bridges. 

He is an ardent believer in progress. Er glaubt begeistert an den Fortschritt. 

This is a good example for a self-fulfilling prophecy. Dies ist ein gutes Beispiel für die Eigendynamik einer Prognose. 

Je n’avais pas cessé en dormant de faire des réflexions sur ce que je venais de lire... I had been thinking all the time, while I was asleep, of what I had just been reading... 

He is reputedly the best man in the field. Il passe pour le meilleur spécialiste dans ce domaine. 

With the loss of active allied support, the anti-bolshevist rebellion collapsed. Privée de l’appui actif des Alliés, la révolte anti-bolchevique s’effondra. 

post captam urbem [lit. after the taken city] μετὰ τὴν τελείαν γενομένην ἀλώσιν [after its capture by the Gauls] 

Τῷ τῶν ἱσίων, γίνεσθαι οὐκ ἐγένετο...; Quid est quod semper sit neque ullum habeat ortum...? 

[What is that, which has always existed, but does not have an origin?] 

c. Change of syntactic function

A change of syntactic structure is a transformation whereby

a. the thematic rolesª expressed by SL subject, (in)direct object, predicate and adjunct may take on a different syntactic function in the TL clause, or

b. the grammatical status of a whole SL clause is changed in the TL (e.g. main clause into subordinate clause). Transformations of this type usually involve changes in sentence perspective. This is the reason I include the transformation from active to passive (and vice versa) in this category.

Their bodies streamed with perspiration. Het zweet gutste van hun lijven. 

The last week has seen an intensification [Gedurende] de afgelopen week is de diplomatie-

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ª C. Tatilon, Traduire. Traduire. Pour une pédagogie de la traduction, Toronto 1986, 70.

§ Wöß, Übersetzungswissenschaft, 123.

¶ Wöß, Übersetzungswissenschaft, 117.

³³ Verstegen, Vertaalwetenschap versus vertaalwetenschap, 258.

³³ Vinay & Darbelnet, Comparative Stylistics, 127.

³³ Vinay & Darbelnet, Comparative Stylistics, 95.

³³³ Reichmann, Römische Literatur in griechischer Übersetzung, 80.

³³³ Plato’s Timaeus, 27d. rendered by Cicero, Seele, Römische Übersetzer, 53. She devotes several pages (51ff.) to the grammatical difference between Greek and Latin and the transformations this entails in translation.

³³³³ Langeveld, Vertalen wat er staat, 124 [79].
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of the diplomatic activity.

More markets for Canadian crude will have to be found if the industry is not to stagnate.

The door is closed (automatically).

It is impossible to solve the problem.

Seeing a policeman coming around the corner, he rapidly disappeared from the scene.

d. Change in word and clause order

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

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82 Langeveld, Vertalen wat er staat, 124 [79].
83 Vinay & Darbelnet, Comparative Stylistics, 216.
84 Vinay & Darbelnet, Comparative Stylistics, 136.
85 Wilss, Übersetzungswissenschaft, 111.
87 Wilss, Übersetzungswissenschaft, 119.
88 Reichmann, Römische Literatur in griechischer Übersetzung, 63.
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ble in the TL, it may yield an unnatural result, because languages tend to give certain types of information different places within clauses.

A suburban train was derailed near London last night. Gisteravond is bij Londen een forensentrein ontspoord.90

... and raised his hand when he saw me with the dignified gesture of a patriarch ... en toen hij mij zag hief hij zijn hand op met het waardige gebaar van een patriarch.91

I came to Warley on a wet September morning with the sky the grey of Guiseley sandstone. Es war an einem regnerischen Septembermorgen mit einem Himmel wie aus grauem Sandstein, als ich in Warley ankam.92

Wenn Humboldt den Auftrag erhielt, so war das mehreren Faktoren zu verdanken. Several factors were responsible for Humboldt’s receiving the commission.93

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ei γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχής γένετο, οὔτε ἐν ἔτε ἀρχής γένετο. [for if from something Beginning originates, it is not properly Beginning.]

nec enim esset id principium, quod gigneretur aliunde. [nor is that Beginning, which originates elsewhere]

τούτῳ ἐκ οἵτιν’ ἀπάλληλοι ὦντες γένετος διανέκτων [but that cannot perish nor come into being]

'id autem nec nasci potest nec mori' [but it cannot be born nor die]

‘Addition’

The addition of semantic elements that are not present in the source text may be necessary when a literal translation results in an ungrammatical or unnatural target text (giving the impression that something has been omitted).

Grammatical additions occur, firstly, when certain elements must necessarily be supplied according to the TL grammar. An example is the addition of a copula in a translation of a Hebrew verbless clause. Or some verbs may require an object in one language, whereas their standard equivalents in another language can do without or cannot have an object at all. A second category is constituted by logical additions. It may be that a literal translation results in a grammatically correct sentence, but one that displays a logical gap in the perception of the TL speakers. Most languages have a tendency to skip elements considered

90 Langeveld, Vertalen wat er staat, 111 [70].
91 Langeveld, Vertalen wat er staat, 118 [75].
92 Wilts, Übersetzungslehre, 170.
93 Newmark, Textbook, 85.
94 Unfortunately I lost my note where this example occurs. It shows the familiar element comes first.
95 Seele, Römische Übersetzer, 61f.
96 Seele, Römische Übersetzer, 61f.
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evident or inessential, but differ in doing so. But apart from that, languages may differ in
their concern for precision. A third category consists of additions that are designed to
improve the source text and to adapt it to the taste of the TL readership. This kind of
addition has been known from times immemorial and was especially popular in Antiquity.\(^7\)

she turned around without a word ze draaide zich zonder een woord te zeggen om\(^9\)
He was shabby and careless [, with inkstains on the sleeves of his jacket.] Hij was sjofel en onverzorgd gekleed [...]\(^9\)

Die Schüsse auf den amerikanischen Präsidenten Reagan

the shots fired at President Reagan\(^10\)

the charge against him l’ accusation portée contre lui\(^10\)

I shivered at the millions and immensities and secrecies of India. J’avais le frisson en songeant aux multitudes, aux

immensités et aux mystères de l’Inde.\(^9\)

This proved very helpful. Cette mesure / initiative / démarche a grandement facilité les choses.\(^9\)

[Now the making of the universe took up the whole bulk of each of these four elements.]

eurum autem quattuor rerum, quas supra dixi, sic in omni mundo partes omnes conlocatae sunt\(^10\)
[Of these four elements, which I mentioned above, all parts are thus put together in the whole universe.]

post captam urbem [after the capture of the city]

μετὰ τὴν ὑπὸ Γάλλων γεννημένη ἀλλωσίω\(^10\) [after the capture by the Gauls]

‘Omission’

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

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\(^7\) Seele, Römische Übersetzer, 45ff.
\(^8\) Langeveld, Vertalen wat er staat, 140-141 [90].
\(^9\) Langeveld, Vertalen wat er staat, 140 [90].
\(^10\) Newmark, Textbook, 128.
\(^10\) Vinay & Darbelnet, Comparative Stylistics, 110.
\(^10\) Vinay & Darbelnet, Comparative Stylistics, 109.
\(^10\) Vinay & Darbelnet, Comparative Stylistics, 103.
\(^10\) Timaeus 32c.
\(^10\) Reichmann, Römische Literatur in griechischer Übersetzung, 80.
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'superfluous' elements are not appreciated in the target culture. Tytler, echoing centuries of translation theory,106 encourages omissions for reasons of taste:

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

Here follow examples from different periods and languages.

for the comfort and convenience of our clients...108

a thirty-cent ride on the one-price city-bus een ritje van dertig cent met de stadsbus109

À un niveau encore inférieur, on trouve la Lower down still, surrounded by the local cemetery, there is a chapel dedicated to the Virgin culte folklorique, issu de rochers à fleur de Mary, though it is also linked to a traditional cult sol. Le cimetière local flanké ce bas sanctuaire, dédié à la Mère de Dieu.

Das kann auch wohl der Fall sein, denn jeder Historiker, wie ich nun einmal bin, ist, ja, eine Art redendes Gespenst aus der Vorzeit.

... wo man den Zug zu wechseln gezwun-

gen ist.

[The best of bonds it that which makes itself and those which it binds as complete a unity as possible.]

sed vinculorum id est aptissimum atque pulcher-

rimum, quod ex se atque de iis, quae stringit,

quam maxime unum efficit.113

[The most adequate and the most beautiful bond is that, which creates out of itself and out of the things it binds the most complete unity.]

... where you have to change.112

[she began a divine beginning of an endless and reasonable life for always.]

quocirca si forte de deorum natura ortuque mundi disserentes minus id, quod avemus animo,

The notion of ‘endless’ is considered redundant.
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[If now, o Socrates, in our treatment of a great host of matters regarding the gods and the generation of the universe we prove unable to give accounts that are always in all respects self-consistent and perfectly exact, be not surprised.]

Therefore, if perhaps, discussing the nature of the gods and the origin of the world, we do not attain fully what we strongly desire, viz. that the whole account, furnished simply and clearly, is consequent and completely consistent with itself, that will not be really surprising.

Redistribution of semantic features

Up to this point, relations between ST and TT could more or less be traced on word level. But redistribution of semantic features is a transformation whereby ‘the source text is deconstructed into semantic elements below word level. These elements, semes, are then re-constructed into a target text which does not show correspondence at word level, but in its totality does have the same meaning as the source text.’

The first example is a good illustration of complex redistribution of semantic features, where a relatively simple German sentence cannot be translated literally into a related language, Dutch. The notion ‘Motorrad’ is combined with the notion ‘Fahrer-‘ into Dutch ‘motorrijder’, and ‘Winter-‘ is transformed into a time adjunct, whereas ‘-pause’ is expressed by the Dutch verb ‘laten’ (‘leave’). The other examples show how redistribution of semantic features may result in either a circumlocution or in a remarkably terse rendering.

Die Winterpause für Motorrad ist eine vernünftige Fahrerentscheidung. Motorrijders doen er verstandig aan hun voertuig ‘s winters in de stalling te laten.¹¹⁷

He has learned it by watching his neighbour doing it. Er hat es seinem Nachbarn abgeguckt.¹¹⁸

a victimless crime ein Verbrechen, bei dem außer dem Täter selbst niemand zu Schaden kommt¹¹⁹

Zersiedelung haphazard (uncontrolled) building in rural areas¹²⁰

signa τὰ σημαίν τὰ στρατιωτικά (γίγαν καλολογικά «Ρωμαίοι») [‘the military standards, which the Romans call signa’]¹²¹


¹¹⁶ Langeveld, Vertalen wat er staat, 148 [96], my translation. Elaborate discussions of the use of componential analysis in translation can be found in Newmark, Textbook (Chapter 11) and Nida, Toward a Science of Translating (Chapter 5).

¹¹⁷ Langeveld, Vertalen wat er staat, 159 [103-104].

¹¹⁸ Wilss, Übersetzungswissenschaft, 117.

¹¹⁹ Wilss, Übersetzungswissenschaft, 123.

¹²⁰ Wilss, Übersetzungswissenschaft, 123.
Situational translation

The first type of situational translation is a transformation whereby the invariant of comparison lies in the situation that is described and not in a close semantic resemblance between source text and target text. In other words, the same situation is described from a different angle (the first three examples).

The second type of situational translation relates to a communicative situation. Many forms of communication are closely linked to situations in real life so that the wording of such utterances depends largely on convention. In these cases a literal translation is generally avoided in favour of an utterance that the TL would commonly use in that situation. Examples of this second category are signs, notices and forms of greeting, which are standardized in all languages (the last three examples).

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

123 Reichmann, Römische Literatur in griechischer Übersetzung, 78.
122 KAI nr. 276. I am not sure whether or not Greek is the SL, but in either case the transformation can be put under this heading.
123 Seele, Römische Übersetzer, 34 (Cicero’s translation of Timaeus).
125 Vinay & Darbelnet, Comparative Stylistics, 252.
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Perrot joined them from the bungalow Perrot kwam uit de huisdeur de veranda op.\textsuperscript{128}

The accountant had brought out already a box of dominoes, and was toying architecturally with the bones.

De accountant had reeds een dominoeplepel voor de dag gehaald en was druk bezig huisjes van de stenen te bouwen.\textsuperscript{127}

Sorry, wrong number Tut mir leid, falsch verbunden.\textsuperscript{128}

Yours sincerely, Veuillez agréer l’expression de mes sentiments les meilleurs,\textsuperscript{129}

Ralentir. Travaux Slow. Men at work\textsuperscript{130}

\textit{[for when Beginning ends, it does not originate from something nor does something else originate from it.]}

\textit{nam principium extinctum nec ipsum ab alio renascetur nec ex se aluid creabit\textsuperscript{131}}

Idiomatic translation (of idiom)

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

You could have knocked me over with a feather.\textsuperscript{132}

Ik viel van mijn stoel [lit. I fell from my chair]

No fool like an old fool Alter schützt vor Torheit nicht.\textsuperscript{132}

En un clin d’oeil Before you could say Jack Robinson\textsuperscript{133}

as like as two peas comme deux gouttes d’eau\textsuperscript{134}

He has killed two birds with one stone.\textsuperscript{135}

Er hat zwei Fliegen mit einer Klappe geschlagen.\textsuperscript{135}

\textit{γὰρ [may He bless]}\textsuperscript{136}

\textit{ιὸν τέλειον ἄγαθον [for good luck]}

\textsuperscript{126} Langeveld, \textit{Vertalen wat er staat}, 154 [100].
\textsuperscript{127} Langeveld, \textit{Vertalen wat er staat}, 154 [100].
\textsuperscript{128} Wilss, \textit{Übersetzungswissenschaft}, 206.
\textsuperscript{129} Vinay & Darbelnet, \textit{Comparative Stylistics}, 287.
\textsuperscript{130} Vinay & Darbelnet, \textit{Comparative Stylistics}, 1.6.
\textsuperscript{131} Seele, \textit{Römische Übersetzer}, 61f.
\textsuperscript{132} Koller, \textit{Einführung in die Übersetzungs wissenschaft}, 101.
\textsuperscript{133} Vinay & Darbelnet, \textit{Comparative Stylistics}, 41.
\textsuperscript{134} Vinay & Darbelnet, \textit{Comparative Stylistics}, 253.
\textsuperscript{135} Wilss, \textit{Übersetzungswissenschaft}, 132.
Non-idiomatic translation (of idiom)

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

We’ll price ourselves out of the market. Nous ne pourrons plus vendre si nous sommes trop exigeants.¹³⁸

He lives on the wrong side of the track. Il n’est pas de notre milieu.¹³⁹

La moutarde lui monta au nez. He lost his temper.¹⁴⁰

Explicitation

An explicitation is a transformation whereby elements that are linguistically implicit in the source text are made explicit in the target text; or whereby an SL element, the intended meaning of which is considered unknown or unusual for the target audience, is rendered with a description or paraphrase of its meaning.

When the system of e.g. participant tracking differs, as between Hebrew and English, explicitation is frequently employed. In the third example, REB combines explicitation with implicitation. As Samuel speaks in the preceding verse 26, the translators probably considered it unnecessary or unnatural to repeat his name in verse 27. At the same time, ‘Saul’ is made explicit as the subject of the second action, which implies interpretation.

but it was only after a long silence, when he said, in a hesitating voice... Het was pas na een lange stilte dat Marlow, dit keer aarzelend...¹³⁹

[KJV: And as Samuel turned about to go away, he laid hold upon the skirt of his mantle, and it rent.] As he turned to go, Saul caught the corner of his cloak and it tore. (1 Samuel 15:27, REB)

Ein einfacher junger Mensch reiste... nach Davos-Platz im Graubündischen. Ein unassuming young man was travelling... to Davos-Platz in the Canton of the Grisons.¹⁴²
Inventory of transformations

[Gerichtswar nie in Kalifornien, nie in Hollywood, aber er versteht was von Public Relations.] Goebbels verstand auch crimes of the Hitler era, was an expert in public relations too.143

ad dicionem reedigit [he brought them under rule]

Ich weiß, daß dein Name ist [lit. tr. of Demotic]

Implication

An implication is a transformation whereby elements that are explicit in the source text are made implicit in the target text. This transformation is close to ‘omission’, the difference being that the information explicit in the source text is not deleted altogether, but recedes into the background while leaving traces in the target text, thus becoming implicit.

So when ‘one price city-bus’ is rendered with ‘stadsbus’ (cf. ‘omission’ for this example), the target text omits the notion that all tickets have the same price. But when REB renders רות המואבית (lit. ‘Ruth the Moabitite’) simply with ‘Ruth’ (Ruth 2:21), her Moabitite descent is not erased, since it has already frequently been stressed in the first part of the narrative.

What REB does here can be counted as an implicitation. When a noun or proper name is replaced by a pronoun, it can also be taken as an implicitation.

And then, when we’d finished talking about pigs, we started talking to the pigs.

Rehoboam went to Shechem, for all Israel had gone there to make him king (1 Kings 12:1, REB)

Sed animum haud… cum corpus ei effecisset, inchoavit147

but God did not construct the soul younger (than the body)

[In den Tempeln aller Städte der Provinz]

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

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Asien habe ich als Sieger die Kostbarkeiten wieder aufstellen lassen.

Anaphoric translation

Anaphoric translation is a transformation whereby a TL element seems to be a rendering of an SL element elsewhere or is influenced by a related passage in the same book or from a different text. One could also call it ‘intertextual translation’.

My first example unites Groningen and Jerusalem in a remarkable way. In a rhymed translation of Psalm 122 into the dialect of Groningen (a branch of Low Saxon) it says:

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Nou stoan wie ien joen poort te wachten,
Jeruzalem, o proukjewail,
o wondermooi en staark gehail
mit hoge muur en daipe grachten.

We are waiting in your gate,
Jerusalem, a jewel,
o beautiful and mighty town
with high walls and deep moats.

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

Ain proukjewail in golden raand, is Grönnen, stad en ommelaand!

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

Some more examples of anaphoric translation:

Non, je n’ai pas perdu la foi!

Je n’ai pas perdu la foi.

Non, je n’ai pas perdu la foi!

[11 lines of prose]

[...] Je n’ai pas perdu la foi.

[11 lines of prose]

I will not leave you bereft; I am coming back to you. (John 14:18, REB)

It seems that the same anaphorical translation occurs in GN, John 21:22:

Jesus antwortete ihm: „Wenn ich will, daß er so lange lebt, bis ich wiederkomme, was geht das dich an? Du sollst mir folgen!“

It is noteworthy that some exegetes state explicitly that the concept of Christ’s coming ‘again’ does not occur in the NT; see, e.g. R. Schnackenburg, Das Johannevangelium (Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum NT IV/3), Freiburg 1975, 70.

149 From Psalms en Gezangen, Groningen 1981.
150 Vinay & Darbelnet, Comparative Stylistics, 297.
151 The wording ‘coming back’ is borrowed from John 14:3, where it does appear in Greek; καὶ ὅπῃ παρεκάθινε καὶ έντομάται τόσον ἡμι, πάλιν ἐρχόμενα καὶ παραπλημφόμενα ώς πρός ἡμας, ἱκετεύεις, ἵνα ἐν διδάξῃ μοι τά ἔργα. It seems that the same anaphorical translation occurs in GN, John 21:22. Jesus antwortete ihm: „Wenn ich will, daß er so lange lebt, bis ich wiederkomme, was geht das dich an? Du sollst mir folgen!“ It is noteworthy that some exegetes state explicitly that the concept of Christ’s coming ‘again’ does not occur in the NT; see, e.g. R. Schnackenburg, Das Johannevangelium (Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum NT IV/3), Freiburg 1975, 70.
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literally, but to look for equivalents in their respective literatures of the seventeenth century whenever possible.152

Stylistic translation & compensation

A **stylistic translation** is a transformation whereby the correspondence between source text and target text is determined (mainly) by stylistic factors. A result of this is that semantic correspondence becomes secondary, especially in texts of which the form is very important, like in poetry.

In the first example, the acoustic ambiguity of ‘tale’/‘tail’ is transferred into German without much loss of semantic content. In the second example the preservation of the alliteration calls for a change in semantic content, the tenor of the phrase remaining the same. The third and fourth examples illustrate how poetic form gains a growing hold on semantic content. In the fourth example the only correspondences are the notions **SPAIN** + **WEATHER**.

**Compensation** is a transformation whereby a TL stylistic element is introduced into the target text at a place where it does not occur in the source text, because a functional rendering of an SL stylistic element could not be realized at the same place. In the fifth example, the honorific and archaic connotation of the English pronoun ‘thee’ is not rendered with a corresponding French pronoun (which does not exist), but by ‘ô’, which has the same connotations. In the last example Schopenhauer’s word-play on ‘Gläubige’ (faithful) and ‘Gläubiger’ (creditor) cannot be rendered adequately into Dutch. The translator rendered ‘Glaube’ not with its usual counterpart ‘geloof’, but with ‘credo’, thus creating a comparable pun in the first sentence.

‘Mine is a long and sad tale’, said the Mouse, turning to Alice, and sighing.
‘It is a long tail, certainly’, said Alice, looking down with wonder at the Mouse’s tail [...]153

...fanned by the flattery of murmuring machos

There was an Old Man of Nepal
From his horse had a terrible fall...

The rain in Spain stays mainly in the plain.

‘Was ich hinter mir habe, ist sehr lang und traurig’, sagte die Maus, wandte sich zu Alice herum und seufzte. ‘Allerdings, du hast was langes hinter dir’, sagte Alice und schaute verwundert auf den langen, gewundenen Mauseschwanz [...]153

... umschmeichelt von bewundernden Blicken154

Ein alter Mann aus Wesel, der fiel von seinem Esel...

Het Spaanse graan heeft de orkaan doorstaan.156

παύλαν ἔχω κυνῆρας. παύλαν ἔξει ζωῆς

quando finem habeat motus, vivendi finem habeat necesse est157

156 Langeveld, *Vertalen wat er staat*, 175-176 [115-116].
Excursus: The translation of metaphors

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

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

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

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

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

157 In this fragment of Plato’s *Phaedrus* Cicero employs a chiasm to compensate for the loss of other stylistic features; Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 62f. for this and other examples. See for more examples, Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 69f.
159 Newmark, *Textbook*, 104.
161 Newmark, *Textbook*, 106 and R. van den Broeck, quoted by Koller, *Einführung* 154. Koller denies this with an appeal to a study of Swedish-German, the results of which are represented statistically.
162 Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 70f.
Inventory of transformations

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

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

Combinations of transformations

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

We shot two, but then stopped, because the bullets that missed glanced off the rocks and the dirt, and sung off across the fields, and beyond the fields there were some trees along a watercourse, with a house, and we did not want to get into trouble from the stray bullets going towards the house.

Nous en tuâmes deux, mais jugeâmes ensuite prudent de nous arrêter, car les balles qui les manquaient ricochaient sur les rochers et sur la terre, et risquaient d’aller se perdre du côté d’une maison qu’on voyait au delà des champs, à proximité d’un cours d’eau bordé d’arbres, et nous aurions pu nous attirer des ennuis.\textsuperscript{164}

He never said a clever thing, but he had a vein of brutal sarcasm which was not ineffective.

Er äußerte nie etwas besonders Gescheites, besaß aber eine ausgesprochene Begabung für brutale, sarkastische Bemerkungen, die gewöhnlich ins Schwarze trafen.\textsuperscript{165}

In der Ansiedlungskonkurrenz der deutschen Industriegebiete nimmt das Saarland eine besondere Stellung ein.

The Saarland occupies a special position among the areas of Germany which are competing for the settlement of new industry.\textsuperscript{166}

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

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

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

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

‘NEGATIVE’ OR ‘MIRRORED’ TRANSFORMATIONS

Graphological translation

In Catford’s definition, graphological translation is ‘restricted translation in which the SL graphology of a text is replaced by equivalent TL graphology’\(^{168}\). What is transferred to the TL is not semantic content or even sound, but ‘graphic substance’: the TL characters are chosen so as to resemble the SL characters of a certain word as closely as possible. Catford’s illustration is the rendering of Russian (Cyrillic) 

This category is of theoretical interest. I am not aware of examples in modern translations.

\(^{167}\) Coleman, 0.75 liter, (made in Korea), which I bought in 1998. For the sake of the discussion I will leave out the possibility that the error originated in a Korean source text. Instructions for use constitute a large part of all translated text in the world.

\(^{168}\) Catford, Linguistic Theory, 62.

\(^{169}\) E. Würthwein, Der Text des Alten Testaments, Stuttgart 1988, 192f.
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Morphematic translation

A morphematic translation is a transformation whereby the target text gives a possibly exact representation of the SL morphemes. The translation of semantic or stylistic meaning is secondary. Using semantic elements in order to represent SL morphology is the opposite of what is normally called translation, where SL grammar is abandoned to render the meaning in TL grammar. In modern translations it occurs only exceptionally, e.g. where English translators of Heidegger’s works try to imitate some German compound words, thereby coining new English words (‘disclosedness’ on the analogy of ‘Erschlossenheit’).\(^{170}\)

For a light touch here follows a superb illustration systematic morphematic translation. To be sure, the text is no translation, but purports to be the attempt of a German official to write an English letter.\(^{171}\)

Order must be!

Dear Peter,

...[omitted]

For Antiquity, the bilingual decrees of the Roman Senate display many instances of morphematic translation: \(^{172}\)

\begin{align*}
\text{adversus rem publicam} & \quad \text{ὑποτυπία τοῖς δημοσίως πράγμασιν} \\
\text{quominus} & \quad \text{ὥς ἔλαττων (instead of ὥς ὁ… μή)}
\end{align*}

[Fawcett, *Linguistic Theories Explained*, 15. But this is limited to key terms.


\(^{172}\) Reinhart, *Römische Literatur in griechischer Übersetzung*, 2-3, 29ff., 36. These texts were likely to be interpreted on the spot by Roman officials; cf. Brock, Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity, 74.]

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METHOD OF ANALYSIS

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

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

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

These considerations result in the following model:

1. Study of the translation as an independent Greek text, grammatically, semantically and stylistically.
2. Study of the text of MT as it stands, grammatically, semantically and stylistically.
3. Comparison of LXX and MT. This consists of making an inventory of text-critical and translational ‘deviations’.

175 For the same point of view see Muraska, Hosea IV in the Septuagint Version, 24-25, and T. Muraska (ed.), Melbourne Symposium on Septuagint Lexicography (SCS 28), Atlanta 1990. In his contribution, Tov is less confident about the intention of the translators than he used to be.
176 See the caveats expressed by A. Aeijmelaeus, Translation Technique and the Intention of the Translator, in: Cox, VII Congress, 24-36 = Aeijmelaeus, On the Trail, 65-76.
177 Cf. the introduction to this chapter. Van der Louw, Linguistic or Ideological Shifts? sets this out in detail.
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4 Identification and categorization of transformations. The question is then: what are the difficulties or problems the transformations are designed to solve and how do they cohere?
5 Study of the passage and its transformations in the context of the translated book as a whole.
6 Evaluation of text-critical findings.
7 Study of exegetical and ideological elements in the translation.

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

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

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

THE COMPARISON OF HEBREW AND GREEK

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hebrew</th>
<th>Greek</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>נֶגֶף</td>
<td>πᾶς</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>רִיכָם</td>
<td>δό</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>יוֹר</td>
<td>‘not-being’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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‘their [host]’ (with suffix) → ἅτιναυ their [furnishing]’ (personal pronoun). Repeated transformations will be noted at their first occurrence, e.g. the frequent omission of the divine name in Genesis 2. Peculiarities that occur in the transcription of names constitute a object of study on their own and will not concern us, e.g. Eden → Edem, Hawila → Ewilat.
Chapter 4
Transformations in Genesis 2

INTRODUCTION

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

1 καὶ συνετάξθησαν ο ὁφρονὶς καὶ ἡ γῆ
2 καὶ συνετάξθησαν ὁ θεὸς τὰ ἔργα
2 καὶ ἐπλήρωσεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἡμέραν

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

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

Εἰς τὸ τέταρτον οὐκ ἔσται χαρακτῆρις, ἀσκησία, μεγελοπρεπῆς, γλαυφυς, δεινός, καὶ

lokiπιοι οἱ ἐκ τοὺς μισθοὺς μηγάλωσιν.

¹ See A. Aejmelaeus, Parataxis in the Septuagint.
The simple types of style are four in number: the ‘plain,’ the ‘elevated,’ the ‘elegant’ and the ‘forcible’. In addition there are various combinations of these types.\(^3\)

The elegant (‘charming and cheerful’) and the elevated (‘elaborate and grandiose’) styles need not detain us long, because they demand stylistic qualities that Genesis 2 lacks. The forcible style stands out by its brevity and conciseness, often verging on the obscure, and by the unexpected (§ 240ff.). Intelligent use of figures of style can contribute to force (§ 263ff.). With respect to vocabulary it is akin to the elevated style. Now Genesis 2 does not answer to this concise description of the forcible style.

The current and familiar vocabulary of Genesis 2 would suggest the plain style (§ 190). Other characteristics of the plain style are clarity and redundancy (§ 196ff.) which are present in Genesis 2 to a certain extent. Regarding word order Demetrius advises (§ 199):

> Καί ἄλλως τῇ φυσικῇ τάξιν τῶν ἀναμένων χρηστέον, ὡς τῇ Ἑτέρομος ὡς τόλμη ἐν διείσθαι ισορροπίαν εἰς τόν Ἐλαιον κύπελλον οὕτως ἐν ἀλώας καὶ τῷ τόπῳ ἐστίν, ώς τόλμη καὶ τῷ ἀλώα ἐφεξῆς.

In general, the natural order of the words should be followed, as in the sentence ‘Epidamnus is a town on your right hand as you sail into the Ionian gulf.’ First of all is mentioned the subject, which is then defined to be a town, and next come the other words in due succession.

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

> πῶς γὰρ τὸ παράσημον ἀπάνθησις καὶ σώμα ἱδρυμαν (…) τὸ γὰρ ἀπαθῆς καὶ ἱδρυμαν ἀπάνθησις.

Since all eccentricity is unfamiliar and extraordinary (§ 208)

What is not lucid nor natural is not convincing (§ 221).

Since in spite of the plain vocabulary ease and naturalness of style cannot be found in Genesis 2, it does not conform to the plain style. In fact, it falls outside all categories described by Demetrius.

Our conclusion must be that for Greek readers of that time Genesis 2 was a very exotic text. Its many irregularities testify to massive Hebrew interference. Thackeray’s intuitive judgement of the LXX-Pentateuch as ‘good καυχή Greek’\(^4\) is certainly incorrect for this chapter.

\(^{3}\) Rhys Roberts (ed.), *Demetrius on Style*, § 36. English translations are by the editor.

Transformations in Genesis 2

GENESIS 2:1

καὶ συνσυνέλεξεν οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος αὐτῶν.

And the heaven and the earth were completed, and their whole orderly furnishing.

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

Translation συνσυνέλεξεν is a frequent rendering of ἔτει πεῖ in its meaning ‘to complete’ and, as appears from the concordance, of Hebrew words with related meanings. In the phrase καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος αὐτῶν ‘and their whole orderly furnishing’ the definite article has been added. The addition is obligatory, because πᾶς κόσμος αὐτῶν without the article would have meant something else: ‘every kosmos of theirs’.

The phrase καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος αὐτῶν ‘and their whole orderly furnishing’ renders das έκαστος ‘and their whole host’. There is some difference of opinion regarding the referential meaning of Hebrew אֲדֹمָק ‘host, army’. Rosel thinks it here designates the heavenly bodies, on the analogy of בָּשָׂם אֲדֹמָק ‘host of heaven’. However, our context does not speak of the host of heaven, but of אֲדֹמָק ‘their host’, i.e. the host of heaven and earth. Hence it must have the broader sense of ‘everything that fills heaven and earth in an orderly way’. In the terminology of componential analysis the notion of ORDERLY ARRANGEMENT is common to אֲדֹמָק and κόσμος. We are dealing with a ‘modification’.


6 Harl’s description of its meaning is close to ours: ‘ordre, ordonnance, organisation, avec la connotation typiquement grecque d’ornement, de beauté’, La Genèse, 98. Even closer is Wevers, Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis, 20 ‘[heaven and earth and] their equipage’.

7 Rösel, Übersetzung als Vollendung, 52 supports his view with a reference to C. Westermann, Genesis (Biblischer Kommentar U1), 233 and G. von Rad, Das erste Buch Mose (Das Alte Testament Deutsch), 49, but these exegetes suggest a wider meaning for אדום, as including all beings in heaven and earth. Likewise A.S. van der Woude in THAT, ii, 501-502 ‘Durch Zeugma kann der Ausdruck [אדום] dann auch auf die Erde ausgeweitet werden (Gen 2,1 P).’
TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE SEPTUAGINT

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

Since the above mentioned presuppositions are questionable, I am not convinced by the urgency of the various text-critical and exegetical solutions that have been proposed with help of Egyptian or rabbinic writings. One exception: departing from a suggestion by Von Mutius, viz. that the Vorlage of LXX read פיק ‘their ornament’, I would not exclude the possibility that the translator vocalized פיק ‘their ornament’. But we have not yet described the translator’s path from פיק ‘host, army’ to κόσμος ‘orderly furnishing’. Why did he not provide a literal rendering, like the ones we find elsewhere? Of course the translator could not use אטריס ‘stars’, because the text speaks about ‘the kosmos of heaven and earth’. A similar reason seems to underlie the translator’s rejection of στρατία ‘host, army’. In literally translated books we find στρατία του οίκου του ‘host of heaven’ denoting the heavenly bodies, but this becomes problematic when στρατία αὐτῶν should mean ‘the army of heaven and earth’. The stars can be called a heavenly army in a metaphorical sense, but an earthly army is too real to function as a metaphor. To speak of an ‘army of the earth’ is a bit too far-fetched in Greek. No Greek manuscript restored the ‘army’.

GENESIS 2:2

καὶ ἐφελέσατο ὁ θεός ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑκατότῃ, τῇ ἕξῳ αἰῶνος, καὶ ἔταξεν καὶ κατέθηκεν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑκάστῃ ἀπὸ τῶν τῶν ἀστερῶν ἀνώτατον, ἕως τοῦ προσκεκλήσατο. And God completed, on the sixth day, his works that he had done, and he rested on the seventh day from all his works that he had done.

8 M. Görg, Das Übersetzungsproblem in Gen 2,1, Biblische Notizen 95 (1998), 5-11; M. Görg, Die Septuaginta im Kontext spätägyptischer Kultur; Von Mutius, Der hebräische Text von Genesis 2,1 im Licht der Septuaginta und der rabbinschen Schriftauslegung.
9 Görg, Die Septuaginta im Kontext..., 123.
10 Von Mutius, Der hebräische Text von Genesis 2,1..., 107.
11 Outside the Pentateuch we find פיק ‘host of heaven’ translated with ἄστερος ‘stars’, e.g. in Isaiah 34:4; 45:12; Jeremiah 8:2 (double translation); Daniel 8:10; and, more literally, with στρατία τοῦ οἴκου 3 Kingdoms (MT 1 Kings) 22:19; 2 Chronicles 33:3,5; Jeremiah 8:2; 19:13; Zephania 1:5; or with δόξα τοῦ οἴκου, e.g. in 4 Kingdoms (MT 2 Kings) 17:16; 21:3.

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Transformations in Genesis 2

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

Greek text The genitive in ὥσπερ ἐργασίαν is due to attractio relativi (Smyth § 2522, BDR § 294).

Translation The addition of the definite article before θεός makes it refer to the one God. Mere θεός would suggest that a god (from among a pantheon) created the world. The rendering ὄν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑξῆς ‘on the sixth day’ is debated. It cannot be proved with certainty that it is a translation of ‘בֹּא יִבְשָׁמָל בָּא יִבְשָׁמָל ‘on the seventh day’ (as MT), since it appears from the Samaritan Pentateuch that there existed manuscripts with the reading בֹּא יִבְשָׁמָל ‘on the sixth day’. It is reasonable to assume that ‘the seventh day’, being more problematic, is the original reading, and that the halachic difficulty of God completing his creation and therefore working on Sabbath was subsequently smoothed out in ‘the sixth day’ by copyists. It is possible that this was the reading of the Septuagint’s Vorlage, but it is equally possible that the LXX-translator read ὄν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑξῆς but harmonized this passage in the translation (modification), so that ‘the exegetical tendency developed independently in all three sources.’ With the present state of our knowledge this question must remain open.

With the plural ἐργασίαι of ἐργασία ‘his works’ for singular ἔργον ‘his work’ we encounter a change of accidence (number). It appears from Hatch & Redpath’s concordance that plural ἐργασίαι ‘works’ is a frequent rendering of ἔργον ‘work’, which occurs almost exclusively in singular. The Hebrew word means ‘occupation, work’ and mostly designates work of longer duration and habitual or professional occupations, to which the plural ἐργασίαι rather than ἔργον corresponds. In Genesis 2:2 ἔργον ‘works’ refers to the multitude of God’s works in the creation of heaven and earth.

Καταναλώσα, meaning ‘to rest’ when used intransitively, is used for good reasons. Other Greek verbs from the same semantic field have shades of meaning that do not fit the context. ‘Καταναλώσα, for example is often used of resting after a considerable effort and can even mean ‘sleep’. The use of this verb would portray God as being exhausted. The fact that καταναλώσα can be construed with ἐνθύμεται provides an advantage over a further alternative, viz. μεθομένος (+ genitive), because it enables the translator to render the Hebrew preposition מ ‘from’ with ἐνθύμεται, which guarantees closer adherence to the word classes of the original and its number of words.

12 Cf. BDR § 254.1.
13 See e.g. the medieval Jewish commentaries of Rashi and Ibn Ezra.
14 Tov, Text Critical Use, 79. For a similar view see Rösel, Übersetzung als Vollendung, 53.
15 Compare the examples adduced by LSJ s.v. ἐργασία.
16 LSJ s.v. ἔργον. The verb is used of human resting in e.g. Exodus 20:11 (for רגע and מָעָל) and Deuteronomy 5:14 (for מָעָל).
And God praised the seventh day and sanctified it, for in it he ceased from all his works, that God had started to do.

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

The verb ἐλαχάρεω occurs earlier in LXX-Genesis, in 1:22 (cf. 1:26):

In my opinion, it is perfectly possible to translate the Greek text without reference to the Hebrew as 'God praised them [sc. his creatures, as being perfect], saying: Increase and multiply...'. The translation 'God blessed them' does not convey a superior sense, because what follows is not a blessing but a command. This translation is also possible in 2:3.

The verb ἁγιάσεω to sanctify is rare. It is first attested in the Septuagint and appears further in literature dependent on it, such as the New Testament and Philo’s writings. Whether the Septuagint translators coined a neologism is uncertain, but if so, the meaning of ἁγιάσεω was easily guessed by its transparent etymology: 'to make sacred, hallow'.

The repetition of ὁ θεὸς 'God' at the end of the verse is redundant from the point of view of Greek grammar, as there cannot be doubt as to the subject of ἐλαχάρεω 'began'. The explicit mentioning actually suggests a change of subject, so that this clause has a slightly confusing ring about it.

Translation Since in the Septuagint ἐλαχάρεω frequently renders וַיַּהְסֵרוּ, traditionally translated as 'to bless', it is often assumed that ἐλαχάρεω means 'to bless' when it renders

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

18 Cf. Adrian’s remarks about similar cases, discussed in Léonas, Recherches, 158ff.
Transformations in Genesis 2

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

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

The Greek rendering ἐν τῷ ἐργασίαν ὅπου τὸ θεὸς ποιήσατέ 'the works) that God had begun to do' is a surprising semantic deviation from τῷ ἐργασίαν ὅπου Ἰδίων ἔμελλεν 'that God had created to make / by making'. Before offering (theological) explanations it is necessary to ask what difficulty the translator actually faced. The translator had to solve a linguistic problem that originated in earlier decisions. 'Hintergrund dieser Wiedergabe ist das Aufeinandertreffen der Verben ἔκκλησιν und ἀποκάλεσις, die bisher beide mit ποιεῖται übersetzt wurden.' The translator was not wanting to insert theology, for he could have done that at any place. It is also important to check the translator's options, since he had other solutions at his disposal. He could have rendered the phrase as ἐν τῷ ἐργασίαν ὅπου τὸ θεὸς 'the works) that God had made'. He would then have reduced two Hebrew verbs to a single Greek verb, but that would have implied a deviation from the strategy of quantitative representation he had followed up till now. And if he had generalized ἐκκλησία 'to create' (instead of ἀποκάλεσις it would have been very difficult to render τῷ ἐργασίαν 'to make' with a Greek infinitive (try it ...). As the translator tried to retain the word classes of his original, he evidently did not consider this option suitable.

The only option that remained was a specific verb preceding the generic ποιεῖται and one that does not significantly modify the meaning of the latter, as would 'decided', 'planned' or 'wanted'. The translator chose 'to begin' which of course precedes 'to do'. Since 'per-

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

20 E.g. לָלָל, בָּלָל, and לָלָל.


22 See Rösel, Übersetzung als Vollendung, 54.

23 Rösel, Übersetzung als Vollendung, 54. The translator’s decision to render בָּלָל with ποιεῖται (instead of ποτέ, πάντα etc.) was evidently well-considered, and did not admit of an exception in the book of Genesis. In Isaiah 41:20; 43:7, 45:8 the same translational difficulty occurs. יְבִנֵה is there translated with ποιεῖται and בָּלָל with κατασκευάζων 'discover, invent, introduce'.

24 A comparable objection can be raised against 'the works that God created and made' (KJV) or 'his work of creation' (REB) etc.
phrastic ἔρχομαι’ was not uncommon from Xenophon onwards, its meaning had something faded and it did not really add anything substantial to our text. Strictly speaking, it is a ‘translation of cause and effect’. Translating is a decision-making process in which the freedom of choice is limited by the restrictions imposed by earlier decisions. The translator’s strategy had narrowed down his options. Therefore, the choice of ἔρχομαι ‘began’ is in my view intentional to a limited extent. The problem forced him to a transformation, but he could still choose between the alternatives. He probably chose ‘began’ over alternatives like ‘decided’, ‘planned’, ‘wanted’ because Genesis 2:3 is about completion, and ἔρχομαι, harking back to ‘In the beginning’, underlines the fullness of completion. It is not necessary to claim with Cook that ‘began’ is an exegetical rendering pointing to the idea of continuous creation and preventing the misunderstanding that God completed his creation and then left it to itself.

25 Hilhorst, Sémitismes et latinismes dans le Psaume d’Hermas, 68f.
27 Cf. 1 Corinthians 15:50 καὶ γῆν, 55 (‘als es entstand’) and Harl (‘quand il y eut génération’) do.
28 Note the idiomatic use of the Greek article before οἱράνος καὶ γῆ. At the beginning of 2:4 the article is omitted: Αὕτη ἡ βίβλος γενετέως οἱράνος καὶ γῆς. The brevity corresponds to

GENESIS 2:4

αὕτη ἡ βίβλος γενετέως οἱράνος καὶ γῆς, ὅτε ἐγένετο, ἡ ἡμέρα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τῶν οἴρανων καὶ τῆς γῆς
This [is] the book of origin of heaven and earth, when it originated in the day God made the heaven and the earth;

These are the generations of heaven and earth when they originated. On the day the Lord God made earth and heaven.

Greek text There are different ways to interpret the syntax, as is shown by the various interpunctions that the text editions of Rahlfs and Göttingen offer. The first clause of vs 4, Αὕτη ... γῆς, is a nominal clause (i.e. without copula), as its parallel in 5:1 demonstrates. Such usage is possible in Koine (BDR § 127) and existed in classical Greek, though in more restricted cases (Smyth § 944).

The clause introduced by ὅτε ‘when’ belongs to the main clause that precedes it. It cannot function as the beginning of a new sentence, since it is not followed by a suitable apodosis. Opinions are divided regarding the subject of ἐγένετο. An impersonal subject consisting of nouns coordinated by καὶ can be followed by a singular predicate (BDR § 153.1). This line of thought it is probable that οἱράνος καὶ γῆ constitute the subject of ἐγένετο and that we should translate with Brenton: ‘This is the book of heaven and earth when they originated.’ It is not necessary to assume an impersonal subject or to give γῆς an unusual meaning. As resp. Rösel, Übersetzung als Vollendung, 55 (‘als es entstand’) and Harl (‘quand il y eut génération’) do.
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the way in which Greek book titles were formulated. This supports Harl’s hypothesis that in 2:4 a new section begins, parallel to the Palestinian seder. At the end of the verse the article is used anaphorically, as it refers back to the immediately preceding ‘heaven and earth’.

Translation The Greek translation of 2:4 offers several surprises. The first is the addition of ‘the book’ (lacking in Hebrew) and the ensuing change of number from plural ἡ σελευκονία ἃ γενέσεως καὶ γῆ ‘heaven and earth’, which is the reverse of what we would expect. The third is a change of word order, as ἡ σελευκονία ἃ γενέσεως ‘heaven and earth’ is rendered with τὸν ὄρον καὶ τὴν γῆν ‘heaven and earth’. The fourth is the rendering of ἀπό τῆς ζωής ‘in their being created’ by ἀπὸ ἐκ τῆς ζωής ‘when it originated’ (change of syntactic function, involving change of number, word class; generalization). The fifth is the omission of the divine name ΚΑΛΧΩ, normally rendered with κύριος ‘Lord’.

Regarding the first problem, the addition of ‘the book’, Kittel’s Biblia Hebraica suggested in its apparatus that the translator found it in his Hebrew Vorlage (This is the book of...). But its successor BHS abandoned this suggestion, and rightly so, as it would involve the addition of a whole word and a different pronoun (or the reverse), which are not easily explained by copyists’ errors. No text-critical evidence supporting a different source text has turned up so far. With most scholars we must assume that the addition is an anaphoric translation after 5:1. The question is: why was this done? According to Rösel, ἡ σελευκονία has two meanings, generally ‘succession of generations’, but in 2:4 ‘history of the origin of heaven and earth’. He says the latter sense is adequately rendered by the insertion of βιβλίον. This explanation covers part of the problem, but it does not provide an answer to why the translator departed from his literal strategy. Leaving aside the possibility of inaccuracy, we will now try to find an answer to this question.

In a number of Genesis passages we find ἡ σελευκονία + proper name, e.g. 6:9 ‘these are the successive generations of [i.e. springing from] Noach,’ followed by a list of descendants.

LXX translates ἡ σελευκονία ἃ γενέσεως Noe ‘these are the births of [i.e. from] Noe.’

This is the book of the origin of human beings.

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

Αὕτη δὲ βιβλίον γενέσεως ἀνθρώπων

This is the book of the origin of human beings.

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

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

Turning to Genesis 2:4, here too we find the translator avoiding a literal rendering. 3. It is not possible, as it would speak of the offspring of heaven and earth, an incorrect translation in the context, and suggest a polytheistic concept that the Jewish translators would avoid.

The text clearly deals with the origin of heaven and earth, which is more adequately rendered by the singular γένεσις. But even then a literal translation would say that ‘this [i.e. what follows] is the origin of heaven and earth.’ That would not fit into the context, for what follows in 2-4 ff. presupposes the existence of heaven and earth. Therefore I think that βιβλίον ‘book’ was imported from 5:1 to make ἄληθεν ‘This’ refer to the book of Genesis as a whole.

The second difficulty in Genesis 2:4 is the use of the article before οὐρανός καὶ γῆ ‘heaven and earth’. In the beginning of the verse the Greek phrase lacks articles where Hebrew has them and at the end of the verse it is the other way round. All Hebrew manuscripts support MT in this regard, so the issue seems translational. The translator omits the article for stylistic reasons and adds the article for grammatical reasons (see Greek text), hence the ‘omission’ is optional and the ‘addition’ obligatory. In several other places, in LXX-Genesis and outside it, γῆ καὶ οὐρανός without article has likewise been rendered with a phrase that does have the article. 34

The third problem, inversion of word order, has its roots in the Hebrew text. It reads γῆ καὶ οὐρανός ‘earth and heaven’, whereas the normal Hebrew sequence is οὐρανός γῆ ‘heaven and earth’, as we find in Genesis 1:1 and elsewhere. The latter is actually the reading found in the Samaritan Pentateuch, where it evidently has been harmonized. Likewise, οὐρανός καὶ γῆ ‘heaven and earth’ is the common word order in Greek, 35 the reverse order being less frequent. It is difficult to say whether the translators found the normal word order already in their text, or made a harmonization themselves.

36 ἄληθεν καὶ γένεσις γενεαλογίας καὶ γῆς ‘These are the births of heaven and earth.’

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


39 For NT Greek, see Schmoller, Handkonkordanz s.v. γῆ. For Koine prose I used the TLG for queries. An illustration from Chrysippus, in: J. ab Armin, Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta II, 527.2 Κύριον δ’ εἶναι φήσαι ὁ Χρῖστους σύστημα εἰς οὐρανόν καὶ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις φύσεων. Cf. also Diodorus Siculus, Book I, 7.1 and 7. The reverse order is much less frequent.
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The cause of the fourth unexpected rendering is the occurrence of two verbs that have hitherto been translated as ποιέω ‘to make’. The translator kept ποιέω as the standard rendering of ποιέω ‘to make’ and rendered ἐφαρμίζομαι ‘to create’ (in a reflexive-passive stem) by the intransitive verb γίνομαι ‘come into being’, which thanks to its generic meaning cannot interfere with the sense of ποιέω ‘make’ (‘generalization’).

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

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

The variation in the first chapters of Genesis is explained by Rösel as follows: ‘So wird in den Kapiteln 1 und 2 durchgehend der Schöpfergott als ΘΕΟΣ bezeichnet, der sich der Schöpfung zuwendende Gott als ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ.’

And indeed it is plausible that the variation in the rendering of divine names can be accounted for in this way. But we could ask the question why there is variation at all. What Rösel offers here is a solution, not a problem analysis. We should first ask ourselves which problem the translator wanted to solve. Regarding Genesis 2-3 I would suggest that the translator employed his strategy of variation between κύριος θεός ‘the Lord God’ and ΘΕΟΣ ‘God’ because he was, as far as we know, the first to use κύριος as a divine name.41 If the translator would have proceeded literally, the resulting text could have been misunderstood. Genesis 1:1-2:3 tells us that ΘΕΟΣ ‘God’ created heaven and earth. Then Genesis 2:4-24 presents a second account, in which a character named κύριος θεός ‘Lord God’ makes a man and a woman and gives them instructions. That could have been misunderstood as speaking of two deities, the latter being the lord of the former. The translator therefore had to make sure that the reader would identify ΘΕΟΣ and κύριος θεός as referring to one and the same God. This he did by means of alternating the two divine names.42

41 Rösel, Übersetzung als Vollendung, 58.
42 TlhWNT III. 1081. Κύριος was used with genitive in divine titles, like θεός του κύριου κύριος (id., 1046). Much later, in the first century BC, the use of (absolute) κύριος as an apposition of divine names, e.g. Ἀγαθή κύριος θεός seems to have been established (id., 1048). But mere κύριος, without divine name, was novel, and this meant ‘that the title is substituted for the name, and the implication is that the bearer is ’sovereign’ in the absolute sense. There is no exact parallel to this in earlier or contemporary Greek’ (C.H. Dodd quoted in TlhWNT III. 1081). See also BDAG s.v. κύριος.
43 Cf. Hendel, The Text of Genesis 1-11, 34. The novelty of κύριος as a divine name may also account for other renderings that Rösel explains by an appeal to the theology of the translators, e.g. Genesis 4:1 (κύριος could have been misunderstood as Eva’s husband); 16:5 (the κύριος of both Hagar and Sara is Abraham) etc. A case like Genesis 38:7 could be explained as stylistic variation within one verse. In short, I think that a somewhat more differentiated picture emerges if one takes a closer look at the difficulties the translator was facing in each of these passages.
GENESIS 2:5

and every green of the field, before it originated upon the earth, and all grass of the field, before it grew, for God did not send rain upon the earth, and a human being was not there to till the earth.

Greek text

The accusatives in this verse are grammatical objects of ἐποίησεν in 2:4. In τῶν χλωρῶν ἄγραφοι there is no article before ἄγραφοι because ‘field’ does not denote a specific field. The article is omitted ‘in the case of words forming a class by themselves’ (Smyth § 1141).

The verse contains two constructions with infinitives. The first is πρὸ τοῦ + inf., which may indicate a polished style (BDR § 398, 403). For ἔγραψεν without preceding conjunction (like ἔστη, ἔπεσε, ἔστησε) see BDR § 390-391.

The picture of the Greek text is that God created green and grass before it sprang up. It did not spring up because God had not yet sent rain, and because man did not yet cultivate the soil. Apparently, then, God had created plants in the form of seeds waiting in the ground.

Translation

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

44 For a detailed discussion on ἐποίησεν see Lee, Lexical Study, 122ff.
45 BDB 382b, see among other texts Exodus 12:34.
46 Frankel, Über die Einflüsse der palästinischen Exegese, 13.
47 Rösel, Übersetzung als Vollendung, 59 assumes a deliberate change, whereby the translator allegedly hinted at the Platonic dichotomy of the ‘world of ideas’ and the ‘earthly world’.
Transformations in Genesis 2

It is also noteworthy that 'before every plant of the field was in the earth,' i.e. with finite verb, is translated as πᾶς πάντα τῆς γῆς ἐκ τῆς γῆς, lit. 'all plant of the field' before originating on the earth,' i.e. with a Greek infinitive ('change of accidence'). This transformation became necessary since the translator had interpreted the syntax as explained above. Had πᾶς or πᾶν ἐκ 'before' with a finite verb been used, the subject of the temporal clause would have been God (subject of the main clause preceding it), or else, to avoid this, the translator would have had to resort to more complex transformations. The twofold omission of the article before γῆς is due to Greek grammar. The semantic fields of Hebrew הָעָרָה and Greek γῆ correspond very well. Both can mean 'tilled land' and 'country' as opposed to towns.

Genesis 2:6

אַרְ続け נָחַל מִשְׁכְּבָהּ לְכָלַּת הָעָרָה, וַיַּעַל אַרְ続け מִן הָאָנָחָה לְכָלַּת הָאָרֶץ, וַיַּעַל אַרְ онлָה מִן הָאָנָחָה לְכָלַּת הָאָרֶץ, וַיַּעַל אַרְ онлָה מִן הָאָנָחָה לְכָלַּת הָאָרֶץ, וַיַּעַל אַרְ онлָה מִן הָאָנָחָה לְכָלַּת הָאָרֶץ, וַיַּעַל אַרְ онлָה מִן הָאָנָחָה LXX

And a well sprang up from the earth and watered the whole face of the earth.

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

Translation The translator permitted himself a minor change of word order, rendering אַרְ онлָה 'and a well' by פֶּרָשׁ 'but a well' (instead of כִּי פֶּרָשׁ 'and a well') in order to mark the contrast that stands out in the Hebrew text, between the 'rain' and the 'well', as most modern translations do.

My translation of מָשָׂא by 'stream' is tentative, as its meaning is disputed.51 We cannot say with certainty whether it is a transformation in the sense of this study.

The Greek verb ὑψάσθαι 'go up' is very frequent as a rendering of כי 'go up' in a variety of contexts. Both verbs can denote any form of upward movement, so the use of ὑψάσθαι for the springing up of a well seems a good possibility.52 By his literal translation the translator has preserved the exegetical difficulty of MT. Commentators have long wondered

48 The construction is then a casus pendens, not uncommon in Hebrew, meaning 'before all plant...'.
49 On the contrast between imperfect and aorist in LXX Greek, see further T.V. Evans, Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch, 1981.
50 Last, Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint and BDAG 888b give 'surface', with an eye to the Hebrew, but that meaning does not appear in LSJ and Moulton & Milligan, and rightly so. TLG finds the expression only five times in Philo’s writings, where he quotes Genesis 2:6 (!).
51 HALOT (English): ‘Genesis 2:6 the subterranean stream of fresh water, groundwater’ (?). Job 36:27 and cj. 30 the celestial stream (: alt. ‘must’, Arab. ‘yajad’).5 In Job 36:27 (translated in a different manner) מָשָׂא is rendered by χώρον ‘cloud’.
52 LSJ gives ‘rise (of rivers in flood)’, but no collocation with a well. In Numbers 21:17 where a well is addressed כי ‘go up’, the LXX interprets the imperative כי as a preposition ‘about’.
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at the coherence of vss 5-6. If the absence of rain explains the absence of bushes and herbage, what then is the function of the mentioned stream (or flood)?

The phrase τὸ πρόπώσων τῆς γῆς, 'the face of the earth' is novel (see Greek text). The Hebrew פנים 'face, surface' occurs here as a noun and not in semi-prepositional use, which probably induced the translators to render it with an independent Greek noun. But once πρόπώσων was introduced, it was increasingly employed as a translation of פנים, also in semi-prepositions.

GENESIS 2:7

καὶ ἐπλάσει θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον χῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐνέφυσεν εἰς τὸ πρόπώσων αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα ζωῆς καὶ ἐγένετο ο ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζώσαν
And God formed the human being dust from the earth and blew upon his face the breath of life, and the human being became a living soul.

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

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

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53 Two recent answers are the following: G.J. Wenham, Genesis 1-15 (Word Biblical Commentary), Waco 1987, 59: 'Without man to irrigate the land, the spring was useless'. H. Seebass, Genesis 1 (Urgeschichte), Neukirchen 1996, 106: 'Das Tränken des Ackers bewirkt freilich nicht Pflanzenwachstum, sondern lediglich die Formbarkeit des »Staubs vom Acker« (V 7).'

54 In a semipreposition: in Genesis 1:2 (παρὰ τῷ πάθει τῆς γῆς), 29 (παρὰ τῷ πάθει τῆς γῆς), 3:8 (παρὰ τῷ πάθει τῆς γῆς), 3:19 (παρὰ τῷ πάθει τῆς γῆς) etc.

55 E.g. 3:8 (παρὰ τῷ πάθει τῆς γῆς), 3:19 (παρὰ τῷ πάθει τῆς γῆς) etc.

56 LSJ 349b, 3; Harl, La Genèse, 75; Hilhorst, Sémantismes et latinismes, 74f.

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

58 Harl, La Genèse, 101.
59 Compare Lamentations 4:20 יָנָה נַגְּדָה → πνεύμα προσώπου ἡμῶν.
60 Genesis 1:2; 3:8; 6:3,17; 7:15; 8:1; 26:35; 41:38; 45:27.
61 THAT 1, 98-99; similarly TWAT V, 537f.; Harl, La Genèse 60-61.
63 LSJ 2027b. Cf. the discussion of ψυχή in Chadwick, Lexicographica Graeca, 311-320.
And the Lord God planted a park in Edem, to the east, and placed there the human being that he had formed.

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

Translation For κύριος ὁ θεὸς ‘the Lord God’ see the discussion of 2:4. Φυτεύω ‘to plant’ is a literal translation of Hebrew בָּשָׂת ‘to plant’, and normal in the Septuagint. In Greek the word is often used of trees, especially fruit trees, and ‘planting a park’ seems to be a logical extension of this use. The Hebrew γαῆν ‘garden’ covers the range of (at least) two Greek words: κήπος ‘vegetable and flower garden’ and παράδεισος ‘orchard, garden of palms and fruit trees’. In Ptolemaic Egypt many smaller παράδεισοι were effectively orchards, but the royal παράδεισοι were parks of enjoyment with all sorts of trees and animals. The specific παράδεισος was chosen because of the context in Genesis 2-3, where no vegetables, but trees and animals are mentioned. This is clearly an obligatory transformation. The Hebrew word גֵּדֶן ‘eden’ is preceded by the preposition ב ‘in’ which marks it as a place name, ‘Eden’. The translator transcribes it accordingly in 2:8, 10 and refrains from translating its meaning ‘enjoyment’, which he does later on.

The Greek verb ἐθέτο and its Hebrew counterpart בָּשָׂת have the same meaning, namely ‘to put, place’, and this pair serves as a stock equivalent throughout the Septuagint. But the sequel of this clause would have been more idiomatic Greek with εἰς αὐτόν instead of ἐκεί. Then it would have read καὶ ἐθέτο τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν αὐτῷ, ἐν γαῶν ‘and he placed the human being he had formed in it’. The present wording of LXX retains the number of words of the original.

64 LXX-Pentateuch also uses this collocation in Genesis 9:20; Deuteronomy 28:30,39.
65 Apart from Genesis 2-3, γε has been rendered 14x by κήπος, 9x by παράδεισος, and 1x by ἄγεως according to Hatch & Redpath. Later Hebrew refined its terminology by borrowing pardes ‘orchard’.
66 See for this differentiation Harl, La Genèse 101, Moulton & Milligan s.v. κήπος and παράδεισος.
67 For a discussion of παράδεισος and ‘orchard’ as its rendering, see Lee, Lexical Study, 53-56. I think that ‘park’ is a good rendering, provided we keep in mind that those parks contained many fruit trees, unlike European parks.
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GENESIS 2:9

And God caused to spring up further from the earth every tree, beautiful to the sight and good for eating, and the tree of life in the middle of the park, and the tree of knowing what is knowable of good and evil.

Greek text I agree with most commentators that ἔτι has to be taken here in its additive sense (LSJ: ἔτι ‘Of Degree’). We should translate it by ‘further’ (‘weiterhin’ in German).69 ἔτι cannot be rendered with ‘also’,70 and explanations based on this translation must be dismissed. The notion of ‘also’ would in Greek be expressed by καὶ, καί, οὖν etc.

The phrase ὑπόστασις ζωής ‘beautiful to the sight’ represents a Greek figure of style, paronomasia in Smyth’s terminology (§ 3040), though not an etymological one, as ὑπόστασις is related to ὑπό ‘period, time, hour’ whereas ὑπόστασις derives from ὑπάρχω ‘to see’.

俭worth here refers to the act of eating, in distinction to ἀποκρίτω ‘that which is eaten’.

Regarding the adjective γνωστός I agree with Harl and Rösel, who translate the Greek name of the second tree ‘[den] Baum zu wissen, was von Gut und Böse erkennbar ist’.72

Translation The Greek verb ἔξωπετέλλω ‘to cause to spring up from’ as rendering of γενέσθαι is not especially notable.

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

70 Contra J. Cook, The Exegesis of the Greek Genesis, 111f.
71 In LXX-Genesis, see e.g. 4:4; 19:35.
72 Rösel, Übersetzung als Vollendung, 63; Harl, La Genèse, 102; BDAG s.v. γνωστός.
73 Rösel, Übersetzung als Vollendung, 62f.
is related to the 'addition' in 2:3, 'the works that God began to do', as both 'additions' point to a second phase of God’s creation after the 7-day scheme. The adjective ἀριθμός, related to ἀρχή 'hour', means 'produced at the right season, ripe, beautiful'. It occurs 39 times in the LXX and renders a great variety of Hebrew words, often in connection to human, especially female, beauty, and sometimes in connection to products of nature. Its wide use speaks against my first impression that ἀριθμός was used deliberately in order to create a word-play. We are dealing with a change of word class, since strictly speaking Hebrew יִצְבָּא, literally 'desired, desirable', is a participle. A literal rendering with εὐθυμήσεις 'desired, desirable' is avoided here, because that would result in a strange collocation: ἐπιθυμηθεσίας εἰς ἔρωταν.

In the literal rendering of ἀριθμός ‘seeing, appearance’ the translator prefers a noun over a verbal rendering because of his adherence to the word classes of the original. It is interesting to see how the translator distinguishes between two meanings of ἀριθμός ‘seeing, appearance’, as required by Greek use: in Genesis 2:9 the tree is ἀριθμόν εἰς ἔρωταν ‘beautiful to the sight’ and in 26:7 Rebecca is called ἀριθμῷ τῇ ἄρτε ‘beautiful in appearance’.

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

In 2:17; 3:5, 22 the Septuagint gives a literal rendering of the Hebrew. It would have been perfectly possible to translate τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ γνωστοῦ καὶ τοῦ κωδικοῦ ‘the tree of knowing good and evil’ in 2:9 as well. Yet something was added to the translation of 2:9. Note that only the first occurrence of this phrase received a special treatment. I would propose that the rendering in 2:9 is meant as an interpretative aid to the remaining occurrences. In my opinion the translator wanted to make sure that ‘knowing good and evil’ was not interpreted as having practical experience with, i.e. being infected by good and evil, for that would have grave theological consequences in 3:22, but only ‘knowing what is knowable’
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able of good and evil’. The same issue is addressed by Targum Onkelos with its rendering in 2:9 ‘and the tree the eaters of whose fruits will wisely discern between good and evil.’

GENESIS 2:10

A river goes out from Edem to water the park; from there it is separated into four beginnings.

And a river went out from Eden to water the garden, and from there it is separated and becomes four heads.

Greek text Δι’ functions to introduce an explanatory clause here, but a more elaborate one than the side remarks of 1:2 and 2:6. Vss 10-14 thus become a kind of excursus with its own subdivisions.

The present tense is used in its normal function, i.e. to indicate a continuous state in the present time. It is no historical present, as this is usually limited to ‘lively and dramatic narration’ (Smyth § 1883; BDR § 321).

Translation The translator uses a present tense, ἐκπορεύεται ‘goes out’, to render the Hebrew סנ. The fact that the Greek present often renders a Hebrew participle suggests that the translator interpreted the consonants like the Masoretes did, as the participle סנ ‘going out’. The verb ἐκπορεύεται ‘go out’ figures frequently as rendering of Hebrew סנ and deserves no special consideration.

The final clause of 2:10 contains some interesting details. First it is notable that in rendering Hebrew sábado ‘and from there’ the translator omitted καί ‘and’. He did this because the Hebrew text is not so clear as it seems to be at first sight. Does ἐκεῖθεν ‘from there’ refer back to Edem or to the park? In the former case the text says that a river flowed from Edem, branched into four rivers and the delta watered the garden. In the latter case the river first watered the garden and branched into four rivers outside the garden. Most exegetes choose the second option and so does our translator. It seems that by omitting the conjunction he wanted to make sure that ἐκεῖθεν ‘from there’ refers unambiguously to ‘the park’, implying that only outside the park the original river divided itself. Similar solutions to the ambiguity in the Masoretic text can be found in modern translations.

A second notable feature is the verb ἀφορίζεται ‘mark off, separate’. But why is a river separated? Some Greek copyists apparently wondered at it, replacing it by γίνεται ‘be-

78 LSJ s.v. δι’ sub II.2.a; compare BDR § 447.1 ‘zur Einführung von Parenthesen’.
79 T.V. Evans, Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch, 119ff.
80 NIV ‘A river watering the garden flowed from Eden; from there it was separated into four headwaters.’ GN: ‘In Eden entspringt ein Strom. Er bewässert den Garten und teilt sich dann in vier Ströme.’
81 See the translation of Harl, ‘de là, il se sépare en quatre bras.’ The sense of ἀφορίζεται which Brenton (‘thence it divides itself into...’) and Rösel, Übersetzung als Vollendung, 56 suppose is not attested elsewhere, to the best of my knowledge.
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comes’. Another idiomatic alternative could have been "from there [the river] is divided". To understand this we have to make a small digression into the Hebrew text of verse 10b: ‘and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads.’ Its literal meaning is rendered by KJV: ‘and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads.’ From a grammatical point of view, I would like to stress that for יָרֵד its normal meaning ‘sich trennen von’ should be retained in Genesis 2:10. The Hebrew verb does not say that the river divides itself, but that it parts from the garden.

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

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

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

GENESIS 2:11

The text speaks of the name ‘of the one [river]’, γένεσις αὐτής, and not ‘the first [river]’, γένεσις αὐτοῦ, which would have been idiomatic. Some scholars

82 See from the examples in LSJ 1746a, Herodotus 2.17 ὁ Νίλος σχίστηκε τρισίσεως δύο οὖσα ‘the Nile branches into three channels.’
83 Joüon-Muraoka, Grammar of Biblical Hebrew, § 166b. It is debated whether this construction refers to past or present in this verse. Compare e.g. NIV with NRSV. This question can be left aside for the present discussion.
84 HAL 906a, sub 2. It is not logical to assume a different meaning for exactly the same construction, ‘sich teilen’, in Genesis 2:4 (HAL). Of course this is an idiomatic German rendering, but it is not literally what the Hebrew verb means.
85 Harl, La Genèse, 103. The sense ‘branch of a river’ is according to LSJ limited to Genesis 2:10 and remains doubtful.
86 LSJ 491b, l.4. I thank Mr. Ilja Anthonissen, Almaty, for this suggestion.

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consider this a Hebraism, whereas others point to parallels in Koine outside the Septuagint and the New Testament.\textsuperscript{87}

In 2:11-14 the copula ἐστὶν ‘is’ is lacking three times in the phrase ἰδοὺ τῷ ... ‘the name of... [is]...’. According to Greek grammars, ἐστὶν as copula can be omitted, though in a restricted number of cases, which does not include the present one (Smyth § 944; BDR § 127). Besides, in relative clauses introducing proper names the copula is usually lacking. So the third singular imperfect ἦν ‘was’ is usually lacking in the phrase ἰδοὺ ὁ ὄνομα ‘whose name [was]...’ (BDR § 128). An example of this can be found in Luke 1:26, ‘... the angel Gabriel was sent from God to a city in Galilee called Nazareth’ [ἵδη ὁ ὄνομα Ναζαρῆς]. The missing copula could be ἦν or ἐστὶν. Now, as the wording of the phrase under discussion in 2:11-14 neither falls under the restricted categories in which ἐστὶν is usually lacking, nor can be a relative clause, it seems that the verbless clauses that introduce the names of the rivers are not the most natural ones.

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


In this example we also come across a minor transformation, namely a change of word order and syntax: ἦν ‘there’ is removed from the subordinate clause and placed before the relative, the reverse of the Hebrew. This is a transformation by which the translator is able to adhere to the number of words of the Hebrew (he avoids ἦν ὁ ὄνομα τὸ χρυσὸν) while at the same time avoiding a Hebraism (*ὁ ὄνομα τὸ χρυσὸν ἦν), an interesting illustration of the ‘minimax strategy’. It is strange though, that later he seems to tolerate this type of Hebraism.\textsuperscript{89}

For the addition of the article in πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν: Εἰς λάβῃ ‘the whole land of Ewilat’, see 2:1.

GENESIS 2:12

τὸ δὲ χρυσὸν τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης καλῶν, καὶ ἦν ὁ ὄνομα τὸ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ὁ λίθος ὁ πρόσωπος - the gold of that land [is] good - and there is the carbuncle and the leek-coloured stone.

\textsuperscript{87} BDR § 247.1 n.3: “Den Hebraismus hat schon Josephus gefühlt: Ant. I 1.1 (I 29) αἰτία μὲν ἐν εἰς τῇ ἐκείνη ἡμᾶς. BDAG 293a, sub 4, considers it possible in Greek.


\textsuperscript{89} Genesis 13:4; 20:13; 31:13 etc.
Greek text Within the excursus of vss 10-14 there is a side remark about the gold of Ewilat, introduced by καί (see 2:10). Καί καί is written in full, i.e. without crasis (σαφῶς). 'Crasis is quite rare in LXX, and practically confined to some stereotyped combinations with καί.'\footnote{H.S.J. Thackeray, A Grammar of the OT in Greek, § 9.11. According to BDR § 18 its occurrence in the papyri and the New Testament is rather limited. For Classical Greek, see Smyth § 68.} Frequent use of crasis betrays the ease of a native speaker and it is therefore not surprising that crasis became less abundant with the spread of Koine Greek as a lingua franca. With respect to translation, I would suggest that the use of crasis can be indicative of the degree of literalism. Literal translators tend to adhere to the number of words of the original and will not reduce two words to one, whereas translators who aim for idiomatic Greek will follow natural usage, just like original writers.\footnote{The spread of σαφῶς could be illustrative for this: Leviticus 7:16; Wisdom 4:4; 9:6; 14:4; 15:12; Sirach 3:13; 9:13, 13:23; 14:7; 16:11; 23:11; 33:29; 4 Maccabees 2:8,9; 10:18; 18:14.}

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

καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐστὶν ὁ ἄδραχ 'there [is] the bedeloch' and there is the carbuncle'

A minor transformation is the ‘addition’ of καί ‘and’ in 12b (underlined in the above example). It probably serves to indicate more smoothly that the precious stones are added to the gold as the natural riches of Ewilat.

The Hebrew ἄδραχ bedeloch is usually interpreted as bdellium by modern scholars, and ἀράχ as carnelian.\footnote{See HAL 106b.} The Septuagint renders these with ἄνθροπος ‘carbuncle’ and ὁ λίθος ὁ πράσινος ‘the green stone’ respectively, probably emerald (change of word class). The often confusing rendering of gems and minerals in the LXX and its revisions could be the subject of a study in itself,\footnote{See the elaborate survey of the problems as early as the 1920s by E. Levesque, Pierre précieuse, in: F. Vigouroux (ed.), Dictionnaire de la Bible, Paris 1922.} and will not concern us here.
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Translation The translation of this verse is patterned after that of the preceding ones. The rendering of כְּשׁ ‘Kush’ with Ἀἰθίοπια ‘Ethiopia’ is a literal translation of the same kind as Τήρις for לַחֲדֶק "Hiddekel" (2:13).

Genesis 2:14

καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ τρίτος Τήρις οὗτος ὁ πορεύμας κατέναντι Ἀσσυρίων. Ὁ δὲ ποταμὸς ὁ τέταρτος οὗτος Ἐφραῖτις.

And the third river is Tigris; this is the one going opposite the Assyrians. And the fourth river, this is Euphrates.

And the name of the third river is Hiddekel; it goes to the east of Asshur. And the fourth river is Perat.

Greek text The Greek verb πορεύομαι ‘to be driven or carried, to go’ is used in collocation with a river, a collocation not attested elsewhere. But πορεύομαι has such a generic meaning that it cannot be termed impossible.

Before names of nations the article may be omitted (thus not *κατέναντι τῶν Ἀσσυρίων) according to Smyth § 1138; BDR § 262. Compare βασιλείας Ἡρωδοτός (LSJ 309).

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

καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ τρίτος Τήρις ‘and the name of the third river is Hiddekel’

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

In fact the Hebrew does the same, but with different results. ‘The name of the third river,’ it says, ‘is Hiddekel,’ but about the Euphrates, a river so familiar that it was sometimes even

94 Similarly Rösel, Übersetzung als Vollendung, 66.
95 Rösel, Übersetzung als Vollendung, 66f.
96 Rösel, Übersetzung als Vollendung, 66.
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called 'the river' by Israelites, the writer could not say 'the name of the fourth river is Perat (Euphrates).' So he wrote 'the name of the fourth river is Perat.'

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

The Greek verb τοπεράομαι 'to go' is practically identical in meaning with its counterpart and occurs as its rendering in many places, which make up 15 columns in Hatch & Redpath. The translator preferred a standard 'equivalent' over a contextual rendering like ἐλύτω 'no flow'. He also adhered to the word classes of the Hebrew, rendering a participle with a participle, although it would have been more idiomatic to say ᾧ οὗτος τοπεράομαι... ‘This [river] goes...’ which would have saved him an unnatural nominal clause as well.

The Hebrew text states that the Tigris runs ὀπέτας ἀπὸ ἀνατολής Ασσυρίας, using the name of the country. We would then expect ἀντίθετη Ἀσσυρία 'opposite Assyria'. In Greek the people are mentioned: the river runs ἀντίθετα Ἀσσυρίων 'oppose the Assyrians'. From a concordance we learn that Ἀσσυρίων occurs only in 4 Maccabees 13:9, and further that LXX practically always speaks of 'Assyrians' in case of Hebrew Asshur, in literal and free translations alike. I think, therefore, that this is a question of idiom rather than a historical reference, and hence we should count it as an obligatory modification.

The designation of geographical items is not always logical, like many things in languages. A similar mechanism is found in Dutch. It commonly speaks of 'de Britten' (the British) and 'Brits' (British), but never refers to 'Britannië', while 'Groot-Brittannië' occurs only in formal speech. The closing part of vs 14 again illustrates the translator’s desire to adhere to the word classes of the original. The Hebrew offers a ‘tripartite nominal clause’ with a pronoun serving as a copula, i.e. a clause of the type יהוה הוא הגר 'the Lord is God' (lit. 'Yhwh-he-God'). Now the omission of a copula is in itself not unknown in Greek, but putting a pronoun instead of a copula in a sentence with an explicit subject is really a hard Hebraism. I have not been able to trace it in any Greek grammar or lexicon, not even of the New Testament. It seems that the translator felt that he had gone too far, for after 2:19

97 BDB 625b.
98 See also, with a context of water, Joshua 4:18; 3 Kingdoms (MT 1 Kings) 18:35; Isaiah 8:6; Psalm 104 (MT 105):41. Hebrew שים is rendered by ἐλύτω in Joel 4:18
100 E.g. 3 Kingdoms (MT 2 Kings) 15:19 ἄνευ ἀριθμοῦ 'without number' in Isaiah 7:17 ἀριθμὸς Ἀσσυρίων 'Assyria's number'.
101 According to Rosel, Übersetzung als Vollendung, 66 the translation possibly illustrates that the city of Assyur was no longer in existence.
102 Joann-Muraoka, Grammar of Biblical Hebrew § 154: 'The nominal clause of the standard type is a clause with two members: subject and predicate. In Hebrew, as in other Semitic languages, it may become a three-member clause with the addition of a third constituent which can be I) the pronoun of the third person; II) the adverbs of existence ו and מ; III) the verb יָanan.'
103 I. Soisalon-Soininen does not discuss such cases in „Die Wiedergabe des hebräischen Personalpronomens als Subjekt im griechischen Pentateuch“ in: idem, Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax. He rightly explains that the translator tolerated this kind of Hebraism because the alternative, the addition of words for the purpose of natural Greek, was abhorrent to him.

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

GENESIS 2:15

καὶ ἔθαρσεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἀνθρώπον, ὅν ἔταξεν, καὶ ἔθεσεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ θερμαίῳ, ἔργασθαί αὐτὸν καὶ φυλάσσεταιν.

And the Lord God took the human being that he had formed and placed him in the park to guard it.

Greek text φυλάσσω without object means ‘to keep guard’ (LSJ 1961a).

Translation Concerning the addition of ὃν ἔταξεν ‘[the man] which he had formed’, I agree with Rösel that it harks back to vss 7-8. It should thus be regarded as an anaphorical translation. But I do not believe that the addition was intentional. First, the addition is not really clarifying, as it is clear enough that the narrative takes up the thread of the man that had been created in 2:7-8. Second, the adherence to the word classes of the Hebrew in the preceding verse with its un-Greek results is difficult to reconcile with an intentional addition of a relative clause in 2:15. These represent two different translation strategies. It is more likely that the addition took place unintentionally: since the wording in 2:7-8 and 2:15 is very similar (παραδίπτειν, τίθημι, ἔθραπο, κύριος ὁ θεός) and since the verb ἔθαρσεν ‘took’ suggests a manual action, it is plausible to assume that the phrase ὃν ἔταξεν ‘which he had formed’ was also brought to the translator’s mind.

The translation of Hebrew יתיר ‘to put down’ with the slightly more generic τίθημι ‘to put, place’ is not remarkable, as there were not many alternatives at hand. More telling is the translation of יִתְרוּ ‘garden of’ eden’. From modern Bible translations we know Eden as the name of the garden, but in Hebrew ‘eden’ is a noun meaning ‘enjoyment, delicacy’. In 2:8 he LXX-translator took ‘eden’ as a place name because of the locative preposition ‘a garden in’ eden’ (similarly in 2:10). In Genesis 3:23f. he offered no transcription, but translated the meaning of’ eden’, which fits well into the context. The idea that man is banned from enjoyment underlines the punishment: καὶ ἐξεπέστησεν αὐτὸν κύριος ὁ θεός ἐκ τοῦ θερμαίου τῆς τροφῆς, and the Lord God sent him out of the park of luxury.

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104 See e.g. in nominal clauses with ἔστιν as a copula, Genesis 2:14,19; 9:18; 17:12; 30:33; 31:16; 41:25,26; 42:6,14; 43:12,32; 45:20; 47:6, with ἔστιν as a copula Genesis 25:16; 34:21,23; 40:12,18. In 27:33 the translator omits the copula ἔστιν in a question (BDR § 127.3).

105 Rösel, Ubersetzung als Vollendung, 67; similarly Harl, La Genèse, 103.

106 Alternatives that Muraoka’s Index lists under יִתְרוּ do not fit this context.

107 Similarly Genesis 3:24. We also find the translated meaning in Ezekiel 36:35; Joel 2:3.

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In 2:15 the translator rendered ג–י ‘garden of ‘eden’ with mere פָּרָק, ‘park’, thus omitting the notion of ‘eden. Why? A literal translation would have read:


and He placed him in the garden of luxury to till it and to keep guard.

The term מַלְוָא ‘luxury’ in the translator’s time functioned as the concept par excellence denoting the sumptuous court life and the immense wealth of the Ptolemies. From Ptolemy III Euergetes onwards (246 BC) they adopted the official epithet of מַלָּוי ‘the Luxurious’, which became a popular a proper name. This sheds light on the translator’s problem in Genesis 2:15: the labour of a farmer and a guard are surely the opposites of luxury! To put it in a more scholarly way, a literal translation would have resulted in a semantic clash with the rest of the sentence, at least for the translator and his readership.

It is remarkable that מָלַלְשָׁן ‘to till it and to guard it’ is rendered with מַלֶּשֶׁת מָלְשָׁן ‘to till it and to keep guard,’ i.e. with omission of the second pronoun. This issue is somewhat more complicated than it appears, for the interpretation hangs on the vocalization of the unpointed consonant text. MT has מַלְשָׁן ‘to till it and to guard it’, with feminine singular object suffixes. But this is strange, because the antecedent of the suffixes, מ–י ‘garden’, is masculine. It has long been suggested to make the suffixes masculine by reading מַלָּוי מַלֶּשֶׁת מַלָּוי ‘to work and to keep guard’, whereby the מ is not a suffix, but an ending of the infinitive construct. I think the translator read his text along the latter vocalization. Then the transformation is not the omission of an object pronoun behind מַלֶּשֶׁת מָלְשָׁן ‘to guard’, but the addition of מ–י מָלַלְשָׁן ‘to work’. This addition was probably prompted by the wide range of meanings of מַלֶּשֶׁת מָלְשָׁן: ‘to work (intransitive); to work at, produce, bring about, to till, to earn (transitive); to be made or built (passive sense, rare). A literal translation would run מַלֶּשֶׁת מָלַלְשָׁן מַלֶּשֶׁת מָלְשָׁן ‘[God placed the man in the park] to work and to keep guard’. Now this gives a semantically awkward overlap, since keeping guard is a type of work. The pronoun מ–י ‘it’ is added behind מַלֶּשֶׁת מָלְשָׁן ‘to work’ to make sure that man receives two tasks: working the park and keeping guard. Of course the translator could have added מ–י ‘it’ behind מָלַלְשָׁן ‘to guard’ as well (as later copyists did), but he restricted his transformations to the necessary minimum. I think the explanation offered here is more probable than assuming that a second מ–י was part of the (lost) first Septuagint manuscript and was subsequently omitted in a very early stage of the transmission of the Greek text.


107 Rosel’s view, Übersetzung als Vollendung, 67, that the translator probably omitted ‘eden as superfluous, is not convincing. Such deletions do not fit into the style of translating.

110 Hendel, The Text of Genesis 1-11, 44.

111 Joüon-Muraoka, Grammar of Biblical Hebrew, § 49d. This occurs mostly with stative verbs (but Genesis 1:29, 30 מָלאָ can be viewed as inf. cs.). At stake here is merely the possibility of this vocalization in the eyes of the translator.
Transformations in Genesis 2

GENESIS 2:16

And the Lord God commanded Adam saying: From every tree in the garden you (sg.) may by eating eat.

And the Lord God commanded the human being, saying: From every tree in the garden you may freely eat.

Greek text The pleonastic use of λέγων 'saying' after a verb of saying, e.g. ἔφη λέγων 'he spoke, saying', has its parallels already in Classical Greek (LSJ 1034, sub III,7). Its widespread use in the LXX, however, is a stylistic Hebraism (BDR § 420).

The finite verb forms φέγγοι and φέγγοςκε are the Koine indicative future of ἔφηγον, which functions as aorist of εἰπόν 'to eat' (LSJ 1911a). In this stage of the language, the future tense could be used for expressing strict commandments and prohibitions (BDR § 20.2).

A queer pleonasm is found in ἐπί τοῦ τροφῆς, lit. 'by eating you shall eat'. Not surprisingly, copyists sometimes normalized it by omitting ἐπί τοῦ. The dative ἐπί τοῦ as it stands cannot be viewed as the object of ἔφηγον because ἔφη𝛾ον is normally construed with accusative or genitive, and must therefore be seen as a dative of instrument (Smyth § 1505ff.; BDR § 195).

The verb form ἔφη𝛾ον is not construed with partitive genitive, as had been the rule in Classical Greek. In Koine, the partitive genitive had receded in favour of circumlocutions with ἐκ and ἀπο (BDR § 164), just as is the case here.113

Translation It seems that ἐντὸλαμαί 'to enjoin, command' has been chosen because it suggests a benevolent authority whereas compounds of τόνωσι express strict orders.114 ἐντὸλῆς fills five columns in the concordance as a rendering of παρὰ τινί 'to command', just as ἐντὸλη figures frequently as translation of παρα, both meaning 'command(ment)'.

The Hebrew 'adam 'human being' is here for the first time taken as a proper name, Adam, by the translator, although the definite article in Hebrew makes this interpretation improbable. It is sometimes said that only from Genesis 4:25; 5:1a onwards Adam appears clearly as a proper name. But we have to acknowledge that MT evidence is more complicated than that, witness the conjectural readings that HAL needs to uphold this distinction.115 Here the LXX translator chose for a proper name, probably because the God deals with the narrative character as an individual in 2:16, 19ff. In 2:18 the Hebrew term figures in a universal truth, which justifies a rendering like 'it is not good for the human being to be alone.'

112 The translation in Harl, La Genèse, 102,104: ‘...tu prendras ta nourriture’ (likewise Rösel, Übersetzung als Vollendung, 56) is a normalization and Brenton’s rendering ‘... thou mayest freely eat’ looks more like a translation of the Hebrew text.


114 Harl, La Genèse, 54, 103; Rösel, Übersetzung als Vollendung, 67.

A minor specification (of place) shows up in the translation of יִנְיָן יָדֶים 'from every tree of the garden', which is rendered as ἀπὸ καρπῶν ξύλων τοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ 'from every tree in the park'. The Hebrew construct state can express a variety of relationships between two nouns. In Greek it is often possible to render these with a genitive, sometimes it is not, e.g. in 2:11, 13 where δοῦμα requires an obligatory dative. In 3:1 we find the same transformation as in 2:16 ('trees in the park'), joined by a similar specification, ἡ θήσει τῆς θανάτου 'the animals of the field' → τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ 'the animals on earth'. In 3:2, however, the translator does not use τοὺς but renders the construction literally, i.e. with a genitive (likewise in 3:8):

ἀπὸ καρπῶν ξύλων τοῦ παραδείσου φαγὸμεν
From the fruit of the tree(s) of the park we may eat...

It is notable that in 3:2, 8 ξύλων is used in its collective sense 'trees'. So the translator distinguishes between 'every single tree in the park' and 'the trees of the park'. This fine distinction is probably made for stylistic reasons.

The rationale behind the pleonasm ἔφεσθε, lit. '[from every tree...] by eating you shall eat', is the translator’s desire to give each Hebrew word a Greek counterpart, in spite of the fact that this one-by-one strategy is not really enlightening from a semantic point of view: the pleonasm does not make the text any clearer. Besides, the translator took a change of word class (infinitive absolute → noun) for granted. This tells something about his hierarchy of translation principles. It is interesting that the pleonasm ἔφεσθε uses two different Greek roots. This is probably done because the translator prefers the participle of the present tense in such constructions. The fact that the present participle of ἔφεσθε does not exist forces him to employ a synonymous root. Out of the two possibilities ἔφεσθε and ἐφησὲ he chose the former, because he had already used it to render лишь earlier in Genesis (1:29; 2:9).

GENESIS 2:17

ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ γνῶνον καὶ τοῦ διαφημιμένου, ὥσπερ ἔφεσθε ἐπ’ αὐτῶν· ὅτι δὲ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἔφεσθε ἐπ’ αὐτῶν, ἵνα πάντες ἀποκαθιστήσωμεν.

but from the tree of knowing good and evil, you (pl.) shall not eat it, but on the day that you (pl.) will eat of it, you (pl.) will die by death.

But the Hebrew is מֵעָלֶה יָדָנים קָרָאתִי מֵעָלֶה יָדָנים מֵעָלֶה יָדָנים מֵעָלֶה יָדָנים מֵעָלֶה יָדָנים מֵעָלֶה יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָנים יָדָן

but from the tree of knowing good and evil you shall not eat, because the day that you eat from it, you will certainly die.

117 Compare further 3:8, 22, 24.
118 Tov, Renderings of Combinations of the Infinitive Absolute and Finite Verbs, 68. See also R. Sollamo, LXX Renderings of the Infinitive Absolute, 101-114.

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Transformations in Genesis 2

Greek text The negation in οὐ φάγας... 'you shall not eat' (instead of μὴ) is used because it is linked to an indicative tense, viz. the prohibitive future tense (BDR § 427).

The phrase ἐὰν ἦδηρες... is an idiomatic abbreviation of ἐὰν ἦδηρες ὅτι φάγας. It is an 'incorporation of the antecedent in a relative clause' (Smyth § 2536ff.; BDR § 294.5). In a temporal clause referring to the future, subjunctive with ἐὰν is used (Smyth § 2399ff.).

It is debated whether the pleonastic use of the pronoun in ἐκ τοῦ δέντρου... οὐ φάγας ἀν' ἐὰν ἦδηρε... 'from the tree... you shall not eat of it' should be considered a Hebraism. In some recent publications Sollamo demonstrated its (scarce) occurrence in Koine. She concludes: 'From the figures presented above we see that one book of the Greek Pentateuch offers more instances than all the Koné texts (outside the Bible) over a period of six hundred years'. So the frequency of this construction is Hebraistic.

Translation The three verbs in this verse, which are grammatically plural, are singular in the Hebrew text (change of accidence: number). But why is a single individual addressed as if he were a couple? This transformation is the consequence of the seemingly innocent interpretation of ἰδίαις 'the human being' as a proper name, Adam. Had the translator adhered to ἰδίαις 'the human being', it would have been clear that future human beings, among them women, were included in the prohibition and thus held responsible for the sin in chapter 3, and the change of number would have been unnecessary. But since in Genesis 3 a woman is involved, she has to be included here. The change of number is thus a result of the translator’s earlier decisions in the light of the text as a whole. The plural address is limited to 2:17. In the preceding verse, 2:16, the translator maintains the verb in singular, probably because it immediately follows the proper name Adam, also singular.

The translator renders κι different from many modern versions. This conjunction, introducing a postpositive subordinate clause, can mean ‘for’ or ‘but’. Now the text reads ‘you shall not eat from it, κι the day that you eat from it, you will die.’ Modern versions usually give it a causal sense, whereby the resulting causal clause expresses a threat: ‘but you must not eat from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, for when you eat of it you will surely die’ (NIV). The Septuagint translator interpreted κι as ‘but’, thus expressing an alternative: ‘you shall not eat of it, but on the day that you will eat of it, you will die by death.’

The addition of κι is obligatory (see Greek text).

Regarding the paronomastic construction γινεῖται πώς ‘you will certainly die’ (lit. ‘die die’), the translator renders it quite literally, ἀπεθανείτω ζῷων 'you will die by death,' i.e. with a noun and a finite verb from the same root. An even more literal rendering would have been ἀπεθανείτω ζῷων 'dying you will die', with participle and finite verb. One could argue that the translator interpreted γινεῖται as a noun, ‘death’, but this seems improbable. It is more likely that a participial rendering was susceptible of misunderstanding.

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119 Sollamo, The Pleonastic Use of the Pronoun, 77f. BDR § 297 calls it a ‘Nachlässigkeit.’
120 BDB 473b, 474a.
121 This rendering preponderates in ‘literally’ translated LXX-books, the other (with noun) in more ‘freely’ translated books; see Sollamo, LXX Renderings of the Infinitive Absolute, 110. Cf. 2:16.
122 From other passages it becomes clear that Greek translators did recognize the infinitive absolute of the ‘hollow roots’ in such constructions: Leviticus 14:48; Jeremiah 6:15 etc. 
and a noun was preferred. But why with dative? The normal Greek expression is θάνατον (acc.) ἐπικτήριῳ (lit. ‘to die death’). I think the translator simply adhered to his mode of rendering this construction in the preceding verse (ἵππος ἐπετίθη). Another explanation is provided by Sollamo, who suggests that θάνατος means here ‘death-sentence’. And indeed, when legal texts state that someone should ‘be put to death’ or simply should ‘die’, the Greek translation always has the dative θανατί ‘by death’ for the Hebrew infinitive absolute.

And the Lord God said: It is not good that the human being is alone. Let me make a help as opposite to him.

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

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

καὶ εἶπεν κύριος ὁ θεός οὗ καλῶν εἶναι τὸν ἀνθρώπον μόνον τοιχομένην αὐτῷ βοήθην κατ’ αὐτόν.

And the Lord God said not good the being of human being alone; let us make for him a help corresponding to him.

καὶ εἶπεν κύριος ὁ θεός οὗ καλῶν εἶναι τὸν ἀνθρώπον μόνον.

And the Lord God said: “Not good [is] the being of the human-being alone.”

καὶ εἶπεν κύριος ὁ θεός οὗ καλῶν εἶναι τὸν ἀνθρώπον μόνον.

And the Lord God said not good to be the human-being alone.

123 θανατί: ‘dying you will die’ could be interpreted either as death by torture or as the opposite, mercy killing; see Sollamo, LXX Renderings of the Infinitive Absolute, 108.
126 Mayser, Grammatik der griechischen Papyri, II/1, 42; Schwyzer, Griechische Grammatik, II, 243f.
Transformations in Genesis 2

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

"και εἶπεν κῦρος ὁ θεὸς· οὐ καλῶν ἔστων ὑπί ο ἄνθρωπος ἐστὶ μάνος.
And the Lord God said: "It is not good that man is alone.”

But this would have meant the addition of one or two words and a different word order. We do find such a transformation later on, in Genesis 30:15.
The Greek ἄνθρωπος καί ἄνδρον ‘a help corresponding to him’ is a literal rendering of יְהוָה יַעַבֵּד יְהוָה תַּעֲבֹד יַעֲבֹד ‘a help as over against him’ (=suiting to him). The semi-preposition יָעַבֵּד is attested only here and in 2:20. There the same expression has been rendered as בּוּרָה דְיָוְו מַעֲבֹד ‘a help like to himself’. A good explanation of this difference is offered by Rösel: ‘Die Abweichung zwischen V. 18 und 20 läßt sich m.E. als Erklärung verstehen, weshalb die Tiere nicht als Hilfe des Menschen ausreichen: Sie sind dem Adam nicht ähnlich.’ Indeed, among the animals a help ‘suited to man’ could surely be found (e.g. domesticales animals), but not ‘similar to him’, so in 2:20 a more specific translation of the Hebrew preposition was desirable. Possibly the rabbinic principle of sense-adding repetition (בּוּרָה, יָעַבֵּד, cf. Proverbs 6:14) plays a role too.

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

GENESIS 2:19

καὶ ἔκλεμεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι ἐκ τῆς γῆς πάντες τὰ θηρία τὸν ἄγρα καὶ πάντες τὰ πτερνατά τὸν οἰκωνόμον καὶ πάντες τὰ πτέρνα τὸν ὄδος ἤδην τὶ καλῶν αὐτός, καὶ πῶς ὁ θεὸς ἄνθρωπον αὐτό ἀνάμειζεν ζώοις, τοῦτο δομάκειν αὐτό.

129 Rösel, Übersetzung als Vollendung, 69.
130 Harl, La Genèse, 105; Rösel, Übersetzung als Vollendung, 68 is more cautious.
And God formed further from the earth all animals of the field and all birds of the sky, and led them to Adam to see how he would call them; and all whatsoever Adam called it a living soul, that became his name.

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

Greek text In Koine the future is καλέσα (3rd person καλέσα) instead of Attic καλέω (BDR § 74.1). Καλέσα can be construed with a double accusative, as in Genesis 1:5 (Smyth § 1613). Πάντα ‘all’ is pleonastic, as the distributive sense is already sufficiently expressed by ὅλα. With Wevers’ latest proposal\textsuperscript{131} we read άνθρωπον instead of the ἄνθρωπον of his Genesis-edition. The closing part of the verse (beginning with και ἔργον) has little grammatical connection with the preceding part. The pronoun αὐτὸς is used pleonastically (see 2:17) and has no antecedent of the same gender and number. The latter holds true for αὐτῷ as well.

Translation For the ‘addition’ of κατὰ ‘further’, see 2:9. It is interesting that one textual witness, the Samaritan Pentateuch, reads ὀπίσω ‘further’ in 2:19, but it is very difficult to prove that the LXX-translator found this reading in his original. The reading of the Samaritan Pentateuch and the ‘addition’ of the Septuagint may have originated independent of each other.\textsuperscript{132}

Three times we find in this verse a change of accidence (number), where grammatically singular nouns denoting collectives are obligatorily rendered with Greek plural nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ἄνθρωπον</td>
<td>‘human being’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>καλέσα</td>
<td>‘animals’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἄγριον</td>
<td>‘birds’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>αὐτός</td>
<td>‘them’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Περὶ τῶν ‘birds’ is the most common rendering of που in the Septuagint. The alternative ὄρνες ‘bird’ is not used, probably because it had come to mean ‘cock’.\textsuperscript{133}

The Hebrew text lacks an object behind ἔθην ‘and [God] led’. An object is obligatory in Greek and has to be supplied: κατὰ ἔργον αὐτός τοῖς δέχεται ‘and [God] led them’ [i.e. the animals] to Adam’ (addition).

The last part of the verse is difficult in Greek. This is not only caused by the translator’s close adherence to the phrasing of his original, but also to difficulties in the Hebrew text. The first problem is the verbal form ἔργον. It is vocalized and interpreted in two different ways, both of them attested in modern versions as well.\textsuperscript{134}

‘and however the human being would call the living soul, that [would be] its name,’

i.e. God’s intention is formulated (like REB, NJPS);

\textsuperscript{131} Wevers, Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis, 32.
\textsuperscript{132} See Rösel, Übersetzung als Vollendung, 69.
\textsuperscript{133} See LSJ and BDAG 724a.
\textsuperscript{134} For grammatical details see W.H. Gispen, Genesis I (Commentaar op het Oude Testament), Kampen 1974, 125f.
Transformations in Genesis 2

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

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

... and however the human being called it a living soul, that [became] his/its name.

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

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

This rendering makes ‘a living soul’ the object. The problem is that ‘a living soul’, like its Greek counterpart ψυχή ζώον, is feminine, whereas the pronoun and the possessive suffix are masculine, so that the above rendering is in fact ungrammatical.

The French TOB has tried to solve this problem in an ingenious and untraditional way by interpreting ‘a living soul’ as the name the animals receive. The masculine elements now refer to the (masculine) classes of animal mentioned before:

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

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

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

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

GENESIS 2:20

Καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Ἀδὰμ ἄνωμα τῶν τῶν κτήσεως καὶ πᾶσι τῶς πτερύγων τοῦ αὐραίον καὶ πᾶσι τῶς θηρίων τοῦ ἀγροῦ, τῷ δὲ Ἀδὰμ οὐχ εἰφέσθη βοηθή δίκαιος αὐτῷ.

And Adam gave names to all cattle and to all birds of the sky and to all animals of the field, but for Adam was not found a help similar to him.

135 This procedure has been described in Barr, Literalism, 290ff., ‘If a text is really difficult and obscure to the translator, he may (...) decide to give a precise impression in Greek of the detailed form of the Hebrew, leaving it to his readers to work out, if they can, what the general purport of this may be.’
And the human being gave names to all cattle and to all birds of the sky and to all animals of the field, but for the human being he did not find a help as opposite to him.

Greek text Like in 1:25, κτήσεως appears in its specific sense of ‘cattle’.

Translation Like in 1:19, a Hebrew singular designation of a class of animals, לָעָדָה לְיִשָּׂרָאֵל ‘cattle’ is rendered by a plural κτήσεως. It is an obligatory change of accidence (number).

In the Hebrew text the first man gives names to all cattle, all wild animals and to the birds. One should expect לָעָדָה לְיִשָּׂרָאֵל לְשֵׁם כֹּלָה ‘to all birds’, for this is clearly what is meant, while the threefold repetition of כֹּל ‘all’ seems stylistically superior. It is therefore not surprising that the latter reading is found in some late Hebrew manuscripts. Likewise the Septuagint, as well as Aramaic, Syriac and Latin translations, give equivalents of ‘all birds’. The oldest Hebrew manuscripts, however, attest to the shorter reading. The question which reading the translators had before them is complicated. Since the fuller reading suggests itself so strongly from a semantic and stylistic point of view, it may have arisen in manuscripts and translations independently.

More certainty is permitted in the change of accidence from active to passive in the verse. It says that the first man gives names to all animals…

but for the human being he did not find a help as opposite to him

תַּהֲנוֹג לֹא וְאֵין פְּנֵי מִלָּה

but for Adam was not found a help similar to him.

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

For the specification of κτήσεως ‘as opposite to him’ into διόμικος αὐτῷ ‘similar to him’, see 2:18.

GENESIS 2:21

καὶ ἐνήργησεν ὁ θεός ἐκστασιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Άδημ καὶ ἔπλησεν καὶ ἔλαβεν μέσα τῶν πλευρῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκστασιν ἔπαθεν τῆς κατελήψεως αὐτοῦ αὐτῆς,

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Transformations in Genesis 2

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

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

Greek text The verb ἐπάθημα is normally construed with dative (LSJ). The collocation with ἔτι is attested only in the Septuagint and the New Testament.

What ἔστασις denotes is a state in which man loses his presence of mind. This can be caused by e.g. terror or confusion. In the present context its meaning is a torpor or trance causing drowsiness and sleep.

The verb form ἔπαθημα 'he slept' is rendered transitive by Rösel: '[Gott] ließ ihn einschlafen'. He finds a double change of subject unlikely, and therefore, in his view, God must be the subject of the verb, and hence, as it is impossible that God sleeps, the verb must be transitive. But a transitive translation must be dismissed. First, the context makes it clear enough that God does not sleep, so the translator saw no necessity to prevent an erroneous exegesis of it by an unambiguous translation (e.g. ἐπάθημα ἐστάσεως). Second, the lack of a direct object speaks against it. Rösel silently introduces it in his German translation '[Gott] ließ ihn einschlafen'. In Greek a direct object is obligatory and we saw in 2:19 that the translator to sometimes supplied it. The translator simply follows the paratactic Hebrew syntax and takes subject changes for granted when they do not create grave misunderstandings.

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

138 BDAG 367-367.
139 Genesis 27:33; Deuteronomy 28:28.
140 See Harl, La Genèse, 105, 165 ‘une torpeur’; likewise Rösel, Übersetzung als Vollendung, 70.
141 HAL s. v. שֵׁבָד ni. gives ‘betäubt sein’ for Daniel 8:18 (REB ‘a trance’); 10:9; Psalm 76:7.
142 Smyth § 1317a; BDR § 164.1.
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and TT, but it would be mistaken to regard ἐπιστήνωσα τὰ ἐπιστήσασθαι 'to fill up' as semantically related to ἐμφανύει 'to close'. The rendering transcends word level.

Genesis 2:22

καὶ ἐκ οὐρανοῦ σὲ ὕψωσεν τὸν ἄνδρον ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἄνθρωπου ἐπέμεινεν καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀνδριάς ἤρετον πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα.

And the Lord God built the rib which he had taken from Adam into a woman, and led her to Adam.

Translation

The Greek ἐπιστήμωσα 'to build' is almost a standard Septuagint rendering of Hebrew פס 'to build', filling five columns of Hatch & Redpath’s concordance. The meaning of the Greek verb is limited to building of houses, cities, bridges, altars etc. It can be used in a metaphorical sense ('to build or found upon something') but not in a generic sense ('to fashion').

With his choice for ἐπιστήμωσα in this collocation the translator moves beyond the semantic field of the Greek verb. Some modern versions say that God 'made' or 'fashioned' the rib into a woman, but as we saw earlier, the translator reserved the Greek counterparts of these English verbs for certain Hebrew words, viz. פָּשַׁל 'to make' for פס and פָּשַׁל, and πάτω 'to form' for פש. But it has to be admitted that the generic sense 'to form, fashion' is only attested in Genesis 2:22 for Hebrew as well.

The rest of the verse contains no matters that deserve discussion.

Genesis 2:23

καὶ ἀνέκαθεν τῇ συντροφίᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ δοκεῖ ἀντί οὗ ἔλαβεν τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

And Adam said: This is this time a bone from my bones and flesh from my flesh. This one will be called woman because this one has been taken from a man.

143 The verb ἐμφανύει 'to close' is normally rendered by (derivatives of) κλεῖει 'to close'. See Muraoka’s Hebrew/Aramaic Index to the Septuagint.

144 LSJ s.v. ἐπιστήμωσα suggests a general sense ‘fashion’ with a misleading reference to 3 Kingdoms (MT 1 Kings) 6:36a. See also BDAG 696.

145 Likewise Rösel, Übersetzung als Vollendung, 71.

146 NIV and NJPS respectively.
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**Greek text** With τὸ γυναικό (neuter) Adam designates the woman just created (feminine). For speakers of other languages this seems strange, but the neuter form already anticipates the neuter substantive ὄστρων ‘bone.’ In Greek, ‘the demonstrative pronoun may agree in gender with a substantive predicated of it, if connected with the substantive by a copulative verb expressed or understood’ (Smyth § 1239).

For the Hebraistic omission of the copula הוהי, see the discussion of 2:11ff.

**Translation** The feminine pronoun ἡ αὕρα ‘this’ is made into neuter (τὸ γυναικό) for grammatical reasons (see above). We are dealing with an obligatory change of accidence (gender). The Greek adverb ἀκούειν ‘now’ renders בָּנָהו ‘this time’ (obligatory change of word class).

The Hebrew wordplay יִשָּׂו man’ - יִשָּׂה woman’ is not rendered in the Greek text. An interesting addition shows up in the transformation ἡ αὕρα ‘from a man’ → ἡ αὕρα Δι' αὐτοῦ, ‘from her husband (lit. man).’ In cases like this it is always difficult to decide whether we are dealing with a transformation or whether the translator found ἡ αὕρα ‘from her husband’ in his original. The latter reading exists in the Samaritan Pentateuch. This correspondence is remarkable and it is striking that in the next verse LXX and SamP correspond again. MT has ὁ θεός οὐκ ἦ γενεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ γῆς. LXX reads καὶ κυκλοφόρησαν αὐτῷ ἐνεπέκτειν μὲν ‘and the two will be one flesh’ (SamP γενεσθαι). These two variant readings in 2:23 and 2:24 are difficult to explain linguistically. They seem to have a common source that was interested in making the monogamous tendency of the Hebrew text more explicit with the help of linguistic elements already present in the text. It is less likely that LXX and SamP developed these related readings independently. Our conclusion is that the Greek translator gave a literal translation of a Hebrew text that deviated from MT in these two cases.

The addition just discussed is paralleled by an omission of the closing pronoun ἡ αὕρα ‘this one’. Or perhaps I could better say ‘balanced’, because in this way the number of words is changed as little as possible. Probably ἡ αὕρα ‘this one’ is omitted because it is both semantically superfluous and stylistically repetitious.

**Genesis 2:24**

“Ἐν τούτῳ τοιούτῳ καταλύεται ἀνθρώπινος τοῦ πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ προσκολληθῆσθαι πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ ηὐγείωσαι αὐτῷ ὁδὸν ἐκς γίνεσθαι μὲν αὐτῷ. Therefore a human being will leave his father and his mother and he will cleave to his wife and the two will be one flesh.”

That’s why a man leaves his father and his mother and cleaves to his wife and they become one flesh.

**Greek text** The construction εἰς εἰς is not attested in Greek before the Septuagint, and in the New Testament it occurs only in LXX quotations. The expression has never acquired full citizenship within Greek.146

147 But compare the Vulgate: ‘haec vocabitur virago de viro sumpta est.’
Translation Hebrew has two conjunctions that are often confused: תי and נ, which link explanation and fact, ‘that is why...’; and נ introduces a conclusion, ‘therefore’. The Septuagint translator interpreted תי as if it meant ‘therefore’, hence no transformation. This interpretation is accompanied by an interpretation of the sentence as a commandment: ‘a man shall leave his parents.’

In the Septuagint, ναταμ ‘to leave’ is rendered by various Greek verbs, the most frequent being ἐκδιήγησα. But the latter verb often has the negative sense of ‘leave behind, leave in the lurch’, which καταλείπω does not have. Of course a man should not leave his parents in the lurch.

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

The Hebrew וֹאֶבֶן is rendered as τὸν πατέρα τοῦ, καὶ τὴν μητέρα ‘his father and mother’, i.e. the pronoun is not repeated. It is grammatically possible to reproduce it in Greek, witness the many instances in the Septuagint. But style is a different story. The repetition of the possessive pronoun with co-ordinated items is a Hebraism that is strange and unidiomatic in good Koine, except in the case of a strong
Transformations in Genesis 2

emphasis. A concern for naturalness seems to be emerging at the cost of quantitative representation.

With ἐποιεῖτο ἐπί τὸ κέρατον ἑαυτοῦ, we encounter an obligatory change of voice (active → passive).

For ἔνα τὸ πολλὰ ‘the two’ going back to a different source test (no transformation), see 2:23.

GENESIS 2:25
Καὶ ἦσαν οἱ δύο γυναικεῖς, ὡς ἦν ὁ Ἀδώνι καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἤρχοντο γεγονός.
And they were both naked, Adam and his wife, and they were not ashamed.

And they were both naked, the human being and his wife, and they were not ashamed.

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

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

CHART OF LITERALNESS IN GENESIS 2

Introductory remarks

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Regarding quantitative representation, I exclude with Wright ‘numbers, proper names, and words for which the standard translation equivalents cannot be quantitatively rendered. A good example is ἐν [‘between’] which is almost always translated ἀνάμεσαν or ἄναμεσαν in Greek.’159 Another example is the translation of ἀλήθεια ‘not-being’ with ἢ ἦν ‘was not.’ Furthermore I exclude the following obligatory changes:

- the omission of the nota accusativi προστέχων. I do so, as προστεχή is typical of prose texts. Otherwise the chart would perhaps suggest that prose texts contain larger numbers of omissions than poetic texts, while in general the opposite may be true.
- the addition of the Greek article in e.g. ἐν τῷ ἱππότατῳ τοῦ ἡλίου ‘the furnishing of the sun’. The article is consistently added. In the other three categories (word classes, word order, stereotyping), I have compared the remaining elements. For example, when in the column of ‘quantitative representation’ I have noted the omission of the divine name YHWH, I do not count it any more as a ‘deviation from stereotyping.’

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

- ἀλήθεια ‘not-being’ (with suffix) → ἢ ἦν ‘was not’
- τῶν ‘of’ (personal pronoun) → τοῖς τῶν ‘of’ (personal pronoun)

158 Wright, Quantitative Representation, 316.
159 Wright, Quantitative Representation, 320.
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- relative particle `שָךַךְ` → relative pronoun ḳ
- `נָאָה` lit. ‘not-being’ → `וֹדֵיתַךְ` ḳ = ‘was not’ &c.

Other obligatory changes of word class have been included in the figures, so as to prevent subjectivity in this regard. Regarding *word order*, the figure ‘1’ in the chart means that two words have changed places.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verse</th>
<th>Quantitative representation of segments</th>
<th>Adherence to ST word classes</th>
<th>Adherence to ST word order</th>
<th>Stereotyping</th>
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<tr>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
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<td>- 1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 [?];</td>
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<td>+ 4 - 3**</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>+ 3 - 3**</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>- 1**</td>
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</tr>
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<td>+ 2 - 1**</td>
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<td>- 4</td>
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<td>1*</td>
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<tr>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1*</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>1*</td>
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<td>1*</td>
<td>2***</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1***</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
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<td>23</td>
<td>+ 1 - 3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>+ 2 - 1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

160 E.g., `הַבָּלָה` ‘cattle’, rendered as `שְׁבָלוֹהַה` ‘quadrupeds’ (1:24) and as `שֵׁלְפָה` ‘cattle’ (1:25).
161 For example, `עַד` ‘under, instead of’ is rendered as `בָּרֹא` ‘under’ in Genesis 1:7 and as `עֵדִי` ‘instead of’ in 2:21. It would clearly be nonsensical to count this as a lack of stereotyping. The same holds true for the diverse renderings of `מִן` ‘from’ (`ל`, `דַּרּוּ, mere genitive) and `ב` ‘in, on.’

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Transformations in the Septuagint

| 25 | + 2 – 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 ***
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<td>tot.</td>
<td>+ 27 – 31</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>average per word</td>
<td>+ 0.08 – 0.09</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.06</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* included in this figure: one ‘deviation’ caused by postpositive 6eo
** included in this figure: one omission of divine name YHWH
*** included in this figure: use of proper name ‘Adam’ instead of ‘human being’

The total number of Hebrew words in Genesis 2 is 332.

A. Quantitative representation

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

B. Adherence to the word classes of the original

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

C. Adherence to the word order of the original

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

D. Lexical stereotyping

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

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Transformations in Genesis 2

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

CHART OF TRANSFORMATIONS IN GENESIS 2

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>vs.</th>
<th>Hebrew</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>Obligatory</th>
<th>Non-obligatory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ספננץ</td>
<td>ὀφρανὸς</td>
<td>ch. of accidence</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>בבלוב</td>
<td>ἄθροις</td>
<td>modification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>εὐπρεπὴς</td>
<td>modification [?]</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ביבלא</td>
<td>ἔρχομαι</td>
<td>effect → cause</td>
<td></td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>ἤσθη</td>
<td>loan translation</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ביבלא</td>
<td>ἀπεργήσει</td>
<td>anaphorical translation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>אַלֶה</td>
<td>πρῶτος</td>
<td>ch. of accidence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>ביבלא</td>
<td>ἐλθέτοι</td>
<td>ch. of syntactic function</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ביבלא</td>
<td>τὸν οὕτως καὶ τὴν γῆν</td>
<td>ch. of word order</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>ביבלא</td>
<td>τὴν</td>
<td>addition</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>ἐφέσχε</td>
<td>omission</td>
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<td>ביבלא</td>
<td>ἔγραψε</td>
<td>ch. of accidence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>ביבלא</td>
<td>ἀρχι</td>
<td>ch. of word order</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### Transformations in the Septuagint

| 12 | ἔστιν | addition |
| 13 | Αὐθωνία | literal translation |
| 14 | Addition | omission |
| 15 | ἀν ἐπλάθην | anaphorical translation |
| 16 | ὁ λόγος τοῦ ἐν τῷ 
παράθυρῳ | specification |
| 17 | ἡ τεχνικὴ | ch. of word class |
| 18 | Direct speech | ch. of syntactic structure |
| 19 | (7) = ἡ ἡμέρα | addition [?] |
| 20 | ἐπίθεσις | specification |
| 21 | ἀποθεμνωθείσης | literal translation |
| 22 | -- | -- |
| 23 | (1) οὖν | ch. of accidence |
| 24 | -- | omission (؟) |

*Note: The table entries represent transformations and changes in the Septuagint text, including additions, omissions, modifications, and generalizations.*
CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter I have discussed all non-obligatory transformations in Genesis 2. I did not exhaust the obligatory transformations since many are so obvious they do not need explanation. Therefore the figure ‘26’ is not indicative. In our conclusions I focus on the non-obligatory transformations since only these account for differences between translations. The translator finds quantitative representation so important that he is prepared to take transformations of other kinds for granted, e.g. changes of word order (2:11) or of syntactic structure (2:18). When forced to choose between a legible rendering of a sentence and a mere quantitative representation of it, he prefers the latter (2:19). In fact all irregularities noted in the Introduction flow from the translator’s strong adherence to the form of the source text. Such cases make clear that the translator is primarily interested in rendering the surface structure of the ST. He is sign-oriented rather than sense-oriented, generally speaking. Nevertheless there is a concern for semantic transfer within the boundaries the translator imposed on himself, witness the translation (not transcription) of Hiddeqel and Kush with Tigris and Ethiopia respectively (2:13-14) and the avoidance of ‘army of heaven and earth’ (2:1). Because of the very literal translation strategy the translational solutions do not transcend word level. Within these boundaries the translator occasionally employed minor transformations aiming at naturalness, such as the use of attractio relativi (2:2, 17), ellipsis (2:10), the article (2:4), the verbal tenses (2:6) and the middle voice (2:8, 10). The same holds true for 2:23, 24 where semantic and stylistic naturalness is at stake. Some transformations are intended to solve the difficulties or misunderstandings that might be the result of a literal translation. This is why the translator uses the passive in 2:20 and clarifies in 2:9,19[?] the relationship with Genesis 1, and omits a conjunction in 2:10, 15 (semantic sensitivity on micro-level). In a few instances he makes the text clearer (anaphorical translation in 2:4, specification in 2:20). The translator takes unmarked subject changes for granted when they do not cause grave misunderstandings (2:21). Avoidance of possible misunderstandings seems also to be the reason for the introduction of recently or newly coined words (2:3) and the cautious way in which the translator introduces a word in a novel sense (2:3, 4). The translator removes problems and does not create them. So when he introduces a feature susceptible of misunderstanding, e.g. the plurality in God (2:18), it is likely to have arisen unconsciously. The same holds true for the other anaphorical translations in 2:15, 20 and for the change of word order in 2:4.

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

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

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

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

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

In our discussion of 2:14, 18 we noted Hebraisms which the translator later abandoned. There are other indications that he developed a more idiomatic style in the course of his work. Brock already observed how the phrase ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς ἡμέρας ἡ μια ἡμέρα ἡνωτος (xxxiv 18, xli 37), but in xlv 16 it is paraphrased as ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ ἑκάστη ἡ φυτευσα.. Although this would demand further research, I assume that the translator was learning by doing and that hence his working method developed in the course of his work, from highly literal to a more idiomatic approach. Regarding the book of Genesis I would venture the hypothesis that this development was intensified by the appearance of direct speech and dialogue after chapter 12. Direct speech calls for more naturalness than narrative discourse, since ‘translationese’ sounds less convincing in the mouth of the story’s characters. During my years as a Bible translator I often had the opportunity of observing such a development in my own translations and in those of colleagues whose work I had to check. In 1933 Baab found that the first part of Genesis contained more Hebraisms than the second part. His division of the book into 1-15 and 26-50 is arbitrary, in my opinion, but his article contains interesting examples. Baab’s conclusion that LXX-Genesis is the work of two translators is in fact not necessary, as his

164 In 2:23, 24 the concept of monogamy is magnified, but it is probable that the two deviations were already present in the ST of the translator (see the discussion of these verses).
165 Brock, The Phenomenon of the Septuagint, 33.
166 Cf. the independent observations by Sollamo, Repetition of the Possessive Pronouns, 24.
Transformations in Genesis 2

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

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

The unidiomatic Greek can be explained in different ways. It might be that the readership was well educated and able to understand a unidiomatic text. Perhaps they expected the Hebrew to shine through. In our days some people appreciate the Verdeutschung der Schrift by Buber and Rosenzweig for similar reasons, since they believe it gives them access to the flavour of the Hebrew. It is imaginable that a text retaining peculiarities of Hebrew was regarded as a substitute text and becomes a ground for exegesis itself. This is even probable: since we cannot call LXX-Genesis 2 a communicative translation there is work left for an expositor. Another explanation is offered by Pietersma’s interlinear model. He sees the interlinearity of bilingual Latin – Greek papyri as a model that could have underlain the translators’ approach in the LXX-Pentateuch. This theory certainly deserves further thought. The particulars of the hypothesis should be borne out by careful analysis of larger textual units. It is the type of bilingual Vergil texts, viz. in two parallel columns, that could be connected with the origin of the Septuagint. I do not consider a real interlinear text, i.e. a continuous Hebrew text with Greek glosses above the words, a likely procedure, because Hebrew and Greek have different writing directions. Considerably more errors would flow from such a procedure than we now find in the LXX-Pentateuch. But Pietersma says that a Hebrew – Greek interlinear text need not have existed at all, which makes his proposal theoretical.

Presently I see two obstacles for his theory. First, the fact that bilingual papyri originated in schools leads Pietersma to the conclusion that it was ‘the Hebrew text of the Bible that was studied in the Jewish school, with the Septuagint functioning as a crib.’ But we do not know of efforts to teach Hebrew in Alexandria, let alone with the big investments of a translation. The disappearance of Hebrew seems to have been accepted as a fact, as the translations testify. Then I would prefer the assumption that the LXX-Pentateuch func-

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170 Pietersma, Interlinear Model. See further the section on bilingual texts in our Chapter 2.
171 Pietersma, Interlinear Model, 350.
172 Pietersma, Interlinear Model, 359.
tioned as a substitute source text and a basis for exegesis. The second obstacle is the translator’s development we discovered. That his approach changed in the course of Genesis means that he became increasingly aware of the communicative setting of his translation and the consequences this should have for his strategy. If the translated text only had to function as a key to the Hebrew, the increasing communicative orientation is hard to explain. It better suits a text that has to stand on its own feet. Finally we can conclude that in 2:23-24 the translator started, in all likelihood, from a source text different from MT. In 2:2, 19 this is not probable, but possible.
Chapter 5
Transformations in Isaiah 1

INTRODUCTION

The Greek text of Isaiah was transmitted in the scriptio continua characteristic of prose. Indeed, metre, the touchstone of Greek poetry, is lacking. Isaiah 1 is incontestably prose. The translator’s ‘prosaic approach’ accords with Jewish tradition, which gives a special treatment only to the so-called προφήτης: Job, Proverbs and Psalms. Today scholars may agree that the Hebrew Isaiah is largely poetical, but the recognition of the Prophets as poetry is of a fairly recent date, the end of the 18th century.1 We can describe the type of prose and the impression it must have made on contemporaries.

A notable phenomenon is the frequent parataxis (esp. 1:25-31), a feature deemed unelegant in Greek with its elaborate system of hypotaxis. In some places the use of prepositions is not idiomatic (1:16, 24). Participant tracking is quite enigmatic. An unnaturally frequent phenomenon is the the pleonastic pronoun (1:1, 14, 21). Strikingly frequent are the Greek particles. Except for the neologisms θυσία ‘to give ear’ (1:2) and ὅλοκαυτώμα ‘whole-burnt-offering’ (1:11), the vocabulary reflects Koine Greek of the 2nd century BC and does not contain lexemes that are marked as either vulgar or literary language. Some words, unproblematic in themselves, are used in a way that is not common.2 From a stylistic point of view the text does not stand out as ornate. We find a number of repeated patterns (1:4, 5, 6, 20, 23, 29, 30), but few chiasms (1:23, 25). Sound patterns are rare (1:11, 21). At the same time the chapter contains a number of forbidden clausulae, i.e. clause or sentence endings sounding like metrical feet of a certain type.3 From Aristotle onwards teachers of rhetoric denounced the use of metrical feet in prose texts, especially at clause and sentence endings.4 They recommended the use of a selected set of clausulae of five or six syllables to close the sentence. The permitted clausulae had in common that they did not sound like metrical feet that usually close a line. Paradoxically, clausulae sounding like the beginning of metrical lines were tolerated, so that e.g. αἰτήσεσθε μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας (1:13), sounding like the beginning of a iambic trimeter, is alright. In Isaiah 1 four clausulae sound like the ending of a dactylic hexameter and two like the ending of a iambic trimeter:

1:7 μὴ μὴν πέσῃ ἡ γῆ (1:7)
1:17 δοξασθήσεται κυρίῳ (1:17)
1:21 καὶ δὲ φυλακῇ (1:21)
1:23 οὐ θυσία θυσία (1:23)

1 The older view that the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah are prose was first recorded by the Greek church father Adrianus (5th century AD), cf. F. Goessling (ed.), Adriani Εἰς Ἀγαθὴν Εἰς Τὰς Θείας Γράμματας aus neu aufgefundenen Handschriften, Berlin 1887, 134.
2 Προσέκοψα τὸ πολλάκις ‘to multiply X’ in the sense of ‘to do X often’ (1:15), κρίνω in the sense of ‘justice’ (1:17), συνελήξασθε ‘to bring to an end’ (1:28).
3 Cf. our section on Metre in Proverbs 6.
4 From Aristotle, Rhetorica 1408b to Quintilian, Institutio, IX, 4, 60. 72ff. Cf. Lausberg, Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik, § 980-981; 991-992.
To which of the four styles of Demetrius of Phaleron does Isaiah 1 correspond? Clearly it does not conform to the ‘elegant style’. It is no χαριστικός καὶ ξαφνικὸς δόγμας ‘charming and cheerful discourse’ (§ 128). Its subject matter, dealing with the God of Israel, his Law, the holy city of Jerusalem etc., would suggest the ‘elevated style’ (§ 75f.). But the composition suggests otherwise. There are no impressive long and rounded periods with subordinate clauses, whereas the repetition of parallel paratactic clauses creates the hiccup effect Demetrius chides (§ 45f.). Likewise, the vocabulary of the chapter is not so elaborate and grandiose as the elevated style demands, but, apart from some (semantic) neologisms, inconspicuous and plain.

Syntax and lexicon thus seem to point to the ‘plain style’, generally speaking. Nevertheless Isaiah 1 contains words falling outside the boundaries of the plain style (§ 191), like the compound word πυρόπυρις ‘fire-burnt’ (1:7), and the neologisms ἀκούσιζωμα ‘to give ear’ (1:2), σφυφότομα ‘whole-burnt-offering’ (1:11), ἡμέρα μεγάλη ‘the Great Day’ (1:13). The chapter does possess the redundancy, clarity and avoidance of misunderstandings which plain style requires (§ 191, 196). With ‘clear’ I mean: to those familiar with Judaism. Dialogue and tone of Isaiah 1 are vivid (§ 209ff.). Word order is a different story. Although the word order characteristic of the plain style (§ 199) can be found in some passages (1:2, 3b, 7, 12a, 16f., 23, 26a), the rest of the chapter is pervaded with a different system. Many clauses begin with a verb, followed by subject, object and adjuncts, most notably in 1:3a, 12-14, 27-31. Not surprisingly, this is the normal word order in Hebrew.

Finally, regarding the ‘forcible style’, Isaiah 1 is sometimes phrased with vehement brevity forcibly impressing itself on the hearer, e.g. 1:4-5, 17, 21, 23. But to conform to the forcible style, a text requires brevity, conciseness verging on the obscure and avoidance of parallel clauses (§ 240ff.), thus the opposite of Isaiah 1. Forcible diction is akin to elevated diction, which is generally absent, as we saw.

Our conclusion must be that Isaiah 1 is quite an exotic text. Though closest to the plain style, it does not fit into contemporary categories. Of course the above observations are based on only one chapter. It would be worthwhile to compare my findings with a similar treatise, say, Isaiah 65.

ISAIAH 1:1

Ὀράσεις Ἰσαία τοῦ ἀμώτου, ᾣς ἤκουσεν ἡ Ἰουδαία ἣ ἱεροσολύμων, ἐν ῆο Ἰουδαίων ἔφη, ὁ Ἰσαία τὸν Ἱσούαν προφήτην καὶ Ἰναήματος, ἐν Ἰσραήλ καὶ Ἰουδαίας καὶ Ὀλίβιάς καὶ Ἰερουσαλήμ, τιμήν καὶ ἀναστάσεις καὶ ἔναρξες καὶ ἔριδες, κενὰς ἔρεν ἐκ τῶν ἱερευνάντων ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρόνων τῆς Ἰουδαίας.

Vision which Isaiah son of Amos saw, which he saw against Judea and against Jerusalem in the reign of Josias and Jotham and Achaz and Ezekias, who reigned over Judea.

Vision of Isaiah son of Amoz, which he saw concerning Judah and concerning Jerusalem in the days of Uzziahu, Jotham, Achaz and Yehizqiahu, kings of Judah.

Rhys Roberts (ed.), Demetrius on Style.
Transformations in Isaiah 1

Greek text  Contrary to what LSJ suggests, ὀράσις in the sense of ‘vision’ is known from Hellenistic Greek outside Biblical literature (BDAG 719a). LXX-Isaiah opens with ὀράσις ‘vision’, but elsewhere in the book, in superscriptions introducing prophetic oracles, also ὄραμα ‘vision’ occurs. Ὄραμα and ὀράσις are no synonyms: their morphemic structure points to a difference. Both words are derived from ὄρων ‘to see’. Now as a rule, the suffix -ομα refers to the action denoted by the verb in question, and the suffix -ας the resulting product.6 So ὀράμα means ‘seeing, vision as an act of sight’ and ὀράσις ‘spectacle, vision as that which is seen’.7 Hence it is logical that in prophetical books ὀράσις is combined with genitives of proper nouns like Isaiah and Obadiah (who can actively see), and ὄραμα with genitives of objects like the desert and the city of Tyre (that can be seen).8 It seems, however, that by the time of LXX-Isaiah the two nouns started to overlap. So we find in Isaiah 19:1 ὀράμας Ἀιγύπτου and in 30:6 ὀράσις τῶν τεσσαράκοντων.

The aorist Ὁράω 'saw' in 1:1 is known as the complexive aorist, which ‘is used to survey at a glance the course of a past action from beginning to end’ (Smyth § 1927; BDR § 332). The fact that Isaiah repeatedly saw visions during the reign of four succeeding kings is thus summarized into one action.9

Translation The translator probably chose ὀράσις ‘vision’ for two reasons. First, like Hebrew אֹיֶר וָאָב (a 'vision', its etymology is transparent, derived from אֹיֶר וָאָב ‘to see.’ Secondly, alternative Greek words were probably considered contaminated with pagan associations.10 and thus sparingly used or avoided altogether throughout the Septuagint. It is noteworthy that ὁρᾶω and ὁρῶν, meaning ‘dream’, never occur as translation of אֹיֶר וָאָב ‘dream.’ Ὄραμα was not used because Isaiah is the subject, not the object of seeing. The Hebrew אֹיֶר וָאָב ‘vision of Isaiah’ is not rendered literally into ὀράσις ὀνομάτος.11 The semantic deep structure of ‘Isaiah’s vision’ is Ὁσιαὶ ὁρᾶσιν.12 The translator now makes this deep structure explicit into ὀράσις ὀνομάτος ὑπὲρ Ὀσίαλος ‘the vision that Isaiah saw.’ But we cannot count it as an explicitation, since the information is already explicit in the text, a bit further on. It is a non-obligatory transformation that assimilates the wording to the following phrase, i.e. an anaphorical translation. Why was it employed? I think the translator wanted the name Ὁσιαὶ to be introduced in the nominative, as it is not with certainty guessed from the genitive ὀνομάτος.13 Another possibility is that the translator, who

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6 Cf. ἰδέας ‘hearing’ / ἰδέαν ‘thing heard’, ποίημα ‘production’ / ποιήμα ‘product’, πράξεις / πράξης etc.
7 LSJ 1244b. BDAG 718b; Muraoak, A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint, 411a.
8 Cf. Obadiah 1:1 ὀράμας Ἀδάμος; Nahum 1:1 μβλίθω ὀράμας Ὀσίας τῇ Ἑλλησσία; and on the other hand Isaiah 21:1 τὸ ὄραμα τῆς ἑράς; 22:1; 23:1 τὸ ὄραμα ἁρέτου.
9 This aorist occurs at the beginnings of prophetic books, e.g. Jeremiah 1:2; Hosea 1:1; Amos 1:1.
12 Nida’s term for ‘deep structure’ is ‘kernel’. Cf. Toward a Science of Translating, Chapter 4.
13 It can be Ὁσιαὶ, Ὁσιαὶς, Ὁσιαὶς. Compare the confusion concerning the Greek name of Obadiah (Αδάμος, Ἀδάμος), described in M. Harl e.a. (ed.), Les douze prophètes. Joel, Abdou, Jonas, Naoum, Ambakoum, Sophonie (La Bible d’Alexandrie 23. 4-9), Paris 1999, 85f.
sometimes used ἴδρυμα in the sense of ‘vision as that which is seen,’ avoided the misunderstanding that the genitive would suggest the object of seeing.

The preposition ὑπὸ does not have a negative ring here, but means ‘concerning.’ The first verse of the Hebrew Isaiah, with its enumeration of kings, functions as a superscription to the whole book, which contains both prophecies of doom and salvation. The neutral translation can be found in all modern versions known to me. So ἴδρυμα means neutrally ‘concerning Judah and Jerusalem.’ The Greek translator, however, varied his rendering of ὑπὸ according to the context. He rendered it neutrally, with περί + genitive, when the following prophecy is favourable (2:1), but he preferred a specification in sensu malo, with κατὰ + genitive, in case of a doom prophecy (1:1; 13:1 etc.). He repeated κατὰ ‘against’ before ‘Jerusalem’, because it is undeclinable.14 It seems, then, that the Greek translator saw the message of the book of Isaiah primarily as prophecy of judgement. It is also possible that he connected 1:1 primarily with the threatening first chapter.

The Hebrew יְהוּדָה is rendered in various ways; sometimes with the transcription לֹאכ יְהוּדָה (or לֹאכ יְהוּדָה) or with the naturalized transcription לֹאכ יְהוּדָה ‘Judea.’ McLean has demonstrated for LXX-Jeremiah that its translator consistently prefers לֹאכ יְהוּדָה and uses it to designate the nation, whereas he employs the naturalized transcription לֹאכ יְהוּדָה ‘Judea’ to designate or personify the land.15 McLean’s observations are equally valid for Isaiah. Thus לֹאכ denotes the nation.16 This category includes לֹאכ as a tribe (from which the nation sprang). In the Greek Pentateuch לֹאכ ‘Judah’ was the name of Jacob’s son Judah and of the tribe named after him. The Isaiah translator follows this tradition and writes לֹאכ when the tribe is referred to. This is the case in the vicinity of names like Jacob, Israeli, Ephraim, Menasseh,17 לֹאכ on the other hand functions as a geo-political designation for the land of Judah, e.g. in the vicinity of names like Assyria etc.18 These observations can explain differentiation within the same context. So in 7:1 Achaz, the king of [the nation of] לֹאכ was threatened, by enemies who wanted to march towards 7:6 [the land of] לֹאכ. A following prophecy recalled the days in which [the tribe of] Ephraim was taken from Judah. Compare also 7:1 ‘the king of [the nation of] Judah’ with ‘the king [of the land] of Judea’ in other contexts. The use of the naturalized transcription לֹאכ is in itself a sign of a ‘domestecating tendency’ in the translation. A literal version like 4 Kingdoms (MT 2 Kings) sticks to the transcription לֹאכ, whatever it refers to.

The transformation of יְהוּדָה לֶחֶם ‘kings of Judah’ into τις ἴδρυμας τῆς ἴδρυμας ‘who reigned over Judea’ is not obligatory, but is probably employed for stylistic reasons.19 The threefold addition of κατὰ ‘and’ is obligatory, since some of the kings’ names are declinable and others are not. We find this in literally translated books too (e.g. Hosea 1:1).

14 Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 18.
16 In phrases like γῆ ἴδρυμα, πολεῖς ἴδρυμα ‘land / cities of Judah’ (7:1; 22:8; 26:1; 40:9), ἡθέμας ἴδρυμα ‘a man of Judah’ (5:3, 7).
18 Isaiah 1:1, 2; 1: 3:18; 7:6; 8:8,23; 36:1; 37:10,31; 38:9; 44:26.
19 A literal translation is less elegant, cf. Hosea 1:1 ἐν ἡμέρας Οὐσίου καὶ ισχύς καὶ άρχης καὶ ἐξουσίας, βασιλέως ἴδρυμα.
Transformations in Isaiah 1

ISAIAH 1:2

"Hear, O heavens, and let them say, O earth, for the Lord has spoken: Sons I begat and lifted up, but they have set me at nought."

Listen, heavens, and give ear, earth, for the Lord has spoken: Sons I reared and brought up, and they have rebelled against me.

The compound ἔφυξαμαι, of which the meaning 'to give ear' is easily guessed, is not attested before the LXX. It is almost certainly a neologism, coined by the translator of Genesis 4:23. The verb ἔφυξα is listed in all dictionaries known to me as 'to lift up, exalt.' This meaning is also found in the Septuagint, where ἔφυξα is frequent, as witness the 2½ columns in Hatch & Redpath's concordance. Brenton's translation 'to rear up' does not appear in any lexicon known to me. Yet in Isaiah 23:4 ἔφυξα appears in a context that suggests 'to rear', contrary to its normal use:

I have not been in labour, nor given birth, nor reared young men nor brought up virgins and this is recognized by Eusebius of Caesarea. But in Isaiah 1:2 the sense 'I reared' is not so easily wrenched from ἔφυξα. Thus Cyril of Alexandria remarks:

... τὸ ἔφυξα, διὰ τὸ ἐξενθέντα εὐαγγελίου καλεῖται ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ τοποὺς κατὰ τὸν λεπτὸν ἐκτέλεσε παράδειγμα.

For I have begotten sons, he says, and not merely that, I have also 'lifted them up', which means 'reared them'.

The meaning 'to rear' of ἔφυξα had to be elucidated with help of an exegetical gloss. It was not obvious, but an attentive reader could guess here that in Hebrew the word for 'lifting up' could apparently also mean 'to rear' (cf. Proverbs 6:29). Indeed, Procopius of Gaza interprets 'lifting up' in the sense of 'giving a glorious position':

... τὸ ἔφυξα, διὰ τὸ ἐξενθέντα εὐαγγελίου καλεῖται ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ τοποὺς κατὰ τὸν λεπτὸν ἐκτέλεσε παράδειγμα.

'Lifted up', because he led them out from Egypt with glory and because he accomplished so many miraculous deeds against their marauders.

To conclude, we must retain ἔφυξα in its normal meaning 'giving an exalted position'.

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20 The fact that ἔφυξαμαι is construed with accusative (Genesis 4:23), dative (Exodus 15:26) and genitive (Psalm 16:4MT 17:1) shows that its use was not guided by conventions.

21 Eusebius of Caesarea (3rd century AD), Commentarii in Isaiam (Migne, PG 24), 253 διὰ τὸ ἐξενθέντα ἐφύξαμαι εὐαγγελίου καλεῖται ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ τοποὺς κατὰ τὸν λεπτὸν ἐκτέλεσε παράδειγμα.

22 Cyril of Alexandria, Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam (Migne, PG 70), 17.

23 Procopius of Gaza (6th century AD), Commentarius in Isaiam (Migne, PG 87), 1828-1829. Such was also the opinion of the copyist of LXX ms. 93, who replaced ἔφυξα with ἐξενθέντα 'I glorified [them]'.
Transformations in the Septuagint

Translation

The translation of γινεῖ ‘to give ear’ with ἀκούσαν ‘to give ear’ was probably taken over from the Pentateuch. How did this neologism originate at all? In Genesis 4:23 the translation of γίνεσαι ‘give ear’ posed a little problem to the translator.

Ada and Sella, hear my voice.

The first line uses ἀκοῦσοι ‘to hear, listen’ and as Greek loves variation, the translator did not want to employ the same verb again in the second line. He had to look for a synonym of ἀκοῦσοι. But several available synonyms are compounds of ἀκοῦσοι, that do not provide the required variation. Of the remaining alternatives, the verb ἀνακούσαμεν has the connotation of ‘to accept, approve of, believe’ and is thus semantically less appropriate. The classical κλώ ‘to hear, give ear to’ seems to have fallen in decline by the Hellenistic period. Its only occurrence in Koine Greek illustrates its use in language of entreaty, which seems ill at place in an address by God to heaven and earth. The Genesis translator then coined a neologism whereby he imitated the pattern of γινεῖ. This Hebrew verb is composed of the root יָאָר ‘ear’ in a causative stem (hif’il) so that the resulting meaning is: ‘to make the ear work’. The Greek translator created the compound verb ἀνακύομεν, in which ἀν ‘ear’ (pl. ἀκούσει) is combined with the suffix -κυμεν. We should count it as a morphematic translation. Now the Isaiah translator adopted this neologism but used it with caution. He used ἀνακύομεν without object, in contrast to its use in more literally rendered books. He even avoided constructions with object, by using synonyms (1:10; 8:9; 32:9) or inserting a preposition (51:4).

Now follows a transformation that is of interest for the question if the Septuagint translators sought to avoid anthropomorphic speech in relation to God. The Hebrew says נתן בנים ‘I raised sons’, but the Greek ΞΥΡΕΤΕΝ θεόν means ‘I [=God] begat sons’! This is so surprising that according to some scholars the Hebrew Vorlage of the Septuagint must have differed from the Masoretic text. According to Ziegler the translator’s parent text read נתן בנים ‘I gave birth to sons’ and he regards this reading as more original than MT: ‘Wahrscheinlich liegt im MT tendenziöse Änderung vor, weil man Jahwe nicht die Tätigkeit des [Gebären] zuschreiben wollte.’ This sounds plausible but is difficult to corroborate – for various reasons. First, Ziegler’s cause has been weakened by the discovery of the Qumran scrolls. IQtsa supports MT. Second, is the idea of God bearing children really such a problem? We find this notion in other books. Deuteronomy 32:18; Psalm 2:7. All these cases have

25 For synonyms, see Woodhouse, English-Greek Dictionary s.v. ‘Hear’, ‘Listen’.
26 Smyth § 866.6; BDR § 108.3. For other examples with κύομεν in LXX, see E. Tov, The Representation of Causative Aspects of the Hiphil in the Septuagint, in: Tov, The Greek and Hebrew Bible, 198.
27 E.g. Genesis 4:23; Exodus 15:26; Psalm 5:2; 16 (MT 17):1 etc.
28 Ziegler, Untersuchungen, 136; cf. recently Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 18.
29 Deuteronomy 32:18; Psalm 2:7.
30 E.g., Exodus 4:22; Hosea 11:1.
Transformations in Isaiah 1

apparently survived copyists. Third, the LXX rendering can be explained in the context of the verse, since there is a semantic relationship between begetting and raising children. The Hebrew line reads וַֽיַּעֲקָב יִשְׂרָאֵל, which NIV renders as ‘I reared children and brought them up’. The second verb, עשָׂה (polel of בָּזָה ‘to be high’), usually means ‘to lift up, exalt’ and sometimes ‘to bring up’. And this is what we find in modern lexica. But some centuries ago it was translated differently, thus e.g. by Luther: ‘Ich habe Kinder auffezogen und erhöhet.’ It is therefore far from certain that the LXX-translator shared the modern interpretation; he rather understood עשָׂה in the sense of ‘giving a high position’ and translated this literally. The first verb, לַשׁוּא, can mean ‘to raise’, a sense familiar to the Isaiah translator, but it can also mean ‘to give a high position’ and then it has sometimes been rendered with ἐποίησα. If the translator held the latter view with respect to 1:2, it is clear that he could not use ἐποίησα twice. But if he understood the former meaning, we might suppose that he wrote ‘I begat them and gave them a high position’ in order to express the totality of Yhwh’s dealings with Israel. The translation of יָשָׂב ‘I reared’ with גָּנוֹא then expresses the cause for the effect. But it remains possible that Ziegler is right after all.

A change of word order occurs at the end of the verse, where יָשָׂב ‘rebelled against me’ is rendered by נָשִּׁית ‘denied me’. The translator puts the object pronoun before the verb in order to arrive at a natural word order, i.e. no enclitic in a final position. The Genesis translator avoids such changes. The verb נָשִּׁית with לֶא or לָא often denotes the act by which vassals denounce their treaty with the suzerain and refuse to fulfill their obligations towards him. לֶא means likewise ‘set at naught a treaty, promise’. In the LXX it also renders other Hebrew words that denote rebellion and treason (e.g. יָשָׂב, רָבָא). We count it as a literal translation.

ISAIAH 1:3

An ox knows the buyer and a donkey the crib of its master, but Israel does not know me, and the people take no notice of me.

32 For בָּזָה (polel of בָּזָה ‘to be high’), the meaning of ‘raise children’ is further attested in Isaiah 23:4. For the rest it means ‘exalt people, raise the estimation of their value’ or ‘exalt, praise [God or people].’ See HALOT s.v. בָּזָה. Some scholars find the meaning ‘give an exalted position’ also in Isaiah 1:2.

33 This interpretation can be found from Jerome (‘exaltavi’) to R. David Kimchi and Calvin.

34 Isaiah 23:4; 49:21 render it with ἐποίησα. Cf. also Hosca 9:12.

35 For יָשָׂב (polel of בָּזָה ‘to be high’), see already Genesis 24:35; 26:13; 48:19 for the qal of בָּזָה.


38 For יָשָׂב (polel of בָּזָה ‘to be high’), see already Genesis 24:35; 26:13; 48:19 for the qal of בָּזָה.

39 LSJ 31b; see also BDAG 24. It occurs often in papyri, see Ziegler, Untersuchungen, 199.

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An ox knows its owner and a donkey the crib of its master; Israel does not know, and my people do not behave intelligently.

Greek text The saying about the ox and the donkey could be interpreted as a general truth and accordingly the aorist as a so-called gnomic aorist (Smyth § 1931f.; BDR § 333). But the aorist can more plausibly be explained as follows. With verbs of hearing, saying and learning the aorist is often used with a present time meaning (Smyth § 1885; LSJ 350a). The text runs ἔγνω βοῦς τὸν κτητόμον ‘an ox knows the possessor’, but in the second line, with regard to the donkey, it reads τὸ κυρίον τῶν αὐτῶν ‘of its master’. When the possessor is not to be mistaken, the article is placed before the substantive and the possessive or reflexive pronoun is omitted (Smyth § 1121; 1199). With κύριος, however, it is necessary to use a possessive pronoun in order to avoid confusion with κύριος ‘the Lord’.

Translation Κτόλματι means ‘to procure for oneself, buy’ and occurs frequently as a rendering of יָבֹא, which has the same meaning. But it is strange that Greek retained the participle, since participles function differently in Hebrew and Greek. In Greek each verbal tense has its own participles, which is not the case in Hebrew. It is therefore logical that the Hebrew participle can express more temporal stages than its Greek counterparts. In Hebrew the active participle יָבֹא means literally ‘buyer’, but it can also mean ‘owner (the one who has bought),’ and this is clearly the sense required in our context: the ox knows its owner, because it is already acquainted with him. In Greek, the aorist participle in ἔγνω βοῦς τὸν κτητόμον means ‘the ox knows the one that has just bought it’. The sense of ‘owner’ can be expressed by the perfect participle κτητόμος. It seems, then, that the translator interpreted the Hebrew participle יָבֹא as ‘buyer’, not ‘owner’, and translated it literally. The suffix is omitted for reasons of style (see Greek text).

The Greek text has more conjunctions than its source text. Δὲ ‘and, but’ has been added to express the contrast which in Hebrew is marked by an asyndeton, and καί ‘and’ is added to give a smoother transition between the last two stichs, which thus become more parallel to the first two. This seems a requirement of Greek style. Addition of conjunctions also occurs in e.g. Greek translations of Eutropius.

The reproach of Israel is put concisely in Hebrew: ‘Israel does not know, and my people have no understanding.’ The first verb, יָדֵה ‘to know’, is rarely used without object, and the second, קָדַשׁ ‘to behave intelligently, to direct one’s attention (to)’, is used intransitively. The lack of an object seems deliberately enigmatic, in order to arouse the question: ‘what does Israel not know?’ The answer has to be supplied from an interpretation of the context. This is not all too difficult, though. Commentators explain the text as follows: ‘Ox and ass find their way to their stables; but Israel cares nothing for Yahweh, nor discerns that it owes everything to him.’ So Israel does not recognize Yhwh as its master and benefactor.

HALOT s.v. יָבֹא; see also Jouon-Muraoka, Grammar of Biblical Hebrew, § 121f. So already Jerome (‘possessorum suum’) and all modern translations.

See the meaningful transition from κτητόμος to κτητόμος in Leviticus 25:28, 30, 50.

Reichmann, Römische Literature in griechischer Übersetzung, 64ff.

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twofold addition of μή ‘me’ makes this explicit. The explicitation is non-obligatory, as γνώσκω 'to know' and ‘to observe, understand’ can be used without object.43

The rendering of Hebrew בְּנִי ‘to know’ with γνώσκω is the most obvious choice and can be found frequently. But יִשְׂרָאֵל ‘to behave intelligently, to direct one’s attention (to)’ is used in very different constructions and accordingly rendered with a variety of verbs in the Septuagint.44 In Isaiah 1:3 the translator had already narrowed down his options. Because of the explicitation of μή ‘me’ he had to select a transitive verb that could be construed with a person, even God, as object. ζήνημαι ‘to observe, understand’ fits these criteria.45

MT speaks of ἡ γενεά ‘my people’, which LXX reduces into ὁ λαός ‘the people’. The omission of the possessive pronoun ‘my’ seems to have a stylistic reason. A literal translation would have read καὶ ὁ λαός μου μημε σπεύδεσαι ‘and my people does not understand me’. A succession of three enclitic words is awkward.46 The translator could have placed the object at the end: καὶ ὁ λαός μου μημε σπεύδεσαι μη. This would have destroyed the parallelism with the preceding line. Besides, the translator prefers the enclitic personal pronoun to precede the verb, as we saw in 1:2. The omission of the possessive pronoun is facilitated by Greek grammar, where the article can take the function of a possessive pronoun, when the possessor is not to be mistaken (see 1:3 Greek text). The name of ‘Israel’ has just been mentioned, and with it the notion of ‘God’s people’. Additions and omissions of personal pronouns with λαός also occur elsewhere in LXX-Isaiah, but I take this as a coincidence, as all those cases are accountable within their own contexts.47

The rendering of ζω with λαός ‘people’ (1:3) and ζησι with θῆνος ‘nation’ (1:4) follows a pattern that, with some exceptions, can be found throughout the Septuagint. A glance in Hatch & Redpath’s concordance shows that already in the Pentateuch θῆνος is in most cases a translation of ζησι. In Genesis we can even speak of a standard equivalent. Λαός, which fills 27 columns in the concordance, is in the overwhelming majority of the cases the rendering of ζω. LXX-Isaiah conforms to this pattern.48

ISAIAH 1:4

Οὐκ έθνος ἄμαρταλών, λαός πλήρης ἄμαρτων, σήμα ποιημέν, μείν άνεμοι, ἐγκατέλιπτε τὸν κήρυξαν καὶ παραρρίσχε τὸν ἄγιον τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.

43 See e.g. BDAG s.v. γνώσκω, συνήμα.
44 The verb stem γνώσθη, that occurs 32x in the Hebrew Bible, is rendered by 17 different Greek verbs according to Muraoka’s Index.
45 ζήνημαι functions more than 60x as a rendering of the different stems of μή in the LXX. For statistics regarding LXX-Isaiah, see Ekkblad, Isaiah’s Servant Poems, 193.
46 In the LXX I have not been able to find the succession μοι μημε σπεύδεσαι. In Genesis 24:47; Jeremiah 2:13; 4:22 we find μοι μημε σπεύδεσαι (belonging to two different classes).
47 In 1:3, 14; 10:6, 22; 16:20, 32; 25:8; 32:18; 35:2; 32:21; 48:21; 51:7; 62:10; 65:18 (private communication of Prof. A. van der Kooij). In e.g. 3:14 έτοιμο fulfils a double duty for the preceding λαός; 10:22 omits the 3rd person ποιημέν in order to adapt it to the surrounding context (3rd person); 14:20 constitutes a contextual interpretation; in 14:32 we find after ‘Sion’ a possessive use of the article like in 1:3; in 51:7 we deal with an anaphoric translation harking back to 51:4 etc.
48 Ziegler, Untersuchungen, 14f. Harl, La Genèse, 58f. For details regarding λαός (and θῆνος) in LXX, see O. Montevecchi, LAOS. Linee di una ricerca storico-linguistica, 61ff.
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Woe sinful nation, people full of sins, evil seed, lawless sons! You have forsaken the Lord and made angry the Holy One of Israel.

Woe sinning nation, people heavy of iniquity, seed of evildoers, perverting sons. They have forsaken the Lord, they have rejected the Holy One of Israel, they have become estranged backwards.

Greek text Oíaí, an exclamation of pain and anger, is known from Hellenistic times onward. In Greek it was, however, used with dative. As a remark by Pseudo-Basilus on Isaiah 1:24 shows, the construction with nominative was regarded as interference. Regarding σήμα ‘seed’, it appears from the context that it designates the same entity as άνθρωπος and λαός (people and nation). The use of σήμα in the sense of ‘race, offspring’ is known in Greek, especially in poetry (LSJ 1626b).

Translation The Hebrew interjection מ֖וּה, mostly a ‘grievous threatening cry of the prophets’, is rendered by various Greek exclamations. It is once translated with οίμος but this refers to the first person of the one who speaks (Jeremiah 22:18). The translator of Isaiah consistently renders מ֖וּה with οίαί when it functions as an exclamation of threat. οίαί was not coined but selected by the Septuagint translators. Hence it is not a transliteration but a ‘literal translation’, as Lowe has shown. The use of exclamations and interjections is highly dependent on current use in a certain place, time and text type. This explains why classical alternatives like άγνος άλλου αυτήν and άμειβον, άνοικτον, άνοικτον, άποτάσιον, occurring in classical tragedies, are not used. The translator turned the four pejorative epithets of Israel, which are grammatically different, into a uniform pattern of noun + adjective which is repeated four times. This operation, entailing changes of word class and accidence, enhances the rhetoric value of the sequence in Greek. Compare LXX with the more literal translation by Aquila:

εθνὸς ἀμαρτωλῶν, λαός μακρᾶς ἁμαρτίας, σήμα ποτηρειοῦντος, ίδιος ὀμφαλίσματος
sinning nation, people heavy of lawlessness, seed of evildoers, destroying sons.

In semantic respect מ֖וּה corresponds very well with the root ἁμαρτ-, as both mean ‘to miss, sin’, and it is not surprising that this translation is more or less standard. A bit further on we find the same Greek root again in αἰτίας ἁμαρτίας ‘full of sins’. But ἁμαρτία ‘sin’ is this time a translation of עָז. This Hebrew term is traditionally rendered with ‘iniquity’ (NRSV, REB) or ‘guilt’ (NIV). But in a number of places the singular rendering is inadequate, namely where עָז refers to a plurality of misdeeds and stands in parallelism with synonyms that are indisputably plural, or in a phrase like אֲבֹתֵיכֶם עָז ‘the iniquity of the fathers’. In the context of Isaiah 1:4 the adjective in עָז כַּעֲשָׂנִי ‘a people, heavy of iniquity’ evokes the

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49 Hilhorst, Sémitismes et latinismes dans le Pasteur d’Hermas, 181.
50 HAL, s.v. מ֖וּה.
51 In 55:1 מ֖וּה opens an invitation and is not rendered. In 45:9-10 an interrogative pronoun renders מ֖וּה.
54 Exodus 20:5; 34:7; Numbers 14:18; Deuteronomy 5:9; Jeremiah 14:20; 32(LXX 39):18. In these places the Septuagint gives a translation in plural, as do a number of modern translations.

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notion of plurality. The translator decided to employ a plural noun, and this is in my opinion also the reason that he did not use ἁμαρτία ‘injustice, wrongful act’, for in good Greek the plural of this abstract noun is preferably avoided. It does occur in a number of Jewish Greek writings,55 but it is notable that in the New Testament, where ἁμαρτία occurs frequently, we find only one instance of a plural form, in Hebrews 8:12, a LXX quotation. Literal translators do use the plural ἁμαρτίαι (e.g. 9x in Jeremiah), but the Isaiah translator avoids it and employs the plural only once (43:24), for good reasons. So, to avoid the plural ἁμαρτίαι ‘injustices’ the Isaiah translator resorts to ἁμαρτίαι ‘sins’. We must add that the Greek language is poorer in verbs for sinning than the Hebrew, so that approximately 26 Hebrew expressions for ‘sin’ are reduced to 6 Greek terms.

The frequently occurring Hebrew root וּלְשֵׁם ‘bad, evil’ is rendered either with κακός or with παράκακος throughout the LXX. Yet why does the translator choose the latter in this verse? The difference between these synonyms is highly idiomatic and shows that complete synonymy does not exist. Although in some contexts these words are interchangeable, it appears that παράκακος is more often used to express evil intention and that κακός denotes bad effect.56 In original Greek writings, like those of the New Testament, we find that, among others, a man, a spirit and a generation are preferably called παράκακος, not κακός.57 This explains the collocation στῆλη παράκακος ‘evil seed [generation]’. As this rendering is semantically obvious, it is not necessary to claim that the translator chose it to designate Judah with the same epithet as the king of Babylon in 14:20.58 The use of the same phrase in both contexts exists already in the Hebrew text.

The LXX does not give a literal translation of יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל ‘heavy of sins’.60 Instead, the people are called πλῆθος ἁμαρτητῶν ‘full of sins’ (modification). It seems that Greek admits of less idiomatic turns with ‘heavy’ than Hebrew and prefers other expressions. In Exodus 4:10, for example, Moses is called πλῆθος ἀρνήτης ‘heavy of tongue’, but in LXX he is ἀκριμᾶσθαι ‘slow of tongue’. In a later and more literal version like LXX-Ezekiel an exact literal translation is given and the prophet is called μακρίζεσθαι ‘heavy of tongue’ (3:5). The Isaiah translator uses τῆλη τῆς ‘full’ in 1:4, 11, 15, 21. It is possible that the use of πλῆθος ἁμαρτητῶν ‘full of sins’ in 1:4 was intended to create a background against which the positive words of 1:21 πλῆθος κρίσιν ‘full of (righteous) judgement’ stand out. The epithet σύγκλητοι μακριζόμενοι literally means ‘corrupting sons’ and is rendered as ἁμαρτίαι ‘lawless sons’. How did this generalization come about? The Hebrew מִכְשׁוּר מִכְשׁוּר is probably shorthand for the idiom ‘sons corrupting their ways / deeds’.61 When this idiom occurs unabbreviated, it is sometimes rendered literally, like in Genesis 6:12, κατέφθασαν παράκακοι ἀνθρώποι ἀνήρ αὐτῶν ‘all flesh had corrupted its way’. But if the shortened idiom is translated literally, into ἄνθρωποι ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, it comes to mean ‘destroying [i.e. demolishing] sons’. This is easily misunderstood and was therefore already avoided by the translator of

55 BDAG 206.
56 R. Kaiser in THAT i, 548. It is simplistic to ascribe this solely to a ‘starke Thematisierung und Theoretisierung des alttestamentlichen Sündenbegriffes’.
57 Louw & Nida, Greek-English Lexicon, I, 754. See for those collocations BDAG, s.v. παράκακος.
58 Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 19.
59 BDAG 206.
60 κακός + dative occurs further only in LXX-Job 15:10.
61 E.g. Genesis 6:12; Zephaniah 3:7; Psalm 14:1.
Deuteronomy.\(^{62}\) Regarding the choice for ἁρματία, Austermann has described factors that may have contributed to the popularity of a generic term like ἁρματία in the LXX-Psalter.\(^{63}\)

• As the SL has more words for sins and transgressions than the TL, the use of generic terms relieves the translator from the task of trying to find different matching counterparts for each Hebrew term.

• The use of generic terms facilitates the translation work, especially when SL terms are not entirely clear.

• In search for Greek words denoting negative behaviour compounds with ἐ-privans are an obvious choice, and helpful to fill up lexical gaps.

• In texts where ὅ νόμος ‘the Law’ plays an important role, the use of ἁρματία ‘lawlessness’ creates a useful opposition.

• The term ἁρματία was borrowed from the LXX-Pentateuch.

• The use of ἁρματία creates new and useful intertextual relationships, between passages and between biblical books.

• Stylistic concerns, such as the need for variation, may have played a role.

• In a spiritual climate centering around the Law the term ἁρματία was the word par excellence for everything opposed to it.

In Isaiah the use of ἁρματία certainly contributes to the conceptual unity of chapter 1, for it occurs in 1:4, 5, 25, 28, 31 as a rendering of various terms, and another 50x in LXX-Isaiah as a whole. The final part of the verse has been transformed from third person singular into second person singular, like in REB. This has been done to create a smooth transition to 1:5. Changes from second to third person and vice versa are frequent in prophetic books. They are notorious with translators, especially as their stylistic function in the Hebrew text is not always clear.\(^{64}\)

The translator’s handling of ἁρματία is notable. Modern lexica give as its meaning: qal ‘to spurn’, pt. ‘to discard, reject’. Similar translations can be found throughout the Septuagint, but only in collocations where God is not the object.\(^{65}\) Wherever in Hebrew God is ‘rejected’, the verb is rendered with ἁρματικά to provoke, make angry or with its synonym ἁρματικός. And where God’s words or laws are ‘rejected’, the LXX uses ἀπαγόρευτα ‘to blaspheme’ (Isaiah 52:5). A similar picture emerges in the renderings of the synonymous verb ἁρματία ‘to spurn’. In the LXX-Pentateuch God or His words are not ‘spurned’ but ‘disobeyed’, ‘disregarded’ etc.\(^{67}\) LXX-Isaiah follows this pattern: God and His words are the


\(^{65}\) It is rendered with ἁρματικά ‘to push away’ Jeremiah 23:17; ἁρματικά ‘to set at naught’ 1 Kings (MT 1 Samuel) 2:17; ἁρματικά ‘to turn up the nose at’ etc.

\(^{66}\) Numbers 14:11; 23:16; 30:30; Deuteronomy 31:20; 32:19; (...) Isaiah 5:24; 60:14 etc.

\(^{67}\) We find ἁρματικά ‘to disobey’ in Leviticus 26:15; Numbers 11:20; ἁρματικά ‘to disregard’ in Leviticus 26:43.
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object of ὀφείλει to desire not (5:24) and ἀπεδήμω to disobey (30:12). But in more literally translated books we do find the harsh notion that God or His words are rejected. 68
So it emerges that the meaning of some verbs, which is retained in profane contexts, can be weakened in theologically sensitive sentences (modification).

An article has been added before 'Israel'. Sometimes Ἰσραήλ functions as a genitive without the article, e.g. in 1:24 Ἰσραήλ ἄρρητος ‘the mighty ones of Israel’. Strictly speaking, the article is non-obligatory. But in 1:4 it is necessary to avoid the misreading Ἰσραήλ ἄρρητος, ‘the holy Israel’. At the same time the article makes it impossible in a manuscript without interpunction to read 'Israel' as a vocative that introduces 1:5.
The phrase ὁρᾶν ἦν lit. ‘they became estranged backwards’ is unique and the collocation is strange. Most modern versions offer something more understandable like ‘they have turned their backs on Him’. From other places it seems that ὁρᾶν ἦν was not unknown to LXX-translators. 69 Yet the Isaiah translator omitted the phrase. This should not be explained with an appeal to textual criticism, as MT is firmly supported by all manuscripts. 70 But what else may have been the reason? In my view both semantic and stylistic reasons prompted the translator to omit the phrase in question. The phrase follows these two clauses:

You have forsaken the Lord and made angry the Holy One of Israel.

After these sharp reproaches a clause like ‘you have turned your back on Him’ does not tell us anything that is not already implied in the preceding two clauses. On the contrary, it is weaker. The translator apparently considered this a semantic and stylistic anticlimax and omitted it. Classical rhetoric advised against a series of phrases or clauses where a strong statement was followed by a weaker one, and it preferred a climactic order instead (‘Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder’). 71 It is interesting to note that in CEV the same phrase has been omitted.

ISAIAH 1:5

Why should you be smitten further by increasing lawlessness, every head to pain and every heart to sorrow?

Why should you be smitten further, should you continue apostasy? The whole head to wound and the whole heart ill.

68 We find e.g. ἠπολύω to push away in Jeremiah 6:19, ἀποδικώμεθα to reject’ in Jeremiah 8:9, ἐξεχειρισθείν to set at nought’ in 1 Kings (MT 1 Samuel) 8:7, 10:19 etc.
69 Psalm 57 (MT 58):4; 68 (MT 69):9; Ezekiel 14:5 render it with ἀνικήτησα to be alienated from. Psalm 77 (MT 78):29 renders it with παρθένως ἀποθετόν to be deprived of’.
70 Contra Ziegler, Untersuchungen, 53; Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 19.
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Greek text Πληγήτε, aorist passive of πλῆρωμα, functions as a deliberative subjunctive here (Smyth § 1805, 2639; BDR § 366). Such subjunctives are often found in rhetorical questions, e.g. τί ποιήσως: ‘what shall I do?’ = ‘I don’t know what to do’. Here the prophet asks τί έτι πληγήτε: ‘why should you be smitten further?’ = ‘there is no reason that you should be smitten further’.

The second part of the verse is translated by Brenton as follows: ‘The whole head is pained, and the whole heart sad.’ This presupposes a syntax that is untypical of Greek, though. It is better to link both parts of the verse together, as I have done in the above translation, as this results in an elegant and understandable sentence. My interpunction deviates from Ziegler’s edition, but we should bear in mind that interpunction is not found in manuscripts.

Translation τί ‘why’ for περί ‘because of what’ is the most obvious rendering and therefore a literal translation. The renderings είτε τί ή είναι τίμις, that are typical of literally translated books, preserve the number of words of the Hebrew and tend to morphematic translation.

A minor change of word order occurs in the rendering of περί τίς ‘[why] should you be smitten further?’ with είτε πληγήτε: ‘[why] should you further be smitten?’ Greek style demands that the adverb είτε precedes the element to which it belongs.

The Hebrew verb נְפָשׁ (נְפָשָׁה) ‘to smite, strike, kill’ is rendered here with πληγήματα ‘to smite, strike’, but the Septuagint translators often employ the latter to denote delivering a mortal blow, which is out of order in Isaiah 1:5, as it only deals with wounds. The translator turns the finite verb παραδέδωμαι ‘you add’ into a participle παραδώτης ‘increasing’ (change of accidence), which makes it subordinate to the question. Literal copying of the finite verb would result in a affirmative sentence, *τί έτι πληγήτε παραδέδωμαι ἀνομίαν ‘why should you be smitten further? You increase lawlessness!’ At the same time the use of the participle enables the translator to avoid repeating the interrogative τί ‘why’.

The translation of ἀποστασία ‘apostasy’ with ἁμαρτία ‘lawlessness’ is a generalization. The translator could easily derive the meaning of ἀποστασία from τις ‘to turn aside’. Out of the seven instances of ἀποστασία from Isaiah 1:5 we find only one Greek rendering that expresses the idea of apostasy, albeit by means of a verb. In Deuteronomy 13:6 it is said of the idolater:

ελέλυθεν γὰρ πληρωμῇ σε ἄποιησιν τοῦ θεοῦ σου
for he has spoken to lead you astray from the Lord your God.

Now apostasy is always apostasy from someone. When the text mentions ‘apostasy’ without the prepositional phrase ‘from someone’, the noun ἀποστασία ‘apostasy’ is generalized in Greek. This is the case in Isaiah 1:5. The use of ἁμαρτία ‘lawlessness’ harks back to 1:4 ὑπό ἁμαρτίαν ‘lawless sons’.

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74 See KJV, for example.
75 For statistics regarding ἁμαρτία, see Ekblad, Isaiah’s Servant Poems, 219.
76 Like BDB 964. HAL 726 derives it from ποταμός ‘to stir up’. 
77 Deuteronomy 19:16 ἁμαρτία ‘impiety’; Isaiah 59:13 ἀνομία ‘we have been disobedient’; 31:6.
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The Hebrew without article is ambiguous. According to normal grammar it means ‘every head’. To express ‘the whole head’, the article is necessary: רֹאשׁ הַפְּנֵימָה, similarly to πᾶς in Greek. But in Hebrew poetry the idea of ‘the whole head’ can be expressed without the article. The Greek translator did not regard Isaiah as poetry. His rendering with πᾶς κεφαλῆς ‘every head’ can be regarded as a literal translation. Contextual influence can be detected in the rendering of two nouns for wounds and illness. The noun קֶלֶל generally ‘sickness’, but in this context clearly meaning ‘wound,’ is translated as πόνος ‘pain’. In the same vein יָסִר ‘ill’ is rendered as λύπη ‘pain, sorrow’. The words for wounds and illness are translated with words that denote the feelings which are the result of them. This is a translation of cause and effect. Why is it employed? Probably because the rhetorical question focuses on the subjective side of Israel’s situation: ‘Why should you be smitten further?’ Although there is a significant correspondence in terminology between LXX-Isaiah 1:4-6 and chapter 53, I believe that this correspondence is rather backward than forward. To put it more simply, it is probable that chapter 53 was translated with an eye on the Greek text of chapter 1. The translation of 1:4-6 can be explained without reference to chapter 53, as shown above. The addition of εἷς in εἷς λύπην ‘to sorrow, which makes it parallel to εἷς πόνου ‘to pain’, is another example of the translator’s preference for stylistic uniformity.

ISAIAH 1:6

Ἀπὸ ποδῶν τῶς κεφαλῆς [ ] οὗτος τραύμα οὗτος μῶλον οὗτος πληγὴ φλεγμαίνουσα. Οὐκ ἔστι μέλημα ἐπιθέτου οὐκ ἔλεγχον οὐκ ἐπακολούθησον.

From feet to head [ ] neither wound nor bruise nor festering injury. It is impossible to apply an emollient or oil or bandages.

Mακρινὴς ἀκροατής μητρὶ οὖς ἐμπεποθήκε καὶ ἔρευν ἐστὶν τὸ κάπηκος αὐτῷ ἀλλὰ τὸ κότα κόπτειν.

From the sole of the foot to the head there is no soundness, [but] wound and bruise and fresh injury. They are neither pressed out nor bandaged, nor soothed with oil.

Greek text In classical Greek πληγή means ‘blow’, but here it appears from the context that it means ‘wound caused by a blow’. This meaning developed in the Hellenistic period (BDAG 825).

The Greek text of the first sentence, though supported by the oldest manuscripts, is unsatisfying: the adjunct ἀπὸ ποδῶν τῶς κεφαλῆς ‘from feet to head’ is not connected to the second part of the sentence. This second part, from οὗτος τραύμα ‘neither wound’ on, seems to function like a subject, judged from its nominative case. The irregular syntax is unex-

78 Smyth § 1174; Mayser, Grammatik der griechischen Papyri, § 70.
79 Joüon-Muraoka, Grammar of Biblical Hebrew, § 139e mentions Isaiah 1:5 as an example.
80 We find the same meaning of יָסִר in Jeremiah 6:7, there rendered with πόνος too.
81 סַרְפָּא (IQSa') was known as a term for illness in general and menstruation in particular. Cf. the renderings πέροοος in Leviticus 15:33 e.a.; ἀποκαθήμινη in Isaiah 30:22.
82 See Ekblad, Isaiah's Servant Poems, 207f, 217 for details.
Transformations in the Septuagint

pected, as the rest of this chapter and of LXX-Isaiah as a whole is written in smooth and understandable Greek. Ottley interprets the syntax as follows:

‘from feet to head, neither (to) wound, nor scar, nor inflamed hurt, is there any means to apply… &c.’

Thus interpreted, the sentence could be understood as an anacoluthon (BDR § 466f.). Such anacolutha are usually accompanied by relative sentences or participles. In the LXX-Pentateuch’s translation Greek they are the result of adherence to Hebrew sentence structure, like in Genesis 28:13. In Isaiah 1:6, however, the Greek text offers an anacoluthon where the Hebrew syntax is smooth, which is contrary to the translator’s usual way. Besides, the interpretation of an anacoluthon cannot account for the awkward transition from (positive) ‘from feet to head’ to (negative) ‘neither wound…’.

It seems more plausible to assume that something has fallen out, at least a verb plus a negation. Indeed, according to Ziegler’s apparatus a more complete sentence is offered by some manuscripts:

$\text{\underline{Aπ\'\, το\'\, χως κεφαλής, ο\'\, ε\'\, τε\'\, αύ\'\,-hide, ο\'\, Τραύ\'\, α\'\, μώλωφος. ο\'\, πλη\'\, πληγμένους}}$

From feet to head there is no complete soundness in it, neither wound nor bruise nor festering blow.

But this addition does not fit into the Greek sentence at all, as Ottley already noted:

1. The antecedent of ‘in it’ is obscure. It is therefore not surprising that manuscripts offer variants like ε\'\, αύ\'\, μώλωφος, ε\'\, αύ\'\, πλη\'\, αύ\'\, hide.
2. The transition from ‘no complete soundness’ to ‘neither wound…’ is illogical. One would expect: ‘there is no complete soundness, but there are wounds…’, a text which is presented by Symmachus°.

If we combine these syntactic observations with the date of those manuscripts, we have to agree with Ziegler that this addition is a secondary correction towards MT. It has been inserted without regard of the syntactical context. Surely, then, something different must be supplied. Let us try a suggestion in English:

‘From feet to head there is no injury, neither wound nor bruise nor festering blow.’

If this were the correct sentence, the next sentence would have read: ‘It is not necessary to… apply bandages’. But it says ‘impossible’, hence it is apparently necessary to apply bandages. I would propose that something different must be supplied:

$\text{\underline{Απ\'\, το\'\, χως κεφαλής, ο\'\, ε\'\, τε\'\, αύ\'\, μώλωφος, ο\'\, πλη\'\, πληγμένους}}$

From feet to head nothing can be healed, neither wound nor bruise nor festering blow.

In my view the underline phrase has fallen out by way of homoiacrostom°: a copyist probably skipped this phrase because the next one begins with the same characters. The verse abounds in words beginning with ω\'\,-that could have caused an oversight:

ο\'\, πλη\'\, πληγμένους

‘Εστι is used here in the sense of ‘it is possible’ (LSJ 488, VI). The translation ‘there is no emollient…’ is out of the question, as μάλαιμα, ἑλέμον and καταθλής are accusatives, the object of ἐπικείμενος.

Ottley, The Book of Isaiah II, 106.
Transformations in Isaiah 1

The noun μάλαγμα has the generic meaning ‘emollient’ (LSJ). Some scholars give it the specific meaning ‘medicinal plaster’, but this is the same as calling every animal a cow. The famous physician Galen (2nd century AD) gives a definition of μάλαγμα that clearly demonstrates its generic meaning. He then discusses the different sorts of μαλάγματα ‘emollients’ and mentions among them the μαλακτική ἱμάλατος ‘soothing plaster or poultice’ in Cap. V. This is what we find in LXX-Ezekiel 30:21 too: the Lord has not merely broken, but ‘crushed’ Pharaoh’s arm (σκιερεία) and then it continues:

οἰ κατελθόντι τοῦ δοθήματος, λατάν τοῦ δοθήματος ἐξ αὐτῶν μάλαγμα
it has not been bound up to give healing, to give an emollient upon it.

The words for ‘binding’ in both Hebrew and Greek suggest that the emollient is a plaster in this context, but this does not appear from the word μάλαγμα itself. In papyri the word μάλαγμα occurs first in a series of medicinal prescriptions for the soothing of wounds in the mouth and appears also in a list of medicines between wax and galbanum.

Translation
The detailed ποδός ‘from the sole of the foot’ has been generalized into ἄπο τοῦ ποδός ‘from the feet’, which also entails a change of accidence (number). This is a stylistically motivated transformation that makes the wording more parallel. It is consequent to say

ἄπο τοῦ ποδός ἵκας κομφίς
‘from feet to head’ OR
ἄπο ἰχνος τοῦ ποδός ἵκας κομφίς
‘from the sole of the feet to the top of the head’.87

A literal translation, ἄπο ἰχνος πόδος ἵκας κομφίς ‘from the sole of the foot to the head’, would not satisfy in stylistic respect.

It seems that εἰπάργα ‘there is no soundness’, well attested by manuscripts, was originally rendered in Greek and fell out in an early stage of the transmission process (see Greek text).

The word ἄπο in its masoretic vocalisation means ‘soundness’. It was known to the translators of Psalms, who rendered it with ἀπός ‘healing’ in Psalm 37 (MT 38):4,8, which lends support to the reconstruction that I have proposed above. The translator probably vocalized the Hebrew text as ἅπαργα ‘there is no healing one’.

The three words for injuries are literally translated:
• ἄπο and its rendering τραύμα both mean ‘wound’
• ἰχνος and its rendering μάλαγμα both mean ‘bruise’
• ἄπο and its rendering παργή both mean ‘wound caused by a blow’.

84 Lust e.a., Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint, II, 289; Preisigke, Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyriurkunden 2, 48 (‘Heilpflaster!’).
87 Cf. Deuteronomy 28:35; 3 Kingdoms (MT 2 Samuel) 14:25.
88 This rendering is standard in the LXX, see Hatch & Redpath’s Concordance 938a. The word pair may have been imported from LXX-Genesis 4:23; Exodus 21:25.
The latter part of Isaiah 1:6 has been completely restructured to meet the demands of logic and medical practice. Let us try to find out which problems may have prompted the translator to resort to such transformations. A literal translation of the Hebrew speaks of … fresh injuries, which have not been pressed out, nor bandaged, nor soothed with oil.

The first problem is one of general experience. A wound cannot be fresh and festering at the same time. This is a difficulty modern versions recognize and solve in different ways. The LXX-translator solved it by omitting the notion of "fresh" and translating "festering". This constitutes a translation of effect → cause, as festering of course precedes pressing out. At the same time this entails a change of syntactic function: the clause "they have not been pressed out" is transformed into a participle, "festering" and moved upward as well.

The second problem is the order of medical treatment. The order in MT is climactic: 'the wounds are neither pressed out nor bandaged nor soothed with oil,' meaning: even soothing with oil, the very minimal treatment of wounds, is impossible. But viewed chronologically, the wounds are first bandaged and then soothed with oil according to the Hebrew text, the reverse of what normally happens. The translator normalized the order, probably with an eye to his audience. Alexandria could boast of an unsurpassed medical school, so that 'Alexandrian' could stand for 'physician'. The clause "they were not bandaged" is transformed into ἀπαραπτόμενος "to apply bandages" and mentioned after the oil, as the last act of the medical treatment. A more logical order can be found in modern versions too. Further, the Hebrew mentions 'soothing with oil' as one act. But in the Septuagint the Hebrew phrase ἅλαλα ὁ ἄλος 'it was not soothed' is separated from the 'oil' and rendered as μαλακία "emollient". To facilitate understanding I present a table in English:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MT</th>
<th>LXX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fresh injury</td>
<td>festering injury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They are neither pressed out nor bandaged nor soothed with oil.</td>
<td>[There is] no emollient [to apply] nor oil nor bandages.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

93 NJV, for example, speaks of 'open sores, not cleansed'. Here the notion of 'pressing out' is generalized to avoid the problem. NIP's, on the other hand, translates יָצָא 'fresh' as 'festering' (unlikely).
90 This meaning is given by modern lexica, but it is not certain if the translator was familiar with it. Apart from Isaiah 1:6, the word occurs in Judges 15:15 where Simson's יָצָא וְאָפָיִן 'fresh jawbone of an ass' is rendered as יָצָא לִי וַתָּקָם אַגָּפֵי (Agape) 'the jaw-bone of an ass that had been cast away'. The translator of LXX-Judges apparently derived יָצָא from Aramaic אצ to 'throw'. LXX most probably derived this, like BDB 267, from יָצָא to 'press out', which occurs also in Judges 6:38, where Gideon 'wrings out' the dew from his fleece. It is possible that the translator vocalized the verbs in the second part of Isaiah 1:6 as passive forms, like MT, since Qal is 'a guttural by the plene writing in יָצָא אָפָיִן.
94 Like the Dutch Groot Nieuws Bijbel and the New Living Translation.
95 The word יָצָא 'tender, soft' is rendered as μαλακός in Job 40:27; Proverbs 25:15. In Ezekiel 30:21 μαλακία is a rendering of יָצָא 'windings', not of יָצָא, which is translated as דּוֹחָן.
Transformations in Isaiah 1

ISAIAH 1:7

Your land is desolate, your cities fire-burnt! Your territory, in your presence, foreigners devour it, and it lies desolate, ruined by foreign peoples.

Your land is a wilderness, your cities are burnt by fire. Your territory, in your presence, strangers devour it, and a wilderness like the overthrow of strangers.

Greek text In Classical Greek ξημός, the Hellenistic period tipped the balance in favour of two endings. In the LXX no feminine ending occurs.66 The first two clauses are verbless (see Genesis 2:4). Whether interference or not, in Greek the nominal clauses may be interpreted as exclamations (BDR § 127). The meaning that is required for θέλα is 'territory'.97 Other meanings as 'dry land' opposed to sea and 'countryside' opposed to towns are not suitable here. Τὴν θελαν ἱμᾶς, functions here as an accusativus pendens, whereby ἱμᾶς is used pleonastically, strictly speaking. Pleonastic use of pronouns can often be found Koiné Greek.98 The frequency of such pleonastic pronouns, especially in combination with relative clauses, constitutes a statistical Hebraism, as they occur more frequently in translated than in original Greek. The next instance of this phenomenon can already be found in Isaiah 1:21.

Translation It is difficult to say whether the LXX-translator vocalized ἵμα as a noun, ἵμαι 'wilderness', like MT, or as an adjective, ἵμα 'desolate'. Since the Greek ξημός is in fact equally ambiguous (it can be either an adjective or a substantively used adjective) we will not count it as a transformation in the sense of this study. The phrase ἵμα ἱματα 'burnt by fire' is compressed into one word, τυρίακατος 'fire-burnt'.99 This transformation shows two things. First, the translator elegantly avoids circumlocutions, 'κατακασμένοιν πωίς ή "κατακασμένοιν ἵμα τωρκή 'burnt by fire'. The latter occurs in Isaiah 9:18, where a concise adjective cannot be employed. Second, the translator does not satisfy himself with κατακασμένοιν 'burnt', but keeps the two elements FIRE + BURN visible. Because both ἵμα and θέλα mean 'territory' in this context,100 we are dealing with a literal translation. This is in fact an incidental overlap between the two words, and this explains why θέλα is no standard rendering of ἵμα throughout the Septuagint. θελαν ήμαν 'in your presence' has the same meaning as Hebrew הָנַרְבָּה and can be considered a literal translation of it.

66 Lust, Greek-English Lexicon, s.v. ξημός ("οις, -ης, -αι"), including its reference to the feminine form ξημός in Genesis 12:9, where all manuscripts read ἵμαν θέλαµα, is mistaken.
97 Cf. LSJ, Louw & Nida, Greek-English Lexicon, entry 1.79. Cf. Isaiah 7:18. The latter occurs in Isaiah 9:18, where a concise adjective cannot be employed. Second, the translator does not satisfy himself with κατακασμένοιν 'burnt', but keeps the two elements FIRE + BURN visible.
98 Bakker, Pronomen abundans and pronomen coniunctum, 19 ff.
99 Occurs only in LXX-Isaiah, 1:7; 9:4; 64:10.
100 For הָנַרְבָּה, see BDB 9b, s. 'land, territory, country'.

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The final clause of 1:7 is somewhat strange in Hebrew, which has led to a slightly different text and to an emendation by modern scholars who read ‘Sodom’ instead of ‘strangers’. But LXX can only be understood as a translation of a consonant text that is identical to MT. The first word, surprisingly vocalized ‘wilderness’ in MT, was probably vocalized as a verb ‘is desolate’ by the Septuagint translator and translated literally as ‘has been laid waste’, whereby the perfect tense expresses the result: the utter desolation. The rendering of ‘like the overthrow of strangers’ with ‘ruined by foreign peoples’ entails a number of transformations. First the translator removed the comparison. He probably did this because a literal translation of the comparison into Greek results in a sentence with a queer logic: ‘it has been laid waste as if it had been overthrown by strangers.’ ‘As if’ is ill at place, because the context makes clear that the country has been ruined by strangers. We are dealing with a non-obligatory omission to improve the logic. The second transformation is a direct consequence of it. Once the comparison has disappeared, ‘overthrow’ cannot be maintained as a noun, but must be transformed into a verb. The third transformation, the explicitation of ‘by’ is then also necessary, for now one must choose whether ‘overthrow of strangers by others’ or ‘overthrow effected by strangers’, in other words, choose between a genitivus objectivus and a genitivus subjectivus. The fourth transformation is the explicitation of ‘peoples’. The word ‘people’ does not render a Hebrew word, which means that the choice for ‘peoples’ was made consciously. Montevecchi has shown how the Septuagint follows Hellenistic usage in this respect. In the LXX ‘people’ usually denotes Israel, whereas foreign nations are called έθνος. But sometimes a gentile people is referred to as λαός (singular). This happens ‘when a people is indicated as a socio-political community, not as an ethnic group’.

These observations, together with the historical situation described, explains why the Isaiah translator uses λαός ‘peoples’: the country was destroyed by foreign armies, which are socio-political, not ethnic groups. But we also have to ask: why was λαός made explicit at all? For surely a mere ἀλλήλους ‘foreigners’ is clear enough, as is shown a few words earlier: ἀλλήλους καταστρέφων αὐτήν ‘foreigners [not: foreign nations] devour it’. The rationale has to be sought in semantics. There is a nearly complete correspondence between the verbs έθνος and καταστρέφω as both can mean ‘to turn upside down’ in a literal sense as well as ‘to destroy’. It seems that the translator added λαός ‘nations’ to indicate that the metaphorical language of

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101 O. Montevecchi, LAOS. Linee di una ricerca storico-linguistica, 63. Cf. BDAG s.v. έθνος ‘a body of persons united by kinship, culture, and common traditions.’
102 Cf. Louw & Nida, Greek-English Lexicon, entry 11.55, λαός as ‘socio-political community’.
103 It is not probable that the translator inserted λαός to avoid an awkward sequence of vowels at word boundaries, as I first thought, because such a sequence occurs also in Isaiah 5:24 (καταστρέφων καλύμμα τοῦ έθνος).
104 For ‘to turn upside down’, see 4 Kingdoms (MT 2 Kings) 21:13 (a jar); Job 18:4 (mountains); for destruction, see Genesis 19:21ff; Deuteronomy 29:22, where the text also deals with the destruction of Sodom, a reference which is also present in Isaiah 1:9; cf. Isaiah 13:19.
Transformations in Isaiah 1

‘foreigners devour it’ stops here and that καταστρέφω must be understood in the sense of ‘destruction’, not of ‘turning upside down’.

ISAIAH 1:8

The daughter of Sion will be left alone as a tent in a vineyard and as a garden-watcher’s hut in a cucumber bed, as a besieged city.

And the daughter of Zion will be left alone as a booth in a vineyard, as a hut in a cucumber-field, as a besieged city.

Greek text

In 1:8, the name Σιων functions as a genitive, ‘daughter of Sion’, as shown by related phrases.107

The word ἐμπεφαρέται ‘vineyard’ is surprisingly not attested before the Koine period.108

Translation

There are two minor transformations regarding conjunctions. In Hebrew the verse begins with ‘and’, which introduces 1:8 as the result of the devastations described in 1:7. The LXX-translator omitted it, as he apparently thought that the shocking result in 1:8 would work better without preceding conjunction. In this respect Greek style shows similarities with modern European languages, as modern Bible translations attest. The καί ‘and’ that does appear in Greek might be an ‘addition’, as it is lacking from MT. We will not discuss it, however, since 1QIsa reads καί ὡσεὶ σπιτάκι ‘and like a hut’.

The rendering of Ὁδεῖσθαι with ἐν ἐμπεφαρέται is a literal translation, as both mean ‘will be left alone’. These verbs frequently figure as counterparts throughout the Septuagint.109

The translation of καταστρέφω ‘booth’ reveals a different mapping of lexemes related to non-permanent structures. The Hebrew סֵבָב‎ means ‘booth made of boughs (and leaves)’. As far as I know, Greek has no exact counterpart to it. The Hebrew term is translated with the more generic οἰκή, which means ‘place of shelter, freq. of temporary quarters in contrast to fixed abodes of solid construction, tent, hut’ (BDAG 928). In most cases οἰκή denotes a ‘tent’, i.e. a structure of wooden poles and skins or tent-cloth, but it can also denote a ‘booth’, i.e. a structure of boughs and leaves. Dio Chrysostom (1st century AD) speaks of a οἰκή μᾶλα ὄγχοις ξύλων ‘a hut of very strong beams’ (LSJ). The LXX-translators could then use οἰκή in the sense of ‘booth’ without problems.110

107 Among others, Isaiah 47:1 θυγάτηρ Βαβυλῶνος … θυγάτηρ Χαλδαίων…
109 I thus cannot follow Wilk, Vision wider Judæa, 20, who sees here a ‘Stichwortbezug zu V. 4 und vor allem zu 60, 14f.’ For the verbal tense, see the discussion of 1:29.
110 The Festival of Booths is called ἡμέρα οἰκής in Leviticus 23:34 etc. Nehemia 8:15 tells how οἰκής were constructed from branches and leaves.
TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE SEPTUAGINT

The transformation from קָוצָה ‘hut, ‘abode’ to קֹצָי יָם ‘garden-watcher’s hut’ is a specification that became necessary because the more generic term סָקָה ‘tent, booth’ had already been used in the previous line.

The Hebrew נָשְׁאָב, when viewed as related to נָשָׁא ‘cucumbers’ (Numbers 11:5), means ‘cucumber-field’ and נָשָׁא בְּתֵין ‘cucumber-bed’ can be considered a literal translation.

A literal translation too is the rendering of תַּנִּי הָיוֹת ‘like a besieged city’, which is echoed by recent translations. The LXX-translator obviously shared this interpretation.

**ISAIAH 1:9**

כִּי אָנִי מְקַרְיֵי עַמְּךָ ֖יָרָה יָרָה, ֑וֹךְ סֹדֹם ֖אָנָּנוּ וְגָוִּימותָנוּ. and unless the Lord Sabaoth had left us seed, we would have been like Sodoma and have become like Gomorra.

 Unless the Lord of hosts had left us a remnant – nearly – we would have been like Sodom and have become like Gomorra.

Greek text –

**Translation** Twice we find an addition of καὶ to smoothen the transition in Greek. The twofold ‘addition’ of άν, on the other hand, is obligatory (Smyth § 1786f.).

The rendering of יהוה של לティブ ‘Yhwh of hosts’ with κύριος σαβαόθ ‘Lord sabaoth’ contains a transcription to which much attention has been devoted. Sabaoth is typical of LXX-Isaiah, whereas other books use phrases like κύριος τὸν δυνάμεις ‘almighty Lord’ and κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων ‘Lord of the powers’. As the phrase does not occur in the Pentateuch, the Isaiah translator saw untrodden ground before him. Talshir presents the following development from a study of the manuscripts. The transcription sabaoth belongs to the first stage (LXX-Isaiah). At the second stage translators of other books focused on rendering the content, whereby some chose κύριος τοὺς δυνάμεως ‘almighty Lord’ and a more literal school of translation, probably later, preferred κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων ‘Lord of the powers’ – according to Talshir. The question that remains is: why did the translator resort to a transcription? With his concern for a clear and understandable text, he must have had strong reasons for it. I can think of several possibilities. The first is that the meaning of יהוה של לティブ was de-

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112 His other transcriptions have a clear functions, e.g. as technical terms. We find מניון נפש ‘sabbath’ (1:13); מניון (Isaiah 5:22), a name of an exotic alcoholic beverage, like vodka in English; מניון
Transformations in Isaiah 1

bated among the translator’s intended readership, as it is today, and that the translator did not want to estrange certain circles from his work. The second possibility is that he had to reckon with a belief that attributed a magical force to the divine epithet in its Hebrew form. We know of similar taboos in some Greek manuscripts where the divine name is even written in Hebrew characters. Some centuries later, Christian audiences could be shocked when divine and ‘untranslatable words’ like *amen, alleluia* and *sabaoth* were translated.114 The Hebrew סֵפֶּר is commonly said to mean ‘someone surviving or fleeing (from a battle or generally),’115 but some scholars argue for ‘remnant’ and this is the meaning that was assumed by the earliest Bible translators.116 What the text then says is: unless the Lord had allowed a remnant to survive (from the destruction mentioned in vss. 8-9), we would have become like Sodom and Gomorra (from which no one survived). The translation סֵפֶּר ‘seed, offspring’ stands in a close logical relationship with the source text (cause → effect), since a remnant is the seed from which the posterity of a nation springs. A literal translation was probably avoided because it results in a repetition of the same root.117 The Hebrew word סֵפֶּר ‘nearly’ is not rendered in the Septuagint, not even in manuscripts with many corrections towards MT. Although it appears in IQlsa’ as well, it is problematic. First it is unclear where it belongs syntactically. From the close grammatical parallel with Psalm 93 (MT 94:17 it appears that an obvious translation would be:

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Unless the Lord of hosts had left us a remnant, we would nearly have been like Sodom
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but this destroys the simile. Already the Masoretic interpunction tried to ensure another, less likely interpretation:

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Unless the Lord of hosts had left us a remnant, like a little
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This sounds more acceptable, but the phrase printed in italics can be missed, as it adds nothing. It is therefore no wonder that commentators have always wondered at סֵפֶּר ‘nearly’, and that Bible translations, from Jerome’s Vulgate onwards, have not rendered it. The rendering of סֵפֶּר with מִזְמַרְתֶּם is a literal translation, as both mean ‘we would have become like’.

ISAIAH 1:10

114 Marti, Übersetzer der Augustin-Zeit, 106. He is probably right that the reason these words were considered ‘untranslatable’ was not only their semantic richness, but also their supposed magic quality and their popularity in Christian congregations. Incidents could occur when ‘novelties’ shocked the audience (pp. 136-137). The power of tradition (consuetudo) had to be reckoned with.

115 HAL 1263b.

116 See Kedar-Kopfstein, art. סֵפֶּר in TWAT VII, 897ff.

117 Cf. Aquila’s translation ἐγκαταλείπτων λέειμα and 4 Kingdoms (MT 2 Kings) 10:11 ἑκατέρτη μὴ καταλείπειν αὐτοῦ κατάλειμμα.
Transformations in the Septuagint

Hear the word of the Lord, rulers of Sodoma, be attentive of the law of God, people of Gomorrah!

Greek text –

Translation The names of Sodom and Gomorra occur in a naturalized transcription, since they display the genitive case in this verse. Unlike in 1:2, the verb ἁκούετε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ‘to listen’ was not rendered as ἀκούετε ἵππος ‘to give ear to’, because the translator avoided constructions of ἀκούετε ἵππος + object (see 1:2).118 Instead, the translator employed προκύψαι ‘to heed to’. The possessive suffix in ἱκώτας ‘our God’ is omitted in Greek. To find out why, let us compare the LXX with a modern version, e.g. Gute Nachricht:

(10) Ihr Machthaber von Sodom, hört, was der HERR sagt! Du Volk von Gomorra, vernimm die Weisung unseres Gottes!

(11) »Was soll ich mit euren vielen Opfern?« fragt der HERR.

As the quotation marks make clear, verse 10 introduces the direct speech of verse 11. The Hebrew word הַרְצָה torah denotes the immediately following divine speech, and can thus best be translated by ‘teaching’, as most modern English versions do. This rendering stays close to the primary meaning of torah ‘teaching, direction’. Torah as God’s law, written down by Moses, is perhaps adequate in other places, not here. Nevertheless, it seems that the tradition of translating torah with νόμος ‘law’119 was so deeply rooted that the Isaiah translator had no choice but to follow it. The consequence of this is that νόμος ‘law’ can no longer be viewed as an introduction by the prophet of God’s direct speech in 1:11. Rather, 1:10 turns into a general appeal, and there is no longer any reason to assume a change of speaker between 1:10 and 1:11. The impression is, then, that God speaks in 1:10-11. And if God speaks in 1:10-11, it is clear why ‘be attentive of the law of our God’ cannot stand (in his mouth), and, hence, why the pronoun must be omitted. As this transformation can be explained text-immanently, theological explanations are out of order.120

The rendering of ἱκώτας with προκύπτων ἱκώτας Σοδόμων can best be considered a literal translation, as both mean ‘rulers of Sodom’. Admittedly προκύπτω functions as a rendering of more than thirty different Hebrew terms denoting leadership, which suggests a generalization, but it seems that προκύπτω ‘ruler’ has a generic meaning too (see HAL). In Isaiah 3:6,7 the Hebrew term is rendered as ἀρχηγός, ‘leader’. In that context the word denotes a leader as an individual, and not a class of leading citizens, who are more appropriately called ἀρχηγοί.

118 For statistics regarding ἱκώτας and προκύπτω, see Ekblad, Isaiah’s Servant Poems, 89ff.
119 See A.F. Segal, Torah and *nomos* in Recent Scholarly Discussion, in: A.F. Segal, *The Other Judaisms of the Late Antiquity* (Brown Judaic Studies 127), Atlanta 1987, 131-145.
120 E.g. Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 21 („unterstreicht... die Allgemeingültigkeit dieses Gesetzes“). Such may be the reception of the translated text, but not necessarily the translator’s intention.
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ISAIAH 1:11

Why to me the multitude of your sacrifices? – says the Lord. I am satiated of whole-burnt-offerings of rams; and the fat of lambs and the blood of bulls and he-goats I do not desire.

To what end do you bring your burnt-offerings, the sacrifices of your livestock, and your соверенные жертвоприношения? The Lord says, I am weary of burnt-offerings. I do not want the fat from the ram, the blood from the bull, or the he-goat.

Greek text In lively questions the verb is sometimes omitted in Koine Greek when the meaning is easily supplied from the context (BDR § 127).

The words for offerings, λατρεία ‘sacrifice’ (σάρκος), ὀλοκληρωματίζομεν ‘whole-burnt-offering’ (ἵλιον), εἶμα ‘blood’ (στέφανος ‘fat’ (πλάτης) are the normal renderings. We will consider them as literal translations.

The sacrificial animals receive a treatment of their own:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hebrew</th>
<th>Greek</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'rams'</td>
<td>κροίν ‘rams’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fatlings'</td>
<td>ἄμφος ‘lambs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'bulls'</td>
<td>ταύρος ‘bulls’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sheep'</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he-goats'</td>
<td>τρέγον ‘he-goats’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The counterparts marked by (≡) are translated literally in accordance with the LXX-Pentateuch. The deviations are of course interesting. First, the Hebrew צב ‘bull’ is rendered literally with ταύρος ‘bull’, but in the LXX-Pentateuch we find mostly μύγας ‘young bull’, only once ταύρος (Genesis 32:15). It is difficult to guess why the translator used ταύρος here. One explanation might be that in the Septuagint ταύρος is used in contexts that stress a bull’s strength and aggressiveness, whereas sacrificial contexts prefer μύγας ‘young bull’, roughly speaking. It seems to me that ταύρος is intentionally used in prophetic texts that speak in a depreciatory manner about sacrifices. Another possible explanation is stylistic: τρέγον and ταύρος ‘bucks and bulls’ gives a nice alliteration and this word pair occurs throughout the LXX as a rendering of different Hebrew expressions and in original Greeks texts as well.

The Hebrew term צב is interpreted by some dictionaries as a generic term for a fatted animal. Ancient translators took it dependent on the context to be a sheep or an ox.

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125 Compare e.g. in the LXX 2 Samuel 6:13 with Ezekiel 39:18.
TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE SEPTUAGINT

Now our text speaks of 'the fat of fatlings'. As fat, especially a fat tail, was characteristic of sheep, it is understandable that the translator chose for 'lambs'. The הַשַּׁבֵּן 'sheep' are omitted, probably because it is semantically superfluous. Only male sheep (male lambs and rams) were sacrificed, and these have already been mentioned in the Greek text. So הַשַּׁבֵּן 'sheep' can be omitted without semantic loss in Greek.¹²⁶

ISAIAH 1:12

nor if you come to appear before me. Who has demanded those [offerings] from your hands? Treading my court

If you come to appear [before] my face: who asked that from your hand, to tread my court?

Greek text In Koine Greek the meaning of ἐπιθυμεῖν, which originally meant 'to come' and 'to go', had been limited to 'to come' alone.¹²⁷ ἔζετρεῖα means here 'to look for something with a view to securing it, desire, seek to get' (BDAG 362b).

Translation The unpointed Hebrew text is most plausibly vocalized המְצַא הַלְוָה 'to see My face'.¹²⁸ For theological reasons MT has the vocalization מְצַא הַלְוָה, resulting in the queer expression 'to appear my face'. This reading tradition was apparently authoritative to the LXX-translators, since we find a rendering with ὁθητήσαι 'to appear' everywhere.¹²⁹ This tradition predates the LXX and can therefore not be ascribed to the translators. But the queer collocation of the authoritative reading tradition was handled differently by various translators. In 1 Kingdoms (MT 1 Samuel) 1:22 the 'face' is rendered literally:

καὶ ὁθητήσεται τῷ προσώπῳ κυρίου
and he [Samuel] shall appear before the face of the Lord

This rendering, that we find also in Psalm 41 (MT 42):3, is typical of a later and more literal translation. In the LXX-Pentateuch we find more idiomatic renderings, because in Greek this expression is usually construed without προσώπου 'face', like in Exodus 23:15:

όχι ὁθηθεὶς ἐν ἄγγελον μου κενάς
you shall not appear before Me with empty hands

¹²⁶ Contra Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 22. H.G.L. Williamson, Isaiah 1.11 and the Septuagint of Isaiah, is not relevant to our discussion of this verse. Unfortunately, his observations are fragmentary and only partially correct, esp. on p. 409.
¹²⁷ Lee, Lexical Study 85.
¹²⁹ Exodus 23:15; 34:20, 34, 24; Deuteronomy 16:16; 31:11; 1 Kingdoms (MT 1 Samuel) 1:22; Psalm 41 (MT 42):3.
Transformations in Isaiah 1

Here the strange element יִסְדַּל is interpreted as if it were a semi-preposition like יֹשֶׁב ‘before’ or יֹשֶׁב ל ‘before’. The latter one is indeed found in the same context in verse 17 of the same passage. In completely idiomatic Greek ἐπίθυμω + dative is sufficient,130 as in 3 Kingdoms (MT 1 Kings) 3:16,

Then two prostitutes appeared before the king and stood before him.

The LXX gives an idiomatic rendering of the Hebrew ראה אֲלֵיהֶם הָאָדָם ‘came to the king’ and is not concerned with a proportional rendering of prepositions and active or passive. This underscores the fact that the Greek expression ἐπίθυμω + dative ‘appeared before the king’ has been chosen purely for its own sake. The Isaiah translator also uses this expression with a mere dative.

The most striking difference between MT and LXX lies in the syntax. This is remarkable, as the syntax of MT is not ambiguous or problematic. Its natural interpretation, reflected in the above working translation, is found in all Bible translations known to me, from Targum and Vulgate onwards, and in both Jewish and Christian commentaries. The Septuagint presents an interpretation of MT whereby the elements of the sentence are grouped differently throughout 1:12-14 and conjunctions with different functions are inserted. Now what prompted the Isaiah translator to depart from the most natural interpretation of the syntax? The Hebrew text says אֲלֵיהֶם הָאָדָם ‘who asked this from your hand?’ The verb קָאָס πι. can be construed with different prepositions. The collocation קָאָס מ can mean ‘to ask (a favour) from’, but דַרְשָׂה מ, lit. ‘to ask from the hand of’ means ‘to exact payment from’, ‘to demand compensation from’.131 In this line it is understandable that ‘who asked this from your hand’ is taken to refer to the just mentioned sacrificial animals. Such an interpretation can be supported by the Pentateuch, for which I give two examples. In Deuteronomy 12:6ff. certain offerings, probably first-fruits, are called ‘contributions of your hand’. In Leviticus 7:30, the law of a fellowship- or peace-offering, it is prescribed for non-priestly Israelites:

With his own hands he is to bring the offering made to the LORD by fire; he is to bring the fat, together with the breast… (NIV).

Because of the plurality of sacrifices mentioned it is logical that two changes of accidence (number) occur, viz. מ ‘this thing’ → וְזָכַר ‘these things’ and מ ‘from your hand’ → מִי הַרְשׁוֹפָה יָבִא ‘from your hands’. To ensure that מ ‘from your hand’ is taken to refer to the just mentioned sacrificial animals. Such an interpretation can be supported by the Pentateuch, for which I give two examples. In Deuteronomy 12:6ff. certain offerings, probably first-fruits, are called ‘contributions of your hand’. In Leviticus 7:30, the law of a fellowship- or peace-offering, it is prescribed for non-priestly Israelites:

With his own hands he is to bring the offering made to the LORD by fire; he is to bring the fat, together with the breast… (NIV).

After the decisions the translator has made so far, he has no other choice but to link the last clause of 1:12 to 1:13, which is possible (cf. NJPS), but not normal in Hebrew:

130 See the examples in BDAG 719.
131 See BDB 135a for the difference. Gray, Isaiah I-XXVI, 25 also saw the problem. He stresses: ‘י in such phrases is not necessarily literal,’ for which he gives some examples.
(12) Περιλέξε τὴν αὐλήν μου (13) οὗ προσθήκησας
Treading my court, do not continue [that] = do not continue to tread my court

Regarding ‘τὰ πάντα’ ‘my courts’ (plural), we have to bear in mind that the Septuagint translators used an unpointed Hebrew text, so that τὴν αὐλήν μου ‘my court’ (singular) cannot be counted as a transformation. The translator read τὴν as singular ‘my court’. It is nevertheless a choice, but one fully in line with the preceding part of the verse, as the translator has rendered it, viz. ‘Who has demanded those [offerings] from your hands?’ The court, i.e. the inner court of the temple, was the place where the sacrifices were brought. MT contains reproach to all visitors of the temple precincts.

ISAIAH 1:13

οὗ προσθήκησας, ἔκασταν σημβολόλογο, μέσαμα· θυμίαμα βόλινωμα μοί ἐστιν· τὰς νοσμερίας ἔμοι καὶ τὰ συμβλήσει καὶ ἐμέρισαν μεγάλην οὐκ ἄνεσθεν. Νηστείαν καὶ ἐργάζόμενον
do not continue [that]. When you bring fine flour, it is vain; incense is an abomination to me. Your New Moons and Sabbaths and a great day I do not bear. Fasting and not-working

Do not continue to bring meaningless gifts! They are a sacrifice of abomination to me. Your New Moon and Sabbath, the calling of a convocation I do not bear iniquity and a solemn assembly.

Greek text The term βόλινωμα ‘abomination’ was for a long time considered unique to LXX and NT, but has now been found outside it.132 Although the plural form τὰ συμβλήσει can denote a single Sabbath day (BDAG 909a), the parallel with τὰς νοσμερίας ‘the New Moons’, a festival that is less frequent than the Sabbath, makes it probable that we have here a genuine plural.

Translation The Hebrew term נ blockDim can mean ‘gift’, ‘tribute’, ‘offering’ in a general sense and has been rendered accordingly in Greek. In the Pentateuch it often occurs in the specialized sense of ‘grain offering’. According to Leviticus 2:1ff. this grain offering consisted of σμικράλσ ‘fine flour’. In the context of Isaiah 1, dealing with temple and cult, the translator chose for a specification.134 With respect to syntax, we have already seen that the translator linked the first two words of 1:13 to 1:12. This had grave consequences for the translation of the rest of 1:13. The words מים ומעשרות ‘to bring meaningless gifts’ were now severed from their natural syntax. The rendering of this phrase then became a problem. With the phrase about the incense the translator was again on safe ground, where he could provide a literal representation of the Hebrew.135 The translator then made the remaining three words מים ומעשרות אתי מים ומעשרות אתי מים ומעשרות אתי מים וμאש אתי מים וμαשאתי מים וμαשאתי מים וμαשאתי מים וμαשאתי מים וμαשאתי מים וμαשאתי מים Vàμαשאתי מים Vàμαשאתי מים Vàμαשאתי מים Vàμαשאתי מים Vàμαשאתי מים Vàμαشאתי מים Vàμαشا

132 Lee, Lexical Study, 47, n.1; cf. BDAG 172a.
133 Perhaps a semi-plural as a loan word from Aramaic, see Lee, Lexical Study 16.
134 This is not noted correctly in Hatch & Redpath’s Concordance nor in Muraoka’s Index.
135 But cf. the interpretation by Gray, Isaiah I-XXVI, 25, reflected in the New Jerusalem Bible and the Dutch NBG51, where מים ומעשרות is interpreted not as incense, but as the smoke of the offerings in general.
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into an independent sentence without regard for their grammatical form (transformations underlined):

When you bring fine flour, it is vain; to bring meaningless gifts

The translator added a conjunction, turned the verb into a second person plural, broke up the Hebrew construct state and gave the attributive noun "vanity" the function of a predicate.

The final part of 1:13 has a difficult syntax: the verb "I cannot bear" seems to have two objects and modern translations take pains to overcome this. The NIV inserts dashes, suggesting an anacoluthon. The *Gute Nachricht*, aiming for natural speech, needs several additions (underlined) to make decent German out of it:

New Moons, Sabbaths and convocations -- I cannot bear your evil assemblies.

The Septuagint translator of Isaiah solved this problem by connecting "fasting and resting" to 1:14. (Verse divisions did not exist in ancient manuscripts.) But this connection forced the translator to add the conjunction "and" at the beginning of 1:14. The names of the Israelite festivals are singular in Hebrew, but they have a collective sense here. It is understandable that the Greek translator, followed by his modern colleagues, renders the names in plural (change of accidence). The addition of the possessive pronoun in "New Moons, Sabbaths and other festivals" is an anaphoric translation, imported from 1:14. The translator probably wants to stress already in 1:13 the thought from 1:14, that the prophet is not denouncing the festivals as such but "your New Moons", i.e. "the festivals the way you celebrate them". Before "great day" the conjunction "and" is obligatorily added.

The transformation of "holy assembly" into "a great day" is a complicated issue. First we have to look at the meaning of the Hebrew. The phrase "holy assembly" often occurs in the Pentateuch. On the first and seventh day of Pesach, on Rosh Hashana (as it is called today), on the Day of Atonement and on the first and eighth day of the Feast of Tabernacles holy assemblies must be held according to Leviticus 23. Work is not permitted. The meaning of "holy assembly" in Isaiah 1:13 is then: the calling of such holy assemblies on the occasion of festivals. The translation "your Sabbaths, New Moons and other festivals" that is common with Jewish and Christian commentators as well as in translations from Jerome to the present day, hits the mark. It seems probable that this was obvious to the Greek translator of Isaiah too. Now in the LXX-Pentateuch "holy assembly" is often rendered as "called holy" (participle pu'âl). Some scholars still regard "convocation" as a neologism meaning "convocation" but this is questionable: in that case the Isaiah translator could not use this rendering, because the element "called holy"...
‘holy’ is lacking in 1:13. How did he solve this problem? The answer depends on how we interpret ἡμέρα μεγάλη ‘great day’. The first possible explanation is that the translator opted for a generalization, ἡμέρα μεγάλη ‘great day’. We know this expression also from John 7:37, where it denotes the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles. There has been a debate whether the seventh or the eighth day is meant. Barrett, after reviewing all arguments, arrives at a choice for the eighth day, the day on which a holy assembly took place. The second possible explanation is specification. There are sources that testify to a specific meaning of ἡμέρα μεγάλη, viz. Day of Atonement. I give two quotes from early Christian literature (2nd century AD):

καὶ έν τούτῳ μὴ σκέφτησί τε καὶ σκέφτηκαν οὗτος ἡμέραν τόλμας οἷς ἑζήσαντο ἡμέρα τοῦ ἅγιου οὗτος τῇ ἑβδομάδῃ οὗτος μεγάλην ἡμέραν

and if there appears no moon, they do not observe a Sabbath called the first, nor do they observe a New Moon, nor Unleavened Bread, nor the Feast nor the Great Day.140

... sie beobachten die Sabbathe und die Neumonde und die ungesäuerten Brote und den grossen < Tag > und das Fasten und die Beschneidung und die Reinheit der Speisen.141

Its appearance among other annual festivals like Passover and the Feast of Tabernacles helps us to understand that ἡμέρα μεγάλη means here Day of Atonement. The church father Justin actually made Isaiah 1:13 deal with the Day of Atonement, for he reshapcs our text in the following fashion:

καὶ μεγάλην ἡμέραν συναγωγή καὶ ἄργειαν οἷς οὐκ ἀποχρεῖται καὶ μεγάλην ἡμέραν καὶ ἄργειαν

and a great day of fasting as well as not-working I do not bear

[instead of:] καὶ μεγάλην ἡμέραν οἷς οὐκ ἀποχρεῖται καὶ μεγάλην ἡμέραν καὶ ἄργειαν

and a great day I do not bear. Fasting and not-working...

With a reference to the sources just mentioned, Seeligmann states it is clear that by ἡμέρα μεγάλη the Septuagint translator means the Day of Atonement.143 There are indications that support this view. First, the translator wants ‘New Moon and Sabbath’ to be understood

excurso XI ‘ἡμέρα ἅχαζ in the Greek and Latin Bibles’ in P. Walters (Katz), The Text of the Septuagint. Its Corruptions and Their Emendation, Cambridge 1973, 244-246.

139 C.K. Barrett, The Gospel According to St. John, London 1955, 269; more recently F.J. Moloney, The Gospel of John (Sacra Pagina Series 4), Collegeville 1998, 256. To Barrett’s arguments we can now add a new one from Isaiah 1:13, viz. that ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ μεγάλη ‘the great day’ is that day in which a ἅχαζ ἅχαζ ‘holy assembly’ was held, which is the eighth day.

140 The Feast is almost certainly the Feast of Tabernacles, in accordance with the rabbinic ḥag, while ‘the Great Day’ corresponds to ἡμέρα ἅχαζ. The quote is from the Praedicatio Petri, in Clement of Alexandria, Stromata Buch I-VI (ed. O. Stählin, L. Früchtel), Berlin 1960, 452 (Stromata VI, Chapter V).

141 Translation of a Syriac manuscript by R. Seeberg, Die Apologie des Aristides (Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur, V. II), Erlangen und Leipzig 1893, 393. Note that the Syriac manuscript reads כִּסְלָה כִּסְלָה ‘Great Fast’ instead of כִּסְלָה כִּסְלָה ‘Great Day’. The text printed here is emended by Seeberg.


143 Seeligmann, The Septuagint Version of Isaiah, 102. Already suggested by Frankel, Über die Einflüsse der palästinischen Exegeese, 98.
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collectively, and he therefore renders it in plural: ‘New Moons and Sabbaths’. He could have written likewise ἡμέρας μεγάλὰς ‘great days’, but he keeps ἡμέραν μεγάλην singular, thus suggesting a specific day. Second, the absence of an article in Isaiah 1:13 as well as in the Praedicatio Petri may point to the use of ἡμέρα μεγάλη as a standard term, close to a proper name. The question has then to be answered: why did the translator give such a specific translation and inserted the Day of Atonement in a reproaching context? The answer lies in the fact that the theme is right ritual without right behaviour. And of all Jewish festivals, the Day of Atonement is susceptible of ritualistic misuse. In every generation there may be people who ‘stretch out their hands to the Lord and multiply their prayers’ on Yom Kippur in order to receive atonement, while the day after ‘their hands are full of blood’ again. (Note the paraphrase of 1:15.) Seeligmann’s theory can stand the test, in my opinion. It seems that the translator, forced to abandon a literal rendering in the style of the LXX-Pentateuch, availed himself of the opportunity to introduce a specification.

An intriguing deviation occurs in יִרְשַׁקָה וְיִרְשֶׁנְהָנָה דָּרֶשׁ וְשֶׁבֶט ‘iniquity and a solemn assembly’, attested in MT and 1QIsa, while the Septuagint reads θαρσάεως καὶ ἀρρήτων ‘fasting and resting’. Isaiah 58, the chapter on fasting and right behaviour, does not give us a clue. Some scholars believe that the LXX reflects a more original Hebrew text and the opposing viewpoint holds that MT is original and that LXX was derived from it. A survey of the question is presented by Koenig, who belongs to the former camp. His own proposal is that θαρσάεως ‘fasting’ represents a different Hebrew text, namely יִרְשַׁקָה. This word always means ‘fasting’, but on the analogy of an Arabic root Koenig proposes a יִרְשַׁקָה II, meaning ‘iniquity’. What happened, in his view? In the original Hebrew text the prophet denounced several festivals, among them יִרְשַׁקָה יִרְשֶׁנְהָנָה דָּרֶשׁ וְשֶׁבֶט ‘fasting and solemn assemblies’. Since fasting had acquired an important role after the exile, a copyist found this condemnation annoying and interpreted יִרְשַׁקָה I ‘fasting’ as יִרְשַׁקָה II ‘iniquity’. He then replaced what he considered an ambiguous homonym by the unambiguous יִרְשַׁקָה ‘iniquity’. The resulting Hebrew text, represented by MT and 1QIsa, now denounces ‘iniquity combined with solemn assemblies’, surely a proposition that no one would disagree with – so far Koenig’s hypothesis.

The opposite viewpoint is that MT יִרְשַׁקָה יִרְשֶׁנְהָנָה דָּרֶשׁ וְשֶׁבֶט ‘iniquity and a solemn assembly’ is original. The Septuagint translators either gave an anaphoric translation after Joel 1:14; 2:15, where יִרְשַׁקָה ‘solemn assembly’ and יִרְשַׁקָה ‘fasting’ are likewise mentioned in one breath, or they applied creative semantics in a way which is foreign to modern students. An evaluation of this issue is far from simple. We have to dig deeper. It seems to me that the two viewpoints differ regarding the following questions especially:

1. What were the motives for the change, in either theory?
2. By which mechanism did the change take place?

As to the first question, a theological softening of יִרְשַׁקָה ‘fasting’ into יִרְשַׁקָה ‘iniquity’ is admittedly more probable than the reverse, as scholars have long recognized. Why should a translator have altered a condemnation of iniquity into a condemnation of fasting? It is not surprising that scholars who retain MT remain silent on this issue. They seem to assume that the rendering יִרְשַׁקָה ‘fasting’ was unconscious and therefore unmotivated. The

144 Smyth § 1140; BDR § 254.
146 The idea that LXX reflects a more original Hebrew reading is shared by other scholars, among them Gray, Isaiah I-XXVI, 21.
147 For references, see Koenig, L’herméneutique analogique, 417.
148 Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 22 suggests that יִרְשַׁקָה was derived from שָׁנָה and יִרְשִׁית from שָׁנָה.
second question is more easily answered by these scholars as we saw. The change, they say, represents an anaphorical translation, imported from Joel. But now there is a silence in the opposite camp. In fact, Koenig’s hypothesis about ידוע as a homonym is the only attempt to explain by which mechanism the change entered the text. However, I find Koenig’s appeal to Arabic to postulate the existence of ידוע II ‘iniquity’ unconvincing. For with help of Arabic one can prove virtually everything, and besides, Hebrew really is in no dearth of words for sin and iniquity, so the ‘discovery’ of a new one strikes me as recherché. Another possible explanation is that a scribe simply replaced the condemnation of fasting with a condemnation of iniquity for theological reasons.149 A third possibility is palaeographic. Since MT agrees with 1QIsa, the reading must have developed roughly before 100 BC. The graphic similarity of ידוע and ידוע in ancient manuscripts may lie at the bottom of the replacement. First, although י and ז do not appear in textbooks as a pair of letters that are easily confused, their upper parts are similar, in print as well as in manuscripts. Confusion is not unthinkable, especially if the lower part is blurred.150 Second, the change of ז or more correctly י into ז can be documented (ligature), and vice versa.151 In Hebrew manuscripts ‘spaces between words were often very narrow and this accounts for some confusion.’152 Thus a抄ist could divide words differently from his original or he could (erroneously) repeat the beginning letter of a word at the end of the preceding word or vice versa.153 Furthermore, the use of the final letters י, צ, י, י, י developed gradually in the Persian period but they were not used consistently. Tov concludes from this that ‘[t]he orthographic conventions about the use of final letters […] allow us to disregard the final forms of ידוע in all Hebrew texts for purposes of reconstructing variants from the LXX and of comparing the Hebrew manuscripts with the ancient translations.’154 If the original reading has been יְדָעַֽי, the following scribal development is possible (from right to left):

(1QIsa) יְדָעַֽי > יִדְעָה יְדָעַֽי > יְדָעַֽי יְדָעַֽי > יְדָעַֽי יְדָעַֽי

To conclude, assuming the priority of יְדָעַֽי ‘fasting and a solemn assembly’ can answer more questions than assuming the priority of MT in this case. I am therefore inclined to believe that the Septuagint’s parent text read יְדָעַֽי, hence we are not dealing with a transformation.

The term יְדָעַֽי ‘solemn assembly, holiday’. The LXX-Pentateuch renders it as ἀποχή ‘closing day’ (of a festival).155 This rendering does not fit into the context of Isaiah 1:13. The translator rendered it with ἀπίστω ‘not-working’ instead. We can regard it as a specification, as work was not permitted on holidays. It is also possible to assume that the translator derived the noun from יְדָעַ ‘withdrawing from labour’.156 In this case the transla-

149 Such changes are attested, see Tov, Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible, 258ff.
151 Tov, Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible, 249; cf. Delitzsch, Lese- und Schreibfehler, 120ff.
152 Tov, Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible, 252.
153 Delitzsch, Lese- und Schreibfehler, 15.
156 HAL 824b, 825a.
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tor took up the sense of this verb and rendered πᾶσα δ’ ές λάθος lit. ‘stopping’ literally with ἀγρία (< ἄγρια ‘not-working’).

ISAIAH 1:14
καὶ τὰ τοιχοπαρά τὰ ἔσων καὶ τὰ ἐσωτερικὰ ἔσω μου ἢ θυρή μου ἐγκυμνήθη μου εἰς πλήρην οὐκέτι ἄνθρωπος τὰς ἐμπιστεύσεις ἔμων
and your New Moons and your festivals my soul hates; you have become to me unto satiety; I will not forgive your sins any more:

Your New Moons and your festivals my soul hates: they have become a burden to me. I am weary of bearing them.

Greek text –

Translation The first half of this verse is translated literally and needs no discussion, apart from the addition of καὶ (explained under 1:13). Note the Hebraistic repetition of the possessive pronoun (see Genesis 2:24).
The transformations in the second half of the verse are a consequence of the fact that the second half of 1:14 is seen by the Septuagint translator not as the continuation of the preceding words, but as a connection to 1:15. The reasons for this unexpected and unique interpretation are probably the following. First, the translator could know מַעְנָי from Deuteronomy 1:14 where it is rendered with κόστος, denoting the trouble caused by disputes among the Israelites. From this perspective it stands to reason to connect מַעְנָי to people rather than to festivals (as modern scholars do). Second, מַעְנָי 'I am weary of bearing/forgiving' can be seen as an anticipation of the parallel formulas ‘I will hide my eyes from you’ and ‘I will not listen’ in 1:15. Third, since the sequel of 1:14 is concerned with sins, it is not so far-fetched to take מַעְנָי in its possible meaning ‘to forgive’.

This interpretation results in a change of accident, as the translator had to adapt the third person מַעְנָי ‘they are’ into ἐγκυμνήθης ‘you are’. Such transitions frequently happen in prophetic literature, as we saw (1:4). In the framework of the LXX interpretation the explicitation of τὰς ἐμπιστεύσεις ἔμων commends itself. It is linguistically obligatory.157 The translator interpreted מַעְנָי as ‘trouble’, as we saw, and softened it into πλήρην ‘satiety’, probably for theological reasons: the Israelites are not a trouble or a hardship for God, but He has enough of their behaviour. Satiety is the stage which logically precedes feelings of trouble (effect → cause).
The transformation of מַעְנָי ‘I am weary of …’ into οὐκέτι [νήπιον] ‘I will no longer…’ is an excellent example of a translation that gives the effect instead of the cause. The change of word class is a corollary of it.

157 Already in Leviticus 4:20ff. the word ἀγρία is made explicit. In Numbers 14:20, the use of ἄνθρωπος without object is avoided in another way (ἵλας αἰτοῖς εἰμί). That the object is obligatory precludes Wilk’s claim, Vision wider Judæa, 23, that it is designed to refer to LXX-Joshua 24:19.
When you stretch out the hands to me, I will turn away my eyes from you; and if you make many supplications, I will not listen to you, for your hands are full of blood.

**Greek text**

Translation The first clause contains a series of minor transformations designed to create good Greek. In Hebrew it consists of preposition + infinitive, in Greek it becomes a temporal clause (obligatory change of syntactic structure). The verse does not begin with the conjunction καί ('omission'), as this verse does not add but explains how God’s unwillingness to forgive works out. The translator does not render the possessive suffix in your hands for reasons we are familiar with, and lit. ‘hollow hand’ is generalized into χειρ ‘hand, arm’ (obligatory). Fourth, the predicate and object change positions in accordance with the demands of Greek syntax (BDR § 472). Finally the translator makes it clear that spreading out hands is a gesture of prayer, which he makes explicit, ὅταν τὰς χεῖράς ἐκτείνῃς πρὸς με. ‘When you stretch out the hands to me’.

A modification takes place in the rendering of κοιτῶν ‘I will hide my eyes from you’. In Greek God does not hide his eyes, but turns them away (ἀποστρέφειν). The Hebrew expression occurs in the Pentateuch but with a different meaning, which the LXX renders with περιβλήσῃ τὸν θάνατον ‘to overlook’ (Leviticus 20:4). This meaning does not fit here. It is probable that the Isaiah translator was inspired by the Hebrew expression for the hiding of the face, κοιτάζων, which the LXX-Pentateuch renders with ἀποστρέφειν τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ‘I will turn away my face’.

Καὶ ‘and, even’ is the only possible rendering of καί ‘even’. So it is not immediately obvious whether καὶ means ‘and’ or ‘even’ here; the distinction is a matter of intonation. A typically Hebrew idiom is חָרְפַּה חָרְפַּה ‘to multiply prayer’. English would say ‘to offer many prayers’ or ‘to pray frequently’, thus expressing the idea of frequency with an adjective or an adverb. Greek does it likewise. It is then surprising to see that the translator refrained from a transformation but rendered literally πλεῖστης τὴν ἀνεργίαν ‘you multiply the prayer’. He probably was influenced by the LXX-Pentateuch, where the root πράω is consistently rendered with πλεῖστα. But it seems that the translator, with his growing experience, regretted this Hebraism, for later on we find idiomatic renderings like πολλά φιλον ‘sing many songs’ (23:16) and εἰς πολλὰ ἀργίας τὰς ἀρμονίας ζῆσον ‘he shall abound-

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158 See 1:3; Smyth § 1121, 1159. Surmising a different Vorlage (Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 23) is too quick.
159 Deuteronomy 31:17, 18; 32:20, adopted in Isaiah 1:15; 8:17; 50:6; 53:3; 54:8; 57:17; 59:2; 64:7.
161 Cf. LSJ. The Hebraism is not found in the NT either.
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dantly pardon your sins' (55:7). The Hebrew term for prayer, אָשָׁר, which is most often rendered as προσευχή throughout the Septuagint, is here rendered with δέησις for contextual reasons. This more specific word for prayer focuses on the content: ‘that which is asked with urgency based on presumed need – ‘request, plea, prayer’.

The specification of προσέρχεσθαι ‘hören’ into εὐθυγράμτω ‘erhören’ is obligatory and occurs very often in the LXX (3 columns in Hatch & Redpath). I deliberately give a German translation because Hebrew and English do not have this distinction. The explicitation of the object εὐθυγράμτω ‘to you’ is obligatory, as in 1:19, 20.

The addition of the causal conjunction γὰρ ‘for’ illustrates the translator’s effort to create a coherent passage. As demanded by Greek grammar, the translator turns plural πάντα lit. ‘bloods, bloodshed’ into singular τόμοι ‘blood’. Only very literally translated books like Kingdoms and Psalms have plural τόμους.

ISAIAH 1:16

Ἀπέστευσινεις τὴν κακίαν, ἐπάλληλα τὰς τοσφάρις ἐπὶ τῶν συμφρονίων τῶν ἀριθμῶν μου, ταύτισθαι ἐπὶ τῶν συμφρονίων τῶν ἱλαστράτων.

Bathe, become clean, remove the evil deeds from your souls from before my eyes, stop with your evil deeds.

The Greek text ἀπέστευσιν is rare in the Septuagint. It occurs only here and in 17:17, where chaff is driven away before the wind. This preposition expresses the notion of removal.

The generic term κακία 'evil' is translated literally with a Greek word that is equally generic, viz. κακία, πάροικος and πάροικος – it is not clear from which the LXX derived the above form – with κακίαμεν can be found elsewhere.

The translation of κακία ‘to take away, remove’ is literally translated with ἀφαίρεσις.

Translation

The rendering of τὸ πούτν ‘to wash, bathe’ with λούσατε ‘to bathe’ is literal. Alternatives refer to specific forms of washing, viz. σφόνευμα of hands or feet and ἔμπυσμα of linen and clothes (LSJ 1062a).

The translation of make yourselves clean with καθαρίσθητε ‘become clean’ can be termed literal. A rendering of καθαρίσθητε, καθαρίσθητε, καθαρίσθητοι – it is not clear from which the LXX derived the above form – with καθαρίσθητε can be found elsewhere.

The generic term πάροικος ‘evil’ is translated literally with a Greek word that is equally generic, viz. παροικία, but with a change of accidence (number), because the context suggests that the people of Judah are charged with many sins.

The verb ἀφείρεται ‘to take away, remove’ is literally translated with ἀφαίρεσις.

162 Louw & Nida, Greek-English Lexicon, entry 33.171, cf. BDAG 213b. The term understandably often occurs in papyrus letters from Egypt.

163 Once in a ‘free translation’, Proverbs 29:10, where perhaps ‘streams of blood’ (LSJ) is meant.

164 Leviticus 24:2, 7; Job 8:6; 11:4; 15:15; 16:18(17); 25:5; 33:9; and καθαρίσθητε in Lamentations 4:7.
The Hebrew term לְאֵשׁ ‘deed’ was known to the translator (3:10). The resulting clause as a whole, however, has a Hebraistic ring:

remove the evil deeds from your souls

The transition from קְנַל יָדֵיכֶם לְכֹל יָדֵיכֶם וְרָדַּע אֶפְרָאִים, ‘wickedness of your deeds’ into ‘…evil deeds from your souls’ is hard to explain within semantic categories. We saw that the Isaiah translator aims for idiomatic Greek. The presence of a distinct Hebraism suggests that he was trying to render a Hebrew expression literally. Govett has proposed that the translator read his Hebrew Vorlage not as קְנַל יָדֵיכֶם לְכֹל יָדֵיכֶם, ‘remove the evil of your deeds’, but as קְנַל יָדֵיכֶם לְכֹל יָדֵיכֶם, ‘remove the evil from your heart’, an explanation that has the beauty and the force of simplicity. It is not probable that this reading ever existed in a manuscript, only in the translator’s mind. The ‘heart’ was then rendered as ψυχή ‘soul’ (modification). As a rule, in the LXX-Pentateuch פָּסַח ‘heart’ is translated as καρδία ‘heart’, sometimes as νοῦς or δύναμις ‘mind, attention,’ or yet differently but never as ψυχή ‘soul’. The Isaiah translator follows his own instinct, though not consistently.

I would propose that the modification in 1:16 has to do with the sequence of body parts in 1:15-16:

your hands, my eyes, your hands, blood, your heart, my eyes.

In 6:10 we find a similar enumeration of body parts and there the translator gives a literal rendering (of the body parts, at least):

For the heart of this people has become fat, and with their ears they hear difficultly, and their eyes have they closed; lest they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and be converted, and I should heal them.

Before we can understand this metaphorical language, we have to understand its literal meaning: ‘heart’ is literal, ‘fat’ is literal, but the ‘fattened heart’ is a metaphor. To make the metaphor work, the translator renders its elements literally, and the metaphor of the ‘fattened heart’ comes home to the Greek reader thanks to the association of ‘fat’ with ‘dull’, which also exists in Greek. In Isaiah 1:16, however, we find a mixture of metaphorical and non-metaphorical language. ‘Hands full of blood’ is metaphorical. But remove the evil from your heart is a mixture of metaphorical (‘remove’, ‘heart’) and non-metaphorical language (‘evil’). Besides, the use of καρδία ‘heart’ in this context could cause unnecessary

165 Quoted in Ottley, The Book of Isaiah II, 107. Taken up by Seeligmann, The Septuagint Version of Isaiah, 54; Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 24. Koenig, L’herméneutique analogique, 109 with his curious theory was apparently unaware of this proposal.

166 A ‘pseudo-variant’, in the terminology of Tov, Text-Critical Use, 162.


168 Isaiah 7:2, 4; 10:7, 13-7, 24-7; 33:18; 42:25. (We nowhere find καρδία ‘heart’ as a rendering of ψυχή ‘soul’.) In 7:2, 4, 13-7, 33-18 fear and in 24-7 (cf. 30:29; 65:14) joy are located in the ψυχή ‘soul’. In 10:7 it seems that ψυχή ‘soul’ rather than καρδία ‘heart’ is used because it is closer to νοῦς ‘mind’, the rational faculty of attention is also at stake in 42:25 and may there explain the transition from פָּסַח ‘heart’ to ψυχή ‘soul’.

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speculations in the light of the contemporary debate on the nature of the soul. It could be read as support for the Stoic view of the heart as the reigning part (ἡγομονικόν) of the soul. But it could also be connected with Plato’s tripartite conception of the soul, whereby the brain (ἡγομονικόν) constituted the regent part, whereas the heart was the seat of passions like courage and fear, and finally the belly the seat of the lowest animal drives. In that light a literally translated text would get a Platonic ring by suggesting that evil is located in the heart and not in the rational brain. The translator avoided ‘heart’ and made the whole clause non-metaphorical by using a term that no one could object to:

ἀφέλετε τὰς παράφιας ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν
remove the evil deeds from your souls.

The translation of τῆς εἰκότητος ‘from in front of my eyes’ has been translated precisely with ἀπῆλθεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀφθαρμῶν μου. In the next line the translator took a Hebraism for granted, viz. παρὰ + ἀπὸ (where MT lacks a preposition!). The result is that ἀπὸ occurs thrice in succession: ἀπὸ, ἀπῆλθεν, ἀπὸ, perhaps for rhetorical effect.

ISAIAH 1:17

Μὴ δέχεσθε κακόν πουσίν, ἐξειδίκευτε κρίσιν, ἵνα ἴσασθη θέλων καὶ σκοπῶν καὶ ἄκουσίσθητε χρήσιν.

Learn to do well, seek judgement diligently, deliver him that is suffering wrong, pronounce judgement for the orphan and do right to the widow.

εἰλήφη τὴν ἀκραίαν τῆς ἀκραίαν ἀπὸ τῶν κρατάρης τῆς ἔργων τῶν ἔργων
Learn to do well, seek justice, lead the oppressor straight [?], help the orphan to his right, plead the cause of the widow.

Greek text ἐκτίθεσι means ‘to exert effort to find out or learn something, seek out, search for’ (BDAG 302). The nuance of considerable effort distinguishes it from ζητεῖν, as John Chrysostom noticed:

ἀπερ πολλοὶ πόνοι δείκτε καὶ νησίσεις ψυχῆς. Διὸ καὶ ἐξειδίκευτε εἰπτ.

... which demands considerable effort and an attentive soul. That’s why he said ἐξειδίκευτε.

κρίσις normally means ‘the act of making decisions and judgements’. Our context, however, demands a more abstract meaning: ‘administration of what is right and fair, right in the sense of justice / righteousness’ (BDAG 569b, 3). But the examples in BDAG are weak.

The use of καρδία for ‘intellect’ was mainly restricted to Stoic philosophy, to which the translator apparently did not want to subscribe with a literal translation. The Stoic belief that the soul was governed by the heart had received hard blows since the discovery of the nervous system and its connections to the brain by the Alexandrian (!) scientists Erasistratus and Herophilus (c. 280 BC), but Chrysippus of Solon (3rd century BC) continued to defend it. Cf. Tieleman, Galen and Chrysippus on the Soul (I thank Prof. Simo Knuuttila of Helsinki University for this reference). Neither did the translator subscribe to the opposite (Platonic) school by using ἰχνοφόρον, ‘brain’.

170 Cf. what the translator did in 13:7; 35:2-4.
171 Jean Chrysostome, Commentaire sur Isaaic, 74, with my own translation.
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the majority drawn from the new testament in septuagint quotations. the abstract sense of righteousness is not convincingly attested in greek. after centuries of exposure to septuagint greek, cyril of alexandria had to paraphrase it to get the message across:

εἰκότητα κρίσεως, τόκος ἐστιν, τὸ κρίνειν ὅρθος
seek judgement diligently, which means judging right

in normal koine greek the clause κρίνειν ὅρθος means 'decide a dispute for the orphan'. in this context it has to be understood in the positive sense, but i doubt if a definition in this sense has to be part of a lexical entry, like in bdag 569a, 6 'to ensure justice for someone, see to it that justice is done', with a mere reference to lxx-isaiah 1:17! this evidence, taken from translation greek, is really too meagre for that.

regarding δικαίωμα we know that it underwent an extension of meaning in the lxx compared to koine greek. in normal greek it means 'to deem right, claim' and 'to do a man justice', which most often means 'to punish' (lsj). doing right in the favourable sense of 'vindicating' or 'setting free' is a meaning that is only known to us through the septuagint and the literature dependent on it. as a contextual meaning it can easily be guessed from some contexts without recourse to the hebrew, and apparently the semantic extension it requires became part of religious vocabulary. greek church fathers did not explain it.

translation as we saw above, κρίνειν 'judgement' seems a bit ill at place in the greek text. why did the translator not choose for a more abstract counterpart of δικαίωμα 'judgement, justice'? δικαίωμα had to be left aside because it bears a strong connotation of 'vengeance', unsuitable in this context. a better alternative would be δικαιοποιήσα τό 'justice'. but the strange thing is that it renders the frequent δικαιοσύνη 'justice' only in 61:8 and proverbs 8:20; 16:11. i have the impression that the isaiah translator did not use δικαιοποιήσα 'justice' for δικαιοσύνη 'justice', because the former had already been reserved for γνώμη and γνώμη, as appears from hatch & redpath's concordance. not only because of 1:21, but rather because the division of these 'equivalents' was a firmly rooted tradition from the lxx-pentateuch.

the phrase γνώμη τοῦ δικαίου is rendered in most ancient and modern versions as 'encourage the oppressed' (niv). such must indeed be the meaning of the (unvocalized) phrase in our context. it seems not unlikely that the lxx-translator interpreted γνώμη as 'to oppress' and translated it with the more generic δίκαιον 'to treat unjustly', as we find also in psalm 70(mt 71):4. the verb δίκαιον can either mean i 'lead on, set right' or its homonym ο 'to

172 migne, pg 70, 45. john chrysostom avoids κρίνειν in his explanation, but uses τὸ δίκαιον 'what is right' instead, cf. jean chrysostome, commentaire sur l'isaié, 74.
173 lee, lexical study, 51. n.m. watson, some observations on the use of δικαιοσύνη in the septuagint, journal of biblical literature 79 (1960), 255-266 is not really helpful, as its main concern lies in the sense of δικαίωμα in paul's letters.
174 exodus 23:7 ἀδίκως καὶ δίκαιον πάντες ἑπεκτείνασε καὶ αἱ δικαιοσύνεις τῶν ἄνθρωπων ὁ δὲ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀποκριθεὶς ἐν ἑκάστην δόματον γὰρ γονεῖς γονέων καὶ δικαιοσύνη, not to execute an innocent and righteous person nor acquit the wicked because of gifts.' cf. also deuteronomy 5:23. on the church fathers see t. muraoka, on septuagint lexicography and patristics, journal of theological studies n.s. 35 (1984), 443ff.
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pronounce happy, make happy'. In either case the Greek rendering ἱππούθη ‘deliver’ can be regarded as a generalization.

Before the last clause of 1:17 καί is added, which closes the series of clauses 1:16-17. The verse closes with the curious ἔριβο βίος λαλήτω ‘plead the case of the widow’. The normal way of putting it would be ἔριβο βίος λαλήτω ‘plead the case of the widow’. The shortened idiom is exceptional and occurs only in Isaiah 1:17; 51:22. It is clear, however, that ἔσκοπα must also mean ‘plead the case of the widow’ in the present context. If so, the rendering with ἔσκοπα χρῆν ‘do right to the widow’ is a literal translation, although ἔσκοπα is mostly used to render different verbs and renders βίος only twice (Isaiah 1:17; Micah 7:9). A literal translation can consist of an exceptional counterpart, which is often overlooked in statistical presentations of ‘translation equivalents’.

ISAIAH 1:18

cαὶ δεῦτε καὶ διαλεγόμενες, λέγετε κύριος, καὶ ἐὰν ὧντες αἱ ἐμπρήσεις ζημίων ὡς φονεῖσθην, ὡς χίτος λευκάνης, εἰς ὧν καὶ ὡς κάτακεν, ὡς ἔριβον λευκάνης, and come [then] and let us dispute, says the Lord, and if your sins were like crimson, I will make them white as snow, if they were like scarlet, I will make them white as wool.

Come and let us dispute, says the Lord. If your sins were like scarlet, they will be white as snow, if they were red like crimson, they will be like wool.

Greek text –

The Hebrew text contains a long-standing exegetical problem, to the solution of which the transformations (all non-obligatory) are connected: in verse 18a the Lord wants to bring Judah to justice before a court on account of its sins, and then unexpectedly a complete acquittal and a promise of forgiveness follows! This has given rise to various interpretations. Some commentators have supposed that 18b forms a question and should be paraphrased as follows: ‘(You committed so many sins!) Let us go to court together, says the Lord. Do you really think that your sins, red as they are, will become white as snow?’

The Septuagint translator makes the surprising sequence of events more understandable by distinguishing different stages, separated by added καί ‘and’. In 1:2-16 the Lord accuses Judah of sins and hypocrisy, followed by a call to right behaviour in 2:17. The text continues in 1:18 καί δεῦτε ‘and come [then]’, which means in this context: after you have shown repentance by practising good deeds, then let us go to court together, says the Lord. After all that has been said, it is clear that the verdict will not be very favourable for Judah. But a second καί ‘and’ tells us what will happen after the trial when God offers a free pardon (transformations underlined):

175 Rendered with μισοῦσα in Isaiah 3:12; 9:15. It is really far-fetched to suppose that the translator interpreted יִרְשָׁא from יִרְשָׁא, as Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 24 holds.

176 An elaborate discussion of the problem can be found in Gray, Isaiah I-XXVI, 26-30.
By the transformation from \( \text{ leukin\textsuperscript{e}} \) ‘will be white’ into \( \text{ leukin} \) ‘I will make white’, a translation giving the cause for the effect, the LXX-translator stresses that God himself will cleanse the people of their sins.

The rendering of \( \text{ ‘if they’ were red as crimson’ with } \text{ ‘if they’ were as crimson’ } \) constitutes an implicitation, for the notion \( \text{ ‘red’ } \) is already expressed by \( \text{ ‘crimson’} \). This transformation is obligatory, because \( \text{ ‘red stuffs’} \) and \( \text{ ‘crimson-worm’} \) are nouns, whereas \( \text{ ‘crimson’} \) and \( \text{ ‘scarlet’} \) are adjectives. And to say that something is ‘as red as red’ is gratuitous.

**Isaiah 1:19-20**

(19) and if you want and listen to me, you will eat the richness of the land; (20) but if you refuse and rebel, you will be devoured by the sword, for the mouth of the Lord has spoken.

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**Greek text**

The twofold addition of \( \text{ ‘to me’} \) after \( \text{ ‘listen’} \) is obligatory (cf. 1:15).

A semantically literal translation combined with a change of accidence (number) occurs in the rendering of \( \text{ ‘richness’} \) (both meaning ‘richness’).

Verse 20 opens with a sequence of two antonymic translations:

- ‘if you refuse’ \( \text{ εἰλὺ ἐὰν μὴ θέλητε} \)
- ‘if you do not want’ \( \text{ if you do not listen’} \)

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177 Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*, § 120e.
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The rendering of ποι. ‘to refuse’ with δοθή ‘not to want’ served very well to bring out the opposition with 1:19 by using the same words. It was then a small step to provide an antonymic translation for the second verb too.

The phrase πῦρ λέγεται πᾶσιν ‘you will be eaten’ is strange and emendations have been proposed to deal with it. But syntactic parallels exist and it is clear that in this context it can mean little else than ‘you will be eaten by the sword’, which has then been transformed into active by the translator.

The addition of τῷ οὐך is not obligatory, since λαλέω ‘to speak’ can be used without object. It was probably added to point back to 1:18 ἀστήρ μου ‘says the Lord’.

ISAIAH 1:21

Πῶς ἐγένετο πόρνη, τῶλε τούτῃ Σιών πλήρης κρίσεως, ἐν θύσι λοιπῆν ἐκκομήθη εἰς αὐτήν, ἵνα de φονεύση.

How has the faithful city Sion become a prostitute, [a city] full of judgement. In it righteousness dwelled in her, but now murderers!

How has the faithful city become a prostitute, [a city] full of justice, righteousness dwelled in her, but now murderers!

Greek text Πόλις + place name, though lacking the article, means ‘the city of Sion’.

The most disturbing Hebraism so far seems ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης ἐκκομήθη εἰς αὐτήν, a relative clause with a pleonastic pronoun. It is striking because already in the LXX-Pentateuch we find numerous instances where the pleonastic pronoun is omitted in accordance with Greek style.

In LXX-Isaiah we find the same in a majority of the cases: there are 224 relative pronouns, 8 of which are followed by a resumptive pleonastic pronoun. This construction is rare in Classical Greek but more frequent in Koine. According to Bakker the increasing use of the pleonastic pronoun is caused by the weakening of the relative pronoun and its increasing use in the so-called ‘relative connection’.

178 Cf. Woodhouse, English-Greek Lexicon, s.v. ‘Refuse’.
179 There exists an old proposal to vocalize the text as πυρ υπὲρ δικαιοσύνης ‘you will eat carobs (food of poverty)’. See Barthélemy, Critique textuelle 2, 7f. This sounds very convincing, in spite of Barthélemy’s efforts to dismiss it. See also A. van der Kooij, Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible: Its Aim and Method, in: S.M. Paul, R.A. Kraft (eds.), Emanuel. Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov, Leiden / Boston 2003, 733-734.
180 Gesenius-Kautzsch, Hebrew Grammar, § 121cd.
182 Sollamo, The Pleonastic Use of the Pronoun, 75-85.
183 According to Ziegler’s apparatus the pleonastic pronoun is stylistically corrected in a few manuscripts regarding Isaiah 42:24; 44:16; 51:7; 62:2. In 1:21; 8:20; 37:10; 48:17 (!) the pleonastic pronoun is attested by all manuscripts.
184 Smyth § 2490; BDR § 293c; Bakker, Pronomen abundant and pronomen coniunctum, 11-33. In my opinion Sollamo, The Pleonastic Use of the Pronoun, 76f. is too strict in her selection of examples. With Bakker I would affirm that it is necessary to view the phenomenon in the broader context.
Transformations in the Septuagint

schichtsprosa, influenced by both colloquial speech and literary style. Regarding its function, the pronomen abundans, which occurs only in non-restrictive relative clauses, is used for clearness’ sake and in order to emphasize a certain word.

Bakker discusses LXX-Isaiah 1:21 and notes that the construction is used without counterpart in Hebrew (cf. also 48:17): ‘It may not be by accident that the relat. clause is nonessential and can be viewed even as a relat. connection. The relat. clause is actually a principal sentence: the strong emphasis upon the contradistinction between what Sion was before and is now causes the relat. clause to be absolute’. The alliteration of π π π π underscores the emotional appeal of the exclamation.

Translation Since it is not customary to construe γίνεται with εἰς, as it is in Hebrew with ב ה לא ‘to turn into’, the preposition is dropped.

Although the rendering of σαρκα with πιστεύει is semantically literal, both meaning ‘faithful’, it constitutes a change of word class, since σαρκα is a participle, strictly speaking.

The explicature of Σωτήρ Ζων is an anaphoric translation in accordance with 1:26-27.

Not mentioning Zion at the beginning makes the following passages somewhat enigmatic. In Hebrew this is probably intentional. Delayed identification, a feature well known from prophetic poetry, makes the disclosure of the name Zion shocking to the audience. In a written, and in addition to that, translated text this may not work in the same way. The translator preferred clarity with respect to the theme of the passage.

On κρίνει ‘judgement’ for δικαιοσύνη and δικαιοσύνη for ἅστατος (‘righteousness’) see 1:17.

The addition of the relative pronoun εν η ‘in which’ creates a relative connection that imitates the function of the Hebrew contrastive (and chiastic) final sentence with Greek means (see Greek text).

The Greek alliteration may be a compensation for the a-assonance in Hebrew.

ISAIAH 1:22

Τὸ αἰρήμα τοῦ αἰρήμα τοῦ άδικού, οἱ κατήμνους σου μίανος τῶν άδικων θάνατοι.

Your (pl.) silver [is] unfit, your (sg.) retailers mix wine with water.

Τὸ αἰρήμα τοῦ αἰρήμα τοῦ άδικού, οἱ κατήμνους σου μίανος τῶν άδικων θάνατοι.

Your silver has become dross, your drink mixed with water.

Greek text Verbless clauses are sometimes used with adjectives that pronounce a judgement on something, e.g. δίκαιος, δικαιωμένος, δικαιοσύνης, εὐλογοῦς κλ. (Smyth § 944).

The transition from ήσσος to ήσσος is very awkward and cannot be explained in Greek, because the addressee does not change.

of similar uses of the pronoun, and above all, to inquire after its function, an issue Sollamo leaves aside.

185 Bakker, Pronomen abundans and pronomen coniunctum, 37ff.
186 LSJ 3:496 ii.3.c.
Transformations in Isaiah 1

Translation In Hebrew a 2nd person feminine singular is addressed: the personified city of Jerusalem. The feminine element is obligatorily dropped as Greek φί is not marked for gender. Notable is that the 2nd pers. sg. is first rendered with ἡμᾶς ‘your’ (pl.) and then with σοί ‘your’ (sg.). This has to be viewed in the context of the chapter, where the Hebrew text presents a complex picture:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verse</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1:4-20</td>
<td>2nd pers. pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:22-26</td>
<td>2nd pers. sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:27-29a</td>
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<tr>
<td>1:29b-30</td>
<td>2nd pers. pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:31</td>
<td>3rd pers. sg.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Commentaries have often ignored these transitions and their function and origin are not always clear. But to translators such transitions, characteristic of prophetic literature, have long presented difficulties. The Greek translator followed the changes where they were not too abrupt. In 1:29b-30 he translated a 3rd pers. instead of a 2nd pers. so as to harmonize the addressees into a larger unified passage. Other ancient and modern versions have their own solutions to the problem.

What I would suggest is that the translator, who probably was theologically familiar with the Hebrew book of Isaiah, was not conscious of the many addressee transitions and the problems involved until he began his job. This sounds a bit queer, but we have only to remind ourselves that the Numeruswechsel in Deuteronomy escaped scholarly attention until 1894. Thus the translator followed his source text in 1:4-20, writing 2nd pers. pl. When after 1:21 the direct address reappeared, he automatically continued in 2nd pers. pl. until he realized that the source text had changed to 2nd pers. singular. He did not go back to erase what he had written, but changed to 2nd pers. sg. halfway the verse. With this occurrence his awareness of the problem was born, and he handled it more consciously in the rest of the chapter.

For πηγή (1QIsa) lexica give ‘dross’. The purport of the metaphor ‘your silver has become dross’ is more or less like corruptio optimi pessima. But it is also possible to interpret the verse in a non-metaphorical way. Then it becomes a condemnation of fraud. And this is what the Septuagint translator did, witness the second stich. In this literal interpretation it is strange to say that silver has become dross. Parallel to the second stich one would rather say that ‘silver (or ‘money’) is mixed with dross’, a rendering that indeed occurs (modification). But since μίξω ‘to mix’ was already reserved for mixing wine with water, the translator rendered the effect, ἄδοκχος ‘unfit’, for the cause (‘silver mixed with dross’). At the same time he dropped the copula πηγή ‘to be’ since it can be missed with adjectives that pronounce a judgement (see Greek text).

In Hebrew, like in Dutch ‘versneden’, wine can be בּוֹחֵן (‘cut’, i.e. diluted). Like English, Greek would prefer a more generic term, μίξω ‘to mix’ (obligatory). The fact that the passive participle is turned into an active verb has to do with the addition of the ‘retailers’ to which we now turn.

The Hebrew מָזוּנָה means ‘alcoholic drink’ and can refer to beer or wine. It is specified to σίλικον ‘wine’. But then εἰς κάτι ὁδὸν ‘the retailers’ have been added. The reason lies neither in grammar nor in style, but in culture: since in Hellenistic times wine was mixed with water

189 A puzzling feature that occurs often in LXX, cf. my conclusions to Proverbs 6.
190 NBG51 of Isaiah 1:22; it occurs also in LXX-Ezekiel 22:18-19 for the same Hebrew phrase.
before drinking universally (2 Maccabees 15:39), a literal translation would not sound reproachful to Greek-speaking Jews. To retain the reproach, the translator has introduced the retailers, for selling diluted wine was an offence. In one breath the possessive pronoun 'your' was transferred from 'wine' to 'retailers' (change of syntactic function).

ISAIAH 1:23

Your rulers are disobedient and partners of thieves. His totality loves a bribe and pursues retributions. They do not pronounce judgement for the orphan and the cause of the widow does not come to them.

Greek text For ἀδικητοὺς ὀφείλει φρονεῖν τὸν θάνατον νάρκην ἄρσεν ἑλπίστης πλὴν ἡμῶν λαβεῖν ἀλλοτρίων τὸν θάνατον.

Your rulers are disobedient and partners of thieves. His totality loves a bribe and pursues retributions. They do not pronounce judgement for the orphan and the cause of the widow does not come to them.

Translation

The verb ἀδικεῖν is used in Deuteronomy 21:20 for a disobedient and rebellious son and rendered with ἀνεῖλεν 'to disobey'. I consider it a literal translation. The conjunction 'and' is omitted twice. The first case is not difficult to explain. In Hebrew the reproaches are ordered in three pairs. MT says 'your rulers are disobedient and partners of thieves.' But disobedience is not an offence on the same level as the other five offences. Rather, it is a general heading under which the other offences can be subsumed. Therefore the translator dropped the conjunction and interpreted the following five offences as examples of disobedience. REB and Genesis have dropped it as well. I ignore the second case because 1QIsa lacks the conjunction too. The use of ἀόλος 'his totality; all of it' belongs to Hebrew idiom. Often it does not agree in number with its antecedent. This apparently bothered the copyist of 1QIsa, who 'corrected' it into ἀόλος 'all of them'. The translator dropped it. Had he rendered it with πάντες, he would have suggested that beside the leaders everyone else was loving bribes, but the mention of the widow’s cause makes it clear that the whole verse refers to the rulers.

193 Opinions differ regarding the question if in pre-Hellenistic Israel wine was mixed with water before consumption. TWAT III, 617 affirms it on the basis of MT:Isaiah 1:22 (f). Others deny it, pointing to texts that mention ‘mixing’ of wine (Isaiah 65:11; Proverbs 23:30). According to R. Frankel, Wine and Oil Production in Antiquity in Israel and Other Mediterranean Countries, Sheffield 1999, 198, 203 these terms refer to mixing with spices, and only in later Hebrew the verb ἄπω came to mean ‘watering down wine.’ The words ἄπω and ἄπω have been borrowed from Greece (μίγμα), as was the custom of mixed drinks. Cf. J.P. Brown, The Mediterranean Vocabulary of the Vine, Vetus Testamentum 19 (1969), 153. One need not take recourse, with Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 25, to text-critical suggestions.

195 It occurs also in the identical phrase in Hosea 9:16 (a literally translated book).

194 BDB 481b-482a, sub d. (b).

195 Cf. NRSV ‘Everyone loves a bribe’ with REB ‘every one of them loves a bribe’.

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Transformations in Isaiah 1

Once זָמַן is removed, it becomes logical to align the number of the participles דָּבָכָנָה ... דְּבָכָנָה 'loving ... pursuing' to the rest of the verse, i.e. plural. We find this change also in IQIsa, in line with the change just mentioned.

Since both תִּשְׁאָר and דָּבָכָנָה can mean 'bribe', we are dealing with a literal translation. But the number has changed from singular to plural. This transformation, which is shared by NIV and NJPS, is employed because the rulers are fond of gifts, the more the better.

It is then remarkable that with the plural תִּשְׁאָר 'retributions' the reverse happens: it is turned into singular הֲנָצָא הָפֹנֲנָה 'retribution'. This transformation is strange to us, used as we are to parallelism. Because תִּשְׁאָר means 'bribe' we take for granted that the parallel must also mean 'gifts, bribes', as recorded by modern lexica. But the ancient translators did not necessarily reason likewise. The term תִּשְׁאָר is a hapax legomenon. A translator without dictionary must guess its meaning or derive it from a familiar root. Now תִּשְׁאָר pi. means 'to repay, retribute' in both positive and negative sense: 'reward' or 'punishment'. The translator probably intended the second meaning. So John Chrysostom understood it:

Momphaiosovites tois ephrois, antapodotin aitadazontes tois leptomithan, eisw megistov kaiex eidos.

Bearing malice to their enemies, they are eager to repay to those who have harmed them, which is the greatest kind of evil.

In this reading the two clauses 'loving bribes' and 'pursuing retribution' are not synonymous but contrastive. They illustrate the two sides of the do ut des coin. And if the clauses are not synonymous, there is no reason why both should contain plural nouns. The verb דָּבָכָנָה 'to pursue' already underlines the eagerness, adding a plural would be overdone, redundant. I would consider it a semantically literal translation with a non-obligatory change of number for reasons of elegance.

The collective singulars מִשְׁאָר 'orphan' קָוָפֹנֲנָה 'widow' have been made plural. It is noteworthy that in 1:17 the translator still refrained from such a change of accidence.

The finite verbs תִּשְׁאָר 'they judge' and זָמַן 'it comes' reappear as participles to create a fourfold parallel syntax by the fourfold repetition of participles. We found a similar case of stylistic alignment in 1:4.

Regarding the widow MT literally says that ‘the case of the widow does not come before them [the rulers].’ Several versions have problems with this, apparently from the consideration that the text does not imply that widows never present their case before a judge, but that judges do not listen. So we find in REB ‘and the widow’s cause is never heard.’ Together with the stylistic desire to obtain a participle here, we can understand why LXX resorted to a situational translation: κρίνων χρημάτων οὐ προσήκοντες ‘not heeding the cause of the widows’.

196 Jean Chrysostome, Commentaire sur Isaïe, 84.
197 Besides, the plural הֲנָצָא הָפֹנֲנָה is not attested before 800 AD, in Theodorus Studita, Epistulae (ed. G. Fatouros), Ep. 403, 1. 6.
198 Rashi makes sense of it by suggesting that orphans appeal in vain to the judges. They tell the widows, who then do not even take the trouble any more to obtain justice.
TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE SEPTUAGINT

ISAIAH 1:24

Therefore, says the Master, the Lord of hosts, the Mighty one of Israel: Woe, I will comfort myself from my adversaries and avenge myself on my enemies.

The use of ἐκ in the sense of ‘performing justice to’ is Hebraistic.

The prophetic quotation formula ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰσραήλ ‘oracle of YHWH’ has been rendered in Genesis 22:16 with λέγει κύριος ‘says the Lord’ for the first time. The change of word class is obligatory because Indo-European languages usually mark a quote with the help of a verbum dicendi.

The Greek text ἦλθεν does not occupy the second but the third place. Postponement of ἦλθεν is not infrequent after ὁ + lexeme. In general, postponement of postpositives is possible when the clause opens with a prepositive word.

The use of Γξ in the sense of ‘performing justice to’ is Hebraistic.

For οἷς see 1:4 and for σαμωθ see 1:9.

The question has to been viewed in broader light. The great Qumran Isaiah scroll presents an identical introductory formula, but in the direct speech a text deviating from MT.

I will comfort myself from his adversaries and avenge myself on his enemies. By changing the possessive suffixes into 3rd person the scribe is solving a problem of logic. Vss 21-23 describe injustice, corruption and oppression of widows and orphans. Then the

199 J. Blomqvist, Greek Particles in Hellenistic Prose, Lund 1969, 108-109, 115
200 Lust c.s., Greek-English Lexicon I, 133a.
201 For the use in Koine of τοῦ with reference to what follows, see BDAG 690a, 1.a. The Greek phrase also renders ἐκ τοῦ ἐξίζνει quite often.
202 Διατησίμης, Isaiah 49:24; Ἰσραήλ Isaiah 49:26; 60:16 generalized as Ἰσραήλ. 203 Quoted according to Parry and Qimron. N.B. It differs slightly from the photograph.

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text speaks about revenge. Revenge is a punishment of the evildoer by the one that has been harmed. Now what we find in in 1QIsa is that the ones God promises to punish are ‘his (Israel’s) enemies’, i.e. the corrupt leaders. They are the enemies of the oppressed people. The copyist has thus made God’s enemies into Israel’s enemies. For translators going less far the central question is: ‘who are God’s enemies?’ One could reply that the corrupt leaders violate God’s will and are therefore his enemies. But this thought is only implicit. CEV makes it explicit to smoothen the transition. It does so by a different combination of the textual elements:

and I make you a promise: You are now my enemy, and I will show my anger by taking revenge on you.

The same problem is addressed by Luther, who gives the following translation, accompanied by a marginal note:

O Weh ich werde mich trösten durch meine Feinde / vnd mich rechen durch meine Feinde
[(Durch) Das ist / meine Feinde die Chaldeer vnd ander Könige / müssen mich rechen an meinem Volck.]

Luther does not translate ‘ich werde mich rächen auf meine Feinde’, but ‘durch meine Feinde’. In his translation God’s enemies are the foreign nations. God is the offended party and Israel the evildoer.

The Septuagint too clarifies the question who God’s enemies are. They are not Israel as a whole, but only the unjust leaders. But the Septuagint does not get this interpretation across by different suffixes (1QIsa) but by a creative combination of textual elements (change of word order). In the new text the direct speech starts with ‘Woe the mighty ones of Israel’ (change of accidence), which makes immediately clear that the unjust rulers are God’s enemies and that not Israel as a nation is concerned. The added γῆρα ‘for, because’ provides a causal transition to the explicit statement that the unjust rulers are God’s enemies. Thereby the word class is changed from the noun ἰσχυς ‘strong one’ to the verb ἄρεσθαι ‘to be strong, powerful’. The Isaiah translator does the same in 5:22; 10:21; 22:3; 49:25, possibly because a verb highlights the actual execution of power rather than mere quality.

For יַעֲשֶׂה ‘I will comfort myself’ one not easily finds counterparts. Some lexica give ‘secure respite from’ or ‘obtain satisfaction from’. This meaning component of יָשָׂע (cf. Genesis 27:42) has psychological roots: by taking revenge one sets his mind at rest.204 In a similar vein R. David Qimchi explains the text:

‘until he is comforted’, meaning: until he has ended his wrath and is comforted.

It is interesting that Qimchi combines the same notions we find in the Septuagint, viz. ENDING and WRATH. Revenge means the end of wrath. But in LXX we read that God’s wrath will not end, the very opposite!

How should this surprising rendering be explained? We must look at the treatment of the verb elsewhere. The first time יָשָׂע occurs in the Bible is in Genesis 6:6, 7:

And the LORD was sorry that he had made humankind on the earth and it grieved him to his heart. 7 So the LORD said, “I will blot out from the earth the human beings I have created (…) for I am sorry that I have made them.” (NRSV)

204 Cf. Gray, Isaiah I-XXVII, 23.
The Septuagint, however, renders the verb differently:

6 And God was concerned (angry) that he made the human being on the earth and thought it over. 7 And God said: 'I will blot out the human being I have made from the face of the earth (…) for I am angry that I have made them.'

The avoidance of 'to be sorry' for ἐσθήσατο is due to a reluctance to ascribe repentance or change of mind to God. Then I see two possibilities: either the translator employed a conscious modification into 'being angry' or he found an alternative derivation of ἐσθήσατο from ἐσθήσατο 'to be warm' or ἐσθήσατο 'to be hot'. In Isaiah 1:24 the translator could not work with the normal literal renderings of ἐσθήσατο. But he wanted to render the consonant material of the source text. Wilk is probably right that he rearranged ἐσθήσατο (or perhaps ἐσθήσατο) 'I will comfort myself / repent' into ἐσθήσατο ἐσθήσατο 'the anger does not rest'. This means a literal translation. The rendering of the preposition ἐν 'from' with ἐν lit. 'in' is obligatory. It seems that ἐσθήσατο 'anger' is normally construed with ἐν. The Hebrew possessive suffix in רָזַע 'against my adversaries' is not rendered expressis verbis in ἐν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς 'against my enemies', not because the translator wanted to create a reference to Exodus 15:7, but simply because in elegant Greek the pronoun is often omitted when the possessor cannot be mistaken (see 1:3 Greek text). Since 'revenge' does not belong to the range of meanings of κρίνω 'judgement', we are dealing with a distinct modification of ἐσθήσατο 'revenge'. The root ἐσθήσατο is often rendered in Isaiah with κρίνω 'judgement', and only from 59:17 onwards with words meaning 'revenge, retribution'. The latter lexemes are certainly present in Greek and the reason for the modification seems to be the desire to channel God's wrath through acknowledged procedures. Revenge was apparently deemed too impulsive for God.

ISAIAH 1:25

καὶ ἐσθήσατο τὴν χείρα μου ἐπὶ σέ καὶ τιμῶσαι σε εἰς καθαρόν,

205 Cf. LSJ 567a, I, 2. Some mss. read θάμασαν 'to be angry' here.
206 Harl, La Genèse, 127. Cf. the rendering of the other verb. In more literally translated books ἐσθήσατο is rendered as μεταπολέματα 'to regret' or μετανοεῖ 'to change one's mind', which means that the meaning of ἐσθήσατο was known.
207 The noun ἐσθήσατο 'heat, rage' is sometimes rendered as θαμάσαν and often as θάμασα.
208 Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 26. The verb ἐσθήσατο 'to rest' and its derivatives are often rendered with compounds of τίναμα.
209 In Numbers 18:5 ἐσθήσατο 'anger on/at' is rendered as θαμάσαν ἐν. Cf. Muraoka, Lexicon, 263b.
210 Thus Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 26.
211 Cf. Proverbs 6:34 where the same modification sprouts from a changed cultural reality.

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and I will bring back my hand against you and I will bring my hand upon you
and I will smelt away your dross as with lye and I will fire-purge you to purity,
but the inobedient ones I will destroy
and I will remove all your alloy. and I will remove all lawless ones from you
and all arrogant ones I will humble.

Greek text In 1:24b-31 we find an abnormally high frequency of paratactic καί, the result of SL interference.
For the English phrase ‘to purity’ the Greek text says εἰς καθαρόν, lit. ‘to pure’. This is an ancient idiom that often replaces nouns.213
The last four clauses exhibit a double chiasm (verb – object; object – verb):

Translation From a translational point of view this verse is a mixture. Semantic sense-orientedness is combined with syntactic interference. To make comparison easier, I have printed both texts side by side.

MT says τῇ χειρί μου, lit. ‘I will bring back my hand upon you’, but some scholars suggest that in this idiom the notion BACK is absent, since it is hard to combine with the context.214 It is thus understandable that the more literal ἔτυπτέψα τὴν χειρί μου was avoided in favour of a generalization.
The preposition ἐπί ‘against’ is not necessarily used in a hostile sense. Επί is definitely neutral, but it also occurs in hostile contexts (cf. the two last footnotes). I consider it a literal translation.
The Hebrew יון is a homonym. According to modern lexica it occurs two times in the sense of ‘potash, lye’ (Isaiah 1:25; Job 9:30) and five times in the sense of ‘purity’. The latter is rendered with the root καθαρ- ‘pure, clean’.215 ‘Der Übersetzer kannte diese Bedeutung [Laugensalz] nicht und dachte deshalb an יון = καθαρόν εἶναι (ähnlich Job 9,30 χερσίν ἔκαθαρσας, καθαρίσας).’ Ziegler says.216 But this is hard to ascertain, because there is a translational problem: the double metaphor. The text speaks of ‘smelting away dross as with lye’.

‘Smelting’ is a metaphor for purifying. ‘Lye’ is the second metaphor, but from a different realm. Chemically the combination of these metaphors is tantamount to saying: ‘I will smelt away dross from silver as with soap’. Lye was not used in the refinement of silver.217 The ‘lye’ points to the completeness of the purity that will be the result of the refining process. I would give the translator the benefit of the doubt and classify this transformation as an interference.

213 E.g. εἰς καθαρόν Ἰωάν 9.102; εἰς καθαρόν Thucydides 2. 64.3; εἰς καθαρόν Isaiah 40:4; εἰς καθαρόν Job 39:16; Isaiah 29:8; 2 Corinthians 6:1 (cf. BDR § 207.5).
214 Gray, Isaiah I-XXVII, 34; HAL 1331a. It also occurs in Amos 1:8; Zecharia 13:7; Psalm 81:15.
215 So Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus; Zacharia 13:7 § 3.
216 2 Kingdoms (MT 2 Samuel) 22.21, 24 // Psalm 17 (MT 18): 21, 25; Job 22.30.
217 Ziegler, Untersuchungen, 81.
as an explicitation (viz. of the sense of the metaphor),

up till now the translator has rendered the positive result of the refining-metaphor: purity. But refining also entails removing impurities. To render this side of the process, expressed by יַחֲשָׁב יָדִישׁ 'your dross', the translator employs an additional stich, connected with adversative כִּי: יַחֲשָׁב יָדִישׁ 'but the inobedient ones I will destroy'. It gives the sense of the implicitly suggested removal of the dross. To sum up: 1. the translator demetaphorized יַחֲשָׁב יָדִישׁ 'dross' into יַחֲשָׁב יָדִישׁ 'inobedient ones',

of the last Hebrew clause, יִבְרְדוּ יָדִישׁ 'and I will remove all your alloy', some elements are easily recognizable in Greek. The two verbs for 'removing', שָׁבָר and נַפְשָׁתָה are normal counterparts and הוא is rendered with פָּנָי, both meaning 'all'. The translator had to continue the track of explicitation of metaphors. After his explicitation of יַחֲשָׁב יָדִישׁ 'dross' into יַחֲשָׁב יָדִישׁ 'inobedient ones' he could not return and speak of 'alloy', of course. Therefore he rendered יִבְרְדוּ יָדִישׁ 'your alloy' with what he perceived to be the sense of the 'impure elements in the silver', viz. 'the lawless' (harking back to 1:4 and pointing forward to 1:28, 31). As a consequence he transformed the possessive suffix in יִבְרְדוּ יָדִישׁ 'your alloy' with a prepositional adjunct, מִמֶּנֶּה, 'from you'.

the last Greek clause, καὶ πᾶς ἄνωχοι τῶν ἀνόητων 'and all arrogant ones I will humble' is without parallel in the Hebrew text. It has probably been taken from Scripture texts.

but why was it added? The added clause is preceded by a chiasm (see Greek text). Now its rhetorical function can be described as follows: 'Die Überkreuzstellung verstärkt durch die einrahmende Funktion des ersten und letzten Gliedes den kylistischen, also periodischen Charakter der Kolon- oder Kommafolge, ja des einfachen Satzes'. In other words: by its cyclic character a chiasm suggests completion. Without added clause the text would consist of a chiasm, followed by a single clause, יִבְרְדוּ יָדִישׁ 'and I will remove all lawless ones from you'. Because of the preceding chiasm, but also because of the suggestion of Hebrew parallelism, it would be natural to take this single clause as the first member of a parallelism, of which the beginning of vs 26 would be the second one:

"and I will fire-purge you to purity,

but the disobedient ones I will destroy

and I will remove all lawless ones from you

and I will appoint your judges as before

219 Cf. the Vulgate and Luther: 'vnd deinen schawm auffs lauterst fegen / vnd alle dein Zyn wegtun.'

220 Cf. also A. van der Kooij, The Interpretation of Metaphorical Language: A Characteristic of LXX-Isaiah in: F. Garcia Martinez and G.P. Luttikhauzen (eds.), Jerusalem, Alexandria, Rome. Studies in Ancient Cultural Interaction in Honour of A. Hilhorst, (JSJSup 82), Leiden 2003, 181. The suggestion made by Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 26 that the translator derived יַחֲשָׁב יָדִישׁ 'inobedient ones' from יַחֲשָׁב (IQha) is possible but not probable, since, first, it does not account for the elaboration of the notion of removal, and second, יַחֲשָׁב is never rendered with יַחֲשָׁב יָדִישׁ.

221 There is no reason to assume a different source text, as Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 26 does.


223 Cf. Lausberg, Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik, § 723, 800.
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By the creation of a second chiasm the translator removed the misunderstanding and suggested a ‘complete completion’, thus providing a clear seam for the transition to the positive announcement in vs 26. The chiasms noted above are without parallel in MT, which means that the translator created them on purpose.

ISAIAH 1:26

καὶ ἐπιστήμω τοίς κρατεῖσι σου ὡς τὸ πρόερχον καὶ τοῖς συμβολούσι σου ὡς τὸ ἓπʼ ἀρχῆς καὶ μετὰ σαύρας κλήσεως πάλης διακατάως μητρὸπολίν πασὴν Σιὼν. and I will appoint your judges as before and your counsellors as from the beginning and after that you will be called a city of righteousness, faithful capital city Sion.

and I will bring back your judges as before and your counsellors as in the beginning; after that you will be called the city of righteousness, the faithful city.

Greek text –

Translation Where the Hebrew text speaks of ‘bringing back’ the judges (προσφέρειν), the Septuagint modifies it into ‘appointing’ (ἔστησεν) to avoid the misunderstanding that the old corrupt judges will be restored.

The preposition ἐν in the temporal adjunct ἐν οἴκῳ διακατάως, lit. ‘as in earlier’ is not rendered (obligatory omission). The second parallel adjunct of time, ἐν εἰρήνῃ ‘as in the beginning’, changes the place of the article obligatorily and modifies ἐν ‘in’ into ἐν ‘from’ to indicate that there had been several righteous judges before the catastrophe. 

In rendering ἐν εἰρήνῃ ‘the city of righteousness’, LXX omits the article: πόλεις διακατάως ‘(a) city of righteousness’. This is obligatory, since a predicate lacks the article. A case of synonymy occupied the translator’s mind at the end of the verse. Normally he would render both ἐν and ἐν as ζῆσις, ‘city’. But now that they occurred together, he did not want to repeat the same word, but provided a specification, μητρὸπολίς ‘capital city’ the second time.

Finally we should note that the Septuagint took ‘Zion’ as the end of vs 26, whereas MT and modern versions regard it as the beginning of vs 27. As contemporary manuscripts, like 1QIsa, lack interpunction, they allow that interpretation. However, in the light of other changes in vs 27, this move is probably intentional (see below).

224 Cf. LSJ 252a, sub b; BDR § 255 n.5.
225 As Jerome sums up: ‘Indices priores fuerunt Moyses, et Iesus filius Naue, et ceteri a quibus etiam liber scripturae sanctae nomen accepit; et postea Daud et ali iusti reges’ (Commentarius in Esaiam Libri I-XI, ad loc).
226 Smyth § 1150 with a similar example.
227 For other solutions see Isaiah 22:2; Jeremia 30:31 (MT 49:25). In Ptolemaic Egypt a μητρὸπολίς was the capital city of a district (ῬΩΜ῎Ω), cf. Rupprecht, Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde, 44.
**Transitions in the Septuagint**

**ISAIAH 1:27**

Zion will be redeemed through justice, and her returning ones through righteousness.

Greek text: Αἰγυπτίων δημοσίων, denoting a group of captives is attested (BDAG 31b).

Translation: We have already observed that the translator removed Ζιών ‘Zion’ from vs 27. What could be the reason? What may have bothered the translator is illustrated by Jerome who gives a literal translation,

Sion in iudicio redimetur et reducent eam in iustitia.

Zion will be redeemed in judgement and they will bring her back in righteousness.

But in his commentary he provides the right understanding:

Non omnes redimentur, nec omnes salui fient, sed reliquiae, de quibus et supra dictum est.

Not all shall be redeemed, nor shall all be saved, but the remnant about whom has been spoken above.

The Greek translator faced the same problem. A literal translation says that ‘Zion’ – suggesting everyone – will be saved, whereas vs 28 makes it clear that the lawless, the sinners and the forsworn of the Lord will perish. Salvation is only for the righteous remnant. The translator apparently judged that the right interpretation would not be too evident for his readership, so he enforced it by the transposition of ‘Zion’.

The translator realized this operation was not enough, for a literal translation of the remaining text would still have Zion as its grammatical subject. So he took the second step and promoted the captives to subject of the whole sentence by the omission of ‘and’.

Regarding the addition of τοῦ, a conjunction has to be added to avoid that Ζιών ‘Zion’ is taken as the first word of the sentence of vs 27f. τοῦ was chosen to show that vs 27f. explains how the return of justice to Jerusalem will happen.

Hebrew אָדוֹם means ‘to redeem by paying ransom’ but also ‘to redeem’ in a general sense. Literal translators prefer ἀποκατάστασις as its counterpart to suggest the specific meaning. The Isaiah translator here employs generic σωτείρα to save, which renders 7 Hebrew lexemes throughout Isaiah. In this case he probably chose it because of the context: ‘being redeemed by ransom’ is difficult to combine with ‘judgement’.

The reason that LXX has ἡ αἰγυπτίων αὐτῆς ‘her captives’ instead of ἡ σωτείρα ‘her returning ones’ lies in its parent text. Unpointed σωτείρα can also be read as σωτείρα ‘her captives’.

The translation of ἐπεχείρησε (traditionally ‘righteousness’) with ἐλεημοσύνη ‘compassion’ shows that the translator interpreted it here in the sense of ‘compassion, generosity’, known from

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228 Hieronymus, Commentariiorum in Esaiam Libri I-XI, ad loc.
229 E.g. Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion ad loc. The LXX-translator uses λοτρόν from Isaiah 35:9 onwards, mostly for ἀμα.
Transformations in Isaiah 1

rabbinic Hebrew.\(^{230}\) It is therefore a literal translation. In most cases he rendered it with ḫaqupāšah 'righteousness',\(^{231}\) but some contexts demand a decidedly positive meaning. So in 61:10, a song of joy, he rendered הַיְשָׁרָה with כָּפָרוֹת 'gladness'. The choice for the rendering ḥeḵalāyōqā 'compassion' in 28:17 is probably brought about by וַיָּלֵד 'hope' that stands out in the otherwise gloomy Greek text (28:15, 17, 18, 19). This also goes for 59:16, where Yhwh comes to the aid of his people, so the rendering fits well with the parallel noun in the context. In 56:1 we find כָּפָר 'compassion' in a parallel to שָׂדֵד 'way of salvation'. It is thus justified to look for a contextual explanation regarding the choice of ḥeḵalāyōqā 'compassion' for הַיְשָׁרָה. As we saw above, several transformations in this verse serve to underline the twofold fate of 'Zion': the city will be purged and judges restored, but the sinners will be destroyed. Therefore it seems to me that 'compassion' here explains the use of שָׂדֵד 'will be saved'.\(^{232}\)

The normal rendering of קְרִימ 'judgement, justice' in LXX-Isaiah is קְרִים 'judgement' (cf. 1:17). In 7 cases out of 42 it is translated with קְרִים 'judgement, justice'. In five cases קְרִים 'judgement, justice' is coupled with an abstract noun, notably ḫaqupāšah 'righteousness'.\(^{233}\) And for the abstract sense קְרִים is more adequate than קְרִים, as we found in our discussion of 1:17.\(^{234}\) This explains its use next to ḥeḵalāyōqā 'compassion'.

ISAIAH 1:28

καὶ πολυμορφοῖσθαι οἱ διόνυσοι καὶ οἱ ἀμαρτωλοὶ ἔμαθε καὶ οἱ ἐγκαταλείπτοντες τὰς κρίσιν συμπελευθέρωσαν,

and the lawless and the sinners will be crushed together and those who forsake the Lord will come to an end.

and crushing of criminals and sinners together and those who forsake the Lord will perish.

Translation In the first part of this quite literally translated verse the Hebrew text is a bit queer. Literally MT says רָצַח 'and crushing (of sinners…)' where we would expect a verb, like 'and sinners will be crushed'. Most versions give a verb for translational reasons. Textual emendations can be found in BHS and elsewhere. Some proposals actually fit into

231 In Isaiah 28 times out of 36; further פָּרָה is rendered as ḥeḵalāyōqā (3 x), דָּעָת (2 x), קְרִים (1 x), הָעָם (1 x), כָּפָרוֹת (1 x). The related פָּרַת is rendered with דָּעָת 16 times out of 31.
232 In midrashic language: אֲשֶׁר יְשָׁרָה יִשָּׁרָה (justice and mercy). I have the impression that this consideration also stands behind the renderings in Psalm 32 (MT 33):5, 102 (MT 103):6.
233 LXX-Isaiah 1:27; 5:16; 9:6 (and transposed, cf. app. cr.); 16:5; 32:16. Regarding the remaining two cases of the seven, in 10:2 the normal rendering קְרִים cannot be used for קְרִים because it has already been employed for פָּרָה. In 28:26 an abstract sense seems to be inspired by ḥeḵalāyōqā 'way of salvation'.
234 Only in 59:9 we find a combination of קְרִים and דָּעָת. Here קְרִים is used for דָּעָת because it functions as a key word in the whole passage (59:4, 8, 9, 11, 14, 15). Cf. also the observations in ThWNT III, 943-944.
the consonants of MT (=1QIsa), viz. רכש ‘and He will crush’ and רכש ‘and … will be crushed’. We do not know how the translator read and interpreted his consonant text, possibly in the latter way and therefore I consider it a literal translation. Συντρίβω is the normal counterpart of רכש, both meaning ‘to break, crush’.

The verb רכש, when used without preposition (cf. 1:2), means ‘to behave as a criminal / rebel’, according to modern lexica. Its active participle is rendered as οἱ δικαιούμενοι, ‘the lawless’. This generalization occurs 12 times in LXX-Isaiah and many times in other books. For the translational factors behind it see 1:4.

The phrase χασσαίοι και ἁμαρτάνοι ‘rebels and sinners’ lacks the article. In Hebrew poetry the article can be omitted more frequently than in prose. The Greek translator aimed for prose and provided the article in accordance with the Greek expressions in the context. I think that the addition of the anaphoric article is obligatory here,235 since in the announcement of the divine punishment the ‘rebels and sinners’ refer back to the picture of vss 21-23.

For the phrase ἔφεσα τῶν κύριων ‘to forsake the Lord’ see 1:4.

The Hebrew יָשֶׂם qal ‘to be completed’ can be used in the specific sense ‘to perish’ and the pî’el stem in the sense of ‘to destroy, kill’. Lexica list Isaiah 1:28 and Zechariah 5:4 as the instances of this use.236 But the belief that Greek συντρίβω can also mean ‘to kill’ rests on the assumption that the Greek translators successfully transferred all semantic components to the Greek word (‘Greek words with Hebrew meanings’).237 I consider this questionable.

The alleged proof-texts are weak. Take 2 Kingdoms (2 Samuel) 21:5 and Ezekiel 5:12. Συντρίβω ‘to complete’ must indeed denote destruction to the Greek reader, but only because the context with its synonyms suggests it. Finally Tobit 8:19 (S) is so Hebraizing that it tells us little about Greek usage. In my view συντρίβω never had the sense of ‘to kill, destroy’. If it had, then first of all among Greek-speaking, Septuagint-reading Christians.

But John Chrysostom needs to explain συντρίβω! His entire commentary on the second clause of vs 28 reads:238

Καὶ ὁ ἐγκαταλελυκτὴς τῶν κύριων συντρίβω! Ἡ συντρίβω! τῶν κύριων συντρίβω!

‘And those who forsake the Lord will come to an end.’ – The impious ones, he says, will perish.

This example allows us two conclusions: first, that making a dictionary on the basis of translated texts is a dangerous undertaking,239 and, second, that συντρίβω means here ‘to bring to an end’, in accordance with normal Greek. What kind of transformation are we then dealing with? In my view there are two possibilities. The first one is that the translator employed συντρίβω as a standard rendering of יָשֶׂם qal ‘to be completed’, as we find in e.g. Genesis 2:1; and the second one is that the translator interpreted יָשֶׂם qal in the sense of ‘to be completed’ and not necessarily as ‘perishing’, since the context describes the wasting away of the sinners in vss 29-31a and only in vs 31b their final destruction. Both cases would imply a literal translation.

235 Cf. 1:26, where the reverse happens.

236 HAL 454b-455a, BDB 477b-478.

237 See, e.g. LSJ 1726a, sub 1A (‘LXX’); Lust c.s., Greek-English Lexicon, 461a; Muraoka, A Greek-English Lexicon, 540b.

238 Jean Chrysostome, Commentaire sur Isiaie, 92.

Transformations in Isaiah 1

ISAIAH 1:29

διότι καταπαυθήσονται ἐν τοῖς εἴδολοις αὐτῶν ἢ αὐτοὶ ἕβολοντο καὶ ἐπηρεάσθησαν ἐν ὑπερήφανον

in view of the fact that they will be put to shame at their idols they used to prefer, and they have felt shame because of their gardens they desired

for they will be ashamed at their gods which they desired and they will feel disgrace at the gardens they chose

Greek text According to Thackeray διότι is used instead of ὅτι after vowels to avoid hiatus (but cf. 1:2).\(^{240}\) I have rather the impression that the more explicitly causal διότι is used to explain τοὺς τοῖς τοιούτων καὶ τοῖς γήρας τοῖς καρπῶν ἐπεθήματο πρὸς τοῖς καρπῶν καὶ τοῖς γηράσι. The sinners will be come to an end, in view of the fact that (BDAG 251b) they will be put to shame, made sterile and finally destroyed. The difference between καταπαύσαντες and ἐπηρεάσθησαν is subtle. The former means 'to cause someone to be much ashamed – to humiliate, to disgrace, to put to shame' and the latter 'to experience or feel shame or disgrace because of a particular event or activity'.\(^{241}\) The verbal tenses are remarkable. We first find future + imperfect, and then surprisingly, in a seemingly parallel syntax, aorist + aorist! As Ziegler's apparatus shows, several witnesses present a smoother text, in which both parallel clauses are in future tense. For the double augment in ἔρροισον (instead of ἕβολοντο) see LSJ 325b.

The relative pronoun ἤ does not agree with its antecedent κῆποι. It is a rare ad sensum construction which occurs especially with neuter (Smyth § 2501d; BDR § 296.3). A grammatically correct agreement would refer back incorrectly:

… ἔτη τοῖς κήποις αὐτῶν ὧς ἐπεθήματον

* … at the gardens of those whom they desired.

Translation The rendering of ποιὸς 'gods'\(^{242}\) with εἴδολα 'images' can perhaps best be classified as a specification. It refers in a deprecatory way (to Jewish ears) to the cultic objects belonging to idol worship, doubtless for religious reasons. The article τοὺς has been added for syntactic parallelism with the second part of the verse. Καταπαυσάντες καὶ εὐφοράστησαν ἐν τοῖς καρπῶν καὶ τοῖς γηράσι 'will be put to shame by reason of' is semantically a literal translation of τοῖς 'will be ashamed, put to shame by reason of'.\(^{243}\) It occurs often throughout the Septuagint. Other literal translations occur, e.g. εἰσαγόμενα 'to be ashamed' (frequent in LXX) and ἐπηρεάσασθαι to be ashamed of'. But it seems that the literal revisors Aquila and Symmachus considered καταπαύσαντες a specification, since according to Ziegler's apparatus they 'corrected' it into εἰσαγόμενα 'will be ashamed'. The background of this 'correction' is the desire for consistency on word level (stereotyping). In their ideal ποιὸς should be rendered with one Greek verb, εἰσαγόμενα 'to be ashamed'. The correction can also be


\(^{241}\) Louw & Nida, Greek-English Lexicon, entries 25.194 and 25.193. On analogy with εἰσαγόμενα (BDAG 357b) and εἰσαγόμενος (LSJ 43b) also καταπαύσαντες can apparently be construed with ἔτη (cf. LXX-Jeremiah 10:14). In the literally translated LXX-books it is sometimes construed with ἔτη or ἐκ.

\(^{242}\) The 1QIsa reading ποιὸς 'gods' for MT כְּפִא '(sacred) oaks' was possibly in the LXX parent text.

\(^{243}\) So HALOT s.v. ποιὸς; BDIIb10b.
found in several manuscripts. I therefore believe Ziegler rightly considered καταστάσις original. The translator probably chose it because ἐπιστάμενος means ‘to feel shame or disgrace because of having done something wrong or something beneath one’s dignity or social status,’ whereas καταστάσις better expresses the idea of being disconcerted or disappointed because of false trust in something. A glance at Hatch & Redpath s.v. καταστάσις and a check in critical editions suggests that in quite a few cases it has replaced its derivateτ('πν., καταστάσις). I have the impression that this root could serve as a starting point for studying revisional tendencies in manuscripts.

The verse has two words expressing wishes. The first, λέει ‘to choose, elect’, is rendered with διέλεψαν ‘to want, prefer’ and the second, ἐπέθεσε ‘to desire’, with ἐμπεθέσαν. Judging from the usual renderings one would expect the reverse! Indeed I think the translator had the renderings change places. The reason is his choice for ‘images’ instead of ‘gods’. ἐμπεθέσαν ‘images’ does not qualify as an object of ἐπεθέσαν ‘to desire’, for the Judeans did not desire the images greatly, they possessed and worshipped them. The translator instead says that the Judeans used to prefer (ὁλόλογοι) the idols (over Yhwh, it suggests implicitly). The shift from 2nd person plural to 3rd person plural (λέει ἦν ‘you…’) → ἡμῖν ‘they…’) harmonizes the participant reference to the context.

The pronouns ἐνέπον ‘their’ and ἐνέποι ‘they’ have been added in the first sentence, because both ἔλεγαν ‘gods’ and the relative είς are neuter plural. Without the pronouns a misunderstanding lies at the door: ‘κακὰ τοις ἐλεγάντων ἡ ἡμῖν… at the idols who preferred…’ The second sentence does not need the pronouns, since κήπος ‘garden’ is masculine. Nevertheless it receives ἐνέποι ‘their’ once, probably to make both sentences not too divergent.

The Hebrew שׁ in ‘garden’ does not refer to fruit trees here, but to worshipped trees. Therefore the usual rendering κήπος ‘garden’ is used instead of πάρκον ‘park’ (cf. Genesis 2:8). The aorist στέλλεσθαι ‘they have felt shame’ raises the question why this puzzling transition to past tense (see Greek text) has been chosen here. A remark by Wilk on 1:8, ‘Dem Tempuswechsel ins Futur (…) entspricht der gegenläufige Wechsel in V. 29b,’ may put us on the right track: how has the translator rendered the verbal tenses so far? The Hebrew imperative and iussive correspond to a Greek imperative in a natural way, the ‘perfect’ has been rendered with aorist (except in vs 11) and the ‘imperfect’ has been rendered with either present or future. Now the unvocalized parent text neither made a distinction between we + perfect (weqatalti) and perfect consecutive (weqatalti), nor between we + imperfect (weyiqtol) and imperfect consecutive (wayyiqtol). My impression is that the translator started with the working assumption that every weqatalti was a perfect consecutive (weqatalti), indicating future tense, and that every wayyiqtol was an imperfect consecutive, indicating past tense (wayyiqtol). He found weqatalti in 1:8, 19, 20; 2:20ff. and rendered the verb forms as future. In 5:14 he first rendered weqatalti with a past tense. Apparently he discovered only there that weqatalti may have different functions and may also refer to past situations (cf. 6:3). Similarly, he treated יִשָׁתֵת in vs 29 as an imperfect consecutive (יִשָּׁתֵת) and translated it as past tense. In 5:15f. he first rendered w + imperfect

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244 Louw & Nida, Greek-English Lexicon, entry 25:190.
245 E.g. 2 Kingdoms (1 Samuel) 16:21; Psalm 6:11; Proverbs 20:4; Sirach 22:25; 24:22; Isaiah 50:7; Jeremiah 6:14, 17:13.
246 For a full discussion see Barthélemy, Critique textuelle 2, 10-11.
Transformations in Isaiah 1

with future, not as an imperfect consecutive. In my opinion this accounts for the otherwise puzzling change of verbal tense in 1:8, 29. It is not necessary to postulate actualizing exegesis in these verses.

ISAIAH 1:30

"For they will be like a terebinth that has shed its leaves and like a park having no water

for you will be like an oak, withered of leafage, and like a garden that has no water

Greek text –

Translation The change of word order effected by γὰρ is obligatory. For the shift from 2nd person plural to 3rd person plural see 1:29.

The rendering of δέντον 'mighty tree, terebinth' with τερέβινθος is literal. The collective πλῆθος 'leafage' is rendered with the plural φύλλα 'leaves' (obligatory). Compared to MT, the possessive element in πλῆθος 'her leafage' seems to have been dropped (cf. 1:3, 24). But since the parent text of LXX was unpointed, the translator may have interpreted the unpointed text as πλῆθος 'leafage'. The Hebrew verb בזש 'to wither and fall' is rendered with a variety of words in LXX-Isaiah and throughout the Septuagint, as appears from Muraoka's Index. In those cases 'leaves' or 'flowers' are subject. But here we find a different construction, literally 'as a terebinth fading as regards its leaf'. The tree is the subject of fading, viz. in respect of the leafage. Translations often make the leaves the subject of withering: 'like an oak whose leaf withers' (NRSV). The LXX-translator retained the subject and provided a converse translation, like GN: 'wie eine Eiche, die ihre Blätter verliert'. There is no reason to assume a different source text.

For the rendering of κήπος (= גן) 'garden' see our discussion of Genesis 2:8.

For the rendering of the typical Hebrew construction אֶת נַחֲלָה lit. 'not being water for her' with בְּנֹכֶר μὴ הָיוּ 'having no water', I refer to Proverbs 6:8. Semantically it is a literal translation, but the shift from relative clause to participle is a change of syntactic structure. A participle is more elegant here, as it gives a syntactic parallel with the preceding clause.

I do not reckon 2:3 as the first case, since w + imperfect follows an imperative, so that the cohortative sense is suggested very strongly.

As Wilk, Vision wider Judaea, 33f., does.

Cf. BDB 18b; Meyer / Donner, Gesenius’ Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch, 60a.

Gesenius-Kautzsch-Cowley, Hebrew Grammar, § 116i. Cf. NJPS.

Contra Wilk, Vision wider Judaea, 28.
Transformations in the Septuagint

ISAIAH 1:31

καὶ ἔσται ἡ ἰσχύς αὐτῶν ὡς καλάμη σετετύπω καὶ οἱ ἐργασίαι αὐτῶν ὡς σταυρίδες τυράννων καὶ καταστροφήνων ὡς θωμαὶ καὶ ὡς ἀμφισβητοῦν ὡς πόλεις καὶ οἱ ἐρημοῦσι ποτάμια καὶ οἱ ἔσται ὁ φωκὸς.

and their might will be like a stalk of tow and their works as sparks of fire and the lawless and the sinners will burn together and there will be no one extinguishing.

καὶ ἔσται ἡ ἰσχύς αὐτῶν ὡς καλάμη σετετύπω καὶ οἱ ἐργασίαι αὐτῶν ὡς σταυρίδες τυράννων καὶ καταστροφήνων ὡς θωμαὶ καὶ ὡς ἀμφισβητοῦν ὡς πόλεις καὶ οἱ ἔσται ὁ φωκὸς.

and their might will be like a stalk of tow and their works as sparks of fire and the lawless and the sinners will burn together and there will be no one extinguishing.

Greek text –

Translation Two words have been vocalized differently from MT, פֶּת and וֹלֵכָה. The former has been taken as פֶּת ‘strength’ instead of פֶת ‘the strong one’ and the latter as וֹלֵכָה ‘his work’ instead of וֹלֵכָה ‘his worker’.

The rendering of פֶת with וֹלֵכָה is literal, as both mean ‘strength’. It is followed by וֹלֵכָה ‘their’, but if this is an addition cannot be said with certainty, for the Qumran Isaiah scroll (1QIsa) reads וֹלֵכָה ‘their strength’. Although this is a conflate reading, the additional suffix apparently existed in at least one manuscript. For a transition from 2nd to 3rd person, explaining also the second וֹלֵכָה ‘their’ (change of number), see 1:29.

An immediate consequence of the plural pronouns is that וֹלֵכָה ‘work’ is turned into plural וֹלֵכָה ‘works’, since it concerns the deeds of more than one person. And of course וֹלֵכָה ‘spark’ then has to become וֹלֵכָה ‘sparks’ (change of number).

Σταυρίδες ‘tow’ is a rendering of πῦρ ‘tow’, as in Judges 16:9 (B). Καλάμη ‘stalk’ is added to clarify that weakness and flammability are meant, not the strength of flax wrought into a rope. In Judges 16:9 this element is also in the Hebrew text.

To underline the metaphorical character of ‘their strength will be like a stalk of tow’, the translator makes it into a simile by rendering "to' as וֹלֵכָה ‘like’ twice (explicitation).

In the second clause נָשָׁן ‘fire’ is added for stylistic reasons to produce a parallel expression to the first: ‘stalk of tow’ // ‘spark of fire’.

An explicitation is the rendering of וֹלֵכָה ‘the two of them’ with וֹלֵכָה וֹלֵכָה ὡς πόλεις καὶ οἱ ἄμφισβητοῦν ‘the lawless and the sinners’, obviously taken from vs 28. When MT says that ‘the two of them will burn together,’ it is not very clear who are meant: the strong and his work or the tow and the spark. Some modern versions feel the same problem. They either give an explicitation, e.g. ‘they and their work shall burn together’ (NRSV), or they turn וֹלֵכָה ‘the two of them’ into a very general reference, e.g. ‘they all go up in flames’ (CEV, TEV, GN). Now the Septuagint cannot refer back to ‘the strong … and his work’, as it has rendered that as וֹלֵכָה וֹלֵכָה ‘their might and their works’.

And it is awkward to say that ‘their might and their work’ will burn together. The repeated pronouns וֹלֵכָה וֹלֵכָה ‘their’ refers back to the persons mentioned in vs 28 וֹלֵכָה וֹלֵכָה ‘the lawless and the sinners together’. The recurrence of וֹלֵכָה ‘together’ in 1:28, 31 strengthens the suggestion that the same people are meant. It is therefore

253 I refer to the elaborate discussion by Barthélemy, Critique textuelle 2, 11-13.
254 So already Ziegler, Untersuchungen, 93.
Transformations in Isaiah 1

Understandable that the translator preferred this clear explicitation over the vague solution of some modern versions. The last item of this chapter, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ὀλέθρων ‘and there will be no one extinguishing’, contains no transformation in the sense of this study. It is a literal rendering, occurring in all types of translations in the Septuagint.255

CHART OF LITERALNESS IN ISAIAH 1

(For a clarification of the four categories, see the introduction to the charts of Genesis 2.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>vs.</th>
<th>Quantitative representation of segments</th>
<th>Adherence to ST word classes</th>
<th>Adherence to ST word order</th>
<th>Stereotyping</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>+8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2*</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>+4 – 2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>+2 – 2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>+5 – 5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>+2 – 1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>+4 – 1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>– 1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>– 2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>+3</td>
<td>4</td>
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</tr>
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<td>14</td>
<td>+4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>+4 – 3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>+ 3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>+3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>+2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>+2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1*</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>+3 – 1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1*</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>+3 – 3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>– 3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>+6 – 1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>+8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2*</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
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<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>+2 – 1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

255 Cf. literal renderings of similar phrases as καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ὀλέθρων (Isaiah 1:31; Jeremiah 4:4; 21:12), καὶ οὐκ ἔσται σοι ὁ βωμός (Deuteronomy 28:29 etc.), καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ἐξαιρόμενος (Job 5:4 etc.).
TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE SEPTUAGINT

| 28 | +2 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 29 | +3 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 30 | −2 | 0 | 1* | 0 |
| 31 | +8 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| total | +86 − 31 | 28 | 14 |
| average per word | +0.2 − 0.09 | 0.08 | 0.04 |

* included in this figure: ‘deviations’ caused by postpositive δε, γερ

The total number of words in Isaiah 1:1-31 is 362.

A. Quantitative representation

The translation does not adhere strictly to the number of elements of its original. It contains many added elements, not only obligatory ones like δε (1:9), but also numerous conjunctions that have the function of forging a coherent text (1:3, 4, 8, 9, 9, 12, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 18, 19, 23, 24, 26, 27), clarifying pronouns (1:3, 3, 13, 16, 19, 20, 21, 24, 29, 29, 31), prepositions (1:1, 5, 16) and articles (1:28, 28, 31). Further additions relate to clarifications (1:1, 7, 14, 15, 20, 21, 24, 25) or stylistic improvements (1:5, 31, 31). The translator’s omissions are rarely obligatory, like the omission of the particle μεν (1:18), or the omission of the particle ὡς (1:26). Non-obligatory omissions relate to articles (1:26), conjunctions (1:8, 15, 27) and pronominal suffixes (1:3, 3, 10, 15, 24). The translator sometimes omits words and phrases that he considers semantically superfluous (1:4, 6, 6, 9, 11, 23). Additions outnumber omissions, so that the translation is longer than the original, which is in line with general experience, as we noted in the Conclusions to Genesis 2. It is further interesting to note that with the exception of 1:4, 25, 31 deviations from quantitative representation rarely affect content words.

B. Adherence to word classes

The translator sticks to the word classes of the original. Few changes of word class are obligatory (1:13, 15, 24, 26). Other changes of word class have been semantically (1:24, 25) or stylistically inspired (1:1, 4, 4, 4, 6, 7, 15, 25).

C. Adherence to word order

The word order of the original is closely followed. The few exceptions are obligatory (1:2, 20, 21, 25, 30), are demanded by style (1:5, 24) or are the corollary of other transformations (1:6, 25). Only in 1:24 a change of word order serves to solve a content problem. For the rest the Greek translation can be retraced to the Hebrew text almost word for word. In this respect LXX- Isaiah displays a high degree of literalness.

D. Stereotyping

Although the corpus of one chapter, especially the first one of a book, is too short to come to reliable conclusions, the data available suggest that the Isaiah translator is not concerned with rendering Hebrew lexemes consistently with particular Greek counterparts. Not surprisingly, lexemes like י שיש ‘land’, י ‘hand’, יהוה ‘Yhwh’ have fixed counterparts. But for an easy lexeme like מ ‘day’ the translator makes no bones of a contextual transforma-
Transformations in Isaiah 1

Many Hebrew lexemes have varied renderings, such as יְהַלְם 'to reign' (1:1), דָּרָת 'to come' (1:12, 23), יָד 'to be' (1:9, 18, 22), עַשָּׂר 'to listen' (1:2, 10), רְשֵׁי 'to bring back' (1:25, 26), יִשָּׂר 'judgement' (1:17, 21, 27), רְשֶׁה 'to rebel' (1:2, 28), יְרוּם 'city' (1:21, 26), יִשָּׂר 'to hear' (1:2, 10, 15).

A number of Greek lexemes cover two or more Hebrew lexemes: ἀνόητος 'lawless' (1:4, 25, 28, 31), ἀπαλλαγματισμός 'to leave, forsake' (1:8, 9, 28), εἰστίν 'to listen' (1:15, 20), καθαρός 'clean' (1:16, 25), κρίμα 'judgement' (1:17, 21, 23, 24), ψυχή 'soul' (1:14, 16).

These data do not mean that the translator is inconsistent. His consistency lies in contextual sensitivity. At the same time differences in vocabulary, e.g. the poverty of the Greek lexicon for sin and iniquity compared to Hebrew, have caused lexical rearrangements. Finally a preference for certain words, e.g. ἀνόητος 'lawless-', may have played a role. The ST vocabulary creates new key word patterns and intertextual relationships.

Connected with this is the question whether the Isaiah translator was dependent on the lexicon of the LXX-Pentateuch. It is generally believed that this is so, but recently James Barr has subjected this conviction to a methodological scrutiny. He concludes that there is little reason to uphold that claim any longer. My findings in Isaiah 1 underline Barr’s findings. Already in vss 1-20 I found more than 20 words that were rendered with Greek terms that have not been used for those Hebrew words in the LXX-Pentateuch. The translator gives pride of place to semantic nuances in his ST and not to pre-existing traditions. This explains the use of:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hebrew Lexeme</th>
<th>Greek Lexeme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>יְהַלְם 'to be king'</td>
<td>κύριος 'king' (Pent. βασιλεύς)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>יָד 'to begot'</td>
<td>λέχος 'to raise' (Pent. μακάλω, τρέφω)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>יָד 'full'</td>
<td>λίθος 'heavy' (Pent. βαρύς)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>יָד 'to make angry'</td>
<td>γάβρι 'to spurn' (Pent. παραδίω)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>יָד 'lawlessness'</td>
<td>ἀπόστασις 'apostasy' (Pent. ἀποστασία)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>יָד 'pain'</td>
<td>θάλαμος 'illness, wound' (Pent. μαλακία)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>יָד 'bandage'</td>
<td>βάζω 'to bind' (Pent. 'to saddle', 'put on')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>יָד 'territory'</td>
<td>περιοχή 'terrain' (Pent. 'soil, land')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>יָד 'to besiege'</td>
<td>ἔτοιμον 'to besiege' (Pent. 'to keep')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>יָד 'fine flour'</td>
<td>δόμος 'gift' (Pent. δώρον, δοξά)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>יָד 'Great Day'</td>
<td>δόμος 'calling assemblies'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


257 In this table English words represent various Greek words with that meaning.

For the traditional view regarding Isaiah 1, cf. Wilk, Vision wider Judäa, 30.
The appearance of ἔλαφονμα ανασήμανα 'whole-burnt-offering' for יִרְשׁ (1:11) seems to point to the LXX-Pentateuch, as it makes its entrance into written Greek just there. But we cannot claim the same for spoken language. It is quite likely that the myriads of Jewish diaspora pilgrims to Jerusalem, not to speak of the Hellenized elite in the city itself, possessed a Greek vocabulary for the handful of different offerings and sacrifices in the temple.

There are, however, two instances that seem to point to an existing tradition of 'standard equivalents'. First, with respect to ἀκούσας 'to give ear' (1:2) for ἀκούει 'to give ear', it is not likely that it was part of Jewish religious vocabulary in Greek. Second, Barr's valuable observations should be refined with the thought that when an appropriate term is avoided in favour of a term that is taken out of its normal meaning, this may point to a pre-existing tradition. Κρίνεις 'judgement' is used unidiomatically for of ἔκτισσας 'judgement, justice' instead of a more abstract counterpart. The reason for this seems to be that in the LXX-Pentateuch or in another received translation practice δικαιοσύνη 'justice' had already been reserved for ἔκτισσα and ἔλαφον. The same holds true for νόμος 'law' (1:10).

### Chart of Transformations in Isaiah 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>vs</th>
<th>Hebrew</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>Obligatory</th>
<th>Non-obligatory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>יִרְשׁ</td>
<td>ἔλαφον</td>
<td>specification</td>
<td>anaphorical translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>יִרְשׁ</td>
<td>ἔλαφον</td>
<td>naturalized transcription</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>יִרְשׁ</td>
<td>ἔλαφον</td>
<td>addition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ἔκτισσας</td>
<td>ἔκτισσας</td>
<td>naturalized transcription</td>
<td>specification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ἔκτισσας</td>
<td>ἔκτισσας</td>
<td>transcription</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Κρίνεις</td>
<td>Κρίνεις</td>
<td>ch. of word class</td>
<td>ch. of accidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Κρίνεις</td>
<td>Κρίνεις</td>
<td>[morphematic translation: not counted]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

258 Only a fraction of the obligatory transformations has been listed.

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Transformations in Isaiah 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Greek Text</th>
<th>Effect</th>
<th>Reason</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>μακρύνσαν</td>
<td>cause</td>
<td>literal translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>μετὰ θετορισμὸν</td>
<td>cause</td>
<td>ch. of word class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>τὸν εκτρομίμανον</td>
<td>cause</td>
<td>ch. of word order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>τὸν κυριακόν αὐτοῦ</td>
<td>omission</td>
<td>ch. of accidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>εἰ</td>
<td>cause</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>εἰς πόδαν</td>
<td>cause</td>
<td>explicitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>εἰς λότην</td>
<td>cause</td>
<td>addition, translation of cause and effect</td>
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<td>ἀπὸ - πόδαν</td>
<td>omission</td>
<td>ch. of accidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>γίματος</td>
<td>cause</td>
<td>omission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>γενεται τῆς ὑψόστασης</td>
<td>cause</td>
<td>explicitation</td>
</tr>
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</table>

second part

restructuring of discourse

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Greek Text</th>
<th>Effect</th>
<th>Reason</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>εἰ</td>
<td>cause</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
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### Transformations in the Septuagint

<table>
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<th>Line</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ἐγερθείσης</td>
<td>literal translation</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>εἰρήματα</td>
<td>specification</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>χρωματικὰ</td>
<td>specification</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ἐν γένεσιν τοῦ κόσμου</td>
<td>modification</td>
<td>anaphoric translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ</td>
<td>specification</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ἔκτοτε</td>
<td>specification</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>τοῖς συγγόνισι</td>
<td>specification</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>ἐν δύο</td>
<td>addition</td>
<td>generalization</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

192
### Transformations in Isaiah 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Ch. of Class/Accidence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>16</td>
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<td>compared in spirit</td>
<td>modification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ἀπὸ τῶν σπώκων ἡμῶν</td>
<td>from our enemies</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ἑαυτὸν</td>
<td>himself</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>πληθυνθείς</td>
<td>filled</td>
<td>generalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ἡμεῖς, ἡμών</td>
<td>we, our</td>
<td>generalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ἡμεῖς, ἡμών</td>
<td>we, our</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>ἐπιστωτεία</td>
<td>literal translation</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2α)</td>
<td>addition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>omission</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>λειτουργεῖν (λειτουργεῖ)</td>
<td>to serve</td>
<td>effect → cause</td>
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<td>λειτουργεῖ</td>
<td>serves</td>
<td>implicitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>δέ</td>
<td>addition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>λειτουργεῖ</td>
<td>serves</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>τὸν νῦν τῆς ἡλικίας</td>
<td>change in the generation</td>
<td>antonymic translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>τὸν νῦν τῆς ἡλικίας</td>
<td>change in the generation</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>ἀποκριθείς</td>
<td>respond</td>
<td>antonymic translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ἀποκριθείς</td>
<td>respond</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>εἰς ἀγαθόν</td>
<td>to good</td>
<td>change of accuracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>εἰς ἀγαθόν</td>
<td>to good</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>omission</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>αὐτὸς</td>
<td>himself</td>
<td>ch. of class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>οὖν</td>
<td>then</td>
<td>explicitation</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>τίνα</td>
<td>which</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
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<td>22</td>
<td>ἂν</td>
<td>if</td>
<td>omission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ἀπόκρυμα</td>
<td>concealment</td>
<td>modification; cause → effect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ἡμῶν</td>
<td>our</td>
<td>ch. of accuracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>οὐ κατάρχοντα</td>
<td>does not start</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
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<td>οὗ</td>
<td>of</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>μίσης</td>
<td>hatred</td>
<td>change of syntactic function</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>μίσης</td>
<td>hatred</td>
<td>change of syntactic function</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tr>
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<td>ἔστω</td>
<td>let</td>
<td>omission</td>
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<td>ἐν</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>ch. of class</td>
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<td>generalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>καὶ</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Transformations in the Septuagint

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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Total: 53 136
Transformations in Isaiah 1

The total number of non-obligatory transformations in Isaiah 1 is 136, their average number per Hebrew word is 0.27.

CONCLUSIONS

Our discussion of the chart of literalness allows us to catch a glimpse of the translator’s doings, but the decisive characteristics of the translation are not captured by that chart. We have to look at the non-obligatory transformations and study the rationale behind them. The translator closely follows his source text. Literal translation constitutes his most important tool. His intention of adherence to the Hebrew text shows in the instances of SL interference. An example is πληθύνσα ‘to multiply X’ in the sense of ‘to do X often’ (1:15), but apparently the translator had doubts about it, for later on he avoided this Hebraism. Another instance is μινιαλλα ‘to bring to an end’ (1:28). In spite of the translator’s concern for style, the flavour of the chapter is Hebraistic. Word order and syntax reflect Hebrew rather than Greek usage. Examples are the striking parataxis in 1:24b-31, the use of prepositions (1:16, 24), the pleonastic pronoun (1:1, 14, 21) and interjections (1:4, 24). This indicates that the translator is partly sign-oriented and not sense-oriented in the full sense of the word.

On the other hand the translator aims for naturalness, as can be illustrated with hellenized names like Ἀμαλκέας and Ἡσαΐας (1:1). A few times the translator makes words change positions in order to arrive at a natural word order (1:2, 5, 15). And when a literal translation of words sounds unnatural, minor transformations result in a more elegant text, like the modification in 1:4, the generalization in 1:5, the omission in 1:12, the change of syntactic structure in 1:15. He omits possessive pronouns (1:3, 24) as is usual in Greek style, refrains from stereotyping when the collocation differs (1:9, 10). The translator knows to choose non-literal, but natural TL counterparts for lexemes (1:22, 29).

With respect to semantics we have seen that the translator analyses Hebrew expressions and renders them precisely. Examples of this are renderings of the prepositions in 1:7, 12, 16 and of the verbal tenses in 1:8, 29. At the same time he is sensitive to contextual nuances, as appears from renderings like δεύτερας (1:4), τούτος (1:5), ποιμήν (1:15), ταύτας (1:11) and plural rendering of collective singulars (1:13, 23, 23). Clarity is a major concern of the translator. To that end he makes small elements (1:3, 13, 15, 21, 31) or phrases (1:14, 31) explicit. As a reverse, elements considered superfluous are sometimes omitted (1:3, 9, 11). The translator is interested in producing a coherent text with either clearly marked or smooth transitions, and so he frequently adds or omits conjunctions (1:3, 4, 4, 8, 9, 12, 12, 12, 13, 14, 14, 15, 15, 17, 18, 18, 21, 22, 24, 24, 25, 26). A problem posed itself to the translator by the abrupt transitions from 2nd to 3rd person and vice versa. He tried to ‘harmonize the participants’ by removing these transitions for the sake of coherence (1:4, 14, 24, 22, 23, 29, 31). The most radical transformation to mark a transition is the addition of a small clause in 1:25. Sometimes the translator renders the sense of the metaphor rather than its image (1:16, 25) for clearness’ sake. A subtler instrument for digesting metaphors is turning a metonymy into a simile (1:31).

The translator is keen on transformations preventing misunderstandings which might arise from a literal translation. This is the rationale behind the generalization and the addition of
an article in 1:4, pronouns in 1:29, the change of accent into a participle in 1:5\textsuperscript{259} and the
anaphorical translation that makes a nominative visible (1:1). The translator stresses the
separate treatment of righteous and godless in 1:24, 26.

Common sense is also an important principle for the translator. He rearranges the medical
treatment in 1:6, removes a metaphor which might sound ridiculous (1:7), divides the
otherwise problematic content of 1:18 into stages, and rephrases the last words of 1:23. It is
remarkable that the translator considers precision with respect to content words more
important than with regard to the syntactic structure in which they function. He does not
shrink from a different syntactic distribution of content words if that helps to avoid prob-
lems (1:13). Syntactically he goes to great lengths to do justice to the precise meaning of
ירא מ = ‘to demand from the hand’ (1:12) or of יָרָא ‘trouble’ (1:14).

Some transformations are the result of earlier decisions. The clearest example is the literal
interpretation of ‘from the hand’ (1:12), which leads to a series of syntactical shifts. Minor
examples can be found in 1:12, 25, 29.

The translator occasionally goes beyond naturalness and aims for ease and beauty of style,
which brings him within the realm of ancient rhetorica. The distinct Hebraic flavour of the
text suggests that he was not applying rules from a rhetorical handbook to produce a natural
Greek text, but rather unconsciously and unsystematically followed his intuitions. Some
transformations are prompted by a concern for elegance (1:7, 23). In 1:22 the translator
leaves a lapidary taste to a clause. He tries to avoid repetition of lexemes (1:9, 26), as
customary in Greek. On the other hand he loves repetition of parallel patterns and omits or
adds small elements (1:1, 5, 6, 29, 31). Sometimes this entails a number of transformations
(1:4, 20, 22, 23, 30), and in 1:17 the translator even seems to insert a Hebraism to arrive at
a threefold repetition of ἀρετ. We find quite a number of chiasms in the text, sometimes
independent from Hebrew (1:25). The translator creates Greek prose and makes but little
attempt at reproducing poetical features (e.g. alliteration in 1:11, 21). These preoccupations
suggest that the translator wants to produce a readable and understandable text, most
probably meant to be read aloud as an independent text.

A cultural issue surfaces in 1:22, where for the benefit of his audience the translator re-
moves the suggestion that mixing wine with water was in itself objectionable.

What about passages where the translator goes beyond his source text in theological re-
spect? Of course we should exclude the passages where he merely interprets his parent text
in a way modern scholars would not do it. But since such interpretations of the unvocalized
source text are possible, at least in the translator’s type of linguistics, the translator does not
go beyond his source text. Examples are different vocalization (1:3 לְאָש, 12 לָאש ‘to
appear’, 24 לָאש ‘her captives’), different semantics (1:2 מָסָר ‘to give a high position’, 1:3
מֶש ‘buyer’), or reordering of consonants (1:24 מֶשָּה) etc. Further we need to filter out
everything that can be explained on the basis of grammar, style, logic, communicative
purpose and culture, in order to find the real theological changes. The many theological
(and text-critical) changes Wilk attributes to the translator are unconvincing, due to an
insufficiently refined method, and perhaps also to the shorthand character of his notes. The
same holds true for many alleged instances of intertextual translations, i.e. transformations
aiming at intertextual relationships with passages in the rest of Isaiah. With respect to the
latter we must keep in mind that in translating intertextual reference operates backward
rather than forward and by consequence is not very likely in a first chapter (cf. 1:5).

\textsuperscript{259} At the same time the use of participles is characteristic of good Greek, so that the translator kills
two birds with one stone by these relatively minor transformations (minimax strategy\textsuperscript{a}).
Transformations in Isaiah 1

The instances thus filtered are still interesting. Foreign gods are labelled ‘idols’ in a deprecative way (1:29). As a reverse, it seems that the epithet ἄρνηθος for Israel’s God is transcribed because of its theological sensitivity (1:9). In 1:13 the translator turns a generic expression into ‘the great day’, a specific reference to the Day of Atonement. But this does not tell us much, since the Day of Atonement is characteristic of Judaism in general. Perhaps the translator availed himself of the opportunity to warn against hypocritical observance of this holy day among his readership. More illustrative are the frequent instances where a changed concept of God comes to the fore. Mortal men do not spurn God, but make him angry (1:4); they are no trouble to him, but a satiety (1:14). The translator refuses to attribute regret to God (1:24). God does not hide his eyes - which might be explained as a lack of control or a refusal to be present - but turns them away (1:15). He stresses divine initiative in cleansing the people (1:18). Revenge is deemed too impulsive for God, he rather executes judgement on sinners (1:24). In 1:27 the translator transposes ‘Zion’ to avoid the suggestion that God will restore all inhabitants: no, he will only save the righteous. Where the translator makes a dualism of righteous vs. unrighteous stand out (1:13, 24, 25, 26-27) he is not really changing the content, but makes the underlying dualism explicit. In the chapter as a whole, let alone in Isaiah as a whole, such markings result in a considerable specification of the message.

The translator is a man of learning, familiar with his source text, with a good command of Hebrew. His knowledge of the Hebrew Isaiah is primarily religious. He is not yet conscious of linguistic peculiarities characterizing the first chapter, like the participant alternation. His transformations show that the translation has to function within the Jewish community. The translator is fluent in Greek and may be a native speaker. His Hebraisms should be explained by his ‘method’ or by existing terminology rather than by incompetence. The translator’s religious outlook is characterized by a high regard of Jewish Law. In 1:10 the translator sticks to νόμος ‘Law’ for τῆς τήτης ‘teaching’, which forces him to omit a possessive pronoun. In 1:12 it seems that he interpreted ἄποκριτικά ‘from your hands’ literally, linked it to offerings and took substantial syntactic transformations for granted. It may be that the seemingly favourite word ἀνάφλεξ ‘lawlessness’ is also linked to the translator’s law-centered faith.

The target audience consisted of Greek-speaking Jews. This can be inferred not only from the subject matter, the exclusively Jewish setting of the text, e.g. ‘when you come to appear before Me (the Lord)’ and the place names, but also from the use of religious vocabulary like ἀκούειν ‘to give ear’ (1:2), ἄρνηθος (1:9), δόματα ‘whole-burnt-offering’ (1:11), ἡμέρα μεγάλη ‘the Great Day’ (1:13). These elements, together with the considerable stylistic interference, made the text unappealing and difficult for non-Jews.

The audience used Hebrew / Aramaic words like ‘sabbath’ and attached significance to the divine epithet ἄρνηθος (1:9), the meaning of which was probably disputed. It may be that the theological softenings described above point to sensitivities in the audience rather than the translator’s own. They were probably observant Jews with a lively interest in their religious tradition, because the religious elements are simply taken for granted and attempts to make the text attractive are not systematic. These men apparently took pains to procure a costly Isaiah scroll and to study it as a text in its own right. The number of transformations, especially addition and omission of clauses (1:4, 25), makes it improbable that it was read alongside the Hebrew original by this type of audience.

There is a consensus that the Isaiah translation originated in Alexandria. The renowned medical school and its influence could explain the attention to medical logic in 1:6. There may have been physicians in the Jewish community. In all likelihood part of the target...
audience was well-to-do. In 1:22 the translator removes the suggestion that mixing wine with water was objectionable. This only makes sense if the translator or part of his audience did so. Now in Egypt wine was an imported luxury product which only the rich could afford. So only rich people could mix water with wine and only rich people had to be shielded against an unjust condemnation in this respect.

There is one place where a Hebrew reading different from MT should be supposed (1:13) and one place where the Septuagint text known to us is suspect (1:6).
Chapter 6
Transformations in Proverbs 6

INTRODUCTION: METRE AND STYLE

In a 1912 article attention was first drawn to the occurrence of metre in the Greek book of Proverbs. Thackeray claimed to have discovered numerous instances of metrical arrangements of three kinds: iambic, dactylic hexameters and lines with ‘hexametrical endings’. For our purpose study it is important to go into this matter, since metre is the most obvious characteristic of Greek poetry. Hence a regular use of metre is indicative of how far the translator went to clothe his target text in a Greek dress.

First we need to look at the boundaries of scansion. What is metrical poetry and what is not? In the scansion of verse-lines it is tempting to allow for all kinds of liberties to arrive at pure metrical stichs. Thackeray allowed himself such liberties in making short syllables long and long ones short to achieve metrical lines, and employed transpositions of words to the same effect. Later scholars criticized these liberties and rightly so. In my opinion it is advisable to follow the classical rules regarding long and short syllables, elision, aphaeresis etc., since these remained in force throughout the Hellenistic period. Besides, I regard transposition of words, which Thackeray also employs, as a text-critical operation.

The Göttingen edition of LXX-Proverbs, that will be based on all manuscript evidence, is not yet available. This is a pity, for scansion depends on the smallest details. We would like to know more about elision, for example. In Rahlfs’ text of Proverbs 6 it is sometimes indicated (6:11a, 13a, 16b, 22b, 28, 32), in other apparently similar cases it is not (e.g. 6:4a, 7b, 8b1, 9b, 11a2, 27, 33b). Perhaps different manuscripts have different ‘systems’, although we know that prose papyri are inconsistent regarding elision and the same holds true for papyrical poetical texts.

But even with this handicap we can subscribe to D’Hamonville’s conclusions that there is no attempt at regular metre throughout LXX-Proverbs and that metrical lines are incidental. First, the lines are of varying length, the opposite of what we find in metrical poetry. Second, in numerous lines we do not find anything similar to a regular pattern of long and short syllables. Third, metre is practically absent in the ‘additions’ (6:6A-C, 11A). If the translator had attempted to write metrical lines, he would have had a free hand to do so in his own additions. We can consider LXX-Proverbs a prose translation despite the stichic lay-out that copyists handed down.

3 Elision (of final vowels) is the most frequently occurring procedure to avoid hiatus, a meeting of vowels. Much less frequent is aphaeresis, the dropping of an initial vowel.
4 Mayser, Grammatik der gr. Papyri I, § 29.1 and 29.3 (with numerous examples): ‘Im Vers wird die Elision häufig nicht geschrieben, auch wenn sie vom Metrum gefordert wird.’ Cf. our discussion of LXX-Proverbs 6:13 where text-critical evidence proves the practice of elision during reading aloud.
5 D’Hamonville, Les Proverbes, 98.
6 Some lines, like 6:4, 25, 32, have a surprisingly long series of long syllables.
The combination of Greek prose and a stichic lay-out throughout 31 large chapters is bound to result in some iambic lines, for the iambic metre is the closest to the rhythm of ordinary speech, as was observed in antiquity. In his *Rhetoric* Aristotle advises the orator to use rhythmical speech, but to refrain from metre. He then characterizes the different metres:

Of the different rhythms the *heroic* [i.e. the dactylic hexameter] is dignified, but lacking the harmony of ordinary conversation; the *iambic* is the language of the many, wherefore of all metres it is most used in common speech. But [rhetorical] speech should be dignified and calculated to rouse the hearer.

Iambic lines do occur in the Greek book of Proverbs. D’Hamonville signals a hundred instances of the *iambic trimeter* in some 1900 stichs (5%). It got its name from the fact that it consists of three *metra* of two iambic feet each:

In Proverbs 6 there are a few examples of the iambic trimeter:

The iambic trimeter can be varied by omitting the final syllable (not mentioned by D’Hamonville). It is then called *catalectic iambic trimeter*. By way of illustration I give a fragment of an epigram by Phalaecus:

Such lines occur more than once in Proverbs 6. For example (with elision):

7 *Rhetorica* 1408b (ed. J.H. Freese), with translation by Freese.
9 Scymnus of Chios (2nd century BC), in: Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Nr. 244, T. 2, 33-44. The second foot displays resolution, i.e. replacement of a long syllable with two shorts, a common feature in iambic poetry. See West, *Introduction to Greek Metre*, 25; Koster, *Métrique grecque*, 114-117. In the third foot the iamb is replaced by a spondee (two long syllables).
10 Two remarks are called for. 1. The last position in a period may be occupied by a short syllable, even where one would expect a long one. This is known as brevis in longo, cf. West, *Greek Metre*, 4-5. ‘In metrical schemes,’ he adds, ‘it is usual to show the final position as long in all cases (whether the pattern calls for a long or not.’ Cf. also Maas, *Greek Metre*, 29. 2. In the fifth foot the iamb is replaced by an anapaest for variation, as often happens.
Transformations in Proverbs 6

But these examples are not pure, since they contain spondaic feet at ‘forbidden’ places. Furthermore we find shorter iambic sequences, of four or five feet, like

The fluidity between natural Greek prose and iambic metre is nicely illustrated by the following line, which begins as prose but continues as a catalectic iambic trimeter:

Since the iambic metre with its alternation of short and long syllables (‘ ’) is close to the ordinary speech, it is logical that the same holds true for the trochaic metre (‘ ’). It will come as no surprise, then, that Proverbs 6 has some lines with a trochaic sequence too. Although metre is unsystematic in Proverbs 6, it seems that the translator employed metrical techniques to achieve a rhetorical effect. In 6:4 for example, the first line, with its sequence of spondees and its predominance of [o]-sounds, breathes an atmosphere of drowsiness. The second line on the other hand, with its resolution and anapaest, seems to symbolize resistance to falling asleep. In 6:5 the two closing anapaests seem to support the notion of ‘escaping’. Likewise the rhythm of 6:11a, with its numerous short syllables and its closing anapaests, may underline the unexpectedness of the ‘evil traveller’:

The second type of metre that is mentioned in connection with LXX-Proverbs is the dactylic hexameter. But this belief is unfounded: there are no dactylic hexameters in Proverbs 6. I would even go further and state that there are no dactylic hexameters in the whole Greek book of Proverbs, despite Thackeray’s contentions. If we abide by the classical rules and refrain from transpositions of words, the most regular hexameter that we can credit Thackeray with is the following example. The line he quotes, however, is a prose line with a dominantly iambic rhythm:

13 Elision of a case ending is normal. See an elegiac couplet by the Alexandrian poet Callimachus, Epigrammata XI, 5-6 (3rd century BC): Ελισσών δ’ ἐκείνην, τίς ἐν τίνι τοῖς ὀλλίσκοι τῆν θελήνα ἐκ τοῦ ἀλόιν ἀλλίου ἀλλικτος. The first iota of ‘Ιωάν is long, because it is the middle of five short vowels (media inter quinque). See Koster, Métrique grecque, 38.
14 See also (less pure) 6:6ab, 7b.
15 See also 6:23 and (less pure) 6:20b.
16 6:8C2; and less pure 6:8A1, 8A3, 17b, 20a, 21b, 23b.
17 Isaiah 1:2 αὐτόν ἔχει μ’ ἐκπαίδευσεν, 3 τοπικόν ἔχει μ’ ἐκπαίδευσεν | κατ’ ὧν ἱδίες μ’ οὖν συνεφεύρον, 4 λαθὼς πλήθος ἐμφάνισε τίτον.
18 Cf. d’Hamonville, Les Proverbes, 95.
In 2:16-17 Thackeray finds ‘a practically complete hexameter’. To achieve this result he proposes three textual changes. First he proposes a different stichic boundary. He puts it, of all places, in the middle of the fixed expression κακή ομολογία, ‘evil counsel’. His second alteration is the aphaeresis of ἀπολείπομαι instead of ἀπολείπομαι. Compare the original and the emended lines, the first by Rahlfs and the second by Thackeray:

... κακή ομολογία
& ἀπολείπομαι διδάσκαλον νεκτάριοις

... κακή ομολογία & ἀπολείπομαι διδάσκαλον νεκτάριοις

To support his licences Thackeray sometimes makes incorrect use of Greek parallels. In 3:13 he scans the final phrase as ἀποδόθη πρόσθετοι. Making πρόσθετοι short is already impossible, but he also makes the long η short with a reference to a hexameter in Pseudo-Phocylides’ Sententiae 197:

... μὴ οὖν πρόσθετοι μείξετε νεφέλας

It is true that the η is short in this instance, but this is so because the η immediately precedes another vowel, so that the rule vocalis ante vocalem corrigitur applies.19 Hence this ‘parallel’ cannot be adduced to support hexametrical scansion in Proverbs 3:13. The idea of (fragments of) dactylic hexameters in Proverbs is thus difficult to defend on metrical grounds. But it is unlikely for another reason too. The different atmospheres that heroic and iambic poetry conveyed to the Greek reader make it very improbable that a ‘iambic’ text interspersed with dactylic fragments would have been composed. In Greek literature poetry running in dactylic hexameters (heroic) was reserved for lofty topics. It was the elected metre for the Jewish poets Theodotus and Philo Epicus, writing about Sichem and Jerusalem.20 Heroic poetry rose far above the dealings of ordinary men and their speech, which was more aptly expressed in iambic poetry. As Aristotle says,

Διονυσίος δὲ κατὰ τὰ ὀνείρα ἤλθε ἡ τούτης· αὐτὸ μὲν χάριν συμβάντος ταῖς καλὰς ἐμμαυτάσις, πρᾶξεις καὶ τὰ τῶν τουλάχιστον, αὐτὸ δὲ εὐπλεστέροις ταῖς τῶν ἄπαθῶν, πράξεων φόβους τοιούτους, ὑστερ έτερος ἦμαν καὶ ἡγεμόνας (...) ἐν αἷς κατὰ τὸ ἄρματα ἵππες μάρτυρον, διὰ καὶ ἤματον καλεστὶς ὁν, διὰ τὸ τοῦ μέτρου τούτου ἰδαμβίζειν ἀλλήλων.21

Poetry then split into two kinds according to the poet’s nature. For the more serious poets represented fine doings and the doings of fine men, while those of a less enlightened nature represented the actions of inferior men, at first writing satire just as the others at first wrote hymns and elegies (...) For these the iambic metre was fittingly introduced and that is why it is still called iambic, because it was the metre in which they lampooned [iambikon] each other.

19 Koster, Métrique grecque, 34ff.
20 Exceptions could be used for special effects. In one of his Idylls, the Alexandrian poet Theocritus (3rd century BC) attains a comical effect by making two lower middle-class women converse in hexametrical lines. See G. Zanker, Realism in Alexandrian Poetry. A Literature and its Audience, London 1987, 10-12; cf. also pp. 60, 185.
21 Poetica 1448b (ed. W.H. Fyfe), with translation by Fyfe.
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Consequently, heroic and iambic poetry have different styles and a different vocabulary. Since iambic metre is and should remain close to ordinary speech, compound words (διπλά) and rare words (γυλώται) should be avoided. These belong to other metrical genres:

Since heroic verse the above-mentioned [i.e. compound and rare words] are all useful; but since iambic verse is largely an imitation of speech, only those nouns are suitable which might be used in talking. These are the ordinary word, metaphor and ornament.

The fundamental difference between ordinary speech (and the iambic metre close to it) and heroic poetry makes it unlikely that fragments of dactylic lines would be used in a prose translation, other than for the purpose of quotation. Now we do find a compound word in LXX-Proverbs 30:18-19:

And indeed in heroic verse the above-mentioned [i.e. compound and rare words] are all useful; but since iambic verse is largely an imitation of speech, only those nouns are suitable which might be used in talking. These are the ordinary word, metaphor and ornament.

The third type of metre to be discussed consists of what Thackeray calls 'hexametrical endings.' He lists a number of lines in which he identified dactylic feet in the closing syllables and labelled the dactylic endings as versus paroemiacus, the 'proverb verse'. This incorrect equation has caused confusion. A later scholar like Gerleman simply equates versus paroemiaci with 'hexametrical endings', but Thackeray himself acknowledges that the versus paroemiacus is in fact an anapaestic (!) metre. That this is so is confirmed by the Greek metrician Hephaestion who states:

The catalectic [anapaestic] dimeter is called paroemiac because some proverbs are in this metron.

23 Inter alia, D’Hamonville, Les Proverbes, 98.
but there are proverbs in dactylic hexameters and in iambic metre as well and not of this metron alone, so that it does not make sense that they call this metron alone paroemiac.

Some of the stichs which Thackeray calls versus paroemiaci indeed fit neatly into the scheme of the catalectic anapaestic dimeter:

\[\text{MCdT RQK d } \hat{F} \text{ C} \]

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\[\text{MCdT RQK d } \hat{F} \text{ C} \]

The endings of these examples sound like ‘hexametrical endings’, but they are anapaestic. Thackeray merges the two categories, because in the Greek version of Proverbs, he claims, ‘there is […] an almost complete absence of any approach to anapaestic rhythm.’ Here he is mistaken, since the anapaest figures as a variation of the iambic foot in the Greek Proverbs and is strikingly present in some verses (6:9-10).

If the versus paroemiacus is thus unveiled as anapaestic, what about the other sequences of seemingly dactylic feet? In my opinion these too should be seen in close connection with the natural speech rhythm and the closely related iambic metre. It is well known that for the purpose of variation a iambic foot (\(f\)) can be replaced by an anapaest (\(ff\)) or a spondee (\(dd\)). When these variations are combined with the catalectic iambic trimeter, the result is a stich of which the anapaestic ending sounds as the final part of a dactylic hexameter (\(C f D\)), but which is different from a real hexameter with respect to the boundaries of metrical feet (\(γ\)):

\[\text{Cs R C fIKdL } \hat{IC} \]

A fair number of ‘hexametrical endings’ can thus be explained as variations on the iambic pattern. The remaining ones (6:8A2, 24a, 26a, 27, 28, 29a) are clausulae of two feet that stand at the end of unmetrical lines, fragments too small to evoke the atmosphere of the dactylic hexameter.

The presence of metrical fragments in a prose text helps us to determine what kind of text the translator produced according to the standards of his Greek-speaking audience. It cannot be classified as Greek poetry, for there is no regular metre. Nor is it prose in the normal sense of the word. For apart from stichic lay-out and paratactic syntax the text contains metrical feet, the so-called ‘forbidden’ clausulae at stich endings, among them:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{["","]}, & \text{ sounding like the end of a dactylic hexameter;}^\text{30} \\
\text{["","","]}, & \text{ the double anapaest, sounding like the end of a dactylic pentameter;}^\text{31} \\
\text{["","",","","]}, & \text{ sounding like the end of an iambic line.}^\text{32}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{28}\) From Thackeray’s examples also Proverbs 10:11, 28 (ms.B); 11:23.

\(^{29}\) Thackeray, The Poetry of the Greek Book of Proverbs, 51.


\(^{32}\) Proverbs 6:5a, 6c, 16ab. Cf. Lausberg, Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik, § 1032, 1.
Transformations in Proverbs 6

That Proverbs 6 is neither natural poetry nor natural prose does not necessarily mean that the translator had insufficient rhetoric schooling. Rather, it is a consequence of the dilemma that the nature of the Hebrew text posed to him, for an attempt to render the Hebrew Proverbs in prose breaks down on the isolated proverbs and sayings that make up the bulk of the text.33 It is not possible to turn them into the continuous and coherent discourse that a prose text is expected to be. Most modern translations known to me have therefore opted for a stichic rendering. Once the translator had chosen for a stichic rendering, he no longer needed to heed to the rules of prose clausulae. Could he then turn the Hebrew Proverbs into Greek poetry? In principle he could have done so, but the use of metre entails severe constraints. It requires numerous transformations to fit the content of MT into the form of Greek metre.34 Clearly this was a price the translator was not willing to pay.

The almost inevitable outcome, ‘stichic prose’, is a text of a hybrid nature. Its appearance suggests poetry, but it is not. My impression is that the translator, while writing prose, welcomed opportunities to give his text a poetical cachet, i.e. to make his text a bit more ‘live up to its lay-out.’ This explains both the significant number of metrical lines and the other stylistic features that have been noted by scholars.35 When he could do so without much extra effort he included a metrical line, when he could create e.g. a pattern of assonance he did not resist it. ‘Stichic prose’ is a very rare genre in Greek literature, if it exists at all. Translations are no primary but ‘secondary texts’, and they have introduced ‘secondary genres’ into target cultures more than once.

In the taxonomy of Demetrius’ De elocutione the Greek text of Proverbs 6 would be a good example of the plain style, judged from its vocabulary (§ 190f.).36 Only two words go beyond it, viz. the possessive pronoun ἵνα (6:1, 3, 4, 21, 25) and the poetical ὧν ‘eye’. Next to vocabulary, the rhythm, very close to iambic metre, is close to ordinary speech (§ 205f.). Further its naturalness (§ 221f.), clarity (§ 197), vividness (§ 209) and its extensive use of conjunctions (§ 192) are indicators of its plain style. In several lines (6:11a, 11A, 15a, 16a, 19a, 23a, 30a, 32, 34a) the word order is different from the one Demetrius connects with the plain style and so even LXX-Proverbs does not escape the ‘law of interfering—

33 It seems that ancient Semitic languages have different conventions regarding the writing of poetry. Biblical Qumran manuscripts sometimes present poetical sections in continuous writing (we would call it ‘prose lay-out’), sometimes stichometrically with two bicola per line, separated by white spaces. The latter practice is found in 4QProv, whereas in 4QProv the fragment from Proverbs 14 is written continuously. Both fragments (Discoveries in the Judean Desert XVI, nos. 102 and 103) contain small portions from the Book of Proverbs, and neither of them contains Proverbs 6. The Greek Sentences of Sextus (2nd century AD) are presented in a stichic lay-out, but in one manuscript the maxims form a continuous text, but with a clear punctuation and even the occasional use of red ink to mark initial letters. See H. Chadwick (ed.), The Sentences of Sextus (Texts and Studies. Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature V), Cambridge 1959.

34 This can be seen in a translation attributed to Apollinaris of Laodicea (4th century AD), of the Book of Psalms in dactylic hexameters. Cf. Migne, PG, 33, 1313-1538, A. Ludwich (ed.), Apollinaris Laodicensis metaphrasis Psalmorum, Leipzig 1912. (I thank dr. A. Hilhorst for this reference.)


36 According to B. Hatim & I. Mason, The Translator as Communicator, London 1997, 1, a translation is ‘an act of communication which attempts to relay, across cultural and linguistic boundaries, another act of communication’. For translated texts as ‘secondary genres’, see extensively L.J. de Vries, Bijbelvertaling en primaire oraliteit, Amsterdam 1998 [Dutch].

37 The language of Proverbs 6 is certainly not aimed at a “lecteur de haut niveau” (D’Hamonville, Les Proverbes, 138).
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ence'. Proverbs 6 possesses also a few elements typical of the elegant style, such as the gracious pictures (§ 133) of the gazelle (6:5), the ant and the bee (6:8) and interesting metaphors (§ 145f.), such as poverty as an evil traveller (6:11), education as a necklace (6:21). But dwelling on prostitution, adultery, punishment and shame (6:24-35) would not be considered elegant in Demetrius’ terms.

We now turn to a detailed analysis of the entire chapter.

PROVERBS 6:1

εἶς ὁ ἄρωμα σὺν τῷ πιλόν,
παραδόσεις τὴν χεῖρα ἐξερήθη.
Son, if you stand surety for a friend of yours,
you will deliver your hand to an enemy.

My son, if you stand surety for your neighbour,
if you have struck your hands with a stranger,

Greek text Possessive adjectives like ἐμὸς and οὗς were on the retreat in Koine Greek, though not yet obsolete. Their use betrays ‘eine gewisse literarische Bildung und stilistische Gewandtheit der Verfasser.’

Possessive adjectives are rare in translation Greek, and LXX-Proverbs accounts for half of the occurrences of ἐμὸς and οὗς in the Septuagint. They enable the translator to write a concise and rhythmical, sometimes metrical Greek.

The second stich contains alliteration: παραδώσεις γὰρ τὴν χεῖρα ἐξερήθη.

Translation The Greek vocative ὡς, ‘son’ renders ‘ζω ‘my son’ (possessive element omitted). A literal translation, ‘οὗς μου, is possible, but in the Septuagint it is rare. Such is not the natural way to say it in Greek. Already in the LXX-Pentateuch ‘ζω ‘my son’ is therefore often rendered with ὅτιν ‘child’ or νὰ ‘son’. These renderings display a non-obligatory omission of the possessive suffix.

As τὰς and ἐγγύτατοι both mean ‘to stand surety for someone’ we are dealing with a literal translation. Next, the expression παραδώσεις γὰρ τὴν χεῖρα ‘to deliver a hand’ is rendered as παραδόθησα γὰρ τὴν χεῖρα ‘to deliver a hand’, in our terminology a cultural counterpart. In Greek culture the meaning of striking hands as a sign of giving a pledge was probably not known. The translator overcomes this cultural difference in several ways throughout the book of Proverbs. In 6:1 he renders the ‘striking of hands’ with a modulation, he resorts to a generalization in 22:26 μὴ ἔλθῃ σου πᾶν ἕπατον εἰς ἐγγύην ‘do not give yourself as surety’ and in 17:18 he interprets

Mayser, Grammatik der griechischen Papyri II, § 66.3.
D’Hamonville, Les Proverbes, 72 (statistics), 94-95 (metre).
E. G. 2 Kings (MT 2 Samuel) 13:25 μὴ δῆ, νὰ μου, μὴ παραδώσῃς πόντικας ἡμῖν.
For surety in Ptolemaic Egypt, see Rupprecht, Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde, 131.
Woodhouse’s English-Greek Dictionary does not mention ‘Strike (hands)’ nor ‘Shake (hands)’. It has likewise disappeared from English versions except NIV. In Dutch versions the striking of hands has been retained, since it is still a common way of striking a deal, especially on cattle markets.

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The most surprising feature of vs 1 is that its content has undergone a change. To understand the translator’s motives we must investigate how two nouns have been rendered elsewhere. The first noun, φίλος, is often used in the sense of ‘friend’ in wisdom literature. Job, Proverbs and Ben Sira have ἄλλος ‘friend’ as the usual rendering of φίλος. The second noun is οἰκονομός ‘stranger’, which is normally rendered as ἀλληλον ‘foreign’. A literal translation based on these renderings would have read:

υἱός, ἐὰν ἑγγύηση σὺν φίλῳ, παραδώσῃς σὴν χῆρα ἀλληλον.
Son, if you stand surety for your friend,  
[if] you deliver your hand to a foreigner, …

Adherence to standard renderings in this synonymous distich would have the result that the same person is first called a friend and then a stranger. Now very often φίλος has a more generic meaning than ‘friend’. Traditionally rendered as ‘your neighbour’, this meaning appears in ancient and modern versions as ‘someone else’. Then the synonymous word-pair becomes ‘someone else // stranger’. But this still overstrains common sense, because you do not stand surety for a stranger. The translational challenge is to bring the two stichs semantically in line. Modern versions translate οἰκονομός, lit. ‘stranger’ with the neutral ‘another’, in line with its use in wisdom literature. A different solution is translating the second stich as the apodosis of the first one:

υἱός, ἐὰν ἑγγύηση σὺν φίλῳ, ἐὰν σὴν χῆρα ἐγκρατέσῃ.
Son, if you stand surety for your friend, / then you will deliver your hand to an enemy.

The word οἰκονομός ‘stranger’ cannot be translated literally any more, since the person in question has already been called a friend, and a friend cannot be a stranger. It is therefore strengthened as ἐγκρατέσῃ ‘enemy’ (specification). This transformation was perhaps chosen because it enables the translator to turn a synonymous line into a contrastive one. It entails a different interpretation, because the LXX has introduced a third party. Whereas MT speaks of only the addressee and his friend, the Septuagint adds the friend’s creditors, who demand a bail and become the addressee’s enemy because of the risks of standing bail. Whether the change of accidence (number) from φίλος ‘your hands’ into σὴν χῆρα ‘your hand’ can be considered a transformation is doubtful, since the singular can be found in Hebrew manuscripts as well.

The alliteration noted above might be a compensation for the suffix rhyme in the Hebrew: lere’èkha – kappèkha.

43 Proverbs 14:20; 17:17; 19:4 are good examples of this use. In Proverbs 11:9, 12; 24:28 a rendering like νοῖσες, ‘fellow citizen’ is found.
44 For the renderings of φίλος and the Hebrew words standing behind ἐγκρατέσῃ in LXX-Proverbs, see Cook, The Septuagint of Proverbs, 155-156. In the Pentateuch ἐγκρατέσῃ does not render φίλος.
45 HAL 1169b: ‘φίλος meint ... denjenigen Menschen mit dem man durch die Lebensumstände zusamengeführt ist und zusammenlebt.’ Cf. REB ‘if you give yourself in pledge to another person.’ So already Symmachus and Theodotion: τῷ ἵδιῳ.
46 E.g. NRSV, NIV, NJPS. Cf. THAT 1, 521 (Proverbs 6:1; 11:15; 14:10; 20:16 etc.).
PROVERBS 6:2

Παγίς γὰρ λογοφά διόφη, καὶ ἔνα μαξίλη ἔθει καθεκάστης.

For to a man his own lips are a strong snare, and he is trapped by the lips of his own mouth.

[if] you are trapped by the words of your mouth,
[if] you are caught by the words of your mouth.

Greek text The first stich lacks a verb. Verbless clauses are rare in Greek, but not in proverbs and sayings (Smyth § 944).

Note the alternating assonance of [a] and [i]:

Through its euphony, together with its metrical qualities (see above), this line approaches original Greek poetry.

Translation MT is somewhat repetitive but textually well supported.

In syntactical respect, the Hebrew text continues the protasis of the conditional clause through 6:1-2. But the translator, as we saw, turned vs 1b into an apodosis. Consequently, he had to translate vs 2 as an independent sentence. This is an easy job, as is shown by Symmachus’ later translation:

Yet you have been trapped in the words of your mouth
and you have been caught in the words […]

Why, then, did the LXX-translator not choose for such a straightforward rendering? First, Symmachus’ version does not fit into the Septuagint. For in the Septuagint 6:1 ends in the future tense, and a translation of 6:2 as offered by Symmachus’ would incoherently jump into the aorist, indicating past tense. The aorist was clearly no option in 6:2 after the decisions the translator had made in 6:1. But it seemed equally impractical to turn 6:2 into future tense, since vs 3 offers a piece of advice, phrased in imperatives, which presupposes that the danger described is reality, not future. The translator thus opted for a present tense in 6:2. The fact that this sounded pretty much like a general saying (‘you become trapped…, you become caught…’), I would suggest, caused the translator to create a real general saying in the vein of 20:25, employing numerous non-obligatory transformations:

- The accidence is changed from second into third person singular.
- The addition of ἂν ὠπ’ ‘to a man’.
- The Greek noun παγίς ‘trap’ renders the verb πεπρω ‘to catch’ (change of word class).

It is noteworthy that in the remaining fragments Symmachus in 6:1 has not φίλος ‘friend’, but πλησίον ‘neighbour’, and that in what is most probably his second stich of 6:1 the aorist is already used. Extant fragments of Symmachus can be found in Field, Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt II, 320.

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- The 'trap' is intensified into a 'strong trap' by the addition of ἐγώ.

A second category of transformations is caused by the concern to avoid the repetition resulting from a literal translation. So ἔπρεπε 'in the words of your mouth' receives two different renderings, τὰ ἰδία χείλη 'your own lips' and χείλεσιν ἰδίου στόματος 'by the lips of his own mouth'. This shows that metaphors ('lips' meaning 'utterance') are sometimes introduced in translation.

A third category of transformations is for the sake of clarity:
- Twice ἰδίος ['your own'] renders a possessive suffix (not in LXX-Pentateuch).
- The conjunctions καί 'and' and γέρ 'for' are added.

The number of transformations is out of proportion with the translational difficulty under review. The translator does not merely solve problems, like the translators of Genesis and Isaiah, but creates his own text. Its contents are stronger and more general, and its style is more refined than that of the Hebrew. The first stich is pervaded with assonance where MT has none.

PROVERBS 6:3

Ποιεῖ, υἱὲ, ἃ εἴρον σοι ἐντελῶς καὶ σοφῶς
- θέσεις γὰρ εἰς χεῖρας κακῶν διὰ σῶν φίλων

Do, son, what I command you and save yourself,
for you have fallen into hands of evil men for the sake of your friend
be not failing, stir up your friend too for whom you have become surety!

Do this, therefore, my son, and save yourself,
for you have fallen into the hand of your neighbour.
Go, humble yourself and badger your neighbour.

Greek text The phrase παράξειν καὶ καὶ τῶν φίλων σου 'stir up your friend too' apparently means that the warned pledge-giver confronts his friend and renounces his consent to stand surety, thereby willingly arousing his friend’s anger.

Several important manuscripts read τὸν 'be' for τὸν 'go'. From the point of view of Greek idiom the reading τὸν 'be' is preferable. Firstly, τὸν 'go, come on' is often followed by a second imperative, not by a participle. Secondly, the reading τὸν 'be (not disheartened)' fits better with the sequel: 'do not lose heart and stir up your friend too.' The notion

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50 See also De Waard, The Septuagint of Proverbs as a Translational Model?, 308. At the same time it is a counter-example to Tauberschmidt’s claim that the translator adjusted parallelisms in the direction of closer correspondence.

51 According to Swete’s apparatus: Codex Vaticanus (B), corrected by a later hand into τὸν (?); Codex Sinaiticus (S or X); Codex Alexandrinus (A).

52 Cf. LSJ 489a, VI.
of σὺν ‘also, too’ is less easily explainable in a context with ἵνα ‘go’. We should consider the reading ἵνα ‘be’ as original, whereas ἵνα ‘go’ is a later correction towards MT requiring minimal effort (erasure of 0).

**Translation** A number of common verbs has been translated literally with renderings that are found elsewhere in the LXX, ἔρχομαι ‘do’, εἴλθος ‘you have come’, ἔρχεσθαι ‘save yourself’. Likewise some common nouns, ἐκ ‘the hands of’, ἔρχομαι → ἔρχομαι ‘friend’. Literal translation remain an important tool for the translator.

It is not apparent how ἄρα ‘therefore’ has been rendered. Baumgartner assumes that the translator’s Vorlage did not read ἄρα ‘therefore’, but ὅτι ‘I command you,’ which was literally translated into ἐάν ἐκέλευσα ‘what I command you’. Cook does not believe in a different Vorlage, but thinks that ἄρα ‘therefore’ was (mis)read or interpreted in that way. This is graphically improbable. It is preferable to look for a translational explanation of the omission: ἄρα ‘therefore’ goes untranslated since in the Greek text 6:3 is no longer a direct continuation of 6:2 (as it is in MT). The omission of ἄρα ‘therefore’ has to be viewed in the context of the large-scale rearrangement of particles and conjunctions in 6:1-5 and in LXX-Proverbs as a whole.

The simple phrase ἔστω ἔρχομαι ‘do this’ is made explicit as ἕρχομαι ἐκείνων ἐνέκλεισεν ‘do what I command you’. Normally, ἕν and ἔν ‘this’ are rendered with ὁλόκληρος ‘this’ and its declined forms, especially τῶν. Now in MT ἕν ‘this’ often refers to what follows. But since in idiomatic Greek τῶν generally refers to what precedes, a literal translation ‘πάντα τὸν ἤτοι τὸν ἀγαπητὸν’ might be taken to refer to 6:2 (being trapped by your own pledge). To avoid this, explicitation of the antecedent is employed.

In contrast to the Hebrew, ἔχεις ‘hands’ are plural because of Greek idiom.

A remarkable transformation occurs in the following phrase:

**MT:** you have fallen ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ ἐσθήσατε into the hand of someone else (rendered as LXX: you have fallen εἰς τὰς χέρις σαντίν ήδη πᾶν ψήλαν into the hands of evil men for the sake of your friend

We have to ask: what ‘problem’ led the translator to this transformation? In my opinion, it is rooted in the translator’s initial choice to render κόσμος ‘someone else, neighbour’ as φίλος ‘friend’ in 6:1, and his introduction of a third party, the ‘enemy’. Now 6:3 contains a warning, but a literal translation like ‘you have fallen into the hands of your friend’ rather sounds like a reassurance. In the translator’s interpretation the poor addressee, who has agreed to stand surety, falls into the hands of the ‘enemy’. To align 6:3 to his version of 6:1 the translator provided a double translation of εἰς τὰς χέρις (unvocalized). He first interpreted κόσμος ‘someone else, neighbour’ as φίλος ‘friend’ and added an additional warning in 6:3.

54 Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*, 158.
55 So already Toy, *Proverbs* 129. Nor is it probable that φίλος has been taken as an abbreviation, cf. McKane, *Proverbs*, 323.
56 That φίλος remains untranslated is also defended by Jaeger, *Observations*, 49f.
57 Smyth § 1245f. But in the translated Greek of the LXX-Pentateuch, we find numerous instances of τῶν pointing forward.
58 Cf. LSJ 1983b.
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as פֶּן 'evil' so that the addressee now falls into the hands of 'evil men', i.e. with a change of (number) to mark clear that the enemy is not the friend. At the same time he provided an interpretation of נֵא in line with 6:1, viz. as פֶּן 'friend', accompanied by a situational translation clarifying the circumstances: 'in the hand of your friend' = 'because you want to help your friend'. According to the lawbook of Ptolemaic Alexandria one could stand surety for an accused man to prevent his arrest preceding the trial. If someone who was found guilty wanted to appeal to a higher court, he could be released on bail pending the appeal. If such an accused man would flee, he would leave his bail in serious difficulties with the keepers of the law.

The phrase שָׁצָה שֶׁנֶּא means 'go, humble yourself' according to modern lexica. The verb שָׁצָה 'to trample' was known to the LXX-translator of Ezekiel 32:2; 34:18. The meaning of its hitpa‘el stem is then: 'to let yourself be trampled' = 'to humble yourself'. In our context it means: 'Swallow your pride and ask your neighbour to be released from your pledge'. But the Greek translation has θητεύετε μη κελαυμόνος, 'be not failing'. This rendering is several steps removed from the Hebrew. First, פֶּן 'go' is omitted. Second, losing courage ('being disheartened') is quite different from losing glory ('humbling yourself'). Third, the translation has been made antonymical by the negation 'not'. This is strange from a translational viewpoint, for Greek is replete with words that express the desired sense. Why not simply θητεύετε οινόφρονον 'be courageous', θητεύετε ευαίσθητον or the like? We may conclude that from a semantical and syntactical point of view these transformations are not obvious. Had the result been convincing, this would have been all right. But the Greek phrase sounds a bit laboured: θητεύετε μη κελαυμόνος 'be not failing'. This becomes clearer by a comparison with more literal renderings of MT that are possible:

*πορεύετε καὶ ταπεινωθήτειτε 'go and humble yourself' [or, if need be:]
*πορεύετε, άνάφρονε οὖ 'go, take courage'

The more literal alternatives are clearer, simpler and more natural! Why then did the translator leave these easy options aside to produce a somewhat laboured phrase? The answer might be that he had a different source text and that the laboured phrase results from a literal translation. In that case he was taking the easiest option. In fact, scholars have long suggested a conjectural Hebrew reading for this passage, יָפְּרָה תָּב 'do not show yourself weak'. I consider this reading plausible as a source text of the Septuagint and θητεύετε μη κελαυμόνος 'be not failing' its literal translation. The methodological significance of checking the translator’s alternatives is thus underlined. It helps us to locate the ‘problem’. Often a glance at more literal alternatives tells us why the translator rejected them and why he employed a transformation. But in this case the

61 See Baumgartner, Étude critique, 66 and BHS. The verb יָפְּרָה recurs in Proverbs 18:9; 24:10.
62 The Hebrew hitpa‘el or nif‘al stems are frequently rendered by יָפְָרָהוֹ 'be' + adjective / participle (e.g. Exodus 32:12; Numbers 5:19; Isaiah 1:16; Proverbs 22:24). In Proverbs 3:5 the translator prefers this construction over a literal rendering of a verbum simplex, probably to lend more pognancy to the exhortation: מַטְחֵּל(passive) 'trust in the Lord' which is rendered as מַטְחֵּל. קֵרֶם בָּנֹס ... כְּלָיְנּוֹ 'be trusting... God'. Cf. Numbers 14:9; Isaiah 32:11; in Proverbs 6:6; 23:19 this construction is obligatory.
The fact that the translation is less obvious than its alternatives brings us on the track of a difficulty, leading to a different source text. The Hebrew phrase לָבֵן בָּרָה ‘press’ \(^{63}\) your neighbour \(^{64}\) must mean in the context that our generous hero, who realizes that he is trapped by his consent to stand surety, goes to his neighbour and insists on being released from his pledge, thereby defying his neighbour’s anger or despair. In Greek, the pledge is not given to someone, but to a friend, and accordingly being released from the pledge requires a stronger verb: the friend has to be made angry (specification).

The addition of ὠν ἐνεγκατάστημι ‘for whom you have become surety’ apparently makes the nature of the ‘friend’ even clearer than it would be without it.

PROVERBS 6:4

Do not give sleep to your eyes,

nor slumber with your eyelids

Greek text

The word ἐφιάλημα ‘eye’ is typical of poetical Greek (BDAG 705b).

The dative that accompanies ἔκτυποιάω ‘to fall asleep (over)’ must here be viewed as an instrumental dative.

Translation

The translator of LXX-Proverbs usually renders ἐφιάλημα ‘eye’ with its standard rendering φυτεύμα (22x), but in several places he prefers the poetical word ἐφιάλημα ‘eye’, a word that had not been used in the LXX-Pentateuch. In three places a form of ἐφιάλημα (ἐφιάλημα, ἐφιάλημα) occupies the last position of a line (6:4; 7:2; 10:26), thereby forming a iambic sequence of [-----]

The whole verse is translated quite literally, apart from one transformation. The Hebrew noun מֵלָם ‘slumber’ \(^{66}\) is rendered with the verb ἔκτυποιάω ‘to fall asleep’ (change of word class). \(^{67}\) Cook may be right that the translator chose to create a verb in the second line because the one Hebrew verb fulfils a double duty in the two lines. Suppletion of a second

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\(^{63}\) HAL 1113a ‘bestürmen, zusetzen’.

\(^{64}\) לָבֵן has the orthography of plural ‘your neighbour’, but it is a singular, a phenomenon that occurs with certain nouns. Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch-Cowley, Hebrew Grammar, § 93ss; BDB 945b.

\(^{65}\) With laeger, Observations, 50.

\(^{66}\) For its renderings in LXX-Proverbs, see Cook, The Septuagint of Proverbs, 159.

\(^{67}\) Throughout the Septuagint מֵלָם ‘slumber’ is rendered with nouns as νυσταγμός (1x) and νύσταγμα (1x) and the verbal root σνμ ‘to slumber’ with νυστάζω (5x).
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verb is indeed common practice with the translator of Proverbs. Sometimes he refrains from doing so and it is not always clear why. In 5:9, where LXX lacks a second verb, the Hebrew syntactical construction is identical to 6:4, which makes it unclear what the rationale of the translator is.

PROVERBS 6:5

that you may save yourself as a gazelle from meshes (of a net) and as a bird from a trap.

Save yourself as a gazelle from a hand
and as a bird from a snare.

Greek text O-sounds (ο and ω) are repeated throughout the verse (assonance).

Translation The relationship between vss. 4 and 5, which is implicit in MT, is made explicit in the Septuagint: (4) do not fall asleep, be diligent (5) in order to escape from the danger inherent in your pledge. The conjunction כ is added and the Hebrew imperative transformed into a subjunctive. Transformations with a similar purpose can be found in modern translations, e.g. GN:

4 Gönne dir keine Ruhe, gönne deinen Augen keinen Schlaf, 5 bis du ihm entronnen bist wie eine Gazelle aus der Hand des Fallenstellers oder ein Vogel aus dem Netz.

The Hebrew phrase ‘save yourself as a gazelle פ from a hand’ has been termed queer by earlier scholars and emendations have been proposed. I agree that MT seems out of order, but I do not believe that the ancient Bible versions are of assistance in reconstructing a Hebrew text. The Hebrew source text of LXX-Proverbs might even have been more corrupt than MT itself. Let us imagine such an obscure text:

*save yourself as a gazelle from X and as a bird from Y.

I would lay a bet against it that the Greek translation of the unreadable or incomprehensible expressions X and Y would have been very similar to what we find now. The Septuagint therefore does not point with certainty to a different Hebrew Vorlage. The word βρῶγας with its plural genitive βρῶγαν seems to have been chosen because of its double o-sound, which fits well into the assonance of the whole verse. This assonance may serve as a compensation for the alliteration of the letter 2 in Hebrew.

68 Cook, The Septuagint of Proverbs, 159; see e.g. LXX-Proverbs 1:12, 33; 2:9; 5:10 (but 5:9!). For nouns, see De Waard, The Septuagint of Proverbs as a Translational Model?, 304ff.

69 E.g. Toy, Proverbs, 129-130; Baumgartner, Étude critique, 67; apparatus BHS.
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In the second stich ἐξῆς ἔτι, which means ‘from the hand of a fowler’ according to our modern lexica, is rendered as ἐξ ὀφειλός ‘from a trap’. But it is not certain that the translator recognized ἐξῆς as a noun, since he may also have regarded it as a passive form of ἔτι ‘to lay a snare/ trap’. He may then have interpreted the whole phrase as ‘from an instrument laid as trap’, in short, a trap. In the latter case we are dealing with change of word class + omission.

PROVERBS 6:6

’Or ἐπάρχει, ὄντος διπλήματος, ὁ ἀσπασμός, καὶ ζήλωσον ἰδὼν τὰς ὀδυνάς αὐτοῦ καὶ γενοῦ τούτου σοφότερος.

Go to the ant, o sluggard, and become zealous seeing its ways and become wiser than it.

Go to the ant, sluggard, see her ways and become wise!

Greek text The imperative ὑπάρχει ‘go’ is probably used to lend this phrase a solemn ring, since the verb ὑπάρχει ‘to go’ was practically obsolete in Hellenistic times, save for its use in compounds (BDR § 99.1). It is interesting to note the idiomatic use of ὄντος (Smyth § 1284). When the sluggard is addressed in 6:6, ὃ indicates that these words are polite and well-meant, but the omission of ὃ in 6:9 shows contempt for the sluggard’s incorrigible laziness.

What does ὕδωρ mean in the Greek text? To take ὕδωρ as ‘ways, paths’ seems inappropriate here. The sluggard should not study the ‘ways’ = routes that ants take to gather their food and building materials, but rather their unceasing diligence, i.e. their ‘ways’ in the sense of ‘their habits’. This use of ὕδωρ is unknown in Greek and should therefore be considered a Hebraism. To be sure, Greek knows a metaphorical sense of ὕδωρ (singular) as ‘life’ and of (plural) ὕδωρ as the two alternatives to choose from, but these meanings do not fit into the context of ants.

The accusative τῶν ὕδων αὑτοῦ ‘its ways’ is the grammatical object of ἴδου ‘seeing’. The verb γινώσκω is used without object. It must mean ‘become zealous’, ‘be kindled with zeal’ (BDAG 427b).

70 Cf. Hosea 9:8 ἡ προφήτης τυχόν σκολή ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς ὀδυνὸς αὐτοῦ ‘the prophet is a crooked snare in all his ways,’ whereby ‘crooked snare’ is a rendering of ἐξῆς ἔτι.
71 Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus read προσόνω, not ὑπάρχει in 6.3. 6.
72 BDAG 691b. Cf. also LSJ’s entry: I. way; II. travelling, journeying; III. 1. metaph. way or manner; 2. a way of doing, speaking; 3. method, system. This is proven by Adrian (5th century AD), who treats the peculiar use of ὕδωρ in LXX; see Léonas, Recherches, 166ff.
73 Contra the translations by Brenton ‘and see, and emulate his ways’ and Cook, The Septuagint of Proverbs, 162: ‘and zealously observe (and) emulate its ways’ (queer double translation).
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The Hebrew adjective בּשָׂו is translated literally with ὀνειρός ‘lazy (one)’, as often in LXX-Proverbs. The translator gives a literal, even Hebraistic rendering of ἐρεῖνα ἐρήμων ‘her ways’, viz. τὰς ἁδικίας αὐτῆς. Since ὀνειρός functions as a standard equivalent of ἀρχεῖον ‘way’ throughout the whole LXX, the translator of Proverbs had either become accustomed to its Hebraistic use, or he inadvertently let it pass. It is, however, interesting to note that from chapter 9 onwards the translator starts to use circumlocutions or other idiomatic renderings instead of a literal ὀνειρός. Compare the following rendering in 16:2:

τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τεσσάρων ἀλατίαν πωλήσει θην ← ... οὐ μᾶς ἶμεν
all the deeds of the humble one are visible before God ← all the ways...

A problem for translators is the relative vagueness of the Hebrew in וּלָהֵּרִֵּיָּה her ways and become wise’. Various ancient versions felt the need of making explicit that ‘seeing’ does not mean a detached observation of ant life. ‘Imitate the ants,’ the Peshitta° has (耜ק), and the Septuagint goes even further:

1 It adds ἐκπαίδευσῃ ‘be kindled with zeal’, thus creating a semantic opposition to ‘sluggard’. The translator has a preference for antonymous couples. A corollary of this

74 Cook, The Septuagint of Proverbs, 162.
75 Smyth, Greek Grammar, § 1122-1124.
76 Genesis 27:20; further only Proverbs 2:13; 6:6; 8:4.
77 This rendering we find 9 times, next to αὐτὸς (3x) and ἀὑρίων (1x).
78 Examples of a Hebraistic use of ὀνειρός are LXX-Proverbs 1:31; 3:6, 31; 5:21; 7:27; 8:22; 10:9 etc.
80 D’Hamonville, Proverbes, 64 calls it ‘surqualification bipolaire’.
explicitation is that the imperative ἴδων ‘see’ is transformed into a participle ἴδων ‘seeing’ (change of accidence).

2 Man should not become like the animals (ants), but become wiser than them (see Greek text), i.e. he should outdo them and thus rise above them. Since the notion of superiority is inserted, it can probably be called an addition. The intimation that man should rise above the wisdom of animals is a departure from MT, which exhorts man to take lessons from the animal. The use of animals as moral examples that humans should seek to surpass in order to become fully human is a topos in Hellenistic philosophy. This non-obligatory transformation is therefore culturally significant.

PROVERBS 6:7

For, though to that (creature) belongs no field,
not has it anyone forcing it
nor being under a ruler,

although it has no chief, officer nor ruler,

Greek text The dative τὸν ὄντος, commonly translated ‘that, which’ is transformed into the demonstrative pronoun τό αὐτός. The translator could not employ the relative pronoun τὸ because it would then be too far removed from its antecedent, ‘the ant’, and could erroneously be taken to refer to the addressed sluggard. It is therefore an obligatory change.

The (concessive) genitive absolute is treated as if it were a normal relative clause, and is continued by nominative participles (constructio ad sensum). This construction is so idiomatic that it is not surprising manuscripts tried to make more normal Greek out of it. It stands for τὸν ὄντος, ὥσπερ…

The first stich has alliteration of τὸν τῆς τετρακείμενον ὄντος τῶν τῶν τῆς τετρακείμενον ὄντος...

The second and third stich have rhyme (rare in Greek).

Translation The translation of 6:7 contains obligatory and non-obligatory transformations, which will be discussed separately for the sake of clarity. To begin with the obligatory transformations, the relative particle τὸν, commonly translated ‘that, which’ is transformed into the demonstrative pronoun τόν. The translator could not employ the relative pronoun τον because it would then be too far removed from its antecedent, ‘the ant’, and could erroneously be taken to refer to the addressed sluggard. It is therefore an obligatory change.

81 Contra Cook, The Septuagint of Proverbs, 162 (‘the translator does not deviate drastically from the intention of the Hebrew. The changes are thus only found on the semantic level ’[sic]).
83 Smyth § 2533; Mayser, Grammatik der gr. Papyri, § 160.III; BDR § 295.
84 Cook, The Septuagint of Proverbs, 163 sums them up.
85 BDAG 195b. LSJ’s sense of ‘III. crop’ is erroneous, based solely on LXX-Proverbs 24:5. With d’Hamonville, Les Proverbes, 294 we should translate there γαρδόν μπέμπον as ‘a large estate.’
86 Other examples in Gerleman, Studies in the Septuagint III, 13f.
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of word class. Most modern translations do something similar to deal with the Hebrew connective.

The rendering of \( \text{κακίς} \) literal. ‘not-being for her = she has not’ with \( \text{οἷς} \) \( \text{διάφως} \) + dative can be counted a literal translation, which is often used for similar constructions in Hebrew.\(^{57}\) The rendering \( \text{ἐχω} \) ‘to have’ in the second line is literal too. Sometimes several literal renderings of one SL item are possible.

If we turn to the non-obligatory transformations, we first note that the text of this verse has expanded from 6 words in Hebrew to 13 in Greek. As we turn to its content, a remarkable phenomenon is that according to the Septuagint ants lack agriculture, about which MT is silent. Why did the translator not stick more closely to his source text? A literal translation of the Hebrew, reconstructed with the help of renderings that we find elsewhere in the LXX, could have read:

\[ \text{Ὑπούργον γῆς ἄγρανα μηθή ὑποτεπέται μηθή δούλην ἡμῶν, …} \]

That (animal), having no chief nor scribe nor ruler, …

I think this line contains features that the translator usually avoids. He does not like to copy synonymous parallelism into Greek,\(^{87}\) and often avoids repetition of identical or synonymous words in Greek (see 6:2). Repetition is characteristic of Hebrew but awkward in Greek. Now MT has a series of three generic words for officials. The translator spreads them and increases the redundancy of the text. He takes the last two terms for officials and develops them into separate stichs. But he is cautious not to repeat the verb \( \text{ἔχω} \) ‘to have’.

The unexpected rendering of \( \text{ἅπαξ} \) ‘officer’ with \( \text{γεράγειον} \) ‘field, husbandry’ in the first stich is a scholarly challenge. De Lagarde proposes that the translator read Aramaic \( \text{כָּנה} \), but neither he nor his followers explain what this word is supposed to mean.\(^{89}\) Toy therefore discards this proposal and considers \( \text{γεράγειον} \) ‘field’ a free rendering of \( \text{ἄνω} \) ‘harvest, crop’, which was read instead of \( \text{ἄνω} \) ‘officer’.\(^{89}\) The rendering \( \text{ἄνω} \) ‘harvest’ of the Targum and the Peshitta suggests that these translators read \( \text{ἄνω} \) ‘harvest, crop’. With the present state of our knowledge this seems the most plausible explanation. But now we must ask: if the LXX-translator read \( \text{ἄνω} \) ‘harvest, crop’, why did he render it with \( \text{γεράγειον} \) ‘field’? I think an answer can be found by looking at the following verse. In 6:8 it is said that ants gather food during the harvest. In a sense, then, ants have a harvest. In that sense you could also say that ants have crops, viz. the produce of their food-gathering. Now there arises a contradiction with 6:7 ‘ants do not have crops (or harvest)’. In a metaphorical sense ants have crops, in a literal sense they don’t, for ants do not cultivate fields. And here the field comes in, for ants do not own fields. The shortest way to summarize the difference between the crops of men and the ‘crops’ of ants is: ants don’t have land. Because a crop is

\(^{57}\) Even in the LXX-Pentateuch; see Hatch & Redpath’s \textit{Concordance}, 1406b.


\(^{89}\) Toy, \textit{Proverbs}, 130. This reading may have existed in the translator’s mind, not necessarily in manuscripts.
the yield of a field this transformation can be termed a translation of effect → cause.\textsuperscript{91} If this reconstruction is correct, it tells us that the translator is not translating sentence by sentence, but looks ahead and takes the context into account. In the second line the rendering of τῷς ‘scribe’ with ἀναγράφω ‘one that forces’ can be termed a generalization. Ἀναγράφω ‘to force, compel’ is not easily matched to a Hebrew verb as its standard rendering. Not surprisingly, it only occurs in the freely translated LXX-books. Ἀναγράφω renders different Hebrew verbs, and only in Proverbs 6:7 it renders τῷς. In modern lexica its meaning is listed as ‘office holder, civil servant’, which may occasionally be specified into ‘administrator’.\textsuperscript{92} But it seems that LXX-translators thought the reverse: they regarded ‘writer, scribe’ as its primary meaning and rendered it practically everywhere as γραμματέας ‘scribe’, even in Exodus 5:6ff (in the context of slave-driving). The very few exceptions are easily accounted for.\textsuperscript{93} Now what is meant here is not that ants do not write, but that they lack organization. The translator of Proverbs now shows that he is sense-oriented rather than sign-oriented, translating the concept and not the word. The notion of POWER, which is inherent in the ancient ‘scribe’, is retained, but the notion of WRITING is omitted.

The third line of 6:7, μηδὲ ἵνα διατάξῃ ὄν ‘nor being under a ruler’, presents the logical consequence of the Hebrew יִשָּׁלֵם ... יִשָּׁלֵם ‘she has no ruler’ (translation of cause → effect). By this transformation the translator presents the thought in a different garb than the previous line, thereby avoiding the monotony that a synonymous phrase would create in Greek. The Greek rhyme may be advance compensation for the Hebrew rhyme in the following verse, but I think the rhyme is caused by the juxtaposition of two participles that mark these lines as subordinate clauses and thus point forward to 6:8, the main clause. The use of participles is one of the hallmarks of natural Greek, and their frequent presence in a translation whereof the source text lacks them points to an idiomatic style of translation.

\textbf{PROVERBS 6:8}

\begin{tabular}{l}
εὐφραίνεσθαι πέρας τῆς γραφῆς \tab \textit{it prepares in summer its food} \\
πελάτην τε ἐν τῷ ἔμποσι ταύτα τῆς παράδοσα \tab \textit{it gathers in the harvest-time its nourishment.}
\end{tabular}

\textit{it prepares in summer its food} \\
\textit{it gathers in the harvest-time its nourishment.}

\textsuperscript{91} Cf. the following transformation, which I happened to note on a bag of Lay’s potato chips, flavour Cream and Chives (nr. NLB3001’85-412). The Dutch text reads: “Lay’s selecteert nauwkeurig de beste aardappelen \textit{van het veld} [=from the field], which the French renders as: “Lay’s choisit méticuleusement les meilleures pommes de terre \textit{au moment de la récolte}.”

\textsuperscript{92} HAL 1337b-1338a; BDB 1009b.

\textsuperscript{93} In 2 Chronicles 26:11; 34:13 τῷς has been rendered with κριτῆς, because γραμματέας immediately precedes it as a rendering of τῷς.
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Greek text –

Translation The translation of 6:8 poses few problems. The rendering of some commonly occurring words corresponds to what we find elsewhere in the LXX.94 The possessive suffix is omitted twice, since in Greek it is superfluous (cf. Isaiah 1:3). The fact that the second line is nearly synonymous to the first posed a problem to the translator. A stylistic variation like "συνεργεῖ... τὰ φρούματα 'gathers its nourishments' (as in Genesis 41:35) apparently did not satisfy him,95 and he found a rendering that expresses what ants do rather than imitating the words of the Hebrew. The Hebrew text says in 6:8b that ants 'gather in the harvest-time their nourishments'. What it implies is: during the harvest-time, when there is plenty of food, they gather food and store it so that they have something to eat in winter. The translator now depicts this situation with his own words: the ant παρίει τὴν περάθησιν 'makes its provisions' (situational translation). In his effort to increase the difference between the two lines, the translator also makes the second line stronger than the first by adding the word τολῆν 'abundant'.

In Hebrew we find wordplay in 6:7-8, with qatsin – qayits – qatsir. In 6:8 there is a remarkable concentration of [a]-sounds (12x). Possibly these features are compensated by the Greek alliteration of [t]-sounds (11x).

PROVERBS 6:8A-C

[A] ἢ παρέσθητι πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν και μάθῃ ὡς ἑργῆτε ἐσεῖν τὴν τε ἐργασίαν ὡς σομῆν παρίειν,
[B] ᾧ τὰς πόνους βουλητές καὶ ἱδίων πρὸς ἰνῖας προσφέρονται, παράπτωσι δὲ ἐστίν πᾶσιν καὶ ἐπίλοξος.
[C] καὶ ἡ ποιέστε τῇ μέριμνή ἄθαντής την σωφρίνην συμπάθησιν.

Or go to the bee
and learn how industrious she is
and how she performs her work as sacred,
whose products kings and commoners use for health
she is appreciated by all and held in high regard.

Though being weak in bodily strength,
by honouring wisdom she has obtained distinction.

Greek text This passage should not be summarized as ‘Strength through Wisdom,’96 since the notion of ‘strength’ is absent, but rather as ‘Honour through Wisdom’.

Translation Proverbs 6:8A-C is a free addition of the translator without counterpart in Hebrew. The question why the translator added this passage, an issue which has received as

94 Viz. the renderings: τἀρπαῖον ('harvest'), γαμήλιον ('to prepare'), γύρον ('summer').
95 Elsewhere the translator also avoids synonymous parallelism. See d’Hamonville, Les Proverbes, 61.
96 Giese, Strength through Wisdom and the Bee in LXX-Prov 6,8a-c.
yet no attention, shall now receive our attention. In fact the answer is obvious: the translator thought that a large addition would make the text more interesting and more appealing to his target audience. Animal and plant life was a favourite topos in Hellenistic art and literature. In its warning against sloth, the Greek text points to the example of the ant, whose wisdom the sluggard should try to surpass. Though lacking agriculture or organization, the ant works hard to provide for the future. Now an even better example than ants can be impressed upon the sluggard, namely the bee:

1. Ants are strong (they carry loads several times their own weight), whereas bees are physically weak (τῆν βοῶπιν ὁποθετηκέ). Bees are thus more dependent on wisdom than ants.
2. Ants lack organization (6:7), whereas bees do have organization, described at length by Aristotle in his *Historia animalium*. The implicit thought seems to be that hierarchy and cooperation are signs of wisdom.
3. The work of ants benefits ants only, but the products of bees are appreciated by all, even by kings (βασιλείας), and they promote health (γερότεια). Thus the radius of bees’ work is greater, so that bees are held in high regard (τε καὶ μόρφωσιν).

Just as bees surpass ants, so the example of bees surpasses the example of ants. And in a sense the translator surpasses his source text, at least in the eyes of his audience with their admiration of bees. The translator’s working method is reminiscent of Roman *aemulatio*. It is remarkable that this free addition is so completely in line with the drift of the source text. The translator has not employed this addition to introduce views of his own. A conservative Jew, for example – as some consider our translator to be – could have elaborated upon the ant as a model of a Torah-observant Jew, unceasing in good works. A hellenized Jew, on the other hand, could have compared ants and bees to the true sage, who gleans from different philosophical schools the most useful doctrines. An interesting Jewish-Hellenistic symbolism of bees is known to us. The Jewish author of *Joseph and Aseneth* (1st century BC) depicts a swarm of crowned bees, symbolizing priests, purifying Aseneth’s mouth (16:17-23).99 In apologetic boldness the author does not shrink from employing notions from Greek cults. That the translator of Proverbs refrains from riding hobby horses tells us that he has a sensitive mind and an excellent, probably trained eye for what does or does not fit into the context of the book he is translating.

The next question concerns the possible origin of the passage about the bee. The juxtaposition of ants and bees as industrious animals seems to have been a topos in Greek literature.100 The mention of the bee in a warning against sloth can also be found in Pseudo-Phocylides, but direct borrowing is not probable: the only verbal agreement is the word μέλισσας ‘bee’. Gerleman first claimed that the translator of LXX-Proverbs is dependent of Aristotle’s *Historia animalium*, where, he said, the life of the bee is treated immediately

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97 Fowler, *The Hellenistic Aesthetic*, Ch. II and IX, esp. pp. 31, 119
98 In Hebrew culture bees were probably less appreciated; see Giese, Strength through Wisdom.
99 G. Bohak, “*Joseph and Aseneth* and the Jewish temple in Heliopolis (Early Judaism and its Literature 10)”, Atlanta 1996, 8ff. (I thank Prof. Van der Kooij for this reference.)
100 In a scientific context: Aristotle, *Historia animalium* 622b, 20; in a hortatory context: Pseudo-Phocylides, Sententiae 164-174. D’Hamonville mentions Aristotle’s *De partibus animalium* 650b, 26 and *De sensu* 444b, 11-12, but diligence is not at issue there. The former text deals with creatures that are bloodless, but nevertheless intelligent, and the latter text with creatures that do not have respiration, but are nevertheless sensitive to odours.
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This theory has gone unquestioned but it is incorrect. Aristotle treats the bee (623b) after the spider (623a), not after the ant, whom he mentions only in passing in the introduction to his treatment of insects. There he mentions in one breath the ant, the bee, the hornet and the wasp as the most industrious animals (ἐργατικῶς 622b). Gerleman further says that Aristotle characterizes the bee as ἐργατές ‘industrious’ and that this term is taken up by the Greek translator of Proverbs. But Gerleman has taken the term out of its context:

This is not a characterization of bees, but a distinction between different kinds of bees. The fact that bees are industrious was so well-known that it is in my opinion implausible to suppose that a translator must have borrowed the term ἐργατές ‘industrious’ from Aristotle. Aristotle presents a lengthy and technical discussion of bees, from which no significant term returns in LXX-Proverbs. The passage about the bee may rather have an Egyptian origin. As is well-known, the Pharao was called ‘Lord of Upper and Lower Egypt’. The royal title njšwt bjt, more than 3000 years old by the time of our translator, runs literally ‘he of the reed and the bee’. Its hieroglyph is depicted left. The reed was the symbol of Upper Egypt (the Nile bed) and the bee of Lower Egypt, the Delta and Oases, where Alexandria lay. This royal title survived well into the Hellenistic era and was transferred to the Ptolemaic Pharaoh, as is demonstrated by the trilingual Raphia decree, dating from 217 BC and written in Hieratic (hieroglyphs), Demotic and Greek and by the Memphis decree of 196 BC (the famous Rosetta Stone). Historians report that both ‘reed’ and ‘bee’ could be used as a shorthand for ‘Pharao’.

The function of Egyptian bee symbolism in LXX-Proverbs is not unambiguous, however. It may be a complimentary wink to the powers that be, but the stress on the diligence of bees and their profitable products may also be hortatory and critical of Ptolemaic kingship. There are very few poetical features in the addition. Apart from the catalectic iambic trimeter discussed above (B2) and a trochaic line (C2), we find nothing special. One would have expected that the translator, unimpeded by the limitations of rendering the source text, would give his poetical fancy free rein. But this would have resulted in a stylistically uneven text, where vs 8A-C would have stood out as a poetical gem in a context of stichic prose, a result that the translator did not desire.

H.-J. Thissen, Studien zum Raphiadekret (Beiträge zur klass. Philologie 23), Meisenheim 1966, 37. The title is rendered into Greek as μαγάλας βασιλέας τῶν τις ἢν καὶ τῶν κάτω χωρῶν.

104 H.-J. Thissen, Studien zum Raphiadekret, 38 for other references.
105 Jacoby, Fragmente der griechischen Historiker, Nr. 618/2. This is echoed by Ammianus Marcellinus (4th century AD): per speciem apis indicant regem (ed. W. Seyfarth), XVII, 4, 11.
106 As in Seneca, De clementia, I, 19.
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The combination of ἐργάτης and ἐργασία is an example of ‘coupplage étymologique’. 108

PROVERBS 6:9

"Εώς τίνας, δικαίας, κατάφυσις;
Πότε δὲ εἴς ὕπνοιν ἐγγίζῃρς;
How long, sluggard, will you lie down?
When will you wake up from sleep?

How long, sluggard, will you lie down?
And when will you rise from your sleep?

Greek text –

Translation In the second stich the postpositive conjunction δὲ is added. As in 6:2, the translator is not fond of asyndetic synonymous lines.
The literal rendering of ἐργάτης ὑπνοῦ with ἐργασία, ‘how long?’ (lit. ‘until when?’) conforms to the general picture in the Septuagint from the Pentateuch onwards. 109
The Hebrew verb רָאשׁ ‘to rise’ is rendered with a verb that denotes the stage before rising, viz. ἔγειρομαι, ‘to wake up’ (translation of effect → cause). To be sure, Greek does have verbs that express ‘getting up from bed,’, 110 but these cannot be used since the text does not mention a bed. It says γράφει ὅτι τίνας ‘when will you get up from your sleep?’ This cannot be rendered literally into Greek so that we are dealing with an obligatory transformation. The possessive suffix in ὑπνοῦ ‘from your sleep’ is not rendered in ἐξ ὕπνου ‘from sleep’. Normally, prepositional expressions with ὑπνοῦ the article and the possessive pronoun are not used in Greek. 111 With this omission the translator avoids a Hebraism. In literally translated books we do find the article in such expressions. 112
A change of word order is found in the second stich, where the Greek words for ‘sleep’ and ‘wake up’ have changed positions compared to the Hebrew, probably to make the second stich syntactically parallel to the first (i.e. ending in a verb).

108 D’Hamonville, Les Proverbes, 68-69 (it is characteristic of the translator).
109 ἐργάτης renders ἐργάτης ὑπνοῦ ὑπνοῦ 6x and its synonym ὑπνοῦ ὑπνοῦ 6x according to Hatch & Redpath.
110 ἔγειρομαι, ἔγειρομαι, ἔγειρομαι (poet); see Woodhouse, English-Greek Lexicon, s.v. Rise.
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PROVERBS 6:10

'Olignou μιν ἐποίησε, ἀλίγου ὅ ἐκάθησα, μικρὸν ὅ νυσᾶτες,
ἀλίγου ὅ ἐνσαλίζετη χιρῶν στίθησι
You are sleeping a little, you also sit a little, you slumber a moment,
you hold a little your own breast with your arms

A little sleep, a little slumber,
a little folding of hands to lie down.

Greek text According to lexica κάθησαι does not have the generic meaning 'to rest', as Cook translates incorrectly. Regarding μιν… ὅ… we can say that its use had gradually diminished since the classical period, and in Koine Greek its use had become more intentional. The pair of conjunctions μιν… ὅ… is difficult to translate into English. Μεν harks back to 6:9, where sleeping is also mentioned, and ὅ adds other forms of laziness. It could be paraphrased as follows: 'you sleep a little, as you are doing now, but you also sit lazily, you also slumber etc.' The meaning of the last stich needs some clarification. The verb ἐνσαλίζετη means 'to embrace (for) oneself'. So the whole stich sounds literally: 'a little you embrace for your-

Translation The Hebrew text is wholly asyndetic, but conjunctions are supplied in Greek (μιν… ὅ… ὅ… ὅ… ὅ…), as elsewhere in this chapter. A change of word class occurs when the Hebrew nouns שְׂנֵה 'sleep' and שְׂנַמָּה 'slumber' are transformed into verbs: ὅνοιας 'you sleep' and σοφαλίζες 'you slumber'. The problem that the translator wanted to solve becomes clear with a glance at GN, where the underlined words have been added:

«Nur ein kurzes Nickerchen», sagt du, «nur einen Moment die Augen zumachen und die Hände in den Schoß legen.»

The translators want to make clearer that 6:10 presents the thoughts of the sluggard. The German and Greek translators have dealt with the same problem in slightly different ways. The Greek clause ἀλίγου ὅ ἐκάθησα 'you sit a little' is without counterpart in Hebrew and seems to be an addition. Unnoticed by Cook, it has attracted the attention of earlier scholars. De Lagarde suggests that it renders רָמָה שכָּם 'a little sitting' in the translator’s source text, and explains: 'diese worte sind dem vorhergehenden דָּאָם הוּא so ähnlich, dass sich denken liess, sie seien vom schreiber des masoretischen archetypus um dieser ähnlichkeit

113 BDR § 447; Mayser, Grammatik der griechischen Papyri § 164.6.6.
114 As often, the plural στήθη is used with the meaning of singular στήθος 'breast' (LSJ 1643b).
115 Baumgartner, Étude critique, 69.
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This sounds convincing, but let us have a look at De Lagarde’s supposed source text:

A little sleep, a little sitting, a little slumber,
a little folding of hands to lie down.

Firstly, the reconstructed first stich is abnormally long (6 accents) and differs too much from the second stich (4 accents). Secondly, it is not probable that the series of three words denoting laziness would have two nouns (יוֹסָד and וַיַּעֲשֶׂה), interrupted by an infinitive (יִשָּׁכְכוּ). De Lagarde’s theory is therefore implausible. Nor is it probable that דָּלָיָן אֵלַו קָתָבָם: ‘you sit a little’ is a rendering of בָּשַׂע in the second stich, as Toy supposes.

A different reconstruction has been offered by Iaeger. He considers דָּלָיָן אֵלַו קָתָבָם: ‘you sit a little’ a rendering of בָּשַׂע, ‘a little slumber’, because קָתָבָם features here in the generic sense of ‘laziness’, as in Proverbs 3:24 (for בָּשַׂע ‘to lie down’). A revisor later added מַכים וְיִשָּׁכְכוּ: ‘you slumber a little’ as a more literal rendering of בָּשַׂע, ‘a little slumber’. According to Iaeger this also explains the variation between מַכים and דָּלָיָן. In my view a revisor should enter a hypothesis only when translational factors provide insufficient explanation. In the verse under discussion this is not the case. Besides, Iaeger has not taken into account Proverbs 24:33.

The translation of the parallel text in Proverbs 24:33 can help us to grasp the problem:

A little sleep, I slumber a little,
a little slumber, I fall asleep.

The order of the Hebrew text is: sleep – slumber – position of body during sleep. This is not really an orderly or logical arrangement (but such is not the concern of the Hebrew poetic lines, we may add). Now the translator has changed the order of sleeping and slumbering, probably because slumbering is the stage that precedes falling asleep. He has thus subjected the text to a logical order: מַכים וְיִשָּׁכְכוּ “holding one’s breast with one’s arms” then refers to the position in which the sluggard sleeps, just as in the Hebrew text.

Armed with these observations we return to Proverbs 6:10. This text is identical to 24:33 and contains the same ‘illogical’ order. The translator has done something about that, but in contrast to 24:33 he has not tried to present a chronological order. For in 6:10 the order of sleeping and slumbering is the same as in MT, and קְנָפָד אֲרֵךְ קָתָבָם: ‘to fall asleep’ is not used. Instead, the translator added דָּלָיָן אֵלַו קָתָבָם: ‘you sit a little’ and thereby created an alternation of expressions denoting mental torpor and expressions denoting a lazy position of the body:

116 De Lagarde, Anmerkungen, 23 (N.B. De Lagarde writes German without capital letters).
117 Toy’s remark “the Hebrew rhythm is against it” (Proverbs, 130) probably hints at this.
118 Toy, Proverbs, 130.
119 Iaeger, Observationes, 51.
120 LSJ 837a ‘to fall fast asleep’. Last e. a., A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint incorrectly gives ‘to sleep’ as the meaning of קְנָפָד, but this is clearly a result of attention to the (presumed) “intention of the translator” (who is believed to render the Hebrew text literally, if he can).
Transformations in Proverbs 6

A: sleeping – B: sitting – A’: slumbering – B’: embracing one’s own breast

This non-obligatory addition has another advantage: the Greek text now warns against another form of laziness, viz. sitting, which makes the warning more universally applicable. Why does the translator vary between the synonyms ἀλάγων and μικρόν ‘a little’? In Proverbs 24:33 we just found a threefold repetition of ἀλάγων. Now repetition can be used as a figure of style, but repetitiveness may cause boredom, a notorious pitfall for orators in antiquity.121 The translator tolerates a threefold repetition, but he apparently finds a fourfold repetition overdone. The alternation between ἀλάγων and μικρόν, both literal translations, is in my opinion employed to avoid repetitiveness. In Proverbs 30:18-19 the fourfold repetition of τῷ ‘way’ is likewise varied in Greek.

Summarizing the relationship of Proverbs 6:10 and 24:33, we conclude that the same problem is solved in two different ways. In 6:10 the translator adds a phrase and employs a minor stylistic variation. Eighteen chapters later, in 24:33, the order of two verbs is reversed and this accomplishes all. The latter is more in line with the “minimax strategy.”

The transformations in the second stich probably arise from an interpretation differing from what many modern scholars offer. The Hebrew text literally says: ‘a little embracing of hands to lie down’. Now in modern Bible translations this is commonly rendered as ‘folding of hands’, which is a sign of lazy satisfaction.122 But there have been scholars, and still are, who translate it as ‘embracing’. Rashi, for example, glosses the expression with the French embrasser. Sexuality, this implies, keeps people from working diligently. The NJPS translation has followed Rashi’s lead, but without the sexual connotation, which plays no role in the immediate context: ‘A bit more hugging yourself in bed.’ In fact this is very similar to what LXX offers! The differences between NJPS and LXX are:

1. NJPS has made the ‘hands/arms’ implicit (hugging is always done with arms).
2. As ‘hugging yourself’ is a bit strange,123 the Greek translator has pictured the position to himself and tried to render the situation in Greek, which was more clearly rendered by adding ‘breast’ (situational translation).
3. LXX has implicitated ἐν τῷ ‘to lie down’ as superfluous, since ‘embracing your own breast’ already denotes a sleeping and thus lying position.124

PROVERBS 6:11 & 11A

Εἶς ἐξ μικρῶν καὶ ὡστερ δοκεῖ τὸν δόμην καὶ τὴν ἐνεπεκτατεὶν τοὺς ἑσπέρας ὡς τὴν ἀντικρίσιν σου, η ἔνεπεκτατεὶν ὡστερ καὶ τὸν δοκεῖ τὴν ἄντωσσαν ἐπετυμπανίῳ.

Then [be sure!] poverty suddenly stands by you like an evil passer-by

121 Rener, Interpretatio, 157-158: ‘One of the surest causes of boredom was supposed to be repetitiveness in all possible forms. This could entail repetition of words, for instance, or phrases as well as the recurrence of the same sentence structure.’
122 The folding of hands, which occurs also in Ecclesiastes 4:5, is explained by Ibn Ezra as a gesture that denotes a refusal to exert oneself (אֲלֵפַשׁ-אֲלֵפַשׁ).
123 We should note that for NJPS naturalness is less important than for LXX Proverbs.
124 It is semantically and graphically improbable that ἐν τῷ ‘to lie down’ was read as ἐν τῷ τὸν δοκεῖ τὴν ἀντικρίσιν σου, η ἔνεπεκτατεὶν ὡστερ καὶ τὸν δοκεῖ τὴν ἄντωσσαν ἐπετυμπανίῳ by the translator, as Baumgartner, Étude critique, 69 believes.
And want like a good runner.
But if you are diligent, your harvest will be there like a flowing spring,
and want will give up like a bad runner.

And your poverty will come like a vagabond
and your want like a man-with-a-shield.

Greek text  Όδοιπόρος means ‘traveller’, someone who passes by on the road. A καμῖς
οδοιπόρος ‘evil passer-by’ is a traveller of mean character who avails himself of the oppor-
tunity to rob the sluggard (in the previous verse depicted as lying down and sleeping). The
meaning of this first simile thus seems to be that poverty will come unexpectedly. A
δρόμος ‘runner’ is an athlete who runs in a competition, for example in the Olympic
games. The second simile says that poverty will come ‘like a good runner’, i.e. quickly.
The emotional appeal of these similes to the reader is underscored by the use of the present
instead of the future tense. This ‘present of anticipation’ occurs in lively speech to indicate
that a certain action is ‘immediate, likely, certain or threatening’ (Smyth § 1879; BDR §
323). In 11A the expected future tense is resumed.

The text of 6:11A needs a short discussion, since it is sometimes translated incorrectly and
considered difficult. In the first stich ‘your harvest will come like a fountain’ (Cook)
sounds strange, but we should keep in mind that the verb μόει primarily means ‘to be
present’. Hence a more correct rendering is ‘your harvest will be there like a flowing
spring’, which is more understandable as well. The second stich is commonly translated
as ‘want will desert like a bad runner’, but what does this mean? The verb ἀπηρνάμεθα
indeed refers to soldiers deserting their army (LSJ). It can also be used metaphorically, viz.
of deserting a practice or a conviction. Used in the context of sports, the verb most
probably means ‘giving up in the middle of a race’. In the Greek world, a bad runner who
gave up was derided and had to leave shamefacedly. The simile as a whole means that
once you are diligent, poverty will give up its race to overtake you.

Translation The Hebrew conjunction ו ‘and’, which expresses a generic transition, is
specified into זָכָה ‘then’, a temporal adverb that expresses a more specific temporal and
logical transition. The Greek verb ἔμπαιργενόμεθα ‘to stand suddenly at one’s side, to come in upon someone’ is
unique in Greek literature. The rendering of מָע ‘to come, enter’ with ἔμπαιργενόμεθα
constitutes a specification and occurs only here. A more literal translation, καὶ ἔλειπον

125 Plato, Leges 822b. The comic poet Eupolis compares a good orator who beats his opponents to
δράμα, ἄμια, ‘good runners’ who leave their competitors behind. See R. Kassel & C. Austin, Poetae
Comici Graeci, nr. 102 (94).
126 McKane, Proverbs, 325 says: ‘the additional element in LXX is inept, containing as it does two
similes of more than dubious felicity – harvest is like a fountain and need like an evil courier.’
127 D’Hamonville, Les Proverbes, 194. A collocation of ἔμπαιργενόμεθα with food is found in LSJ 767b, II.1.
128 After six of his brothers have been tortured to death because of their Jewishness, the seventh
brother does not flinch, but declares θὰ ἀπηρνάμεθα τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου ἀμαρτίας ‘I will not
forsake the excellence of my brothers’ (4 Maccabees 12:16). The verb is also used of bad style
orators, who ‘desert’ to the other camp (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, De oratoribus veteribus 2).
129 This can be inferred from Plato, Republica 613b. He tells us how already imprudent runners, who
had a flashing start and then fell back quickly, were the victims of derision.
Transformations in Proverbs 6

‘and [poverty] will come’, would have suggested a slow advent of poverty and diminished the urgency. It seems that the translator has directed everything towards the highest emotional appeal, cf. the present of anticipation (see Greek text).

Where MT says אֱלֹהִים יְהוָה: מִצְתָּה בָּעָל ‘your poverty will come’, it is more natural to express it in Greek without a possessive pronoun: ‘poverty will come to you’ (τοι αρετήν ἥν οὖν). The dative οὖν renders the possessive suffix in the second stich as well. This change of word class entails a change of word order.

The phrase ἡ πτωχεία ὑμῶν δόθη χαρά ἐτέρως ‘like an evil passer-by’ is a rendering of Hebrew פְּרָחָה. To determine what sort of transformation has taken place we must have a look at the precise meaning of the Hebrew phrase. It is not entirely clear what the pi’el-stem of this verb means. Most recent scholars follow Jenni’s proposal: ‘ein Umhergehen ohne bestimmte Richtung bzw. mit wechselnder Richtung’, which for Proverbs 6:11 results in the translation ‘like a vagabond’.130 Older exegetes commonly translated it as ‘highwayman’, i.e. a bandit who robs travellers and couches on public highways.131 A third explanation of פְּרָחָה is simply ‘traveller’.132 The question is of course: how did the LXX-translators interpret פְּרָחָה? I think we can exclude ‘vagabond’, as this translation seems to be the fruit of modern research. The translation of פְּרָחָה as ‘highwayman’ is primarily based on the idea that the term must be semantically close (parallel) to יְהוָה מָנוֹת ‘man-with-a-shield’ in the second line, but it does not flow from the lexical meaning of פְּרָחָה. Besides, in the framework of the rhetorical transformations we noted above a ‘highwayman’ would have served the translator’s purposes excellently. Had the translator believed it was the meaning of פְּרָחָה he would not have toned it down to ‘traveller’. It seems therefore probable to assume that he interpreted פְּרָחָה as ‘traveller’, which we find also in the Vulgate (viator), and hence the translation is a literal one. But this rendering was certainly too pale, for what is the danger of a traveller? The translator therefore added κακὸς ‘evil’ to transform the traveller into an opportunistic robber.

A surprising transformation is the rendering of יְהוָה מָנוֹת ‘like a man-with-a-shield’ with ὡσείς ἐναθᾶς δρομεῖς ‘like a good runner’.133 The Greek text is clear and simple and so is the Hebrew.134 To explain the Greek rendering it has been claimed that the translators had a different Hebrew text before them. But the dated proposals in this vein have rightly been refuted and have not resurfaced since.135 Why did the Greek translator not give a literal translation of this phrase? Greek could boast of numerous words for different types of shields and several are attested in the Septuagint according to Muraoka’s Index. In my opinion, the translator’s problem was that a shield is a defensive weapon.136 But the context in LXX-Proverbs 6:11 requires a word that points to an assailant. It is for this reason that all modern Bible translations known to me, with the exception of NIP, have rendered the ‘man-with-a-shield’ as an aggressive character. This logic was not lost even upon Buber and Rosenweig, who preferred ‘ein gewappneter Mann’ over a literal rendering in their

130 ‘Wie ein Landstreicher’: E. Jenni, Das hebräische Pi‘el, Zürich 1968, 151-152.
131 See Toy, Proverbs, 125 and the exegetes whom BDAG 235a, sub 1. mentions.
132 Cf. Ibn Ezra ad loc.: אֱלֹהִים יְהוָה מִצְתָּה בָּעָל ‘like an unexpected guest’.
133 Jaeger, Observationes, 52 confesses he cannot at all think up a reason for this transformation.
134 Alternative explanations of MT from related languages have been proposed, all of them irrelevant for explaining the Septuagint rendering. For a short survey see Fox, Proverbs 1-9, 217-218.
135 Cf. Toy, Proverbs, 130. The parallel in Proverbs 24:34 has the same Hebrew phrase.
136 In metaphorical contexts the Hebrew word for shield is often translated ‘protection, protector’ etc. Muraoka, Index s.v. יְהוָה מָנוֹת, יְהוָה מָנוֹת, יְהוָה מָנוֹת, יְהוָה מָנוֹת, יְהוָה מָנוֹת, יְהוָה מָנוֹת, יְהוָה מָנוֹת.
Verdeutschung der Schrift. We can now understand why the Greek translator abandoned the ‘man-with-a-shield’. But whence did he get the ‘good runner’? If the LXX-translator had adopted the solution of his later colleagues, the whole verse would have run as follows (in English translation):

Then poverty suddenly stands by you like an evil passer-by and want like an [armed robber].

I would suggest that the Greek translator could not be content with such a verse. For it is a perfect example of synonymous parallelism, characteristic of Hebrew poetry. And we have seen that the translator does not like repetition of the same thought and on several occasions he modifies such verses. The sudden advent of poverty ‘as an evil passer-by’ expresses danger and unexpectedness, its arrival ‘as an armed robber’ conveys the same, but in a somewhat stronger degree. My impression is that the Greek translator wanted to intensify the warning against sloth. To a sluggard poverty will come unexpectedly, yes, but it will also come quickly. I think therefore that once confronted with a translation problem (the awkwardness of the ‘shield’), the Greek translator availed himself of the opportunity to introduce a semantic modification in order to strengthen his text.

It is interesting to compare 6:11 to 24:34, where the Hebrew text is very similar. One difference is that between מְשֵׁה (‘like a traveller’) (6:11) and מְשֵׁר (‘walking’) (24:34). Proverbs 24:34 runs as follows:

If you do this, your poverty will come walking and your want like a man-with-a-shield. The transitional clause וְאַכְנִית (‘If you do this’) has been added to indicate that the speaker of 24:33 has finished and is now being addressed. It then reads וְאַכְנִית מְשֵׁה לְפָנָיְךָ. ‘Your poverty will be there before all’, i.e. marching in advance as a vanguard (LSJ). This contains a transformation by which the relaxed picture of poverty that ‘comes walking’ is turned into something more threatening, as befits the context. The addition of מְשֵׁה ‘as a vanguard’ makes a specific verb (like מְשַׁלֶּר (‘to have come’), which stays closer to the Hebrew. The possessive suffix in מְשֵׁר ‘your want’ is rendered with לְפָנָיְךָ, likewise more literally than in 6:11. The second stich of 24:34 is not identical to 6:11, as Cook claims. The former is slightly closer to the Hebrew, since it renders the possessive suffix: מְשֵׁר לְפָנָיְךָ ‘your want’. And last but not least, the addition of two complete stichs is found in 6:11A but not in 24:34.

138 The fact that both LXX and MT lack a comparison (‘like a …’) makes it plausible that the parent text of LXX read מְשֵׁר in 24:34, like MT.
139 Cook, The Septuagint of Proverbs, 172.
D’Hamonville is right in his conclusion that ‘le traducteur se tient toutefois beaucoup plus proche du texte hébreu que dans le doublet que l’on trouve en 6,10-11.’

Regarding 6:11A there is a consensus that it does not reflect a different Hebrew text longer than MT but is a product of the translator. The question is, of course: why were these two stichs added? They do not really make the content of the preceding stichs clearer.

D’Hamonville hints that several additions in the Greek Proverbs have a structural function, marking the beginning or the end of a section. Often these additions expand or explain the central message, introduce it more clearly or present a didactic contrast to it. In my view this is also the function of 6:11A. It concludes vs 6-11A by presenting a positive contrast to the preceding warnings and making the message more explicit. The translator, who likes contrasts, frequently creates antitheses instead of the Hebrew synonymous parallelism or creates an antithesis of his own accord. He does the same in this free addition. The risks of sloth (6:11) now stand in contrast to the blessings of being diligent (6:11A). The same antithesis can be found in another added verse, 11:16A:

Πλακταυ σουσροι ενδοτις γνυιοται, οι δε αυτου του θεωσταντι θολωνρ.

Lazy men become destitute, but the manly are secure because of their wealth.

The section 6-6-11A now ends in a positive and unambiguous statement of its message. In the nearly identical verse 24:34, which also ends a section, the translator did not resort to the same procedure, but applied a more modest transformation.

Now we need to address the question: How did the translator arrive at the exact wording of his addition? This is not instantly clear. The problem is that in syntactical respect the added stichs of 6:11A are close to the Hebrew text of 6:11, whereas the semantical content is not. It is therefore understandable that scholars have tried to establish a connection between 6:11A and the Hebrew text of 6:11. It has been suggested that the translator gives a second translation of the same Hebrew lines, either in an alternative interpretation (Mezzacasa) or with help of midrashic liberties (De Lagarde). But I find their reconstructions of the

140 D’Hamonville, Les Proverbes, 302.
141 Tov, Recensional Differences, 45-46, believes that De Lagarde suggests a different Hebrew source text for LXX, but this is not correct. For the right interpretation of De Lagarde’s shorthand style see Baumgartner, Étude critique, 69.
142 Contra Cook, The Septuagint of Proverbs, 171.
143 D’Hamonville, Les Proverbes, 52.
144 For example LXX- Proverbs 1:7ab; 2:17a; 4:27AB; 8:21A; 9:18A-D; 16:30c; 24:22A-E.
145 D’Hamonville, Les Proverbes, 71. See especially 17:5A; 18:22A.
146 De Lagarde, Anmerkungen, 23 thinks the translator re-read the Hebrew text of 6:11 and transformed it into its opposite with the help of midrashic liberties (different word divisions, transpositions of letters etc.). In his view the translator reshaped the Hebrew material in the following fashion:

(MT) Your poverty will come like a vagabond and your want like a man-with-a-shield.

(LXX) Your stack of sheaves will come like a stream and your want will retreat like a bad man-in-haste.

Mezzacasa, Proverbi di Salomone, 61, 128 gives two proposals to illustrate how the translator might have reread the MT raw material of the first stich in an alternative way:

Your poverty will come like a

Your harvest will come to you like water
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Translator’s train of thought not very probable. Not only are the lexical assumptions behind them daring and unconvincing, but more importantly, the Greek translator of Proverbs handles his source text with such a liberty that he does not need midrashic methods to create surprising additions nor do we need them to justify those additions. In my view our problem of syntactical similarity and semantical difference can be explained better by the assumption that the translator composed his addition primarily as a contrast to the Greek text of 6:11. He followed its syntax and conceived the second stich of 6:11A as a conscious opposite to the second stich of 6:11. Thus

‘and want (will suddenly stand by you) like a good runner’ (11b)

was provided with the contrast:

‘and want will give up like a bad runner.’ (11Ab)

The first stich of 6:11A, however, is not so easily explained. Its content, ‘your harvest will be there as a flowing spring’, is very surprising. It is difficult to connect it with any Hebrew or Greek element in the immediate context. Neither can I understand why in a free addition the translator came up with something so unexpected. Frankly, I am at a loss how to explain it. Earlier scholars have observed that 6:11A takes up vocabulary from the preceding context: 148 ἀμητός ‘harvest’ occurs in 6:8 and πηγή ‘fountain’ in 4:21; 5:15-18, whereas ἀοινως ‘diligent’ seems to be a deliberately alliterating antithesis to ὁκερός ‘lazy’ (6:6, 9). It is an observation, no explanation. I leave this issue to the ingenuity of future scholars.

The content of 6:11A does not change the content of the section materially. It baffles me how Cook can claim that in 6:8A and 11A the translator ‘addresse[s] the question of poverty from a religious perspective bringing wisdom into play and offers a religiously motivated solution to his reader, one that is in accordance with his Jewish-orientated stance.’ 149 I can detect nothing specifically Jewish in this addition.

**PROVERBS 6:12**

Ἀνήγκ αἷμων καὶ παράνομος παροικεῖ αὖτις σκόπης.

A foolish and lawless man walks in ways [that are] not good.

A man of worthlessness, a man of iniquity goes [with] crookedness of mouth.

**Greek text** The verse contains assonance of α and of the cluster voiceless labial + trill: ἀνήγκ αἷμων καὶ παράνομος παροικεῖται.

147 For example, Mezzacasa’s suggestion that the translator interpreted ἡλείαν as ‘course of water’ → ‘stream’ is not impossible, but when he credits the translator with the interpretation of ἐκδίκησις as ‘your harvest’ on the basis of Hosea 10:4, this overstrains our imagination. For in Hosea 10:4 ἐκδίκησις occurs in the sense of ‘poisonous herb’ (!) and is translated as ἄγρος of ‘dog’s tooth grass’, which is very much the opposite of a beneficial harvest.


149 Cook, The Septuagint of Proverbs, 171.
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Translation

The paragraph structure of 6:12ff. differs in Hebrew and Greek. The Hebrew text opens with its subject, the ‘worthless and iniquitous man’, followed by a number of predicates, in which parts of the body succeed each other: mouth – eyes – feet – fingers – heart (12b – 14a). The Greek translation presents 6:12 as a general characterization of the wicked man and then continues in 6:13 with a detailed description of his actions, introduced by δ’ αὐτῶς ‘the same man’. The latter interpretation is possible, though less likely from a structural point of view. It is probably connected with the omission of the ‘mouth’ (see below).

The Hebrew word פָּרָשָׁה ‘man, someone’ is in most cases translated as ἄνιψτ ‘man’ in LXX-Proverbs, whereas עָבָד ‘human being’ is sometimes rendered as ἄνιψτ ‘man’ and sometimes as ἁθηρσος ‘human being’. Especially in collocations with an attributive adjective the translator prefers ἄνιψτ ‘man’. The latter is more natural in this context, more flexible in collocations and hence more frequent in the book as a whole. Therefore the choice of ἄνιψτ ‘man’ is obvious. Since the Greek word renders two Hebrew words and the notion of ‘man’ is clearly present, it can be called a literal translation.

The omission of one word denoting ‘man’ is easily accounted for. Hebrew is forced to employ a word for ‘man’ twice in this stich because of the construct state (‘a man of iniquity’). In Greek the qualifying nouns are more naturally expressed as adjectives (change of word class), so that one term for ‘man’ can be omitted without loss of meaning. The fact that construct states with qualifying nouns are usually rendered with adjectives even in literal translations helps us to consider this change of word class as obligatory.

The nouns פָּרָשָׁה and עָבָד have undergone two transformations. Not only has their word class changed, but the semantic content as well. The word פָּרָשָׁה means ‘worthlessness, wickedness’. In other books it has been translated with various terms for wickedness, among them παράνοιας ‘lawless’ (11x), but throughout LXX-Proverbs it is rendered as ἄθρατος ‘foolish’.

The word עָבָד ‘iniquity, trouble’ is rendered as παράνοιας ‘lawless’ in 6:12 and 17:4, which is in line with the Greek words for evil that render it throughout LXX-Proverbs and the Septuagint as a whole. But a few passages render עָבָד ‘iniquity, trouble’ with words denoting folly. So we find two things: the renderings of both פָּרָשָׁה and עָבָד are consistent with LXX-Proverbs, but the rendering of פָּרָשָׁה deviates from the rest of the Septuagint. It is not surprising, then, that some Greek manuscripts change the order of the adjectives into פָּרָשָׁה עָבָד. An exception can be found in 23:31, where עָבָד is red is rendered as ἀθρικτά οὐδήματα διοικεῖται ‘converse with righteous humans’.

150 In 11:17 ἄνδρος δακτυλίας, 12:23 ἄνδρος σπευδός, 12:27 ἄνδρος κανθάρος, 17:18 ἄνδρος δάκρυα, 19:11 ἰβλίσσων ἄνδρος, all of them renderings of פָּרָשָׁה. An exception can be found in 23:31, where פָּרָשָׁה [the wine] is red is rendered as ἀθρικτά οὐδήματα διοικεῖται ‘converse with righteous humans’.


154 Hosea 6:8; Isaiah 31:2; 32:6; Ezekiel 11:2.
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... 'a lawless and foolish man,' so that is translated as 'lawless,' in line with the rest of the Septuagint.

How should we explain this? We have seen more than once that the Greek translator of Proverbs does not necessarily follow equivalents he found in other books. Since the renderings in Proverbs 6:12 are consistent within the book as a whole, there is no reason to suppose that the translator has inverted the renderings of and .

Regarding the rendering of 'worthlessness, wickedness' with 'foolish,' it is not easy to determine what kind of transformation it is, for this depends on the translator's understanding of . It is possible that he interpreted it as 'useless' and then transformed 'useless' into 'insensible' (modification: different type of unsoundness), or, as 'without (God's) yoke, uncontrolled,' hence 'insensible' (translation of cause → effect).

At the same time it seems that the favourite word 'foolish' is employed by the translator to lend LXX-Proverbs a certain conceptual unity. It renders numerous Hebrew lexemes as we saw, but a second indication for 'foolish' as a favourite word is that the translator has avoided several of its synonyms, such as 'worthless, wicked.'

The transformations in the second part of the verse are also interesting. There are two 'problems' that forced the translator to depart from a literal rendering. First, the phrase (lit. 'goes crookedness of mouth') is a Hebrew idiom for gossiping. The translator retained the notion of 'going' but asks for 'paths' as its natural sequel, and by way of coincidence the root 'crooked, curbed' is often collocated with 'ways' and 'paths' too.

It is clear that the notion of 'ways' strongly suggested itself to the translator's mind. Therefore he imported 'ways that are not good' from 16:29. The second problem is the expression 'crookedness of mouth.' This does not denote a bodily disfiguration such as a twisted lip, but is a metaphorical expression referring to evil speech. For this reason most translations give the sense rather than the image. I think the choice for a sense-oriented translation is promoted by the fact that the other parts of the body in 6:13-14 are not metaphorical, but literal: parts of the body convey a sign language. In contrast, a literal translation was possible in Proverbs 4:24, where the whole context is metaphorical, so that there is less danger of misunderstanding.

Cook, Septuagint of Proverbs, 173.

CF. the just mentioned article by D. Winton Thomas and the Babylonian Talmud, Sanhedrin 111b. This etymology was embraced by Jerome in the Vulgate of Judges 19:22 'venerunt viri civitatis filii Belial id est absque iugo' (the italics constitute an explicitation).

Another expression for gossip or slander is likewise constructed with 'to go,' viz. Leviticus 19:16; Jeremiah 6:28; 9:3; Proverbs 11:13 (notion of 'going' omitted in Greek); 20:19 (not rendered in LXX). N.B. I do not agree with Jaeger, Observations, 52, who interprets the Hebrew expression in 6:12 as suggestive movements of the mouth, without actual speech.

Isaiah 59:8; Proverbs 2:15; 10:9; 28:6, 18. In Proverbs 11:20 'curbed' has also attracted a 'way' (Hebrew 'way'), thus creating a form of repetition that the translator usually dislikes.

Jaeger, Observations, 52; Toy, The Book of Proverbs, 131; Baumgartner, Étude critique, 70. The word 'good' is frequently added by the translator of Proverbs, cf. Hatch & Redpath’s Concordance. Its addition contributes to the conceptual unity of LXX-Proverbs.

Cf. translations so diverse as the Peshitta (omitting 'mouth'), RSV ('crooked speech'), Gute Nachricht ('Lügen'), REB, NJPS etc.
Transformations in Proverbs 6

The alliteration noted above might be a compensation for the Hebrew alliteration of 'aleph and 'ayin in the first stich.

PROVERBS 6:13

The same [man] winks with an eye, gives signs with a foot, teaches with signs of fingers.

winks with his eye,
speaks with his foot,
gives signs with his fingers.

Greek text The slight variant found in manuscripts, viz. δόλατος δὲ νεόματον instead of δολίας δὲ νεόματον proves that elision of δὲ was read, even when it was not written. For copulative δὲ see Smyth § 2836; BDR § 447.f.

Alliteration of δ is begins at the end of the first stich and continues well into the second stich.

Translation The addition of ὁ δ’ αὖνδ’ ἰὲννείτε ὀφθαλμίνη, σημαίνει δὲ πολİL, δολίας δὲ νεόματον proves that elision of δὲ was read, even when it was not written.

The slight variant found in manuscripts, viz. δόλατος δὲ νεόματον instead of δολίας δὲ νεόματον proves that elision of δὲ was read, even when it was not written. For copulative δὲ see Smyth § 2836; BDR § 447.f.

Alliteration of δ is begins at the end of the first stich and continues well into the second stich.

The verb ἄνετος to speak’ occurs at least four times in MT. In Aramaic, a language probably known to the translator, it is a common verb. Modern lexica create a different entry for ἄνετος ‘to scrub, scrape’, which is said to occur only in Proverbs 6:13. I doubt whether the LXX-translators shared this interpretation. I would assume that the translator rendered ἄνετος ‘to speak (with feet)’ with σημαίνει to give signs’. This should be considered a specification, since giving signs is a kind of speaking.

Regarding the grammatical number of eyes and feet (singular or plural) there is a minor peculiarity that both scribes and translators have dealt with. The consonant text of Codex L reads ἄνετος / ἄνετος ‘with his foot / with his eye’ (singular), which I regard as the reading of the parent text of the LXX and the original Hebrew reading. Now according to strict logic you can speak about ‘his eye’ and ‘his feet’, but about ‘his eye’ and ‘his foot’ (singular) preferably when it has been mentioned before. When someone is said to wink ‘with his eye’, we can ask: with his left or his right eye? It is perhaps tempting to dismiss this type of reasoning as overstrained Western logic, but in several instances the Septuagint translators thought along this line. In some contexts where the Hebrew mentions ‘your/his eye’ or


162 In Proverbs 6:13; 10:10; Psalm 34 (MT 35):19 it was translated ὁνοίως.

163 Tov, The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint, 179f.; Harl, La bible grecque des Septante, 224f.
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‘your/his foot’ \(^{164}\) it is clear that both eyes or both feet are meant. The translator consequently chose a plural rendering:

his eye was not dimmed
his eyes were not dimmed

In other contexts the same expressions refer to only one eye or foot without saying which eye or foot is referred to. In Deuteronomy 25:9 the translator recognized this problem and solved as follows:

he shall take off his sandal from his foot shall take off his one sandal from his foot

We now return to Proverbs 6:13. The ‘difficulty’ in the consonant text, described above, has been handled in two different ways. Some Hebrew scribes have written ‘he winks with his eyes’ and this reading has entered the margins of the Aleppo Codex (and BHS) as a Masoretic reading tradition (qere). The plural is also found in Peshitta and Vulgate. Hebrew scribes have also opted for plural in ‘he gives signs with his feet’ (also qere). \(^{166}\) The second solution is found in the LXX: it retains the singular, but to solve the difficulty it has not rendered the possessive suffixes. The mischief-maker thus ‘winks with an eye and gives signs with a foot’. For stylistic uniformity the translator also removed the possessive marker of ‘his fingers’.

The rendering of הִיכָה הָעֵינִים with διδάσκει (both meaning ‘to teach’) is no transformation in the sense of this study. The verb הִיכָה הָעֵינִים has been translated with διδάσκει ‘to teach’ in all three of its occurrences in Proverbs. \(^{163}\) The Hebrew verb denotes instruction in a wide sense, including showing the way to someone and giving signs, \(^{164}\) and from Symmachus onwards (בָּדַדְדְדָהוּ) most translations speak about ‘giving signs’ rather than ‘teaching’. For διδάσκει LSJ only gives ‘to teach, instruct’, but there are instances, admittedly later, where it has the wider sense of giving instructions with signs. \(^{169}\) In the Hebrew text the mischief-maker teaches ‘with his fingers’ (דְּבָדְדָהוּ), in the translation ‘with signs of fingers’ (ἐνδείκνυτιν διδασκαλίαν). This looks like an addition for clarity, but neither grammatically nor semantically is there any reason for it. \(^{170}\) It is again reward-

\(^{164}\) With second and third person suffixes there is an orthographic difference between singular and plural.

\(^{165}\) Deuteronomy 34:7. The same transformation in Genesis 8:9; Leviticus 21:20; Deuteronomy 8:4; 11:10; 28:35 etc.

\(^{166}\) This choice is not popular in ancient translations, perhaps because it is difficult to give signs with two feet.

\(^{167}\) Proverbs 4:4, 11; 6:13. (We leave aside 26:18 הֵיכָה הָעֵינִים ‘to shoot’, a homonym.)

\(^{168}\) Meyer / Donner, Gesenius’ Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch, 495b, 3. Muraoka’s Index lists some fifteen renderings of הֵיכָה הָעֵינִים in the Septuagint.

\(^{169}\) Libanius (4th century AD) describes the sad situation after the expulsion of rhetoric from the court. This has created judges who find every spoken word a waste of time and who give their instructions (διδάσκει) by a mere νείμα ‘nod’ (Oratio LXII, 43; ed. R. Foerster).

\(^{170}\) The collocation of νείμα with διδάσκει (δοξολογεῖ) is limited to LXX and the literature dependent on it) is found in two places. For the first, see previous footnote. In his Babylonica (ed. E. Habrich) Lamblichus the Syrian (2nd century AD) tells us how a horse was trained (δοξολογεῖ) to do everything, even the slightest movement (νείμα) on command (fragm. 1 = p. 7, line 24f.; the second instance of νείμα is added by the editor).
Transformations in Proverbs 6

ing to imagine how the alternative without addition would have read, for this makes the rationale clear at once:

It is a rare coincidence that a literal translation results in such a remarkable alliteration, but in this instance one feels overwhelmed. The ancient teachers of rhetoric knew that there is only a thin line between alliteration and cacophony. Here the alliteration becomes tongue-breaking and suggests stammering. The addition of tones it down and makes it an acceptable, and still notable instance of alliteration. The alliteration is accidental and therefore no compensation for the pattern of assonance in Hebrew (thrice repeated α-ε-ω).

PROVERBS 6:14

Διστροφήμενη δὲ καρδίᾳ τεκταίη τεκταίη ἐν παντὶ καρδίᾳ ὁ τοιοῦτος ταραχαὶ συνιστήναι τάλει.

With a perverted heart he devises bad things at every occasion such a man organizes troubles to a city.

Perversion [is] in his heart, he devises evil at every time, sends out strifes

Greek text A succession of κ and τ can be observed in the first stich.

Translation The Hebrew term חֵנְשָׁם 'perversity, perversion' (plural of intensity) occurs 10 times in MT, of which 9 times in Proverbs. It is rendered 3 times with forms of the verb διστρέφειν 'to distort, pervert'. This semantically literal translation goes hand in hand with a syntactical change, viz. the replacement of a verbless clause (דִּיסְתֶּרֶףְאָם תַּכְעָתָא 'perversion is in his heart') with an instrumental dative (דִּיסְתֶּרֶףְאָם כָּרְדִּיָּא 'with a perverted heart'). This has probably been done to avoid a change of subject in the series of the mischief-maker’s activities. A similar transformation we find in RSV ('with perverted heart devises evil'). It is interesting that, unlike the translator of Isaiah 1:16, the Proverbs-translator maintains כָּרְדִּיָּא 'heart' in 6:14, 18, since both Stoics and Platonists could fit it into their systems.172

Regarding the interpretation of כָּרְדִּיָּא in Proverbs 6:14 it seems to me that the LXX-translator did not share the derivation that is current nowadays. Modern lexica derive it from כָּרְדִּיָּא 'to

171 Lausberg, Handbuch der literarische Rhetorik, § 968-969, 975-976; cf. Demetrius, De elocutione (ed. Rhys Roberts) § 235, who connects it to the forcible style.

172 Stoics would say that evil is produced by a disfunctioning heart, whereas Platonists would affirm that evil comes not from the rational brain, but from the irrational part below the neck. Cf. Tieleman, Galen and Chrysippus on the Soul, xxiv-xxv.
plough’, to which a metaphorical sense is ascribed: ‘to plough plans’ > ‘to devise plans’. I consider it more likely that the translator, confronted with the verb ἑτοιμάζει in this context, related it to the well-known ἐπαρκότερος ‘craftsman’ and interpreted the verb in question as ‘to create as a craftsman’.173 In that case we are dealing with a literal translation, since both the Hebrew and the Greek term denote crafting and, metaphorically, devising plans. The singular of ἐπαρκότερος ‘evil’ has been turned into plural κατὰ ‘evil things’ because it refers to doing evil on numerous occasions.174

The second Greek stich adds ὅ τοιοῦτος ‘such a man’, probably to create an apt concluding clause in the description of the mischief-maker. It is connected with the addition of ὅ ὁδὸς αἰτίας in 6:12, whereby vss. 12-14 are restructured along the pattern of introduction – description – conclusion.

The last activity of the mischief-maker that is mentioned in 6:14 differs considerably in Hebrew and Greek:

As organizing troubles to a city is a specific sort of ‘unchaining strifes’ we are dealing with a specification. But how has this difference come about? To arrive at a solution,175 let us investigate the problem more closely: what would have been the problem with a translation of the sort we find in 6:19? We should keep in mind that in the interpretation of the translator this whole passage deals with the same man (see below). Now a more literal translation of 6:14 would have resulted in two very similar statements about the same man:

6:14 ἔτισμεν κρίσεις  
‘he unchains lawsuits’

...  
6:19 ἔτισμεν κρίσεις ἀνά μέσον ἀδελφῶν  
‘he unchains lawsuits between brothers’

We have already discovered more than once that the translator avoids repetition of the same thought. This preference leads him, in my opinion, to a differentiation in his renderings. In 6:19 the mischief-maker sows dissension between brothers, i.e. in the private sphere, and therefore the translator related 6:14 to the public sphere, the organization of disturbances in the city.176 In all probability the order is climactic, since inciting strifes between brothers was considered worse than anything else. The Rabbis explained Proverbs 6:16 (‘Six are these that the Lord hates and seven are an abomination of his soul’) as follows:177

It is notable that ἐπαρκότερος ‘craftsman’ is rendered τόκτων a number of times throughout the LXX (sometimes ἔτισμεν), and that the root of this word is related to τοποθητέω. It is also possible that the translator read the unpointed ἐπαρκότερος as a noun.


175 For a survey of proposals with their evaluation I refer to Baumgartner, Étude critique, 70-71. His own explanation is that the translator, speaking about inciting strifes, felt tempted to tell where and against whom these strifes were incited.


177 Leviticus (Wayyiqra) Rabba § 16.1.
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Rabbi Meir and the Rabbis [disagree]. Rabbi Meir says: Six plus seven makes thirteen. The Rabbis say: Seven in total. 'Seven' means here 'the seventh', for the seventh item is worst of all: unchaining strifes between brothers.

Such a handling of repetition (יָשָׁר שֵׁשֶׁנִּים) is characteristic of traditional Jewish exegesis. Rashi, for example, presents a similar differentiation of 6:14 and 6:19. The latter is about dissension between brothers and (hence) the former deals with dissension between man and his Creator according to Rashi. A similar strategy of differentiation can be found in Proverbs 16:28, where יָשָׁר שֵׁשֶׁנִּים 'sends out strife' is not rendered literally, since the notion of separating friends is already explicitly present at the end of the verse. The Hebrew expression is therefore generalized into וְשָׁפַתָהּ שֶׁרֶשֶׁת 'spreads evil':

אֶתָּהוּ שָׁפַתָּהּ שֶׁרֶשֶׁת וְלֹא יַשְּׁמְדוּ גְּדוֹלֵי יְוָנִים וְלֹא יֶלֶשֶׁת פְּלִיטָה.

A perverse man spreads evil and will kindle a torch of deceit with evil, and he separates friends.

The translator has solved the ‘problem’ in Proverbs 6:14 with help of a specification. He could also have omitted the second Greek stich or he could have provided a modification, e.g. ‘he sends slandering letters’ or ‘he blackmauls’. In my opinion the choice for this particular specification is not accidental. Political stability could be seriously threatened by social or ethnic unrest. A warning against men who incite disturbances in the city was not meaningless in the context of Alexandria. In 203 BC the royal guardian Agathocles was murdered by a mob during violent disturbances (παραστάσεις). 178 The Memphis Decree of 196 BC (the Rosetta Stone) proclaims amnesty for those who had taken part in disturbances (παραστάσεις). 179 Several periods of social and ethnic troubles are known from subsequent periods, until the term παραστάσεις ‘troubles’ turns up in the writings of Philo, more than a century later, referring to the first outbursts of anti-Semitism in Egypt. 180

PROVERBS 6:15

Διὰ τούτου ἐξάρτησις ἵππος ἔστιν αὐτός, δυσκολὴ καὶ συνιδήμος ἄνιστος,

Therefore his destruction will suddenly come, breach and incurable crushing.

Therefore his destruction will suddenly come, in a moment he will be crushed and there will be no healing.

Greek text –

178 Polybius, Histories, 15, 30, 10 and 15, 32, 7; Holbl, A History of the Ptolemaic Empire, 135.
180 Philo, Legatio ad Gaium § 90 and 113.
Translation
The first stich (6:15a) lacks transformations in the sense of this study. The second stich (6:15b) contains changes of a mainly syntactic nature. It is interesting that these are absent from the identical stich in Proverbs 29:1b. Because the verb form ἢ λόγῳ ‘will be broken’ corresponds with a noun (σοφρίζειν ‘ruin’) in Greek, it has been suggested that the Vorlage of the Septuagint read ἢ λόγῳ ‘and a ruin’.

I consider this unlikely. It is more likely to assume that the LXX-translator had a text before him that was identical to the Masoretic text. There are then two ways to reconstruct the translator’s train of thought that made him arrive at the Greek wording. The first is to assume that be misread ἢ λόγῳ ἢ σοφρίζειν ‘suddenly he will be broken’ (adverb + verb) as ἢ λόγῳ ἢ σοφρίζειν ‘suddenness and ruin’ (noun + noun), which is a tiny little difference in graphic respect. An alternative proposal, equally plausible, seeks the rationale in translational factors: literal translation of the second stich would cause confusion of participants in the verse as a whole. It would run as follows:

* ‘suddenly will come his destruction…/ and it will be crushed

Such a rendering leaves room for the reading that ‘destruction’ will be crushed. Making unambiguous that it is the mischief-maker who will be crushed demands transformations, for example the addition of a masculine pronoun: αὐτός σοφρίζειν ‘he will be crushed’. The transformation of a verb into a noun (change of word class) is an obvious way to adjust the syntax of the second stich to that of the first and to remove the ambiguity.

The presence of the noun σοφρίζειν ‘ruin’ in the second stich can thus be accounted for in two different ways. But it is bound to lead to a further transformation. Once the second stich contains a noun that depends on the verb ἢ λόγῳ ‘will come’ in the first stich, both stichs become one sentence and hence the repetition of a second word for ‘suddenly’ becomes superfluous:

*Therefore his destruction will suddenly come, unexpectedly and incurable crushing.

However, the translator did not omit the superfluous σοφρίζειν ‘suddenly’ but decided to render it in an alternative way. He turned it into a noun denoting a stage that logically precedes ‘ruin’ and at the same time expressing some kind of unexpectedness, viz. οὕτως “breach” (modification).

The last transformation is the rendering of the clause ἢ λόγῳ ἢ ἁμαρτήσῃ ‘there will be no healing’ with the adjective ἀμφίθετον ‘incurable’ (change of syntactic structure). It is non-obligatory, since we find literal renderings of it in Proverbs and elsewhere (cf. Isaiah 1:31). It

182 Confusion of ἢ τοι is common, cf. Tov, Text-Critical Use, 137. Jaeger, Observationes, 52 thinks the translator took σοφρίζειν as a noun meaning concisio et comminutio, a suggestion taken over by J.F. Schleusner, Novus Theaurus Philologico-Criticus sive Lexicon in LXX, Leipzig 1820/21, I, 557b-c with a reference to an Arabic root. But the presumed relationship with this Arabic root has been abandoned by later scholars, and the LXX-translators probably did not know Arabic.
181 The same transformation can be found in NRSV. The opposite, viz. turning the noun of the first stich into a verb, figures in the Dutch Nieuwe Bijbelvertaling (2004).
184 Διακοπή is always (12x) used to render derivatives of the root ζατα ‘bursting forth, breach’ (BDB).
185 Oós ἡττάν ἡττάν / ῥήμα / ἱόπρος in Proverbs 29:1 (again we notice that a transformation in chapter 6 is bolder than in the second half of the book); 2 Chronicles 21:18; 36:16.
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probably originates in the stylistic concern to avoid a series of χαί that connect phrases of different syntactic status.

PROVERBS 6:16

for he rejoices in everything the Lord hates,

Six are these that the Lord hates
and seven are an abomination of his soul:

Greek text Regarding the syntactic embedding of this verse I agree with D’Hamonville (contra Rahlfs’ interpunction) that vss. 15 and 16 constitute one sentence. For the construction δηκοτο… δη ἐστὶ is common in Greek (Smyth § 2240), whereas an independent causal protasis introduced by δη without a decent apodosis is an unlikely assumption. D’Hamonville considers vss. 17-18 as a syntactically independent exclamation lacking a verb. But it stands more to reason to put a colon (: , in Greek >) and not a period behind vs. 16 and to interpret vss. 17-18 as an elaboration of the ‘uncleanness of soul’. This verse displays a double iambic trimeter (see the section on metre). Its function is probably to underline the pivotal position of this verse between the two enumerative passages. It summarizes the origin and the destination of evil.

Translation There is a difference of opinion about the cause of the radical transformations we find in this verse. The majority of scholars have long claimed that the translator misread his Vorlage. He did not recognize the numerical parallelism, they hold, and in the second stich he misread ἀβιθανότης ‘and seven’ into ἀβιθανότης or ἀβιθανότης ‘he is crushed’. Recently, however, D’Hamonville dismissed the suggestion that the translator overlooked the numerical parallelism, for Aquila°, Symmachus and Theodotion°, who lived a little later, did recognize it. Rather, he says, the numerous lexical agreements between vss. 12-15 and 17-19 induced the translator to unify vss. 12-19 by creating a transition in vs 16. For that purpose he dropped the numbers and made the ruin of the mischief-maker more explicit.

How should we judge the assumptions behind both positions? To begin with, I deem it improbable that the combination ἀβιθανότης / ἀβιθανότης would have gone unrecognized as 6 // 7, since  

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187 Iaeger, Observationes, 53, followed by all scholars up to D’Hamonville.
188 D’Hamonville, Les Proverbes, 195.
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Numerical parallelisms are so frequent in the OT and in the book of Proverbs. Besides, misreading the second stich is unlikely, since 2 and 7 are not similar in manuscripts from the period in question. But if the last letter of παντί ‘and seven’ was damaged in the translator’s Vorlage, a misreading is possible. While the possibility of a damaged source manuscript cannot be excluded, we should only resort to it if there are more instances pointing to damage in this book. Should we then imagine that the translator consciously dropped the numerical parallelism to unify the passage? The suggestion itself is not unreasonable, for in our discussion of 6:14 we have already observed that vss. 14b and 19b have been attuned to each other. To arrive at a conclusion we will first have a glance at the treatment of number parallelism and then return to our text.

Number parallelism, widespread in Semitic poetry, is a variety of synonymous parallelism, but ‘[s]ince no number can have a synonym the only way to provide a corresponding component is to use a digit which is higher in value than the original.’

There are several problems involved in the translation of numerical word-pairs. Sometimes the numbers are not meant as exact figures, as in Amos 1-2, and several modern translations opt for a stylistically functional rendering, omitting the numbers. In cases where the numbers are meant literally, only one number (the first or the second) is intended in the context and the other one figures as a stylistic ornament of it. Now the fact that numbers can have ‘synonyms’ is language-specific. In European languages this phenomenon is rare, to say the least. To be sure, in the Septuagint numerical word-pairs are rendered literally by sign-oriented translators, but sense-oriented translators look for alternative renderings. A frequently occurring solution is that the translator retains the first number as a cardinal number and transforms the second one into an ordinal number (change of word class), as in Proverbs 30:18:

191

Three things are too wonderful for me Three things are impossible for me to understand and four I do not understand: and the fourth I do not find out:

[in both MT and LXX there follows a list of four items]

In Hebrew the list of four items is preceded by two numbers (3 // 4), which cause confusion if literally translated. In Greek we find therefore only one number (4), split up in 3 + 1.

Let us now return to Proverbs 6:16. If the translator had applied the just mentioned transformation, this would have resulted in the following text (in English translation):

* There are six things that the Lord hates and the seventh is an abomination of his soul.

It does not take much to imagine why a translator would hesitate to produce such a verse. For it suggests to speakers of Greek, with their more exact interpretation of numbers, that the Lord hates six things, whereas the Torah makes clear that there are many more things He hates. As is well known, Jewish tradition identifies 365 prohibitions in the Torah! This seems quite an understandable reason for a translator to drop the numbers altogether. D’Hamonville’s suggestion that the translator consciously reshaped his text thus receives

189 Watson, Classical Hebrew Poetry, 144ff.
190 E.g. Amos 1-2, Micah 5:4; Psalm 61:12 (MT 62:11).
191 The same transformation we find in e.g. Job 5:19; 33:14; 40:5; Sirach 23:16; 26:5, 28. The technique of interpretation reflected in this transformation is also found in Leviticus Rabba (see our discussion of Proverbs 6:14).
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support. In the context of the book as a whole and in the light of the translator’s approach I consider it more probable than the assumption of a misreading. It is noteworthy that in Proverbs 30:18ff, the translator is more modest in his transformations than in 6:16. Once the translator had decided to drop the numbers, he did something which a modern translator would not do. He did not ignore the number ἑξῆς ‘six’, but he accepted the graphic material as it stood and rendered it in an alternative way. He vocalized it as ἠχεῖται and then translated it literally as εἰρήνη ‘he rejoices’. We find the same technique in Proverbs 30:1; 31:1, 4 where the translator suppresses the personal names and renders the graphic material in an alternative way. Such a manner of interpretation is known from midrashic exegesis.

What the translator did in the rest of the first stich is difficult to reconstruct. It seems that he took the three content words ‘rejoice’, ‘hate’ and ‘Lord’ as his building blocks for a new text and felt free to add (ὁ ὅτι, ὁ πάντως ‘all’) and remove (ὁ τοῦτο ‘these’) smaller items to provide the cement.

The term ὅδεισιν ‘abomination’, which we find in the second stich, is consistently rendered as ἰδιόκειμα throughout the Septuagint, but not always in LXX-Proverbs. ἰδιόκειμα means ‘something that causes revulsion or extreme disgust, a “loathsome, destestable thing.”’ It normally refers to actions and inanimate objects and this is probably the reason why the translator prefers alternative renderings of ὅδεισιν when humans are referred to, especially in contexts where the persons in question are also the subject of a verb.

In 3:32 the translator chose διάτόμων ‘unclean’ – in a moral sense, a meaning well-established in classical Greek – and in 6:16 he adhered to that root. It can be considered an antonymic translation. In Hebrew we read שְׁפֵהוֹ ‘his [the Lord’s] soul’, but Greek has only ψυχή ‘of soul’, which refers to the soul of the mischief-maker. After the translator had dropped the numerical parallelism and linked the first stich to actions of the mischief-maker, the consequence was that he had to do the same in the second stich. Again the translator treated the main elements of his source text as building blocks of a different content. But this time he could not leave the content words untouched. The Hebrew number שֵׁשׁ ‘seven’ he replaced with a verb, συντρίψω ‘to crush’, with which it lacks a semantical relationship. It is not even a modification, it is a replacement. Here we are nearing the limits of our approach, since this type of transformation is seldom found in modern translations.

It is difficult to say whether the translator has consciously provided a compensation for the omission of the number parallelism, but the double iambic trimeter makes this verse stand out in poetic respect.

PROVERBS 6:17

ὄφθαλμος ὅμοροῦ, γλῶσσα ἀδικός,
χέιρος βεβίων, χίαμ διακόη
an eye of an insolent man, an unjust tongue,
hands that are shedding blood of the just.

192 BDAG 172a.
193 LXX-Proverbs 3:32; 11:20; 16:5; 17:15; 28:9. There are two exceptions in 16:22 and 29:27, perhaps due to the translator’s increasing modesty with respect to transformations, combined with the fact that the ‘detested persons’ are not the subject of a verb in the context.
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* high eyes, a tongue of falsehood
* and hands that are shedding blood of the innocent,

Greek text: The series of body parts in vss 17-18 begins asyndetically, but is carried forth by the conjunction καὶ ‘and’ from vs 18. In Greek, rich as it is in means of coordination, the asyndeton often fulfills a rhetoric function. '[D]as Polysyndeton ruft durch die Summierung den Eindruck von Grösse und Fülle hervor, das Asyndeton durch die Zerschneidung – die einzelnen Stücke kommen stossweise hervor – den der Lebendigkeit und Erregung' (BDR § 460). In a long enumeration asyndeton may suggest itself as the easiest way of expressing.

Translation: The expression 'high eyes' is a Hebrew idiom meaning haughtiness. A literal translation sounds unnatural in Greek and even the literal translation of LXX-Psalms avoided it in Psalm 17 (MT 18):28:

* and you humble high eyes and you will humble the eyes of the proud

For this reason it comes as no surprise that the translator of Proverbs 6:17 employed the same transformation (change of word class) in ὕπριστος: 'the eye of an insolent man'. But it is noteworthy that in LXX-Proverbs 30:13 the idiom of 'high eyes' has been retained. Where ὕπριστος 'high eyes' is plural, the translation speaks about ὕπρισμα 'an eye', a singular. It is difficult to find a reason for this via lexica and grammars, which means that we are dealing with a subtlety. I would suggest that the number has changed into singular because ὕπρισμα here carries the connotation of a particular, haughty look. There are seven verses where a plural ὕπριστος 'eyes' turns out singular in translation and in some of them ὕπρισμα seems to mean 'look' or '(power of) sight'.

The rendering of ἐς 'high' as ὕπριστος 'insolent man' is also interesting from a semantical point of view. The noun has been derived from ἔρις, a word that has entered English as a loan word. According to Fisher ‘the essence of hybris is the deliberate infliction of dishonour and shame upon others. It is not, as is commonly thought, a special form of pride or self-confidence which offends the gods and is characteristic of tragic heroes.’ The deliberately damaging actions of the mischief-maker, described in vss 17-19, fit exactly into the meaning of ἔρις just quoted. The use of ὕπριστος 'insolent man' can be explained as a contextual specification, since ἔρις is a damaging kind of arrogance. The Hebrew word סן in its sense of ‘arrogance’ is usually translated with ὕπριστος 'high, arrogant' and words derived from the same root, or with ὕπρισμα 'haughty'.

The phrase ὄνομα 'tongue of falsehood' is an example of the Hebrew attributive construct state. In Indo-European languages it is always rendered as noun + adjective. This means that the transformation of the noun סן 'falsehood' into an adjective is an obligatory change of word class. Of course there are then several adjectives to choose from. Now סן is often translated as ‘lie’ and hence one could think that שֶׁבֶּשֶׁת 'lie' or שֶׁבֶּשֶׁת 'false' are

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the literal translations and anything else represents a shift in meaning. But it is doubtful whether ‘lie’ is the primary meaning of ῥήμα, as lexicographers show us. In any case, it is striking that the LXX-renderings of ῥήμα are by no means limited to the traditional ‘lie’. According to Hatch & Redpath the translation of ῥήμα ‘falsehood’ with ἀδίκος ‘unjust’ occurs 32 times in the Septuagint, including the literally translated books of Psalms and Jeremiah. It had a tradition in the LXX-Pentateuch (4x). In Deuteronomy 19:18, for example, we find μάρτυρις ἀδίκος ‘unjust witness’ for ῥήμα ἀδίκος and that is exactly the rendering we find in Proverbs 6:19. From a semantical viewpoint this rendering is literal. The translator of 6:17 could have rendered ῥήμα τὶς ‘tongue of falsehood’ as γλώσσα φιάλης ‘lying tongue’, which would have been an even more literal translation. He did not do so, because in my opinion φιάλης ‘false’ is already reserved for ῥήμα ‘lies’ in vs 19. And if φιάλης would have been used in vs 16, the purport of vs 19 would have been given away too early.

The second stich contains few transformations, but comes nevertheless close to being metrical. The conjunction ταῦτα ‘and’ is omitted to strengthen the asyndetic enumeration (see Greek text).

The phrase ῥήμα τὸ ‘blood of the innocent’ has been rendered as ἁίμα δικαιού ‘blood of the just’. The Hebrew term differs from what we find in the LXX-Pentateuch. Greek has words for ‘innocent’, of which ἁίματος occurs 4 times in the Septuagint as a rendering of ῥήμα ‘innocent’, and ἁίματος 27 times, according to Hatch and Redpath. Those two words have been used by Symmachus and Aquila respectively. The transformation from ‘innocent’ to ‘just’ is a modification (or perhaps a specification). The translator prefers the word ἁίματος ‘just’ because it contrasts with the ἁίμα τὸ ‘lies’ in vs 19. And if ἁίματος would have been used in vs 16, the purport of vs 19 would have been given away too early.

This contrasting word pair has been created in LXX-Proverbs 1:11; 10:31; 11:21; 12:17; 13:5, 23; 16:33; 17:23 (cf. D’Hamonville, Les Proverbes, 70); 29:27. D’Hamonville, Les Proverbes, 82, calls this phenomenon ‘amplification thématique’.

PROVERBS 6:18

καὶ καρδία τετανυσμένη λογίσμοι κακοίς
καὶ πόδες ἐπιστρέφοντος κακοτατεί
and a heart devising evil thoughts
and feet hurrying on to commit evil;

196 BDB 1055a sums up its meaning as ‘deception, disappointment, falsehood.’ TWAT viii, 466f. says: ‘Die Grundbedeutung scheint beim „trügerisch handeln“ (im Unterschied zu „reden“) zu liegen, wobei einerseits eine Absicht (treulos, Treubruch bis zu Vertragsbruch, Lüge), andererseits auch Unzuverlässigkeit (bis zu Unerheblichkeit, Nichtigkeit) erfasst werden kann.’

197 Cook’s claim, The Septuagint of Proverbs, 177, 179, that this rendering represents a specific religious interpretation, should have been supported by suggesting which more adequate adjective the translator avoided.

198 The phrase ῥήμα, unpointed, can be interpreted as noun + adjective (‘innocent blood’) or as a construct state (‘blood of the innocent’). Throughout MT we find both possibilities realized in vocalisation. Cf. more fully TWAT ii; 258.

199 This contrasting word pair has been created in LXX-Proverbs 1:11; 10:31; 11:21; 12:17; 13:5, 23; 16:33; 17:23 (cf. D’Hamonville, Les Proverbes, 70); 29:27. D’Hamonville, Les Proverbes, 82, calls this phenomenenen ‘amplification thématique’.
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a heart, devising thoughts of iniquity,
feet hurrying to run to evil.

Greek text This verse exhibits the same alliteration of καί as vs 14 with roughly the same lexemes. The second stich contains a series of π.

Translation For the twofold addition of καί ‘and’ I refer to our discussion of 6:17 and for the (literal) translation of ἐπικρίνοντας ‘to devise’ and προκλήσαι to 6:14. The rendering of προκλήσαι with περιπολέομαι constitutes a literal translation. Both words mean ‘calculation’ and hence also ‘consideration, reasoning, thought’. The pair occurs as a ‘standard equivalent’ throughout the Septuagint. The word πᾶς (77x), often translated as ‘iniquity’ or ‘trouble’ (see 6:12), is one of the many words for iniquity that Hebrew possesses. It does not properly match a single Greek lexeme, and in the Septuagint it is rendered with 20 different terms according to Muraoka’s Index.200 If it is true that the basic meaning of πᾶς is ‘Unheilsmacht’ and that it shows traces of a dynamistic world view,201 then all Greek lexemes that render it are equally inadequate. Κακός ‘bad, evil’ is the most neutral rendering possible. This makes it difficult to consider it a consciously applied transformation. Perhaps it is safest to call it a literal translation. In the second stich the translator has dropped προκλήσαι ‘to run’. The Hebrew phrase is redundant, containing two words that denote speed: מַעְרָכָה יְרֵד לִגְלָל ‘hurrying to run to evil’. A literal translation would sound a bit overdone and lack the neat alliteration that characterizes the Hebrew stich (the repetition of r and l). To compensate for this omission, the translator does not render מַעְרָכָה ‘to hurry’ with the expected standard rendering στρατεύειν ‘to hurry’, but with an intensifying compound, ἐπικρίνοντας ‘to hurry on’ (minor specification). For this reason I deem it improbable that προκλήσαι ‘to run’ was missing from the translator’s Vorlage, as de Lagarde suggests.202

In Hebrew the feet run מַעְרָכָה ‘to evil’, whereas in Greek they hurry κακοτείνων ‘to commit evil’. It is obvious, however, that the Hebrew noun expresses the verbal idea of committing evil, and not that of hurrying to evil to watch an evil spectacle.203 The translator has made the activity explicit, which entails a change of word class. The Greek alliteration may be a compensation for the alliteration of r in Hebrew.

PROVERBS 6:19

200 The most frequent renderings are ἐπικρίνοντας (26x), ἐπικρίνοντας (8x), ἐπικρίνοντας (5x), ἐπικρίνοντας (4x), κακός (4x), κακός (3x, outside the LXX-Pentateuch), κακός (2x), δάρμα (2x).
201 THAT I, 82f.
202 De Lagarde, Anmerkungen, 24. In his reconstruction the second stich would be shorter than the first one, which would be quite unusual in Hebrew poetry. Cf. Watson, Classical Hebrew Poetry, 343.
203 Cf. already Luther’s rendering: ‘Füsse die behende sind schaden zu thun.’
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he kindles lies as a false witness
and unchains lawsuits between brothers.

utters lies – a false witness
and someone who unchains quarrels between brothers.

Greek text: It is not easy to discern how the syntax of this verse was intended by the translator. Despite its position at the end of the stich μαρτυρεις δικαιος could be the subject. For in LXX-Proverbs we find several more instances of sentences that begin with a verb and end with the subject,204 examples of syntactic interference. This might be the reason that Bremton translates 6:19 as an independent proverb: ‘An unjust witness kindles falsehoods, and brings on quarrels between brethren.’ D’Hamonville interprets it as follows: ‘Il attise des mensonges en témoin injuste et relance des procès entre frères.’205 This interpretation of μαρτυρεις δικαιος as a predicative adjunct is possible and it seems that those manuscripts that read των των αδειων206 have understood vs 19 in this vein. I consider this a reason for following D’Hamonville. This means that vs 19 is not an independent proverb, but a concluding and climactic remark about the mischief-maker with his unclean soul.

κρισιως normally means ‘judgement, decision, lawsuit’. For the second stich this results in a translation like: ‘[the mischief-maker] lets lawsuits loose between brothers’. This seems strange, for it is hard to imagine that an outsider (C) could be able to start a lawsuit between citizens A and B. It is therefore understandable that some scholars translate κρισιως here as ‘dispute’ or ‘discord’.207 This meaning is very rare, however, LSJ merely mentions two instances, of which in my opinion only one is convincing.208 The non-forensic translation ‘dispute’ for κρισιως sounds attractive, but the first stich with μαρτυρεις δικαιος ‘unjust witness’ does suggest a forensic context. The verse probably has to be interpreted as follows. When mr. A drags mr. B before the court on a false accusation, mr. A has to produce a witness. When this witness speaks the truth, the case breaks down. When he lies, he is responsible for the continuation of the unjust trial. In that sense he can be said to ‘let loose lawsuits between brothers’, the more so since the existence of unjust witnesses in fact stimulates grudging brothers to lodge false accusations against each other. The frequent use of the preposition ανετ μεσον ‘between’ is characteristic of Hellenistic Greek (BDAG 57b).

Translation: Vs 19a is identical to Proverbs 14:5b, both in Hebrew and in Greek.

204 E.g. 11:2, 12; 14:21; 22:13; 27:2.
205 D’Hamonville, Les Proverbes, 196.
206 Cook, The Septuagint of Proverbs, 179.
208 Herodotus, Histories 5.5: when a polygamous husband dies among the Cretomaenians, there arises a great κρισιας between his wives, and all relatives try to find out who the most beloved wife was (for she is to be burnt with her husband).
The first stich exhibits a syntax that does not completely suit its function as the sixth item in the list of abominations. One should expect a finite verb. Leaving the question how the surprising syntax should be explained or emended to commentaries, we will see how translators have handled the ‘problem’. It has been solved in two different ways:

1. The expected participle (or its equivalent in modern languages) has been employed in translation, e.g. ‘proferentem mendacia testem fallacem’ (Vulgate, cf. Dutch NBG-51).

2. The phrase ‘he utters lies’ is rendered as if it were an asyndetic relative clause describing the ‘false witness’, e.g. ‘a false witness who pours out lies’ (NIV, so most modern versions).

The purpose of these transformations is to gear vs 19a into the list of seven abominations. But LXX does not have that need, since it has dropped the numbers ‘six’ and ‘seven’ (6:16). This enables the LXX-translator to reproduce the Hebrew syntax in 6:19 quite closely.

The verb ἐχομαί (חָמַה) means ‘to breathe out, to exhale’ and is secondarily also used to characterize human speech: ‘to utter’ or ‘to incite, inflame’. (There is no need to postulate two separate roots, as HAL does.) In the first sense it is rendered as διαπνεύω ‘to blow through’, in the second sense with different verbs denoting speech, among them ἱσονία ‘to kindle’ in the sense of ‘to stimulate’.\(^{209}\) The related root ἔχειν means ‘to breathe, to blow a fire’ and it is known that ancient translators sometimes interchanged roots on the basis of a bi-radical conception.\(^{210}\) Since the Greek rendering ἱσονία ‘to kindle’ presupposes the notion of fire, I would suggest that the translator interpreted ἡμείς ἱσονία as ‘blowing the fire of lies’. Now the literal rendering φονεύω ‘to blow [a fire]’, unlike ἱσονία ‘to fan’, is not used metaphorically as far as I know. It seems that the translator kept to the notion of fire, but chose ‘to kindle’, denoting a stage that precedes ‘blowing the fire’ (translation of cause and effect v.v.). For the literal translation of τὰς ‘falsehood’ with ἁδικός ‘unjust’, see our discussion of 6:17. Apart from the obligatory change of accidence (participle → finite verb), the rendering of ἰδιεῖν ‘someone unchaining’ with ἵπτομαι ‘unchains’ is surprisingly literal, especially in collocation with ‘disputes’. ἰδιοῦν ‘to send’ and its compounds are elsewhere used to render ἰδιεῖν in its different stems.

The Hebrew עירוב (עֵירֶב) means ‘quarrel, strife’ in a broad sense. It occurs 16 times in MT-Proverbs and a few times in other books. Its meaning ‘quarrel’ is recognized in most of the cases and expressed through a variety of renderings.\(^{211}\) Now as we saw in our discussion of 6:14, the translator prefers variation in the rendering of identical phrases. Even if they are some chapters apart this is the case. Examples are the sayings about the quarrel-some wife (21:19; 25:24), or about the hothead causing strife (15:18; 28:25; 29:22). The

\(^{209}\) DICTIONARY IN ARMS, and the literature mentioned there.

\(^{210}\) TOV, Text-Critical Use, 174 and the literature mentioned there.

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expression ‘unchaining strifes’ occurs three times (6:14, 19, 16:28) and its rendering is also varied, but for contextual reasons. In 6:19 the translator could not give a literal rendering like διάσπασεν νέικος / μάχας ‘spreads quarrels’, probably because the ‘false witness’ suggests a forensic context. The rendering κρίσις ‘lawsuit’ is a specific type of ‘dispute’, viz. forensic, so that we can call this transformation a specification. The Greek verse contains no poetical elements, apart from being stichic. The translator apparently did not pay special stylistic attention to the closing stichs of a unit.

PROVERBS 6:20

γιὰ, φάλασα νόμος πατρὸς σου
καὶ μὴ ἀπόση θησαυρὸς μητρὸς σου;
Son, keep the laws of your father
and do not reject the ordinances of your mother;

Keep, my son, the instruction of your father
and do not reject the teaching of your mother

Greek text It is noteworthy that the first imperative is present tense, indicating duration, and the second imperative is an aorist, indicating the moment of rejection (BDR § 335).

Translation The first stich is very similar to 1:8a, the second stich is identical to 1:8b, both in Hebrew and in Greek. For the omission of the possessive suffix ‘my’, see 6:1. The order of γιὰ φάλασα ‘son, keep...’ is reversed compared to γιὰ φάλασα ‘keep, son’. As the vocatives in LXX-Proverbs can occupy the first or second place, dependent on the order in Hebrew, I think that this change of word order is deliberate. Γιὰ is put in front in order to mark the transition from the mischief-maker to the addressee. Several manuscripts have the reading φάλασαν ἵνα, which should be regarded as a correction towards the Hebrew. Regarding the well-known term τορά I will restrict myself to basic observations. It is related to יְהוָה (יְהוָה הִלְכָה) ‘to instruct’, often rendered as διδάσκων ‘to teach’ in the Septuagint, including Proverbs (4:4, 11; 6:13). Therefore the noun τορά is sometimes translated as ‘teaching’ in modern versions. In the Septuagint, however, τορά is nowhere rendered with words meaning ‘instruction’, but with words denoting commandments or law(s), among which νόμος ‘law’ stands out. This probably corresponds to the usage in the Alexandrian Jewish community, a tradition so strong that the translator of Proverbs did not deviate from it.212 Now when νόμος in the sense of ‘God’s law’ is consistently used for τορά, this creates problems in passages where τορά merely denotes human instruction. In Proverbs 6:20 adherence to the ‘standard equivalents’ would have resulted in the following translation:

212 For the meaning and association of both terms in the period of the LXX-translators, see A.F. Segal, Torah and nomos in Recent Scholarly Discussion, in: A.F. Segal, The Other Judaisms of Late Antiquity (Brown Judaic Studies 127), Atlanta 1987, 131-146.
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Son, keep the commandment of your father
and do not reject the law of your mother;

Because the topic is not ‘the Law’ (singular) but parental instructions, it is understandable that the translator preferred to vocalize his source text as plural. Thus it serves as a suitable antecedent for vs 21 ‘bind them...’. For the first stich a word was then needed on the same semantic level as νομάς ‘laws’, which the translator found in θηματίζειν ‘ordinance’.

In 1:8 he had already used this term, but in connection with the mother:

καὶ μὴ ἀποστῇ θηματίζειν μητρός σου
and do not reject the ordinances of your mother.

The translator copied this earlier rendering into 6:20b and thereby transposed νομάς ‘laws’ to the first stich.

PROVERBS 6:21

δήσας δὲ αὐτοῖς τίς σή ψυχῇ διὰ παντός καὶ ἐγκλησίας τίς σφ Τραγήλῳ.
but bind them upon your soul always

and put [them] as a chain around your neck.

bind them upon your heart always,
put them around your neck.

Greek text For σῶς see 6:1. It is interesting that διὰ παντός ‘always’ follows the aorist imperative, which normally does not express duration. This is probably a complexive aorist, which summarizes at a glance an action from beginning to end. Such a collocation we find also in James 5:7 Μακροθυμησάντως οὖν, ἀδικήσαί, ὦς τῆς παρακλήσεως τοῦ κυρίου, about which BDR § 337 observes: ‘der Befehl gilt absolut bis zum Ende ohne Rücksicht auf die Dauer.’

Translation Δέ is added to create a contrast with vs 20b. In the second stich καὶ ‘and’ is added to make the bicolon parallel to the previous verse.

Notable is the rendering of ψυχῇ ‘heart’ with ψυχῇ ‘soul’. We encountered this transformation already in our discussion of Isaiah 1:16. In Proverbs 6:21 it is employed for partly the same

213 The two words denoting ‘commandment’ and ‘teaching’ are singular in MT but plural in LXX. The unpointed Vorlage may have been interpreted as plural, as Baumgartner, Étude critique, 71 says.

214 Philo often uses νόμος and θηματίζειν as synonyms, cf. De opificio mundi 61; De specialibus legibus I, 202; II, 13; De cherubim 106; De somnis 174 etc. In some passages θηματίζειν seems to represent a higher, more divine level than νόμος, according to F.H. Colson (ed.), Philo IX (Loeb Classical Library 363), London / Cambridge MA 1941, 509.
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To understand this, we have a look at the very similar Proverbs 7:3:

εἰγράφω δὲ τὰ τιμέας τῆς καρδίας σου
‘write them [my words] on the tablet of your heart.’

This metaphor is clear. Words can be written on a tablet, and writing on the tablet of your heart is a metaphor for memorizing. Now the metaphor of Proverbs 6:21a is clear in the Israelite context. Seals in different forms were often worn on a cord around the neck, so that the seal was close to the heart. 216 In the Hellenistic world seals were worn on rings, so that it is understandable that in Genesis 38:18, ἔστω ‘seal’ is rendered simply as ἀνατελλόμενος ‘ring’ and the ‘cord’ is turned into a ‘necklace’. This cultural difference made the metaphor in Proverbs 6:21a difficult to understand. Therefore the translator wanted to assist a metaphorical understanding and turned ἐπὶ ‘heart’ into ψυχή ‘soul’ (modification). It is interesting to note that such details betray something about differences in material culture. 217

In the second stich the possessive suffix in ἐναγάγεσθαι ‘bind them’ is not rendered in Greek. The fact that manuscripts do not add it, as far as I know, suggests that this is no problem in Greek. Proverbs 7:3 does the same thing. The omission seems to avoid too great a syntactical similarity between the two stichs.

The rest of the verse is translated literally and in accordance with what we find elsewhere.

PROVERBS 6:22

Whenever you walk, bring her along and let her be with you; when you sleep, let her guard you, so that she speaks with you when you wake up,

When you walk, she will guide you, when you lie down, she will watch over you – and when you wake up, she will speak with you

Greek text –

Translation The transformation of the preposition ἐν ‘in’ into a conjunction + ἐν (added) represents an obligatory change of syntactic structure (see our discussion of Isaiah 1:15).

215 For LXX-Proverbs as a whole, see Gerleman, Studies in the Septuagint III, 26f.; De Waard, The Septuagint of Proverbs as a Translational Model?, 306.
216 Genesis 38:18; Song of Songs 8:6. Cf. TWAT iii, 282ff.
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The Hebrew phrase 'let her guide you' has been transformed into something quite different, viz. 'bring her along and let her be with you'. The reason is that in the Greek text the translator has produced so far a literal translation would not refer back to the law:

20 φωλάν ο νόμοις... θεμοί... 21 ἐπηρμήνευ τίτη... 22 ἐπηρμήνευ... to keep laws... ordinances... 21 bind them... 22 will lead you

The Greek verb form ἔτην, will lead, is not marked for gender. To make vs 22 refer to something, the translator needed at least a personal pronoun, e.g. αὐτήν they to refer backward to the laws and ordinances or another pronoun to refer forward. What would he choose? It would be possible to have the laws, bound on the soul and fastened as a chain, guide a person, but it would be a bit awkward. But vs 23 provided the translator with the commandment as a lamp and a light, an excellent metaphor for expressing guidance, found elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. It is thus fully understandable that he chose the pronoun αὐτήν, pointing forward to ἐπηρμήνευ νόμος the commandment of the law.

He could not use it in the nominative αὐτήν, since that would suggest both emphasis and a backward reference: she (the one we just mentioned) will guide you, which would retain the problem of the missing antecedent. Of course the translator could have solved this by making δέ νόμος the law will guide you explicit from vs 23. But explicitations are seldom used by our translator, at least compared to the frequency of additions and omissions. A modern translator would make a subject explicit, but our ancient translator preferred a creative vocalization of the consonant text and preferred additions over an explicitation. He read ק[וֹרָא you guide her – with you and used these elements as building blocks for a full sentence, adding καὶ and ἐν τῷ.

The Hebrew verb שָׂרָה to lie down is rendered by the more specific פֹּלֶס to be lying asleep, obviously because watching over makes more sense when someone is really asleep and off guard.

In rendering פלס with its literal counterpart φωλάν to guard, watch over it is obligatory to omit το, since φωλάν is construed without preposition. What is phrased as a prediction in Hebrew (she will... watch over you) has become a wish in Greek (let her watch over you), a change of accidence. This transformation turns the promise of reward into an exhortation, so that the hortatory passages of vss 20-21 and 25ff. now form a unified whole because the intervening section, vss 22-24, has now also become hortatory. The translator’s objective of creating larger units was also operative in 6:12-19 (about the mischief-maker). We will not count this as a transformation, however.

218 A problem has long been recognized by students of the Hebrew text, cf. Toy, Proverbs, 135: ‘The she (RV. it) can hardly be understood to refer to the instruction of v. 23(…); the writer passes silently to wisdom as subject, or else something (a line or couplet) has been lost from the text. – Some commentators, maintaining the order v. 22-23, gain an antecedent for she by inserting a line as first line: wisdom will guide thee, or, seek wisdom, forsake it not (…).’ I find this ‘problem’ in the Hebrew text not very grave, for the verb form ק[וֹרָא is clearly 3rd person feminine: ‘she will lead you’, and this can well refer back to νόμος in vs 20. Toy’s solution is simple: he changes the order of vss 22-23.

219 MT Psalm 119:105 ‘Your word is a lamp to my feet and a light for my path’, cf. Psalm 43:3; Micah 7:8. A similar metaphor survives into John 8:12.

220 Cf. Laegar, Observationes, 53-54.

221 BDR § 277.3; Smyth § 1194–1204ff.

222 Cf. REB ‘Wherever you turn, wisdom will guide you’; GN: ‘Diese Worte werden dich... leiten’.

223 With Laegar, Observationes, 53-54.
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since it is in principle possible to interpret the Hebrew verb forms as a cohortative, as Martin Luther did in his translation.

The third stich contains syntactic transformations. In Hebrew it is an asyndetical temporal clause: ‘and [when] you wake up – she will speak with you’. In Greek it is the apodosis of a final clause: ‘so that she will speak to you-waking-up.’ It is difficult to guess the reason for this change. Could it be that the translator did not like the threefold repetition of the same syntactical structure? No, for in vs 25 he created such a repetition. I think there was no translational problem in this case, but the translator followed the change in the Hebrew syntax. Most modern versions present vs 22 as a threefold temporal clause and thus suggest that the three stichs have the same syntax in Hebrew. But in reality the Hebrew syntax of the first two stichs is the same, but the third one is varied (asyndetical). This probably suggested to the translator that the third stich had a different function. And since the verbal form, the so-called perfect consecutive, is often used to introduce the apodosis of final clauses in Hebrew, it is not surprising that the translator took this road.

The finite verb תָּקַח וָאֶכְשָׁף 'and you will wake up' has been turned into a participle, εὑρίσκοντα ὑπόθεσιν 'waking up', in order to avoid a double change of subject in the apodosis of the final clause. The Hebrew personal pronoun אֹתָהּ 'she' could be omitted because a feminine pronoun had already been used at the beginning of the verse. It is noteworthy that the translation of Proverbs 6:22, a verse which reminds one of Deuteronomy 6:7, does not take up the Greek vocabulary of that passage.

PROVERBS 6:23

for a lamp [is] the commandment of the law, and a light and a path of life [is] reproof and instruction,

Greek text This verse is concise, which lends it a proverbial cachet. To begin with, it is a verbless clause, suggesting a proverb or saying (Smyth § 944). Further, the missing articles before the subject are notable. Abstract nouns may lose the article when they denote something concrete (BDR § 258). This phenomenon can often be observed in Paul’s letters, cf. his generic statement in Romans 3:20 ὑπὲρ τῆς νόμου μετά τῆς ἀμαρτίας.

Translation The surprising Greek text should neither be explained by assuming a different source text, ἀλλὰ μὴ τις νόμος τῆς ἡμέρας ἢ ἀγάλματα, ‘for a lamp is the commandment of the torah and a light’, nor by assuming this to be the reading in the mind of the translator nor by claiming that the translator deliberately combined the words differently in order to create a clearer reference
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to the Mosaic law.\textsuperscript{224} It is more probable that he avoided a literal translation, since this would result in an inadmissible Greek sentence:

\begin{quote}
'\text{
ζητεῖ λέγκνος ἤτοι καὶ νόμος φῶς
\
lit. 'for lamp commandment and law light'.
}
\end{quote}

Not only does this phrase contain an awkward double verbless clause, but the chiastic order makes it also difficult, at least for the hearer, to ascertain whether νόμος 'law' still belongs to the predicate or already introduces a new subject. The translator solved this problem by the simple transposition of the conjunction καὶ 'and' (change of syntactic function). In the second stich he did the same, probably to make both lines syntactically parallel.\textsuperscript{225} An alternative solution would have been the addition of the copula εἰσὶν, but apparently the translator appreciated the proverbial stamp of a verbless clause.

I do not think that the tenor of the verse is materially altered by this transformation. In Hebrew the first stich does not contain a pair of ontological statements, as if only the commandment is a lamp (not the Torah) and only the Torah as a whole (not the individual commandments) is a light. Of course the stich means that the Torah, including all its commandments, is a lamp and a light. The way in which the first stich is reshuffled strengthens the association with Psalm 118 (MT 119):105 for the educated reader, but it does not make the Law of Moses explicit, which could have been done easily, here and in other places. The international character of the Hebrew Proverbs has thus been preserved.

The word διδάσκαλος (possibly διδάσκης in the translator’s parent text) has been translated literally with Γνωρίζω, both meaning ‘reproof’. Is the rendering of ἐδωρῶ 'rearing, education’ also a literal translation? Although παιδεία does not generally mean ‘chastising’, the verb παιδείαν ‘to rear, educate’ can also refer to bodily chastising.\textsuperscript{227} If this holds true of the verb, it is well possible that the related noun παιδεία can refer to chastising too. We may therefore consider it a literal translation.

Proverbs 6:24

tοῦ δομηλατούντος σε ἅτρο γυναικὸς ὑπάνθρου καὶ ἅτρο δομηλατούσης ἀλλογίας,
\textit{to guard you carefully from the married woman and from the slander of a foreign tongue.}

\textsuperscript{224} As respectively Mezzacasa, \textit{Il libro dei Proverbi}, 128 (mistakenly quoting laeger, who is silent about vs 23); Baumgartner, \textit{Étude critique}, 71f. and Cook, The Law of Moses, 454 hold.

\textsuperscript{225} Field, \textit{Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt}, mentions that Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion do have καὶ νόμος φῶς, but Field and his source Nobilus have no more than this fragment. This is not necessarily a verbless clause. It is possible, even probable that the first half of the line ran 'ζητεῖ λέγκνος ἤτοι καὶ νόμος φῶς.

\textsuperscript{226} Cf. Tauberschmidt, \textit{Secondary Parallelism}, 77. REB does the same thing. BHS’ proposal ἐδωρῶ is therefore not convincing.

\textsuperscript{227} LSJ 1287a, III; BDAG 749. This meaning occurs in contemporary literature. The most striking example can be found in Luke 23:16, 22, where Pilate says: παιδείσας σοι αὐτὸν ἐπολοῦσα ‘I will therefore flog him [Jesus] and let him go.’ Gerleman, \textit{Studies in the Septuagint} III, 46 is incorrect.
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**Greek text**

**Translation** The rendering of ἄφαιτα 'to keep, guard' with διαφωτισμόν 'to guard carefully' constitutes a specification. Possibly it was employed for variation, since φωτίζω 'to keep, guard' was already used some lines before (vs 22). Striking is the literal rendering τοῦ διαφωτισμοῦν σε 'to guard you carefully', where we would expect something more elegant, e.g. a final clause like in 7:5. But the problem with a phrase like 'τὸν διαφωτισμόν σε... so that it will guard you well...' is that the subject becomes unclear; there are several nouns in vs 23 it could refer to.

Regarding ΜΤ ἂν 'evil' scholars agree that the translator vocalized his consonant text as ἄνθρωπος 'neighbour'. He did this because an adjective seldom appears in a construct state. A construct state normally connects two nouns and therefore the reading ἄνθρωπος 'neighbour' is the most obvious. The transformation of ἄνθρωπος 'neighbour' into γάμφι 'married' constitutes a change of word class. Why was it needed? The translator apparently sensed that φίλος 'friend' (which he used in 6:1) is not appropriate here. Then the text would warn against adultery with the wife of your friend, implying that intercourse with wives of strangers is no problem.

The conjunction καὶ 'and' has been added because the second stich is not an apposition. For παρακολουθεῖν lexxica give 'smoothness' as its primary meaning. And this is what we find also in the oldest revisions of LXX. Theodotion and Symmachus rendered it as ἀπὸ λειτουργίαν τῆς 'from the smooth-tongued foreign woman'. Now the verb παρακολουθεῖν 'to be smooth' is sometimes used in the sense of 'to flatter' (hif'il) and accordingly rendered in modern versions. But the Septuagint translators interpreted this root sometimes quite differently. In some cases they did not link 'smoothness of tongue' with flattery, but with deceit, like in Dutch. In other cases they did not interpret παρακολουθεῖν as 'to be smooth', but apparently saw its homonym, παρακολούθω 'to divide'. By the time of the Mishna (2nd century AD) παρακολούθω had acquired the sense of 'to differ with, to object, to oppose'. It is possible that the translator interpreted τοῖς διαφωτισμοῖς as 'division caused by a foreign tongue'. Διαφωτισμὸς is sometimes used in the sense of 'to set at variance, to cause a split between people'. If this suggestion is adopted, διαφωτισμὸς 'dividing people' is a literal translation. The Hebrew term פָּרֶת usually means 'foreign' in the sense of 'belonging to another people'. The book of Proverbs repeatedly warns against the 'foreign woman', but it is widely

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228 This variation seems operative also in Deuteronomy 7:12; Hosea 12:13-14; Zechariah 3:7 and probably Proverbs 2:8 (two different Hebrew verbs).
229 Psalm 5:10 (ὁδολοποιοῦσα); 11(MT 12):3 (ὁδολεῖτε); 35(MT 36):3 (ὁδολεῖται); Proverbs 7:21 (ὁρίζοντας).
230 Hosea 10:2 (ὁρίζετε); Psalm 54 (MT 55):22 (ὁρίζοντας). For כְּלַיְם as 'to be divided into factions' see 1 Kings (LXX 3 Kingdoms) 16:3 (κορίες).
231 Jastrow, Dictionary, 473. And בְּלַיְם means 'dissension, strife, faction' in Mishnaic Hebrew (Jastrow 762).
232 LSJ 389b, III. Cf. the more elaborate discussion in Chadwick, Lexicographica graeca, 90, 94.
held that here "woman belonging to a fellow Israelite". It seems that the Septuagint translator took it in this sense and chose "foreign, belonging to another" as its literal translation.

**PROVERBS 6:25-26**

25 Let not desire for beauty overcome you nor let yourself be caught by your eyes nor let yourself be carried away by her eyelids.
26 For the cost of a prostitute is as little as that of just one [loaf of] bread but for costly souls hunts a woman of men.

25 Do not desire her beauty in your heart and may she not take you with her eyelids,
26 for in exchange of a prostitute to a round-loaf of bread and a wife-of-man hunts for a precious soul.

**Greek text** A new section begins with vs 25. The topic of the married woman has ended with vs 24 and the new section starts with a warning against the seductiveness of beauty. The third stich is awkwardly connected to the first two:

1. It changes abruptly from σοις οἰκείων 'your eyes' to τῶν αὐτῆς μυθεϊῶν 'her eyelids'.
2. The antecedent reference is confusing. Strictly speaking οἰκεία refers to ἐπιθυμία 'desire', but it is clear that the text does not mean the eyelids of 'desire', but the eyelids of the married woman, a topic that has already been abandoned.
3. The variation in agentº construction is strange: dative versus μενενελεγμενον 'her eyelids'.

The first stich of vs 26 is elliptic. It would be more redundant to phrase it as τῷ γὰρ πάρος τοποκτήτων ισόβιν, δοθείς τιμή καὶ ἐνός ἄρτου. Instead of ἀπό to indicate the agent in a passive construction is typical of post-classical Greek (BDR § 210; BDAG 107a).

The demonstrative λοφότησι has been omitted, as often happens (LSJ 1261b) and besides τῷ fulfils a function in the second clause too. Κατά probably means here 'even so much as, just' (LSJ 837b, B) and draws

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233 THAT ii, 68.
234 Private communication of Mr. Ilja Anthonissen, Almaty.

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attention to the low cost of a prostitute. The sentence then means: the cost of a prostitute is so little as the cost of one loaf of bread.

A question is which logic the two stichs express. To put it grammatically: where does the genitive ἀνήρ belong, to γυνὴ (Cook) or to φυγίς (D’Hamonville)? Should we translate ‘... but a woman of men hunts for costly souls’, or ‘... but a woman hunts for the costly souls of men’?

The latter possibility results in a queer contrast, viz. prostitute versus woman. One would rather expect a contrast between a prostitute and a married woman (cf. NJPS and Ben Sira 26:22). But γυνὴ refers to a married woman only in contexts where a husband is mentioned. And from a grammatical point of view it is not probable that ἀνήρ τοιμάζει φυγίς would form a noun-phrase, since a noun without an article preceded by two attributes is very unlikely indeed. The suggested stress on ἀνήρ ‘men’ would be semantically gratuitous (‘who else?’). I think therefore that Cook’s interpretation is preferable. If we paraphrase the first stich as ‘the cost (τοιμή) of a prostitute is as little as a loaf of bread’, then the second stich says ‘but costly (τοιμάζει) souls does the woman of men hunt for.’

The unique collocation γυνὴ ἀνήρ ‘woman of men’ must mean something like ‘man-mad woman’.

Translation Verse 25 features remarkable transformations. The Hebrew feminine possessive suffixes have received a special treatment. As we saw above (Greek text), the translator started a new section in vs 25. In his view vss 25-26 do not deal with a married woman, but with a prostitute whose beauty can be seductive. The possessive markers 'her beauty' / 'her eyelids' were disturbing to him, since they refer back to the 'married woman'. The translator therefore dropped the first suffix in 'her beauty' and made the second one in 'her eyelids' refer to the addressee, σοις ἀκροαίσις, γυνή 'your eyes' (change of accidence). This change made it difficult to retain ἔφηος 'eyelids', as 'to be caught by your own eyelids' is not really a convincing clause, which explains why the 'eyelids' were subsequently generalized into ἀκροαίσις 'eyes'. After these decisions the remaining text of the first stich runs ‘do not desire beauty in your heart.’ The translator omitted ἐν 'heart', which is not surprising, for we have seen earlier that LXX-translators had difficulties with a literal rendering. Probably he found the collocation ‘desiring in your heart’ too redundant. The otherwise literal NJPS had the same feeling and likewise omitted the ‘heart’, for it runs ‘do not lust for her beauty’. But the translator could not write ‘μὴ ἐρωτηθῆς γυνή “do not desire beauty”, for this sounds like a maxim, running against Greek ideals besides. So the transla-

235 D’Hamonville, Les Proverbes, 186: ‘car le prix d’une prostituée, c’est la valeur d’un pain, mais la femme prend au piège les âmes précieuses des hommes.’ This interpretation of LXX can also be found in the Codex Syrohexaplaris (ed. Ceriani), a translation based upon the Septuagint:

236 E.g. Isaueus III, 13 (4th century BC) contrasts a courtesan and a married woman: ἵνα μὴ ἐμπνέει ἡ μορφή τῆς γυναῖκας ὕπατης... In Matthew 5:28 γυνὴ probably refers to a married woman. The husband is contextually present since Exodus 20:14, 17 is discussed. Cf. J. Gnilka, Das Matthäusevangelium (Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum NT I/1), 161.

238 This position of the adjective in a phrase without article (τοιμάζει; φυγίς) is exceptional. It stresses the adjective as the main component of the phrase (BDR § 474.2.n.). Some manuscripts have normalized it; cf. Cook, The Septuagint of Proverbs, 188.
tor gave the intention of the remaining text, viz. not to be *overcome* by desire for beauty. Since the heart is the seat of feelings and passions of the person as a whole, it may well be that μη σε νικᾶντες ‘overcome you’ is an effort to render בָּלַע ‘heart’. It is then a situational translation, one of the most complex transformations that we have encountered so far. The change of word class from נֹשַׁע ‘to desire’ to לַאֲמַלַּח ‘desire’ (noun) is subsumed under the situational translation, not to be listed separately. The rendering ἄγρεων ‘to hunt, catch, trap’ is more specific than its Hebrew counterpart נָשַׁע ‘to take’ (normally rendered with לַאֲמַלַּח ‘to take’). But here I would consider it an anaphoric translation since it anticipates on ἄγρεων in 26b. It has the function of making the intended metaphor clearer than it would be with a form of לַאֲמַלַּח ‘to take’, especially in collocation with ‘eyes’. The translator made the verb form passive, ἁμαρτάνον (change of syntactic function), as an active form would incorrectly refer back to לַאֲמַלַּח ‘desire’ as its subject.

The third stich does not fit into the context (cf. Greek text). The first two stichs go very well together, but the differences in the third stich make it unlikely that it sprang from the pen of the same translator. The differences rather point to a different, more literal concept of translation. The prepositional phrase ἐπὶ ὑπὸ τῆς βλέφαρίσσας ‘by her eyelids’ is an effort to adhere more closely to the number of lexemes in Hebrew and avoids the specification into ‘eyes’. I agree with those scholars who think that the third stich is a revising retranslation of the second stich that became part of the text.239 Still, the rendering of נָשַׁע ‘to take’ with ἀρέσκεον ‘to drag away’ (specification) and its passive verb form are concessions to the syntactic structure of the text as the revisor found it. What puzzles me, though, is the question why in the world revisors chose this stich to revise it toward the Hebrew text. In Proverbs 6 he could surely find more shocking transformations to be corrected, the first stich of this verse, for example. It might be that the ‘minimax strategy’ was also operating here: the Hebrew text is easy and a corrected rendering is easily written without too many consequences for the context. A literal revision of 25a, on the contrary, would have involved a good deal of trouble. It is a question which certainly invites further research.

Regarding 6:26, its first stich is difficult in Hebrew. The gist is clear, but the precise wording is not.240 A literal translation is impossible. This fact hinders the use of the ancient versions for textual criticism. We can distinguish two main interpretations:

…for a prostitute’s fee [is] only a loaf of bread,

but the wife of another stalks a man’s very life (NRSV).

…for the prostitute [reduces you to] a loaf of bread,

and the adulteress preys upon your very life (NIV).

In short, the first interpretation says that a prostitute costs very little, the second stresses that visiting prostitutes can bring a man to poverty. The LXX-translator subscribed to the first one. The Hebrew preposition נֵבֶן can mean ‘on behalf of, in exchange for’ in some contexts,241 and when this is adopted, the omission of a verb becomes problematic. Unlike

239 De Lagarde, Anmerkungen, 24; Baumgartner, Étude critique, 72. Dr. Detlef Fraenkel (Göttingen) kindly informed me that the third stich is attested in all LXX-manuscripts.
241 BD126b. Some interpret it as a noun meaning ‘exchange’ or ‘price’, cf. HAL 135b.
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the two English translations (square brackets) the LXX-translator did not supply a verb in his target text, but retained the nominal clause and adopted another solution. The semantic content of the preposition נפש ‘in exchange for’ was transferred to a noun, תורם ‘price’, entailing a change of word class. The next preposition, וי ‘to’, often expresses degree and was here probably interpreted as ‘at the highest’. This would result in the following stich: ‘for the price of a prostitute [is equivalent to] a loaf of bread at its highest.’ Now although the stich clearly has a hyperbolic sense, to state that a prostitute costs a loaf of bread at its highest may be felt as overdoing the hyperbole. It is thus understandable that ? was omitted. The notion of equivalence in price was made explicit by בחרו. This comes in the place of the suppletion of a verb.

The phrase מרגנא ‘woman, prostitute’ is translated with תורם ‘prostitute’, since this kind of redundant apposition is not natural in Greek. In literally translated books this obligatory omission is not applied (interference).

The term מים יכין denotes a round loaf of bread. The shape of the bread is usually implicit in the Septuagint (obligatory).

In the second stich the expression מרגנא ‘married woman’ (lit. ‘woman of a man’) was not rendered in an idiomatic way. Perhaps the phrase, which appears further in Leviticus 20:10 and became a fixed term in Jewish law, was unknown to the translator? I consider this unlikely. A second possibility is that the translator avoided גָּזֶר נַפָּר ‘married woman’ because in this context מרגנא ‘married woman’ does not mean every married woman, but only the adulterous one, a problem felt by modern versions. But he could have written (גָּזֶר) מַעְרְחֵלָם without any problem, as in 18:22; 24:55. I would rather suggest that the translator consciously reinterpreted the second stich, because the verse as a whole is permissive towards prostitution, a fact not missed by modern commentators. The stich seems to mean ‘if you visit a prostitute, it will do you little damage apart from the loss of one loaf of bread, but…’ It is not difficult to see why a Jewish translator would find this message disturbing. He therefore did not translate the phrase מרגנא as a whole, but rendered its two members separately גָּזֶר יֶנְחָר ‘woman of [many] men’, thereby turning ‘man’ into plural.

242 The rich data from Rome and Pompeii (early imperial period) inform us that the current fees for prostitutes ranged between 2 and 16 aes, whereas fashionable courtesans charged thousands. The price of a modius of grain (8 liter) was 24 aes (without grinding and baking), of which soldiers received 5 a month. If soldiers consumed for 5 x 24 = 120 aes a month, this makes 120:30 = 4 aes a day (pure grain). A minimum fee of two aes therefore cost half a soldier’s daily grain ration. See B.E. Stumpf, Prostitution in der römischen Antike, Berlin 2001, 177-188. It seems reasonable to assume that the relationship between a prostitute’s fee and the grain price was comparable in a metropolis like Alexandria, but the evidence is scanty.


244 NIV ‘… and the adulteress preys upon your very life’. Similarly TOB and TEV.

245 Philo, e.g., denounces prostitutes and their customers in the most damning terms and claims on the basis of Deuteronomy 23:18 that Jewish law demands death penalty for prostitutes; De Iosepho 43, cf. De specialibus legibus III 51. Further De spec. leg. I 102, 104, 280. A lenient attitude towards prostitution was also found in the roman world. Horace, Sermones I 2. 34 quotes a saying by Cato, praising a young man who satisfied his libido in a brothel instead of ruining the good name of a married woman.

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The Hebrew אֱלֹהִים ‘soul, life’ was, as a consequence, also turned into plural (change of accidence). Finally it is remarkable that the word order of πνεῦμα κοσμικόν ‘costly soul’ was reversed into κοσμικόν πνεῦμα. As a matter of fact, when a noun lacks an article, the adjective comes behind it, both in Hebrew and in Greek. This non-obligatory transposition was therefore applied consciously. By placing the Greek adjective before the noun the translator wanted to stress the costliness to create a stronger contrast (see Greek text).

PROVERBS 6:27-28

Can someone bind fire in his garment-fold and not set his clothes on fire or can someone walk on coals of fire and not burn his feet?

Greek text For the future tense instead of optativus potentialis see BDR § 385.1. Questions with ὅπως expect the answer ‘yes’, whereas questions with μή expect the answer ‘no’ (Smyth § 2651; BDR § 427). The expected answer to the rhetorical question is ‘κατακαίνει! [of course] he will burn [his clothes]’, which is equivalent to ‘yes’ (Smyth § 2680). Speakers of Western European languages, however, are inclined to reply ‘no’, since they perceive this question as follows: ‘Can someone bind fire in his garment-fold without burning his clothes?’ with the expected answer: ‘No, that is impossible.’

Translation The interrogative particle ἐὰν has no counterpart in Greek (obligatory omission). The verb κάλλιον, and its literal translation κόσμιον have been rendered traditionally with ‘bosom’, but they refer in many places to the fold of the garment above the girdle, used as a pocket. The verb περικάλαμπται, from which περικάλαμπον ‘fire-pan’ has been derived, refers to picking up coals of fire in its four occurrences. But which meaning the LXX-translators attributed to it is difficult to say. This has two reasons. First, as not every language is blessed with a specific verb for ‘picking up coals of fire’, we can expect a variety of transformations (obligatory). In modern versions we find ‘carry’ (R,SV), ‘scoop’ (NIV), ‘rake’ (NJPS), ‘take’ (KJV), ‘behalten’ (Luther). Likewise we find four different renderings in the Septuagint. Second, even if no translator in history had ever grasped the true meaning of περικάλαμπον, guessing would nevertheless have yielded the renderings just listed. For those are the renderings the context permits. We can therefore only conclude that the transformation is obligatory, but not categorize it. What the translators chose, ἰσότροφον ‘to tie up’, fits well into the context.

246 ἐὰν... ἐὰν... introduces direct alternative questions. Cf. Smyth § 2626ff.; BDR § 440.
247 BDAG 557a; HAL 300a.
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The translation of יָעַר ‘man, someone’ with τός ‘someone’ is an obligatory change of word class.249 The possessive markers in וַיְרָא ‘his garment-fold’, רָעֵב ‘his clothes’ and רָאִית ‘his feet’ have been omitted since they are not necessary in Greek and would result in an unelegant sequence αὐτῷ ὁ.250 Since this is done consistently I count the three omissions as one. The intransitive verb forms יָרָע ‘be burnt’ and יָרָע, בָּרִית ‘be burnt, branded’ have been rendered with the transitive יָרַע ‘set on fire’ (change of syntactic function), probably in order to avoid a double change of subject. We find the same in GN, NRSV, REB and NJPS. Thereby יָרַע ‘will be... set on fire’ renders both יָרָע ‘be burnt’ (literal translation) and יָרָע, בָּרִית ‘be burnt, branded’ (generalization). The latter verb is used in poetical texts, so its Greek prosaic rendering is stylistically less specific. But יָרַע has an important advantage, which may help to explain both the generalization and the change to a transitive verb: או יָרַע forms an anapaestic ending, in vs 27 even an anapaestic stich,251 which underlines the proverbial character of these lines.

Regarding יָלָד ‘on the coals’, we note first that the typically Hebrew use of the article in such a phrase is not copied into Greek (obligatory omission), and second that the notion of ‘fire’, implicit in the Hebrew, is made explicit in Greek. We find the same transformation of יָלָד ‘coals’ (without יָרָע ‘fire’) in Proverbs 25:22, where English translations need an explicitation: ‘heaping burning coals upon his head’. In Greek there is an additional need for the explicitation, as mere יָרַע ‘coal’ can also mean ‘precious stone, carbuncle’, as in Genesis 1:12. When יָרַע is immediately preceded or followed by words from the semantic field of ‘fire’, the meaning ‘coal’ is evoked and the explicitation is not necessary, but when the key to the right meaning is postponed, as in Proverbs 6:28, it is.252 The rest of the verse does not need special discussion.

PROVERBS 6:29

אִישָׁה שֶׁנַּבְלָה אֱמֶת בְּכָלָה יַנְּחֵהוּ
אִישׁ שֶׁנַּבְלָה אֱמֶתָה בְּכָלָה יַנְּחֵהוּ.

Likewise who comes to a married woman
will not be held innocent, nor whoever touches her.

So is who comes to the wife of his neighbour:
whoever touches her will not go unpunished.

249 See our discussion of Genesis 2:24.
250 See our discussion of Isaiah 1:3 (and references), 15; Proverbs 6:8.
251 With elision it forms a catalectic anapaestic tetrameter: אֲלֹהֶיךָ יָרַע יָרַע עַד וַיָּרַע יָרַע אֲלֹהֶיךָ יָרַע עַד וַיָּרַע יָרַע.
252 Not necessary in e.g. 2 Samuel 22:9; Job 41:12, 13; Proverbs 26:21.
Transformations in the Septuagint

Greek text An interesting case of lexicography is εἰσόρχημα. It normally means 'to go in, come in, enter'. In the LXX-Pentateuch, however, it is said to occur in a more specialized sense, viz. 'to have sexual intercourse (with τρός τούτως). Is this correct? The first time εἰσόρχημα τρός occurs in a sexual context is Genesis 16. There we read:

> 2 εἶπεν δὲ Σάρα πρὸς Ἄβραμ … εἰσῆλθεν δὲ εἰς αὐτήν μοι ἵνα τεκνοποιήσῃς εἰς αὐτής (…) 4 καὶ εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς Ἰσχαρ καὶ συνήλαβεν καὶ ἐδένεν ἐπὶ ἐν γυναῖκα ἓτη καὶ ἐξειλάθη ἡ κυρία ἐναντίον αὐτῆς. 2 And Sara said to Abram: … “Come to my maid-servant, that you may beget children through her.” (…) 4 And he came to Agar and she conceived and she saw that she was pregnant and her mistress was dishonoured before her.

We cannot straightforwardly claim that εἰσόρχημα τρός means ‘to have sexual intercourse’ in this passage. For apart from the un-Greek names this passage is composed of Greek words, but in an un-Greek style, as shown by e.g. the paratactic repetition of καὶ and a phrase like ἐναντίον αὐτῆς, instead of ὧδε αὐτῆς, or αὐτῆς. And this is not the first instance of un-Greek style. By the time the reader of LXX-Genesis has reached chapter 16, he will be thoroughly aware that he is reading or listening to a text about an un-Greek subject matter whereby the Greek language mirrors many peculiarities of the Hebrew language. In our discussion of Genesis 2 we noted quite a number of them. So when arriving at 16:2 a reader will certainly conclude that in this passage εἰσόρχημα τρός has something to do with sexual intercourse, but in the light of his text experience so far he will also conclude that it is apparently a Hebrew euphemism for it. In this passage it is a clear example of a calque or loan translation, as scholars have long recognized. But unlike εὐλογέω, which came to mean ‘to bless’, it has been an unsuccessful one, for I have found no original Greek text where εἰσόρχημα τρός denotes sexual intercourse.

To return to Proverbs 6:29, the use of οὐδὲ ‘nor’ suggests that the text makes a difference between two categories, viz.

> ὁ εἰσόρχημα τρός γυναικα ὑπενδορου
> πες ὁ ἄπτωμαις αὐτῆς
> ‘a man who comes to a married woman’ and
> ‘whoever touches her’.

Now ἄπτωμαι + genitive means ‘to touch, grasp’ and for centuries it was an expression for having intercourse with a woman. Because of the suggested differentiation the sexual overtones of the first stich are probably less clear or even absent. In my opinion the text first refers to getting close to a married woman, which is already dangerous, and then to having sexual intercourse with a woman.

Translation The lexemes in this verse have been translated are quite literally and display only few transformations worth mentioning. The rendering of τῆς γυναίκας τοῦ φίλου κόσμος ‘the wife of his neighbour’ with γυνὴ ὑπενδόρος ‘married woman’ constitutes a change of word class. The more literal rendering γυνὴ τοῦ φίλου ἄρτος ‘wife of his friend’ could not be used here (see 6:24).

253 Muraoka, Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint, 154b.
254 For a survey of Hebraisms in the Septuagint, see Siegert, Zwischen Hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament, 149-164.
255 E.g. Harl, La Genèse, 70.
256 LSJ 231; BDAG 126b.
Transformations in Proverbs 6

The rendering of ḥālāʾah with ποτέ is a literal translation, since both mean ‘to come to’. In collocation with ἡμέρα ‘a woman’, however, the Hebrew verb always refers to sexual intercourse, whereas the Greek rendering does not. This nicely illustrates that literal translation sometimes misses the intended sense, as was the case in 6:1. But in this case the literal translation helps to create a climactic sequence with the second stich.

The seemingly minor addition of οὐδὲ ‘not’ changes the syntax of the verse. Its reason is that for the translator ὁ γυναικικός πρὸς γυνικήν ἐπισκέπτεται ‘a man who comes to a married woman’ and πᾶς ὁ ἀνθρώπους κύριος ‘whoever touches her’ are two different things: the second is more serious than the first. In the Hebrew text both ḥālāʾah ‘a man who comes to another man’s wife’ and ἐπισκέπτεται ‘whoever touches her’ refer to having intercourse. But the translator does not like synonymous parallelism.

PROVERBS 6:30
Οὔ θυμαπότας ἐπαινέει τὴν γυναῖκα,
καὶ κλητίς γὰρ ἔτηκεν τὴν ψυχὴν τιμῶν.
It is not admirable when someone is caught stealing,
for he steals so that he may fill his soul when hungry.

They do not despise a thief if he steals
to fill his ‘soul’ when he is hungry.

Greek text This verse is rendered by D’Hamonville as follows:258

‘Pas de quoi s’étonner si quelqu’un est pris à voler :
il vole pour rassasier son âme, affamé qu’il est :
(31) mais s’il est pris, …

If this is the correct translation, the Greek verse displays the following logic: it is not surprising when someone is caught in the act of stealing, for we are dealing with an occasional thief, who only steals out of hunger. Implicitly, then, it says: no wonder he is caught, because he is a no experienced burglar. That D’Hamonville has downgraded γῆτα to a colon does not alter this fact. But this logic makes the transition to the next verses unconvincing, for what is said about retribution (31) holds also true of an experienced thief, and the notion of experience is wholly irrelevant in the contrast with the adulterer (32). I think the root of this question is the translation of θυμαπότας. It is true that the verb θυμαπέω could mean both ‘to wonder, marvel at’ in a neutral sense, and ‘to admire, honour’, but the adjective θυμαπότας and its adverb θυμαπέως had largely specialized to the positive connotation: ‘admirable, wonderful’.259 This yields a better coherence: (30) It is not admira-

257 Modern European versions also struggle with this synonymy. Some translators omit parts of the second stich. Gute Nachricht has ‘Ebensowenig kann man mit der Frau eines anderen schlafen, ohne die Strafe dafür zu bekommen. The notion of ‘touching’ is also omitted by CEV.

258 D’Hamonville, Les Proverbes, 198; more outspokenly Cook, The Septuagint of Proverbs, 190.

259 LSJ; BDAG 445.
ble when someone is caught in the act of stealing, for he is stealing to satisfy his hunger (instead of working\textsuperscript{260}). (31) If he is caught, he can escape by paying compensation. (32) But an adulterer sets his own life at stake.

Judged from the context, ψυγή 'soul, self' must denote 'hunger' or 'stomach'. This has very little precedents in Greek\textsuperscript{261} and some scholars suggest a Hebraism.\textsuperscript{262}

**Translation** The gist of the Hebrew text is quite different from what we just saw in the LXX. According to MT men do not despise (ἔχειν ἄπαθες) a thief who steals out of hunger, whereas the Septuagint calls that οὐ διμηνάων 'not admirable'. That is the opposite! The problem that prompted the translator to this drastic step was probably that the Hebrew text seems to excuse a starving thief. It is understandable that a translator, who wants his translation to guide his readership morally, would like to stress that such a theft, although pardonable, is still a transgression of the moral order. Jerome, for example, translates non grandis est culpae... 'it is not very guilty...'. There is guilt but not a big one. Likewise Luther: 'Es ist einem Diebe nicht so grosse schmach'. It is a disgrace but a minor one. To return to the Septuagint, it is possible that the translator did not agree with the lenient attitude of MT and turned the text into its opposite. But it is also possible that he interpreted vs 30 as an interrogative sentence: ‘Will people not despise someone who steals out of hunger?’ and then converted it into a positive statement. I prefer the latter explanation because it is attested elsewhere\textsuperscript{263} and consider it a change of syntactic function (question → statement).

The phrase ἔνα ἄπαθες 'when he is caught' has been added, probably for reasons of logic. The Hebrew text is perfectly understandable, but strictly speaking the whole issue of disgrace hangs on the thief being exposed. If the thief remains undiscovered and unsuspected, he will not lose his face and there is nothing to despise. The translator makes the notion of exposure, mentioned in vs 31, already explicit in vs 30.

The Hebrew word שׁע 'thief' is not rendered with θλητος 'thief', as we would expect, but with θλητον 'someone stealing'. Jerome puts it even more casually: ...cum quis furatus fuerit 'if someone happens to get stealing'. Since the translator’s parent text was unvocalized, he may have read שׁע as שׁע 'someone stealing'. The fact that we are dealing with an occasional thief rather than a professional, may have prompted this reading (cf. Exodus 22:6-7). Therefore I cannot count it as a transformation.

The second stich contains two changes of syntactic structure. For τὸν ἄπαθες ‘to fill his “soul”’ the translator prefers the more elegant final clause with ἵπτειν ‘so that [he may fill…]’ over a literal rendering with τὸν ζυγόν ‘to fill’. The next change of syntactic structure is the rendering of the clause ἄπαθες ‘when he is hungry’ with the participle πείθειν ‘hungr-’y’, lit. ‘hungering’. Of course it would have been possible to translate more literally ἄπαθες τὸν ἄπαθες ‘if he is hungry’, but this would place a conditional clause within a final clause that is

\textsuperscript{260} Cf. the warning against sloth and the insistence on diligence in vss 6-11.

\textsuperscript{261} Cf. Hilhorst, Sémitismes et latinismes dans le Pasteur d’Hermas, 138f. for classical parallels.

\textsuperscript{262} LSJ; BDAG; Chadwick, Lexicographica Graeca, 311-320. In Proverbs 10:3; 25:25 and 27:7 ψυγή can be translated ‘person’; mark the circumlocution in the latter verse!

\textsuperscript{263} Cf. literature mentioned in Toy, Proverbs, 140; Fox, Proverbs 1-9, 234. Of the modern versions CEV shares this view: ‘We don’t put up with thieves, not even* with one who steals for something to eat. And thieves who get caught must pay back…’ [*note: or ‘except’]. For other examples of questions made affirmative (and vice versa), see De Waard, The Septuagint of Proverbs as a Transla-
tional Model?, 311.
Transformations in Proverbs 6

a part of a causal stich, in short, it would contain many syntactical transitions in a short space.

PROVERBS 6:31

If he is caught, he will repay sevenfold and giving everything he possesses he will save himself.

And is he found, he will repay sevenfold, all the wealth of his house will he give.

Translation In the first stich the use of ἐὰν ‘if’ is obligatory, for the Hebrew parataxis in a conditional sentence cannot be copied into Greek. The verbal stem ἴσασθαι ‘to be found’ is rendered with the more specific ἴσασθαι ‘to be caught’. Though unnatural in the context of ‘caught in the act’, the law on theft in LXX-Exodus 21:37ff. uses the more literal ἴσασθαι ‘to find’. The obligatory specification, ignored in Exodus, is employed in Proverbs 6:31. Καὶ is added, as often, to smoothen the transition between the two stichs. The word ὅσος has been translated with ‘property’ and ‘wealth’ in LXX-Proverbs. Now if someone has to give everything he has to compensate for his theft, he surely is no rich man. It seems that the translator found the terms ‘wealth’ and even ‘property’ a bit too grand for this context and he translated πᾶς ὁ ὄντως ἄνω τὰ ὅσα ἄνωτός εἰσίν αὐτός ‘everything possessed by him’ (change of word class). He thereby had to drop ἐν 'his house', since πᾶς ὁ ὄντως τὰ ὅσα ἄνωτός εἰσίν αὐτός ‘everything possessed by his house’ is no serious alternative. With the added ὄντως ‘will save himself’, expressing a notion implicit in the Hebrew text, the translator prepares the contrast expressed by vs 32: a thief can save his life, but an adulterer kills himself. The finite verb ἔστω ‘he will give’ is thereby changed into δοτός ‘giving’, a participle.

PROVERBS 6:32

Who commits adultery with a woman [is] lacking brains, he makes her [into] destruction for his life.

Greek text: Ψυγή means ‘soul’ and should not be rendered as ‘life’ in this verse. In the Greek text the adulterer jeopardizes his soul, not his life, as the following verses show.

Translation: It is possible to interpret the Hebrew verse as one clause:

A foolish adulterer makes her into destruction of his life.

It is improbable, however, since most verses in Proverbs contain two stichs. The translator, who undoubtedly knew this, probably seized the opportunity to insert some variation into the long series of parallel distichs. He created one stich and therefore had to omit the personal pronoun 'he'. I think therefore we are dealing with a conscious change of syntactic structure.

Δέ is added to stress the contrast with the preceding verse. MT does not have a conjunction here. Since 'and' is omnipresent in Hebrew, it is its absence that is contrastive.

The phrase πονοκηθίζω ‘who commits adultery with a woman’ is rendered concisely with μοιχή ‘adulterer’. In a paper I suggested that ‘with a woman’ was omitted to avoid the misunderstanding that extramarital homosexual relationships would seem to be excused. But that Philo, De decalogo 168, subsumes pederasty under the commandment οὐ μοιχεύοντας ‘thou shalt not commit adultery’ is a question of conscious interpretation on Philo’s part, I have to admit. It does not change the meaning of μοιχεύοντας which in Greek always denotes adultery of a man with a married woman. Thus it is better to assume that ‘with a woman’ was implicitated because a literal translation ὅ ὅμοιχητος γυναῖκαν ‘who commits adultery with a woman [kills himself]’ is too redundant in Greek.

The most difficult issue in the Hebrew text is: what is the antecedent of θεῖον ‘he makes’? The literal translation printed above implies that the woman, with whom a man commits adultery, becomes the destruction of his life. But I found this simple interpretation only in TOB. Why do most other exegetes and translators prefer a different, less obvious exegesis? I have the impression that Western exegetes are unconsciously guided by their mother tongue. As we saw, the Greek translator made μοιχή ‘adulterer’ instead. In this he is followed by nearly all Western translations known to me! And once ‘woman’ is implicitated, a feminine pronoun referring to her becomes obsolete. Therefore exegetes appeal to the fact that the Hebrew feminine can function as a neuter and they translate ‘he who does it’ (i.e. adultery). For the Greek translator this way out was not available because in Greek a pronoun would need the explicit antecedent μοιχή ‘adulterer’ and besides, a feminine pronoun would refer to ἀνέλειμα ‘destruction’. It is thus understandable that LXX, and afterwards the Peshitta, dropped the object suffix.

Once this is done τις ‘destruction’ becomes automatically the direct object of θεῖον ‘to make’. Regarding the derivation of this word, someone coming upon τις will first take it as a participle, ‘destroying, destroy’, and only familiarity with Hebrew Scriptures can inform him about its occurrence as a noun meaning ‘destruction’. Its rendering as ἀνέλειμα ‘destruction’ is then a literal translation.

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265 Van der Louw, Linguistic or Ideological Shifts?
266 Also in Philo’s writings, cf. De specialibus legibus IV, 85.
267 Aquila has ὅ ὅμοιχητος γυναῖκας θείες ‘to make his destruction’. He recognized the nominal sentence.

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Transformations in Proverbs 6

A change of syntactic structure is the transition of the phrase לֵּ֣בֶן פֶּ֛שַׁן ‘lacking heart (mind)’ to διὰ τῆς φρασειοῦ φρεισνοῦ ‘through lack of brains’. This was probably done because a literal translation would be syntactically unclear. It can be interpreted in two ways, which impedes recitation:

1. ‘But the adulterer, being stupid, brings about destruction for his soul.’
2. ‘But the adulterer is stupid, brings about destruction for his soul.

As in 6:21, 25 and Isaiah 1:16, the translator struggles with the different nuances of ‘heart’ in Hebrew and Greek. In Hebrew לֵּבֶן is the centre of the intellect, פְּשַׁן is rather the seat of the passions, and specifically so in the Platonic tripartite view of the soul. The desired notion is expressed in Greek by τῆς φρασειοῦ φρεισνοῦ ‘lack of wits / brains (lit. midriff)’, which constitutes a modification.

The considerations guiding the LXX-translator were apparently so forceful that Jerome adopted them. Normally he would render MT quite literally, but in this case he translated the Septuagint, word for word.

Proverbs 6:33

He endures pains and dishonours and his disgrace will not be wiped off in eternity.

He will ‘find’ plague and shame and his shame shall not be wiped off.

Greek text –

Translation The Hebrew נָשָׁת יָדָו ‘stroke, plague’ is only here rendered as ὀξύς ‘pains’, alliterating with δονός ‘disgrace’. The Greek text stresses the subjective element, i.e. the pain felt by the adulterer as a consequence of his deeds. This transformation has no linguistic, but cultural roots. In the Hebrew text the adulterer jeopardizes his very נָשָׁת יָדָו ‘life’ (32). He will literally suffer נָשָׁת יָדָו ‘strokes’ (33) and become the target of the husband’s Διγγα ‘revenge’ (34), which he cannot escape by paying Διγγα ‘compensation’ (35). This presupposes a society in which disputes were settled privately or in small-scale courts such as elders in the city-gate. An adulterer and the woman concerned were subject to the death penalty.

In the Septuagint translation, however, the adulterer risks his ψυχή ‘soul’ (32). He will

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260 I thank Prof. T. Muraoka for his comments on an earlier draft of this passage.
261 Cf. our discussion of Isaiah 1:16 and Tieleman, Galen and Chrysippus on the Soul.
262 ‘… qui autem adulter est proper cordis inopiam perdet animam suam.’
suffer ὄδονς τε καὶ ἄτιμος 'pain and dishonour'. The outraged husband will bring him to trial, κρίσις (34) and a ransom may settle the affair legally, but it will not extinguish the husband's enmity. The Greek text presupposes a more centralized society with a professional law-court, in which an adulterer is punished but not killed.273 The translator has culturally adapted the text to a new situation. This also explains why ὄδονς τε καὶ ἄτιμος274 'pains and dishonours' are plural. Since LXX does not imply the execution of the adulterer, he will survive and feel pains and dishonours repeatedly. Τῇ ... καὶ constitutes a slight specification with regard to Hebrew ו 'and', usually translated with καὶ 'and'. It is used here to unite similar complements and is difficult to translate into English (Smyth § 2974). The specification of ἄστιμα 'to find, experience' into ἀποθάνεια 'to endure' is obligatory, since ἀποθάνεια 'to find' does not express the notion of experiencing evil. The chosen term suggests longer duration besides, which fits well into the adaptation of this verse. After what has been said it will be no surprise that the addition of εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα 'in eternity' stems from the translator. It is at odds with the Hebrew text, where the fate of the adulterer is sealed.275

PROVERBS 6:34

For the wrath of her husband is full of envy;
he will not spare in the day of judgement,

For jealousy is a man's fury
and he will not spare in the day of revenge.

Greek text –

Translation The translator probably interpreted unvocalized זֶלース as זֶלース 'jealous' or זֶלース 'is jealous' (the Masoretic vocalization is not obvious). And since 'a man's fury is jealous' is a strange way of putting it, the translator wrote instead that the fury 'is full of jealousy' (change of word class). Jerome solved this problem by adding a conjunction:

quia zelus et furor viri non parcet...

'for the jealousy and fury of a man will not spare…'

273 From Ben Sira 23:18-26, dealing with the consequences of adultery but silent about death penalty, it is usually concluded that the death penalty for adultery had become theoretical in Hellenistic times (except for cases of Lynchjustiz). This accords with Athenian sources stating that an adulterer may not be killed, e.g. Demosthenes, Orations 23 (In Aristocratem), 53; Aristotle, Ath. Pol. 57,3. Cf. Der neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike 3, 900. The laws of Alexandria were based on Athenian law, cf. Rupprecht, Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde, 67.

274 The Hebrew יִרְשָׁפַת is often rendered literally with ἄτιμος 'dishonour' (singular).

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Although the generic 'man' nowhere means 'husband', the stichs that follow here suggest that the deceived husband's revenge is described. Therefore versions like NIV and REB speak about 'husband' and LXX does the same by the addition of αὐτής 'her man (= husband').

The translator omits the conjunction 'and' to indicate that the next three stichs elaborate vs 34a. In Hebrew aroused jealousy and revenge are mentioned in one breath, but since the Greek text does not speak about revenge any more, its coherence has changed. The Israelite revenge has now given way to an official judgement, trial. The translator's wish to present a actualized text in a changed society accounts for this non-obligatory modification.

PROVERBS 6:35

He will not withdraw his enmity in exchange for a ransom and he will certainly not put an end to it for many gifts.

Greek text Δυτιδάμας ἔχθραν / ἔχθρας 'to put an end to enmity' is a fixed collocation (LSJ 402b). It is followed by the genitive of price and value that often accompanies 'verbs signifying to buy, sell, cost, value, exchange' (Smyth § 1372f.). Although these verbs are missing, the notion of exchange is present.

Ox μη + aorist subjunctive expresses emphatic denial of future events (Smyth § 1804, 2755; BDR § 365).

Translation The Hebrew text is a bit strange. Literally it says 'he will not lift up the face of any compensation.' Now the idiom יבשׁ תבשׁ 'to lift up the face (of someone)' means showing consideration to someone, so that strictly speaking MT says here: 'he will not show consideration to any compensation'. Not surprising then, that with the same consonants the reading יבשׁ תבשׁ 'he will not show you consideration for compensation' has been proposed (BHS). This attractive conjectural reading was in all probability no part of the Septuagint's Vorlage. Because this conjecture could be rendered easily in Greek, we would have expected a more literal rending in that case. I think that the LXX-translator, like his modern colleagues, made most of his parent text and omitted the personal element יבשׁ 'face' to concentrate on the יבשׁ 'compensation'.

The remaining elements could have been rendered as

'οὐκ' ἐπιβάλλεται αὐτής λέγοντα
'he will not accept any compensation'

but the translator stuck to his actualizing purpose. In the orderly trials of his days the husband would accept a compensation which would settle the matter legally, but the de-
TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE SEPTUAGINT

ceived husband would of course never forget the offence. His enmity (ἐχθρον) against the adulterer would remain forever. The translator thus wrote

Debe ἐπισταλέασεν οὖν ἐπί τὴν ἐχθρον

‘he will not withdraw for any compensation his enmity.’

The underlined transformations are specification, change of syntactic function and addition respectively.

In the context ἐπισταλέασεν means ‘he will not consent to a settlement’. But in the translator’s society legal settlements of adultery were normal practice. He therefore related the husband’s unrelenting attitude to a continuing enmity, as we saw. In the next stich the translator embroiders on this thread: neither the legal fine for adultery (λέγεται) nor additional gifts (δώρα) will appease the deceived husband. The transformation of ἐπισταλέασεν ‘to be appeased’ into διακόλονταί ‘to put an end to’ represents a rendering of the effect for the cause. When viewed in isolation it entails no change of content, but because the Hebrew and the Greek verb forms are embedded in a different context, the gist of the passage differs considerably.

The word class of ἐπισταλέασεν ‘you will multiply’ is changed into an adjective, πολλῶν ‘many’. A literal rendering is possible but unnatural.²⁷⁶ As a consequence the singular δώρα ‘gift’ is made plural into δώρα ‘gifts’ and ἕν ‘when’ is omitted. Semantically the change from δώρα ‘gift’ to δώρα ‘gifts’ constitutes a generalization. The bribe would be necessary to prevent the husband from demanding justice (death), but in the translator’s context the financial settlement is taken for granted. The Septuagint only emphasizes that additional gifts will not change the husband’s feelings.

CHART OF LITERALNESS IN PROVERBS 6:1-35

(For a clarification of the categories, see the introduction to the charts of Genesis 2.)

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²⁷⁶ See our discussion of Isaiah 1:15 and cf. LXX-Proverbs 9:11. Tauberschmidt, Secondary Parallelism, 78 explains the alterations ‘in terms of the translator’s general predilection for a more nearly parallel form (…) [they] give evidence of the translator’s love of close correspondence.’ In my view Tauberschmidt confuses parallelism as a result and parallelism as a principle.

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Transformations in Proverbs 6

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<tr>
<td>11A</td>
<td>+ 17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>+ 2 – 1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
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<td>13</td>
<td>+ 6 – 2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2*</td>
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<td>– 3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>+ 1 – 3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1*</td>
<td></td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>1*</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>+ 4</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>+ 149 – 43</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>average per word</td>
<td>+ 0.49 – 0.14</td>
<td>without 8A, 11A: + 0.34 – 0.15</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* included in this figure: ‘deviations’ caused by postpositive δε, γερ

The total number of Hebrew words in Proverbs 6:1-35 is 302.

A. Quantitative representation

Quantitative representation is no concern of the Proverbs translator. That he makes no bones about an embellishing addition of 40 words in 6:8A-C proves this.

Of course a good number of additions and omissions is obligatory, like the omission of the Hebrew question marker τί (6:27, 28), the addition of δέ (6:1, 22), the use of the article etc. Beyond correctness, other small changes are dictated by a desire for a natural diction.

The aim for coherence of the text, visible in the translator’s preoccupation with smooth transitions and clear contrasts, is responsible for many quantitative differences regarding conjunctions (6:2, 3, 3, 5, 7, 7, 9, 10 etc.). Sometimes the translator creates coherence different from his source text.

*277 The 6 words I regard as added by a revisor are not included in this figure.
A major concern of the translator is an explicit message. The second largest addition, in 6:11A, has the function of making the central message more explicit at the end of a section. The translation brims with smaller additions of this kind (6:2, 4, 6, 8, 11, ... 30, 31, 34 etc.). The text is given a wider application (6:10) whereas misunderstandings are cut at the root (e.g. 6:30, 32). Where a better example could make his text more convincing, the translator did not shrink from a very large addition (6:8A–C).

The verses that display a quantitative representation are exceptional (6:4, 19). They merely show that literal translation continues to be a tool for any translator. These observations suffice to show that on all textual levels the translator was unhindered by a preoccupation with quantitative representation.

B. Adherence to word classes

Compared to the Isaiah translator, who retains the ST word classes in roughly half of the verses, the Proverbs translator does so in one-third of the verses. Most of the changes are non-obligatory.

C. Adherence to word order

The translator does not deviate drastically from the ST word order. In half of the verses we find changes, but often these are obligatory, caused by postpositive בֵּית and יִדְרָד. The translator changes the word order to make theme and rheme clearer and to mark transitions (6:7, 20). It seems that adherence to word order is not systematic but practical. It is the easiest way to translate when no serious problem comes up. The fact that word order is of no concern for the Proverbs translator is shown by his free use of the prepositive possessive pronoun רָכָה, whereas Hebrew possessive markers are placed after the noun they belong to.

D. Stereotyping

Since Proverbs 6 is not one of the very first chapters, an investigation of the degree of stereotyping would have to take the whole book into account. This would exceed the boundaries of the present study. But in the case of Proverbs we do not need statistics to confirm what is well-known, namely that stereotyping is no concern of the translator. Within Proverbs 6 we gained the impression that the translator did not stick to stereotypes. His love of variation prevented him on many occasions from using the same rendering twice. So he varied, for example, the rendering of יִתְנָה ‘in the words of your mouth’ (6:2), בֵּית ‘a little’ (6:10). For basic lexemes spread over the chapter the translator employs different renderings, e.g. בֹּל ‘to lie down’ (6:10, 22), לֵך ‘to come’ (6:3, 11, 15, 29), וָא ‘heart’ (6:14 =18, 21, 32) and many more examples could be given. Where most translators understandably stick to stereotypes, viz, in the rendering of numbers, the translator of LXX-Proverbs removes them (6:16). It is clear that in all these instances other concerns (discussed in the Conclusions) were more weightier than stereotyping.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>vs.</th>
<th>Hebrew</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>Obligatory</th>
<th>Non-obligatory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>ΠΤΠ</td>
<td>omission</td>
<td>(‘my’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### Transformations in Proverbs 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>Literal Translation</th>
<th>Improvement Type</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2ηνηνεὶς</td>
<td>parendónèis</td>
<td>cultural counterpart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ἐθνηρία</td>
<td>specification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>αἰτήματι</td>
<td>completion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>εἰς χειρὶς κοσμῶν</td>
<td>literal translation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>εἰς πόνον φέλουν</td>
<td>situational translation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ἑτερογεινός</td>
<td>literal translation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>εἰς πάντας</td>
<td>specification; change of accidence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>εἰς χειρὰς</td>
<td>literal translation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Omission ( omission)**: 
- **Addition (addition)**: 
- **Compensation (compensation)**: 
- **Explicitation (explicitation)**: 
- **Generalization (generalization)**: 
- **Effect (cause)**: 
- **Cause (effect)**: 
- **Alliteration and rhyme (alliteration and rhyme)**: 

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## Transformations in the Septuagint

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table Row</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>compensation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>effect → cause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>omission (of suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ch. of word order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>situational translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>implication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>literal translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>modification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11A</td>
<td>addition (of 17 words)</td>
</tr>
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<td>12</td>
<td>literal translation</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>ch. of syntactic structure</td>
</tr>
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272
### Transformations in Proverbs 6

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<thead>
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<th>Transformation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<td>ch. of synt. structure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>addition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘literal’ translation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omission</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>addition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antonymic translation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>omission (of suffix)</td>
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</tr>
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<td>metrical distich</td>
<td>compensation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>change of number</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>change of accidence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>change of word class, specification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speciation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>compensation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>effect → cause</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>specification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>change of word order</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>generalization</td>
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<td>addition</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>modification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omission (of suffix)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ch. of syntactic structure</td>
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<td>addition</td>
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<td>ch. of syntactic structure</td>
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<td>addition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omission (of preposition)</td>
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</tr>
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<td>-----</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>μη σε νυκτή κάποιου στιθμού</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
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<td>25c</td>
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</tr>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>τις</td>
</tr>
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<td>μετάτοσι</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>τις</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>τοῦ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>καλληγία... ἱματία... πόδες</td>
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<td>ανοιξ</td>
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</tr>
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</table>
Transformations in Proverbs 6

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Greek</th>
<th>Change/Modification</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>אֶלּוּ כִּמָּשָׂא</td>
<td>ἐπὶ ὧν ἐπήλθε</td>
<td>change of syntactic structure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>omission, change of syntactic structure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>אֶלֶם וַיָּהַב</td>
<td>ἦν ἐπάνω</td>
<td>change of syntactic structure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>אֶלֶם וַיִּהְיֶה</td>
<td>ἦν ἐπάνω</td>
<td>change of word class; omission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>specification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>אֶלֶם וַיַּהֲלַךְ</td>
<td>ἦν ἐπάνω</td>
<td>change of accidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>specification</td>
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<td>35</td>
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<td>change of word class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>omission</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of non-obligatory transformations is **165**, their average number per Hebrew word is **0.54**.
CONCLUSIONS

Although the translator of LXX-Proverbs has long been known as a free translator, literal translation constitutes the backbone of his work. The Hebrew and the Greek texts can roughly be aligned. Several verses are rendered almost word for word (6:4, 6a, 9, 13, 15a, 17-19, 20, 27-29a) and in some places the literal rendering even comes as a surprise (6:1, 6, 13, 19). According to some scholars LXX-Proverbs is free of Hebraisms but this is exaggerated. Translations, even the most excellent ones, are seldom free of interference. But the few Hebraisms are certainly not characteristic of LXX-Proverbs, for naturalness was a main concern for the translator and its realization has prompted many transformations. In other words, in many cases the translator accorded a higher priority to naturalness than to quantitative representation, adherence to word classes and stereotyping. Typically Greek are the omission of possessive pronouns (6:1, 8, 9, 20, 27, 28), the use of tenses (6:11, 20-21), the (non-)use of ū (6:6, 9) and the avoidance of un-Greek locutions (6:11, 12, 16, 17, 19, 23, 26, 35). The addition of clause connectors lends the text a natural form of cohesion in Greek, whereby clause relations are often made more explicit (6:5, 9, 10, 11, 14, 16, 17, 18, 21, 24, 31, 32).

Regarding semantics the translator is at times careful to render Hebrew details (6:22). He does not consider lexemes in isolation but often renders their contextual meaning (6:13, 14, 17, 31, 34). At the same time he goes beyond semantics in the narrow sense and displays sensitivity to connotations, e.g. of ‘heart’ in both languages (6:21, 25, 32).

Clarity is a major concern of the translator, as is attested by additions (6:3, 4), explicitations (6:6, 14, 22, 28, 31) and other transformations (6:10, 18, 24). His target text must be logical or made logical (6:1, 7, 10, 11, 13, 30). This concern also includes clarity with respect to cohesion. Transitions are clearly marked (6:1, 20) and cohesive elements are added functionally (6:7, 8A, 13, 14, 16). In two cases the translator goes to some length to forge cohesive unities where the source text displays transitional seams (6:16, 25-26).

The translator’s efforts are not only devoted to clear sentences and paragraphs, but also aimed at clarity regarding the message as a whole. In 6:11A a distich is added to summarize the message in positive words at the end of the section. The other side of the coin is that textual elements prone to misinterpretation are made unambiguous, especially regarding moral issues (6:7, 15, 16, 24, 29, 26).

Quite a few transformations have their roots in earlier decisions (6:13, 15, 24, 26, 31, 32, 35). The clearest example is the reshaping of 6:1 that forces the translator to a series of changes in 6:2-3. Apparently he did not reconsider 6:2 to avoid unnecessary transformations in the following verses. This puzzling feature, which invites new research, occurs in other LXX-books as well. Creating a clear and appealing text was apparently more important to the Proverbs translator than expressing the exact sense of his parent text.

An interesting phenomenon we observed on various occasions (6:10, 11A, 16, 15, 17) is that the translator seems to have become more modest in his transformations in the course of the book. It has long been observed that the ‘additions’ in LXX-Proverbs are mainly concentrated in the first part of the book, especially in chapters 1-9. In later chapters the

278 See D’Hamonville, Les Proverbes, 57.
Transformations in Proverbs 6

number of additions decreases. This development is the reverse of what we observed in LXX-Genesis. To account for it, I would like to venture the following explanation. In the book of Proverbs the text changes in character. The long stretches of coherent text in Proverbs 1-9 lend themselves more easily to translational amplifications than the series of short sayings that make up the rest of the book. At the same time his growing experience enabled the translator to get his message across with subtler transformations. This tentative hypothesis deserves further research.

While presenting a clear and understandable message, the translator is also intent on presenting it in an attractive way. In his diction the translator aims at elegance, but only occasionally (6:1, 4, 9, 25, 30). In many places the text comes close to a iambic metre, although transformations for metrical purposes are rare (6:4, 27-28). There are many instances of alliteration and assonance, some of which are probably meant to compensate for the loss of stylistic features in Hebrew. An exaggerated alliteration, however, is toned down (6:13). It is also noteworthy that several verses are phrased in the style of Greek proverbs, with respect to metre (the frequent anapaestic ending) and with respect to syntax (6:2, 23, 26, 28). Such verses aim at ‘so formulated as to imprint itself upon the memory (…) quotable and worthy to be quoted.’ The high place of attractiveness in the translator’s hierarchy emerges directly from the stylistically inspired transformations. In fact, creating proverbs in Greek testifies to text-type awareness. The translator aims at ‘equivalence’ on the level of genre rather than at word level.

A concern for ease of reading and understanding plays a role where a double change of subject is avoided (6:22, 27-28). In 6:14 a transformation serves the unity of the enumeration. In 6:9 the distich is made syntactically parallel where it sounds good, but in 6:21 the reverse is done. In 6:30 a complex subordination is avoided.

The translator has a keen eye for the appeal of the text to the reader or hearer. He makes his text more lively at occasions (6:11, 22). He is averse of repetition, which might make the text dull and uninteresting, and he avoids it where he can (6:1, 2, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14, 16, 32), even over several verses (6:14b, 19b). Some of these examples are meant to turn synonymous parallelism into contrast. Where a contrast is present in the ST, the translator sometimes reinforces it (6:17, 26). Redundant or superfluous elements are dropped (6:10, 18, 23, 24). Understandably, lexical stereotyping is foreign to this approach.

The translator is sensitive to cultural matters. When an element is unknown to his readership the translator removes it with a transformation (6:24) or presents a cultural counterpart (6:1). The saying about the price of a prostitute (6:26) is made more acceptable, conforming to current market price. The passage about the legal consequences of adultery (6:33-35) is completely adapted to the situation of the translator’s readership. Elements that do not fit into the received hierarchy of being are relegated to their proper place (6:6). In moral issues the translator draws clear lines. Where the Hebrew text takes prostitution for granted (6:26) or seems permissive towards theft out of hunger (6:30), he makes this reading impossible in the Greek text.

In the latter examples we see the translator going beyond his source text. In other instances he seizes the need for a transformation to create a text of his own (6:2, 16). But his adherence to the spirit of the source text is remarkable here. This also holds true for 6:8A-C, the largest addition, where the translator excels his source text with a large addition about the bee, but barely goes beyond it with respect to content; and for the second largest addition in

280 D’Hamonville, Les Proverbes, 49, 52.
281 Gerleman, Studies in the Septuagint III, 11.
6:11A. With respect to textual structure the translator does not shrink from changes. In two cases he goes to some length to forge cohesive unities where the source text displays clear transitions (6:16, 25-26). Use of favourite words can be assumed in 6:12.

The translator possessed an excellent, probably native fluency in Greek. Judging from the many stylistic details, the liveliness, the ‘excelling’ of the source text I think it probable he had had an education in rhetoric. At the same time his work on Proverbs 6 suggests that he had a good command of Hebrew. Of course all chapters should be studied to confirm this.

In all likelihood the translator was Jewish, being of the opinion that a translated piece of Israelite wisdom would add something to the non-Jewish wisdom to which his readership had access. He wanted to present a crystal-clear text, with a clear message, not subject to misunderstandings. Especially passages with a moral implication have been made unambiguous, so that a libertinian interpretation is no longer possible. This gives us a clue not only to the translator’s ethics, but also to the picture he had of his target audience. Apparently he judged part of his audience capable of libertinian tendencies. In general a free approach points to a high degree of consciousness. It indicates that the translator had a clear message, but his conscious handling of the text also shows that he had a very clear picture of what he perceived to be the needs of his target audience. I would suppose that he must have lived a considerable time among his audience to get acquainted with their way of life. He found they needed moral guidance, but the traditional wisdom of Proverbs in a literal translation would not appeal to his audience and needed to be made more attractive. In other words, he apprehended a definite risk of assimilation. The freedom and creativity of the Proverbs translation, meant to counteract this situation, is usually explained by pointing at the peripheral status of Proverbs in Judaism compared to the canonical Pentateuch. This type of reasoning presupposes that the translator could do what he liked because Proverbs was no ‘sensitive text’. It is also possible that rival scholars/ translators in his surroundings did not know enough Hebrew to ‘find him out’. I think that a combination of these two factors is nearest to the truth. The translator must have felt quite confident to do what he did, since trustworthiness of translation was a debated issue at the time, as is testified by the Letter of Aristeas, which, like LXX-Proverbs, dates from the middle of the 2nd century BC.

The translator chose his ‘equivalents’ freely, not committed to the lexicon of the Greek Pentateuch. Proverbs 6:22, the clearest parallel to a Torah verse (Deuteronomy 6:7), ignores its Greek vocabulary. Even in the choice of basic and common words like ‘eyes’ (6:4), ‘scribe’ (6:7), ‘bread’ (6:8), ‘food’ (6:8), ‘to lie’ (6:9), ‘to come’ (6:11) and with less common but important words like ‘abomination’ (6:16) and ‘innocent’ (6:17) the translator does not bother about the Pentateuchal Greek lexicon. This is surely remarkable for a translator who is sometimes called a conservative Jewish scribe. Does this mean that the term υἱὸς ‘law’ in Proverbs did perhaps not refer to the Pentateuch? Cook claims the translator combined the Greek lexemes in such a way that he created clear references to the Mosaic Law. I think a Jewish audience may indeed have linked υἱὸς ‘law’ to the Pentateuch, but in general that claim is exaggerated. The translator nowhere explicitly mentions

282 D’Hamonville, Les Proverbes, 80f. notes the occurrence of oratorical vocabulary in other chapters.
283 According to D’Hamonville, Les Proverbes, 134, the freedom points to an influential Jew, who enjoyed a certain immunity. This argument assumes that his audience could check his work.
284 Cook, Septuagint of Proverbs, 318f. He does not define what he means by ‘conservative Judaism’.
anything Jewish, and avoids mentioning Moses and the Torah. It is more correct to con-
clude with Dick that ‘the LXX Proverbs does not compel the reader to think of the Mosaic Law (...). Unlike Ben Sira, Greek Proverbs seems to prefer a usage equally intelligible in the pagan and the Jewish Hellenistic worlds.’ On the basis of my own observations I would concur with Dick as far as Proverbs 6 is concerned. Although the translator was probably Jewish, his translation offers little proof for it. It is remarkable that even in the free additions (6:8A-C; 11A) there is no trace of Judaism beyond what the source text offers. The larger framework of the book suggests the same. Where the Hebrew book of Proverbs contains sayings of different sages, the Greek translation attributes the whole to King Solomon, the most cosmopolitan king of Israel and son-in-law to a Pharaoh. The figure of Solomon would indeed be an adequate garb to present a piece of Israelite wisdom to the world’s forum. At the same time the Greek Proverbs avoids much of the lexicon of Greek ethics and displays few instances that could support a theory of Stoic influence. Dick concludes from these observations that ‘Greek Proverbs thus resembles the λόγος σοφίας genre in Greek literature, which also seemed studiously to avoid particular philosophical Tendenzen in order to appeal to the largest readership possible.’ Although the primary target audience of the text seems to have been Jews in danger of assimilation to their Hellenistic environment, it is well conceivable that the translator wanted to finance the costly undertaking of his translation by selling copies to Greeks with a weak spot for ‘Jewish philosophy’.

The place of origin of the Proverbs translation is debated. Alexandria has long been taken for granted. This consensus was challenged by Dick, ‘since [LXX-Proverbs] so radically avoids characteristic features of Hellenistic Jewish ethical texts written in that Egyptian city.’ He suggested Jerusalem as a place of origin. This was also Cook’s standpoint for a long time, but his view has changed over the years. In 1999 he mentioned the possibility ‘that, as in the case of Ben Sira, LXX Proverbs was translated in Alexandria by a Palestin-
ian Jew’, and thus ‘for Jews in Alexandria. ’

Recently D’Hamonville has forcefully renewed the case for Alexandria. My own analy-

sis of the text yielded several hints at Alexandria as a background. First, the text of Prov-
ers 6 is close to the iambic metre. The use of the iambic trimeter, antiquity’s light verse, for ‘philosophical’ texts originated in Alexandria. Its initiator was Apollodorus of Athens, who lived from 180 till after 120 BC and worked for a long time in Alexandria as a collabo-
rator of Aristarchus the Librarian. Apollodorus wrote a chronicle of the 1000 years after

286 Dick, The Ethics of the Old Greek Book of Proverbs, 40f., 50.
289 Dick, The Ethics of the Old Greek Book of Proverbs, 50.
293 D’Hamonville, Les Proverbes, 24-25.
294 R. Pfeiffer, History of Classical Scholarship from the Beginnings to the Hellenistic Age, Oxford 1968, 253f. In stylistic respect Apollodorus’ Chronica was a novelty: ‘Απολλώνιος (...) ἡξίω &
the fall of Troy, which he dedicated to King Attalus II Philadelphus of Pergamum in 144/3 BC, just after his escape from Alexandria. The use of a popular metre for an elevated topic was thus an Alexandrian novelty when the translator of Proverbs set to work (ca. 150 BC). Second, in 6:14, 19 the text warns against ‘organizing trouble to a city’ and ‘unchaining lawsuits between brothers’ (= MT). These two dangers are part of life for a minority in a multi-ethnic metropolis, and certainly not chimerical, as history would show. Third, the addition about the bee (6:8A-C) possibly constitutes a reference to the Ptolemaic Pharao. In this stage it is difficult to deduce more about the translator, I think. D’Hamonville claims that Aristobulus, who is called the Egyptian ‘royal teacher’ in 2 Maccabees 1-2, could serve as the type of man with the right position and world view to have translated Proverbs into Greek. He daringly suggests that ‘Aristobulus’ intended LXX-Proverbs as a book for the education of Ptolemaic princes. But since he hardly has arguments for it, we must await further corroboration of his thesis. It would be worth investigating whether the royal symbolism of the bee (6:8A-C) has parallels in LXX-Proverbs. My analysis so far points to Jews as the primary and Greeks as the secondary audience of the text.

Our investigation yielded unexpected text-critical results. In the Greek text of 6:25 we found a revisional addition. In 1:8 and 6:3 readings attested in manuscripts proved more original than Rahlfs’ reading. With respect to the Hebrew text I would like to propose two changes (6:3, 7).

—

πρώτος τῶν κυλομένων τραγικοῦμαν Ἀπολλόδωρος (…) began as the first one to write in what is called tragic iambus.’ Cf. Suidas in Jacoby, Fragmente der griechischen Historiker, Nr. 244, T.1. Pfeiffer, 255 notes that Suidas erroneously calls Apollodorus’ iambic trimeters ‘tragic’.

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Chapter 7

Conclusions

GENERAL

The data from the transformation charts of the three Septuagint passages can be summarized as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hebrew words</th>
<th>non-obligatory transformations</th>
<th>non-obligatory transformations per word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Genesis 2:1-25</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>0.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaiah 1:1-31</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>0.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proverbs 6:1-25</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>0.54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The average density of non-obligatory transformations positions the three sections on a scale from literal to free. The freer, the more non-obligatory transformations. Genesis 2 emerges as the most literal, Proverbs 6 as the freest, and Isaiah 1 right of the middle. Regarding the books as a whole I found that the translation strategy of Genesis, exclusively sign-oriented in Genesis 2, seems to become freer in the course of the book, whereas the opposite holds true for Proverbs.

The position of Isaiah 1 is somewhat surprising. LXX-Isaiah is often named in one breath with Job and Proverbs as ‘freely translated books’. But there are gradations in freedom. If we realize that the competence development of the Genesis translator requires a higher figure of non-obligatory transformations per word for Genesis as a whole – I would estimate 0.18 - 0.20 – this would position LXX-Isaiah 1 half-way.\(^1\) Proverbs 6 is five times as free as Genesis 2.

The following chart shows how the non-obligatory transformations are distributed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Genesis 2</th>
<th>Isaiah 1</th>
<th>Proverbs 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonological translation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transcription / borrowing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loan translation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literal translation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Antonymic translation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Converse translation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Translation of cause</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) I found only one suggestion that the translator may have become freer in the course of the book (from 1:15). Prof. Van der Kooij informs me that chapters 2-35 display more freedom than the first one, whereas chapters 40ff. are again more literal. This is in line with G.B. Gray, The Greek Version of Isaiah: is it the work of a single translator?, *Journal of Theological Studies* 12 (1911), 286-293. Gray acknowledges the difficulties with statistics and with the many variant readings regarding the few expressions he surveyed.
TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE SEPTUAGINT

and effect v.v.

d. Specification
  3  8.1  7  5.1  16  9.8

e. Generalization
  1  2.7  7  5.1  4  2.4

f. Modification
  1  2.7 10  7.4  8  4.8

g. Cultural ‘equivalent’
  1  0.6

a. Change of accidence
  2  5.4 19 13.8 12  7.2

b. Change of word class
  4 10.8  8  5.9 16  9.7

c. Change of syntactic function
  1  2.7  5  3.7 11  6.7

d. Change in word and clause order
  2  5.4  4  2.9  3  1.8

‘Addition’
  6 16.6 31 22.8 33 20.0

‘Omission’
  7 18.9 16 11.8 26 15.8

Redistribution of semantic features

Situational translation
  1  2.7  1  0.7  4  2.4

Idiomatic translation of idiom

Non-idiomatic translation
  11  8.0  1  0.6

Explicitation
  8  4.8

Implicitation
  3  1.8

Anaphoric translation
  4 10.8  2  1.8

Stylistic translation & compensation
  10  6.0

TOTAL
  37 100 136 100 165 100

Of course this chart has a relative value because of the limited text sections surveyed. Proper names, for example, are lacking from Proverbs 6, and so do transcriptions consequently. But the chart nevertheless offers some clues. It shows that those transformations which are the easiest to apply, viz. addition and omission, are by far the commonest in all three texts. The most complex transformation, redistribution of semantic features, is absent in all texts. Lexical changes boast a somewhat higher percentage in Isaiah 1 than in Proverbs 6. The latter, on the other hand, counts more transformations that dig deeper than surface level, such as situational translation, explicitation, implicitation as well as stylistically inspired compensation.

If we now compare the translators’ priorities underlying the transformations, we note that literal translation constitutes the backbone of all three texts. Genesis 2 displays an extreme adherence to the form of the source text, Isaiah 1 follows the Hebrew text quite closely and Proverbs 6 reflects its parent text recognizably. All three texts contain interference, Genesis 2 in a massive degree, Isaiah 1 in considerable measure and Proverbs 6 noticeable. In other words, concern for naturalness is negligible in Genesis 2, unsystematic in Isaiah 1 and important in Proverbs 6. The same order is valid for stylistic concerns.

In semantic respect, all three translators reflect their Hebrew source texts, but in different ways. In Genesis 2 the translator often opts for standard counterparts of lexemes. In Isaiah 1 we find a concern for precise renderings, combined with a bigger role of the context and the nuances it requires. The Proverbs translator is the most systematically intent on rendering contextual meanings, while keeping connotations in mind.
Conclusions

All three texts contain transformations that result from earlier decisions, four cases in Genesis 2, four in Isaiah 1 but with farther reaching consequences, and eleven in Proverbs 6.

In the choice of the great majority of lexical counterparts the translators of Isaiah 1 and Proverbs 6 show themselves independent of the vocabulary of the LXX-Pentateuch. Only few exceptions testify to (indirect) dependence.

Genesis 2 betrays little interest in clarity, but renderings capable of misunderstandings have been avoided. The latter concern of course returns in Isaiah 1 and Proverbs 6. Both texts show that clarity was an important focus of their translators. A difference is that in Isaiah 1 clarity is sought in the cohesion of sentences and a wish for common sense, whereas Proverbs 6 has incorporated this concern, but aims for clarity at a higher level, viz. coherence within the book as a whole and clarity regarding the message of the text.

Transformations bridging cultural differences are rare and of little impact in Genesis 2 and Isaiah 1, but frequent and substantial in Proverbs 6.

With respect to ideology the translator of Genesis 2 only once goes beyond the source text, to safeguard the correct interpretation of a verse in the next chapter. Isaiah 1 counts quite a number of ideologically coloured instances, all related to theological issues, notably anthropomorphic language relating to God. The translator of Proverbs 6 is comparatively modest. His ideological adaptations are limited to moral issues.

Compared to his colleagues of Genesis 2 and Isaiah 1, the translator of Proverbs stands out with his efforts to present a stylistically attractive text, coming closest to contemporary Greek literature in his frequent attention to sound patterns, euphony, and metrical fragments. His purpose is to get a message across to his target audience by increasing its appeal, and to that purpose he does not shrink from outdoing the source text.

Although the three texts in all likelihood originated in Alexandria, their characteristics point to different settings. Genesis 2 is not a communicative translation, but probably had to function as a substitute source text and a basis for exegesis. Isaiah 1 seems to be a religious text in its own right, destined for an interested Jewish audience with an established religious terminology. Proverbs 6 is a communicative translation, coined as an independent text underlining the appeal of Jewish wisdom first to Jewish, then to non-Jewish readers.

All three translators had a good command of Hebrew. The translators of Genesis 2 and Isaiah 1 both show fluency in Greek within the limits their method imposed to them. Proverbs 6 betrays an excellent command of Greek. Its translator was most probably rhetorically schooled. We can infer this from their work. The Greek text of Genesis 2 defies the basics of ancient grammatica. Its (semantic) neologisms conflict with the rule of vetustias; let alone auctoritas, its unusual collocations run counter to consuetudo and its word order is at odds with normal Greek. About rhetoric, then, we need not speak. To a lesser extent, the same holds true for LXX-Isaiah 1. Proverbs 6, however, generally conforms to the rules for the electio verborum, and far beyond that, penetrates into the realm of ancient rhetorica. The translator’s handling of style is roughly consistent. He pays attention to elegantia and dignitas, sound (metrical fragments, sound patterns) and emotional impact of his text. He even comes close to Greek locutiones by the proverbial phrasing of some lines.

At the same time this shows his text-type awareness. The addition about the bee approaches the Roman concept of aemulatio, which serves both the translator’s pride and the appeal to the audience. The translator handles the text in a self-conscious and communication-oriented way.
Is it possible to deduce something about the translators’ view of language from our findings? A general observation is that the translation strategies of our three sections are as different as those of the bilingual texts we saw and seem to reflect standpoints differing as widely as the opposite language views attested in Greek and Jewish thinking alike. But, more fundamentally, did the translators have a ‘theory of language’ at all? And how do we know? Vermeer claims the Platonic connection between words and concepts was an important driving force behind the hegemony of literal translation. This might account for the very literal strategy of Genesis 2. But in my opinion it is doubtful whether the basis of literal translation in the Septuagint should be sought in Platonism. For relatively soon Plato’s influence succumbed to that of other philosophers and Neoplatonism did not emerge until 100 AD. Some scholars put ideological literalism even later:

Nicht der Philosoph, der alles übrige dem Streben nach Wahrheit unterordnet, sondern der Redner, der sich und seine Anliegen und die Anliegen deren, für die er spricht, vor seinen Zeitgenossen erfolgreich vertreten kann, dieser Meister des Wortes wird für viele Jahrhunderte zum Ideal der klassischen Bildung. Erst die „Christianisierung des Hellenismus“, die mit der Konversion des begnadeten Redners Augustin seinen Höhepunkt erreicht, stürzt das rhetorische Ideal der antiken Bildung und installiert den christlich ge deuteten Platonismus als eine allgemeine Propädeutik für die Lehre vom ewigen Wort (λόγος / verbum) Gottes.

I think we should not attribute a specific and conscious language view to the LXX translators too quickly. Theories of language, such as the universalist and relativist, are different extrapolations of everyday experiences with the phenomenon of language variety, and they are not connected to religion. One may start translating with assumptions about translating faithfully, which often comes down to word for word translation. Hands-on practice then leads to a reappraisal of unconsciously held assumptions, thus to a change of mind and to more systematic thinking about language and translation. In my view, this is what happened to the translator in the course of his work on Genesis. It is difficult to come to grips with the Isaiah translator in this respect. From my limited data I cannot conclude with confidence whether his translation strategy developed throughout the book, but the question deserves further research. If LXX-Isaiah displays a general consistency, this could mean he already had some experience in translating. At the time he started working on Isaiah he possibly had settled on a workable ‘strategy’ of his own, combining philological, religious (exegetical) and communicative concerns, although not systematically, in our view.

The Proverbs translator was in all likelihood schooled in rhetoric, in the wide sense of text competence. He did not content himself with his education, but kept himself well posted of the latest trends, such as high-brow literature in popular guise (Apollodorus’ iambic Chronica). He followed the latter within the limits he imposed upon himself. Rhetorical education meant a thorough acquaintance with all aspects of language and with scholarly thinking about it. Now the linguistic climate in Alexandria was in favour of ‘conventionalism’, which held that the relationship between signs and meaning was arbitrary. This is, not surprisingly, the universalist position of Aristotle. Adherents of the relativist language view, on the other hand, have usually opted for literal translation. This study shows that the application of modern linguistic labels of translation procedures to an ancient translation like the LXX is a perfectly sensible procedure. As we have seen,

T. Borsche, Platon, in: Schmitter, Geschichte der Sprachtheorie 2, 159.
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the challenges and difficulties of translating from one language into another have always been essentially the same. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that what translators wrote in defence of their own work has changed little in the course of over 2000 years. Sometimes one hears the lament that in modern studies basically the same views are repeated. The problems encountered by Jerome, Luther, and Cicero are very recognizable for their 21st century colleagues. Translators have always drawn on the same reservoir of translation procedures, and it is only the labels used in this study that are modern.¹

Our study has yielded clear results regarding the candidates for translation universals that have been proposed so far on the basis of modern translations. To begin with, the hypothesis that translations tend to be longer than their source texts seems disproved in Genesis 2. The Septuagint text is shorter than MT, as the sum of additions and omissions of semantic elements is +27 – 30. But keep in mind: only one translational decision accounts for this surprise. Because in Genesis 2 κύριος ‘Lord’ appears for the first time as a divine name, the translator alternates ὁ θεός and κύριος ὁ θεός, which entails a sixfold omission of YHWH. If this were not the case, the score would be +27 – 24. This is modestly in line with the proposed translation universal. I expect that the later Genesis chapters conform more clearly to the expectations. The scores for Isaiah 1 (+86 – 31), let alone Proverbs 6 (+149 – 43) support it unambiguously.

That translations tend to contain interference is confirmed by all texts, in varying degrees. Our next potential universal says that language and style of translations tend to be more standardized than that of source texts. In other words, a translated text exhibits a higher degree of lexical, grammatical and stylistic standardization compared to original texts in the TL than the source text compared to original texts in the SL. This proposed law of translation is not valid for the three LXX texts we studied. In Genesis 2 the high degree of grammatical and stylistic interference, combined with (semantic) neologisms renders the chapter all but standardized compared to TL literature. To a lesser degree the same holds true for Isaiah 1. The case of Proverbs 6 is less clear, if we regard MT-Proverbs as a typical example of Israelite wisdom literature, i.e. standard within its genre. LXX-Proverbs comes closest to being a natural Greek text of the three. But its steady parallelism and ‘stichic prose’, unusual in Greek, and the slight interference preclude labelling it as ‘standardized’. There are other translations as well that do not confirm this potential universal, both from Antiquity and modernity. In general, foreignizing translation tends to break the ‘law’ under discussion. But nonetheless, it feels intuitively correct. I think this proposed universal should be nuanced with a variable, e.g. ‘the more standardized the translation strategy (within TL translation discourse) that underlies a translated text, the more standardized its language and style will be compared to original TL texts.’ This would account for two sorts of translations that do not fit into the proposed universal in its current form, namely, first, products of inexperienced translators, uninitiated into the TL standard translation discourse as they are, and second, foreignizing translations, which are the outcome of apriori decisions, consciously reacting against the prevailing discourse. Did we find that our sections were simpler than their source texts, i.e. with less lexical variety, lower lexical density, more use of high-frequency items? In Genesis 2 we partly did. Against six cases where the Greek lexemes or phrases have a higher frequency than

¹ Compare J. de Waard, Gleiche Übersetzungsprobleme über zwei Jahrtausende, Die Bibel in der Welt 18 (1978), 63-64; Seele, Römische Übersetzer, viii: ‘Der Übersetzungshistoriker kann also in der Antike die historische Basis für eine systematische Typologie von Übersetzungsverfahren finden.’
their Hebrew counterparts. I found only two examples to the contrary. Lexical variety and lexical density barely decreased, due to the strong adherence to the form of the source text. Isaiah 1 more clearly conforms to the candidate universal. An example of lexical variety reduction is the use of ἱδρυμα (‘lawless’) in 1:4, 5, 25, 28, 31 as a rendering of various terms. Lower lexical density (increased redundancy) is promoted by e.g. the repetition of κατά in 1:1 and by the numerous explicitations. Cases where Greek lexemes or phrases have a higher frequency than their Hebrew counterparts are decidedly more numerous than counter-examples. The translator of Proverbs 6, though sometimes adding high-frequency items,11 is by no means a ‘standardizer’. LXX-Proverbs boasts 155 (!) lexemes that do not occur elsewhere in the Septuagint, of which 30 are not previously attested in Greek (esp. compound words).12 The translator has an impressive vocabulary and he wants us to know it. If we compare the Hebrew and Greek vocabularies of Proverbs 6, we find that cases where Greek lexemes or phrases have a higher frequency than their Hebrew counterparts on the one hand and examples of the opposite on the other hand are balanced. Regarding lexical variety, I found nine instances of lexical variety reduction against eight of lexical variety growth. In the limited section of one chapter this difference is not significant. It will be clear, then, that lexical density is not lower than in the source text. My conclusion is that the proposed translation universal of increased simplicity is partly confirmed in Genesis 2, clearly in Isaiah 1, but not in Proverbs 6. These findings end its status as a candidate

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11 Viz. the rendering of ἱδρυμα ‘to create’ with τοιαῦτα ‘to make’ (1:1ff.), of ἱδρυμα ἐν τοῖς ‘in their being created’ by ὃς ἐγένετο ‘when it originated’ (2:4), of ἱδρυμα ‘host’ with κόσμος ‘furnishing’ (2:1), of ἱδρυμα ‘stream’ by τρόπον ‘well’ and of ἱδρυμα ‘to put down’ with τόπος ‘to place’ (2:15). A syntagmatic example is the rendering of ἰδρυμα γῆς ‘earth and heaven’ with the normal order τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τὴν γῆν ‘heaven and earth’ (2:4). N.B. Because of the small Hebrew corpus its frequency rates have limited value.

12 Viz. the rendering of ἱδρυμα ‘eating’ with βρῶσις (2:16), which enhances lexical variety, and of ἱδρυμα ‘to sanctify’ with the newly coined ἱδρυμα ‘to sanctify’ (2:3).

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universal. The universal, based on modern translations, is too general in my opinion. First, it does not take into account that literal translations are form-oriented, so that, for example, the combination of quantitative representation and stereotyping guarantees equal lexical density and equal lexical variety. Second, it ignores the stylistic value of repetition in both source and target language, for it is perfectly predictable that translations from an ancient Semitic language, where repetition is germane to good style, into an Indo-European language, where variation is preferred, will exhibit an increase of lexical variety. And this is especially true when the work is done by a rhetorically schooled translator. I would thus propose to rephrase the universal as follows: ‘Sense-oriented translations between languages where the stylistic value of repetition is comparable, tend to exhibit less lexical variety, lower lexical density and more use of high-frequency items.’

With respect to dialectal differences, believed to be reduced in translations, these have not been found in our Hebrew sections.

The potential universal claiming that in translations complex narrative voices are likely to be reduced has been confirmed. The ‘two creation stories’ of Genesis 1-2 have been rendered as subsequent stages of God’s deeds (2:9), in Isaiah 1 the complex participant shifts have been harmonized and the same holds true for Proverbs 6.

Translations tend to be more explicit than their source texts, it is said. Now higher explicitness is attained by transformations such as specifications, additions and, of course, explicitations. Naturally, free translations employ more of these transformations than literal ones. Genesis 2 contains only few and weak examples of this tendency, namely in 2:9 (addition of ḫātā ‘what is known of’), 10 (clearer), 16 (‘trees in the garden’). In Isaiah 1 and Proverbs 6 we found such a pronounced tendency towards greater explicitness that we need not repeat it here.

The only really debated candidate universal claims that later translations tend to be closer to the source text than earlier versions of the same source text. With respect to the Septuagint it is known that the revisions by Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion took place in opposite directions, most often towards a more precise reflection of its Hebrew source, but also towards greater readability. Now in the present study we did not systematically compare the Septuagint to its revisions. But what is usually a handicap in LXX studies, viz. the huge number of manuscripts with their countless variant readings, is now an interesting means to verify the thesis under discussion. Variant readings can be seen as implicit, sometimes even unconscious judgements about the copied text. The Greek manuscript(s) to be reproduced was, naturally, not a Hebrew source text, but it is evident from variants that Hebrew texts were sometimes consulted during the copying process. Manuscripts contain corrections towards the form of the source text as well as corrections towards more idiomatic Greek.17 Our conclusion must be that the evidence of the Septuagint, its revisions and manuscripts does not sustain the above mentioned translation universal. Our observations regarding ancient translations coincide with fresh research on modern translations.19

The proposed universal stating that in translations repetition tends to be reduced compared to the source texts now deserves our attention. With respect to translations from Hebrew, where repetition is an important cohesive and stylistic device, into Greek, where variation

18 From our study: closer to the Hebrew text are the variants mentioned under Isaiah 1:29; Proverbs 6:12, 20; for better Greek see Isaiah 1:6, 9, 21 (footnote); Proverbs 6:7, 30.
is preferred, this universal is likely to be confirmed, but in a gratuituous way. This is the case in Isaiah 1, in my opinion, at least with respect to lexical repetition and to redundancy. The translator sometimes creates structural repetition for rhetorical purposes (1:4, 23). The translator of Proverbs 6 avoids repetition where he can. In Genesis 2 the translator’s strong adherence to the form of the source text warrants preservation of repetition in a considerable degree. Nevertheless, he occasionally suppresses repetition (2:24). His sixfold omission of YHWH, strictly speaking, reduces repetition, though for a well-defined reason.

Our last translation universal claims that TL-specific items tend to be underrepresented in translated texts. Limiting ourselves to a few items that are specific for natural Greek texts, subordination or hypotaxis, high frequency of participles (of all tenses), use of subjunctive and optative moods and density of particles, it needs no corroboration that these are massively underrepresented in the three sections under review, though in varying degrees. This candidate universal has been confirmed.

METHODOLOGICAL

The method outlined in this study offers elements which can improve methodological accuracy for both the text-critical and ideological study of the Septuagint. I do not pretend it is all new. Many insights belong to the realm of common sense and have long been applied by scholars, e.g. “when the Greek text contains a Hebraism which does not reflect MT, it may suggest either a variant reading in the Vorlage of LXX or a pseudo-variant” (Isaiah 1:16).

All research begins with the ‘deviations’ between the Hebrew and Greek texts. Now if there is a deviation, it has a cause. There may have been a variant in the translator’s parent text, it may have been a pseudo-variant, a misreading, different segmentation, vocalization or interpretation, or we may deal with a transformation. Usually a transformation has a semantic relationship with the source text. If this is not the case, a different source text or a deliberate change may be considered (cf. Isaiah 1:13). Insistence on the problem-oriented study of transformations is the thrust of the approach advocated here. Having labelled a transformation we must identify the ‘problem’ that prompted the translator to employ it. Often a reconstruction of the literal translation that was not chosen makes clear what the translational problem was. There are different types or levels of problems: lexical, grammatical, stylistic, logical, communicative, cultural and ideological. We should begin at the lowest level and if that yields nothing, ascend to the higher ones. A golden rule: low-level explanations take precedence over high-level ones. Obviously, if TL grammar or lexis forced the translator to a transformation, an appeal to culture or ideology is unjustified.

By the method the Septuagint is (preferably) approached, scholarship can be roughly divided into ‘text-critics’, ‘exegetes’, ‘translation technicians’ and ‘receptionists’ (p. 10). In chapters 4-6 we were in constant discussion with explanations offered by especially ‘text-critics’ and ‘exegetes’. Neither approach came out as especially favoured by the application of our method. In many cases we discovered the translational problem at a low level and therefore had to reject high-level explanations offered by ‘exegetes’. But we also found that quite a few transformations do have a cultural or ideological background – this contrary to ‘translation technicians’ who find it difficult to acknowledge such factors. With respect to textual criticism, we not only rejected unnecessary emendations, but also acknowledged that a different parent text for LXX is probable in Genesis 2:23-24 (possible in 2:2, 19), Isaiah 1:13 (possible in 1:2) and Proverbs 6:3, 7, which shows that our approach does not
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amount to a rigid defense of MT. Suggestions for a different parent text did not stand our methodological filter in Genesis 2:1, 4, Isaiah 1:16, 30 and Proverbs 6:3, 5, 15, 18, 35. The critical LXX text of Isaiah 1:16; Proverbs 6:25 proved to be suspect.

APPLICATION TO DEBATED PASSAGES

It can be fruitful to apply our method to some debated cases. Recently there was an argument between Rösel and Hendel about the text-critical value of LXX-Genesis, in which examples from Genesis 1 figured prominently. Since Genesis 1 immediately precedes Genesis 2 it was almost certainly done by the same translator. Before turning to Genesis 1, let us recapitulate our findings with respect to Genesis 2. We saw that the translator was reluctant to employ transformations. He only resorted to them when Greek grammar demanded it or when a literal translation created a serious problem. The translator did not add Hebraisms to the Greek text apart from those resulting from his Hebraizing strategy. We also found that the translator’s competence underwent a development. In the course of the book he gradually started to employ transformations more freely.

Rösel warns against the use of isolated instances for the purpose of textual criticism. He rightly stresses that LXX-deviations have to be judged in the context of the translated book as a whole. I agree with his caveat against a fragmentary approach – a weakness of some ‘translation technicians’ too – and I want to carry it even further. His caveat is fine if the book as a whole is a monolith, but this need not be the case. In his articles, Rösel gleans instances of exegetical renderings and harmonizations from Genesis 49 and uses them as the key to the understanding of the first chapters, because, he says, the same interpretative translator is at work. This goes too far, I think, or rather it does not go far enough. It lacks nuance. For there are big differences between Genesis 2 and Genesis 49. The latter is poetry, the former prose; the latter is linguistically difficult, the former easy; the latter is difficult to interpret and at the same time incomprehensible without interpretation, the former is quite straightforward. Add to this the competence development the translator underwent throughout forty-nine chapters, and it will be obvious that his approach in Genesis 49 is different from that in Genesis 1-2.

But a further methodological restriction is appropriate. The creation story of Genesis 1 is brimming with repetitions of words, phrases and clauses. No matter what language we are copying in or translating into, be it Hebrew, Greek, Arabic or Dutch, the danger of parablepsis is considerable. It is thus methodologically unsound to claim a priori that omissions should preferably be ascribed to one particular copy or version. Every case has to be studied on its own, which is a seasoned insight in textual criticism.

The first case under discussion is Genesis 1:9. MT reads God’s command (the Wortbericht)

as follows:

20 The attractiveness of such rigidity is obvious: it provides scholars at one blow with the conviction that we have the oldest text in our hands and the belief that everything that deviates from it directly points to the historical translator.


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And God said, “Let the waters under the heavens be gathered together to one place, and let the dry land appear.” And it was so. (RSV)

The Septuagint renders this verse quite literally, but carries it forth with a long ‘addition’ reporting the execution of God’s command (Tatbericht):

καὶ ἐσωμάτωσε τὸ νερό τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἷς τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν καὶ ἠφίξεν ἡ ἡγείρει.

and the water under the heaven was gathered together to their places and dry land appeared.

The origin of this ‘addition’ is debated. Rösel is not the first to claim: ‘[T]his plus has to be judged as a result of the LXX’s tendency towards harmonizing the texts.’ 22 The translator, he says, observed that everywhere in Genesis 1 a Wortbericht is followed by a Tatbericht. In 1:9 he found that a Tatbericht was missing in Hebrew, so he supplied it for the purpose of consistency. Hendel, on the other hand, holds that the Septuagint rendered a Hebrew text that did include the Tatbericht. So he feels entitled to retrovert the Greek plus:23

καὶ ἐσωμάτωσε τὸ νερό τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἷς τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν καὶ ἠφίξεν.

and the waters under the heavens were gathered together to their places and the dry land appeared.

Leaving aside the Qumran evidence for a moment, we first ask: ‘which transformation do we have here?’ and ‘what is the translational problem that prompted the translator to depart from his very literal approach in Genesis 1-2?’ If we ask the first question to the theory that LXX here arose from a proto-MT, then we are dealing with an explicitation or perhaps an anaphoric translation. But the Hebrew text does not contain a linguistic ‘problem’, for MT is understandable and grammatically correct. Now the translator of Genesis 2 is preoccupied with quantitative representation, limits himself to grammatica and pays no attention to style. It is thus clear that such a radical departure from quantitative representation could only be called for by the most urgent translational problem. But there are neither problems nor possible misunderstandings, for καὶ ἐγένετο σύνεργας ‘and it was so’ makes it clear that God’s command was executed anyway.

The contrary is true: it is the Greek ‘addition’ that contains a problem, as already Wellhausen observed.24 The pseudo-dualis πῶς, traditionally ‘water’ is regularly rendered as ὕδωρ ‘water’ throughout Genesis 1. This happens also in 1:9, but it says then that to ὕδωρ ‘the water’ (singular) was gathered together εἷς τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν ‘to their places.’ This lack of agreement is inadmissible in Greek, but it is easily explained as an morphematic rendering that mirrors details of the Hebrew, in this case the plural suffix in συναγωγὰς ‘to their places’. Since the translator of Genesis 2 removes grammatical problems but does not introduce them, we may conclude with confidence that the Tatbericht was part of the Hebrew parent text underlying LXX.25 There are two ways to account for the accidental omission of this line, haplography by either homoiarkton (ὁμοιο-), or homoi-
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teleuton° (K; E ἐν K ἐν K; E ἐν).

This outcome undermines the image of the translator as a ‘harmonizer’, which is important for the rest of Genesis 1. The next verse figuring in the BIOSCS debate, LXX-Genesis 1:20, contains a small plus. Between the Wortbericht of vs 20 and the Tatbericht of vs 21 the Greek text has the refrain καὶ γένετο ὅτι ‘and it was so’, which lacks from MT. It can be called an anaphorical translation. Now in our discussion of Genesis 2 we encountered some anaphorical translations, so that we must allow the possibility that it originated from the translator. This is what both Rosel and Hendel defend. BHS, on the other hand, suggests to retrovert it as καὶ ἦν ὅτι ‘and it was so’.

In this case there exists a translational problem: ‘let the waters swarm [with living creatures]’ cannot be translated literally, since in Greek, as in English, only living creatures can be the subject of ‘swarming’. Since water is the subject here, the translator needed an alternative and for this he was probably inspired by 1:24 ‘Let the earth bring forth [living creatures]’. This notion, expressed by בָּרָאָה in Hebrew, could be literally translated with ἐφανερώθη ‘let [the earth] bring forth’. It is well conceivable that the translator, gleaming a lexeme from vs 24, also took over the phrase καὶ ἦν ὅτι ‘and it was so’ from there, perhaps unconsciously.

An evaluation is not easy. On the one hand, MT represents the lectio difficilior. On the other hand, καὶ ἦν ὅτι ‘and it was so’ would fit so admirably into MT that it could have flowed from the writer’s own pen. We cannot exclude there existed an earlier text containing the clause. But is difficult to explain MT on this basis. It is hard to see how only καὶ ἦν ὅτι ‘and it was so’ could have been dropped by way of parablepsis. I think with some reserve that the translational viewpoint tips the scale in favour of a real transformation on the part of LXX. This last example, just as the complex issue of the ‘sixth’ versus ‘seventh’ day in Genesis 2:1, illustrates that problem-oriented study cannot solve each and every problem.

Not only the ideological and historical approach to the Septuagint, but also textual criticism can profit from the methodological refinement. Let me begin with a relatively simple example from Isaiah 36:11, quoted in Tov’s widely used textbooks as a specimen of a ‘reliable retroversion’. It is the direct speech of Judean officials to their Aramean enemies, besieging Jerusalem. The Judeans want to conduct talks in Aramaic. Here follow MT and LXX, accompanied by my German translation, as English obscures the point:

Sprich vor den Ohren des Volkes auf der Mauer nicht judäisch mit uns!

Sprich nicht judäisch mit uns! Und warum sprichst du vor den Ohren der Menschen auf der Mauer?

Tov finds the rendering of שב ‘Volk’ with ἐπθαύμασεν ‘Menschen’ surprising, because it is normally rendered with λαὸς ‘Volk’. He claims the Septuagint departed from a different

26 Hendel, The Text of Genesis 1-11, 27, 120.
27 Vss 5 8 ἐξανέστη ‘whom he had formed’, 8 ποιήσας ‘let us make’, 20 addition of ‘all’ (?).
28 Then rendered with καὶ γένετο (Genesis 7:21; 8:17).
29 Cf. the complex issue of the sixth versus seventh day in Genesis 2:1.
30 Tov, Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible, 131, 260; Tov, Text-Critical Use, 18, 76.
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Hebrew text, viz. KP Z [KO > UD a ; QD K] D E ‘vör den Ohren der Menschen auf der Mauer’. Tov considers this retroversion reliable, because such a reading is now attested in 1QIṣa: KP Z [KO > a E ; Z K a ; QD K] Q Z D E ‘vör den Ohren der Menschen, die auf der Mauer sassen’. I am afraid my esteemed teacher is a bit rash here. Our method requires that we first apply the translational filter, asking: ‘which transformation are we dealing with?’ and ‘what is the translational problem it had to solve?’

Possibility A: If the parent text of the Septuagint was similar to MT, the transformation from α ‘Volk’ to ΚΠΣΤΥΡΚ ‘Menschen’ would be a specification. It was then probably employed because α ‘Volk’ does not refer to the nation as a whole, but only to the citizens on the wall, who do not understand Aramaic; Hebrew uses collective designations quite frequently where Greek would prefer a plural. From a translational point of view, then, we can identify the ‘problems’ that prompted the transformation.

Possibility B: If LXX departed from a text like 1QIṣa, the translator omitted α ‘who were sitting’. The only reason he could have done so is to avoid a literal repetition of the phrase that recurs in vs 12 where it reads πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς καθημένους ἵνα τῷ θεῷ τείχι ζούν den Menschen, die auf der Mauer sitzen.’ But two arguments run against this. First, if the translator found the repetition disturbing, he would rather have rendered the ‘sitting’ in vs 11 and made it implicit in vs 12 where the phrase returned. But second, it is questionable whether repetition would be disturbing at all, because vs 12 is the direct speech of the Aramean general, responding to vs 11, and meaningfully repeating the item.

To summarize the logic of each text: LXX can very well be explained on the basis of MT, much less on the basis of 1QIṣa. The variant from this Qumran manuscript can be explained as harmonization towards vs 12, as Tov does, but also along semantic lines (‘not the whole people, but only the commoners’), as presented above. This conclusion robs textbooks of a fine example of a ‘reliable retroversion’, but examples that stand the filter will be more convincing.

Our questionary can also assist in the evaluation of alternative translations of the same text. In Leviticus 26:2-16 we have such a situation. An eclectic edition of the ‘original’ Septuagint by Wevers exists, side by side with a Qumran fragment of the passage, called 4QLXXLev. This fragment, constituting roughly one-third of a column, contains 15 variant readings vis-à-vis Wevers’ text. Extrapolation would then suggest 45 (!) variant readings for the whole column.

Wevers considered the Qumran fragment a stylistic and communicative revision of the original, literal Septuagint and accepted no Qumran readings in his edited text. Ulrich, on the other hand, holds that 4QLXXLev penetrates beyond the oldest witnesses and sees Wevers’ text as a literalist revision towards MT. The first difference is in Leviticus 26:4, where Wevers’ text (LXX) runs as follows:

31 E.g. in the same narrative section, 37:32, 33:20, 33:32 – αἱ καταλελεμάθησαν καὶ οἱ συζητοῦσι.
33 Ulrich’s edition counts 421 (partly) readable letters, while the whole column (= fragment, supplied by Wevers’ text) counts 1287 letters.
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... δῶμαι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ὑμῶν ἐν καιρῷ σκότους καὶ ἥ γε δώσω τῇ γεννήματι αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ τῷ πόλεμῳ παραδώσω τῷ καιρῷ αὐτῶν

... I will give the rain to you in its season and the land will give its produce and the trees of the fields will yield their fruit.

The text of 4QLXXLev reads:

[...] δῶμαι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῇ γεννήματι αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ καιρῷ αὐτῶν [τῷ καιρῷ αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ τῷ πόλεμῳ]

... I will give the rain to the land in its season [and the land will give its produce] and the arboreal fruit.

The Masoretic text reads:

... I will give your rains in their season, and the land will give its produce, and the tree of the field will give its fruit.

The first transformation we find in LXX\textsuperscript{a} is a change of word class, ἐκτίσις ‘your rains’ → τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ὑμῶν ‘rain to you’ (I ignore the change of accidence). The problem behind it is that Hebrew can express the indirect object by means of a possessive suffix,\textsuperscript{35} where Greek prefers a dative.\textsuperscript{36} Now if we take 4QLXXLev\textsuperscript{a} as a revision of LXX\textsuperscript{a}, we should ask: what disturbing element had to be smoothed out? The only irregular feature is the place of ὑμῶν ‘to you’ behind the object. Many manuscripts correct this by placing it before the object. This is a correction according to the minimax strategy. What we find in 4QLXXLev\textsuperscript{a} goes beyond that, in other words, it is not easy to account for as a revision. The transformation in 4QLXXLev\textsuperscript{a} is either an addition, viz. of τῷ γῆς ‘the earth’, or an anaphoric translation after Deuteronomy 11:14; 28:12, 24.\textsuperscript{37} The translator who did this saw two problems: the indirect object expressed by a suffix, noted above, and one of logic. The Lord gives rain to the people (‘you’), and the land gives its produce. Saying that the Lord gives rain to the land and the land yields its produce is smoother and does not mention an unnecessary link. A modern version like GN omits the indirect object for reasons of logic. If LXX\textsuperscript{a} is a revision of 4QLXXLev\textsuperscript{a}, the problem that prompted it was the formal difference with MT and the desire to conform the translation more closely to it.

In the same verse there is another difference between LXX\textsuperscript{a} and 4QLXXLev\textsuperscript{a}. Whereas the former translates literally, the latter speaks about τῷ ἔδραμον καρπῷ ‘the arboreal fruit’.\textsuperscript{38} According to LSJ this expression denotes fruit, wine and oil as opposed to κάρπῳ στριφῶν ‘dry fruit’ (cereals). It entails a change of word class, ἔδραμον ‘tree, wood’ → ἔδραμον ‘arboreal, wooden’, and implies a change of syntactic structure in the lost part of the verse (left empty by Ulrich). Again this transformation smooths out the logical chain and pursues the road taken by the first transformation. God gives rain to the earth, so it is the earth – not the trees – that yields fruit. This is quite a rational type of logic, which betrays a concern to

\textsuperscript{35} Joüon-Muraoka § 129b, where our text is quoted.

\textsuperscript{36} Cf. the renderings in Exodus 2:9; Deuteronomy 11:14; 28:12, 24; Psalm 20 (LXX 19):3 etc.

\textsuperscript{37} In theory it is possible to assume a different Vorlage, viz. עָנָן רָעֶשׁ, as Ulrich, The Septuagint Manuscripts from Qumran, 168 mentions in passing, but it is graphically difficult and must be supported by other harmonizing tendencies.

\textsuperscript{38} An alternative Vorlage with עָנָן רָעֶשׁ is not probable, implying a complete reworking of the verse.

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present a digestible text to the target audience. The rendering is unusual and may be ancient, pointing to a stage preceding revisional stereotyping, although the opposite possibility cannot be ruled out.

In the next verse, 26:5, this is different. The verse describes the abundant harvests Israel will receive when it serves the Lord. LXX offers a literal translation once more:

καὶ τῆς ἀκολουθίας τοῦ ἔρευνος καὶ τῆς ἀμπελουσίας χρήσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς πλούσιον.

And your threshing shall overtake the vintage, and your vintage shall overtake your sowing: and ye shall eat your bread to the full.

4QXXLev'
καὶ τῆς ἀκολουθίας τοῦ ἔρευνος καὶ τῆς ἀμπελουσίας χρήσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς πλούσιον.

And your harvest shall overtake the vintage, and your vintage shall overtake your sowing: and ye shall eat your bread to the full.

MT

Threshing will last till vintage, and vintage till sowing; you will eat bread to the full and live secure in your land.

With respect to the transformation attested in 4QXXLev', Vaticanus and Alexandrinus, 'threshing' ← 'harvest (time)', there is a distinct semantical relationship (generalization), which in principle points to a translator rather than a copyist. It was prompted by the difference in semantic level: the Hebrew text alternates semantically low-level and high-level lexemes. It would be more consistent (or rigorous) to speak of either 'threshing and wine-pressing' or of 'grain harvest and fruit harvest', their respective hyperonyms. That the translator smooths this out points to a strong concern for ease of understanding.

Is LXX here a revision of 4QXXLev' or vice versa? If LXX is original with its literal translation, Ulrich notes, the variant 'threshing' ← 'harvest (time)' is difficult to explain except as a revision toward an undocumented Hebrew variant. But there is another difficulty with this position. The variants found in 4QXXLev', we saw, have parallels in modern common language translations of MT in their concern for easy digestibility. It is easy to imagine how such a translator may have worked on the basis of MT. He worked from a language incomprehensible to his readership anyhow, so he made the target text as readable as possible. On the other hand, if the copyist of 4QXXLev' was reworking LXX or a similar text, he must have found in practice that LXX was not comprehensible enough. This is no credible assumption, in my view, for in the cases just discussed LXX presents a perfectly understandable text. Judging from LXX one could even say that the quest for readability by the copyist of 4QXXLev' is exaggerated. It must have entailed a large

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39 Alternative attempts at a more logical chain in this verse can be found in the Dutch Groot Nieuws Bijbel (1983) and CEV.
41 It is found in modern versions that certainly do not offer retroverted Qumran fragments. Cf. the solution in TEV, 'Your crops will be so plentiful that you will still be harvesting grain when it is time to pick grapes, and you will still be picking grapes when it is time to plant grain.'
42 Ulrich, The Septuagint Manuscripts from Qumran, 170. For both graphical and stylistic (repetitiveness with ἀκολουθία) reasons I deem a reading ‘threshing’ ← ‘harvest’ very unlikely.
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investment of papyrus, ink, time and energy to achieve a small improvement in readability. This imaginary copyist/revisor would then figure as the strongest counter-example to the minimax strategy we discovered yet. The opposite procedure, a revision towards MT, is explainable by religious motives: a stricter alignment to the authoritative Masoretic Text.\footnote{Cf. also Tov, The Greek Biblical Texts, 106.}

In vs 6 4Q\textsuperscript{LXX}Lev\textsuperscript{a} and other manuscripts keep the clause order of MT, but LXX\textsuperscript{ed} surprisingly contains a major change: the underlined clause has been transposed from the end of vs 6 to the beginning. Ulrich states at the outset that ‘the best way to explain the variant positions in [LXX manuscripts] is to see the problem at the Hebrew stage.’\footnote{Ulrich, The Septuagint Manuscripts from Qumran, 170 and, more cautiously, Tov, The Greek Biblical Texts, 109f.}

A rash claim, if we realize that five different possibilities are represented in the Greek manuscript tradition, as appears from Wevers’ apparatus:

4Q\textsuperscript{LXX}Lev\textsuperscript{a} + a number of mss (≈ MT)

\[\text{καὶ} \text{oú} \text{δὸς} \text{εἴρησθαι} \text{ἐν} \text{τῇ} \text{γῇ} \text{ἡμῶν} \text{καὶ} \text{koumachēthēse} \text{kai} \]
\[\text{φῶς} \text{τὰ} \text{άρωμα} \text{καὶ} \text{αὐτὸ} \text{καὶ} \text{τῆ} \text{φυσις} \text{πονηρὰ} \text{ἐκ} \text{τῆ} \text{γῆ} \text{ἡ} \text{ἡμῶν}\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{καὶ} \text{πόλαμος} \text{οὔ} \text{διελεύσθη} \text{διὰ} \text{τῆ} \text{γῆ} \text{ἡ} \text{ἡμῶν}\end{array}
\]
and I will give peace in your land, and you will lie down, and no one will make you afraid, and I will destroy the evil beasts out of your land and war will not pass through your land.

LXX\textsuperscript{ed}

кαὶ πόλαμος οὐ διελεύσθη διὰ τῆς γῆς ἡμῶν καὶ ὁ λόγος εἱρήθη ἐν τῇ γῇ ἡμῶν καὶ
koumachēthēse kai oiōn estēi ̓̂μα ̓̂ οἰκοβιον kai apōla ̓̂φυσις πονηρὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἡμῶν

\[
d'54-75 '\text{Aeth} \]
\[\text{καὶ ὁ λόγος εἰρήθη ἐν τῇ γῇ ἡμῶν καὶ koumachēthēse καὶ oiiōn estēi ̓̂μα ̓̂ οἰκοβιον καὶ apōla ̓̂φυσις πονηρὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἡμῶν} \]

LXX\textsuperscript{ed}

καὶ πόλαμος οὐ διελεύσθη διὰ τῆς γῆς ἡμῶν καὶ ὁ λόγος εἱρήθη ἐν τῇ γῇ ἡμῶν καὶ
coumachēthēse kai oiiōn estēi ̓̂μα ̓̂ οἰκοβιον και apōla ̓̂φυσις πονηρὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἡμῶν

A B\textsuperscript{w} F M’ and many minusc. mss.

καὶ πόλαμος οὐ διελεύσθη διὰ τῆς γῆς ἡμῶν καὶ ὁ λόγος εἰρήθη ἐν τῇ γῇ ἡμῶν καὶ
koumachēthēse kai oiiōn estēi ̓̂μα ̓̂ οἰκοβιον και apōla ̓̂φυσις πονηρὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἡμῶν καὶ
πόλαμος οὐ διελεύσθη διὰ τῆς γῆς ἡμῶν

The latter conflated reading is the result of revision and need not detain us here. Some manuscripts and the Ethiopian translation of LXX lack the clause altogether, probably due to parablepsis (homoioteleuton τῆς γῆς ἡμῶν ἀρχαῖον τῆς γῆς ἡμῶν).

What caused the transposition of LXX\textsuperscript{ed}, to my mind, is the rendering of \textsuperscript{ς}ςς ‘sword’, which occurs successively in vss 6, 7, 8. The translator did not accept the personification of the sword which is depicted as ‘passing through your land’. He rendered the sense for the image and translated \textsuperscript{ς}ςς ‘sword’ as \textsuperscript{ω}ω ‘war’. This is the transformation in 4QL\textsuperscript{LXX}Lev', which makes an understandable rendering at clause level. But, once you have decided to use \textsuperscript{ω}ω ‘war’ it becomes attractive to couple it to its antonym εἱρήθη ‘peace’, either before (LXX\textsuperscript{ed} or after it (56\textsuperscript{th})). This suggests that LXX\textsuperscript{ed} is an inner-Greek
improvement of coherence and makes. That πόλεμος triggered the displacement speaks against a different parent text. Jumping over the two minor variants in vss 6, 8, we find another difference in vs 9:

LXX
καὶ ἐπιθύμησεν ἐφ’ ζωῆς καὶ πάρεισεν ζωῆς καὶ πληθυναί ζωῆς καὶ στῆρα τὴν διαθήκην μου μεθ’ ιῶμιν
And I will turn to you and I will increase you and multiply you and I will erect my covenant with you.

4QLXXLev
[καὶ ἐπιθυμήσει ἐφ’ ζωῆς ἐκεῖ πάρεισεν ζωῆς καὶ πληθυναί ζωῆς]
And I will turn to you and [I will increase you and multiply you and there will be] my covenant among you.

MT
And I will turn to you and I will increase you and multiply you and I will erect [= keep] my covenant with you.

While LXX translates literally, 4QLXXLev contains a change of word order (possessive – noun) and a change of syntactic structure: the covenant has now become subject instead of object, while the Lord as an agent has been made implicit. Before resorting to conjectural reconstructions of a different Vorlage, we must ask: what is the problem? The most frequent literal rendering of σαρκαί is ἐστιν εἰς ἡμᾶς ‘to erect’. But here that would wrongly suggest that there had not been a covenant before (translational problem). The required meaning is of course ‘I will keep my covenant with you’ and this is what we find in modern versions. Similar renderings also occur in the Septuagint occasionally. The difference comes down to a contextual versus a stereotyped rendering. Since a translational problem can be identified, it is not likely that 4QLXXLev is based on a Hebrew variant, as Ulrich claims. We cannot exhaust the question concerning the relationship between 4QLXXLev, LXX and the Hebrew witnesses here. Nevertheless, I hope the above examples have shown that

45 Numbers 23:19, Deuteronomy 27:26, Jeremiah 44 (MT 51):25 (ἱεράμενα [κύριος]; 1 Kings 1 Samuel 15:11 (τὰ τῆς). Therefore the missing text did not necessarily read ἢ, ἤτοι μοι ἡ διαθήκη εἰς ζωὰς, but possibly οὐκ ἤτοι μοι ἡ διαθήκη εἰς ζωὰς.
46 Ulrich, Septuagint Manuscripts from Qumran, 171. Tov, The Greek Biblical Texts, 107 does not follow Ulrich, for different reasons.
Conclusions

the problem-oriented study of transformations can advance text-critical argumentation in several directions.
Definitions and concepts

Words occurring for the first time in the text are marked by an (*).

**Accidence** The ‘accidental form’ of a word is opposed to its ‘fundamental form’ as appearing in dictionaries.¹

**Agent** See ‘Thematic roles’.

**Antonymy** (simple, gradable) See ‘Structural semantics’.

**Aquila** A Jewish translator of the Hebrew Bible (2nd century AD), known for his extremely source-language oriented approach.

**Ben Sira** A deuto-canonical Biblical book (=Jesus Sirach, Ecclesiastes), of which Greek and Hebrew texts have survived.

**Co-hyponymy** See ‘Structural semantics’.

**Componential analysis** is an analytical approach to lexical meaning that ‘describes word meanings as a combination of elementary meaning components called “semantic features”’.² The approach is especially useful for the analysis of the meaning of semantically related words. Its results can be schematically presented, which gives easy insight into the correspondences and the differences between the terms in question.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>HUMAN</td>
<td>MALE</td>
<td>ADULT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>HUMAN</td>
<td>FEMALE</td>
<td>ADULT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boy</td>
<td>HUMAN</td>
<td>MALE</td>
<td>NOT ADULT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girl</td>
<td>HUMAN</td>
<td>FEMALE</td>
<td>NOT ADULT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this table, the items in small capitals constitute the ‘atomic concepts’ which make up the meaning of the lexemes, the ‘molecular concept’ in Lyons’ terms.³

In its present form componential analysis came up after 1950, but the idea of universal, semantically primitive meanings has ancient roots in philosophical tradition (Leibniz). After decades of popularity, recent scholars have become increasingly critical of the theory, if they do not dismiss it altogether. Criticism has concentrated on the following points:⁴

- The idea of universal atomic concepts is debatable. Besides, there is no reason why a language should not make use of non-universal sense-components.
- It is very difficult to define the atomic concepts. The analysis of ‘father’ in PARENT + MALE raises the question whether PARENT really is a universal semantic concept. Intuitively, we recognize ‘father’ as a semantically more ‘primitive’ term.
- How the atomic concepts work together to produce the meaning of a lexeme is a complex question. It does not suffice to list components in tables. The components of,

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⁴ See the discussion in Lyons, *Semantics*, 317-335.
Definitions and concepts

for example, the verb ‘to kill’ must be structured in a very specific way in order to produce the meaning of the lexeme: (CAUSE(BECOME(NOT(ALIVE))))\textsuperscript{5}.

- Componental analysis cannot be applied to the entire lexicon of a language. It has proven its practical value in the analysis of limited classes of lexemes such as kinship terms, furniture, verbs of motion etc.

Nevertheless, componental analysis has been influential in the field of translation theory. Different languages do not combine the same sense-components in their lexemes in the same way. Hence, when the translator seeks to translate meaning, word for word translation is often impossible. This insight was already common knowledge in antiquity, but componental analysis brought it home with attractive clarity. To benefit from its advantages, we need not subscribe to the theory in its entirety.

Connotation

It is common to distinguish between ‘objective’ and ‘subjective’ components of meaning. These used to be known as denotation and connotation. Recent authors distinguish between descriptive (denotation), expressive and social or appellative meaning, parallel to Bühler’s functional model of language (Information, Ausdruck, Appell). For our purpose we content ourselves with Lyons’ distinction between descriptive and expressive (or socio-expressive) meaning.\textsuperscript{6} Dimensions of socio-expressive meaning are e.g. register, sociolect, dialect, medium (written vs. spoken), frequency, emotional evaluation.

Content words

Verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs, as opposed to conjunctions, particles, prepositions.

Converses

See ‘Structural semantics’.

Denotation

as defined by Lyons, is the relationship between a word and a class of entities in the world. The denotatum of the word ‘organ’ is that class of musical instruments that are correctly called ‘organ’.

Compare ‘sense’ and ‘reference’.

Deviation

A TL rendering of a source text element which is not its literal or expected counterpart.

Equivalent

A problematic and hotly debated term, mostly avoided in the present study.

Homoioiteleuton / homoioarkton

See ‘Parablepsis’.

Hyponymy / Hyperonymy

See ‘Structural semantics’.

Lexical meaning

of a word is its context-independent sense, which a speaker acquires by means of its use in previous contexts. Strictly speaking, the context-independent sense is a theoretical construct and therefore difficult to pin down, because words always occur in contexts. But for speakers of many languages words seem to have a psychological reality (‘words have meanings’). The context then plays a role in adding or selecting the right information. So, for example, when the English ‘house’ is translated with German ‘Haus’, I

\textsuperscript{5} Lyons, Semantics, 321.

\textsuperscript{6} Lyons, Linguistic Semantics, 64.

\textsuperscript{7} See Lyons, Semantics, 206-215; Saeed, Semantics 23-24.
would call this a rendering of its lexical meaning (a literal translation), whereas ‘Dynastie’ or ‘Firma’ are contextual renderings (non-literal translations).  

**Minimax strategy** ‘The translator resolves for that one of the possible solutions which promises a maximum of effect with a minimum of effort.’

**Obligatory versus non-obligatory** When transformations are due to the differences in two language systems, they are called obligatory. Transformations that are due to the translator’s own style and preferences are called optional or non-obligatory. Usually the difference is easy to discern, but in some cases a decision remains doubtful.

**Peshitta** Syriac Bible translation, dating from the 2nd century AD at its earliest.

**Parablepsis** Scribal oversight resulting in the omission of a part of the text and caused by the repetition of one or more words in the same context in an identical or similar way. When the identical elements occur at the beginning of the omitted section, it is called *homoioarcton*, and when the identical elements occur at the end of the omitted section, it is called *homoioteleuton* (or *homoeo-*)

**Pseudo-variant** A Hebrew reading which seems a logical retroversion from a deviating LXX, but never existed in a manuscript, only in the translator’s mind.

**Reference**, as defined by Lyons, is the relationship between a word and a specific entity in the world. When I say ‘I demonstrated the organ to my colleagues’, then ‘the organ’ refers to the Schnitger-organ of the Aa-kerk in Groningen. ‘denotation’, ‘sense’.

**Register** is the level of language, in which utterances can be clothed. Compare the descending register in the following examples: ‘would you be so kind as to refrain from unnecessary communication’ with ‘Please be silent’ or ‘shut up!’ There are many different attempts to categorize human language in registers, e.g. frozen - formal - neutral - informal - colloquial. The concept of register is known under different names.

**Relativist view of language** The ‘relativists’ hold that any particular language is inextricably linked to a way of thinking. A language thus expresses a world view. This belief became especially popular in German Romanticism and its most famous representatives are Sapir & Whorf. Carried to its extreme, this theory considers translation impossible.

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15 See Stolze, *Übersetzungstheorien*, Kap. 2 ‘Relativistisch orientierte Theorien.’

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Definitions and concepts

Semantic field

See ‘Structural semantics’.

Sense

Like ‘reference’ and ‘denotation’, ‘sense’ is an important term in the description of meaning. Many scholars (e.g. Lyons) use ‘sense’ for what is commonly called ‘meaning’. Sense is distinct from reference, as is seen in the classical example ‘The Morning Star is the Evening Star’. Both terms have the same reference (i.e. the planet Venus), but differ in sense. Reference relates an expression to the real world, sense relates it to mental representations.

Shifts

See ‘Transformations’.

Structural Semantics

The theory of structural semantics is an approach in the description of meaning. It departs from two presuppositions:

1. ‘The semantic value of lexemes cannot be described in isolation, but can only be properly demarcated by contrasting the item with (semantically) related items.’
2. ‘The vocabulary of a language is not an unordered list of elements, but should be conceived as a structural network’.

Hence this theory tries to distinguish between various meaning relations between lexemes. A set of semantically related lexemes is called a semantic field. All semantic fields together make up the lexicon or vocabulary. Between lexemes there exist two types of relations, roughly speaking.

A. Hierarchical relations

Some lexemes are more specific than others, e.g. ‘cow’ is more specific than ‘animal’, which is a more generic term. Thus ‘cow’ is a hyponym of ‘animal’, ‘rose’ is a hyponym of ‘flower’, and so on; and further, that ‘rose’, ‘tulip’, ‘daffodil’, etc., since each is a hyponym of ‘flower’, are co-hyponyms (of the same lexeme).

In general, a hyponymical relation can be detected by the formula ‘x is a kind (sort/type) of y’. To give a few examples: ‘drizzle’ is a kind of rain, ‘villa’ is a type of house.

The counterpart of hyponymy is ‘hyperonymy’ (or ‘hypernymy’). If ‘cow’ is a hyponym of ‘animal’, it follows that ‘animal’ is a hyperonym of ‘cow’.

To be distinguished from hyponomy is meronymy (a part-whole relation), also called pars pro toto. As an arm is a part of the body, the lexeme ‘arm’ is a meronym of ‘body’.

B. Contrastive relations

There are various forms of semantic opposition. Lexemes of the first category are called simple antonyms, i.e. words that are ungradable or binary opposites. Examples are dead/alive, hit/miss, male/female. The second group, gradable antonyms, consists of pairs ‘where the positive of one term does not necessarily imply the negative of the other, e.g. rich/poor, fast/slow, young/old, beautiful/ugly.’ Words of the third category are converses, i.e. words that describe the same relation from opposite viewpoints, e.g. buy/sell, husband/wife, employer/employee, above/below.

16 Lyons, Semantics, 197-206; Saeed, Semantics, 303.
17 Asher, Encyclopaedia of Language and Linguistics 8, 4358-9.
18 Lyons, Semantics, 250-269.
19 Lyons, Semantics, 291.
20 Lyons, Semantics, 292.
21 Asher, Encyclopaedia of Language and Linguistics 3, 1624-1625 s.v. ‘Hyponymy and Hyperonymy’.
22 Saeed, Semantics, 70.
24 Saeed, Semantics, 67; ‘antonymy’ in Lyons’ terminology.
25 Saeed, Semantics, 67.
The fourth category, limited to verbs of movement, is reverses or ‘directional opposition’ as Lyons calls it. Examples are arrive/depart, push/pull, ascend/descend. Not all semantic relations can be interpreted in terms of hierarchy or contrast. The challenge of describing multiple meaning relations in a systematic way has been taken up by componential analysis.

Style
A popular common-sense definition sounds like ‘style is a way of saying something’. Although everyone roughly understands what style is, the definition of style is a hotly debated issue in the scholarly world. An influential textbook expressly refrains from giving a definition, because there are already too many.

Three approaches to style are generally distinguished. The first one is the dualistic approach: style is the mantle, in which the content is clothed, which implies a radical distinction between form and content. The second approach is monistic and claims that style and content are inseparable; every linguistic utterance is stylistically meaningful. The third approach is called variational or pluralistic: style is every feature in a text that is characteristic of it and marks it off from other texts. All three approaches add something to our comprehension of style, which makes it difficult to select a ‘correct’ one. One of the major problems in stylometry, once style is viewed as variation, is the question which text(s) should be taken as a norm from which stylistic choices can be said to deviate. For the purpose of the present study we follow Hatim & Mason’s division in user-related and use-related variation. The dimensions of user-related variation are geographical (dialect, accents), temporal (archaic vs. modern), social (upper-class speech, cyber-talk). The use-related variations are, in their terminology, field of discourse (better known as pragmatic function, the purpose of a text), tenor of discourse (better known as ‘register’, the language resulting from the speaker’s attitude towards his addressee) and mode of discourse (oral, written etc.). We can add the individual stylistic features, which include figures of style.

Symmachus
A Jewish (-Christian?) translator of the Pentateuch (2nd century AD), who combined careful semantic rendering with smoothness of diction.

Thematic roles
In the study of sentence semantics much attention has been paid to a speaker’s description of a situation. Saeed gives the following example:

Gina raised the car with a jack.

and comments: ‘This sentence identifies three entities, Gina, the car and a jack, related by the action described by the verb raise. The sentence portrays these entities in specific roles: Gina is the entity responsible for initiating and carrying out the action, the car is acted upon and has its position changed by the action, and the jack is the means by which Gina is able to cause the action.’

26 Saeed, Semantics, 67.
28 Leech & Short, Style in Fiction, 24f. See also J. van Luxemburg e.a., Inleiding in de literatuurwetenschap, Muidenberg 1985, 150ff.
29 B. Hatim & I. Mason, Discourse and the Translator (Language in Social Life Series 2), London / New York 1990, Ch. 3.
30 Saeed, Semantics, 139.
Definitions and concepts

Such roles are called ‘thematic (/semantic) roles’ or ‘deep cases’. Scholars are divided about the number of semantic roles that should be distinguished as well as about their names. Most authors seem to agree upon the following basic roles: ‘agent’, ‘patient’, ‘locus’, ‘time’, ‘instrument’. 31 The list can be modified, as in Saeed: ‘agent’, ‘patient’, ‘theme’, ‘experiencer’, ‘beneficiary’, ‘instrument’, ‘location’, ‘goal’ and ‘source’.32  

The determination of a semantic role depends on its definition. If we define an agent as a deliberate initiator of an action, we must call the poison an instrument in the following example:

The poison killed Albert.

In this example, neither the agent (e.g. a murderer) nor the time or the locus are mentioned. This concept of thematic roles can be used to distinguish between the level of semantics and the level of syntax and to mediate between these levels.33 Although the concept of thematic roles is linked to a theoretical framework, it is compatible with other approaches. The distinction between semantics and syntax is important in translation. An example will illustrate this:

In 1917 Jerusalem was taken by Allenby.

The grammatical subject, governing the predicate, is ‘Jerusalem’ but this does not imply that Jerusalem initiated the action described by the verb. Jerusalem is the patient and Allenby is the agent. Subject and agent will often coincide, but not always. The syntactic relation is not necessarily parallel to the semantic relation. Now speakers are at liberty to describe situations as they want. They may delete elements, as in:

Jerusalem was taken.

Depending on the possibilities of the language, thematic roles can theoretically take on any grammatical form.

Last year has seen an intensification of the peace talks.

In this English example, time is expressed by the subject, which is very unusual in Dutch. Thematic relations therefore have to take on a different grammatical form in a Dutch translation. Especially the category of voice (active, middle, passive) is a tool that enables speakers to vary in their syntactical representation of thematic roles. For example:

He was awarded a prize. (subject expresses ‘recipient’)

It goes without saying that languages differ in their voice system, so translators are liable to introduce changes of voice, in order to reach a natural way of expressing in the TL. 34

Theodotion A Jewish translator of the Scriptures of debated existence, who supposedly lived in the late 2nd century and whose translations are quite literal.

Translation techniques are called ‘transformations’ in this study. Some scholars employ the term in the sense of ‘translation method’. 35

31 Asher, Encyclopaedia of Language and Linguistics 2, 460.
32 Saeed, Semantics, 140-141.
33 See the discussion and literature in Saeed, Semantics, Chapters 6 and 9.
34 Chapter 11 in Newmark, Textbook, is devoted to the application of case grammar to translation.
TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE SEPTUAGINT

**Translation method** (‘Übersetzungsweise’)  
A translation method is an overall approach that has consciously or unconsciously been followed in the translation of a particular text. A translation method is the outcome of certain principles and expresses itself in the way transformations have been applied. A method need not be a consistent and systematic approach.\(^{36}\)

**Transformations** or shifts are changes (linguistic or other) with respect to an invariant core that occur in translation from source text to target text.

**Universalist view of language** This view holds that languages differ, but that thinking and feeling are universal, which guarantees the possibility of translation.\(^{37}\)

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\(^{37}\) Stolze, *Übersetzungstheorien*, Kap. 3 ‘Zeichentheorien und universalistische Übersetzungstheorie.’
Nederlandse samenvatting

De Septuaginta (LXX) is een verzameling vertalingen van bijbelboeken die door Grieks sprekkende joden uit het Hebreeuws zijn vertaald. Rond 250 v. Chr. voltooide men de vertaling van de Tora te Alexandrië, en in de drie eeuwen erna volgden de overige boeken van het Oude Testament. De vertalingen variëren van zeer letterlijk tot vrij. Ik ben in de Septuaginta geïnteresseerd geraakt door mijn werk aan de Nieuwe Bijbelvertaling. In commentaren en in wetenschappelijke tekstuitgaven zag ik vaak dat er voorstellen werden gedaan tot wijziging van de Masoreetische tekst (de Hebreeuwse ‘standaardeditie’ [=MT]) met een beroep op de Septuaginta. Het was mijn collega’s en mij vaak duidelijk dat het niet altijd betekende dat de Septuaginta-vertalers afwijkende Hebreeuwse tekst voor zich hadden, maar dat zij een vertaaltransformatie toegepast hadden.

De term vertaaltransformatie is afkomstig uit de vertaalwetenschap. Omdat de Septuaginta een vertaling van de bijbel is, zou je verwachten dat theologen en vertaalwetenschappers de handen ineen zouden slaan om haar beter te kunnen bestuderen. Het omgekeerde is echter het geval. Het onderzoek van de Septuaginta is grotendeels het domein van theologen, die de afgelopen decennia geen kennis hebben genomen van vertaalwetenschap. Hiervoor zijn ze gedeeltelijk verantwoordelijk door het soms ondoordacht gemaakt van syntactische verschijnselen in het Hebreeuws en hun weergave in het Grieks. Ook ‘vertaaltechnieken’ hebben aandacht gekregen. Meer energie is echter gestoken in het verschijnsel letterlijkheid, omdat men hiervoor gemakkelijk de computer kan gebruiken en deze insteek perspectief lijkt te bieden voor de tekstkritiek. Immers, bij letterlijke vertalingen is de kans groter dat je een afwijkende lezing kunt terugvertalen naar een afwijkende Hebreeuwse tekst. Niet-letterlijke vertalingen worden vaak betiteld als ‘vrije weergaven’, zonder dat men categorieën uit de vertaalwetenschap heeft gebruikt.

Vertaalwetenschappers op hun beurt, die doorgaans Grieks noch Hebreeuws kennen, hebben de Septuaginta, de belangrijkste vertaling uit de oudheid, links laten liggen en zich meestal beperkt tot een vermelding van de Aristeas-legende omtrent de 70 vertalers. Er zijn echter tekenen die erop wijzen dat het tij keert en dat er kruisbestuiving tussen Septuaginta-onderzoek en vertaalwetenschap op komst is. De onderhavige studie wil daaraan een bijdrage leveren.

De vertaalwetenschap (Translation Studies) bestaat uit een aantal benaderingen, ieder met haar eigen terminologie. Voor het onderzoek van de Septuaginta is niet elke benadering even relevant. Het proces-georiënteerde onderzoek verricht experimenten (via o.a. de ‘hardop-denkmethode’) om erachter te komen wat er zich in het brein van de vertaler afspeelt tijdens het vertaalproces. Ook heeft men onderzoek verricht naar de verschillen in werkwijze tussen tolken en vertalers. De resultaten hiervan zijn boeiend. Veel Septuagint-geleerden zijn er jarenlang vanuit gegaan dat de LXX-vertalers de Egyptische handelstonken als hun voorbeeld hebben genomen toen ze aan hun werk begonnen; zo vertoont volgens Rabins theorie de Septuaginta allerlei kenmerken die typerend zijn voor tolken. Echter, volgens het proces-georiënteerde onderzoek zijn deze helemaal niet kenmerkend voor tolken tegenover vertalers, maar voor beginnende tegenover gevorderde vertalers!

De linguistische vertaalwetenschap van de pioniers uit grofweg 1960-1980 biedt mijns inziens veel aanknopingspunten voor het Septuaginta-onderzoek. Zij opereert op woordniveau, wat ten eerste goed past bij de kleine vertaaleenheden die de LXX-vertalers hanteer-
TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE SEPTUAGINT
den, en ten tweede de mogelijkheid biedt om allerlei macrotekstuele aspecten (stijl van een
tekst, functie, doelgroep), die in de latere vertaalwetenschap ontwikkeld zijn voor de studie
van moderne vertalingen, even te laten liggen.
De vertaalkritische benadering is niet relevant voor de Septuaginta, omdat het niet onze
taak is om te beoordelen, maar te beschrijven. Met beoordelingen leggen we te gemakkelijk
onsze moderne ideeën op aan vertalers die 2200 jaar geleden vanuit hun eigen vooronder-
stellingen werkten. Hetzelfde geldt voor de ideologiekritische benaderingen.
De functionalistische vertaaltheorie heeft veel aandacht voor de maatschappelijke inbed-
ding van vertalingen: wie betaalt?, wat is de doelgroep?, wat is de beoogde functie? enz.
Verschillende begrippen uit deze benadering kunnen toegepast worden op de Septuaginta.
De Descriptive Translation Studies (‘beschrijvende vertaalwetenschap’) van m.n. Gideon
Toury lijkt op het eerste gezicht veel te bieden. Deze methode is echter ontwikkeld voor de
bestudering van hedendaagse vertalingen en leunt op een enorme kennis van de doelecul-
tuur. Maar die kennis hebben we niet in het geval van de Septuaginta. Nettelmin levert deze
benadering enkele verrijkingen voor procedures die door onderzoekers van de Septuagint al
toegepast worden. Ook Toury’s aandacht voor ‘pseudovertalingen’ is vernieuwend.

Computertoepassingen, zoals het doorzoeken van grote gegevensbestanden met bronteksten
en vertalingen, bieden interessante mogelijkheden voor het Septuaginta-onderzoek, waar
Hebreeuwse teksten en Griekse vertalingen evenals de gehele Griekse literatuur uit de
oudheid al digitaal beschikbaar zijn. Vooral op het gebied van vraagstellingen (met welke
kan men de computerbestanden het beste onderzoeken) kan men van elkaar leren.
Tenslotte behoeft de relevantie van de historische vertaalwetenschap geen betoog.
Uit de bovengenoemde benaderingen heb ik voor mijn studie vooral gebruik gemaakt van
de historische vertaalwetenschap en de linguïstische of vroege vertaalwetenschap.

Hoe meer teksten er onderzocht zijn, hoe meer materiaal men heeft om zgn. ‘vertaalwetma-
tigheden’ (translation universals) op te stellen, dat wil zeggen, te voorspellen welke ver-
schijnselen zich hoogstwaarschijnlijk zullen voordoen bij elke willekeurige omzetting van
brontekst naar doeltekst. De vraag is natuurlijk of deze vrij recente ‘universele vertaalwet-
ten’ ook bevestigd worden in het onderzoek van een serie vertalingen uit de oudheid,
waarvan deze studie een voorbeeld is.

[Hoofdstuk 2] Uit een verkenning van opvattingen over taal en vertalen in de oudheid blijkt
dat onder Grieken, Romeinen, Egyptenaren en joden dezelfde meningsverschillen heersten
over het wezen van taal en vertaalbaarheid. De scheidslijnen tussen taalopvattingen gingen
dwars door religieuze gemeenschappen heen.
In de Hellenisistische tijd (de eeuwen na Alexander de Grote, † 323 v.C.) werd taal door
specialisten bestudeerd in verschillende contexten, bijvoorbeeld tekstkritiek, literaire kritiek
en retorica. Men bestudeerde etymologie (herkomst van woorden), vormleer en grammatic-
ca. Men had besef van woordsoorten, en het is geen toeval dat handhaving van woordsoor-
ten een belangrijk kenmerk van de (letterlijke) tweetalige Vergilius-papyri was. De
taalbeheersing en taalbeschrijving in het kader van de welsprekendheid (retorica) waren
hoogontwikkeld. Sofisten, redenaars en andere taalspecialisten gingen uitdrukkelijk in op
het belang van doelgroep, de drie genres (historia, poética, rhetorica), pragmatische functie
(begoed doel van de tekst), beeldspraak enzovoorts.

Veel opvattingen kwamen rechtstreeks voort uit de praktijk van het vertalen. Geleerden die
twee talen beheersten kwamen tot de ontdekking dat woorden uit verschillende talen nooit
exacte dezelfde betekenis dekken (bijvoorbeeld Cicero en de kleinzoon van Ben Sira [Jezus
Sirach]). Anders dan vaak gedacht, waren er in de oudheid geen eenzijdige verdedigers van
óf letterlijk óf vrij vertalen. Nee, Griekse, Romeinse en joodse vertalers waren zich bewust
van de beslissende rol van de beoogde functie van de vertaalde tekst, en stonden hun vertaalmethode daarop af. Dit verklaart de grote verschillen tussen de vertaalde genres, van de zeer vrije targaoms tot de zeer letterlijke Vergilius-vertalingen, die zonder problemen naast elkaar konden bestaan.


Waar het nu in mijn methode om gaat is niet dat elke vertaalverandering een etiket krijgt opgeplakt (stap 1), maar dat je de reden van de transformatie op het spoor komt (stap 2). Een vertaaltransformatie wordt namelijk altijd toegepast omdat een letterlijke vertaling niet werkt in de ogen van een vertaler. Wanneer we dus een verrassende ‘vrije’ vertaling tegenkomen, moeten we eerst de verworpen letterlijke vertaling bekijken. Vaak zien we dan snel genoeg wat het vertaalprobleem was en waarom de vertaler een transformatie inzette. Wanneer dan blijkt dat eisen van de doeltaal een rol hebben gespeeld, wordt een theologische verklaring ongeloofwaardig. Als we nu een flink stuk tekst gedetailleerd hebben geanalyseerd op de twee vragen ‘wat zijn de transformaties’ en ‘waarom zijn ze toegepast’, krijgen we inzicht in de niveaus waarop de vertaler zijn vertaalproblemen onderscheidde. De ene vertaler past transformaties toe als het grammaticaal niet anders kan, de volgende wil een fraaie tekst bieden die vooral begrijpelijk is, de derde wil de tekst aanpassen aan een nieuwe situatie. Genoemde aandachtspunten hoeven elkaar overigens niet uit te sluiten. Bij de bottom-up analyse van teksten, d.w.z. de analyse van teksten op het laagste niveau, woordniveau, heb ik steeds eerst de Griekse tekst op zichzelf bestudeerd en vervolgens pas de Hebreeuwse. Ik deel namelijk niet de aanname dat de vertaler wel bedoeld zal hebben ‘de betekenis van het Hebreeuws weer te geven.’ Daarna volgt de vergelijking tussen LXX en MT, het benoemen van transformaties, het achterhalen van de oorzaak. Pas in en na dit stadium komen theologische en tekstkritische kwesties aan de orde. De hoofdstukken 4-6 bevatten een uitvoerige en gedetailleerde analyse van Genesis 2, Jesaja 1 en Spreuken 6 volgens de gekozen methode. Deze drie bijbelboeken zijn gekozen omdat uit eerder onderzoek al bekend was dat de Hebreeuws tekst die de LXX-vertalers gebruikten weinig verschilde van de Masorettische tekst, wat een zinvolle vergelijking tussen de Hebreeuwse en de Griekse tekst mogelijk maakt. Bovendien – dat wisten we ook – is elk van de drie bijbelboeken toe stand gekomen volgens een eigen vertaal-‘strategie’.

De keuze van de hoofdstukken binnen de bijbelboeken is vrij willekeurig. [Hoofdstuk 4] De tekst van LXX-Genesis 2 is Grieks dat sterk afwijkt van oorspronkelijk Griekse teksten, doordat de vertaler zeer letterlijk heeft vertaald. Hij heeft in principe elk woord met één woord weergegeven (kwantitative representatie), maar heeft sterk vastgehouden aan woordsoorten van het origineel, aan de woordvolgorde. Over stereotypering (vaak
TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE SEPTUAGINT

'concordantie' genoemd) is het moeilijk een uitspraak te doen in zo’n klein tekstgedeelte. De vertaler geeft dus de oppervlaktestructuur van de tekst weer. Hij past weinig transformaties toe. Als hij het doet, is het om mogelijke misverstanden te vermijden, zelden vanwege stijl of communicatie. In één geval (2:9) voegt de vertaler zijn eigen uitleg toe. In enkele gevallen is een afwijkende Hebreeuwse tekst mogelijk. Het doel van de vertaling is waar- schijnlijk geweest een vervangende brontekst en basis voor bijbeluitleg te vormen voor joden in Alexandrië. Een onverwacht resultaat van dit onderzoek is de bevinding dat de vertaler zich al doende ontwikkelt. Aanvankelijke hebraïstische weergaven die hem niet bevallen vermijdt hij verderop, waardoor de vertaling in de loop van het boek Genesis steeds natuurlijker wordt.

[Hoofdstuk 5] De tekst van LXX-Jesaja 1 is Grieks waar het Hebreeuws herkenbaar doorloopt. De vertaler heeft zijn brontekst op de voet gevolgd. Dat wil niet zeggen dat er sprake is van een één-op-één-strategie, want hij voegt vaak kleinere en soms grotere elementen toe die de natuurlijkheid, de duidelijkheid en de samenhang ten goede moeten komen. Ook laat de vertaler elementen wegs, soms om vergelijkbare redenen, maar ook wel omdat hij die overbodig acht. De vertaler heeft de Hebreeuwse woordvolgorde vrijwel gehandhaafd in het Grieks. Ook houdt hij vast aan de woordsoorten van het origineel. De vertaler lijkt niet te stereotyperen binnen Jesaja 1 omdat hij let op de betekenis van een woord binnen de context. Bovendien voelt hij zich niet gebonden aan de standaardweergaven van bepaalde woorden binnen de LXX-Pentateuch. De vertaler past vrij veel transformaties toe. Hij doet dit vooral omwille van natuurlijkheid, contextuele nuance, duidelijkheid, samenhang, logica, en om misverstanden te vermijden. Er zijn ook enkele transformaties om theologische redenen, met name in passages die emoties of eigenschappen van God beschrijven. In 1:13 introduceert de vertaler de ‘Grote Dag’, een uitdrukking voor de Grote Verzoendag. Met veel andere aanwijzingen suggereert hij dat hij een religieuze jood is. De vertaling was waarschijnlijk bestemd voor joden die zich aan de wet hielden en zich wilden verdiepen in hun traditie en haar relevante voor hun eigen tijd.

[Hoofdstuk 6] De tekst van LXX-Spreuken 6 komt heel dicht bij natuurlijk Grieks. Opvallend in de handschriften is dat de tekst niet als proza, maar in versregels is overgeleverd. De regels zijn ritmisch en op verschillende plaatsen is er een herkenbaar jambisch metrum – hoewel niet systematisch, zoals dat zou horen in Griekse dichtkunst. Aangezien jamben kenmerkend waren voor laagdrempelige literatuur, wijst dit erop dat de vertaler zijn tekst aantrekkelijk wilde maken. Ondanks de vrijheden vormt letterlijk vertalen nog steeds de ruggengraat van de tekst. De vertaler is niet geïnteresseerd in kwantitatieve representatie (‘één-op-één’). Dit blijkt het duidelijker in 6:8A-C, waar hij na ‘ga tot de mier, gij luiaard’ een passage van 40 woorden over de bij heeft toegevoegd. De vertaler vindt de bij een beter voorbeeld dan de mier en hij aarzelt niet om de tekst in dit opzicht te verfraaien. In 6:11A vinden we een toegevoegd vers waarin de boodschap van de passage positief wordt geformuleerd. Verder zijn er talrijke toevoegingen omwille van samenhang en duidelijkheid. De vertaler is niet per se gebonden aan de woordsoorten van het origineel en volgt de woordvolgorde alleen omdat en voorzover het gemakkelijk is. Hij vertaalt niet stereotiep en volgt evenmin de weergaven uit de LXX-Pentateuch. De vertaler past veel transformaties toe. Hij doet dit om de contextuele betekenis en soms de connotaties van woorden weer te kunnen geven, omwille van de duidelijkheid, om mogelijke misverstanden, vooral op ethisch gebied, te vermijden, om de samenhang van de tekst te vergroten en haar boodschap helder voor het voetlicht te brengen, en vooral om deze toegankelijk te maken. De vertaler houdt rekening met cultuurverschillen. Veel wijst erop dat de vertaling in eerste instantie was bedoeld als aantrekkelijke religieuze tekst voor Griekssprekende joden die van hun
wortels vervreemd dreigden te raken, en vervolgens voor andere geïnteresseerde lezers. De vertaling bevat nauwelijks specifiek-joodse elementen. De vertaler was een retorisch geschoolde jood uit Alexandrië met een open oor voor cultuur en literatuur van zijn dagen. [Conclusies] Uit een statistische vergelijking blijkt dat Genesis 2 de letterlijkste vertaling is, Spreuken 6 de vrijste en dat Jesaja 1 zich tussen het midden en Spreuken bevindt. Brengen we in rekening dat de Genesis-vertaler zich ontwikkeld heeft (zie boven), dan is Genesis als geheel minder letterlijk dan Genesis 2. Dan bevindt zich Jesaja 1 dus halverwege Genesis en Spreuken 6. De ontwikkeling van de Genesis-vertaler betekent bovendien dat de vertaler zich op de praktijk oriënteerde en niet werkte vanuit een reeds vastliggende (ver)taalvisie. Van de Jesaja-vertaler kan ik dit moeilijk vaststellen. De Spreuken-vertaler deelde waarschijnlijk de universalistische taalvisie van Aristoteles, zoals die in Alexandrië opgelid deed.

Ons onderzoek laat zien dat de volgende door eerdere onderzoekers voorgestelde ‘vertaal-wetmatigheden’ in de Septuaginta bevestigd worden:

- Vertalingen zijn over het algemeen langer dan het origineel.
- Vertalingen bevatten meestal in meerdere of mindere mate interferentie (de brontaal schemert soms door de vertaling heen).
- In vertalingen worden tekstuele naden en ‘narratieve stemmen’ over het algemeen weggewerkt. (Hieronder kunnen we verstaan sporen van redacties, bronnen, lastige overgangen of perspectiefwisselingen).
- Vertalingen zijn meestal explicieter dan het origineel.
- Vertalingen bevatten minder typische doeltaal-elementen dan natuurlijke teksten in de doeltaal.
- Vertalingen bevatten meestal minder herhaling dan het origineel.


De toepassing van mijn analysemodel toont een filter waarmee taalkundige factoren kunnen worden onderscheiden van stilistische, culturele, theologische en tekstkritische. Het is dus niet zo dat alles eenzijdig met behulp van vertaalfactoren wordt verklaard. Deze studie heeft bijvoorbeeld aannemelijk gemaakt dat de brontekst van de LXX-vertalers op enkele plaatsen afweek van de Masorettische tekst en stelt ook een enkele wijziging van de Göttingen-editie voor. De hier toegepaste methode kan een gezonde correctie bieden op benaderingen die ‘afwijkingen’ tussen de Septuaginta en MT al te snel als exegetisch-theologisch geïnspireerd verklaren of die meteen een afwijkende Hebreeuwse tekst aanne- men. Tevens kan de methodo verhelderend werken om de verhouding van twee vertalingen van dezelfde tekst tot elkaar te bepalen.
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Theodorus Anthonie Willem van der Louw was born in 1967. After visiting the Willem Lodewijk Gymnasium he studied Theology (cum laude) and Semitic Languages at Groningen University. In 1991-92 he spent a year at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where he studied under Emanuel Tov, Sara Japhet and Nechama Leibowitz. From 1993-2002 he worked as a Hebraist on the new Dutch Bible translation (NBV, published in 2004). For short periods he served as a pastoral worker and evangelist for the Protestant Church of the Netherlands. In 2004 he obtained his Didactic and Pedagogical Certificate for Teaching in Secondary Schools and taught Religion at the Maartenscollege in Haren. In the same year he became a Lecturer of Biblical Hebrew at Groningen University. Through the financial aid of NWO in Den Haag he was appointed researcher at Leiden University for one year to complete this study.