

*Translated Torah: Characterizing Old Greek Deuteronomy as
an Ancient Translation*

Jean Muraïs

School of Religious Studies
Faculty of Arts
McGill University, Montreal

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ABSTRACT

This project examines the translation of the biblical book of Deuteronomy into Greek, an undertaking set in 3rd century BCE Alexandria. Characterizing the various translations that make up the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible (the Septuagint) is an important prerequisite to their study for information concerning the translators and their milieu, as well as their prospective function. In the context of Deuteronomy, I argue that an adaptation of Toury's Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) framework is well suited to this task. In contrast with previous studies on this book, this study takes into account a greater range of features and provides a description of the work both as a translation and as a text. I then examine three sections of Deuteronomy to provide a more comprehensive characterization, the basis of which enables one to draw certain conclusions concerning its character and the type of inferences that can (or cannot) be drawn concerning its translator and his milieu. In light of the analysis of translation technique and the extant textual witnesses, I also argue that most of the quantitative differences observed should not be attributed to the translator but to his source text. It also becomes apparent that some passages were read and interpreted in specific ways by the translator, underscoring themes such as the divine origin of the law, dependence on divine mercy, and YHWH's care for his people. However, the character of the translation suggests that such interpretative renderings are localized and limited to the area of lexical choice. In the end, the translation of Deuteronomy is described as generally conventional Greek at the lowest level of analysis (grammar and vocabulary). Interference is pervasive at the higher levels (text-linguistic and literary features), producing a style that at times borders on the colloquial. This style was intentional, highlighting the text's status as a translation.

RÉSUMÉ

Ce projet examine la traduction grecque du livre du Deutéronome de la Bible hébraïque, une initiative entreprise à Alexandrie au III^e siècle avant Jésus-Christ. La caractérisation des différentes traductions qui composent la traduction grecque de la Bible hébraïque (la Septante) est une étape indispensable pour ceux qui voudraient en extraire des informations concernant le traducteur, son milieu et sa fonction envisagée. Dans le contexte du Deutéronome, je soutiens qu'une adaptation de la traductologie descriptive (DTS) proposée par Toury est bien adaptée à cette tâche. Elle permet de prendre en compte un plus grand nombre de caractéristiques et de décrire l'ouvrage à la fois en tant que traduction et en tant que texte. J'examine ensuite trois sections du Deutéronome afin de procéder à une caractérisation plus riche, permettant de tirer certains constats concernant le caractère de la traduction et le type de conclusions qui peuvent (ou non) être tirées concernant son traducteur et son milieu. À la lumière de l'analyse de la technique de traduction et des témoins textuels, je soutiens également que la plupart des différences quantitatives ne devraient pas être attribuées au traducteur, mais à son texte source. Il apparaît également que certains passages ont été lus et interprétés différemment par le traducteur, soulignant des thèmes tels que l'origine divine de la loi, la nécessité de la miséricorde divine et la sollicitude divine pour son peuple. Cependant, les caractéristiques de la traduction suggèrent que ces interprétations sont plutôt localisées et s'opèrent au niveau des choix lexicaux. Enfin, la traduction du Deutéronome est décrite comme représentant un grec généralement conventionnel au niveau de la grammaire et du lexique. Cependant, l'interférence de la langue source est omniprésente au niveau discursif et littéraire, aboutissant à un style qui se rapproche parfois du langage familier. Ce style est intentionnel, soulignant le caractère du texte en tant que traduction.

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Πᾶσα δόσις ἀγαθὴ καὶ πᾶν δῶρημα τέλειον ἄνωθέν ἐστιν, καταβαῖνον ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν φώτων.

INTRODUCTION

While translations are not unknown in the ancient world, the translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek (the Septuagint) was a truly groundbreaking event.¹ Considerable effort and expenditure of human resources were involved in producing one of the most important and influential cultural artifacts of antiquity.² But as the saying “*traduttore, traditore*” reminds us, the Septuagint’s importance is also related to the interpretative nature of translation work: Studying the Septuagint can not only provide information about ancient biblical textual traditions and translation practices, but also concerning the socio-religious milieu of the Jewish community that produced it.³ However, questions related to the translation process, the nature of the source text, and the many factors that came into play when rendering the Hebrew source into Greek must first be addressed before such evidence can be gathered. These can only be answered by examining what the Greek text reveals about the translator’s understanding of his Hebrew source (as distinct from later interpretations of the translation) and how he chose to represent it.⁴ In

¹ Strictly speaking, the Septuagint (LXX) originally designated the Greek translation of the first five books, the Pentateuch, performed most likely in Alexandria, Egypt in the 3rd century BCE. In later scholarship, the term came to designate not only the whole of the Hebrew Bible corpus in its Greek version, but also several other books that are commonly known as the Apocrypha. Mentions of “Old Greek Deuteronomy” in the following pages refer to this initial translation. More will be said on this topic in chapter 1. To be sure, this translation activity continued even outside of what is now known as the Septuagint corpus, many Jewish works being translated into Greek and other languages in this period.

² See Tessa Rajak, *Translation and Survival: The Greek Bible of the Ancient Jewish Diaspora* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1–4.

³ See for example the various studies in Jan Joosten, *Collected Studies on the Septuagint: From Language to Interpretation and Beyond*, FAT 83 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012). As Dogniez and Harl note, “sa traduction en grec...peut révéler la façon dont un savant juif...comprenait ce livre et lui donnait, peut-être, certains traits nouveaux.” Cécile Dogniez and Marguerite Harl, *Le Deuteronome*, La Bible d’Alexandrie 5 (Paris: Cerf, 1992), 19.

⁴ This study contains many references to “the translator.” Two reasons motivate this wording: 1) As we will see in chapter 1, the translation of Deuteronomy into Greek was apparently the work of a single individual. Even though this individual most likely did not work in isolation, it is more convenient to use the singular. 2) It is also very likely that scribal activity, and translation in particular, was a male-dominated field in early Judaism. For this reason (and again for reasons of space and convenience), the masculine will be employed though we know very little about his or her identity.

other words, one has to retrace the steps of the translator before coming to any conclusions concerning his style, interpretative tendencies, and his cultural context. Moreover, examination of the translation itself as a text is a prerequisite for positing various theories about its putative function.

How to conduct such an inquiry remains an important and contested issue. Our main question, consequently, is that of identifying a framework that would be appropriate for this type of analysis. Such an analysis will provide a characterization of the Greek translation of Deuteronomy (also known as Old Greek Deuteronomy), so that information concerning the translator, his milieu, the translation process and its prospective function can be extracted in a principled and responsible manner. This task is foundational since the translation itself is the prime witness concerning the milieu that produced the Greek translations of the Pentateuch, irrespective of the indirect and sometimes unreliable information currently available.⁵

After outlining the many textual witnesses and editions that are at our disposal, we will briefly discuss what is known of the origins and setting of Old Greek Deuteronomy. Chapter 1 will conclude with an examination of the three main characterizations of this translation that have been offered by Septuagint scholarship.

Chapter 2 will devote considerable space to the discussion of methodological issues, including the ways by which the field of translation studies, and more specifically Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) can contribute to our analysis. In order to offer an accurate and nuanced characterization of Old Greek Deuteronomy, it is important to analyze the Greek text from the perspective of its production, employing a descriptive approach. A modified DTS

⁵ Anneli Aejmelaeus, "The Septuagint and Oral Translation," in *XIV Congress of the IOSCS, Helsinki 2010*, ed. M. K. H. Peters (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 6.

framework provides a principled way of achieving this goal, one that avoids improvised or “folk theories” of translation.⁶ The many unknowns surrounding the Hebrew source text employed by the translator and the textual transmission of the Greek text must also be addressed. A significant part of this chapter will therefore discuss how I intend to approach the difficult topic of discerning whether differences between the Greek translation and the Hebrew texts at our disposal should be attributed to a variant (perhaps unknown) Hebrew source text, or to the translator himself.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 will analyze in turn three sections of Deuteronomy (6:13-25, 25:1-12, and 32:1-9). These have been selected not only because an in-depth analysis of the whole book is impossible within the scope of this thesis but also because they each belong to different sections of the book and represent different literary genres in the Hebrew source. Our characterization of the translation can be further refined by comparing different units of the translator’s work. Though our task is to examine all aspects of these texts, the differences between the Greek text and the Hebrew witnesses available to us are of significant interest. These also require the consideration of many factors. First, it is necessary to perform a thorough examination to determine which Hebrew source text the translator worked from and the nature of the Greek text he produced. Having a more precise estimation of these factors in place, we are in a better position to ascertain how various renderings might reflect particular traits of the translator and his milieu, whether they be interpretative or stylistic features. For this reason, discussions of text-critical issues occupy a considerable amount of space in these chapters. In some contexts, the critical edition of the Greek text is also not beyond improvement. Once this groundwork is laid,

⁶ I borrow this phrase from Cameron Boyd-Taylor, “Toward the Analysis of Translational Norms: A Sighting Shot,” *BIOSCS* 36 (2006): 28.

various comments and analyses will be provided on the translation process and the resulting Greek text. Each chapter will conclude with observations characterizing the translator's work and the broader translational norms and preferences that seem operative in the translator's milieu.

Chapter 6 explores the use of specific vocabulary found in the above three texts in terms of what it might reveal about the translator and his context. Three case studies will be conducted in light of the translation process discovered in the preceding chapters, studying the meaning of the Greek and Hebrew terms in relation to the socio-cultural context of the translation. Possible patterns and connections between diverse renderings will be examined in order to determine whether they are ideologically motivated. A few examples will be presented, illustrating how the linguistic and interpretative milieu of the translator has influenced the translation and the way the translator chose to render specific passages.

The final chapter will provide a synthesis of the characterization of Old Greek Deuteronomy, that is, its constitutive character and prospective function. Some space will also be devoted to a discussion of the implications of this project for research on translation technique more generally and the history of the Greek text of Deuteronomy.

Though many aspects of this project will undoubtedly be of use to text-critical research on the Hebrew text of Deuteronomy, this is not our main concern. There is much that a translation can tell us about its milieu simply *as a text*. This is especially true when dealing with the vocabulary it contains. But its nature *as a translation* warrants a careful approach, one that first attempts to determine the nature of the equivalencies and translational preferences. Their description will prove useful for future studies, not only for determining the extent of the interpretative activity in the translation but for the various characteristics (stylistic or other) that

can be attributed to the translator. If the translation is to tell us anything about its milieu, this requires a set of hermeneutical lenses that can help us accomplish this task. Our objective is to present and demonstrate the use of such a framework, and in the process, provide a description of how the translator of the book of Deuteronomy went about his task, providing his community a Greek version of its sacred writings.

CHAPTER 1: OLD GREEK DEUTERONOMY AND ITS CHARACTERIZATION

One of the first tasks in a study such as this is to define several key terms that will be used throughout. In this chapter, we will examine what is meant by Old Greek Deuteronomy and the various terms employed for it in Septuagint studies. This will lead to a discussion concerning the extant witnesses available for the reconstruction this text, as well as its provenance, since these issues frequently inform the study of individual passages. The second half of this chapter will survey a number of scholarly investigations that have attempted to characterize the translation and identify areas where this project intends to contribute.

1.1. WHAT IS OLD GREEK DEUTERONOMY?

First one must define what is meant by Old Greek Deuteronomy. For the purposes of this study, this term refers to the earliest recoverable translation of the biblical book of Deuteronomy into Greek. This statement is not meant to presuppose that there was only one Greek translation of Deuteronomy produced in antiquity. In fact, besides the revisions of the Three (Theodotion, Symmachus, and Aquila), small-scale revisions can be found even the earliest manuscripts. The acknowledgement that many early translations existed should be distinguished from Kahle's theory, which argued for the existence of multiple concurrent translations from the outset. This thesis has now been largely abandoned as research has broadly confirmed the de Lagarde hypothesis to the effect that the extant variants belong to texts that can be genealogically traced back to one single archetype.¹ The earliest recoverable

¹ For an overview of these two approaches to reconstructing the earliest Greek version, see Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2000), 64–65; Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2015), 274–80; Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 2012), 170–74; Gilles Dorival, Marguerite Harl, and Olivier Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante. Du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme ancien* (Paris: Cerf, 1994), 53–54, 182–87. A recent argument in support of de

text, as represented in the *editio major* prepared by John Wevers, is the closest approximation to this archetype and the starting point of this study.² That is not to say that Wevers's text is beyond improvement, but it is the best available representative of the earliest Greek translation of Deuteronomy available.

It has become commonplace in recent years to designate this initial translation of books of the Hebrew Bible into Greek by the label of "Old Greek" (OG) of said books. This is in contrast to previous scholarship which simply labeled it Greek Deuteronomy or LXX Deuteronomy. No doubt, this new label arose in part because of the need to distinguish between the initial translation and the many subsequent revisions, which are also Greek versions of the biblical book.³ Moreover, the label LXX is ambiguous as it originally referred to the seventy, the *Septuaginta*, associated with the initial translation of the Pentateuch.⁴ It can also be misleading because it implies, in common parlance, a corpus of books that did not exist for some time, the various books of the Hebrew Bible being translated over a period of several centuries.⁵ When the various translations are later found in codex format, their text is

Lagarde's theory is found in Eugene Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Developmental Composition of the Bible*, VTSup 169 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015), 151–67.

² John William Wevers, *Deuteronomium*, Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum 3.2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977). Prior to Wevers's work, the most elaborate critical edition was that of Alan England Brooke and Norman McLean, *The Old Testament in Greek, According to the Text of Codex Vaticanus: Supplemented from Other Uncial Manuscripts, with a Critical Apparatus Containing the Variants of the Chief Ancient Authorities for the Text of the Septuagint*, vol. 1,3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911). This edition collated the major uncials and many minuscules, but did not process all of the ancient manuscripts, many of them also coming to light after its publication. Its reliance on codex B (Vaticanus) as base text also proves problematic for Deuteronomy. Rahlfs's edition (updated by Hanhart) uses Alexandrinus (A) as its base text but provides information about the other major uncials (B and S) and a few other witnesses in its apparatus. It is therefore not a proper critical edition. See Alfred Rahlfs and Robert Hanhart, eds., *Septuaginta: id est Vetus Testamentum Graece iuxta LXX interpretes*, Editio altera. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006).

³ Also taking into account the translations of these books into Modern Greek.

⁴ The letter of Aristeas mentions 72 translators, but this number was shortened to 70. For a discussion of this and the various uses of LXX, see Peter J. Williams, "The Bible, the Septuagint, and the Apocrypha: A Consideration of Their Singularity," in *Studies on the Text and Versions of the Hebrew Bible in Honour of Robert Gordon*, ed. Geoffrey Khan and Diana Lipton, VTSup 149 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), 169–80; Leonard Greenspoon, "The Use and Abuse of the Term 'LXX' and Related Terminology in Recent Scholarship," *BIOSCS* 20 (1987): 20–29.

⁵ The now-classic presentation of the chronological development of the Septuagint is found in Dorival, Harl, and Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante*, 83–111. However, as James Barr reminds us, the tentative conclusions

already contaminated by several layers of revisional activity and does not represent the original translations at all points. Since this study consists of an attempt to analyze the Greek translation at its point of origin, it is preferable to designate this work as Old Greek (OG) Deuteronomy in order to distinguish it from subsequent revisions and from the book as found in later Christian codices.

1.2. THE NATURE OF THE TEXTUAL EVIDENCE FOR OLD GREEK DEUTERONOMY

OG Deuteronomy claims the most ancient textual evidence of all the books of the Septuagint corpus. The oldest manuscript of the Greek translation recovered to date is Rylands 458 (Rahlfs 957). Its numerous small fragments contain parts of chapters 23-28.⁶ The manuscript was found in Egypt and is dated to the 2nd century BCE. Roughly contemporary is a small group of fragments of OG Deuteronomy found among the Dead Sea Scrolls (4QLXXDeut). The largest of these is the only one that can be confidently identified and contains 11:4. Its paleographic analysis suggests a date ranging from the mid- to-early second century BCE.⁷ Both are closely aligned with Wevers's critical edition although Rahlfs 957 presents a few small differences that would reflect small-scale revisions towards MT.⁸

These are followed chronologically by P. Fouad, Inv. 266 (Rahlfs 847-848), whose larger fragments include substantial sections of the text of chapters 17-33. This manuscript has

presented in this volume concerning the order and dating of the translation of various books should not be held too firmly since the evidence is meager and other configurations are possible. See James Barr, "Did the Greek Pentateuch Really Serve as a Dictionary for the Translation of the Later Books?" in *Hamlet on a Hill: Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. M. F. J. Baasten and W. Th. Van Peursen (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 538–40.

⁶ On this manuscript, see E. J. Revell, "The Oldest Evidence for the Hebrew Accent System," *BJRL* 54 (1971): 214–22; Colin Henderson Roberts, *Two Biblical Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1936); John William Wevers, "Earliest Witness to the LXX Deuteronomy," *CBQ* 39.2 (1977): 240–44.

⁷ Such a small sample makes the dating "more than usually uncertain." See Patrick W. Skehan, Eugene Ulrich, and Judith E. Sanderson, *Qumran Cave 4. IV: Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts*, DJD 9 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 11–12, 195–97.

⁸ See the comments in Wevers, "Earliest Witness to the LXX Deuteronomy."

been dated to *c.* 50 BCE.⁹ Wevers devotes an extended discussion to this manuscript, positing that it represents a lineal descendant of OG Deuteronomy “with very little revisionary influence apparent in its text form.”¹⁰ It also lacks many of the expansions present by the time of Origen’s Hexapla.

Another important pre-hexaplaric witness is P. Chester Beatty VI (Rahlfs 963), which dates to the 2nd century CE.¹¹ It contains large sections of chapters 1-11, a few dispersed fragments of the central portion of the book, followed by several smaller sections of chapters 27-34. It is an important witness not only because of its size, but also for the fact that it predates codex B (Vaticanus) by two centuries. The manuscript’s variants also show no affinity with any of the later text groups. Because of their nature and their predating Origen’s Hexapla and later codices, these manuscripts were heavily relied upon by Wevers in the elaboration of his critical text.¹²

Editors usually select one of the major uncials as the base text for their critical edition, since these are often the earliest witnesses to the full text of the Greek version. In the case of Deuteronomy, Wevers relied mostly on codex A (Alexandrinus), since he describes the text of

⁹ The critical edition of this text is found in Françoise Dunand, “Papyrus grecs bibliques (Papyrus F. inv. 266) Volumina de la Genèse et du Deutéronome (Texte et planches),” *EPap* 9 (1966): 81–150. See also the introduction in Françoise Dunand, *Papyrus grecs bibliques (Papyrus F. inv. 266). Volumina de la Genèse et du Deutéronome (Introduction)*, *Recherches d’archéologie, de philologie et d’histoire* 27 (Le Caire: Publications de l’IFAO, 1966). Wevers was critical of this edition and preferred to consult the photographs directly. See John William Wevers, “The Attitude of the Greek Translator of Deuteronomy towards his Parent Text,” in *Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen Theologie: Festschrift für Walther Zimmerli zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Hebert Donner, Robert Hanhart, and Rudolf Smend (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977), 501, n. 4. These fragments were published again in Zaki Aly and Ludwig Koenen, *Three Rolls of the Early Septuagint: Genesis and Deuteronomy*, *Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen* 27 (Bonn: Habelt, 1980).

¹⁰ John William Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Deuteronomy* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), 64–85, here 64.

¹¹ This manuscript has been edited by Frederic G Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri: Descriptions and Texts of Twelve Manuscripts on Papyrus of the Greek Bible* (London: Emery Walker, 1935). See also Albert Pietersma, “F. G. Kenyon’s Text of Papyrus 963: Numbers and Deuteronomy,” *VT* 24.1 (1974): 113–18.

¹² For an extended discussion of Rahlfs 963, see Wevers, *THGD*, 52–63.

codex B (Vaticanus) as being plagued with variants attributable to carelessness.¹³ Other editions of OG Deuteronomy have relied heavily on codex B in part because of its authority, but also because it is the earliest of the major uncials. However, Wevers argued on the basis of the more recent finds (Rahlfs 848 and 963) that codex B's many unique readings suggest an effort to bring its text closer to MT via recensional activity.¹⁴ As we will see, codex B also preserves some significant omissions in places, which raises questions as to the origin and transmission process of part of its underlying Greek text.

As for codex A (Alexandrinus), the fifth century uncial contains only 66 unique variants, many of which are plainly copying mistakes.¹⁵ Overall, Wevers observes that codex A occasionally amplifies the text. Some of these pluses are hexaplaric in origin or clearly derive from the influence of MT, but others appear to have arisen out of stylistic concerns.¹⁶ Noticeably, it rarely contracts the text but will instead add glosses that are exegetical in nature. This codex, along with the earlier witnesses mentioned above remain the most reliable foundation to reconstruct the earliest Greek translation.¹⁷ The Deuteronomy portion of Codex S (Sinaiticus) has been lost.

The repetitive nature of many Deuteronomic formulas has plagued the transmission of the Greek text as these tended to be harmonized over time. Moreover, many of these

¹³ Wevers adds that "...readings supported solely by B are seldom to be taken seriously." See Wevers, *THGD*, 48. Before Wevers, Gooding had reached a similar conclusion, stating that this codex was "notorious for its scribal inadvertencies." See David Willoughby Gooding, *Recensions of the Septuagint Pentateuch* (London: Tyndale Press, 1955), 8, n. 1.

¹⁴ In other words, while codex B remains an ancient and significant witness, its text has been influenced in places by the Hexapla and must be used critically. See Wevers, *THGD*, 48–51.

¹⁵ Wevers devotes an appendix in his Notes on Deuteronomy to codex A, listing and explaining all of these variants. See John William Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy*, SCS 39 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 565–612, esp. p. 612.

¹⁶ Wevers, *NGTD*, 590.

¹⁷ This is also confirmed by the work done on the daughter versions, such as that of Peters on the Coptic (Bohairic) version of Deuteronomy. This daughter version represents a pre-hexaplaric text closer to codex A than that of B. See Melvin K. H. Peters, "The Textual Affinities of the Coptic (Bohairic) Version of Genesis," in *VI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Jerusalem 1986*, ed. Claude E. Cox, SCS 23 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 233–34.

harmonizations were most likely already present in the translator's Hebrew source. Wevers lists several of these phrases and warns that this state of affairs makes the recovery of the earliest Greek text (not to speak of the *Vorlage*) a difficult enterprise in such cases.¹⁸

In general, Wevers prefers the shorter text. He considers the longer readings to be secondary despite Origen's indication that some longer readings were not attested in his Hebrew text. As Bogaert notes, Rahlfs considered these longer variants to be original, but Wevers preferred to seek alternate explanations for such pluses. Since revisional activity towards a Hebrew text was present before Origen and since several forms of the Hebrew text were probably in circulation, Wevers's assumption appears warranted.¹⁹ White Crawford is more critical of Wevers's approach, noting how this position also emerges from Wevers's bias towards MT.²⁰ But as noted above, Wevers often attributes variants matching MT to later revisionary activity or to the influence of MT on the copyists of the Greek manuscripts. The situation is clearly more nuanced: When the shorter reading is also found in the very early 848, Wevers accepts it despite its agreement with MT. He also states that when codex B shares the shorter variant with 848 (against MT and/or the Greek tradition), he often accepts this reading as the OG.²¹ Nevertheless, a thorough analysis of the translation technique, with the additional data provided by the manuscripts published since Wevers's critical edition may at

¹⁸ Wevers, *THGD*, 86–99.

¹⁹ P.-M. Bogaert, "Septante," in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, vol. XII (Paris: Letourzey & Ané, 1993), 586. See also C. G. Den Hertog, M. Labahn, and T. Pola, "Deuteronomion," in *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare zum griechischen Alten Testament. Bd. 1, Genesis bis Makkabäer*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and Martin Karrer (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011), 524.

²⁰ "However, Wevers admits that he favors readings that reflect MT-Deut; thus, the user should exercise a degree of caution when consulting Wevers's edition". See Sidnie Ann White Crawford, "Primary Translations (Septuagint, Deuteronomy)," in *Textual History of the Bible: The Hebrew Bible, Vol. 1B*, ed. Emanuel Tov and Armin Lange (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), 149.

²¹ See Wevers, "The Attitude of the Greek Translator of Deuteronomy towards his Parent Text," 501–5. See also the positive evaluation made of this decision in Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuterome*, 100–102.

times lead to modifications in Wevers's text. These will be discussed in due course throughout the commentary.

1.3. PROVENANCE

The question of provenance is important as it provides a temporal anchor for the judicious use of the comparative material, especially in the matter of evaluating the translation in light of the conventions of the Greek language. The date and origin of OG Deuteronomy can be tentatively established in a variety of ways.²² First we will examine the external evidence before turning to internal evidence. The discussion concerning the order of the translation of the various books of the Pentateuch is not as helpful in this respect but remains important. It may allow us to extrapolate a relative chronology of the translation of each book and to identify translations that might have preceded Deuteronomy and perhaps influenced its translator.

1.3.1. Dating of the Translation

The majority of arguments concerning the dating and origin of OG Deuteronomy rest on the dating of the Greek Pentateuch as a whole, which is usually situated in the first half of the 3rd century BCE.²³ This is corroborated in part by the textual evidence discussed in section 1.2, which despite its fragmentary nature, clearly belongs to the same textual tradition and goes back to the mid-second century BCE. The letter of Aristeas – inasmuch as it can be trusted on

²² Helpful is Dorival's summary and schematization of the various theories of origin in Gilles Dorival, "New Light about the Origin of the Septuagint?" in *Die Septuaginta - Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse: 2. Internationale Fachtagung Veranstalter von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 23. - 27.7.2008*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and Martin Karrer, WUNT 252 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 36–47. Arie van der Kooij takes a different approach and provides a brief history of research in his Arie van der Kooij, "The Septuagint of the Pentateuch," in *Law, Prophets, and Wisdom: On the Provenance of Translators and Their Books in the Septuagint Version*, ed. Arie van der Kooij and Johann Cook, CBET 68 (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 15–62.

²³ See Tov's summary in Tov, *TCHB*, 131.

this point – would indirectly corroborate this data, dating the translation to the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285-264 BCE).²⁴ Another important consideration is the witness of a few texts that refer to the Greek Pentateuch. Five fragments of Demetrius the Chronographer are preserved in Eusebius's *Praeparatio Evangelica* and have been dated to the late 3rd century BCE (220-210). It appears that Demetrius would have relied on a text very similar to Greek Genesis and Exodus in his narrative retelling: Variants that are unique to the Greek translation appear in his retelling of several of the Pentateuch's narratives, while his orthography of proper names also matches that of the Old Greek versions of these books.²⁵ In his prologue to the Greek translation of Ben Sira, dated to the late second century (115 BCE), the grandson mentions a translation of the Law and the Prophets, suggesting that there was a well-known corpus of Greek Scriptures in circulation.²⁶ Furthermore, there are probable allusions to OG Deuteronomy in Wisdom of Solomon (Wis 6:7 – Deut 1:7 and Wis 11:4 – Deut 8:15) and 2

²⁴ On the issue of using Aristeas as a source for reconstructing the origins of the Greek Pentateuch, see Dorival, Harl, and Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante*, 40–43. Cf. Sylvie Honigman, *The Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria: A Study in the Narrative of the Letter of Aristeas* (London; New York: Routledge, 2003); Nina L. Collins, *The Library in Alexandria and the Bible in Greek*, VTSup 82 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2000). For a recent criticism of Collins's almost uncritical approach to Aristeas, see Martin Rösel, "The Letter of Aristeas to Philocrates, the Temple in Leontopolis, and the Importance of the History of Israelite Religion in the Hellenistic Period," in *Tradition and Innovation: English and German Studies on the Septuagint*, SCS 70 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2018), 3–28. An up-to-date study of the work can be found in Benjamin G. Wright, *The Letter of Aristeas: "Aristeas to Philocrates" or "On the Translation of the Law of the Jews"* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015).

²⁵ Examples and references to background literature can be found in Dorival, Harl, and Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante*, 57.

²⁶ For the dating of Ben Sira's translation, see Patrick W. Skehan and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: A New Translation with Notes, Introduction and Commentary*, Anchor Bible 39 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 8–9. A commentary on this particular excerpt is provided in Folker Siegert, *Zwischen hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament: Eine Einführung in die Septuaginta*, MJSt 9 (Münster: LIT, 2001), 34–35; Dorival, Harl, and Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante*, 86–90. While one cannot assume that the Greek translation alluded to by the grandson is the same as what we would designate as the Greek Pentateuch, it does confirm the existence of such a body of work in the late 2nd century BCE. On this and the grandson's evaluation of his work, see Wright, Benjamin G. "Why a Prologue? Ben Sira's Grandson and His Greek Translation." in *Emanuel: Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*. Edited by Shalom M. Paul, Robert A. Kraft, Lawrence H. Schiffman and Weston W. Fields. VTSup 94. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2003, 633-644.

Maccabees (2 Macc 7 – Deut 32), compositions that are commonly dated to the first century BCE.²⁷

The internal evidence is perhaps more helpful, especially given the resurgence of linguistic research on the Greek Pentateuch in recent years.²⁸ This is particularly true of the vocabulary, which in many places can provide a *terminus ante quem*. Wevers notes that ἐάν following a relative particle is extremely rare prior to and during the 3rd century BCE but comes to replace ἄν by the end of the 2nd century BCE. In OG Deuteronomy however, ἄν is still the majority reading, and there is never unanimous support in the textual tradition for ἐάν.²⁹ Thus ἄν appears to be the original reading and would place the translation in the 3rd or early 2nd century BCE at latest. This is corroborated by the use of specific lexemes, which has been one of John Lee’s major contributions.³⁰ One example is the frequent use of ὁράω in the present or imperfect with the sense of “to see,” which is attested until the 2nd century BCE. The near synonym βλέπω is also found with this meaning and finally completely replaces ὁράω in such contexts by the 1st century CE. Lee suggests that this provides evidence that the Pentateuch would not have been translated later than 150 BCE.³¹ Evans’s analysis of the

²⁷ Larry Perkins, “Deuteronomy,” in *The T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*, ed. James K. Aitken (London; New Delhi; New York; Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2015), 70–71. For a detailed discussion of 2 Macc borrowing from OG Greek Deuteronomy, one can consult Jonathan A. Goldstein, *II Maccabees: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, Anchor Bible (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), 41A:303–4.

²⁸ The studies of John Lee and Trevor Evans have been particularly influential, and a few examples of their findings pertaining to Deuteronomy will be mentioned here. However, the connection between the language of the Greek Pentateuch and that of the 3rd century Egyptian papyri has long been recognized, and particularly championed in Adolf Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten: das Neue Testament und die neuentdeckten Texte der hellenistisch-römischen Welt*, 4th ed. (Tübingen: JCB Mohr, 1923).

²⁹ Wevers, *THGD*, 99–102.

³⁰ John A. L. Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch* (Chico: Society of Biblical Literature, 1983), 129–44. See also John A. L. Lee, “A Lexical Study Thirty Years on, with Observations on ‘Order’ Words in the LXX Pentateuch,” in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*, ed. Shalom M. Paul et al., SVT 94 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2003), 513–24.

³¹ Lee, “A Lexical Study Thirty Years on, with Observations on ‘Order’ Words in the LXX Pentateuch,” 131–40. In his latest study, Lee states that “the linguistic evidence points to a date early in the Ptolemaic period but cannot establish a *terminus ante quem* earlier than the middle of the second century BC. The incompleteness of our evidence means that no conclusion can be certain, but as things stand, the many links between the Greek of the Pentateuch and the Greek of the third century BC documents corroborate a date in that century.” See John A. L.

verbal syntax of the Greek Pentateuch identifies features, such as particular uses of the optative and the perfect tense which point to a date very early in the postclassical period, consistent with the usual dating of 280-250 BCE.³² Moreover, since these observations are found in all of the Pentateuchal books, it suggests a similar date of origin for each of them.³³

1.3.2. Place of Origin

As for its place of origin, the ancient testimonies are nearly unanimous in locating it in Alexandria.³⁴ The oldest witnesses to the text of OG Deuteronomy are also from Egypt, except for the small fragment of Deut 11:4 found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. Recent studies have also tended to confirm the Egyptian setting, usually on lexical grounds.³⁵ Particularly telling is the adaptation of geographical bearings to this location, as well as the translation of Egyptian proper names which suggests a knowledge of the Egyptian language. In the first instance, Exod 27:9-13 provides an example where the compass points are translated based on Egyptian geography. Thus, λψ is employed to denote the West, a common denomination in Egyptian literature, and θάλασσα (translating ׀, “the sea,” and usually denoting West in the Hebrew

Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch: Grinfield Lectures on the Septuagint 2011-2012* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 273.

³² T. V. Evans, *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch: Natural Greek Usage and Hebrew Interference* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 262–64.

³³ Other evidence is perhaps more circumstantial in nature. For example, Lee notes that the Greek κάρταλλος (*LSJ*: basket with pointed bottom) could be older but is not attested before 3rd-century Egyptian papyri. It is found twice in Deuteronomy (26:2, 4), but also once in Philo and much later in Hesychius. See Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch*, 115–16. The evidence from the papyri should be used with caution in such cases since the bulk of the surviving documentary evidence is from 3rd and 2nd century Egypt and its vocabulary could very well have been in use elsewhere.

³⁴ The ancient testimonies are conveniently collected in Dorival, Harl, and Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante*, 56–57.

³⁵ Joosten helpfully summarizes the recent studies which tend to confirm the Egyptian setting of the translation in Jan Joosten, “The Egyptian Background of the Septuagint,” in *The Library of Alexandria: A Cultural Crossroads of the Ancient World*, ed. Christophe Rico and Anca Dan (Jerusalem: Polis Institute Press, 2017), 79–87. These range from Egyptian loanwords to the proficiency of the translators in Greek, as well as the concordance between the translation’s *Vorlage* and textual witnesses that are clearly Egyptian in provenance.

Bible) designates the north.³⁶ Pfeiffer has also shown that the Greek names of many of the characters of the Joseph narrative betray the translator's knowledge of Egyptian names and conventions.³⁷ Lee argues that the Egyptian form of Moses (Μωυσης) could single-handedly prove the translation's production context since it cannot conceivably have originated outside Egypt.³⁸ To this we can also add place names that are updated in the translation to the name they had in the Ptolemaic period, such as On in Gen 41:45 and Exod 1:11, each time rendered as Heliopolis.³⁹

1.3.3. Sequence and Relative Dating

The sequence in which the books of the Pentateuch were translated is related to the issue of the number of translators responsible for its translation. There is very little internal evidence at our disposal, and the situation is not as clear as one would wish. First, the discussion of provenance so far suggests that the Pentateuch as a whole was most likely translated within a short period of time and within the same context. This would explain the many similarities in translation technique and lexical stock, particularly when translating some technical Hebrew terms.⁴⁰ At the same time, there are enough differences between each book to conclude that

³⁶ P.-M. Bogaert, "L'orientation du parvis du sanctuaire dans la version grecque de l'Exode," *L'Antiquité classique* 50 (1981): 79–85.

³⁷ Stefan Pfeiffer, "Joseph in Ägypten. Althistorische Beobachtungen zur griechischen Übersetzung und Rezeption von Gen 39-50," in *Die Septuaginta - Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten: Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 20-23. Juli 2006*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus, Martin Meiser, and Martin Karrer, WUNT 219 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 317–21.

³⁸ Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 272, n. 17. See also Alain Le Boulluec and Pierre Sandevor, *L'Exode*, La Bible d'Alexandrie 2 (Paris: Cerf, 1989), 83.

³⁹ On this and a few other examples, see Dorival, Harl, and Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante*, 55–56. Den Hertog argues that the reference to παραλίαν, γῆν Χαναναίων in Deut 1:7 refers to something other than Lebanon and implies that the Seleucid province of Paralia was not yet known. This would place the translation prior to the loss of Ptolemaic control in Palestine. But this appears to be rather tenuous as παράλιος is an adequate translation of the underlying וּבַחֹף הַיָּם. He also suggests that 28:25, 29:28[27^{MT}] and 30:4 also reflect the Diaspora situation. See Den Hertog, Labahn, and Pola, "Deuteronomion," 529–30.

⁴⁰ Of note here are the comments by Harl/Dogniez: "Le traducteur du Deutéronome utilise pour une large part le même lexique que les traducteurs des autres livres de la Torah : ou bien il a travaillé à leur suite, en utilisant leur modèle ; ou bien plutôt il disposait en même temps qu'eux du stock de mots en usage dans la diaspora

each was the work of a different person.⁴¹ For example, Evans has argued on syntactic grounds that each book was translated by a different individual. There are observable tendencies to favor particular constructions such as the historical present in Exodus, or the preference for the present infinitive and imperative instead of the aorist in Deuteronomy.⁴² Two other elements are generally observed: 1) That Genesis was most likely translated first, and 2) that there are observable differences in the translation technique of Genesis-Exodus and that of Leviticus-Numbers-Deuteronomy.⁴³ The priority of Genesis stems from the translation technique, which goes from a “freer” approach in the first half of the book, yet gradually becoming more rigid and consistent.⁴⁴ Aejmelaeus’s study of parataxis in the Greek Pentateuch also revealed that the particle $\delta\epsilon$ is used far less frequently to translate the Hebrew conjunction ו in Leviticus-Numbers-Deuteronomy (<3%) than in Genesis (25%) and Exodus

alexandrine au début du 3^e siècle avant notre ère.” See Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronome*, 63. Lee also comments that “each book is a unity in regard to translation method rather than divisible into parts, and so is likely to be the work of one translator, not two or more.” See Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 174.

⁴¹ “[The Deuteronomy translator] fournit un assez grand nombre de mots que n’utilisent pas les traducteurs des autres livres.” Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronome*, 63. No doubt, as Dogniez and Harl discuss, this is to be attributed in part to the contents of the book which give rise to the use of different vocabulary. Yet, as we will see it is also possible to see differences in the way similar expressions are translated from one book to the next. On this point, see also the bibliography provided in Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 174, note 3. Thackeray speculated long ago that the last few chapters “seem to occupy a position by themselves in the Pentateuch,” mostly because “some new elements in the vocabulary begin to make their appearance particularly in the closing chapters.” See Henry St. John Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), 8, 14. As Lee observes, Thackeray did not provide much by way of examples besides two new renderings. He also notes that Baumgärtel offered a similar observation but did not provide additional data. Cf. F. Baumgärtel, “Zur Entstehung der Pentateuchseptuaginta,” in *Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Septuaginta*, ed. F. Herrmann and F. Baumgärtel, BWAT NF 5 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1923), 77; Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch*, 139, n. 30.

⁴² Evans, *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch*, 264. See also the examples taken from lexical choice of synonymous terms that vary across the Pentateuch in Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 175.

⁴³ This consensus is partly conjectural, given the dearth of evidence, and partly the outcome of intuition and thus open to critique. James Barr questioned the frequent assumption about the priority of Genesis. He speculated that perhaps a book like Isaiah, which represents a very uneven translation might have been translated first. He also argued that it seems plausible that the Greek Pentateuch was not the first attempt at translating the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek. See Barr, “Did the Greek Pentateuch Really Serve as a Dictionary for the Translation of the Later Books?” 538–40.

⁴⁴ See for example the conclusion in Martin Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung der Auslegung: Studien zur Genesis-Septuaginta*, BZAW 223 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994), 257. Siegert also provides an example of the progressive stabilization of some lexical matches in Siegert, *Zwischen Hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament*, 38.

(16%).⁴⁵ Similarly, the apodotic ו is translated by καὶ in 42% of cases in Deuteronomy compared to 10% of its occurrences in Exodus.⁴⁶ It seems a reasonable starting point then to posit that each translation was produced separately, and that despite overall similarities, there is a noticeable difference in translation technique between the first two (Genesis-Exodus) and the last three.⁴⁷

In terms of more precise chronology, Den Hertog argues that some renderings in Deuteronomy show familiarity with Exodus. This appears to be the case in Deut 15:17, where the more generic נתן, employed to denote the piercing of the slave's ear against the doorpost, is translated using a very specific Greek term, τρυπάω ("to bore through"). This Greek term is also found in the parallel law of Exod 21:6, where it is fittingly matched to the Hebrew רצע ("to pierce through"). Evidence such as this suggests that the Deuteronomy translator had the passage from Greek Exodus in mind when translating 15:17.⁴⁸ It is also possible that Num 27:12-14 depends on Deut 32:49-51. Beyond this, it is not clear which of the last three books of the Pentateuch came first and the question is debated.⁴⁹ In 9:12, a passage recalling the

⁴⁵ Anneli Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint: A Study of the Hebrew Coordinate Clauses in the Greek Pentateuch*, AASF 31 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1982), 36. See also Perkins, "Deuteronomy," 71–72.

⁴⁶ Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint*, 145–57. See also Anneli Aejmelaeus, "Participium Coniunctum as a Criterion of Translation Technique," *VT* 32 (1982): 385–93. More will be said on this in chapter 4.

⁴⁷ Aejmelaeus' study confirms the older theory that sees each book as an individual effort as described by Baumgärtel, who argued the same on lexical ground. See Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint*, 174–81; Baumgärtel, "Zur Entstehung der Pentateuchseptuaginta," 53–62. As will be discussed later in this chapter, Wevers provides more data to illustrate the difference in translation technique between Deuteronomy and Genesis-Exodus in John William Wevers, "The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy," in *IX Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, ed. Bernard A. Taylor, SCS 45 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 56–60. Note, however, that van der Louw has recently argued that the same translator is responsible for both Genesis and Exodus. See Theo A. W. van der Louw, "The Unity of LXX Genesis and Exodus," *VT* 69.aop (2019): 1–15.

⁴⁸ Den Hertog, Labahn, and Pola, "Deuteronomion," 529. See also the list of such dependencies, including phrases potentially copied from Exodus, Leviticus, and Number in Wevers, "The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy," 68–69. It is not clear however that all of these examples are the work of the translator, as Wevers would imply, since some of these harmonizations could have been present in his source text.

⁴⁹ Melvin K. H. Peters, "Deuteronomion / Deuteronomium / Das fünfte Buch Mose," in *Einleitung in die Septuaginta*, ed. Siegfried Kreuzer, LXX.H 1 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2016), 169.

golden calf episode, the Greek translation departs in a few places from the usual lexical matches that are expected in OG Deuteronomy. Wevers suggests that the Deuteronomy translator was almost certainly acquainted with OG Exodus since in three instances, his translation mimics that of Exodus 32:7-8a.⁵⁰ According to Perkins, the same phenomenon can be observed in the Decalogue. In Deut 5:10, the translator uses *προστάγματα* instead of his usual *ἐντολή* to render *מצוות*, mirroring OG Exodus.⁵¹ Another possible explanation is that portions of these books – particularly those that might have been in use in a liturgical setting – were already translated into Greek and incorporated into the translation of Greek Deuteronomy when the entirety of the book was done. This is one way to explain the longer introduction to the *Shema* in 6:4, which seems copied from 4:45. In this particular case, however, a Hebrew text that contained the longer introduction was found in the Nash Papyrus, juxtaposed to the Decalogue.⁵²

Within the second group of books (Leviticus-Numbers-Deuteronomy), it is much more difficult to establish whether these were translated together, in the canonical order, or in a different sequence. Den Hertog has argued that Deuteronomy came first, but the evidence adduced is on the whole rather inconclusive.⁵³ Two examples will suffice: It is difficult to admit that the rendering of *ψώρα ἀγρία* (or *ψωραγριῶντα*) for *גר* in Lev 21:20 and 22:22 is

⁵⁰ See Wevers, *NGTD*, 163–64. This is mostly obvious in the phrase *ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου* which does not fully correspond to the Hebrew *ממצרים*. But this could also be due to the Hebrew *Vorlage* having been harmonized with Exodus. He also cites the use of *ἡνόμησεν* to render *תחת* and *παρέβησαν* to render *סרו*. See our comments on this passage and other possible borrowings from other Pentateuchal translations under section 1.4.3.

⁵¹ Perkins, “Deuteronomy,” 73.

⁵² Den Hertog posits that the unusual lexical equivalencies in the *Shema* constitute an additional element pointing to a translation setting that is different from that of the rest of the book. See Den Hertog, Labahn, and Pola, “Deuteronomion,” 530.

⁵³ C. G. Den Hertog, “Erwägungen zur relativen Chronologie der Bücher Levitikus und Deuteronomium innerhalb der Pentateuchübersetzung,” in *Im Brennpunkt: die Septuaginta. Band 2: Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der griechischen Bibel*, ed. Siegfried Kreuzer and Jürgen Peter Lesch, BWANT 161 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2004), 216–28. See also the example provided in Moshe A Zipor, “Primary Translations (Septuagint, Leviticus),” in *Textual History of the Bible: The Hebrew Bible, Vol. 1B*, ed. Emanuel Tov and Armin Lange (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), 143.

dependent on the same rendering in Deut 28:27. The reverse is also possible, and the propensity of the Leviticus translator to vary his lexical matches could also explain the different renderings observed in the Leviticus texts.⁵⁴ Another argument, that the verb ἀγχιστεύω was used with a genitive (a classical usage) in Deut 19:6,12 but with an accusative in Numbers, thus demonstrating that Numbers corrected the classical usage to the accusative more frequent in the later Septuagint corpus, also seems tenuous. Egyptian papyri from the 2nd century BCE attest that this verb was accompanied by a genitive, thus a conventional postclassical usage.⁵⁵ That Numbers represents the more common usage and therefore chronologically later could be disputed using several counterexamples.⁵⁶ For example, Dorival has highlighted a series of intertextual connections between Numbers and the other Pentateuchal books excluding Deuteronomy.⁵⁷ Rösel also pointed out that a number of neologisms found in Deuteronomy (such as ἀπαδικέω for פשע in 24:14 and ἐμπιστεύω for אמן in 1:32) are not taken up in Leviticus and Numbers as matches for the same Hebrew terms. This observation militates against the chronological priority of Deuteronomy.⁵⁸

In his recently published study on the Greek of the LXX Pentateuch, John Lee argued at length for the idea that the five books were translated in parallel, and that their translators

⁵⁴ The breaking up of the sequence of diseases in OG Leviticus 21:20 and use of a participle (which could be a neologism) in 22:22 do not in themselves provide sufficient evidence to establish dependence on OG Deuteronomy.

⁵⁵ See here P.Tebt.3.1.701 = TM 5312 [235; 210 BCE].

⁵⁶ Deuteronomy contains many stereotypical lexical matches that are also found in later books but not in Leviticus-Numbers, such as פשע = ἀσεβής. But this does not imply that Leviticus-Numbers came first, and that Deuteronomy “corrected” this match. It can simply represent a difference in translation technique. Den Hertog also assumes that cultic regulations were not so important in the Diaspora and that the many witnesses of Deuteronomy found at Qumran, along with citations in the New Testament and elsewhere place Deuteronomy in pride of place. But this need not have influenced the sequence of translation. See Den Hertog, “Erwägungen zur relativen Chronologie der Bücher Levitikus und Deuteronomium innerhalb der Pentateuchübersetzung,” 217.

⁵⁷ Gilles Dorival, “Les phénomènes d’intertextualité dans le livre grec des Nombres,” in *Kata tous O’ “Selon les Septante”*: *Trente études sur la Bible grecque des Septante*, ed. Gilles Dorival and Olivier Munnich (Paris: Cerf, 1995), 253–85.

⁵⁸ Martin Rösel, “Primary Translations (Septuagint, Numbers),” in *Textual History of the Bible: The Hebrew Bible, Vol. 1B*, ed. Emanuel Tov and Armin Lange (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), 146.

collaborated.⁵⁹ This is supported by two lines of argumentation: First, it would explain the similarity in approach, as this would presume a similar education and conception of how to perform the task.⁶⁰ But more significantly, it would explain the high number of neologisms that are employed in similar contexts in the various books, the originality of which makes it unlikely that they would have been created independently by more than one person.⁶¹ These new terms or phrases translate entire semantic fields (that of sacrifice for example) so that assigning new Greek terms to particular Hebrew terms of a technical nature assumes that some kind of word list or glossary has been devised to ensure that each Hebrew term has its appropriate Greek counterpart.⁶² Lee concludes that the only way these five translations could have shared this often technical vocabulary is for the translators to have collaborated and worked from a common word list.⁶³

This theory has much to commend and would go a long way toward explaining the great difficulty in determining which of the last three books of the Pentateuch would have been done first. It also explains some of the similarities and differences between translations,

⁵⁹ Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 173–209. As Lee notes, the scenario of the translators working sequentially is often mentioned, but without providing a detailed argument. See for example Melvin K. H. Peters, “To the Reader of Deuteronomion,” in *New English Translation of the Septuagint* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 141.

⁶⁰ Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 181.

⁶¹ Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 185.

⁶² Lee designates this list as a fully worked out system of renderings. Some have suggested that these could have pre-existed the translation (See Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronomie*, 63; Aejmelaeus, “The Septuagint and Oral Translation,” 8–12.) But Lee argues that the size and complexity of the system, the technical nature of these terms, only encountered in literature discussing very precise terminology, as well as the character of the Greek equivalents suggest that they were created in the course of translation. See Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 199–202.

⁶³ The existence of a written list would be the only way to remember all of the mappings of a particular semantic field. Lee is quick to qualify that 1) some well-known terms undoubtedly had Greek equivalents before the translation effort was initiated. The Greek *διαθήκη* or *νόμος* might represent some of those. 2) The translators also had freedom to vary at times depending on a number of factors. The list was therefore only a guide. See Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 201–4. The existence of a word list is not a novel idea (see Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 203, note 76.), but Lee’s discussion presents the most sustained and convincing argument in its favor. A similar argument has also been discussed in the context of the book of Samuel in Sarah Yardney, “The Use of Glossaries by the Translators of the Septuagint,” *Textus* 28 (2019): 157–77.

especially in the number of similarities with respect to the technical vocabulary. Yet one might postulate that it is not necessarily incompatible with what was said about the differences observed between Genesis-Exodus and Leviticus-Numbers-Deuteronomy. Lee's explanation could also work in a scenario where the Pentateuch was translated in two stages, with a refinement in methodology happening between Exodus and Leviticus. Of the nearly 30 neologisms discussed by Lee, all but two are found in Genesis or Exodus.⁶⁴ One could therefore argue that the glossary posited by Lee was created in this first stage during the translation of Genesis and Exodus, while the translators of the second stage consulted this glossary or the existing translations for help. This would also leave room for the observations made by Aejmelaeus and others that there seems to be a dependency on the part of the Deuteronomy translator on OG Exodus.⁶⁵ Moreover, such similarities must be weighed against the numerous instances where the Deuteronomy translator went his own way, as we will see.⁶⁶ One might also further argue that Lee's examples do not preclude a purely sequential order of translation as traditionally understood. In any case, it is generally agreed that all five books of

⁶⁴ These would be *θνησιμαῖος*, found in 19 instances in Leviticus and twice in Deuteronomy (14:8 and 14:21), as well as *πλημμελία*, found with the sense of "offering for error" in at least five instances in Leviticus, and one in Numbers. See Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 188, 198.

⁶⁵ Aejmelaeus briefly entertains the idea that the translations could have been done simultaneously but goes on to argue that the Deuteronomy translator knew of the Greek text of other Pentateuchal books. In addition to the examples mentioned above, see further examples provided in Anneli Aejmelaeus, "Die Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums," in *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays*, CBET 50 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 160–61. Deut 16:7 would be one such example, which conflates the command to roast and boil found in Exod 12:8–9. In Deut 24:7 and 21:14, the translator renders the same Hebrew verb with Greek terms employed in parallel passages from Exodus, even though his *Vorlage* contains different Hebrew terms. The rendering of Deut 29:19(18^{MT}) also seems influenced by that of Gen 18:23 and 19:15. She concludes: "Biespiele für dieses Phänomen gibt es reichlich im Dtn." Another possible dependency is that of Deut 1:41 on Numbers. See Aejmelaeus, "Die Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums," 166–67.

⁶⁶ Note the comments by Blank who argued that since some of the various terms designating the laws, statutes, and commandments in the Pentateuch are rendered differently in Deuteronomy, it becomes more difficult to entertain theories to the effect that the Pentateuch was translated as a unit. Instead, the data would align better with Baumgärtel's thesis that Deuteronomy was translated separately, and with Frankel's, who argued that it was translated later than the rest of the Pentateuch. See Sheldon H. Blank, "The LXX Renderings of Old Testament Terms for Law," *HUCA* 7 (1930): 267; Baumgärtel, "Zur Entstehung der Pentateuchseptuaginta," 60–62; Zacharias Frankel, *Ueber den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik* (Leipzig: Barth, 1851), 230–31.

the Pentateuch were translated in close proximity, both in terms of location and chronology, so that it is not possible at this time to infer a more precise date or provenance from OG Deuteronomy based on its relationship with other Pentateuchal books.

1.4. PREVIOUS CHARACTERIZATIONS OF THE TRANSLATION

Having discussed the provenance of OG Deuteronomy, we are now in a position to survey the studies that have investigated and attempted a description of its characteristics as a translation. Such characterizations are found as early as Zacharias Frankel, who observed that the translator does not follow the source text slavishly. Rather, his cleverness is seen in the modification or introduction of elements where the context requires it, all the while aiming for faithfulness.⁶⁷ He later adds that despite his skill, the translator sometimes got carried away in his precipitation.⁶⁸ A small number of studies appeared before the publication of Wevers's critical edition, but some suffer from both the absence of a critical text of the translation and the additional data provided by the full publication of the Dead Sea Scroll. Schultz's study discusses differences between the Greek text and MT while Gooding attempted to reconstruct the textual history of the Greek text.⁶⁹ Other studies, though helpful, focus on specific aspects of its translation technique, sometimes in order to ascertain its use for the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible.⁷⁰ More recently, Antony Khokhar has published a dissertation that

⁶⁷ Frankel, *Ueber den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik*, 201–2.

⁶⁸ The oft-quoted sentence is as follows: “Deuteronom hatte einen mit ziemlicher Kenntnis begabten Mann zum Vertenten, der sich mitunter seinen eigenen Weg zu bahnen weiss, aber auch zu mancher Uebereilung sich hinreissen last.” See Frankel, *Ueber den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik*, 228–29.

⁶⁹ See Samuel Schultz, “The Differences between the Masoretic and Septuagint Texts of Deuteronomy” (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1949); David Willoughby Gooding, “The Greek Deuteronomy” (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1954). Khokhar provides a helpful summary and criticism of their work in Anthony John Khokhar, “May My Teaching Drop as the Rain (Deut 32:2): A Translation-Technical Analysis of MT Deut 28:69–34:12 from the Perspective of Content- and Context Related Criteriology” (Ph.D. diss., Université Catholique de Louvain, 2018), 37–40.

⁷⁰ Bernard André Nieuwoudt, “Aspects of the Translation Technique of the Septuagint: The Finite Verb in the Septuagint of Deuteronomy” (PhD Diss., University of Stellenbosch, 1992); F. Nwachukwu, “The Textual

examines specific aspects of the translator's work in the later portion of the book (28:69-34:12): *Numeruswechsel*, *hapax legomena*, *parallelismus membrorum*, and wordplay.⁷¹ These will be referred to throughout whenever they can contribute to specific discussions.⁷²

Three significant efforts were made at describing the character of OG Deuteronomy in a more comprehensive manner. Two of these arise from longer treatments of the book by John Wevers and the team of Marguerite Harl and Cécile Dogniez. We will also consider the shorter but nonetheless extended survey offered by Anneli Aejmelaeus, which reflects the methodology and concerns of the so-called Finnish school. These will be addressed in the following sections more or less in the order of their publication.

1.4.1. Dogniez and Harl

Dogniez and Harl's commentary was published in 1992 as part of the *La Bible d'Alexandrie* series.⁷³ In keeping with the character of the series, the commentary focuses on the translation as a Greek text and its reception by Jewish and Christian interpreters.

The commentary's extended treatment of the translation's characteristics sets out their main findings. The translator is said to be working in a conservative way: "sa version est moins 'libre' vis-à-vis de son modèle que ne l'était, par exemple, la version de la Genèse ; elle est plus 'littérale'." That is, the translator follows the style and syntax of his source text quite

Differences Between the MT and the LXX of Deuteronomy," in *Bundesdokument und Gesetz: Studien zum Deuteronomium*, ed. G. Braulik (Freiburg: Herder, 1995), 79–92; Thorne Wittstruck, "The Greek Translators of Deuteronomy" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1972). Again, the discussion provided by Khokhar helpfully summarizes these. See Khokhar, "May My Teaching Drop as the Rain," 40–43. Tov posits that the chief characteristic of the translation is its harmonizing character. See Emanuel Tov, "Textual Harmonizations in the Ancient Texts of Deuteronomy," in *Mishneh Toda: Studies in Deuteronomy and Its Cultural Environment in Honor of Jeffrey H. Tigay*, ed. E. Fox, D. A. Glatt-Gilad, and M. J. Williams (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 15–28.

⁷¹ Khokhar, "May My Teaching Drop as the Rain."

⁷² Also helpful are the introductions to OG Deuteronomy found in the recently published handbooks, as well as the chapter dedicated to it in the *Septuaginta Deutsch* commentary volume. See Perkins, "Deuteronomy"; Peters, "Deuteronomion / Deuteronomium / Das fünfte Buch Mose"; Den Hertog, Labahn, and Pola, "Deuteronomion."

⁷³ Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronomie*.

closely.⁷⁴ Dogniez and Harl further observe that when the translator departs from his source text, it is usually for literary reasons, and only in a punctual, non-systematic manner. This is clearly seen in the way the second person singular and plural alternate in translation, the switch occurring earlier or later than MT. Such variations appear to be motivated by the desire to avoid abrupt changes in grammatical number. While this may indicate an effort towards consistency within a single passage, it is not executed methodically throughout the book.⁷⁵

In their evaluation of the nature of the resulting Greek, Dogniez and Harl note that the translator follows the Hebrew word order very closely, sometimes in opposition to natural Greek usage.⁷⁶ Each Hebrew word is usually represented in the source text (one-to-one representation), including discourse markers such as introductory formulas and linking words. A particularly striking feature is the high frequency of parataxis (the use of καὶ to translate the Hebrew conjunction ו), even in the apodosis, which in Hebrew is often initiated with ו.⁷⁷ Another characteristic is the use of non-articulated infinitives in succession, so that the relationship of the infinitives to the main verb is not always clear. Further indications of the importance of adhering closely to the source text despite the requirements of the target language are cited:⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronomie*, 29.

⁷⁵ Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronomie*, 30. Wevers notes that while in some cases the translator might have made the situation worse, he did, on the whole, make the text more consistent, particularly in small units. In such cases, the changes in number in relation to MT are often observed later in a verse, at times leveling the text. See Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 65. On this topic, see the important studies by Ausloos in Hans Ausloos, “LXX’s Rendering of the *Numeruswechsel* in the Book of Deuteronomy: Deuteronomy 12 as a Test Case,” in *Text – Textgeschichte – Textwirkung. Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Siegfried Kreuzer*, ed. J. M. Robker, F. Ueberschaer, and T. Wagner, AOAT 419 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2014), 303–13; Hans Ausloos, “One to Three... Some Aspects of the *Numeruswechsel* within the LXX of Deuteronomy,” in *Die Septuaginta – Geschichte, Wirkung, Relevanz: 6. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 21.-24. Juli 2016*, ed. S. Kreuzer et al., WUNT 405 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 202–14.

⁷⁶ See the negation in 22:1, which is far removed from the verb. In 29:9-11, the infinitive is quite distant from the main verb, nearly two verses apart.

⁷⁷ Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronomie*, 30–31. This was observed and documented by Aejmelaeus.

⁷⁸ Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronomie*, 31.

- Words being reproduced in the nominative independently of the syntax of the sentence (4:11, 5:3).
- The Hebrew genitive of quality being reproduced when an attributive adjective would have been more appropriate (32:7).
- The use of Greek prepositions that are consistently matched to the same Hebrew ones. This gives rise to usages that are contrary to conventional Greek, especially when ἀπό renders the Hebrew מן in its comparative or partitive sense.
- The rendering of typical Hebrew phraseology such as its pleonastic use of the pronoun (or adverbs) at the end of a relative clause: “The land in which you are entering there to occupy it” = τὴν γῆν, εἰς ἣν διαβαίνεις ἐκεῖ κληρονομήσαι αὐτήν (11:29).⁷⁹

A number of similar features are mentioned, which have to do with the word for word rendering of specifically Hebrew idiom, the result of which is unconventional Greek.⁸⁰ Many of these are not unique to Deuteronomy, such as the rendering of the often redundant introductory speech marker לֵאמֹר (“to say”) with the participle λέγων, in a case different from that of the speaker, or using body parts to form prepositions: וְאַל־תִּירָאוּ מִפְּנֵיהֶם (“You will not dread in the face of them”) = μηδὲ ἐκκλίνετε ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν (20:3). Other features that lead to unnatural Greek include the consistent rendering of specific Hebrew terms with the same Greek ones such as נֶפֶשׁ with ψυχή and עָשָׂה with ποιέω. The consistency of these matches appears to be higher than in other translations of the Pentateuch.⁸¹ Dogniez and Harl

⁷⁹ Wevers labels these as recapitulative pronouns/adverbs in relative clauses. See Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 58. Some of the features described here are actually not problematic from the perspective of postclassical Greek as we will see.

⁸⁰ Not all examples are equally convincing. Deut 1:22 does speak in Hebrew of going and “bringing us back a word (דָּבָר) concerning the way we should go.” דָּבָר is here translated by ἀπόκρισις, for which *LSJ* suggests the meaning “answer, decision”, an appropriate fit in this context.

⁸¹ Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronomie*, 31–32. But as we will see, this is only part of the picture.

conclude: “Le décalque de l’ordre des mots et de la syntaxe de la phrase hébraïque aboutit à un texte souvent étrange et même rude pour des oreilles grecques.”⁸² Nevertheless, they surmise that despite the translation method, the Greek text remains, overall, “compréhensible pour des hellénophones,” the number of places in which real difficulties in understanding arise being few.⁸³ Efforts to conform to the conventions of the Greek language include the deliberate avoidance of certain Hebrew idioms, translated more freely into Greek: אִם־בֶּן־הַרְשָׁע (‘if the guilty is ‘son of lashes’’) = ἐὰν ἄξιός ᾖ πληγῶν ὁ ἀσεβής. In certain cases, one finds exceptions to consistent lexical matches when the context requires clarification. For example, נֹפֶשׁ is not rendered using ψῠχή in 21:14 and 24:15, presumably because the resulting Greek phrase would not have been understandable in those specific contexts.⁸⁴ A few features indicate that the translator aimed at times for a higher register of Greek. These would include the occasional use of the infinitive absolute, the optative mood, and the breaking up of overly long sentences (14:23). Some stylistic features can be found in the poetic sections of chapters 32 and 33.⁸⁵

Quantitative differences are more difficult to evaluate. There are a few instances where OG Deuteronomy represents the shorter text, and where it is conceivable that the MT plus is a later addition. But the opposite is usually the case. For example, there are instances where the Greek has fewer verbs of extermination than the Hebrew text of MT (28:63), but others where the Greek text contains more such verbs than the Hebrew (27:7, 28:24, 45).⁸⁶ Places where

⁸² Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronome*, 32–33. They add : “Malgré notre souci de respecter le style de la Septante, il ne nous a pas été possible de donner un texte français parfaitement décalé sur le grec.”

⁸³ Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronome*, 33. It is noteworthy, as Dogniez and Harl remark, that many similar constructions thought to be Hebraisms have been found in the language of the papyri of this period.

⁸⁴ Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronome*, 33.

⁸⁵ Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronome*, 33. It remains to be seen however if those are identified while taking the translation technique in mind, or if they are simply a by-product of the translation process. See Didier Pralon, *Le Lévitique*, La Bible d’Alexandrie 3 (Paris: Cerf, 1988), 47–81 for their methodology.

⁸⁶ Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronome*, 34–35. The fact that other ancient witnesses share some of these pluses strongly suggests that these were in the translator’s source text. Dogniez and Harl also rightly note the frequent

OG Deuteronomy contains pluses that may safely be attributed to the translator are situations where linguistic constraints require the additional element(s) in translation.⁸⁷ Some double translations are present, but other instances where the pluses originate in parallel passages, even outside Deuteronomy should not be accepted without careful analysis. It is just as likely that they owe their existence to the Hebrew source text.⁸⁸ Dogniez and Harl identify two additional reasons for pluses: 1) The desire for precision, explicating an element already implicit in the text (i.e., the addition of βασιλεῦ τῶν θεῶν in 9:26), and 2) literary or redactional concerns (31:22 inserted at the beginning of 32:44 to form an *inclusio* around the song).⁸⁹

The analysis of qualitative differences focuses on the exegetically significant renderings in relation to their corresponding Hebrew terms. These can be attributed to a different *Vorlage*, misreadings of the Hebrew text, literary modifications, free interpretations of a difficult text, or deliberate modifications of a fact or concept.⁹⁰ Examples are provided in each area, Dogniez and Harl noting that they may not have sufficiently paid attention to potential misreadings of the Hebrew text.⁹¹ They nevertheless provide a helpful list of semantic differences that can be categorized as follows:

harmonizations of Deuteronomy's often repeated-formulaic phrases, which may also point to scribal activity in the underlying Hebrew tradition, or even at the level of the Greek transmission history. We will return to this problem in the next chapter.

⁸⁷ But as will be discussed below, the majority of these examples are doubtful from a text-critical perspective. They were most likely present in the translator's source text and do not represent linguistically motivated additions.

⁸⁸ Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronomie*, 36–37.

⁸⁹ Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronomie*, 37.

⁹⁰ Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronomie*, 39.

⁹¹ Which is understandable given their background and the general thrust of the series. They do note the possibility of a different vocalization in 13:10 and 15:18. They further remark that such differences sometimes arise in the Greek text's transmission history (16:10 and 33:28), which includes the different verse divisions observed in 4:29-30, 11:15-16, 14:28, 25:2-3, and 33:3-4.

- Euphemisms: In 18:10, the Greek text has *περικαθαίρων τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἢ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ ἐν πυρί* (“to purify one’s children by fire”) instead of **מעביר בנוֹ־ובתו באשׁ** (“passing/sacrificing one’s children through fire”).
- Actualizations: *οἶκος* (“house”) translating **אהל** (“tent”) in 5:30 and ff.; *πόλεις* (“cities”) for **שערים** (“gates”).
- Anti-anthropomorphisms: **צור** (“rock”) is translated using *θεός* (“God”) when referring to Israel’s or other nations’ gods in chapter 32; *ὀργή* (“wrath”) instead of **אף** (“nose”) in 33:10; *ῥήματα* (“words”) instead of **פה** (“mouth”).
- Other religiously motivated changes: God is not the subject of verbs of seeing (32:20), burying (34:7), and disdain (32:19); his name does not dwell, but is invoked from the place he chooses (12:15 and ff.); he does not dwell but appears on Sinai (33:16; see also 4:36, 37).⁹²

Lastly, they note that though some of these divergences produce a different meaning, they are unevenly distributed in the book: They are rather rare and limited to nuances in meaning in the narrative and paraenetic chapters (1-11). In the legislative section, they are rather punctual and technical. A well-known example here is the translation of **מלך** (“king”) by *ἀρχή* (“ruler”, “magistrate”) in 17:14-20. They further remark that these modifications point to “le souci de précision, d’actualisation, de mise en accord avec les traditions et les pratiques juives de l’époque. Les divergences ne semblent pas résulter d’un projet global d’interprétation théologique.”⁹³ They underscore that in the last part (chapters 27-34), such differences in meaning are more frequent and share a common theme: “elles correspondent, semble-t-il, à des intentions du traducteur, notamment pour exprimer l’amour du Seigneur

⁹² Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronome*, 38–39.

⁹³ Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronome*, 39.

pour le peuple dispersé.”⁹⁴ They rightfully note that in many other cases, the rationale for such differences is difficult to understand and requires further study. Their own comments are also quite limited due to space constraints.⁹⁵

Another important contribution of Dogniez and Harl is their thorough study of the various ways the translator dealt with proper names.⁹⁶ They also provide an exhaustive list of words considered to be neologisms as well as a number of technical terms introduced by the translator.⁹⁷ Dogniez and Harl should be commended for their attention to the issue of interference and how the resulting text conforms to the conventions of the Greek language.

While a few of this important study’s shortcomings have already been identified – some by the authors themselves – a new look at this material is necessary for several reasons, of which a few are highlighted here:

- In their evaluation of the Greek text, particularly the examination of pluses and minuses, the commentators did not benefit from a thorough text-critical investigation based on translation technique and the additional data at our disposal since the full publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls. In 6:3, the Greek plus of *δοῦναί* is said to be linguistically motivated since it expands on the Hebrew *דבר* to add the element of promise.⁹⁸ But this plus, also present in the Peshitta, is easily explained as an assimilation to one of Deuteronomy’s stock phrases: The expression *לתת לך* occurs

⁹⁴ Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronome*, 39. Some of these will be discussed in due course as the majority of the examples identified by Dogniez and Harl are found in chapter 32.

⁹⁵ “Certaines nécessiteraient plusieurs pages pour que soient montrées à la fois leur origine et leur importance lors de leur ‘réception’ par les futurs lecteurs. Les études menées par les spécialistes des traditions juives postbibliques (les textes de Qumrân, les Targums, les textes non canoniques...) peuvent signaler les coïncidences entre certaines de ces traditions et les interprétations de la Septante. Nous appelons celles-ci ‘originales’ mais elles sont, en fait, des signes de contact de nos traducteurs avec les traditions orales prêmishniques.” See Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronome*, 40.

⁹⁶ Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronome*, 91–100.

⁹⁷ Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronome*, 64–68.

⁹⁸ *לך ארץ* = *καθάπερ ἐλάλησεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων σου δοῦναί σοι γῆν*.

in 4:38, 6:10, 7:13, and 28:11.⁹⁹ Another example is the specification of the subject (ὁ προφήτης) in 18:19, which is absent from MT, as well as the Samaritan Pentateuch (SamPent), 4QDeut^f, and the versions.¹⁰⁰ But since this plus is also present in 4QTest, one should at least entertain the possibility that it was present in the translator's *Vorlage*. Double translations, especially when both terms are found independently in the extant witnesses should also not be identified as such, but most likely stem from the translator's source text.

- Moreover, some of the characterizations of the translation are made on the basis of Rahlfs's text, referring to features rejected by Wevers in his critical edition.¹⁰¹
- Many comments focus on the reception of the text (in keeping with the series's orientation) or on the differences in meaning between the Greek and underlying Hebrew text without sufficiently taking translation technique or text-critical issues into consideration.¹⁰² In some cases (32:20), a different vocalization of the Hebrew word may be the cause of the divergence.
- In other cases, their analysis of the differences in meaning between the Hebrew and Greek text sometimes blurs the distinction between the translation's context of production and how it came to be read later in its reception history. In other words,

⁹⁹ See the similar evaluation in Carmel McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*, Biblia Hebraica Quinta 5 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007), 22. Alternatively, the word לַתִּת could have been dropped from MT due to parablepsis. Dogniez and Harl acknowledge the problematic nature of these phrases elsewhere, but do not always take this into account in their evaluation. See Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronomie*, 88–89.

¹⁰⁰ לֹא־יִשְׁמַע אֶל־דְּבָרֵי אֲשֶׁר יִדְבֹר בְּשִׁמִּי = μὴ ἀκούσῃ τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ, ὅσα ἂν λαλήσῃ ὁ προφήτης ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου. Here, Targum Jonathan (T^j) has “the words of my prophecy.”

¹⁰¹ See their comment on pleonastic use of the pronoun in 6:1 in Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronomie*, 31, 153.

¹⁰² This is especially true in their more extensive discussions of particular themes in Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronomie*, 40–63. Another area where this becomes problematic is when the commentary highlights a number of renderings that are problematic from a Greek point of view, in part because these are consistent matches to specific Hebrew terms. But these observations are not related to a more systematic characterization of the translation technique and set in contrast with the fact that in other situations, OG Deuteronomy provides a great variety in lexical matches for individual Hebrew terms.

the comments alternate between the translator's use of specific vocabulary and the message of the book when read as a whole, independently from its source text. This analysis tends to pass over the reasons why this particular vocabulary was employed, the resulting reading having nothing to do with the translator or his context, but how later readers might have understood it.¹⁰³

It must be noted, however, that a multifaceted characterization of the translation which pays closer attention to text-critical and translation technical issues was beyond the scope of this commentary. Yet, such elements are necessary even in situations where the focus is on the quality of the translation as a Greek text. Their study is nevertheless the most thorough and systematic treatment of Deuteronomy's character as a Greek text and remains very useful in many respects. It will be referred to throughout this study.

1.4.2. Aejmelaesus

In her article-length study of OG Deuteronomy, Aejmelaesus states that the translators did not hold to "dynamic equivalency" as an ideal in translation, yet resorted to what we may identify as such in a few formulations.¹⁰⁴ With the help of translation technical analysis, Aejmelaesus identifies ways in which the translator deviates from his usual practice of word-for-word renderings and consistent matching of Hebrew and Greek terms (the *Konkordanzprinzip*). As a baseline, she shows that OG Deuteronomy employs the particle δὲ to translate the Hebrew conjunction וְ only 2.7% of the time, a number that is in line with

¹⁰³ See for example the discussion on the topic of the importance of "remembering" in the book, which raises the issue of the use of words of remembering in Greek and discusses such emphasis in the message of the book. Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronomie*, 45–46. The fact that ἀσάλευτος is found in the plural in 6:8 and 11:18, for example, is probably not to link back to the previously mentioned ῥήματα but because the underlying Hebrew term is in the plural. It is also likely that the translator did not understand this rare Hebrew term. See Perkins, "Deuteronomy," 78.

¹⁰⁴ Aejmelaesus, "Die Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums," 163.

Leviticus and Numbers, but much lower than Genesis and Exodus.¹⁰⁵ A similar pattern is observable for the translation of כִּי by γάρ instead the ὅτι *causale*, which also points to a desire for more consistency in lexical matches in the later books of the Pentateuch.¹⁰⁶ A third example is the number of instances where the Hebrew ו is left untranslated. Again, Deuteronomy is last in this group, demonstrating the propensity to render every item of the source.¹⁰⁷ Other examples of this kind are cited, such as the position of the enclitic personal pronoun, which is often positioned before the main word in Greek, contrary to Hebrew usage. This positioning is found in only 25 out of 1080 times in Deuteronomy, in contrast with Genesis and Exodus.¹⁰⁸ She concludes: “Diese kleinen sprachlichen Einzelheiten sind Indikatoren dafür, dass der Übersetzer des Dtn nicht leichten Sinnes von Wortlaut und Wortfolge des Originals abwich, auch wenn der Stil, die grammatische Korrektheit und der Inhalt des Textes es erfordert hätten.”¹⁰⁹

After establishing a baseline of literalness, Aejmelaeus then discusses indications of freedom. Contrary to expectations, the *participium coniunctum* (*part. coni.*) and the genitive absolute are two devices employed by the OG Deuteronomy translator more frequently than any other book in the Pentateuch. These deviate from the standard pattern of word-for-word translation, instead favoring conventional Greek idiom.¹¹⁰ Such constructions are employed to

¹⁰⁵ The exact numbers are Gen: 25.5%; Exod: 26.4%; Lev: 2.4%; Num: 2.1%; Deut: 2.7%. See Aejmelaeus, “Die Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums,” 164–65, note 19 for more information. See also note 45 above.

¹⁰⁶ The Greek γάρ employed in Gen: 55%; Exod 85%; Lev 35%; Num 27%; Deut 26%. See Aejmelaeus, “Die Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums,” 165.

¹⁰⁷ Gen: 55%; Ex 78%; Lev 39%; Num 36%; Dt 30%. These numbers are taken from Aejmelaeus’ previous studies on translation technique of particular syntactic elements in the Pentateuch. See Aejmelaeus, “Die Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums,” 165; Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint*, 140.

¹⁰⁸ Aejmelaeus, “Die Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums,” 165. For comparison, the enclitic pronoun is placed before the head noun in 65 out of about 850 instances in Genesis, and 30 out of 350 instances in Exodus.

¹⁰⁹ Aejmelaeus, “Die Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums,” 165.

¹¹⁰ Aejmelaeus discusses in this context the translation of Deut 4:45, 6:7, and 8:12-14 in Aejmelaeus, “Die Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums,” 165–67; Aejmelaeus, “*Participium Coniunctum* as a Criterion of Translation Technique.” It is noteworthy that the word order of the Hebrew source is preserved via this translation strategy.

avoid excessive parataxis, or in order to render the ב + infinitive Hebrew construction as in 6:7:

ושננתם לבניך ודברת במ בשבתך בביתך ובלכתך בדרך ובשכבך ובקומך

καὶ προβιβάσεις αὐτὰ τοὺς υἱούς σου καὶ λαλήσεις ἐν αὐτοῖς καθήμενος ἐν οἴκῳ καὶ πορευόμενος ἐν ὁδῷ καὶ κοιταζόμενος καὶ διανιστάμενος.

The use of the unarticulated infinitive is striking, particularly in instances where the underlying Hebrew prefixes the infinitive with the ל preposition.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, Aejmelaeus concludes that quantitative correspondence remains a high priority for this translator. The translator's freedom is apparent mostly at the level of qualitative matches:

In der *quantitativen* Hinsicht ist der Übersetzer sehr vorsichtig. Er bearbeitet den Text in kleinen Abschnitten und gibt am liebsten jedem Wort und jedem Element des Textes ein griechisches Äquivalent. In der *qualitativer* Hinsicht ist er relativ frei. Er hat keinen Zwang nach dem Konkordanzprinzip vorzugehen...es scheint aber, dass der Inhalt des Textes den Übersetzer inspiriert hat.¹¹²

This qualitative freedom is illustrated by the various ways the Deuteronomy translator translates the Greek verb ἔχω, which demonstrates sensitivity to the literary context of the word. Sporadic free renderings do occur, and these cannot be statistically weighted.¹¹³

Motivations for these qualitative differences are many and the examples provided overlap with those discussed by Dogniez and Harl. Aejmelaeus attributes some of these to:¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ Aejmelaeus, "Die Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums," 167. See the similar comments in Peters, "Deuteronomion / Deuteronomium / Das fünfte Buch Mose," 165. Wevers adds that while the articular infinitive is found in great number elsewhere in the translations of the Septuagint, there are only 5 occurrences in OG Deuteronomy. See Wevers, "The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy," 63–64.

¹¹² Aejmelaeus, "Die Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums," 169–70. (Emphasis original) She further states: "Er hat keine Schwierigkeit, die Form des Verbs oder das lexikalische Äquivalent zu variieren. Er scheint in dieser Hinsicht sogar etwas lässig zu sein, indem er für seltene Vokabeln durchaus inkorrekte Wortäquivalente verwendet." See Aejmelaeus, "Die Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums," 167–68.

¹¹³ Aejmelaeus, "Die Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums," 168. Another example is the translation of the verb בקר, for which there are at least four Greek equivalents with no discernable motivation for the variation.

¹¹⁴ The examples here cited are taken from Aejmelaeus, "Die Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums," 168–71.

- Sensitivity to literary context: An example here is the above-mentioned translation of נֶפֶשׁ (“life/soul”) by ἐλπίς (“hope”) in 24:15.
- Adaptations to the context of the translation (Alexandrian Diaspora): The translation of מֶלֶךְ (“king”) by ἀρχή (“ruler”) in 17:14-20.¹¹⁵
- The avoidance of certain expressions, such as euphemisms: σκληροκαρδία (“hardheartedness”) instead of עֲרֵלַת לֵבָב (“uncircumcision of heart”) in 10:16.¹¹⁶
- Theological conceptions: Forgiveness of sins being promised instead of return from exile in 30:3.¹¹⁷ The expression of God’s care for his people is emphasized in 30:9.¹¹⁸

Aejmelaeus also discusses the phenomenon of double translation, a few examples often being cited in OG Deuteronomy. She notes that it is very difficult to determine whether such features are from the translator’s hand or already present in his *Vorlage*.¹¹⁹ She suggests that the double translation of גִּדְלָךְ by τὴν ἰσχύν σου καὶ τὴν δυνάμιν σου when speaking of God in 3:24 and 9:26 might be attributable to a desire to avoid speaking of God as large in size. Other cases, especially the longer double translation of 23:17(18^{MT}), are attributed to modifications introduced in the transmission of the Greek text.¹²⁰ Aejmelaeus is therefore reluctant to attribute the Greek text’s pluses or minuses to the translator, especially in light of the overall

¹¹⁵ As Wevers adds, this particular rendering is only found when מֶלֶךְ refers to an Israelite king. Otherwise, the more usual match of βασιλεύς is found. See Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 87. Aejmelaeus also cites as example the translation of שַׁעֲרֵים (“gates”) by πόλεις (“cities”).

¹¹⁶ She also mentions God’s name not dwelling (שָׁכַן) but being invoked (ἐπικαλέω) from the place he chooses (See Dogniez-Harl above). Wevers adds that in 30:6, the command to circumcize one’s heart in Hebrew has also been explained as περιᾱθᾱρίζω (purifying/purging) it. See Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 70.

¹¹⁷ יהוה אלהיך את־שְׁבוּתְךָ = καὶ ἰάσεται κύριος τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου.

¹¹⁸ יהוה אלהיך = καὶ πολυωρήσει σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου.

¹¹⁹ Aejmelaeus, “Die Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums,” 171.

¹²⁰ Aejmelaeus contradicts Wevers on this point, instead pointing to Schleusner’s observation that one of the translated phrases comes from Theodotion and was later inserted in the text before the phrase produced by the original translator. See the extended discussion in Aejmelaeus, “Die Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums,” 172–73. Wevers identifies six instances of double translation in OG Deuteronomy, including the two discussed here. See Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 69–70.

translation technique observed throughout the book. Such instances must be examined with great care before this conclusion can be reached.¹²¹

As is apparent from this overview, Aejmelaeus's approach is centered on the translation process and therefore very attentive to the way the translator works in light of his source text. The data provided by the various translation-technical studies is very helpful in terms of defining an initial baseline by which to characterize OG Deuteronomy. This is necessary when one seeks to identify differences that are introduced by the translator (as opposed to his *Vorlage*) and when using the translation for text-critical work on its Hebrew source. The various examples demonstrating the type of freedom exercised by the translator are also quite useful, but not as extensive as that those noted by Dogniez and Harl. This is no doubt partly due to a more robust methodology, but also because of the limited scope of the article. In a way, Aejmelaeus's approach is an important corrective to Dogniez and Harl, despite the overlap in their remarks. However, because the focus of Aejmelaeus's study is on translation technique, little attention is paid to the resultant Greek text and its character.¹²² Such limitations are to be expected given the limited space allotted to her essay.

1.4.3. Wevers

Wevers's discussion of OG Deuteronomy is found throughout his extensive work on this text, which followed the publication of his major critical edition. His *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy* are the main reference in terms of comments on the Greek text.¹²³ At over 600 pages, they cover the entire book. Yet, most of the discussions are very brief and usually

¹²¹ See Aejmelaeus, "Die Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums," 173. We will return to this issue in chapter 2. The rest of Aejmelaeus's discussion in this article revolves around that topic.

¹²² Note, however, the usefulness of translation technical studies in comparing the various translations in order to bring out their particularities.

¹²³ Wevers, *NGTD*.

focus on unusual translation renderings or issues concerning the textual transmission of the Greek text.¹²⁴ Except for a few pages in the introduction, the book lacks a synthesis that would provide a description of the translation process, on the one hand, and of the character of the Greek text on the other. It is nevertheless a treasure trove of observations and, along with the Dogniez and Harl volume, the only work commenting extensively on the Greek text. We will therefore refer to it throughout.

In a 1997 article, Wevers provides a description of several features of the translation process, with a focus on the translator as interpreter.¹²⁵ He begins by citing several metrics collected by Aejmelaeus (and discussed above) to illustrate the type of literalness that characterizes this translation. A few details are supplemented, showing that the use of the *δέ* particle is marked. In contrast with Genesis and Exodus where it is used as a paratactic conjunction, 65 of its 97 instances in OG Deuteronomy introduce a protasis, while the remaining 32 almost always indicate contrast.¹²⁶ Other examples of the “more literalistic approach” of the translator include in the larger number of “Hebraisms” found in OG Deuteronomy in relation to Genesis or Exodus. Besides those discussed above in Dogniez and Harl, and Aejmelaeus’s work,¹²⁷ Wevers highlights a number of other features, citing them as examples “illustrative of the Hebraic character of the Greek throughout the book.” These are:¹²⁸

¹²⁴ Note, however, the target readership envisioned by Wevers: “The professional Greek scholar will probably find my Notes overly elementary and repetitive, but they are not intended for the professional. I have written these Notes to help serious students of the Pentateuch who want to use the LXX text with some confidence, but who are neither specialists in LXX studies nor in Hellenistic Greek. Such students might well need help in understanding the LXX text over against the Hebrew, and it is hoped that such students might find these Notes a useful guide.” See Wevers, *NGTD*, xv.

¹²⁵ Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy.” Wevers also provided some comments in a much earlier, but short article, to which we will refer to in due course. See Wevers, “The Attitude of the Greek Translator of Deuteronomy towards his Parent Text.”

¹²⁶ Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 57; Wevers, *NGTD*, x.

¹²⁷ Wevers often provides additional details on the discussion in Harl/Dogniez and Aejmelaeus, and those have been indicated in the appropriate footnotes above.

¹²⁸ Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 58–59.

- The rendering of עֹד ...תוֹסֵף by προσθῆς ἔτι in 3:26.
- That of מִי־יָתֵן by τίς δώσει in 5:29.
- Translating לְוַהֲיִיתָ by καὶ ἔσῃ ἐν in 28:25, 37.
- The asseverative כִּי by ὅτι in 32:52.

For Wevers, these and the many other similar renderings demonstrate the “obsession with faithfulness to the parent text, sometimes to the point of obscurity.”¹²⁹ Another helpful discussion on this theme is that of the grammatical incongruities found in the book, as well as other renderings which he attributes to carelessness:¹³⁰

- Grammatical incongruities: Masculine relative pronouns referring back to a neuter noun: καὶ πᾶν παιδίον νέον, ὅστις (1:39); τὰ ἔθνη, εἰς οὓς σὺ εἰσπορεύῃ ἐκεῖ κληρονομήσαι τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν (12:29).
- Carelessness: A relative pronoun has the case of the wrong referent (the enemies instead of their spoils): καὶ φάγη πᾶσαν τὴν προνομήν τῶν ἐχθρῶν σου, ὧν κύριος ὁ θεός σου δίδωσίν σοι. (20:14); In 29:21(20^{MT}), שְׂבִטִי יִשְׂרָאֵל is rendered with τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ, which suggests that the translator had the more common בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל in mind. In 33:5, שְׂבִטִי יִשְׂרָאֵל is correctly rendered as φυλαῖς Ἰσραήλ.

Examining differences between the Greek text and its Hebrew source, Wevers identifies specific tendencies in the translation technique: formulaic patterns, expressions always rendered the same way despite differences with the underlying Hebrew text, the compression of accounts, and changes towards greater consistency:

¹²⁹ Wevers, “The Attitude of the Greek Translator of Deuteronomy towards his Parent Text,” 499–501, here 501.

¹³⁰ The following examples are taken from Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 61.

- Formulaic patterns: The Hebrew **מְקַרֵּב**, which has a singular pronominal suffix, is always rendered in the plural with **ἐξ ὑμῶν** or something similar.¹³¹
- Compressions of accounts: The best example of this is probably found in 31:8, where **וַיְהוֹה הוּא הֵלֵךְ לִפְנֵיךְ הוּא יְהִי עִמָּךְ** is compressed into **καὶ κύριος ὁ συμπορευόμενος μετὰ σοῦ**.¹³²
- Consistency in person and number:¹³³ In 5:2-3, MT has the first-person plural, switching to the second person in v.4. The Greek text consistently uses the second person. The same can be said about 11:13-15, where MT's first-person pronouns referring to God seem out of place inside a Mosaic speech. OG Deuteronomy has those in the third person.¹³⁴

Other potential differences with the source text are part and parcel of translation work as the translator clarifies or disambiguates elements the source text. These are sometimes occasioned by the inevitable differences between Hebrew and Greek syntax, and therefore not exegetically significant. They nevertheless provide additional information concerning the translator's preferences:

¹³¹ Wevers, "The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy," 61–62.

¹³² This is most clear, argues Wevers, because the translation combines both ideas of **וַיְהוֹה הוּא הֵלֵךְ** and **וַיְהוֹה הוּא יְהִי עִמָּךְ** in **συμπορευόμενος**. However, this example is not as felicitous as Wevers would see it, since the Greek adds **μετὰ σοῦ**, which must correspond to **עִמָּךְ**. The participle **συμπορευόμενος** could simply refer to **וַיְהוֹה הוּא הֵלֵךְ**. See Wevers, "The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy," 65. Laberge argues that MT is expansive here and that the Greek text represents the earlier version. See Léo Laberge, "Le texte de Deutéronome 31 (Dt 31,1-29; 32,44-47)," in *Pentateuchal and Deuteronomistic Studies. Papers Read at the XIIIth IOSOT Congress Leuven 1989*, ed. Johan Lust and C. Brekelmans, BETL 94 (Leuven: Peters, 1990), 149–50. The example provided in 31:5 (**καθὼτι ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν = כְּכָל-הַמִּצְוָה אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי אֲתֶכֶם**) is also unconvincing. It depends in part on how one interprets the translation pattern for the underlying expression **אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי אֲתֶכֶם** throughout Deuteronomy. Wevers's rationale that this "makes for a smoother text" requires more justification since this doesn't appear to be a frequent concern. The reverse is usually the case. See Wevers, "The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy," 65.

¹³³ The tendency to smooth out smaller sections of text by delaying the *Numeruswechsel* has been discussed already in Dogniez and Harl's analysis.

¹³⁴ Wevers, "The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy," 66. However, the fact that SamPent and a few other witnesses share these variants makes it less plausible that this effort towards consistency is attributable to the translator. Other examples are discussed in Wevers, "The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy," 75, 79–80, 87.

- Passive voice turned to active: In 22:6, the indefinite passive **כִּי יִקְרָא קִן-צִפּוֹר** is translated by Ἐὰν δὲ συναντήσης νοσσιᾷ ὀρνέων (2nd person). A similar example is found in 24:6.¹³⁵
- Figurative language: In 9:18 and 25, Moses intercedes for the people and is said (in MT) to prostrate himself (**וַאֲתַנַּפַּל**) before God. This is translated by δέομαι (“to beg”, “pray”) which is what the figure intends.¹³⁶
- Clarifications and disambiguation:¹³⁷ These may be the clarification of ambiguous Hebrew syntax, such as whether a preposition governs one or two objects (as in 1:7). In other instances, the syntax of the sentence is understood differently from the Masoretic accent system (3:4); or the verb’s subject, ambiguous in Hebrew, is clarified in translation (7:4).¹³⁸ Clarifications may include the addition of δεύτερον in 9:18, where the text repeats a second time that Moses was on the mountain for 40 days and 40 nights. MT might be implying that Moses is referring in both instances to the same event and the Greek text clarifies that these are two distinct

¹³⁵ Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 72. Wevers cites 16:16 as a further example, but in this instance, the change towards the passive voice is already present in the vocalization of MT and shared by SamPent and the Vulgate. See McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*, 52.

¹³⁶ Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 70–71. Wevers includes in this category renderings otherwise labeled euphemisms. Also under this heading is the use of πόλεις (“cities”), which recognizes the metonymic use of שַׁעֲרִים (“gates”) in Hebrew. In contrast, Dogniez and Harl categorize it as an actualization.

¹³⁷ Under this heading, Wevers discusses “the large number of instances in which the translator reveals himself as exegete, interpreter, or theologian. These involve cases where he presumes to clarify the parent text, even to change it to make it say what it ought to say, to make it more precise, or even to update it to his own times. On occasion these may well be theological or exegetical in nature; at times they involve distinctions which are part of the Greek language code but which clarify what may well have been intended by the Hebrew writer(s).” See Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 72. This is indeed a very broad category, and some examples provided by Wevers are discussed here under the separate headings.

¹³⁸ Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 73. A little later, Wevers provides several examples where the translator did not make the same syntactic cuts as MT, which is not surprising given the complexity of some syntactic structures in the book. An example of this is 18:6–8 where the division between the protasis and apodosis is located at the beginning of v. 7 instead of v. 8. The result is a different interpretation of that particular law. See Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 76–78. In some examples cited by Wevers, one could argue that the different verse divisions might rather be attributed to later scribes copying the Greek text. This will be discussed in chapter 4, at 25:3.

occurrences.¹³⁹ Other clarifications are also found when several Greek terms translate a single Hebrew word, sometimes to avoid misunderstandings. An example of this is the various Greek terms employed to translate גר (“stranger”), each attuned to context and usually exegetically significant.¹⁴⁰ Finally, some clarifications are simply the translator doing his best when dealing a difficult Hebrew phrase, such as in 29:18(17^{MT}).¹⁴¹

A smaller number of differences introduced in the translation reflect the cultural and religious milieu of its production:

- Aramaisms: In 2:10-11, the Hebrew plural noun ending ים is transcribed using its Aramaic counterpart ין. Thus רפאים becomes Παφαῖν. Elsewhere, גרזים becomes Γαριζῖν. Another example would be the translation of די מחסרו in 15:8 by ὅσον ἂν ἐπιδέχεται. In this example, the translator probably understood די as the Aramaic relative pronoun.¹⁴²
- Updating of geographical place names: In 3:9, the Sidonians (צידונים) are identified as Phoenicians (οἱ Φοίνικες), another designation contemporary with the translation.¹⁴³
- Designations referring to an Egyptian context: The command in 14:1 not to make incisions on oneself in the context of forbidden funerary practices is translated by φοιβάω “to [not] cleanse/purify”, a term employed only here in the Septuagint.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁹ Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 74.

¹⁴⁰ See the discussion and examples in Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 75–76.

¹⁴¹ Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 82.

¹⁴² Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 83.

¹⁴³ In 2:23, the place name Caphtor (כפתור) from which the eponymous *Caphtorim* emerged is identified as Cappadocia (Καππαδοκία) in Asia Minor, although it probably corresponded to modern day Crete. See Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 83–84. Whether this reflects a desire to update place names or simply the translator’s mistaken notion of the location of these places can be debated.

¹⁴⁴ לא תתגדדו = οὐ φοιβήσετε. BrDAG also suggests the meaning of « prophesying » for this verb. See Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 84.

Wevers suggests this may be a reference to Egyptian funerary rites in which the purification of the corpse is customary. The Hebrew זקנים (“elders”) is translated by *γερονσία* (“council of elders” or “senate”).¹⁴⁵

- Theological conceptions: At 1:33, God is said to choose the land (*ἐκλέγω*) for Israel instead of searching/spying it out (תור). Wevers argues that the idea of God spying would sound odd.¹⁴⁶ A similar case is found in 32:20, where in the Hebrew text of MT, God says, “I will see what their latter end will be.”¹⁴⁷ Perhaps owing to a conflict with the translator’s notion of divine omniscience, the translation understands the verb as a *hiphil*, translating “He will show....”¹⁴⁸

Wevers mentions another important element of the translation technique almost in passing, that of the matching of verbal forms. He notes that the default inflection for past references in the book is the Greek aorist, while the Hebrew prefix form is usually translated using the Greek future indicative. The participial predicate (of nominal clauses) is typically rendered using the present tense. Wevers argues that variations from these default are

¹⁴⁵ This match is found in 16 instances in OG Deuteronomy, which Wevers attributes to the social conditions in the Jewish quarter of Alexandria. See Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 84. Other examples include 25:13, where the Hebrew אבן (“stone”, here as a weight) is rendered as *σταθμῖον*, a standard weight specifically used for balance scales. The אֵיפָה (*epha*), typically employed to measure liquids in biblical times is translated using *μέτρον* (*metron*), a more generic term for measurement. Interesting in this case is the fact that in OG Leviticus and OG Numbers, the Hebrew אֵיפָה is translated as *οἰφί* (*oiphi*), while here the translator found a more culturally appropriate equivalent. See Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 85. Note, however, that *οἰφί* is probably an Aramaic loanword that entered the Greek language in Egypt prior to the translation. See Jan Joosten, “The Aramaic Background of the Seventy: Language, Culture and History,” *BIOSCS* 43 (2010): 3.

¹⁴⁶ Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 73.

¹⁴⁷ אֵרָאָה מִה אַחֲרֵיהֶם.

¹⁴⁸ OG has *καὶ δείξω τί ἔσται αὐτοῖς ἐπ’ ἐσχάτων*. The fact that the translator most likely had an unvocalized Hebrew text before him undoubtedly facilitated this variant reading. See Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 82. At 34:6, the Hebrew text could be understood as implying that God buried Moses (וַיִּקְבֹּר אֱתוֹ), since he is the last agent referred to in v. 5. This is translated by an indefinite plural (*καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτόν*), “He was buried.” Wevers states that “such action on God’s part was too much for the translator.” Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 88. Wevers provides a few more similar examples, to which we will return later.

intentional.¹⁴⁹ He also points out that certain Hebrew prefix forms are interpreted as old preterites, especially the Song of Moses (ch. 32).¹⁵⁰ He concludes that “on the whole, the translator shows real sensitivity with regard to aspect/tense”.¹⁵¹

Finally, Wevers discusses a number of parallel passages that seem to have influenced the translator and from which he borrowed. In some cases, the passage comes from another book of the Pentateuch. In 12:3, the third and fourth clauses of MT are not translated as such, but the Greek text follows the order of the similar text in 7:5. In 11:8, an entire clause following *ἵνα* does not translate MT but a similar clause from 8:1. Both Greek texts are identical.¹⁵² Wevers identifies seven instances of borrowing from the Greek versions of Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers. An intriguing example not mentioned under section 1.3.3 is found in 2:26, where the Hebrew מִלֵּאכִים is translated by *πρέσβεις*. It is interesting because except for Num 21:21 and 22:5, the Hebrew term is usually translated using *ἄγγελοι*.

Moreover, Num 21:21 relates the same events that are described in Deuteronomy 2:26. For Wevers, this unusual match is a confirmation that the Deuteronomy translator borrowed from OG Numbers or was influenced by it.¹⁵³ The other examples see OG Deuteronomy copy OG

¹⁴⁹ “Thus when a nominal clause containing a participle as predicate occurs in an obviously past tense setting, the imperfect is invariably used. In any event the translator insists correctly on viewing participial predication as a process.” See Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 71.

¹⁵⁰ Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 71. Wevers identifies two other places earlier in the book where the Hebrew prefix form was also recognized as a preterite and rendered by an aorist: 2:12 and 3:9. On 2:12, see Jan Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew: A New Synthesis Elaborated on the Basis of Classical Prose*, JBS 10 (Jerusalem: Simor, 2012), 287.

¹⁵¹ An example cited by Wevers is the use of the imperfect to render past tense actions that are understood as a process. In 1:45, the Israelites are said to return and weep (וּתְשֹׁבוּ וּתְבָכּוּ). Note how in translation, the first verb is rendered as a participle (*participium coniunctum*), to circumvent parataxis, and the second as an imperfect, which fits perfectly in the narrative as a background action: *καὶ καθίσαντες ἐκλαίετε*. See Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 71–72.

¹⁵² Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 67.

¹⁵³ See Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 68. On the other hand, 2:26 is the only instance of the root מִלֵּאךְ in Deuteronomy, so that there are no translation patterns available to ascertain what the translator might otherwise have done. The situation is different for another example cited by Wevers in the next paragraph, where the translation of the *piel* שָׁחַח by *ἀνομέω* in 9:12 is said to be influenced by the similar rendering in the parallel account of Exod 32:7. But this ignores the fact that whenever the translator interprets the Hebrew verbal root in the sense of moral corruption (five out of ten instances in Deuteronomy), he translates it as *ἀνομέω* (twice

Exodus (and once OG Leviticus) in parallel passages where MT Deuteronomy is different and usually shorter.¹⁵⁴

That Wevers focused on the Greek translator as interpreter is helpful in that he was able to extract from his extended study of the text much data that would characterize various aspects of his approach. His long catalogue of features of the translation technique is unparalleled and provides the most exhaustive source of data available to understand the ways in which the translator worked. At the same time, much of the analysis suffers from two significant deficiencies:

- 1) As can be surmised from the above comments, Wevers tends to attribute many of the differences between OG Deuteronomy and MT to the translator. This default is much more difficult to justify in a context where new textual evidence has come to light, bringing about significant adjustments to the methodologies employed in the study of translation technique and textual criticism. It is now more common to attribute such differences to the underlying *Vorlage*. In any case, this posture is methodologically problematic, and part of chapter 2 will be addressing this issue in more detail. Another reason for Wevers's generous attribution of apparent translational differences to the translator is his tendency to look at specific cases in isolation and not in light of the overall translation technique. One glaring example in this respect is his discussion of the supposed compressions of accounts, most of

from the *piel* form, three times from the *hiphil*). The similar rendering in Exodus is probably therefore no more than a coincidence. See also the discussion in Wevers, *NGTD*, 163–64.

¹⁵⁴ These examples cited by Wevers are found in 7:22, 9:27, and 16:8. In 16:8, Wevers argues that the borrowing from Lev 23:15 took place at the level of the Greek text. But the underlying Hebrew in Deut 16:8, תמימת, is what one would expect for ὁλοκλήρους. See Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 69.

which are not only problematic on text-critical grounds¹⁵⁵ but also raise the question as to why the translator would compress a particular narrative or phrase and not a similar one elsewhere in the book. In some cases, the Greek even adds an expression omitted elsewhere.¹⁵⁶ The same can be said of what he identifies as borrowing from other parts of the book.¹⁵⁷

- 2) Another difficulty is Wevers's propensity to resort to exegetical or interpretative motivations when the reasons for a particular difference are linguistically induced or when the precise motivation difficult to ascertain.¹⁵⁸ One example is the frequent modifications introduced to clarify the referent of pronouns, by changing the person or number. In 7:19, Moses speaks of "your God" (defeating the nations before Israel), but this is apparently changed to "our God" in Greek, a better contextual fit. Wevers attributes this modification to "an avowal of full involvement by Israel, as a

¹⁵⁵ One example is 17:5, where a large omission in the Greek text is shared with the Temple Scroll (11QT^a), while Wevers argues this represents a compression in the wording of the narrative. See Wevers, "The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy," 64–65.

¹⁵⁶ See the example of 9:10 discussed in chapter 2.

¹⁵⁷ In the example of 11:8, several extant Hebrew witnesses contain similar attempts to harmonize the text with 8:1. While no one Hebrew text shares all the harmonizing characteristics found in OG Deuteronomy, their presence at least raises the possibility that the Greek text might witness another such Hebrew variant. Obviously, one cannot expect translators to be fully consistent in their choices, but the existence of many alternate explanations renders arguments in favor of borrowings or compressions more difficult to accept.

¹⁵⁸ This is most apparent when Wevers traces motivations for the great care in translation back to the translator's awareness that he was translating a canonical text. Therefore, "he wanted to produce a trustworthy text which would correctly and clearly say what he believed the divine author intended. And so, he approached this task rationally, often making slight changes, so that the contemporary reader would not misunderstand what it was that God was really saying." See Wevers, "The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy," 78. This may very well be one of the factors involved, but how can we know? How would this motivation influence both the great care in adhering to the source text and the occasional deviations from it? Surely a more nuanced and multifaceted explanation must be found. In 2:6, Wevers explains the omission in Greek of בַּכֶּסֶף ("with money") following תִּשְׁבֶּר ("to buy" – usually grain/food) by the fact that "to an Alexandrian this was tautological; how else could one buy something?" Another explanation provided by McCarthy is that this omission is due to the fact that the Hebrew verb is rendered by ἀγοράζω ("to buy" – in the market), which makes the "with money" unnecessary. In any case, it is difficult to abstract a motivation related to the text's sacred status from this omission. See Wevers, "The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy," 80. McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*, 7.

communal acceptance of the covenantal recognition of the Lord as ‘our God’.”¹⁵⁹

Even if this modification is to be attributed to the translator, one wonders how Wevers can place so much theological weight on a change so insignificant. Within the translation-technical analysis, the focus is very much on the individual and his motivations, as can be seen from his frequent appeals to psychological states. For example, he states that “this [seemingly barbaric practice] apparently made little sense to a civilized Alexandrian...”¹⁶⁰ Resorting repeatedly to such explanations not only assumes more than what can reasonably be inferred from these renderings, but also short-circuits the investigative process by flattening out the translator’s motivations, resorting to explanations that cannot be verified.¹⁶¹

One could also mention shortcomings in the evaluation of the conventionality of the Greek syntax¹⁶², or some mistakes in comparing the Greek and Hebrew texts.¹⁶³ But for our purposes, another element is missing. Because the focus of his investigation is on the translation process, there is very little attention directed to the translation as text, in the way

¹⁵⁹ Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 85.

¹⁶⁰ Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 84. This comment is made in light of Deut 14:1 and its command (in Hebrew) not to cut oneself during funerary rites.

¹⁶¹ In the passage just cited, the translator is assumed to be in Alexandria, “civilized,” and ignorant of or repulsed by the practice mentioned in the Hebrew text. These are not given. Moreover, even if all of these statements were true, how would it explain the resort to a Greek term that is not plainly related to funerary rites?

¹⁶² The phrase *κατὰ μικρὸν* in 7:22 is cited as a Hebraism, but is actually found in Greek compositional texts. See Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 58. More interesting is the fact that it is followed by another *μικρὸν*: *κατὰ μικρὸν μικρὸν*, undoubtedly triggered by the underlying *מעט מעט*. But *μικρὸν μικρὸν* is also found in compositional Greek, so that we may conclude that the translator skillfully converted the Hebrew idiom to a Greek one. For other examples, see the review by John A. L. Lee, “review of *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy*, by John William Wevers,” *JSS* 45.1 (2000): 177–79.

¹⁶³ In 11:19, Wevers states that the infinitive *λαλεῖν* was added by the translator to clarify the preceding “You shall teach them to your children,” since in Near Eastern cultures, children were taught by recitation. However, the Hebrew text of MT has *לדבר* in this position, which is the expected equivalent. It was therefore not an addition by the translator. See Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 74.

that Doginez and Harl, for example, attempt to evaluate its character.¹⁶⁴ Interestingly, Wevers does attempt a characterization of OG Deuteronomy in an earlier article, but this is limited to the comparison of three verses with the Vulgate to highlight their differences in approach. Unfortunately, he does not attempt any kind of detailed analysis of their characteristics in terms of norms or tendencies, only noting that Jerome had a freer attitude towards his text. He does briefly allude to the constant tension between the desire to render all elements of the parent language and the demands of the target language, noting that the translators of the Greek Pentateuch did not always deal with this tension in the same way.¹⁶⁵ Exploring this tension – the mixing of so-called Hebraistic renderings and freer ones – deserves further inquiry.

1.5. CONCLUSION

The studies surveyed in this chapter underscore the need for a project that will rely on an updated text-critical methodology and a thorough translation-technical analysis, while paying close attention to the characteristics of the resulting Greek text. This requires focusing not only on the differences between the translation and its source text, but on the translation as a text, in order to provide a “thicker” characterization of OG Deuteronomy, one that goes beyond references to its “Hebraistic” character or the commonly employed terminology of “faithful,” “literal,” or “free.” Much like Aejmelaeus’s and Wevers’s contributions, such a study will be firmly anchored in OG Deuteronomy’s production context and not its reception

¹⁶⁴ Wevers does catalog some of the most obvious examples of interference when dealing with syntax, as mentioned above, but refrains from analyzing these.

¹⁶⁵ Wevers, “The Attitude of the Greek Translator of Deuteronomy towards his Parent Text,” 499. On this basis, Wevers states that no absolute rules for translation even within the work of a single translator can be found.

history. Yet, like Dogniez and Harl, it will be interested in characterizing the resulting text in light of contemporary Greek text production. Chapter 2 will discuss such a methodology, and how it will be deployed to analyze and characterize three sections of OG Deuteronomy.

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Having discussed the need for a more comprehensive description of the character of OG Deuteronomy, it is now necessary to discuss how such an investigation might proceed. This study's aim is to explore how to characterize OG Deuteronomy properly as a translation, that is, to determine what type of translation it is, and therefore how it may be best approached as a source of information concerning its originating context. Such a goal immediately raises questions. What context is in view? In relation to what should such a characterization be done? What can we know of the translation process? This chapter will therefore address three different areas that are foundational to this study:

- 1) We will first examine whether it is methodologically appropriate to distinguish the production and reception of a translation and whether this precludes analyzing OG Deuteronomy not only as a translation but also as a text. Such an approach has important ramifications for the question of the semantics of the translated text.
- 2) This will be followed by a discussion of the issues surrounding the study of the translation process, the translation as a text, and a methodology that will account not only for deviations from the source text, but provide a more comprehensive characterization of the translation's features.
- 3) Finally, after outlining how we will deal with the extant Hebrew textual evidence for Deuteronomy, we will address the thorny question of whether it is possible to attribute apparent deviations from the Masoretic Text (MT) to the translator or his *Vorlage* in the context of OG Deuteronomy, where the precise nature of the translator's source text is sometimes difficult to ascertain.

The chapter will conclude with a description of the process by which the various characteristics of OG Deuteronomy will be investigated in this study, and the passages that will be studied.

2.1. PRODUCTION AND RECEPTION: SEPTUAGINT HERMENEUTICS

Distinguishing between production and reception has become axiomatic in many circles within Septuagint studies.¹ That is to say, how one approaches the Greek translation will depend on whether one wishes to analyze the context of its production, or some subsequent stage of its rich history. Interpretation of the translation can therefore focus on any stage, but one should not confuse them since the way later readers came to interpret the Greek text is often very different from the process by which the translator derived the same text from his Hebrew source.² As Pietersma has shown, this distinction has a long history in the discipline and is in fact fundamental to many areas within biblical studies, or any literary study for that

¹ Albert Pietersma, "The Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint: Basic Principles," in *The SBL Commentary on the Septuagint: An Introduction*, ed. Dirk Büchner, SCS 67 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017), 2. See also James A. E. Mulroney, *The Translation Style of Old Greek Habakkuk: Methodological Advancement in Interpretative Studies of the Septuagint*, FAT 2. Reihe 86 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 57.

² "The issue is clearly not that research into the production phenomenon of the Septuagint is a worthwhile scientific undertaking, while research into its reception history is somehow suspect—or vice-versa. Rather, it is that, although both are legitimate objects of enquiry in their own right, it is highly questionable that the same methodology can be applied to both. And when the same methodology is applied, short-circuiting tends to occur and darkness may follow." Albert Pietersma, "Messianism and the Greek Psalter," in *The Septuagint and Messianism*, ed. Michael A. Knibb, BETL 195 (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 51. Barr also criticized Hill on the grounds that "he does not make the obvious and necessary distinction between two sets of mental processes, those of the translators themselves, whose decisions about meaning were reached from the Hebrew text, and those of later readers, most of whom did not know the original." See James Barr, "Common Sense and Biblical Language," *Biblica* 49.3 (1968): 379. See also Albert Pietersma, "Text-Production and Text-Reception: Psalm 8 in Greek," in *Die Septuaginta - Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten: Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 20-23. Juli 2006*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus, Martin Karrer, and Martin Meiser, WUNT 219 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 487–89; Benjamin G. Wright, "The Septuagint and Its Modern Translators," in *Die Septuaginta - Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten: Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 20-23. Juli 2006*, ed. Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus, WUNT 219 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 110–11.

matter: One has to distinguish between the semantics of the context of production of a work and how later readers came to understand it.³

Nevertheless, a sharp distinction between production and reception has been criticized on the grounds that by definition, whoever is responsible for a translation is also part of a receiving community. The translator's work forms a bridge between the tradition he sets out to transmit and his prospective readers. The translator himself is also generally aware of the type of work he is creating *as a text*, so that he could theoretically have an eye on both the source text and the semantics or style of the resulting text.⁴ Nevertheless, arguing that production and reception are merged in the person of the translator runs the danger of confusing once more the methodologies to be employed in interpreting the Greek text and consequently, what can be inferred from it. This is exemplified in the way the German *Septuaginta Deutsch* (LXX.D) project is described as forging a middle way between what it perceives to be a project based on what occurred behind the translation (the NETS principles) and a project based on the Greek text as a freestanding text (*La Bible d'Alexandrie*).⁵ The former is characterized as translator-focused (production) while the latter is reader-focused (reception), both constituting valid and complimentary areas of inquiry. But defining what exactly constitutes a middle

³ See Albert Pietersma, "LXX and DTS: A New Archimedean Point for Septuagint Studies?" *BIOSCS* 36 (2006): 4–5; Pietersma, "Text-Production and Text-Reception," 488–89.

⁴ An argument along those lines is made in James K. Aitken, "The Origins of KAI ΓΕ," in *Biblical Greek in Context: Essays in Honour of John A.L. Lee*, ed. Trevor V. Evans and James K. Aitken, BTS 22 (Leuven: Peeters, 2015), 40. The phenomenon of multi-causality invoked by Aitken will be briefly discussed under section 2.2.4.

⁵ These have been labeled the upstream and downstream perspectives, although, as Kraus remarks, the later volumes in the *La Bible d'Alexandrie* project have shifted their perspective from this stated goal and also spent time comparing the Greek and Hebrew texts in addition to their usual inquiries. See Wolfgang Kraus, "Contemporary Translations of the Septuagint," in *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*, ed. R. Glenn Wooden and Wolfgang Kraus, SCS 53 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 68–69. The upstream-downstream metaphor was introduced by Marguerite Harl ("en amont" vs "en aval") in Marguerite Harl, "Traduire la Septante en français: pourquoi et comment?" in *La langue de Japhet. Quinze études sur la Septante et le grec des chrétiens*, ed. Marguerite Harl (Paris: Cerf, 1992), 33–42.

position has proved difficult. Kraus has argued that such a middle position conceives of the translator as mediating between the tradition and the contemporary situation. Such a mediation would imply that in some cases one can find “conscious modifications and attempts to bring things up-to-date.”⁶ This is devised as translating “auf Augenhöhe mit dem Text,” “the text in its present outlook.”⁷ But as Wright judiciously points out, the examples provided demonstrate the fundamental issues with such an approach.⁸ In many cases, several features that stand in contrast to MT, such as the thematic structure of a book, should not be attributed to the translator but to his source text. And even in cases where one can plausibly argue that such features were introduced in the translation process, the reasons for such features are usually the expected outcome of the “technique” employed by the translator, such as the preference for consistency in lexical matches.⁹ Moreover, this positioning reveals a conception of the translator-focused approach that is too narrow, as if this approach limited the translator to the influence of his Hebrew source text.¹⁰ Therefore, it sees all other factors as outside influences

⁶ Kraus, “Contemporary Translations of the Septuagint,” 70. Kraus adds: “And these examples bring me to the conclusion that the LXX is in the first instance a translation, but it is more. The translators wanted to mediate between the tradition and the contemporary situation.” Kraus, “Contemporary Translations of the Septuagint,” 78.

⁷ Kraus borrows the phrase and analysis found in Helmut Utzschneider, “Auf Augenhöhe mit dem Text: Überlegungen zum Wissenschaftlichen Standort einer Übersetzung der Septuaginta ins Deutsche,” in *Im Brennpunkt: die Septuaginta. Band 1. Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der griechischen Bibel*, ed. Heinz-Josef Fabry, BWANT 153 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2001), 11–50.

⁸ Wright, “The Septuagint and Its Modern Translators,” 111–14.

⁹ See Wright’s discussion of Kraus’ analysis of Isa 56:3-8 in Wright, “The Septuagint and Its Modern Translators,” 113.

¹⁰ In context, Kraus is responding to Hanhart’s claim that the LXX was for the most part an attempt to faithfully render the Hebrew original and avoid Hellenistic reinterpretations, a claim made against those who argued that the LXX was “...a form of independent Judeo-Hellenistic re-interpretation of the original text.” See Kraus, “Contemporary Translations of the Septuagint,” 65. However, Kraus appears to conceive of the translator-focused approach represented by the NETS project as “taking the LXX as a means to achieve earlier variants for the MT.” Kraus, “Contemporary Translations of the Septuagint,” 78. But as Wright argues, all translation is interpretation in a sense, so that attempting to separate the two is to set up a false dichotomy. What matters is identifying which interpretation plausibly represents exegesis, something that is done deliberately, systematically, and purposefully. See Wright, “The Septuagint and Its Modern Translators,” 111–12. Here Wright is citing Pietersma’s definition of exegesis from Albert Pietersma, “Exegesis in the Septuagint: Possibilities and Limits (The Psalter as a Case in Point),” in *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish*

which are understood as a type of reception and creation of new traditions.¹¹ But surely we are still discussing the translation process, which implies the input of the source text, but also of other factors and influences.¹² Abandoning the distinction between the study of the translation within the translation process (its production) and as a standalone text (its reception) only makes it more difficult to evaluate whether particular features of the translation should be attributed to the translator's context, or that of its later readers.¹³ It is one thing to identify a significant feature in the translated text, but relating it to the proper context remains the most important step.¹⁴ This, in a nutshell, is the problem of Septuagint hermeneutics.

The approach taken here does not deny that the translators can be conceived as a bridge between tradition and their communities. It will also argue that a proper assessment of a translation's character requires careful analysis in light of the linguistic and literary conventions of the target language in its production context. But approaching OG

Scriptures, ed. R. Glenn Wooden and Wolfgang Kraus, SCS 53 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 35.

¹¹ Kraus, "Contemporary Translations of the Septuagint," 72. Here the term "reception" seems to be employed in relation to the Hebrew source, in which case it would be appropriate to speak of a translation as both the reception of its Hebrew source and the production of a new text. This shift in referent is unfortunate.

¹² Misunderstandings as to the NETS project's framework is perhaps in part due to some of Pietersma's sharp contrasts, which may imply a rather restricted role for the translator. For example, he states that according to the NETS paradigm, the Greek translator is viewed "as a mere medium (a conduit) of the source text," meaning that "he does not add to nor subtract from the text being transmitted, nor are alterations made to it." This is in opposition to the view that "the Greek translator is ... elevated to the status of an author, whose work becomes a substitute or replacement for the source text." See Pietersma, "Exegesis in the Septuagint: Possibilities and Limits (The Psalter as a Case in Point)," 35–36. Broad-ranging statements such as this undermine his otherwise helpful distinctions.

¹³ In the words for Fernández Marcos, there is then "a danger of mixing or confusing the level of translation with the different levels of the history of interpretation. In other words, the limits between translation and interpretation risk being blurred." See Natalio Fernández Marcos, "Reactions to the Panel on Modern Translations," in *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Oslo, 1998*, ed. Bernard A. Taylor, SCS 51 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 239.

¹⁴ Wright's comment is aptly put: "That the translators of the LXX sometimes engaged in exegesis of their source texts is not at all the issue. Any claim, however, that a LXX/OG translator exegeted his source must be demonstrated for that translation at the point of its production in relation to the Hebrew, not at some possible moment in the later reception/reading history of the text." Wright, "The Septuagint and Its Modern Translators," 113. Failure to do so typically leads to a "schizophrenic approach to the LXX – treating it now as a translation and then as a text in its own right, both within a single study." Pietersma, "The Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint: Basic Principles," 3.

Deuteronomy from the angle of its production (the text-as-produced) recognizes that it is chronologically and logically secondary with respect to its source.¹⁵ It was created from an antecedent discourse, thus produced under some concept of equivalence, whatever other influences were part of the translation process.¹⁶ This relationship accounts for many of its formal and linguistic features, so that studying it as a translation will entail a different set of questions and methods.¹⁷

By way of illustration, Ngunga follows Kraus's proposal in order to provide "a method that mingles or combines both synchronic and diachronic approaches to the text."¹⁸ The project aims to delineate not only how the translator produced his text, in relation to the source text, but also how he would have wanted his reader to understand his text.¹⁹ Ngunga thus

¹⁵ One should add that a translation's source text is not always available. Moreover, some compositions are written in a way that imitates the style of a translation, so that it becomes difficult to differentiate them. Therefore, how to determine what constitutes a translation is more complicated than it appears. Toury states that "translation is not one homogeneous category that can be captured by an essentialist definition of any kind." For this reason, Toury prefers to speak of assumed translations. See Gideon Toury, "A Handful of Methodological Issues in DTS: Are They Applicable to the Study of the Septuagint as an Assumed Translation?" *BIOSCS* 36 (2006): 14.

¹⁶ See Toury, "A Handful of Methodological Issues in DTS: Are They Applicable to the Study of the Septuagint as an Assumed Translation?" 20. Pietersma describes this relationship as one of dependency (in contrast to a freestanding text), a term which must quickly be qualified unless it leads to further misunderstandings. See Pietersma, "The Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint: Basic Principles," 2, 6. Equally open to misrepresentation is the language of "subservience", which is another way of expressing the translated text's derived nature in contrast to that of a composition. Yet, some compositions are also derived from other compositions (such as Chronicles from Samuel-Kings), so that this terminology is not exclusive to translation as such.

¹⁷ Pietersma states for example that "the distinction applies to all translations, whether that be an English translation of a novel by Dostoevsky[sic] or a Dutch translation of one of Shakespeare's plays. One can either study them *qua* translation, in which case the translation is mapped onto its original and is studied for interference by the source text, or one can study them as freestanding texts in their own right, apart from or alongside of the text from which they were created." See Pietersma, "The Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint: Basic Principles," 3, n. 3. We may note that studying a translation "for interference" does not exhaust what can be analyzed even in this context, as will be later discussed.

¹⁸ Abi T. Ngunga, *Messianism in the Old Greek of Isaiah: An Intertextual Analysis*, FRLANT 245 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), 49.

¹⁹ "These two enquiries portray what we mean by diachronic and synchronic readings of the LXX-Isaiah." Ngunga, *Messianism in the Old Greek of Isaiah*, 49. The inquiry into how an author or translator would have wanted readers to read his text seems a very daunting (if not impossible) task since we only have access to the text and not its author's mind.

employs a “synchronic” approach to identify intertextual links that a reader would have picked up within the messianic passages and allusions found throughout OG Isaiah. That one would analyze larger patterns of translation is certainly desirable. But to state that one intends to identify the translation’s “unique semantic fields and structure” by reading it as an independent text divorces it from the context of its production.²⁰ It is as if one employed a synchronic approach to the study of the King James Version to highlight intertextual links, arguing that such links were meant to be read this way by their translators, all the while ignoring variants in the source text, issues of translation technique, mistakes on the translators’ part, instances where they were ignorant of the source language, and attributing coincidental instances of literary flourishes to them.²¹ While one can certainly analyze a translation as a freestanding text, these findings cannot be tied back to the translator or his milieu unless such semantic fields and structures are identified by taking into consideration the study of the translation process, the constraints and operating norms that guided it, and the vicissitudes of translation.²² What is at issue here is not whether the translation incorporates interpretations or elements from the translator’s cultural context, but the extent to which these features of the

²⁰ Ngunga, *Messianism in the Old Greek of Isaiah*, 51. As Pietersma reminds us, intertextuality that is tied to the translator and his context can only be demonstrated when such connections exist in the translated texts despite their respective source texts. Otherwise, the intertextual link does not belong to the translation as such, but to its source. See Pietersma, “The Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint: Basic Principles,” 4.

²¹ Pietersma, “The Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint: Basic Principles,” 4.

²² For similar points, see esp. Anneli Aejmelaeus, “Von Sprache zur Theologie: Methodologische Überlegungen zur Theologie der Septuaginta,” in *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays*, CBET 50 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 293; Anneli Aejmelaeus, “What We Talk about when We Talk about Translation Technique,” in *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays*, CBET 50 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 219. This issue is also prominent in the essay by the Brill Septuagint Commentary Series editor Richard Hess, a series where each commentary is based on one of the major uncials (usually Codex Vaticanus). He concludes by stating that “[it] attempts to provide a window into the translators and their own understanding of the biblical books.” See Richard S. Hess, “Setting Scholarship Back a Hundred Years? Method in the Septuagint Commentary Series,” in *The Language and Literature of the New Testament: Essays in Honor of Stanley E. Porter’s 60th Birthday*, ed. Lois Fuller Dow, Craig A. Evans, and Andrew W. Pitts, BiBInt 150 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), 68. How this can be done in a principled manner without attempting to reconstruct the text as it left the translator’s hand, as well as his *Vorlage*, is difficult to understand.

translation are deliberate.²³ The Saussurian categories of synchrony and diachrony are employed by analogy but stretched to the limit of their usefulness.²⁴

A study of OG Deuteronomy as a translation will not only aim to recover the earliest Greek text, but also study it in the context of its production.²⁵ Such an enterprise is greatly aided by the fact that by and large, the source text is available to us.²⁶ In this scenario, the target text is studied both in relationship to its source, to ascertain what type of translation it is, and in relationship to the conventions governing textual production of the period, in order to evaluate the type of text that it is.²⁷ This is our text-as-produced, from which we can draw information concerning the context of its production.²⁸

²³ In other words, whether they are non-trivial. To be sure, some clues pointing to the translation's cultural context can be found in the translation regardless of whether they were introduced deliberately or not. Specific vocabulary items (such as loanwords) are one such example. But generally speaking, the analysis of the translation process remains the *sine qua non* of such a study.

²⁴ One might suggest another use of the diachronic-synchronic categories, where OG Deuteronomy (for example) would be studied at a particular stage of its existence, just as one would perform the synchronic study of a language at a specific moment in time. One might study Deuteronomy in Codex Vaticanus in the context of the 4th century, its scribal practices, interpreters, insofar as these can be properly assessed with the limited data at our disposal. This type of synchronic study is in fact necessary to better understand the history of the text and the compilation of critical editions. It is by nature compatible with a diachronic approach as the various stages of the text helps one to move backward to the earliest recoverable text. In this sense, the succession of synchronic studies, as in layer, end up producing a diachronic analysis. This is the way the two terms are described in Mulroney, *The Translation Style of Old Greek Habakkuk*, 51. A reader-focused approach is not without value, despite the challenges that accompany the task of imagining the world of the reader for an ancient text. Unless one takes as a starting point interpretations that have come down to us (Philo or Josephus, for example), it is difficult to reconstruct an ancient reading based solely on that text. More importantly, it would no longer be a purely synchronic approach, since it would imply reconstructing the text as it was read by Philo or another. In the end, it would seem that the diachronic-synchronic categories are not particularly suited for describing the historical study of the Septuagint.

²⁵ With the caveat that in translation, the limitations of human cognition imply that the source text is usually processed in segments, decomposed and then recomposed in the target language. In other words, while it is common to say that a "text" is translated, the activity usually occurs at lower levels of discourse. See Toury, "A Handful of Methodological Issues in DTS: Are They Applicable to the Study of the Septuagint as an Assumed Translation?" 24.

²⁶ In opposition to diachronic exegesis of biblical literature in general, which in a vast majority of cases does not have access to the underlying sources. See Cameron Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines: The Interlinear Paradigm for Septuagint Studies*, BTS 8 (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 432.

²⁷ Pietersma, "The Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint: Basic Principles," 7–8. We will return to these two dimensions of a translated text below.

²⁸ Pietersma, "The Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint: Basic Principles," 6–7.

Pietersma also designates the text-as-produced as the "text *between* texts", although this designation could also

One of the consequences of this approach is the way in which the semantics of particular words and constructions are interpreted, particularly in instances of stereotyping.²⁹ Contrary to a so-called synchronic approach – or one that would simply amalgamate all contexts – the meaning of a given word or construction is not to be found primarily in the context of the Greek sentence, or even in the accumulation of such contexts.³⁰ It can clearly be shown that in many instances, the choice of a particular Greek term or grammatical form is triggered by the underlying Hebrew one and not the appropriateness of the Greek term for the given context.³¹ This should not be interpreted as saying that the meaning of the Greek term is to be found in the underlying Hebrew word.³² In fact, it is the interpretation of Greek terms solely in light of the context of the Greek sentence that often results in importing into Greek the meaning of the underlying Hebrew.³³ Rather, the meaning of particular Greek terms employed in translation,

benefit from further disambiguation. He at times intimates that the text-as-produced is not a text (i.e., a composition), yet argues that it should be compared to contemporary Greek compositional literature.

²⁹ Stereotyping refers to the feature common in many books of the Septuagint where Hebrew terms or grammatical constructions are consistently rendered using the same Greek equivalent regardless of the context. The nuances of the Hebrew construction are lost, and the Greek equivalent sometimes appears to be used in an unconventional way. See James Barr, *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 310. The degree of consistency or stereotyping varies as some translators are more sensitive to context, but this practice is nevertheless a defining characteristic of this corpus. Here we must be careful, however, in distinguishing historically between the translations that came first (i.e., the Pentateuch) and those that came later and were perhaps under the influence of the style of the earlier translations.

³⁰ Arguments for such an approach are found in Marguerite Harl, “La Bible d’Alexandrie I. The Translation Principles,” in *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, ed. Bernard A. Taylor, SCS 51 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 186. See the helpful comments and criticism of this approach in J. Ross Wagner, *Reading the Sealed Book: Old Greek Isaiah and the Problem of Septuagint Hermeneutics* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2013), 4, and esp. note 20.

³¹ Given the derived nature of translations and the role of linguistic transfer in lexical choice, it would be misguided to argue that context should solely determine meaning. See Pietersma, “The Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint: Basic Principles,” 12.

³² See for example the portrayal of this position painted by Dorival which picks up on this misunderstanding in Gilles Dorival, “La lexicographie de la Septante,” in *Die Sprache der Septuaginta*, ed. Eberhard Bons and Jan Joosten, LXX.H 3 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2016), 296. Wright discusses how this misconception is widespread, and tied to a faulty understanding of the so-called interlinear model. He states: “The interlinear model developed as a way of understanding the character of the LXX/OG as Greek texts – their intelligibility together with their unintelligibility...though interlinearity does not demand unusual use of the receptor language, it does render it understandable.” Wright, “The Septuagint and Its Modern Translators,” 109.

³³ As will be shown in chapter 6 when discussing the use of ἀσέβεια terms to translate words of the רשע family.

when interpreted in light of the translation process, should be derived from their conventional linguistic usage as witnessed in contemporary *koine* (or postclassical) Greek.³⁴ This is the linguistic pool from which the translator drew.³⁵ When Greek lexemes are consistently matched to the same Hebrew terms, in some contexts contrary to its conventional usage, it becomes possible to infer a preference for consistency in lexical matches over that of providing a contextually appropriate equivalent.³⁶ In a situation where more than one meaning of the Greek term is possible, recourse to the underlying Hebrew can help the interpreter determine which of the attested meanings in Greek is most likely to be one in view.³⁷ In consulting the Hebrew, one is only trying to retrace the translator's steps, and not to import

³⁴ For a more extensive discussion of this principle and the use of conventional language as the point of reference, see Pietersma, "The Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint: Basic Principles," 9–12. Dhont would rather use the term "natural Greek" to denote "the language as it is used conventionally within the broader Hellenistic Greek world." This is determined by the extant evidence, literary or not, that does not depend on the Septuagint. "Unnatural Greek" consists of "lexical uses or syntactic constructions" that are unattested. See Dhont, *Style and Context of Old Greek Job*, 43. It could be argued, however, that the "conventional/unconventional" terminology is better suited to the study of language in a specific cultural context as it relates more directly to social conventions. "Conventional/unconventional" also lends itself more easily to a spectrum since such categories tend to be fluid. After all, not all attested language uses can be deemed conventional as this term presumes shared cultural assumptions, some uses (such as some of those found in the Septuagint) falling outside such conventions. Therefore, it appears ill-advised to resort indiscriminately to any extant evidence (despite the variety of register they may represent) and in turn label it "conventional" or "natural" Greek.

³⁵ As Caird observed, many of the "unnatural" usages found in the Septuagint "never became part of current speech" and therefore "have no place in a dictionary of the Greek language". See G. B. Caird, "Towards a Lexicon of the Septuagint. I," *JTS* 19.2 (1968): 455. It is in this sense, I believe, that Pietersma can affirm that "it is a basic principle of LXX lexicography that, in order to establish the existence of a new sense of a given word, incontrovertible examples of that sense must be found, and one must be able to exclude the source text from being the *de facto* context." Albert Pietersma, "Context Is King in Septuagint Lexicography - Or Is It?" 2012, 9, [http://homes.chass.utoronto.ca/~pietersm/ContextisKing\(2012\).pdf](http://homes.chass.utoronto.ca/~pietersm/ContextisKing(2012).pdf).

³⁶ In other words, it may only manifest the intention of the translator to tolerate the ensuing linguistic transfer. Such an inference would obviously require descriptive analysis of the translation technique in order to ascertain that stereotyping is responsible for the word's selection, and linguistic analysis of this term in contemporary Greek usage.

³⁷ This process has been described as using the Hebrew text as arbiter of meaning. "The source text can be used to arbitrate between established meanings in the target language but *cannot* be used to create new meanings. Thus, far from superimposing the meaning of the Hebrew text onto the Greek, it in fact safeguards the Greek *qua* Greek." See Pietersma, "The Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint: Basic Principles," 13. See also Wright, "The Septuagint and Its Modern Translators," 109–10.

into the Greek term a Hebrew meaning it did not previously have.³⁸ The same is true of grammatical constructions, although in both cases, one has to be open to the possibility that over time some of these usages may have become conventional. What represents an instance of interference in the Pentateuch could be a case of intertextuality or plain conventional usage in Ecclesiastes.³⁹

In sum, approaching OG Deuteronomy as text-as-produced implies that the nature of the text as translation as well as the translational norms that have guided its production will be determinative in terms of the meaning that can be exegeted from the text.⁴⁰ Departures from the usually operative norms may provide a window for exegesis but must be analyzed in light of the text's overall characteristics.⁴¹ The more a translation reflects norms of quantitative and

³⁸ One can refer here to the debate between Pietersma and Muraoka on this very topic in Takamitsu Muraoka, "Recent Discussions on the Septuagint Lexicography with Special Reference to the So-called Interlinear Model," in *Die Septuaginta - Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten: Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 20-23. Juli 2006*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and Martin Karrer, WUNT 219 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 221–35; Albert Pietersma, "A Response to Muraoka's Critique of Interlinearity," in *A Question of Methodology: Collected Essays on the Septuagint*, ed. Cameron Boyd-Taylor, BTS 14 (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 315–37. See also the helpful discussion in John A. L. Lee, "review of *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (2009), by T. Muraoka," *BIOSCS* 43 (2010): 115–25. Cf. Wright, Benjamin G. "Review Article: T. Muraoka. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*." *Studia Philonica Annual* 23 (2011): 161–69.

³⁹ This has important repercussions on various aspects of the study of the LXX, such as lexicography. When the sense of a Greek word is studied, to which point in the development of postclassical Greek does it belong? How much of its use dictated by the constraints of the source text and translational norms, and how much by the context or other considerations? This is one of the main issues with Muraoka's lexicon, which imagines the meaning a Greek reader of the 3rd century BCE – 2nd century CE would have inferred. Various linguistic phenomena are bundled together without distinction as to their place in the diachronic development of language. There is no diachronic distinction between the meaning the word might have had in the world of the translator, the reasons why it was employed in specific situations, and the meaning it might have taken on later because of its usage in new contexts within the translation. As is well known, some of these new usages persisted while others did not.

⁴⁰ Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 437.

⁴¹ For example, determining the typical unit of replacement in the translation process will guide the interpreter in terms of what it is possible to infer from the translator's interpretation of the source text. A very atomistic unit of replacement may preclude certain interpretations which would attribute exegesis at a higher level of discourse. See Toury, "A Handful of Methodological Issues in DTS: Are They Applicable to the Study of the Septuagint as an Assumed Translation?" 24. To quote Boyd-Taylor: "But where [the path of exegesis] leads is determined by the unit of replacement. In [cases where the unit of replacement is typically atomistic], it operates at the level of the word or phrase. In such cases, the context of interpretation is simply the selection of the item in question as a translation equivalent. Only to the extent that the textual linguistic character of the translation points to a higher order context, e.g. at the level of the clause or verse, does the exegete possess a warrant for pursuing the line of

serial fidelity, lexical and syntactic consistency, the less likely it becomes that specific renderings can exhibit these features as well as reflect other (theological, stylistic) motivations.⁴² To be sure, each rendering is the outcome of a variety of factors, with translational preferences being manifested in specific ways. Consequently, one has to be open to the possibility that even a translation deemed “literal” can, in specific contexts and often quite restricted ways (usually at the level of individual words), reflect a desire to introduce stylistic features or a particular ideology.⁴³ This is the approach that will be adopted in this study, with a view firmly set on the production of this text but also in the context of existing literary and linguistic conventions.

2.2. THE CHARACTERIZATION OF A TRANSLATION

In the last half-century, considerable effort has been deployed to characterize Septuagint translations and to improve the summary descriptions provided long ago by scholars such as Frankel and Thackeray.⁴⁴ Much work has been done to better understand the translation

interpretation accordingly. Quite simply, exegesis follows the lead of the translation.” Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 438. That is not to say that translators working atomistically are unaware of context or connections to other texts. However, as Boyd-Taylor adds, “Marked renderings may well point beyond their immediate context, perhaps to other texts; but here again, the context of interpretation is dictated by the unit of replacement.”

⁴² Obviously, even a translation reflecting a very strict application of such norms can provide indications of special motivations in individual cases. In such contexts, however, the burden of proof is rather on those who would show that such features can be found. For an argument on a similar note, see Pietersma, “The Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint: Basic Principles,” 3.

⁴³ As will be seen in our study of Deuteronomy 32, such features can be found, though limited in number and scope. James Aitken and John Lee have written extensively on stylistic elements introduced in the translation. While some examples are more convincing than others, they do confirm that this was an occasional concern of the translators, despite its variable manifestation. See for example James K. Aitken, “Rhetoric and Poetry in Greek Ecclesiastes,” *BIOSCS* 38 (2005): 55–77; James K. Aitken, “The Significance of Rhetoric in the Greek Pentateuch,” in *On Stone and Scroll: Essays in Honour of Graham Ivor Davies*, ed. J. K. Aitken et al. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 507–21; Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 41–122.

⁴⁴ Zacharias Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1841), 201–27; Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint*, 12–16. For references to other attempts from the middle of the 20th century, see Anneli Aejmelaeus, “What Can We Know about the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint?” in *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays*, CBET 50 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 77, note 14.

process (or technique), with studies attempting to retrace the translator's steps.⁴⁵ Other efforts have aimed to characterize its language in relation to texts from the same period, including papyri and inscriptions.⁴⁶ Others have attempted to describe the ensuing character of each translation, which has led to the use of labels such as "literal" and "free," "slavish" or "faithful" translations, "good" or "bad," "natural" or "unnatural" Greek. Our focus in this section will be to determine how to best characterize OG Deuteronomy as a translation, that is, both the translation process and the ensuing product.

2.2.1. Translation Technique Studies

The study of translation technique is an essential component to the proper identification not only the translation's source text, its *Vorlage*, but the Old Greek text itself.⁴⁷ The term "translation technique" should not be understood to imply that the Septuagint translators consciously adopted a particular theory of translation, but rather refers to the way they went about their work.⁴⁸ In fact, Soisalon-Soininen preferred the term *Übersetzungsweise*, which focuses on the mode of translation, but English language scholarship stuck with "technique."⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Which Aejmelaeus describes as being on the trail of the translators, for example in Aejmelaeus, "Von Sprache zur Theologie: Methodologische Überlegungen zur Theologie der Septuaginta," 275–77. Admittedly, much more remains to be done on individual books.

⁴⁶ See for example the comprehensive study of verbal syntax in Evans, *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch*. More recently, the publication of John Lee's important comparative study of the Greek of the Pentateuch in Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*. For an evaluation of Evans's contribution, see Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 369–71.

⁴⁷ See for example the study by Olofsson and his introductory comments to this effect in Staffan Olofsson, *As a Deer Longs for Flowing Streams: A Study of the Septuagint Version of Ps 42-43 in Its Relation to the Hebrew Text*, DSI 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), here 11-13. For a discussion of the interrelatedness of these areas of research, see Aejmelaeus, "What Can We Know about the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint?" 72–78.

⁴⁸ Sollamo describes it as both a research object and method: "The study of translation technique seeks to describe how translators customarily work when they translate Hebrew into Greek". Raija Sollamo, "The Study of Translation Technique," in *Die Sprache der Septuaginta*, ed. Eberhard Bons and Jan Joosten, LXX.H 3 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2016), 144.

⁴⁹ Aejmelaeus, "What We Talk about when We Talk about Translation Technique," 205. The term *Übersetzungstechnik* was coined by Soisalon-Soininen in his doctoral thesis published as Ilmari Soisalon-

Reflecting on the reception of this term, Aejmelaeus proposed to refine its definition by describing it as “simply designating the relationship between the text of the translation and its *Vorlage*.”⁵⁰ It denotes “the activity of the translator or the process of translation which led from the *Vorlage* to the translation.”⁵¹

As described by Lemmelijn, such studies developed along two trajectories.⁵² The first focuses on metrics that can be employed to measure the various features of literalness. The methodology employed to characterize the translator’s technique generally builds on the study of literalism published by James Barr nearly half a century ago.⁵³ Refining Barr’s taxonomy of literalism, Tov and Wright attempted to provide categories by which these could be quantified.⁵⁴ This approach, especially in its more recent formulation, attempts to go beyond statistical analyses, seeking to evaluate the translation based on quantitative and qualitative

Soininen, *Die Textformen der Septuaginta-Übersetzung des Richterbuches*, AASF Series B 72.1 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1951). See the more recent discussion of this terminology in Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, “Zurück zur Hebraismenfrage,” in *Studien zur Septuaginta - Robert Hanhart zu Ehren: aus Anlass seines 65. Geburtstages*, ed. Detlef Fraenkel, Udo Quast, and John William Wevers, AAWG; MSU 20 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 35.

⁵⁰ Aejmelaeus, “What We Talk about when We Talk about Translation Technique,” 205.

⁵¹ Aejmelaeus, “What We Talk about when We Talk about Translation Technique,” 205–6. Aejmelaeus is careful to qualify that “translation technique” should not be imagined as “a system acquired, developed or resorted to by the translator.” See also Bénédicte Lemmelijn, *A Plague of Texts? A Text-Critical Study of the So-Called “Plagues Narrative” in Exodus 7:14-11:10*, OtSt 56 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009), 104–5. Nevertheless, as we will argue, the translation reflects some norms and expectations from the target culture which must be taken into account, even when describing how the translators normally operated.

⁵² Bénédicte Lemmelijn, “Two Methodological Trails in Recent Studies on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint,” in *Helsinki Perspectives on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint: Proceedings of the IOSCS Congress in Helsinki 1999*, ed. Raija Sollamo and Seppo Sipilä, Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 82 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 43–63. See also the more recent treatment of the material in Hans Ausloos and Bénédicte Lemmelijn, “Content-Related Criteria in Characterizing the LXX Translation Technique,” in *Die Septuaginta - Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and Martin Karrer (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 36–47.

⁵³ Barr, *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations*, 294–323.

⁵⁴ See for example, Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, Third edition. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2015), 20–26; Benjamin G. Wright, *No Small Difference: Sirach’s Relationship to Its Hebrew Parent Text*, SCS 26 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989). See their collaborative effort in Emanuel Tov and Benjamin Wright, “Computer-Assisted Study of the Criteria for Assessing the Literalness of Translation Units in the LXX,” *Textus* 12 (1985): 149–87.

criteria.⁵⁵ The quantitative factors are concerned with segmentation, the representation of all constituents of Hebrew phrases by corresponding Greek elements, as well as word order, additions, omissions, and the like. Qualitative factors, however, pertain to consistency in the choice of equivalents for specific grammatical forms and lexemes, as well as the linguistic accuracy of lexical choices. These criteria can be deployed to establish a baseline of literalness and broadly characterize a given translation.⁵⁶ This approach has been quite influential.⁵⁷

The second approach seeks to evaluate the level of freedom exercised by the translators in their translation work. Here, the concern is to “identify variant renderings and propose explanations for these choices.”⁵⁸ This has been the approach associated with the so-called Finnish school and it has produced many important findings.⁵⁹ An offshoot of the Finnish approach is the development of the content and context-related methodology under Ausloos and Lemmelijn.⁶⁰ Here again, the focus is on describing how translators worked when faced with specific issues, by examining how they dealt with proper names, toponyms, *hapax legomena*, wordplay and parallelism. Focusing on the translation of specific Hebrew idioms

⁵⁵ The initial focus was indeed to provide more objective, large-scale data-based criteria for the evaluation of the degree of literalness of various books or book sections. But the reliance on statistics was severely criticized, as it does not account for many of the factors that go into translation, such as context, the resources of both languages, and the translator’s competency. See Aejmelaeus, “What We Talk about when We Talk about Translation Technique,” 208–17.

⁵⁶ Tov is working pragmatically, since he argues it is much simpler to define criteria for literalness and therefore evaluate translation from that baseline. Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, 21–22.

⁵⁷ A recent survey and evaluation of Barr, Tov and Wright’s categories and general methodology can be found in Cameron Boyd-Taylor, “The Classification of Literalism in Ancient Hebrew-Greek Translation,” in *Die Sprache der Septuaginta*, ed. Eberhard Bons and Jan Joosten, LXX.H 3 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2016), 147–53; Mulrone, *The Translation Style of Old Greek Habakkuk*, 26–33.

⁵⁸ Sollamo, “The Study of Translation Technique,” 146.

⁵⁹ For a history of the development of this school, which primarily focused on Septuagint syntax, see the helpful survey in Sollamo, “The Study of Translation Technique.” Studies have focused on a number of aspects including Hebrew coordinate clauses, paranomastic constructions, participles, semi-prepositions, clause connectors, and several others. Many of these will be consulted throughout our study.

⁶⁰ See Ausloos and Lemmelijn, “Content-Related Criteria in Characterizing the LXX Translation Technique,” 368–76. A more extensive bibliography of the research done under this program can be found in Khokhar, “May My Teaching Drop as the Rain,” 19, n. 72.

also allows one to compare how a particular translator resolved difficulties in contrast with other translators of this corpus. It is also in these circumstances that some of the translator's mental processes, tendencies, and other influences are most often reflected.⁶¹ They have provided solid arguments concerning many features of the translation such as the translators' proficiency in Greek, their theology, or even the number of translators responsible for a particular book.⁶² This approach is in a way complimentary to the previous one since, in addition to broad characterizations, a more comprehensive description requires the thorough and contextual analysis of a translation's specific features.⁶³ Both of these approaches have proved valuable and will be built on in the present study.

2.2.2. Interference and Transformations: Striving for Comprehensive Criteria

Studies on the translation process have necessarily attempted to categorize translations in terms of literalness or freedom.⁶⁴ To be sure, the limited usefulness and descriptive potential

⁶¹ It has also proved useful for the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible. See Lemmelijn, "Two Methodological Trails in Recent Studies on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint," 50.

⁶² Boyd-Taylor, "The Classification of Literalism in Ancient Hebrew-Greek Translation," 142. Pietersma adds: "Septuagintalists hardly need to be told that the study of 'translation technique,' championed especially by the so-called Finnish School, has a long and productive history of identifying and studying equivalencies between source text and target text—hence engaging the vertical dimension of the latter. The focus is thus clearly on the text as produced. Though 'the Finnish School' has come in for criticism for failing to see the woods for the trees, it has at the same time been acknowledged that the study of translation technique is propaedeutic to the exegesis of the text as produced. Indeed, it bears emphasizing that the detailed engagement with the relationship that holds target text and source text together, practiced by the Finnish School, is a *sine qua non* for hermeneutics of the text as produced." Pietersma, "LXX and DTS: A New Archimedean Point for Septuagint Studies?" 6.

⁶³ Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, 28. Aejmelaeus states: "Translation technique cannot be measured. It is too complex an entity to be measured. It must be described, instead, and described from as many angles as possible, with as many criteria as possible." See Aejmelaeus, "What We Talk about when We Talk about Translation Technique," 217. The criteria of "freedom" is also complex and must be analyzed from various angles. Both approaches are therefore complimentary. See Lemmelijn, "Two Methodological Trails in Recent Studies on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint," 50. Cf. Ausloos and Lemmelijn, "Content-Related Criteria in Characterizing the LXX Translation Technique," 367–68.

⁶⁴ See Lemmelijn, "Two Methodological Trails in Recent Studies on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint," 43–45, note 1 for a comprehensive list of Septuagint studies that rely on the literal-free polarity. Ausloos and Lemmelijn have attempted to shift the discussion away from literalness and speak of "faithfulness" instead. See Lemmelijn, "Two Methodological Trails in Recent Studies on the Translation Technique of the

of these categories has been noted in studies representing both of these approaches, though they remain in a sense unavoidable. Even in situations where one was to attempt grading these two opposites on a scale, exactly how to define and measure literalness or freedom has proved elusive.⁶⁵ This was exactly the point problematized by Barr, showing how multifaceted literalism is, and how the different aspects of literalism often interact in opposing ways within the same translation.⁶⁶ Thus, what is considered literal on one level, such as representing all elements of the source text, can be otherwise at another, such as the consistency in the matching of Hebrew and Greek terms. This does not invalidate the usefulness of the descriptors of literalness identified by Tov, but rather raises the issue of how they should be related in order to properly characterize a translation. Moreover, evaluating the consistency of lexical matches has proved to be the most controversial of Tov's features, since assessing the appropriateness of lexical equivalents involves a great deal of subjectivity. Consistency in and of itself is not a measure of literalness.⁶⁷ This has important ramifications for the characterization of a translation such as OG Deuteronomy, as will be discussed below.

Septuagint," 51–52. "Faithful" is illustrated by a reliance on various strategies, even transliteration when the translator apparently does not know the meaning of the underlying Hebrew. See the examples in Ausloos and Lemmelijn, "Content-Related Criteria in Characterizing the LXX Translation Technique," 371–73. But one could argue that all LXX translators were attempting to be faithful, and that this faithfulness was deployed in a variety of ways. Moreover, which criteria are to be used to define faithfulness? For all we know, ancient translators may have had a very different set of criteria than ours. See Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 434. A more extensive criticism of the use of the term "faithfulness" can be found in Jean Maurais, "Peut-on traduire sans trahir ? Vérités alternatives dans la Septante de Deutéronome," *ScEs* (forthcoming).

⁶⁵ For a helpful survey of the use of these terms in recent research, see Boyd-Taylor, "The Classification of Literalism in Ancient Hebrew-Greek Translation," 139–53.

⁶⁶ Barr, *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations*, 279–84. See also the discussion criticizing literalism as an object of study in Tim McLay, *The Use of the Septuagint in New Testament Research* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 55–61.

⁶⁷ Translation equivalence is very much a slippery concept, and it has engendered considerable discussions. See for example the extended effort by Olofsson to further refine Tov's qualitative evaluation in Staffan Olofsson, "Consistency as a Translation Technique," in *Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis: Collected Essays on the Septuagint Version* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 50–66, esp. 60. See also Lemmelijn, "Two Methodological Trails in Recent Studies on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint," 59–63, esp. note 64. It is not clear whether Tov recognizes that consistency (and stereotyping) and the adequacy of lexical choices are

The same is true of the approach focusing on the relative freedom of the translators when encountering specific features of the Hebrew text. The limitations of this approach can be seen in the otherwise very insightful study by van der Louw. Renderings are analyzed against a baseline of literalness and departures from what could be construed as a default rendering (thus non-obligatory in nature) are identified as transformations.⁶⁸ These transformations are then grouped into various categories. These categories are not limited to the Septuagint or ancient translations but relate to the practice of translation in general.⁶⁹ This type of analysis, though important, can be improved upon for at least three reasons: 1) While focusing on freedom, the point of comparison remains the imagined literal alternative.⁷⁰ Since literalism is a slippery concept, its use as a baseline from which to evaluate deviations or transformations is problematic.⁷¹ 2) The focus tends to remain on the smallest units of

inseparable. He argues the first can be measured statistically but admits that the latter cannot be statistically quantified. See Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, 22–26.

⁶⁸ Van der Louw defines transformations as “changes (linguistic or other) with respect to an invariant core that occur in translation from source text to target text.” Theo A. W. van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint: Towards an Interaction of Septuagint Studies and Translation Studies*, CBET 47 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 383. Key in the identification of these transformations is the difficulties or problems that these transformations are designed to solve, assuming a reason can be discerned (grammatical or stylistic for example). See van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 91.

⁶⁹ This is one of the significant contributions of van der Louw’s study, in that it brings the field of translation studies in dialogue with Septuagint studies.

⁷⁰ In the words of van der Louw, “Behind each transformation stands a literal rendering that has been rejected.” See van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 57. This is in a way similar to the position that Soisalon-Soininen rejected, that of Marquis for whom literalness could be measured relative to a “perfectly literal translation.” See Galen Marquis, “Consistency of Lexical Equivalents as a Criterion for the Evaluation of Translation Technique as Exemplified in the LXX of Ezekiel,” in *VI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Jerusalem 1986*, ed. Claude E. Cox, SCS 23 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 405. Contrary to what van der Louw seems to be arguing, Soisalon-Soininen would rather take freedom (later designated as “idiomatic translations”) as a starting point. These are identified as renderings that are undistinguishable from idiomatic use of the target language. They may or may not coincide with what is often labeled a literal translation. Unidiomatic renderings (from the perspective of the TL) are identified as “slavish translations.” See Soisalon-Soininen, “Zurück zur Hebraismenfrage,” 37. De Crom recommends the approach of comparing what other translators of the same text have done, so as to avoid the type of prescriptive judgments that an “ideal” literal rendering would entail. See Dries De Crom, *LXX Song of Songs and Descriptive Translation Studies*, DSI 11 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019), 251.

⁷¹ Boyd-Taylor, “The Classification of Literalism in Ancient Hebrew-Greek Translation,” 155. See for example van der Louw’s description of the character of Genesis 2, where various characteristics (quantitative

discourse, and therefore potentially misses transformations that occur at a higher level of discourse.⁷² The analysis of the rendering of various constructions is therefore insufficient to characterize a translation.⁷³ This is not only because of the paucity of such studies so far, but because of the complexity in combining the results to form an adequate picture.⁷⁴ Furthermore, a focus on the lowest level of discourse precludes one from dealing adequately with the phenomenon of interference.⁷⁵ 3) More importantly, translational norms oversee not only the transformations one can observe in the translation, as van der Louw acknowledges, but the non-transformed elements (i.e., the literalism) as well.⁷⁶ A focus on transformations remains source oriented and overlooks the fact that a translation should also be interpreted in relation to the expectations of the target culture, its language and translational norms.⁷⁷ This is

representation) are attributed to the translator's "strong adherence to the form of the source text" or "a very literal translation strategy". See van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 150–51.

⁷² Thus, elements potentially introduced at the level of discourse, such as contextualization, are *de facto* methodologically excluded. See the comments by Boyd-Taylor to this effect in Cameron Boyd-Taylor, "review of *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays*, by Anneli Aejmelaeus," *BIOSCS* 42 (2009): 126. Van der Louw does state that one of the steps of his analysis is to understand the passage in light of the book, but as Wagner surmises, "van der Louw's concentration on the 'linguistic' level of the translation leads him to minimize the significance of the 'textual' and 'literary' levels for the OG translator." Wagner, *Reading the Sealed Book*, 36; van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 91–92.

⁷³ As has been acknowledged by Aejmelaeus and others. See references in Lemmelijn, "Two Methodological Trails in Recent Studies on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint," 55.

⁷⁴ See the criticism along those lines in Olofsson, "Consistency as a Translation Technique," 65.

⁷⁵ This point is important in terms of evaluation the type of Greek one encounters in the Septuagint. Responding to Evans's claim that the verbal syntax of the Pentateuch reflex contemporary *koine* and that examples of Hebrew interference are few, Boyd-Taylor reminds us that interference operates not only at the level of syntax. The Greek Pentateuch is still very different from compositional literature, even with respect to the *koine* of its day. See Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 371.

⁷⁶ Although, to be fair, van der Louw also adds that "one could argue that literal translation is a transformation, because also in literal translation something is transformed." But since these literal translations form his "Greenwich meridian," they are not identified as proper transformations. See van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 64.

⁷⁷ Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 433–34. Here Boyd-Taylor addresses Aejmelaeus's work, which shares methodological traits with that of van der Louw's. He further adds: "What she tends to lose sight of is the normative dimension of translation. By this I mean the nexus of conventions, practices, and models – linguistic, literary, and cultural – in which the production of a translation is imbedded. To adequately describe a translation, it is not enough to conceptualize the process in terms of obligatory and non-obligatory shifts away from the source. Quite simply, there is more to be said about the target text." He goes on: "Like all socially significant behavior, the work of the translators was informed by shared expectations as to what the task entailed and what would constitute success or failure...one, of course, begins with a description of the linguistic evidence. Yet,

another context where interference is present. That is, interference is measured not only in relation to the source text at various levels of discourse, but also in relation to the linguistic and cultural context of the translation. Both relationships form the locus of interpretation. For, as Boyd-Taylor reminds us, “What distinguishes translation as a cultural practice is the phenomenon of interference, that is, its tension with the linguistic, textual-linguistic and literary cultural norms of the target culture.”⁷⁸

What is needed then is a framework that can account for the features of the translation process of OG Deuteronomy as well as its character as a culturally situated text. This framework will focus on the examination of the linguistic relationship between the translation and its source text, since it is only through the comparison of the translation with its source text that we can understand the process by which it came about.⁷⁹ But it will also provide the means to describe the translation’s linguistic makeup, the only reliable source of information

once finished, the researcher may find herself to hypothesize an underlying *model of translation*. That will account for the relationship between source and target text. A. rules out such a move categorically (though she often works with an implicit model).” (Emphasis original) See Boyd-Taylor, “review of *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays*, by Anneli Aejmelaeus,” 126. It must be said, however, that van der Louw does perform, as a first step in his analysis, a reading of the Greek text with the goal of locating it within target language literature, in relation to standards of Greek style. This aspect, though thoughtfully executed, is undertheorized, and it is not clear how it relates to the analysis of transformations. See van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 90. This is precisely where a framework such as Toury’s would have been useful. Van der Louw comes close to the approach argued below when he briefly states that “the relationship between the motives behind the transformations will reveal something about the (unconscious) hierarchy of norms in the mind of the translator.” Van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 91. It is not clear, however, whether these norms oversee only the transformations or the character of the text as a whole, and whether they issue from the translator’s mind or are also culturally conditioned. See here Theo A. W. van der Louw, “Did the Septuagint Translators Really Intend the Greek Text as it Is?” in *Die Septuaginta - Orte und Intentionen: 5. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 24.-27. Juli 2014*, ed. Siegfried Kreuzer, Martin Meiser, and Marcus Sigismund, WUNT 361 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 463–64.

⁷⁸ Boyd-Taylor, “The Classification of Literalism in Ancient Hebrew-Greek Translation,” 156.

⁷⁹ This is not to say that research into ancient translation practices is unnecessary or cannot shed light on the translation process of the LXX. See for example the essay by James K. Aitken, “The Septuagint and Egyptian Translation Methods,” in *XV Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Munich, 2013*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus, Michaël N. van der Meer, and Martin Meiser, SCS 64 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2016), 269–94. But in order to measure the extent to which the various translated books of the Septuagint conform or not to these Egyptian practices, one should begin with a thorough analysis of the Septuagint’s own translation processes.

available to us concerning the norms that governed its production, and the strategies deployed to arrive at the present product.⁸⁰ The goal of this study is to achieve a more comprehensive characterization of the translation that will, for example, take into account both the occasional instances of unintelligibility and the perfectly conventional Greek found within it.⁸¹

2.2.3. DTS and Translational Norms

The framework provided by Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), particularly as it was developed by Gideon Toury, is particularly suited for this type of inquiry.⁸² Since DTS is target-oriented, translations are analyzed as “a fact of the culture that would host them” and not predominantly as a representation of the source text by the translator.⁸³ Consequently, a translation is studied “in relation to the conventional practices of the literary system within which it was produced.”⁸⁴ This relationship, the translation’s “slot” within a literary system is described as its function.⁸⁵ Boyd-Taylor further describes the three interrelated elements of a translation within this descriptive framework, which must be part of any descriptive study:

⁸⁰ Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 311.

⁸¹ As Pietersma states, “the Greek of the text-as-produced *must* be taken seriously as *Greek*, whether it be standard or stilted usage, literary nuggets or linguistic warts, instances of intelligibility and unintelligibility, it is all Greek!” (Italics original) See Pietersma, “The Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint: Basic Principles,” 8–9. See also Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies - and Beyond*, Revised edition, Benjamins Translation Library 100 (Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2012), 20–23.

⁸² Toury’s main contribution is found in the now updated edition of Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies - and Beyond*. Of course, as De Crom reminds us, the field of Translation Studies has evolved since Toury’s first edition (1995) and some of this will be reflected in the discussion below and our own tweaking of his approach. For a survey of how DTS has been integrated in the field of Septuagint studies so far, see De Crom, *LXX Song of Songs and Descriptive Translation Studies*, 18–20.

⁸³ Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies - and Beyond*, 18. In other words, translations are a type of cultural product. For a discussion of the “cultural turn” in translation studies, see Jacobus Naudé, “It’s All Greek: The Septuagint and Recent Developments in Translation Studies,” in *Translating a Translation: The LXX and Its Modern Translations in the Context of Early Judaism*, BETL 213 (Leuven: Peters, 2008), 231. That the linguistic and social context of the translators is important has long been recognized. See for example McLay, *The Use of the Septuagint in New Testament Research*, 60–61. But this has not been theorized in LXX studies until very recently.

⁸⁴ Boyd-Taylor, “The Classification of Literalism in Ancient Hebrew-Greek Translation,” 156.

⁸⁵ This is in contrast to its actual function. Toury states: “I use the term ‘function’ in its semiotic sense, as the ‘value’ assigned to an item belonging in a certain system by virtue of the network of relations it enters into, with other constituents as well as the system as a whole. As such, it is not tantamount to the mere ‘use’ made of the

1) The position or function of the *text* within the target culture (function); 2) the process through which it is derived from the parent (process); and 3) the textual-linguistic make-up of the product (product).⁸⁶

The importance of the translation's function lies in the fact that the activity of translation is socially located and constrained with respect to its aims and methods through shared cultural expectations.⁸⁷ These expectations determine what sort of text a translation is and what makes it acceptable as such. Therefore, a translation will be undertaken under a set of shared assumptions that will govern what the ensuing product should look like. These are labeled translational norms as they guide the translation process and the strategies deployed to achieve the desired product.⁸⁸ The three aspects of a translation interrelate in that:

The prospective location of a translation within the target culture...will prove a strong governing factor in its surface realization or textual linguistic make-up. The translator will aim at producing a text with the make-up requisite to its intended location, and will be thus working from a sort of paradigm. This in turn will govern the relationship between the target text and its source. For it is with reference to such a paradigm that the translator will select the linguistic strategies by which the translation is produced [i.e., the process]. In this way, the process of translation is itself conditioned by the prospective function of the product.⁸⁹

end product, as seems to be the case with *Skopostheorie*." See Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies - and Beyond*, 6, note 7.

⁸⁶ Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 39. (emphasis ours) These are synthesized from Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies - and Beyond*, 6–7.

⁸⁷ Wagner, *Reading the Sealed Book*, 7. Wagner is here expounding on Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 34.

⁸⁸ According to Toury, norms are "the translation of general values or ideas shared by a community – as to what is right or wrong, adequate or inadequate – into performance instructions appropriate for and applicable to particular situations." For a discussion of the nature of translational norms, see Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies - and Beyond*, 62–67, here 63. A strategy can be understood as "a group of coordinated decisions that link the goals of the translation assignment with the necessary procedures to attain those goals in a given translational context." See Naudé, "Translating a Translation," 248. Boyd-Taylor also referred to a similar definition offered by Chesterman: "...linguistic strategies or shifts, at the level of the textlinguistic profile of the translation (such as transposition, paraphrase)...these can be seen as textproducing processes or as the results of such processes." See Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 72.

⁸⁹ Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 56.

A number of challenges present themselves when applying this framework to the study of individual translations of the Septuagint corpus. The first is that since we are constrained to work backwards, from product to process to function, such an approach will necessarily not account for the multitude of factors that are part of the translation process and play a role in the shaping the product. The line from function to process to product is not a direct one since many factors are involved in the act of translation.⁹⁰ Furthermore, while working within a framework that is target-oriented, translational norms are here deduced entirely on the basis of textual-linguistic evidence and therefore “underexpose the impact of sociocultural factors.”⁹¹ This is compounded by the fact that we have very little information concerning the shared cultural assumptions of 3rd century BCE Judaism, and therefore of the “slot” that the product was to occupy in its literary system. Positing a particular function for this translation is therefore problematic.⁹² Nevertheless, the following remarks can be offered:

- 1) While taking into account that a translation (or any text) is not a perfect mirror of its social context, a careful analysis of the textual linguistic make-up of the translation can shed light on some of these shared cultural expectations, the model of translation

⁹⁰ See van der Louw’s criticism which lays out a number of factors and constraints, some personal or biological that have a bearing on the product. These are actual deviations from norms and strategies. In other words, a translation is more than a product conceived with teleological aims. It implies a person at work, who may be operating within norms he has set for himself (or that have been imposed upon him), but will also experiment, demonstrate inconsistent choices, and often imprint his own idiosyncrasies. He may consciously or subconsciously align texts with his theology and in fact produce a work different than what was initially intended. See van der Louw, “Did the Septuagint Translators Really Intend the Greek Text as it Is?” 452–60. For further criticism along those lines, see Jeremy Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies: Theories and Applications*, 4th ed. (London ; New York: Routledge, 2016), 184; Marieke Dhont, *Style and Context of Old Greek Job*, SJSJ 183 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2018), 58.

⁹¹ Dhont, *Style and Context of Old Greek Job*, 55. See also Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies*, 183.

⁹² Note van der Louw’s observation on this point: “Simple as it sounds, [analyzing a book’s acceptability in light of the target culture] 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’...the main drawback of [Toury’s] model for LXX studies is that it presupposes an intricate knowledge of both source and target culture.” Van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 20–21. Note, however, the effort by Wagner to address this issue by an appeal to Eco’s concept of the “cultural encyclopedia” in Wagner, *Reading the Sealed Book*, 37–45. See also our discussion below on the use of terms such as “adequacy” and “acceptability”.

that was employed and the set of translational norms that were applied.⁹³ That such norms can be derived from the analysis of the process and product is not impossible in that the process is similar to that of deducing the translation process via the comparison of the product with its source text. Translational norms are “reconstructed from observables” by examining the strategies deployed and the character of the ensuing product.⁹⁴ They are to be conceived as a “descriptive analytical category to be studied through the regularity of behavior.”⁹⁵ However, since “a translator’s behaviour cannot be expected to be fully systematic,” translational norms should be regarded as a “graded notion,” many of which interact in a complex way.⁹⁶ This complexity is due in part to “the active negotiation of those

⁹³ “The concept of translational norms allows one to describe in a systematic way the principles guiding the translator as he navigates the challenges of re-presenting the source text in a form that will be ‘acceptable’ to the target culture (or particular sub-culture thereof) as a translation.” Wagner, *Reading the Sealed Book*, 8. Van der Louw also recognizes the value of such an inductive approach: “Toury’s model features also a stage of bottom-up analysis that less[sic] presupposes such prior knowledge.” See van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 21. Cf. De Crom’s similar observation that DTS offers “several entry points for studying translation as a textual, literary and social phenomenon...we should start our investigation from the most solid data we have and work our way from there.” See De Crom, *LXX Song of Songs and Descriptive Translation Studies*, 21.

⁹⁴ Toury, “A Handful of Methodological Issues in DTS: Are They Applicable to the Study of the Septuagint as an Assumed Translation?” 22–23. One of the criticisms leveled by Dhont relates more particularly to the book of Job, where the relationship between the translation and its source text is decidedly more complex and very difficult to assess even from a textual perspective. This, coupled with the absence of informants, makes it very difficult to infer norms from translational strategies. See Dhont, *Style and Context of Old Greek Job*, 57. But as we will see below, the situation is not so bleak in the context of Deuteronomy.

⁹⁵ This formulation is by Munday in Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies*, 177. He stresses the importance of “regularities” for Toury’s model, despite the idiosyncrasies, errors and other similar features characteristic of all human endeavors. See Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies - and Beyond*, 70–71. These are the “options that translators in a given socio-historical context select on a regular basis.” Mona Baker, ed., *Translation Studies: Critical Concepts in Linguistics* (London: Routledge, 2009), 190.

⁹⁶ Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies - and Beyond*, 67. “Toury speaks of three types of norms: a ‘basic’ or ‘primary norm’ governs behavior that is ‘more or less mandatory for all instances of a certain phenomenon’; a ‘secondary norm’ or ‘tendency’ represents ‘common, but not mandatory’ behavior; and what we might call a ‘tertiary norm,’ which Toury describes as ‘other tolerated (permitted) behaviour.’” Wagner, *Reading the Sealed Book*, 7, note 31. Here the reference is to Gideon Toury, “The Nature and Role of Norms in Literary Translation,” in *Literature and Translation: New Perspectives in Literary Studies*, ed. James S. Holmes (Leuven: Acco, 1978), 95. One can debate the extent to which such norms were formalized or consciously employed, but the existence of a particular model of translation, whether implicit or not, seems obvious in light of the similarities between OG Deuteronomy and other Pentateuchal translations. De Crom develops an insightful description of norms in De Crom, *LXX Song of Songs and Descriptive Translation Studies*, 238–51.

who deal in them,” thus reflecting the active role of the translator in the process.⁹⁷

Under this modified descriptive approach, the translator is not the passive subject of invisible forces, but an active agent working in a particular social context.⁹⁸ Boyd-Taylor also makes the helpful distinctions between regulative norms, which guide the translator in his choice of strategies to resolve a particular issue in an acceptable way, and constitutive norms, which reflect what a particular community finds acceptable as a translation.⁹⁹ Regulative norms (in situation X, Y should be rendered by Z) may or may not coincide with regularities because they are tied to the translator’s preference values, that is, his negotiation of various competing norms.¹⁰⁰ By analyzing the translation in this way, one can work in the near absence of historical evidence, based on the assumption that the product (here OG Deuteronomy) does reflect albeit imperfectly a specific model of translation and its underlying norms.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ This point is underscored by Boyd-Taylor, who reflects on the development in Toury’s thought, and a move away from conceiving of norms as “inert constraints on behaviour” (a kind of social determinism) towards a more dynamic notion where these are negotiated. See Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 65.

⁹⁸ In a way, this anticipates van der Louw’s call to move away from a model where “the translator...barely exists,” to “incorporate the human factor, be it individual or social.” See van der Louw, “Did the Septuagint Translators Really Intend the Greek Text as it Is? 453–54. This movement also follows the so-called sociological turn in translation studies, recognizing that translators operate in a social context. For a discussion of the implications for Toury’s project, see Reine Meylaerts, “Translators and (Their) Norms: Towards a Sociological Construction of the Individual,” in *Beyond Descriptive Translation Studies: Investigations in Homage to Gideon Toury*, ed. Anthony Pym, Miriam Shlesinger, and Daniel Simeoni, Benjamins Translation Library 75 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2008), 91–102.

⁹⁹ See Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 71–72. Hermans also provides a helpful description of this distinction in Theo Hermans, “Norms and the Determination of Translation: A Theoretical Framework,” in *Translation, Power, Subversion*, ed. R. Alvarez and M. Vidal (Clevedon; Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters, 1996), 42–43.

¹⁰⁰ “Regulative norms of translation distinguish, within the domain called translation, between optional forms of behaviour. Particular options may be regarded as appropriate in certain types of cases, and the translator’s perceived success or failure in adhering to this or that norm may be deemed to have resulted in ‘good’ or ‘bad’ translations. The regulative norms of translation are therefore subordinated to the constitutive norms.” Hermans, “Norms and the Determination of Translation,” 43.

¹⁰¹ The product of the translation is always more observable than anything else, even in the presence of informants, and should be dealt with first, perhaps even exclusively. See Toury, “A Handful of Methodological Issues in DTS: Are They Applicable to the Study of the Septuagint as an Assumed Translation?” 22. Moreover, even if we had reliable statements about the aims and normative principles of the translations, these might be

- 2) It is a valid observation that the individual style and idiosyncrasies of each translator should be taken into account.¹⁰² But this observation does not preclude the type of analysis that DTS can provide. In fact, a comprehensive description of the translation may be able to identify stylistic preferences and other idiosyncrasies when contrasted with a similar translation.¹⁰³ Moreover, an important contribution of DTS is its focus away from the psychology of the translator towards norms or preferences governing the translation process.¹⁰⁴ By focusing on strategies and translational norms, our attention is not limited to the translator's cognitive processes in his interaction with his source text. These are subsumed to the expectations of the target culture which must be negotiated.¹⁰⁵ In this way, the

tainted by propaganda or an attempt to persuade. DTS would therefore treat those as secondary evidence. See Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies - and Beyond*, 88. See also the discussion of this issue in the context of LXX studies in Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 40; De Crom, *LXX Song of Songs and Descriptive Translation Studies*, 239–40.

¹⁰² “A translator's work has unique recurrent patterns independent of the style of the author. Translators are writers, and like other writers may have their particular favoured expressions, their preferred choices. Translators' style must be acknowledged in the analysis of the Septuagint as translation.” See Naudé, “Translating a Translation,” 250. For a criticism of DTS along these lines, see Dhont, *Style and Context of Old Greek Job*, 58. But see Marieke Dhont, “Towards a Comprehensive Explanation for the Stylistic Diversity of the Septuagint Corpus,” *VT* 69.3 (2019): 394.

¹⁰³ Thus, norms do not always manifest themselves via the same strategies. As we will see, while working under very similar norms, translators of the Pentateuch sometimes opt for different strategies to render specific Hebrew idiom. Others have favorite words, etc. This does not invalidate that there are translational norms at work, but rather the way they manifest themselves, or in some cases, their weight in relation to other norms. Toury speaks of cognitive and sociocultural approaches to translation needing to work in complementarity instead of opposition. See Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies - and Beyond*, 67.

¹⁰⁴ This is not to deny that a human agent was at work, and we will indeed often refer to “the translator” throughout. But the reality is that all that we have at our disposal are the traces of his work. Yet, what DTS provides is a principled way to validate interpretations of particular renderings in light of the whole. For a more extensive discussion on this point, see Wagner, *Reading the Sealed Book*, 43–45.

¹⁰⁵ “No one would deny that translation involves the activity of a translator or that the cognitive, psycholinguistic and interpretative processes underlying translation are legitimate objects of study...but as Toury stresses, an act of translation is at the same time an event embedded within a specific literary culture.” See Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 62–63. As van der Louw notes, such approaches “still leave ample room for renderings that reveal the translator's personality.” Moreover, interpretative renderings can only with great difficulty be attributed to any single individual. They are best seen as “typical for the community from which the translator sprang”. See van der Louw, “Did the Septuagint Translators Really Intend the Greek Text as it Is?” 455. Within the framework of DTS, such renderings would be the manifestation of a particular norm governing the translation process: In the case of anti-anthropomorphisms, one governing appropriate discourse about God.

interpreter refrains from theories about the translator's mental state or other dispositions, theories that cannot be verified.¹⁰⁶

- 3) Since we know very little about the prospective function of this particular type of text (a biblical translation) in the context of its production, our observations will remain focused on a descriptive analysis at the level of the text's linguistic make-up. Thus, the teleological orientation of DTS should not be understood as constraining one to posit a particular set of assumptions concerning the product's social location.¹⁰⁷ That the translation is target-oriented simply recognizes that one should attempt to infer from the analysis of the textual-linguistic data the translational norms that governed the translation process. These are the bridge between the translation and its socio-cultural context, and in our case, perhaps the sole source of information concerning the translators and their milieu.¹⁰⁸ Such translational norms

¹⁰⁶ As Boyd-Taylor argues, attention to the constitutive character of the text provides more reliable information since it appeals instead to the cultural assumptions under which the translator worked instead of his mental states. See Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 53. This may be disputed in the sense that in both cases, the translated text (and an approximation of its source) is our only source of information. Yet, one may argue that the cumulative description provided by norms is more easily verifiable (and falsifiable) than theories about the translator's mental states. Note also van der Louw's conclusion to the effect that intentionality is in fact quite difficult to demonstrate and thus of limited usefulness. See van der Louw, "Did the Septuagint Translators Really Intend the Greek Text as it Is?" 464–66.

¹⁰⁷ Our discussion so far has eschewed the term "interlinear" or references to the interlinear paradigm (IP) for two reasons: The first is that the term has engendered considerable misunderstandings, some of which were already alluded to. For a discussion of the reception of the IP and clarifications on the nature of its use, see Albert Pietersma, "Beyond Literalism: Interlinearity Revisited," in *Translation Is Required: The Septuagint in Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Robert J. V. Hiebert, SCS 56, 2010, 3–21; Wright, "The Septuagint and Its Modern Translators." The second reason is that according to its own principles, what can be inferred from the Greek text, whether it be norms of quantitative and serial fidelity, high tolerance for interference from the source text, unintelligibility of the Greek, or any other characteristic of the translation, should be determined inductively based on our study of the translation process and the resulting product. It may very well be that its characteristics resemble those suggested within the context of the IP. Yet, the use of DTS as a framework should not be understood as making assumptions in terms of the type of translation we are dealing with, nor a wholesale adoption of the IP for this particular translation. Unfortunately, DTS and the IP have often been addressed as one, such as in Randall X. Gauthier, *Psalms 38 and 145 of the Old Greek Version*, VTSup 166 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2014), 41–62; Mulroney, *The Translation Style of Old Greek Habakkuk*, 51–56.

¹⁰⁸ Thus, the criticism that we need more insight into the way the translators internalized the various social norms is well taken, but at the same time leaves us no alternative. The translation (and its source text) is the only source of information at our disposal. Dhont, *Style and Context of Old Greek Job*, 58, 60. The polysystem theory also faces the same issue if it seeks to perform precise evaluations of the cultural context.

may suggest a particular context where they would have been operative, for example a setting where isomorphism or a lower register of Greek is desirable. As Boyd-Taylor reminds us, “Much can be learned about the function of a text from linguistic analysis; the two phenomena are more closely bound up than one might realize.”¹⁰⁹ But given the state of our knowledge, such theories will obviously be tentative. Our objective is therefore more modest and constrained by the linguistic data at our disposal, as is any theory that would attempt to use translated texts of the Septuagint to uncover their originating milieu. A further step would be to perform the same exercise on other translations of the Septuagint with the goal of comparing the results.¹¹⁰ In this sense, our study is but a preliminary step, in that assessing the character of OG Deuteronomy is to be followed by a comparison with other translations of the Septuagint or others more generally.

2.2.4. Characterizing OG Deuteronomy

Turning now to our analysis, a more comprehensive description of OG Deuteronomy character must take into account the aforementioned combination of translational norms, strategies, and the ensuing product, so that we are provided with a multi-dimensional picture

¹⁰⁹ Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 85–86.

¹¹⁰ One of the objectives of DTS is to analyze several translations and eventually compare them in order to highlight differences but also abstract translation universals. This also circumvents the problem of overgeneralization, which some have accused Toury of doing. See Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies*, 184. In conjunction with similar studies on other translated scriptures of this period, we could eventually posit a more specific context for the creation of these early Jewish translations. An important step in that direction would be the publication of the commentaries in the SBLCS series. For further remarks along those lines, see Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 86.

of the translation.¹¹¹ Consequently, the translation should be approached from two complimentary vantage points:¹¹²

- 1) As the study of the text *qua* translation
- 2) As the study of the translation *qua* text

The first is source-oriented, in that it focuses on the translation as a representation of its source text, while the second approaches the translation as a text designed for a specific socio-linguistic context. Both are interwoven characteristics of a translation and serve as a check on the other.¹¹³ Within the framework of DTS, these have been labeled as the description of a translation's *adequacy* in relation to the source text, and *acceptability* in relation to the target language or culture.¹¹⁴ It should be noted that these terms are meant to be non-prescriptive descriptors of the translation's relationship to both its source text and target conventions.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ The term "constitutive character" is sometimes employed to designate this correlation of social and linguistic facts, an integration of the function and process of translation, and, of course, the product itself. As such, the notion of a text's constitutive character is essential in governing the type of questions which can legitimately be asked when performing historical exegesis. See Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 35–36.

¹¹² Adapted from Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 432. Toury further defines these two principles (in reverse order) as 1) "the production of a text in a particular culture/language which is designed to occupy a certain position, or fill a certain slot, in the host culture"; and 2) "constituting a representation in that language/culture of a text already existing in some other language, belonging to a different culture and occupying a definable position within it." See Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies - and Beyond*, 69.

¹¹³ "Whereas the analysis of translational strategy leads naturally into a discussion of regulative norms, textual linguistic analysis bears directly on the question of relative acceptability and constitutive norms. Yet, the two sorts of analysis are not only inter-dependent, they are intertwined." See Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 71–72.

¹¹⁴ For a discussion of the difference between acceptability and acceptance of a feature of the translation, see Toury, "A Handful of Methodological Issues in DTS: Are They Applicable to the Study of the Septuagint as an Assumed Translation?" 15. See also Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies - and Beyond*, 69–70. Boyd-Taylor has refined this aspect of DTS by acknowledging the problematic nature of the adequacy-acceptability continuum implied in Toury's early work, coupled with the notion of initial norm. These, as well as the concept of adequacy have been justly criticized. As Dhont recently stated, "there is no such thing as a perfectly adequate translation". The adequacy-acceptability polarity is but one other continuum, no more nuanced than the literal-free axis. See Dhont, *Style and Context of Old Greek Job*, 53–54. Boyd-Taylor suggested in his monograph that the initial norm of adequacy should be abandoned, as well as the continuum, a change that he sees as easily accommodated within DTS given its target-oriented nature. See Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 69–70. See also the similar criticism in De Crom, *LXX Song of Songs and Descriptive Translation Studies*, 249–50.

¹¹⁵ As was pointed out by Hermans, the use of these terms has engendered confusion because of their evaluative connotation in other contexts. He would rather use "TT-oriented" and "ST-oriented." See Theo Hermans, *Translation in Systems: Descriptive and Systemic Approaches Explained* (Manchester: St. Jerome, 1999), 77. In

They designate two interwoven principles that are intrinsic to the production of any translation, their purpose being to identify how operative norms are negotiated and to determine “what is recognized as translation.”¹¹⁶ Those terms thus represent two complementary angles from which the translation should be described.¹¹⁷ Consequently, the focus is not on prescriptive judgments concerning equivalency, but equivalency is rather seen as realized and a tool for uncovering “the underlying concept of translation...and the factors that have constrained it.”¹¹⁸ In other words, equivalence can be defined in terms of the relative acceptability of the translation, that is, “that by which the text is judged to be acceptable as a translation (or not) within the target culture.”¹¹⁹

his 2016 article, Boyd-Taylor reintroduces “adequacy” as a way of speaking of the analytical category which is concerned with the analysis of translational strategies (translation technique) and their regulative norms, thus in relation to the source text. See Boyd-Taylor, “The Classification of Literalism in Ancient Hebrew-Greek Translation,” 157. This is the way in which we will be using this term throughout, and not as a category by which we can judge whether a translation is adequate. “Acceptability” is conceived here as a way of describing the translation in relation to the textual and linguistic conventions of the target culture, those that typically govern non-translational compositions. What is “acceptable” in reality will vary according to the context: Aquila’s translation was surely acceptable despite its high degree of interference. Thus, actual acceptability relates to the concept of equivalence adopted for the translation, and not the text’s relationship to target language conventions.

¹¹⁶ Hermans, “Norms and the Determination of Translation,” 42. See also the discussion about these two principles in Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies - and Beyond*, 69–70. “Moreover, since adequacy and acceptability are measured on different bases, and hence separately and independently of each other, their total should not be expected to yield 100 either, no more than it can amount to 200 (a hypothetical result of being fully adequate and fully acceptable at the same time). At the end of the day, it is the compromise between the two which will reflect the overall influence of the norms.”

¹¹⁷ Toury can therefore speak of the necessity of a double (or “schizophrenic”) reading: “A translation always enters *two sets of relationships*: one between the target text and the hosting culture/language (in terms of *acceptability*), the other one between the assumed translation and another text in another language/culture (in terms of so-called *equivalence*).” (Emphasis original) See Toury, “A Handful of Methodological Issues in DTS: Are They Applicable to the Study of the Septuagint as an Assumed Translation?” 19.

¹¹⁸ Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies - and Beyond*, 86. Toury suggests that texts be compared in a series of ad hoc coupled pairs, where segments are not predetermined but vary according to the context. See Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies - and Beyond*, 103. While this approach is flexible and a non-prescriptive method of comparing the translation and its source text, it has been criticized for lacking consistency and reproducibility. Working from a checklist of features that require attention has proved a useful complementary approach. See Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies*, 176, 183. (Here Munday refers to James S. Holmes, *Translated! Papers on Literary Translation and Translation Studies*, *Approaches to Translation Studies* 7 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1988), 80.).

¹¹⁹ Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 70. In a different context, Lee justly criticizes previous studies that employed pejorative language to describe translation methods. Concerning consistency in translation technique, he states: “[Their inconsistency in lexical choices] is a fact to be accepted, whether we approve of it or not. It helps us to understand how the translators actually worked rather than be distracted by their failure to do what we expect. It also offers food for thought on the larger question of how the translators saw their project.” See Lee,

Therefore, our primary object of descriptive study focuses on these two aspects of OG Deuteronomy. Our task is, on the one hand, to analyze “which equivalencies are characteristic of the translator (e.g. ‘match word-for-word’, ‘match word order’, ‘match consistently’).”¹²⁰ Here, the focus is not only on characterizing his translational strategies and methodology (his translation technique), but to identify what constraints were operative. The outcome of this line of inquiry is “to account for these results by reference to translational norms and so determine the concept of equivalence underlying them.”¹²¹ On the other hand, the accompanying task is that of weighing these equivalences against what is known of the conventions of the target language in terms of well-formedness, which may include its grammar, stylistic norms, and literary features.¹²² One outcome of this line of inquiry is the identification of indices of relative acceptability within the translation, such as the tolerance for linguistic interference.¹²³ For this purpose, Boyd-Taylor suggests that the following two questions form the basis of our inquiry:

First, to what extent and in what manner does a given translator favor formal equivalency over linguistic, textual and literary well-formedness? Second, under what conditions does he favor such well-formedness over formal equivalency?¹²⁴

The Greek of the Pentateuch, 184. The importance of a descriptive approach and terminology is discussed further in Maurais, “Peut-on traduire sans trahir ? Vérités alternatives dans la Septante de Deutéronome.”

¹²⁰ Boyd-Taylor, “The Classification of Literalism in Ancient Hebrew-Greek Translation,” 156.

¹²¹ Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 70.

¹²² This is comparable to the analysis done according to “T-universals” by Chesterman (2004), which characterize the translated language in relation to naturally occurring language, without reference to the source text. See the comments in Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies*, 185; Andrew Chesterman, “Beyond the Particular,” in *Translation Universals: Do They Exist?* ed. Anna Mauranen and Pekka Kujamäki, Benjamins Translation Library 48 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2004), 33–50.

¹²³ Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 70. Focusing on linguistic well-formedness when evaluating the relative acceptability of the text may appear to be methodologically limiting. Boyd-Taylor offers the following remark: “...relative acceptability is a difficult thing to gauge in any text. In the case of an ancient text, the problem is near insuperable. There are so many factors underlying the phenomenon, and so little relevant evidence, that any benchmark we propose is bound to be somewhat arbitrary. But by focusing on an aspect of acceptability over which we do have some degree of methodological control, namely textual linguistic well-formedness (i.e., conformity to the norms of the target language), and by adopting a comparative approach, the likelihood that our assessment will prove meaningful, if not assured, is at least much greater.” Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 118–19.

¹²⁴ Boyd-Taylor, “The Classification of Literalism in Ancient Hebrew-Greek Translation,” 157.

The answers to these questions enable one to characterize the translation in light of the two aforementioned aspects, that of its *adequacy* and *acceptability*. The description of each is advantageously performed at the levels of linguistic, textual-linguistic, and literary-cultural features.¹²⁵ Analyzing each of these levels separately proves useful for the purposes of this study despite the fact that there is some overlap between them.¹²⁶ Linguistic *adequacy* or *acceptability* pertains to the grammar and lexicon, while textual-linguistic *adequacy* or *acceptability* deals with the coherence and cohesion of the text.¹²⁷ Finally, literary and cultural *adequacy* or *acceptability* is concerned with literary conventions and thematic or ideological values of the target culture. As Boyd-Taylor surmises, this higher level of analysis is “highly conjectural,” but it is possible in some instances to identify particular strategies that belong to this level.¹²⁸ So-called theological renderings and intertextuality, insofar as it belongs to an expected literary convention, would belong to this level of analysis. The following table illustrates the interplay of both aspects and the three levels of analysis:¹²⁹

¹²⁵ Boyd-Taylor, “The Classification of Literalism in Ancient Hebrew-Greek Translation,” 157. These levels of analysis are adapted from Toury’s own linguistic, textual, and literary modes of translation. See Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies - and Beyond*, 201–3. Cf. Boyd-Taylor, “Toward the Analysis of Translational Norms: A Sighting Shot,” 37.

¹²⁶ Compare for example how Büchner analyzes the translator’s work in his commentary on Leviticus by using three categories: The cultural, syntactic and semantic levels. Büchner is concerned with an analysis at the level of individual renderings. Boyd-Taylor’s taxonomy is more flexible, however, in providing for ways to account for features that occur at the level of discourse as well as individual renderings. See Dirk Büchner, “Writing a Commentary on the Septuagint,” in *XIV Congress of the IOSCS, Helsinki, 2010*, ed. Melvin K. H. Peters (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 525–37, here 526.

¹²⁷ See the examples provided by Boyd-Taylor of each category in his Boyd-Taylor, “The Classification of Literalism in Ancient Hebrew-Greek Translation,” 157–58. Cf. Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 58–59.

¹²⁸ Boyd-Taylor, “The Classification of Literalism in Ancient Hebrew-Greek Translation,” 158–59.

¹²⁹ The table summarizes the various observations made in Boyd-Taylor, “The Classification of Literalism in Ancient Hebrew-Greek Translation,” 157–59.

Adequacy	Level of analysis	Acceptability
Tension with literary conventions and ideological values	Literary and cultural	Features of the source text brought in compliance with literary and ideological norms
Disruptions to the coherence and cohesion of the target text	Textual-Linguistic	Features of discourse and style introduced by the translator
Interference at the level of grammar, syntax, and the lexicon	Linguistic	Grammatical well-formedness

From the standpoint of *adequacy*, OG Deuteronomy is examined as a translation to determine the extent of the accommodation of the target conventions to formal features of the source text.¹³⁰ Toury introduces a distinction between two types of interference: The first is labeled positive transfer and refers to the occurrence of linguistic features in translation that are not unknown but occur in much greater frequency than in non-translational literature. A good example of this is the rendering of the Hebrew infinitive absolute accompanied by the cognate finite verb, for example שמור תשמרון, which is usually understood as intensifying the idea conveyed by the verbal root. The Greek language has no direct equivalent to this construction, so that it is most frequently rendered using a related noun or participle and cognate verb: φυλάσσων φυλάξῃ. This construction is not unknown in Greek but infrequent.¹³¹ The frequency of this Hebrew construction, however, multiplies the occurrences of this marginal Greek construction so that it becomes much more frequent than in contemporary Greek literature. Negative transfer occurs when the ensuing linguistic feature does not

¹³⁰ Boyd-Taylor, “The Classification of Literalism in Ancient Hebrew-Greek Translation,” 157.

¹³¹ For a recent discussion of this construction and the various ways it was translated in the Pentateuch, see Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 231–39. See also. Raija Sollamo, “The LXX Renderings of the Infinitive Absolute Used with a Paronymous Finite Verb in the Pentateuch,” in *La Septuaginta en la investigacion contemporanea (V Congreso de la IOSCS)*, ed. Natalio Fernández Marcos, Textos y estudios “Cardenal Cisneros” 34 (Madrid: Insituto “Arias Montano,” 1985), 101–13. See also our comments in chapter 3 at 6:17.

normally occur in the target language.¹³² As Boyd-Taylor reminds us, “The burden of proof lies with the investigator, i.e. he or she must make a case for transfer.”¹³³

From the standpoint of *acceptability*, OG Deuteronomy is examined as a text to establish its linguistic profile and the way in which features of the source text were assimilated to target conventions. Here one will examine features at all levels of the text to determine the extent to which the transformations of the formal features of the source were made to conform to models of textual production in the target language.¹³⁴ This implies amongst other things the evaluation of the translator’s degree of tolerance of interference from the source text. For example, the translator of OG Deuteronomy regularly employs the participle to render a conjunction + finite verb, which implies a lower degree of tolerance for paratactic constructions and the transfer it entails.¹³⁵ Moreover, other items of interest in this category of analysis would be structural changes and stylistic or rhetorical features insofar as they appear to be deliberate and non-obligatory.¹³⁶ When analyzing the text from the perspective of *acceptability*, the burden of proof shifts accordingly: “Assimilation to target conventions must be demonstrated against the background of transfer.”¹³⁷ In the end, features classified according to both sets of relationships are expected to paint a multifaceted picture.

¹³² Boyd-Taylor, “The Classification of Literalism in Ancient Hebrew-Greek Translation,” 157. See also Pietersma, “The Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint: Basic Principles,” 9.

¹³³ Boyd-Taylor, “The Classification of Literalism in Ancient Hebrew-Greek Translation,” 157.

¹³⁴ SBLCS Guidelines §3.2.3.1(i).

¹³⁵ See especially the study by Aejmelaeus, which shows that in some respects, OG Deuteronomy is more tolerant of the interference of its source text, especially in the representation of ו - *wa* and causal ו - *we*. In other respects, however, such as the use of the *participium coniunctum* and the genitive absolute, OG Deuteronomy exhibits less tolerance than the other translators of the Pentateuch. See Aejmelaeus, “Die Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums,” 164–66.

¹³⁶ SBLCS Guidelines §3.2.5(i). Furthermore, this would obviously exclude purely grammatical changes caused by the differences between the grammatical structures of each language. See here for example, Takamitsu Muraoka, “Limitations of Greek in Representing Hebrew,” in *Die Sprache der Septuaginta*, ed. Eberhard Bons and Jan Joosten, LXX.H 3 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2016), 129–38.

¹³⁷ Boyd-Taylor, “The Classification of Literalism in Ancient Hebrew-Greek Translation,” 158.

Translations are the product of a number of norms which interact in a complex manner, often displaying contradictory tendencies. This to be expected as they are the outcome of complex social conditions.¹³⁸ But they also manifest the translator's preference values, the classification of which allows us to better understand how he operated.¹³⁹

Each textual analysis will be followed by a summary of the regulative norms at work and indications of relative acceptability to the conventions of the target language. A general profile of the constitutive norms, the model of translation underlying OG Deuteronomy will also be presented. The relative status of norms is weighted based on their regularity, for

¹³⁸ "Thanks to [Toury's] probabilistic formulations, it becomes quite reasonable to have contradictory tendencies on the level of linguistic variables. If social conditions A apply, then we might expect more standardization. If social conditions B are in evidence, expect interference." See Anthony Pym, "On Toury's Laws of How Translators Translate," in *Beyond Descriptive Translation Studies: Investigations in Homage to Gideon Toury*, ed. Anthony Pym, Miriam Shlesinger, and Daniel Simeoni, Benjamins Translation Library 75 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2008), 321. An example of this is that despite the high level of interference at the level of the clause in OG Deuteronomy, there is a remarkably high level of conformity to the conventions of the Greek language at the level of syntax, so that one may conclude that the translator has "full competence in Greek." See Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 259.

¹³⁹ As Boyd-Taylor states, following Barr, "The dilemma presents itself in distinct modalities: there is not one either/or but many, and their resolution will depend upon the translator's preference values." See Boyd-Taylor, "The Classification of Literalism in Ancient Hebrew-Greek Translation," 159. Here one may also refer to the recent appeals to multi-causality (or multiple explanations), which recognizes that one translational phenomenon can have multiple explanations. In specific renderings, one could argue that the translator was concerned with both faithfully rendering his source text (via an unmarked rendering) and creating a stylistic effect. Some studies on the style of the LXX argue along these lines. See Dhont, *Style and Context of Old Greek Job*, 59 and references cited in note 75. Here one must be careful to distinguish between complementary and mutually exclusive causes, as Toury argues in Toury, "A Handful of Methodological Issues in DTS: Are They Applicable to the Study of the Septuagint as an Assumed Translation?" 22. For example, explaining a particular rendering as a misreading of the source text and a desire to produce a stylistic effect would constitute complementary hypotheses. Two factors (at least) lay behind this rendering, the former providing opportunity for the latter. The same level of confidence cannot be achieved when a rendering is the expected one in a given context in light of the translator's usual technique. Stating that it also constitutes a stylistic device becomes a competing hypothesis. What on the surface appears to be a desire to introduce stylistic elements in the translation may be nothing more than a lexeme or form triggered by the source text. Of course, such a match may be a happy one, but speaking in terms of *causes*, it may tell us nothing more than the translator's desire to accurately translate his source text under the constraints of his predominant translational norm of lexical consistency. While multi-causality is certainly present in translation as in many human activities, the identification of such causes in our situation should stem from our observation of the translation process and the character of the translation. Moreover, as Mulroneau cautions, "The use of multiple-causation is not meant to overcomplicate the reasoning behind the decision-making process." See Mulroneau, *The Translation Style of Old Greek Habakkuk*, 44. Multiple explanations for particular features will be raised throughout our commentary on OG Deuteronomy, many of which are not mutually exclusive. DTS is not opposed to this in principle, since working with strategies and norms is in itself a multi-causal way of looking at the data.

example whether particular deviations from formal features of the source text are systematic (primary), typical (secondary) or frequent but sporadic or localized (tertiary).¹⁴⁰ This information will be organized in a table such as the one below:

<i>Regulative Norms</i>	<i>Indices of Relative Acceptability</i>
1) etc.	1), etc.
<i>Relative Degree of Accommodation of Target Conventions to the Features of the Source Text</i>	
<i>Relative Degree of Assimilation of Features of Source Text to Target Conventions</i>	
<i>Constitutive Norms</i>	
1), etc.	

Approaching OG Deuteronomy from both of these angles, the DTS framework provides a way to account for features that are part of the translation's regulating norms as well as those that represent departures from them.¹⁴¹ As such, it can account for a multiplicity of factors that come into play within the translation process, and as Mulroney suggests, provide not only an account of what happened, but explain why a particular rendering was achieved.¹⁴² Factors

¹⁴⁰ Adapted from Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 74–75. In light of the complexity of translational norms, Toury speaks of the importance of avoiding a checklist approach and have an ordered list instead. See Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies - and Beyond*, 63. De Crom has a helpful discussion on the potency of norms, and the factors that may explain the frequency of their application in De Crom, *LXX Song of Songs and Descriptive Translation Studies*, 243–52.

¹⁴¹ Toury, for example, states that “freedom of choice is at play not only when one's behavior involves *deviations* from prevailing patterns. It is no less present when one's commitment to the norms is *reaffirmed*.” (Emphasis original) See Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies - and Beyond*, 68.

¹⁴² Mulroney, *The Translation Style of Old Greek Habakkuk*, 43. One must obviously qualify this statement by noting that it is often not possible to come to a precise determination of the motivations, factors, or norms behind individual renderings. Furthermore, as van der Louw observed in his review of Boyd-Taylor, not all features of the translation reflect a precise motivation on the translator's part. Yet, we may form a good idea about patterns and habits. Mulroney's resort to a Greek reading tradition which is reproduced before us to explain some features is also problematic. While it is a tempting solution, there is little evidence for it. And the numerous places where the translators appear to be struggling with the Hebrew militate against this. Moreover, how can we determine whether a particular difficulty is solved ad hoc by the translator or a reflection of the Greek reading tradition which he is simply relaying? See Mulroney, *The Translation Style of Old Greek Habakkuk*, 69–70. That is not to

explaining particular renderings may include the linguistic background of the translator (including his familiarity with other languages such as Aramaic), his reading tradition of the said book, interference from the source text, linguistic challenges in the target language, theological/ideological tendencies, and many others. These all come into scope as one examines the strategies employed. Nevertheless, apparent departures from the source text need to be understood in the broader context of the verbal make-up of the translation and the overall norms governing it, insofar as they can be inferred.¹⁴³ In this respect, interference is key, both in locating the product within its cultural context, but also in the way the translated text is exegeted by its modern interpreters. As Boyd-Taylor surmises,

If the primary aim of our analysis is to characterize the process of translation underlying the Greek text, then we will not want to lose sight of how the formal features of its source are manipulated by the translator. This dimension of the translation not only has a decisive role in linguistic analysis, which must take the phenomenon of interference into consideration, but also in our interpretation of the text as a fact of the culture that produced it, both as the rendering of a Hebrew source and as a work in its own right.¹⁴⁴

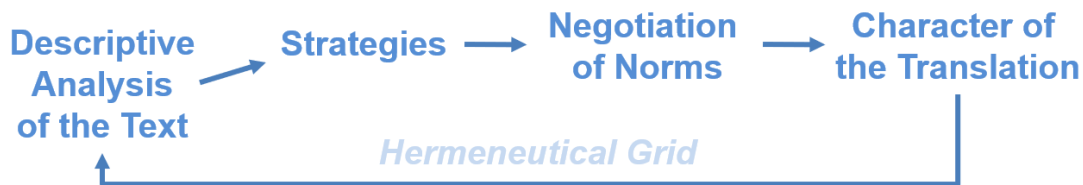
The outcome of this analysis is the ability to further refine our understanding of how the translator worked by examining the many strategies that he adopts in specific contexts and taking steps towards identifying his overall norms and preference values. In this way, departures from the source text are interpreted in an appropriate context, that of the constitutive character of the text. And this provides the interpreter a useful grid with which to

say that no translation efforts had taken place before then. See for example Aejmelaeus, “The Septuagint and Oral Translation.”

¹⁴³ In this sense, van der Louw’s argument that it is better to start with the micro-level (inductively) instead of hypotheses concerning the prospective function is a false dilemma. Both approaches work descriptively and inductively, but DTS seeks to go a step further in its analysis and infer something of the cultural context based on this data. See van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 17.

¹⁴⁴ Boyd-Taylor, “The Classification of Literalism in Ancient Hebrew-Greek Translation,” 159–60. See also his comments in Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 70–71.

analyze particular renderings.¹⁴⁵ In this way, DTS can act as both a descriptive and hermeneutical framework.¹⁴⁶



2.3. THE PROBLEM OF THE SOURCE TEXT: TRANSLATOR OR *VORLAGE*?

An additional challenge presents itself in the process of outlining the characteristics of OG Deuteronomy, which relates to the nature of the textual evidence surrounding its Hebrew source text. Though the ancient Hebrew witnesses to the book of Deuteronomy are many and varied, they cannot be expected to perfectly reflect the Hebrew source that the translator had in hand. One of the earliest complete Hebrew manuscripts of Deuteronomy is that preserved in codex B19a, commonly referred to as the Masoretic Text (MT). Though this codex dates from the 10th century CE, several older Hebrew witnesses are available to us: Deuteronomy is one of the best represented books among the Dead Sea Scrolls with 29 manuscripts or

¹⁴⁵ See the comments to this effect in Wagner, *Reading the Sealed Book*, 31. Boyd-Taylor adds that differences from the source text must be contextualized appropriately: “It is the translation as an event within a literary system that interests us. Here then we must acknowledge the exegetical priority of the textual linguistic dimension of the text over the study of either its translation technique or cultural background. The norms underlying the verbal make-up of the text (and hence its relative acceptability as a text of a particular sort) are determining factors in what we can say about its meaning. Historical exegesis must rest squarely on the character of the translation as a literary product.” Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 434.

¹⁴⁶ Though DTS implies a descriptive approach to the translation instead of prescriptive judgments or preconceived definitions of what a translation should look like, one can eventually form hypotheses and test them against the result of such an analysis. See De Crom, *LXX Song of Songs and Descriptive Translation Studies*, 242.

fragments.¹⁴⁷ Moreover, OG Deuteronomy shares many variants with the Samaritan Pentateuch (SamPent), another significant witness to the Hebrew text of this period.¹⁴⁸

Our analysis will draw upon all of the extant Hebrew witnesses where appropriate in order to come to the best possible estimation of the translator's source text. Since this translation reflects for the most part a Hebrew source very similar to MT, we will proceed by comparing it to Wevers's critical text.¹⁴⁹ This is not to say that MT was the translator's source text, but simply that it acts here as our provisional Hebrew source.¹⁵⁰ Differences between OG Deuteronomy and MT are evaluated in order to determine whether they issue from a Hebrew source different from MT, or were introduced by the translator. Our analysis of the translation patterns – those based on instances where OG Deuteronomy and MT concur – is a great help in this respect. Throughout, a number of possibilities are explored in order to provide an explanation for these differences.¹⁵¹ But given the nature of the textual evidence at our disposal, it is not always possible to come to firm conclusions. In practice, the problem of

¹⁴⁷ In this respect, Deuteronomy is second only to Psalms, of which 39 manuscripts were found. See Sidnie Ann White Crawford, "Reading Deuteronomy in the Second Temple Period," in *Reading the Present in the Qumran Library: The Perception of the Contemporary by Means of Scriptural Interpretations*, ed. Kristin De Troyer and Armin Lange, SBLSS 30 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2005), 127–40. These, as well as other witnesses such as SamPent and the targumim are referred to throughout McCarthy's textual notes. Though some of these scroll fragments share variants with the presumed *Vorlage* of OG Deuteronomy, none are identical to it. They remain useful nonetheless to improve our understanding of the book's textual history. See Emanuel Tov, "The Biblical Texts from the Judean Desert - An Overview and Analysis," in *Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible, and Qumran: Collected Essays*, ed. E. Tov (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 128–54.

¹⁴⁸ The most recent and reliable edition of the Samaritan Pentateuch of Deuteronomy as of this writing is found in Abraham Tal and Moshe Florentin, *The Pentateuch: The Samaritan Version and the Masoretic Version* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2010). This diplomatic edition is a significant improvement over von Gall's. For further discussion, see Khokhar, "May My Teaching Drop as the Rain," 46–47.

¹⁴⁹ McCarthy's BHQ edition with its copious notes will be referred to throughout. See McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*.

¹⁵⁰ This is not incompatible with DTS since it works with an assumed source text, whose relationship to the target text must be discovered. "[The possibility of a different *Vorlage* (ST)] reveals a fundamental similarity shared by the study of translation technique and DTS, viz. the provisional status of the ST at the outset of textual study. Both DTS and translation technique work with *assumed* source texts, meaning that the nature and extent of ST-TT relations are not given but have to be discovered during textual study." See De Crom, *LXX Song of Songs and Descriptive Translation Studies*, 23.

¹⁵¹ See a non-exhaustive list in Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, 43–61.

determining whether differences in relation to MT should be understood as the work of the translator or evidence for a different source text is approached in contrasting ways. In the context of OG Deuteronomy, two stand out in particular and will be described here. We will then outline our own approach.

2.3.1. Wevers

In his various publications, Wevers argues that one should approach such differences by first examining the translation process in light of the unvocalized MT. Since in principle the translation's source text could not have been wildly different from MT, only in last resort should a different *Vorlage* be posited.¹⁵² In his *Notes* published almost 20 years after the *Göttingen Septuaginta* volume, Wevers reiterates that his work was "...based on the presupposition that the parent text being translated was in the main much like the consonantal text of MT." His main concern is to proscribe "rampant retroversion" and the "wild emendations" so common in previous scholarship, so that the extant witnesses are taken seriously.¹⁵³ Moreover, Wevers was also preoccupied with redressing perceptions such as

¹⁵² Wevers, *NGTD*, xii. Wevers goes on to add: "Furthermore, it makes sense to conclude that the Hebrew text which the Jewish community of Alexandria had in the third century B.C. could not have been as wildly different from MT as earlier scholars of Deuteronomy sometimes maintained. After all, it was a canonical text; it was divine law, God's instruction; it was special, and it had to be approached with reverence." Aejmelaeus states the same basic proposition, in that MT consists of an appropriate starting point for such an inquiry but does not delay the investigation of a variant *Vorlage* in the way Wevers does. See Aejmelaeus, "What Can We Know about the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint?" 73. See also Wevers, "The Use of Versions for Text Criticism. The Septuagint," in *La Septuaginta en la investigación contemporánea* (V Congreso de la IOSCS) (ed. Natalio Fernández Marcos; Textos y estudios "Cardenal Cisneros" 34; Madrid: Instituto "Arias Montano," 1985), 20–21; James Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament: With Additions and Corrections* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1987), 245.

¹⁵³ Wevers, *NGTD*, xi.

those found in Frankel, who stated that in many formulaic passages, the translator was simply led astray in his haste.¹⁵⁴

This does not imply that Wevers sought to reconcile the Greek text with MT at all costs. He does at times suggest that the translation was based on a Hebrew variant, especially when supported by the Samaritan Pentateuch. But a thorough analysis of the translators' work habits and other considerations such as cultural, stylistic and theological factors should be performed before reconstructing a different source text.¹⁵⁵ In a context where we now have access to the Qumran texts and the many Hebrew variants they attest, this reluctance to posit a variant *Vorlage* may seem overcautious.¹⁵⁶ Nevertheless, it remains methodologically sound to proceed first with an analysis of the translation technique before initiating potential reconstructions.¹⁵⁷

In practice, however, the text often presents situations that undermine neat principles. In particular, it is not clear how Wevers weighs alternative Hebrew textual evidence in relation to the various elements of the translation technique. In some cases, he will argue at length in favor of a translation-technical explanation to reconcile the differences between the Greek text

¹⁵⁴ Frankel, *Ueber den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik*, 228–29. In contrast, Wevers thinks that the Greek text presupposes a “studied procedure,” and not something done in passing. See p. xi.

¹⁵⁵ Wevers, *NGTD*, xxii. Cf. Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, 9, 44. “However, cautious scholarship attempts to delay the assumption of underlying variants as long as possible. When analyzing the LXX translation for text-critical purposes, one should first attempt to view deviations as the result of the inner-translational factors described here. Only after all possible translational explanations have been dismissed should one address the assumption that the translation represents a Hebrew reading different from MT. Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, 44.

¹⁵⁶ See the similar comment regarding Wevers's approach in Aejmelaeus, “Die Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums,” 173.

¹⁵⁷ “For text-critical purposes, it is not enough to point to exegetical elements in the translation; one should attempt to determine whether this exegesis derived from the translator or his *Vorlage*. Lists of differences between MT and the LXX that do not distinguish between inner-translational deviations and possible underlying variants therefore are of little value for textual criticism.” Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, 48, n. 1. The same is true – we would argue – of anything that would be attributed to the translator or his background.

and MT, when a variant *Vorlage* seems obvious. In 32:15, the Greek text has a significant plus in relation to MT – an extra line at the beginning of the verse:

MT	OG Deuteronomy (Wevers)
	καὶ ἔφαγεν Ἰακώβ καὶ ἐνεπλήσθη,
וּשְׁמֵן יִשְׂרוֹן וַיִּבְעֵט	καὶ ἀπελάκτισεν ὁ ἡγαπημένος,
שְׁמֵן עֲבִית כִּשִׁית	ἐλιπάνθη, ἐπαχύνθη, ἐπλατύνθη.
וַיִּטֵּשׂ אֱלֹהֵי עֲשָׂהוּ	καὶ ἐγκατέλιπεν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτόν,
וַיִּנְבֹּל צוֹר יִשְׁעָתוֹ	καὶ ἀπέστη ἀπὸ θεοῦ σωτῆρος αὐτοῦ.

That the Greek's *Vorlage* contained a longer Hebrew version of this verse is almost certain, especially since the Samaritan Pentateuch and 4QPhylⁿ both attest to the existence of an additional stich.¹⁵⁸ Here Wevers does not discuss the textual evidence. Instead, he attempts to reconcile this difference with MT by positing that the Greek translator made two lines out of a single Hebrew stich. Not surprisingly, he has much difficulty explaining how the translator got from וּשְׁמֵן יִשְׂרוֹן to καὶ ἔφαγεν Ἰακώβ καὶ ἐνεπλήσθη. He finally confesses his complete bafflement.¹⁵⁹

The reverse is also true. While OG Deuteronomy tends to be expansionistic in relation to MT, Tov has identified some instances where it represents the shorter text.¹⁶⁰ In many of these situations, Wevers will state that "...the translator compresses an account by omitting words

¹⁵⁸ Paul Sanders, *The Provenance of Deuteronomy* 32, OtSt 37 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1996), 178. However, while these ancient witnesses agree as to the wording of the first stich, they differ as to the exact wording of the second one. Here OG Deuteronomy seems to follow the word order of 4QPhylⁿ, placing the verb וַיִּבְעֵט before יִשְׂרוֹן.

¹⁵⁹ Wevers, *NGTD*, 518.

¹⁶⁰ I refer here to Tov's helpful inventory and summary of such occurrences, found in Tov, "Textual Harmonizations in the Ancient Texts of Deuteronomy."

or phrases which are unessential to the narrative.”¹⁶¹ This is said for example of 9:10, where Moses recalls the giving of the law on the two stone tablets. The Greek text does not have the two adverbial phrases that conclude the MT verse. In this verse, OG Deuteronomy is the only witness to the shorter text, but the MT plus is also found in several parallel passages:

OG (Wevers)	MT	Parallel Passages
καὶ ἔδωκεν κύριος ἑμοὶ τὰς δύο πλάκας τὰς λιθίνας γεγραμμένας ἐν τῷ δακτύλῳ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἐπ’ αὐταῖς ἐγέγραπτο πάντες οἱ λόγοι, οὓς ἐλάλησεν κύριος πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ ὄρει.	ויתן יהוה אלי את-שני לוחות האבנים כתבים באצבע אלהים ועליהם ככל- הדברים אשר דבר יהוה עמכם בהר מתוך האש ביום הקהל	מתוך האש present in both MT and OG in 4:12, 15, 33, 36; 5:4, 22, 24, 26; 10:4. ביום הקהל present in both MT and OG in 18:16. ביום הקהל present in MT but not in OG in 10:4. τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας present in OG but not in MT in 4:10.

Given the number of times that the first of these phrases (מתוך האש) is repeated in close proximity in chapters 4 and 5 – each occurrence represented in the Greek text – Wevers’s argument that the heavy, repetitious style led to an omission doesn’t appear to be a plausible explanation for the shorter Greek text. Perhaps one could argue that it is a case of carelessness, but again, we should seriously consider whether at least the first of these phrases was absent from the translator’s *Vorlage*, with MT and SamPent both representing the harmonizing text.¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 64. Cf. Wevers, *NGTD*, 163. For other examples of possible compression, see chapter 1, section 1.4.3.

¹⁶² This is the decision made by McCarthy in her BHQ notes. See McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*, 144. Tov also argues that by default, harmonizations such as those found in Deuteronomy should be attributed to the *Vorlage* and not the translator. See Tov, “Textual Harmonizations in the Ancient Texts of Deuteronomy,” 27, esp. note 22. Interestingly, Tov uses this very example at the end of his article to illustrate the random character of harmonizations. They can be found in any textual tradition, at any moment. They do not appear to be motivated by any overall guiding principles.

In matters of small-scale changes, such as word-variants, or small departures from one-to-one representation (isomorphism), Wevers is usually attentive to translation technical tendencies and generally astute in his comments. However, as already discussed, he also displays the same propensity to attribute variants to the translator's theological preferences or other concerns when other options might be preferable. The consequences of such an approach for his work as editor of the Göttingen volumes has been documented elsewhere.¹⁶³

2.3.2. Peters

The analysis of such small-scale differences represents the most troubling aspect of the other approach under examination, that represented by Melvin Peters. While generally agreeing that the translator worked with a source text similar to but not identical with MT, Peters notes how the translator appears to be controlled by his source text, occasionally introducing nuances via the common processes of semantic leveling and differentiation.¹⁶⁴ For example, the Hebrew נָל is translated as προσήλυτος or πάροικος depending on whether it refers to an outsider who lives with the community and enjoys many of its privileges, or someone simply sojourning.¹⁶⁵ Peters rarely ventures outside of this type of example to attribute a

¹⁶³ See White Crawford's comment to this effect in White Crawford, "Primary Translations (Septuagint, Deuteronomy)," 149. Srenock also documents a few of these cases in the critical edition of OG Exodus. See John Srenock, "A New Approach to Using the Old Greek in Hebrew Bible Textual Criticism," *Textus* 27 (2018): 247, note 76.

¹⁶⁴ Peters notes that the translator was "...competent and faithful...generally maintaining a close relationship to his source but occasionally engaging in some interpretation of it." According to Peters, indicators of such attention to the Hebrew source are features such as calques, stereotypes, the close adherence to the Hebrew word order at the expense of conventional Greek style, and one-to-one representation of Hebrew and Greek words (isomorphism). This is particularly true of features such as the rendering of the infinitive absolute followed by the cognate finite verb and that of the pleonastic expressions often found in Deuteronomy. See Melvin K. H. Peters, "Translating a Translation: Some Final Reflections on the Production of the New English Translation of Greek Deuteronomy," in *Translation Is Required: The Septuagint in Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Robert J. V. Hiebert, SCS 56 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 120; Peters, "To the Reader of Deuteronomion," 142.

¹⁶⁵ Peters, "Translating a Translation: Some Final Reflections on the Production of the New English Translation of Greek Deuteronomy," 121. Cf. Peters, "Deuteronomion / Deuteronomium / Das fünfte Buch Mose," 168; Peters, "To the Reader of Deuteronomion," 143.

semantic shift to the translator, observing instead that renderings of a theological nature are always identified in relation to MT, a practice that he strongly opposes.¹⁶⁶ He also dismisses suggestions that the translator occasionally filled in gaps, i.e., normalizing some Hebrew constructions or borrowing from other parts of the Pentateuch.¹⁶⁷

Instead, he would more readily attribute such differences to the parent text, citing the pluriformity of the Hebrew text in this period.¹⁶⁸ A number of variants previously thought to be the work of the translator were found in Qumran texts so that arguments from silence – that no other witnesses support the unique Greek variant – are no longer sufficient.¹⁶⁹ A similar case has been argued in a recent article by John Srenock, where he points out that the scribal practices inventoried in the Scrolls and those attributed to the Septuagint translators are essentially the same.¹⁷⁰ He cites Tov's well-known description of variant readings created in the course of textual transmission to argue that scholars have too easily attributed many variants of a similar nature to the Septuagint translators when they could equally have been attributed to a scribe working in Hebrew.¹⁷¹ Thus, even while allowing that some divergences

¹⁶⁶ Peters opposes this practice on two counts: On the one hand it presumes that the translator did more than translating. On the other, it presumes that we have access to the translator's *Vorlage*. See Peters, "Deuteronomion / Deuteronomium / Das fünfte Buch Mose," 169.

¹⁶⁷ Note Peters's strong words: "This paints a rather dismal picture of the translator of Deuteronomy. He is a cavalier, irresponsible figure, prone to normalize, eliminate, and borrow from other parts of the Pentateuch on a whim. This is not the translator I have come to know." Peters, "Translating a Translation: Some Final Reflections on the Production of the New English Translation of Greek Deuteronomy," 131. Equally problematic is his portrayal of the position of those who, by describing the translator as taking liberties or interpreting freely, portray him as dishonest in Melvin K. H. Peters, "Revisiting the Rock: Tsur as a Translation of Elohim in Deuteronomy and Beyond," in *Text-Critical and Hermeneutical Studies in the Septuagint*, ed. J. Cook and H.-J. Stipp, VTSup 157 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), 41.

¹⁶⁸ See for example his comments at the beginning of his article, Peters, "Revisiting the Rock: Tsur as a Translation of Elohim in Deuteronomy and Beyond," 37, n. 2.

¹⁶⁹ See the quotes that Peters marshals at the end of his article, in Peters, "Revisiting the Rock: Tsur as a Translation of Elohim in Deuteronomy and Beyond," 50.

¹⁷⁰ Srenock, "A New Approach to Using the Old Greek in Hebrew Bible Textual Criticism," 230–31. See also his monograph, John Srenock, *Traductor Scriptor: The Old Greek Translation of Exodus 1-14 as Scribal Activity*, VTSup 174 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017).

¹⁷¹ See the list of such variants described in Tov, *TCHB*, 240–62. Also of import to this discussion is a similar list in Teeter's study, David Andrew Teeter, *Scribal Laws: Exegetical Variation in the Textual Transmission of Biblical Law in the Late Second Temple Period* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), esp. 34-172.

can be attributed to the translator, Srenock argues that the default assumption should be that an isomorphic translation represents a Hebrew *Vorlage*.¹⁷²

This is an important corrective given the current state of our knowledge about textual plurality and scribal habits. Nevertheless, this approach also raises some questions. In most situations, MT and translation technique based on MT are all that we have. Moreover, the key is in the identification of those translation patterns, the translation technique, and what is done with this information. To insist on a strict formal and semantic correspondence between the Greek text and a presumed Hebrew *Vorlage* without having completed a comprehensive characterization of the translation technique can lead to overstatements and mischaracterizations.¹⁷³

In his introduction to Deuteronomy in the LXX.H *Handbuch*, Peters argues extensively that the Greek ἐν κλήρω, four instances of which correspond to MT's infinitive construction לרשתה, must correspond to a noun such as ירשה/נחלה instead.¹⁷⁴ These represent four out of 15 similar formulaic phrases that he identifies in the book, while the remaining occurrences are translated using a Greek infinitive.¹⁷⁵ He postulates that this variation is either stylistically motivated, or else represents a different Hebrew *Vorlage*. Peters clearly takes the latter position, although he goes on to suggest that the translator perhaps misread the Hebrew text

¹⁷² "If it is *possible* to see the OG as having translated the MT but not *probable* based on translation patterns, there is no reason to align the OG's *Vorlage* to MT." Srenock, "A New Approach to Using the Old Greek in Hebrew Bible Textual Criticism," 237–38, 241. (Emphasis original) The concern in Srenock's article is the use of retroversions to provide data for Hebrew Bible textual criticism. While this is not the goal of this project, the procedures for both are the same, since identifying the translator's work is the counterpart of identifying his *Vorlage*.

¹⁷³ See the comments to this effect in Sollamo, "The Study of Translation Technique," 149; Lemmelijn, "Two Methodological Trails in Recent Studies on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint," 62–63.

¹⁷⁴ Peters, "Deuteronomion / Deuteronomium / Das fünfte Buch Mose," 166–67.

¹⁷⁵ Though Peters mentions 15 instances, the variety of similar formulations where this infinitive construct is found makes it difficult to determine what the total actual is. A Logos search of the verb ירש in the infinitive construct produces 35 instances in Deuteronomy, all of which except the four listed by Peters are translated using an infinitive. Nearly all of them are part of stock phrases and follow אדמה or ארץ.

for a noun.¹⁷⁶ His insistence on identifying a variant Hebrew *Vorlage* overlooks two important points. 1) This is not the only instance of infinitive verbs translated as nouns in Greek Deuteronomy. They are not many, but they are nevertheless present.¹⁷⁷ 2) In at least one instance (19:14), the ἐν κλήρῳ listed by Peters is apparently taken from the Rahlfs text, whereas Wevers – relying on Old Latin 100 and papyrus 848, adopts the infinitive κληρονομήσαι instead.¹⁷⁸

Two additional observations can be made: First, the translator’s general mode of operation should not be used to constrain him to an ideal that he does not keep. While tendencies can and should be observed, each case should be examined in light of similar situations (in this case, similar examples of syntactic variation, other vocabulary). Secondly, in the context of these oft repeated formulaic phrases, Wevers himself concluded that the choice of the critical text is often quite uncertain, as both Hebrew and Greek scribes tended to harmonize with parallel passages.¹⁷⁹ The context in which these words/phrases occur is therefore very important in terms of the conclusions that should or should not be inferred.

Screnock’s approach is more nuanced. He argues that text critics should rely on the isomorphic character of the translation to reconstruct as much of the Hebrew *Vorlage* as

¹⁷⁶ Peters, “Deuteronomion / Deuteronomium / Das fünfte Buch Mose,” 167. But see Tov’s brief comments on this variant in Tov, “Textual Harmonizations in the Ancient Texts of Deuteronomy,” 27, note 22.

¹⁷⁷ In 1:44, 2:32, 3:1, and 29:6, לְקַרְאֲתֶכֶם is translated as εἰς συνάντησιν ὑμῶν, a trend initiated in Genesis. In 16:3, מֵאֲרֶץ צִדְדִּים is translated by τῇν ἡμέραν τῆς ἐξοδίας ὑμῶν ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου. In 20:19, the two infinitives לְהַלְחֵם עִלְיָהּ and לְתַפְשָׁהּ are translated ἐκπολεμῆσαι αὐτήν εἰς κατάληψιν αὐτῆς. The לָמוּת in 31:14 is more ambiguous and could have been read as a noun: קָרְבוֹ יָמֶיךָ לָמוּת is translated ἡγγίκασιν αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ θανάτου σου.

¹⁷⁸ It is also noteworthy that the Hebrew pronominal suffix is often left untranslated. See Wevers, *THGD*, 120–21. On pronouns, see particularly the study in Joseph Ziegler, “Zur Septuaginta-Vorlage im Deuteronomium,” *ZAW* 72.3 (1960): 237–262, and esp. 239.

¹⁷⁹ Wevers, *THGD*, 86. Aejmelaeus comments similarly (with examples) in Aejmelaeus, “Die Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums,” 176–77. Note, however, that in another article, Wevers states that on the whole, such formulaic phrases in OG Deuteronomy can be used to reconstruct the *Vorlage*. John W. Wevers, “The Use of Versions for Text Criticism: The Septuagint,” in *La Septuaginta en la investigacion contemporanea (V Congreso de la IOSCS)*, ed. Natalio Fernández Marcos, Textos y estudios “Cardenal Cisneros” 34 (Madrid: Instituto “Arias Montano,” 1985), 22.

possible, but only when the translation-technical data is conclusive enough to identify Hebrew matches with confidence. One should allow for differences between the source and target language, the general character of the translation, typical vocabulary and grammatical equivalencies throughout the corpus, as well as contextual and semantic factors informing specific instances.¹⁸⁰ In practice, this presupposes ample translation data, and familiarity with patterns that could be unique to a particular translation.¹⁸¹ Nevertheless, he argues that when dealing with specific texts, a correspondence of over 80% between a Hebrew and Greek lexeme would provide sufficient warrant to retrovert that particular Greek term into Hebrew where the underlying MT presents a non-majority equivalent.¹⁸²

This approach seems problematic in that it allows translators the possibility of a low ratio of correspondence (or consistency) between specific Greek and Hebrew lexemes (say no lexeme accounting for more than 70% of the total number occurrences), or a full 100% stereotyped correspondence, but nothing in between.¹⁸³ Screnock is sensitive to contextual uses, but because of the desire to push the evidence as far as possible in favor of retroversion, much is made of the overall characteristic of the translation (its “literal” character or isomorphism).¹⁸⁴ This tends to mute other characteristics or techniques, especially in a book like Deuteronomy. To state the problem differently, identifying the translation patterns presumes that we posit some form of *Vorlage*. But if the *Vorlage* is expected to reflect strict

¹⁸⁰ See especially Screnock, “A New Approach to Using the Old Greek in Hebrew Bible Textual Criticism,” 248–50.

¹⁸¹ Screnock, “A New Approach to Using the Old Greek in Hebrew Bible Textual Criticism,” 254–55.

¹⁸² Screnock, “A New Approach to Using the Old Greek in Hebrew Bible Textual Criticism,” 252. Screnock would add a few more qualifiers. If the retroversion produces ungrammatical Hebrew, or if the Greek reading is a better fit a Hellenistic or Egyptian context, to exclude these are originating from the *Vorlage*. Screnock, “A New Approach to Using the Old Greek in Hebrew Bible Textual Criticism,” 254–55.

¹⁸³ This is especially concerning in that both Sollamo’s and Aejmelaus’ studies of various syntactic phenomena show that Deuteronomy matches καὶ τοῦ in 84% of cases and repeats the genitive personal possessive pronouns on the second noun of a construction in 76% of cases. See Sollamo, “The Study of Translation Technique,” 148–49.

¹⁸⁴ See Screnock, *Traductor Scriptor*, 41, 45.

isomorphism (both quantitatively and lexically), then our findings only confirm the initial assumption and this assumption can never be questioned. It will always favor retroversion – the *Vorlage* – not the translator. This bias is in essence the reverse problem that Peters identified in those who started their research with the assumption that there was theological exegesis in the translation, and therefore found it.¹⁸⁵ All research involving translation technique implies circular argumentation, but the circle should not be so constrained.

Another example that Peters discusses extensively is that of צור (“rock”) in Deut 32. Using the approach just described, we would tend to conclude that θεός (“god”) represents an underlying *Vorlage* of אלהים (“god”), or perhaps אל. After all, θεός renders אלהים over 300 times in the book, while we find θεός matched to MT’s צור in only six instances. There are no obvious contextual hints in those six instances that would indicate that the underlying *Vorlage* should be צור and not אלהים.¹⁸⁶

But even if we grant that θεός here points to a *Vorlage* that contained אלהים, this does not mean that אלהים was the more original reading. Peters seems to be conflating the two issues, which makes his argument less compelling. If a scribe responsible for the current shape of MT inserted צור because he wanted to avoid using the divine name (אל / אלהים), as Peters argues¹⁸⁷, why are there still instances of אל/אלוה/אלהים in chapter 32 (vv. 3, 8, 15, 37)?

¹⁸⁵ But the reverse equation is equally problematic, and perhaps even more difficult to disprove. In both cases, we are faced with the chicken and egg problem. Translation technical data is needed to ascertain whether changes are to be attributed to the translator or his *Vorlage*. But these data are based on the OG’s *Vorlage*, which we cannot properly identify unless we have studied translation technique.

¹⁸⁶ It could be argued, as Rösel and Rose do, that the rock metaphor is central to the theme of the song. However, it seems to me that there is nothing that requires צור over אלהים in the specific contexts where these words are found.

¹⁸⁷ According to Peters, it would not make sense to replace צור with אלהים since using divine names was falling out of practice in late Second Temple times. Peters, “Revisiting the Rock: Tsur as a Translation of Elohim in Deuteronomy and Beyond,” 42; Peters, “Deuteronomion / Deuteronomium / Das fünfte Buch Mose,” 169–70. However there are numerous Greek and Hebrew compositions in that period that use either יהוה/κύριος or the more generic אל/אלהים/θεός.

That צור is probably original is also indirectly confirmed by the number of personal names that combine צור with אלהים or another divine attribute. See for example צורישדי, אליצור, פדהצור, and צוריאל, all found in the book of Numbers and transliterated into Greek. This would speak strongly against the direction of change from אלהים to צור, as Peters forcefully argues.¹⁸⁸ The majority of critics have focused on this point, but do not demonstrate how θεός was introduced by the translator and not his *Vorlage*.¹⁸⁹ A revised version of Peters's argument could be that a Hebrew scribe changed צור to אלהים for similar reasons.

To counter such an argument, one must be willing to consider other factors. In the first place, it seems significant that six of the nine instances of צור in MT of the book are matched to θεός. Two describe proper rocks and are translated using πέτρος, while one has no correspondence in MT. Looking at the data this way places the issue in a different light as θεός would translate צור more often than not. One might also point to the well-documented propensity throughout the Greek Pentateuch to avoid concrete portrayals of God as well as the difficulties in translating some metaphors.¹⁹⁰ Even though such tendencies were not unique to the Septuagint, and in some cases (see 31:11) perhaps already present in the Hebrew reading tradition, it would be difficult to posit that all manifestations of this tendency, worked out via different strategies (reading a different vocalization, explaining metaphors, and reacting to a

¹⁸⁸ Num 1:5, 6, 10, and 3:5. See S. R Driver, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1902), 350.

¹⁸⁹ For example, the discussion in Olofsson, while helpful in describing how the translator may have misunderstood the irony of the passage, does not discuss why this change has to happen at the level of translation and not of Hebrew scribal activity. See Staffan Olofsson, *God Is My Rock: A Study of Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis in the Septuagint* (Stockholm: Coronet, 1990), 39–41.

¹⁹⁰ See here the comments in Aejmelaeus, “Von Sprache zur Theologie: Methodologische Überlegungen zur Theologie der Septuaginta,” 277–282. See also Martin Rösel, “Vorlage oder Interpretation? Zur Übersetzung von Gottesaussagen in der Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums,” in *Ein Freund des Wortes: Festschrift Udo Rütterswörden*, ed. Sebastian Gratz, A. Graupner, and J. Lanckau (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019), 261.

range of vocabulary) could be attributed solely the *Vorlage*.¹⁹¹ This provides one type of evidence for the plausibility of the translator's intervention here. Rösel argues via several examples taken from the area of semantic differentiation that careful distinctions are made throughout the book (and even in chapter 32) between proper and improper cultic practice.¹⁹² Many of these are well known and accepted, such as the different terms for altars (βωμός vs. θύσιαστήριον)¹⁹³, the designations of the God of Israel and other gods, him being invoked instead of making his name dwell, and so forth. That in this context the translator would be avoiding a divine epithet associated with concrete objects certainly seems plausible. Arguing along those lines might also require looking outside the current book, with appropriate precautions.¹⁹⁴

Out of the 20 instances of צוֹר as divine name in the book of Psalms, 13 of them are matched to θεός and seven to other terms. In six instances we find βοηθός or βοήθεια, and in another ἀντιλήπτωρ. In his comment on this pattern, Pietersma shows that these alternate Greek terms seem to have functioned as preference words in contexts where the default θεός would be more awkward, usually because it is collocated with another θεός / אֱלֹהִים.¹⁹⁵ By default, we find the following:

¹⁹¹ This is the line of argumentation taken by Rösel in his Rösel, "Vorlage oder Interpretation? Zur Übersetzung von Gottesaussagen in der Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums," 260–62.

¹⁹² Various examples are provided in Rösel, "Vorlage oder Interpretation? Zur Übersetzung von Gottesaussagen in der Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums," 254–60. Not all of these are equally convincing, but the majority enjoy considerable support among text-critics.

¹⁹³ Suzanne Daniel, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire du culte dans la Septante* (Paris: Klincksiek, 1966), 15–32.

¹⁹⁴ Compare here the comments by Wagner: "The sense that the Greek text offers a 'simple' representation of the Hebrew parent must ultimately be based on extensive observation of the ways identical (or closely similar) constructions are brought into Greek elsewhere, both by the OG translator of Isaiah and by other translators within the Septuagint corpus." See Wagner, *Reading the Sealed Book*, 48. It must be noted however that in many cases, similar differences can also be attributed to the *Vorlage*. See the discussion on a specific anti-anthropomorphism that may have been introduced in MT instead in Laberge, "Le texte de Deutéronome 31 (Dt 31,1-29; 32,44-47)."

¹⁹⁵ See Albert Pietersma, "To You I Cried: Psalm 27 in Greek," forthcoming, 7–8, https://www.academia.edu/32618671/To_You_I_Cried_Psalm_27_in_Greek. This is similar to the observations made by Olofsson in Olofsson, *God Is My Rock*, 39. In the context of 48:15 and 88:4, the situation is a bit different, but there also, θεός would have been infelicitous. Pietersma discusses how these 13 instances of θεός

MT Ps 18:47	OG Ps 17:47 (Rahlfs)
חַי־הוּהוּ וּבִרְוַךְ צוּרִי וִירוֹם אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׁעִי	ζῆ κύριος, καὶ εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς μου, καὶ ὑψωθήτω ὁ θεὸς τῆς σωτηρίας μου,

But in circumstances where אֱלֹהִים/אל is in the immediate vicinity, such as earlier in the same chapter (v. 3a), we find βοηθός:

MT Ps 18:3a	OG Ps 17:3a (Rahlfs)
יְהוָה סֹלֵעִי וּמַצֹּדֵתִי וּמַפְלִטִי אֵלִי צוּרִי אַחֲסֵה-בּוֹ	κύριος στερέωμά μου καὶ καταφυγή μου καὶ ῥύστης μου, ὁ θεὸς μου βοηθός μου, καὶ ἐλπιῶ ἐπ' αὐτόν,

In the context of 17:3a (18:3a^{MT}), having ὁ θεὸς μου βοηθός μου would presumably have appeared more coherent than ὁ θεὸς μου θεός μου.¹⁹⁶ Note also how in 88:27, under this assumption, the presence of אֵל /θεός nearby triggers a rendering other than θεός, this time using ἀντιλήμπτωρ, a term that is recurring in this song:

MT Ps 89:27	OG Ps 88:27 (Rahlfs)
הוּא יִקְרָאנִי אֲבִי אַתָּה אֵלִי וְצוּר יִשׁוּעָתִי	αὐτὸς ἐπικαλέσεται με Πατήρ μου εἴ σύ, θεός μου καὶ ἀντιλήμπτωρ τῆς σωτηρίας μου.

should, according to Peters' logic represent 3 different Hebrew terms, where MT now has a single one, צוּר. Why replace all these terms with צוּר, while the reverse at least shows some commonality? The same is true of the five instances in 1-2 Reigns. The simpler explanation in this case is to posit that this comes from the translator.

¹⁹⁶ Note how in Ps 21:1^{LXX} (22:1^{MT}), the expression אֵלִי אֵלִי is translated by Ὁ θεὸς ὁ θεός μου, a configuration quite different from what we find in Ps 17:3. As referred to by Petersma (see above note) on Ps 17:3, Flaschar noted that the use of this technique to avoid repetition is common of passages where we find word pairs that have the same referent. See Martin Flaschar, "Exegetische Studien zum Septuagintapsalter," *ZAW* 32 (1912): 103.

Peters argues that in these seven instances, the translation's *Vorlage* did contain צור, but that the metaphor was translated as an abstract quality.¹⁹⁷ One should note, however, that outside of these contexts, the usual Hebrew lexemes corresponding to these Greek terms are עזר or עזרא. Only here do they render צור. If Peters was consistently applying his methodology, he should posit a *Vorlage* of עזר or עזרא for these instances, but that would make it more difficult to explain a switch to or from צור in these few instances. The same could be said of סלע in 17:3 which was also translated using an abstract characteristic – στερέωμά. His theory creates more problems than it solves, while Pietersma's explanation represents the simpler solution. Such a solution also accounts very well for the phenomena observed in Deut 32:37, where צור does not appear to have been rendered into Greek:

MT	OG (Wevers)
ואמר אי אלהימו צור חסיו בו	καὶ εἶπεν κύριος Ποῦ εἰσιν οἱ θεοὶ αὐτῶν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐπεποίθειςαν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς,

Here צור follows immediately after אלהימו. As in Psalms, its translation as θεός would have resulted in the output of two θεός side-by-side, a construction that would have been difficult to understand: οἱ θεοὶ αὐτῶν, ὁ θεός.... The relative clause represented in Greek does not replace צור, but most likely corresponds to a אשר present in the *Vorlage* immediately following צור, as 4QDeut^a attests. Thus, the close proximity of another θεός, along with the difficulty of having both a plural and singular term designating the same foreign divinities would have led to the omission of צור in translation.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁷ Peters, "Revisiting the Rock: Tsur as a Translation of Elohim in Deuteronomy and Beyond," 48–49.

¹⁹⁸ See the similar line of argumentation in Johan Lust, "The Raised Hand of the Lord in Deut 32:40 According to MT, 4QDeut^a, and LXX," *Textus* 18 (1995): 36–37. Lust cites Olofsson, who argues that in this case, both the presence of the usual equivalent (θεός) and a concern for theological consistency would have led to the omission. Cf. Olofsson, *God Is My Rock*, 39.

Pietersma notes that depriving divine epithets of their concrete meaning is a common feature of the Greek Psalms, so that this rendering of צור as θεός, and secondarily as βοηθός or βοηθία fits the translator’s preferences, when considered globally. Of course, one can still argue that these Greek renderings represent the usual Hebrew matches: אלהים, עזר, etc. but this is more difficult to accept when several terms form a pattern across books. Metaphors are particularly prone to this type of treatment when they are transferred from one linguistic realm to another, which would suggest that this is a translational issue, and not the work of a Hebrew scribe.

The challenge in OG Deuteronomy is that we do not have many of these divine epithets, so that the treatment of צור is rather isolated. But if the translator of Psalms performed such a transformation at the level of the Greek text, we have good grounds to argue for the probability that it was the case in Deuteronomy as well.¹⁹⁹

2.3.3. A Way Forward

The approach represented by Peters not only reverses the burden of proof, but the way we conceive of the scribe and the translator. In Wevers’s way of operating, the scribe is implicitly conceived as strict, reliable, and generally competent in his work, while the translator has more freedom to introduce changes, nuances, and in some cases less of a

¹⁹⁹ Peters is perhaps correct to object to facile theologizing – in fact no one knows for sure why צור appeared to be problematic not only to the Septuagint translators, but to later ones as well. Various possibilities are mentioned in Aejmelaeus, “Von Sprache zur Theologie: Methodologische Überlegungen zur Theologie der Septuaginta,” 277-279. A religious taboo is cited as a motivation in Jobes and Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint*, 101. Seeligman had suggested that it was an effort to avoid “the semblance of approval of the worshipping of stone images.” See Isaac Leo Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of Its Problems* (Leiden: Brill, 1948), 100. Of course, the reference remains Olofsson, *God Is My Rock*, esp. 138-147. A more balanced approach requires taking additional translation technical data into account. As Rösel states, such problems should not be examined in isolation, but also in the broader context of the book and potential patterns of deviations from expected lexical matches. Rösel, “Vorlage oder Interpretation? Zur Übersetzung von Gottesaussagen in der Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums,” 253–54.

mastery of Hebrew.²⁰⁰ Screnock argues that both translators and scribes performed similar changes to texts, and both had similar limitations.²⁰¹ But in practice, the default of considering variants as issuing from the *Vorlage* effectively reverses this equation. This is also Peters's argument: If a translator works so faithfully within the constraints of isomorphism, why would he ever deviate from it. Translators were strictly translators.²⁰² In this view, it is the translator who is most reliable, and the Hebrew scribe who is prone to introducing variants. Such an understanding may explain why Peters speaks of the scribe responsible for inserting צור as "forgetting," "presuming," and "not taking into account contextual or grammatical concerns," or "being insensitive to Hebrew syntax," and "producing clumsy work."²⁰³

The fundamental issue with this approach is that, as Aejmelaeus observed in her study of OG Deuteronomy, strict isomorphism, that is, quantitative and consistency in lexical matches is too general to characterize the translation.²⁰⁴ Within these general constraints, the translator shows considerable latitude in his choice of vocabulary, paying attention to context, and in some cases avoiding objectionable formulations.²⁰⁵ Other instances have no particular

²⁰⁰ Tov also comments on this tendency, which can sometimes be misleading as scribes also had limitations. See Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, 183.

²⁰¹ Screnock, "A New Approach to Using the Old Greek in Hebrew Bible Textual Criticism," 237–38.

²⁰² See his comments and reference cited above. As with everything else, a good measure of nuance and context is necessary. Peters quotes Aejmelaeus stating that the burden of proof is on those that would attribute deliberate changes, harmonizations, completion of details, and new accents to the translators (see Aejmelaeus, "What Can We Know about the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint?" 85.). However, Aejmelaeus can also be found stating concerning Deuteronomy that the translator sometimes worked as a scribe in his reliance on LXX Exodus for some renderings (Aejmelaeus, "Die Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums," 161–62.). In other words, general principles must be adapted to the particulars of each book.

²⁰³ Peters, "Revisiting the Rock: Tsur as a Translation of Elohim in Deuteronomy and Beyond," 45–46. Granted, Screnock is much more nuanced in his formulations, and agrees with much of what is argued here (personal communication). Nevertheless, my sense is that he runs the same dangers though he may avoid them more often than not.

²⁰⁴ In fact, there is no direct correlation between quantitative fidelity and stereotyping. Compare the similar comments in Aejmelaeus, "What We Talk about when We Talk about Translation Technique," 213.

²⁰⁵ See her comments in chapter 1, section 1.4.2. See also Barr, *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations*, 306–7. Note, however, that Peters makes a similar observation concerning the variety of lexical equivalents for a single Hebrew term: "Diese zehn Vorkommen derselben Verbalwurzel mit vier unterschiedlichen griechischen Äquivalenten, die jeweils eine große Sensibilität sowohl gegenüber der hebräischen Bedeutung des Verbes haben, als auch mit einiger Freiheit seinen Sinn interpretieren, eröffnen einen ersten Zugang zu der Methode des Übersetzers. Er geht nicht sklavisch Wort für Wort vor, ist aber auch nicht

motivation that we can determine, but these non-stereotypical renderings are frequent and very important to the study of the translation process. A proper approach to this text, therefore, requires one to take into account – at least as a working hypothesis – both the strict correspondence between the translation and its source text at the quantitative level and the great variation in the matching of specific Hebrew and Greek terms.

Thus, one should build on these general observations about the translation process by inventorying the various types of differences observed (from quantitative and qualitative differences, semantic leveling, semantic differentiation, influence of parallel passages, adaptations to idiomatic Greek, double translation and so forth) starting with the most secure characteristics and building from there.²⁰⁶ It would be unhelpful to eliminate upfront any characteristics that are deemed possible, even theological or stylistic renderings.²⁰⁷ Certain preferences can only be established by observing patterns, taking into account the translation's

radikal in seinem Übersetzungsansatz." See Peters, "Deuteronomion / Deuteronomium / Das fünfte Buch Mose," 165.

²⁰⁶ See Sollamo's methodological remarks in Sollamo, "The Study of Translation Technique," 149. Wevers's own description of such phenomena is as good a starting point as any, provided the considerations described here are taken into account. These are scattered through his Wevers, "The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy." Other scholars have also attempted the description of such categories, such as in Mirjam van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah: An Analysis of Its Pluses and Minuses*, SCS 61 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2014).

²⁰⁷ For a proper evaluation of translational elements such as theological renderings, Aejmelaeus argues that "the theology of a translator can only be studied in relation to his mode of translation, as revealed in his language usage." Nevertheless, this element has to be considered as part of the description of strategies and language use. See Aejmelaeus, "What We Talk about when We Talk about Translation Technique," 218–22, here 218. As with the reconstruction of variants, these can be attributed varying levels of probability. They can be ordered by their frequency, and also by the context in which they are triggered (if any).

overall character.²⁰⁸ Building block-by-block allows one to identify other areas where variants may be attributed to the translator and not his *Vorlage*.²⁰⁹

In a similar way, it is very difficult to formulate guidelines, other than the now generally agreed that most (but perhaps not all) large-scale differences in OG Deuteronomy are attributable to the underlying *Vorlage*.²¹⁰ This is probably true of many small-scale differences as well, but each situation requires analysis on its own. The oft-repeated formulaic phrases represent a special case, as their frequent harmonizing at all levels of textual transmission make any conclusions about them tentative at best. Nevertheless, one will often find the Greek text and SamPent sharing expansionistic and assimilating tendencies. Since these two textual families (SamPent and OG Deuteronomy's *Vorlage*) presumably share a common ancestor, such variants will in many cases be attributed to the translator's source text.²¹¹

²⁰⁸ Rösel states: "Durch diese kumulative Evidenz lässt sich zumindest wahrscheinlich machen, dass der Übersetzer einem bestimmten 'pattern' folgt, das wiederum den Rückschluss auf theologische Prägungen zulässt." Rösel, "Vorlage oder Interpretation? Zur Übersetzung von Gottesaussagen in der Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums," 253. But as Joosten remarks, it is also important to note where and when such patterns are not followed. See Jan Joosten, "Divine Omniscience and the Theology of the Septuagint," in *Collected Studies on the Septuagint: From Language to Interpretation and Beyond*, FAT 83 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 177–78. Some of these patterns may be shared, but others are unique to a particular translation. Joosten argues that investigating a pattern that spans many books, such as the theme of divine omniscience, is an approach that allows one to circumvent many pitfalls related to textual or linguistic factors. See Joosten, "Divine Omniscience and the Theology of the Septuagint," 172.

²⁰⁹ Rösel speaks of identifying areas of *Systembildung*, when patterns with perceived motivations can be identified. See Rösel, "Vorlage oder Interpretation? Zur Übersetzung von Gottesaussagen in der Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums," 251. But as Deut 31:11 reminds us, each instance must be analyzed on its own also since scribes working in Hebrew might be responsible for it. This is also Aejmelaeus's recommendation, in Aejmelaeus, "Die Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums," 173. She speaks of accepting a variant as coming from the translator when it is in harmony with the range of translation practices observed in the book. She lists examples of what appears to be both translator and *Vorlage* induced variants in 173–177.

²¹⁰ See for example the similar conclusion in Aejmelaeus, "Die Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums," 173. Though her concern is different in that it seeks to establish the preferred Hebrew reading, White Crawford lays out a helpful set of principles that defines the relationship between the various Hebrew witnesses of Deuteronomy in Sidnie Ann White Crawford, "Deuteronomy as a Test Case for an Eclectic Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible," in *The Text of the Hebrew Bible and Its Editions: Studies in Celebration of the Fifth Centennial of the Complutensian Polyglot*, ed. Andrés Piquer Otero and Pablo Torrijano Morales, Supplements to the Textual History of the Bible 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 326.

²¹¹ To be clear, OG (LXX), SamPent, and MT share a common ancestor, but the first two derive from a common source that underwent further editing: "LXX shares with SP a first stage editing process that produced a harmonized, expanded Hebrew text." See White Crawford, "Deuteronomy as a Test Case for an Eclectic Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible," 326. A more detailed discussion is found in Emanuel Tov, "The Development of

In the end, doing justice to both the *Vorlage* and the translator of this book requires a flexible approach that takes into account the various parts and characteristics of the translation. It must be sufficiently nuanced to avoid rushing to conclusions regarding the origin of variants. While such a conclusion may appear tentative, it seems the most secure starting point for our inquiry.

2.4. STRUCTURE OF THIS STUDY

In order to paint a picture of OG Deuteronomy that does justice to its diverse contents, three sections from different parts of the book have been selected for analysis. These three sections of varying literary genres will be studied and compared. They have been chosen for their different literary profile (paraenetic, legal, poetic). A diversity of textual units also allows for comparative study and provides methodological control in order to avoid misrepresenting the translation as a whole. Furthermore, differences in the linguistic make-up of these textual units may point towards different sets of norms, which may raise interesting questions.²¹² Since we will be analyzing the translation's character at the level of textual units, these sections have been delimited where text-linguistic discourse markers are found (where possible). In the paraenetic section of Deuteronomy, we will be examining 6:13-25. The text examined in the law code section of the book will be 25:1-12, while 32:1-9 has been selected as representative of the poetic material.

For each section of text, we will approximate the translation's starting point by consulting MT, while drawing on the extant manuscripts of the Hebrew text of Deuteronomy

the Text of the Torah in Two Major Text Blocks," *Textus* 26 (2016): 1–27. On the topic of shared harmonizations, see Tov, "Textual Harmonizations in the Ancient Texts of Deuteronomy," 26–28.

²¹² De Crom, *LXX Song of Songs and Descriptive Translation Studies*, 241.

when available. The text will be examined verse-by-verse, with attention given to linguistic, text-linguistic, and literary features. This being a study on the text-as-produced, it will not follow the format of a commentary on the text in its own right, but focus on items that are relevant to a translation, such as translation strategies (translation technique), text-critical matters²¹³, the semantics of particular renderings, and the translational norms that underlie them.²¹⁴ While the commentary cannot be exhaustive, it will endeavor to examine various features of the Greek text in relation to linguistic conventions of contemporary Greek. In a subsequent chapter, we will investigate in more detail some of the renderings relating to specific topics. Of interest are terms pertaining to the themes of justice/mercy, piety/impiety, and his care for Israel, which seem emphasized by the translator. We will examine how these can potentially be the subject of historical exegesis in the context of the character of OG Deuteronomy as a translation, that is, in light of the hermeneutics developed through the examination of the translational strategies and norms that define the translation.

²¹³ In particular those relating to the Greek text insofar as our analysis may at times suggest a deviation from Wevers's critical text.

²¹⁴ Pietersma, "The Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint: Basic Principles," 7.

CHAPTER 3: DEUTERONOMY 6:13-25

Deuteronomy 6:13-25 contains a set of instructions that follows the *Shema* (6:4-9) and a warning not to forget YHWH after entering the land and enjoying its fruits (6:10-12). The text calls for exclusive allegiance to YHWH. Only obedience can ensure the possession of the Promised Land, a refrain often repeated throughout the book. When a child asks its father about the commandments, he is to respond by outlining the history of Israel's astonishing deliverance from bondage and YHWH's ensuing demand to serve him so that life and mercy can be secured. For each verse, the unvocalized Hebrew text from MT will be juxtaposed with the Greek text of Wevers's critical edition and that of the New English Translation of the Septuagint (NETS).

3.1. OUTLINE

This text can be divided into two parts. The first is the exhortation, which is followed by the son's question about the significance of these laws and the father's answer:

- 13-19: The exhortation to exclusive worship and submission.
 - 13-15: Exclusive worship required.
 - 16-19: Do not test YHWH but obey him so that you can enter the land.
- 20-25: A small "catechism" structured around an imagined question.
 - 20: Question: "Why these laws?"
 - 21-25: Answer:
 - 21: We were slaves rescued by YHWH.
 - 22-23: He performed wonders and brought us to the Promised Land.
 - 24-25: He commanded us to keep these laws for our good.

3.2. COMMENTARY

6:13

את יהוה אלהיך תירא ואתו תעבד ובשמו תשבֹּעַ

κύριον τὸν θεόν σου φοβηθήσῃ καὶ αὐτῷ λατρεύσεις καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν κολληθήσῃ καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ὀμῇ.

The Lord your God you shall fear, and him you shall serve, and to him you shall cling, and by his name you shall swear.

κύριον τὸν θεόν σου φοβηθήσῃ καὶ αὐτῷ λατρεύσεις. The word order of the Hebrew text is closely followed in this verse and throughout this passage as a whole, which here implies fronting the verbal objects.¹ The pairing of Hebrew *yiqtol* (and *weqatal*) to Greek future forms is observed throughout the imperative section of vv. 13-19. The use of the future indicative with an imperatival function is pervasive throughout the book and the Septuagint more generally. This translational strategy generally produces idiomatic Greek since both Hebrew and Greek forms can have a predictive or directive value.² The context of the preceding verb is an imperative and clearly represents a situation where “the speaker imposes an obligation on the addressee.”³

Of note is the quantitative addition of τὸν before θεόν on account of the following genitive pronoun. Otherwise, and with a few exceptions, the translator seems intent on

¹ The fronting of personal pronouns is perfectly conventional, probably denoting emphasis (as translated by NETS: “The Lord your God you shall fear”). However, αὐτῷ λατρεύσεις raises some questions: An anaphoric αὐτός in the initial slot of a clause “and not admitting of translation, ‘self’ is unknown to Dover’s work on the topic.” See Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek* (Leuven; Boston: Peeters, 2016) §76aa; K. J. Dover, *Greek Word Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), 12.

² However, as we will see in 25:3, the overuse of this strategy also leads to an overriding of the nuances of the Hebrew *yiqtol* and therefore an occasional shift in meaning.

³ More will be said on this topic in the next chapter which contains legal material. But as Voithila notes, “the directive meaning of the IND.FUT. is encouraged in legal contexts and in contexts in which other directive verb forms appear. These uses of IND. FUT. also appear in nontranslated Greek texts.” See Anssi Voithila, “The Future Indicative as Imperative in the Septuagint,” in *XVI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Stellenbosch, 2016*, ed. Gideon R. Kotzé, Wolfgang Kraus, and Michaël N. van der Meer, SCS 71 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2019), 242–43.

representing all elements of the source text without any additions. The translation of ירא by the passive of φοβέω + accusative corresponds to the sense of being in awe of or dreading someone.⁴ This lexical match is consistent throughout OG Deuteronomy.⁵ The Hebrew עבד is rendered using the Greek λατρεύω. Both terms have a broad semantic range which includes service to a deity. Despite this wide range of meaning, Wevers observes that λατρεύω is almost exclusively employed in the Septuagintal corpus in contexts implying the cultic worship of a deity.⁶ The same is true in Deuteronomy, where the 25 instances of the verb λατρεύω translate the Hebrew עבד in the context of worship.⁷ עבד is more commonly rendered as δουλεύω in other contexts, while ἐργάζομαι is another recurring choice. In the context of 6:13, where fear of YHWH is enjoined, λατρεύω seems to be the appropriate equivalent in light of the translator's overall strategy.⁸

καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν κολληθήσῃ. This phrase is a plus in relation to MT and other ancient witnesses. The same Greek wording is found in 10:20, there corresponding to MT's ובו תדבק. As with many of these formulaic phrases, it is difficult to determine whether this plus is an accidental addition, the translator having the longer version in mind, an intentional effort to make the text more consistent, or whether it was simply present in his *Vorlage*. It is worth noting that we have here the earlier instance of this chain of imperatives, which is shorter in its MT form and longer in the Greek text. Assuming that the translator worked from beginning to end, this

⁴ See for example, Plato, *Leg.* 927b.

⁵ The 31 instances of the Hebrew finite verb are translated by φοβέω. There are six instances of the participial forms of the same root employed adjectivally and translated by a variety of Greek equivalents.

⁶ Wevers, *NGTD*, 119.

⁷ The sole exception is found in 28:48. In this case, there is a wordplay involving the previous verse, which the translator may be attempting to reproduce into Greek: Since you have not עבד/λατρεύω YHWH (v. 47), you will עבד/λατρεύω your enemies (v. 48).

⁸ Wevers notes that Codex A has προσκυνῃς here, which is explained by the influence of the New Testament quotation of this verse, since both Matt 4:10 and Luke 4:8 employ προσκυνῃς instead of λατρεύω. To this is added μονῶ after αὐτῷ, which has no basis in MT and also appears to be a variant of the same nature. Cf. Den Hertog, Labahn, and Pola, "Deuteronomion," 551.

would rule out the possibility that 1) he repeated a phrase which he had translated earlier, and 2) that he simply had these phrases in his head and got confused, inserting the additional phrase here. Of course, he might know this book in its Hebrew form quite well and want to add consistency to the text in translation.⁹ It is very difficult to adjudicate such cases, but given the translator's usual strategy of proceeding word-for-word, it appears more likely that his source text contained a non-extant Hebrew variant.¹⁰

The use of the verb *κολλάω* is quite conventional. As Dogniez and Harl observe, its metaphorical usage ("to attach oneself to someone") is attested in classical Greek.¹¹ In contrast with the compound *προσκολλάω* in 28:21, which implies that the attaching is forced by someone, the simple form suggests voluntary association.¹² The use of the passive form of the verb in combination with the preposition *πρός* identifies the object of attachment: "You will be bound to him."¹³

τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ὁμῶ. Wevers further notes that the dative accompanying the verb *ὁμῶμι* corresponds to postclassical usage, since classical usage favored the accusative to designate that by which the oath is made (See 32:40).¹⁴ Yet even in the contemporary papyri, one finds the accusative employed to identify the person invoked in the oath.¹⁵ The dative employed

⁹ In such cases, his motivation might have been that he thought his *Vorlage* should have included the missing phrase but did not, or simply an effort on his part to harmonize.

¹⁰ After all, v. 4 in this chapter includes a longer introduction (interpolated from 4:45) that is also found in the Nash Papyrus. This liturgical document shares several differences from MT with OG Deuteronomy, but none in the passage under examination. It does raise the possibility, however, that the translator might have been working from a Hebrew text which contained readings not attested elsewhere among extant manuscripts.

¹¹ Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronomie*, 156.

¹² Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronomie*, 288. Muraoka suggests the same distinction, with the passive of *προσκολλάω* in Gen 2:24 implying that the translation understood an outside party (parents) being involved in the making of the union. In contrast, the Israelites would be taught voluntary loyalty. See Muraoka, *Syntax* §27db.

¹³ See *LSJ*, s.v. "*κολλάω*". See also Wevers, *NGTD*, 120.

¹⁴ Wevers, *THGD*, 137.

¹⁵ See *MM*, s.v. "*ὁμῶμι, ὁμῶ*". See also *LSJ*, s.v. "*ὁμῶμι*", which provides examples from the classical period where the dative identifies that sworn by, as is the case here.

here is probably one of means: Oaths are to be made by means of the Lord's name.¹⁶ This usage is perfectly conventional (as is the use of other prepositions such as *κατά* in the Greek Pentateuch) and in this case reflects the probable meaning of the Hebrew preposition **ב**.¹⁷ Here the Greek article *τῷ* stands in the slot of the Hebrew preposition but is usually present in such circumstances when the accompanying noun is followed by a genitive pronoun of possession.

6:14

לֹא תִלְכּוּ אַחֲרֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים מֵאֱלֹהֵי הָעַמִּים אֲשֶׁר סְבִיבוֹתֵיכֶם

οὐ πορεύσεσθε ὀπίσω θεῶν ἐτέρων ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν περικύκλῳ ὑμῶν,

Do not go after other gods from the gods of the nations around you,

πορεύσεσθε ὀπίσω. This collocation is not unique in the book of Deuteronomy, where it is found in 7 instances.¹⁸ In all cases, the contextual meaning is to serve a deity, usually by abandoning YHWH. Such a construction is also found in Herodotus, *Hist.* 1.209.5, but with the meaning of returning, that is, going back somewhere (in this case, ἐς Πέρσας).¹⁹ This corresponds to the adverbial use of ὀπίσω, which typically has the sense of “backwards.” But in this case, the accompanying genitive confirms that it is employed as a preposition, “behind/after” someone or something.²⁰ So, while it appears possible for πορεύσεσθε ὀπίσω to be understood as

¹⁶ Compare the similar Hebrew construction and Greek translation in Lev 19:12. The dative is also frequently employed in the Greek Pentateuch to identify the party with which one takes an oath (ל in Hebrew) as in Deut 1:8. Slightly different is the translation of ב in this context when one swears by himself as in Exod 32:13. There one finds *κατὰ σεαυτοῦ*.

¹⁷ See the study by Lee in Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 154–59, esp. in the case of oaths, p. 158.

¹⁸ See Thackeray's comments, which categorizes this use of ὀπίσω as a probable Hebraism in Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint*, 46–47.

¹⁹ This combination is found once in the New Testament, where in Luke 21:8, it is said to not “go after” those who falsely claim to be coming in Jesus' name. This could represent an imitation of Septuagintal style. See also Matt 4:19 which has “δεῦτε ὀπίσω μου.”

²⁰ See Muraoka, *Syntax* §26e. Cf. Mayser II 2.533. In Chionis, *Epistulae* 4.3 [4th century BCE?], the term is employed as a preposition with the sense of (hiding) behind: “Ἡρακλείδης δὲ καὶ Ἀγάθων λίθους ἔχοντες ὀπίσω ἡμῶν ἐκρύπτοντο. (TLG)”

physically going after someone, its metaphorical usage denoting service to a deity is not a conventional Greek construction outside of the Septuagint and is most likely a case of positive transfer. This would be a result of the strategy that sees the verb הלך being consistently translated as πορεύομαι in Deuteronomy (53x).

ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν τῶν περικύκλῳ ὑμῶν. Here ἀπὸ can be understood in its partitive sense, which aligns with the meaning of the כן preposition. Thus, Wevers suggests translating this phrase as: “...any of the gods of the nations which surround you.”²¹

As with ὀπίσω discussed in the previous section, περικύκλῳ also represents an adverb employed prepositionally, a good match to the Hebrew סביב also employed in this way. A search of papyri and inscriptions does not yield any examples of the use of this adverb in contemporary texts, though κύκλῳ was later used in similar contexts.²² We may suppose that the compound περικύκλῳ also existed, though unattested, or that it was coined by the Pentateuch translators.²³ Despite the uneven and unconventional style produced by the insistence on reproducing the word order and all elements of the source text, the translation of the relative אשר by the repetition of the genitive article τῶν is astute. It is made possible here by the Hebrew relative pronoun introducing a prepositional phrase and not a full subordinate clause with finite verb.²⁴

²¹ Wevers, *NGTD*, 120. Yet, translating in this way does not account for the word אחר found in the source text. See also Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, “Die Wiedergabe des partitiven כן im griechischen Pentateuch,” in *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax*, ed. Anneli Aejmelæus and Raija Sollamo, AASF, Ser.B 237 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedakatemia, 1987), 169.

²² The adverb is found later in Plutarch, *Amat.* 755a, but could also be read as περὶ κύκλῳ. Cf. *MM*, s.v. “κύκλῳ”. P.Zen.Pestm.52 (= TM 1883 [3rd cent. BCE]) appears to be its earliest attested usage in the papyri and roughly contemporary with the translation of the Pentateuch.

²³ It is found in Exod 28:33, Deut 6:14, and 13:8.

²⁴ Of the over 500 instances of the Hebrew relative pronoun, only 40 or so are translated using an oblique case of the definite article, usually because it is followed by a participle or verbless clause. See 6:12 for an example.

6:15

כי אל קנא יהוה אלהיך בקרבך פן יחרה אף יהוה אלהיך בך והשמידך מעל פני האדמה

ὅτι θεὸς ζηλωτῆς κύριος ὁ θεός σου ἐν σοί, μὴ ὀργισθεῖς θυμῷ κύριος ὁ θεός σου ἐν σοὶ ἐξολεθρεύσῃ σε ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς.

Because the Lord your God, who is present with you, is a jealous god. Lest the Lord your God, being angered with wrath against you, destroy you utterly from the face of the earth.

ὅτι θεὸς ζηλωτῆς κύριος ὁ θεός σου. The absence of the copula reflects the Hebrew source text.

Such a feature is not unusual in Greek, despite often being the object of negative evaluations.²⁵

The use of ζηλωτῆς to describe God is a consistent match for קנא in the Greek Pentateuch.²⁶

Since קנא is usually understood as designating jealousy, the rendering of ζηλωτῆς (here in the probable sense of “zealous” or “earnestly committed”) appears erroneous.²⁷ Le Boulluec and Sandevor observe that the use of the term in classical and postclassical Greek usually designates a zealous adept or devoted admirer. This would be an instance of the Greek translators using the term in a different way by applying it to the God who doesn’t tolerate any rivals.²⁸ Under the assumption that Exodus was translated before Deuteronomy, the innovation would not be attributed to our translator. He was possibly influenced by the similar formulation found in Exod 20:5 and 34:14.

²⁵ See Smyth §944; Muraoka, *Syntax* §93d. Compare the similar situation in Gen 2:11-14, where rivers are named in a similar fashion, with no copula provided, also mirroring the Hebrew source text. Such verbless clauses in Greek are said to be “...not the most natural ones.” See van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 119.

²⁶ The Hebrew adjective קנא is found in Exod 20:5, 34:14 (2x), Deut 4:24, 5:9, 6:15. In all cases it is translated by ζηλωτῆς (5x) or ζηλωτός (1x).

²⁷ But see Alfred Jepsen, “Beiträge zur Auslegung und Geschichte des Dekalogs,” *ZAW* 79.3 (1967): 288. Jepsen argues that קנא ל' is the God striving for his goal. The Three use ισχυρός to translate ל'. See Wevers’s comments correcting the Göttingen apparatus in Wevers, *NGTD*, 121, n. 29.

²⁸ See the discussion in Le Boulluec and Sandevor, *L’Exode*, 206. Den Hertog et al. also suggest that ζηλωτῆς be understood adjectivally as “eifersüchtig.” See Den Hertog, Labahn, and Pola, “Deuteronomion,” 546.

μὴ ὀργισθεὶς θυμῷ...ἐξολεθρεύσῃ. The Greek construction differs slightly from the Hebrew source while maintaining quantitative fidelity and reproducing its word order. MT should be read as “Lest the anger of the Lord is kindled against you and exterminates you...,” but the use of the Greek passive participle results in the subordination of the first clause, making the Lord himself the subject: “...lest being angered with wrath against you, the Lord your God....” This change in focus is not overly significant: ὀργίζω is most often used in the passive voice, and especially so when the meaning is that of being angry (instead of angering someone). In effect the person angered becomes the subject, contrary to the Hebrew idiom where wrath is kindled. More importantly, the reproduction of each element of the source text results in an expression that is pleonastic in Greek: To be “angered with wrath” is a semantically overloaded construction, yet necessary here because of the translational norms that are operative.²⁹

ἐν σοί. There are two instances of ἐν σοί in this verse, one which is a fairly accurate rendering of the Hebrew בְּקֶרֶב.³⁰ The second occurrence translates בְּ, but the context would seem to favor an adversative understanding of the Hebrew preposition. In Hebrew, the target of יַחְרֵה אֵף is typically identified with the preposition בְּ, whereas in Greek, the preposition ἐν with the dative does not carry an adversative meaning.³¹ This is all the more peculiar since elsewhere in the book, the combination of the verb יַחְרֵה + אֵף + בְּ is not translated using ἐν, but in a variety of ways:

²⁹ It must be observed, however, that this rendering is not original to the Deuteronomy translator, it is found elsewhere in the Pentateuch, as early as Exod 22:24(23^{MT}).

³⁰ Though in this particular case, the Hebrew semi-preposition could be broken down in two components as the translator sometimes does.

³¹ At least in classical Greek. See Smyth §1687.

6:15	יחרה אף יהוה אלהיך בך	ὀργισθεὶς θυμῷ κύριος ὁ θεός σου ἐν σοὶ
7:4	וחרה אף יהוה בכם	καὶ ὀργισθήσεται θυμῷ κύριος εἰς ὑμᾶς ³²
11:17	וחרה אף יהוה בכם	καὶ θυμωθεὶς ὀργῇ κύριος ἐπὶ ὑμῖν ³³

Another example, Genesis 44:18 contains a similar construction in Hebrew (ואל יחר (אפך בעבדך), but is translated into Greek more idiomatically without a preposition: καὶ μὴ θυμωθῇς τῷ παιδί σου.³⁴ In contemporary papyri, ὀργίζω is accompanied by the dative, following what we find in classical Greek more generally.³⁵ Thus Deut 6:15 is the only instance in the Pentateuch where the combination of חרה + אף + ב is translated in this way. It is possible that the translator understood the ב preposition in its spatial sense (“among”, “within”), even though this is not the most natural way of reading this construction.³⁶ In essence, it would be stating that the Lord was angered with wrath “among you.”³⁷ Under such an understanding, the wrath is not necessarily targeted directly towards Israel, but the Lord is situated among his people. However, the outcome remains the same: “Lest...the Lord your God destroy you.” Another explanation is that the Greek preposition should be understood as causal: “because of you,” as some rare usages in the papyri attest.³⁸ The Hebrew preposition could also be understood in this way in this particular context, though it is not typical for this verb as argued above. In conclusion, the consistent matching of ב with ἐν produces a phrase whose meaning

³² See also Deut 31:17. Exodus 32:11-12 offers an interesting comparison with Deut 6:15, yet also employs εἰς.

³³ Also Deut 29:26.

³⁴ See Num 25:3 for a construction similar to Deut 6:15 which employs the dative without a preposition. A few chapters later (Num 32:13), the very same Hebrew phrase is translated using the preposition ἐπὶ and the accusative, another possibility.

³⁵ See P.Cairo.Zen. 3 59386 6 (= TM 1029) and P. Cairo.Zen. 1 59080 2 (= TM 735). Alternatively, it can be accompanied by ἐπὶ or διὰ.

³⁶ Consider, for example, how a phrase such as ויחר אף יהוה במשה (Exod 4:14) would be understood if ב is said to have a spatial sense. One could hardly imagine God being angered with wrath among/in/within Moses!

³⁷ Alternatively, this could be an instance of an instrumental usage of the Greek preposition: YHWH is wrathful through/by means of you.

³⁸ See the discussion in *MM*, s.v. “ἐν”.

as a whole (*ὀργισθεὶς θυμῷ κύριος ὁ θεός σου ἐν σοὶ*) is slightly different from the meaning of the source text. Though everything about the phrase is grammatical, it is unlike conventional Greek insofar as this verb is not typically accompanied by the preposition *ἐν*, and constitutes, as mentioned above, a pleonasm.

ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς. This prepositional phrase stands out because the Greek *γῆ* is not attested with *πρόσωπον*. The phrase is common in the Greek Pentateuch and translates the Hebrew *מֵעַל פְּנֵי הָאָדָמָה* in a rather mechanical manner. The construction *ἀπὸ προσώπου τινός* can take the meaning of “away from the presence of someone (or something?).”³⁹

6:16

לֹא תִנְסֶה אֶת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיכֶם כַּאֲשֶׁר נִסִּיתֶם בַּמִּסָּה

Οὐκ ἐκπειράσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου, ὃν τρόπον ἐξεπειράσασθε ἐν τῷ Πειρασμῷ.

You shall not tempt the Lord your God, as you tempted in the Temptation.

Οὐκ ἐκπειράσεις...ἐξεπειράσασθε. MT switches back to the plural for verses 16-17a, while the Greek text continues in the singular for the first part of this verse.⁴⁰ Wevers notes that this is not unusual for the translator, who attempts to make the text more consistent, particularly within smaller units.⁴¹ But this explanation may not hold for this particular example, since the plural is not achieved consistently: The second verb of v. 16 remains in the plural, before switching back to the singular at the beginning of v. 17, *contra* MT. Wevers speculates that the choice of the plural in recalling the events in the desert may signal that the translator understands these events as an act of rebellion where Israel acted not as God’s people, but as

³⁹ BDAG, s.v. “πρόσωπον”.

⁴⁰ As does the Vulgate.

⁴¹ See Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 65–66.

Israelites.⁴² Such a conclusion is difficult to support on the basis of this verse alone. Another theory put forward is that the differentiation in number between the two verbs was introduced by the translator to distinguish between the current command and the retrospective reprimand.⁴³ The *Numeruswechsel* is a difficult issue and could be traced back to the translator or his *Vorlage*.⁴⁴ Should the change be attributed to the translator, prudence and awareness of translation technique is necessary when assessing the motivations. The fact that the next verse also switches to the singular from the plural of MT, while the command of v. 14 remains in the plural suggests that there may not be a grand scheme at work nor any theological or exegetical motivations in this short passage.

According to Dogniez and Harl, the verb ἐκπειράζω is not attested outside of the Septuagint in this period.⁴⁵ We may note, however, that the cognate ἐκπειράομαι is employed in classical Greek literature to denote inquiring of something or someone,⁴⁶ or even the testing or proving of a person or people.⁴⁷ The latter sense accords well with the meaning of the *piel* of נִסָּה.⁴⁸ It is not clear why the second instance of the verb is in the middle voice as the two certainly seem to be very close in meaning and translate the same Hebrew verb. A dynamic sense has been suggested, expressing the intensive involvement of the subject in the action.⁴⁹ But as Muraoka opines, such an explanation does not work here: “If Israelites are warned not

⁴² Wevers, *NGTD*, 122.

⁴³ Den Hertog, Labahn, and Pola, “Deuteronomion,” 551.

⁴⁴ See the study by Ausloos that identifies what appears to be deliberate switches in number in chapter 12 in Ausloos, “LXX’s Rendering of the *Numeruswechsel* in the Book of Deuteronomy: Deuteronomy 12 as a Test Case.” Khokhar has examined this phenomenon in Deut 28:69–34:12 and does not in most cases differentiate between the translator and his *Vorlage* (31:16 is one exception, and attributed to the *Vorlage*). See Khokhar, “May My Teaching Drop as the Rain,” 94–146.

⁴⁵ Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronomie*, 157.

⁴⁶ As in Aristophanes, *Eq.* 1234: καὶ σου τοσοῦτο πρῶτον ἐκπειράσομαι.

⁴⁷ As in Herodotus 3.135: Δημοκλήδης δὲ δέισας μὴ εὖ ἐκπειρῶτο Δαρεῖος.

⁴⁸ The Greek ἐκπειράζω translates נִסָּה in Deut 6:16 (2x), 8:2 and 8:16. The simpler form πειράζω translates the same Hebrew verb in 4:34, 13:4 and 33:8. The meaning of 4:34 is not as intensive as the other, but it is rather striking that 33:8 describes the same events as 6:16, yet they both employ different Greek verbs.

⁴⁹ Den Hertog, Labahn, and Pola, “Deuteronomion,” 551. Labahn is here citing Wilhelm Brandenstein, *Griechische Sprachwissenschaft III, 1 Syntax* (Berlin: Sammlung Götschen, 1966), 104.

to repeat their past sin, one wonders why the translation must be varied.”⁵⁰ Cignelli and Pierri observe that this is the only instance of the verb in the middle voice in “biblical Greek” with no discernable intensive of “dynamic” overtones.⁵¹ Perhaps a desire for variation is at stake here, as the translator shows similar concerns elsewhere in his work.⁵²

ἐν τῷ Πειρασμῷ. The translation of the Hebrew מִסָּה is done etymologically and not via transcription, as we would expect for a geographical place name. However, etymological renderings constitute a common strategy when encountering proper names whose meaning is transparent. In fact, this is the most frequent strategy employed to translate proper names throughout the book.⁵³ In other cases, transliteration is employed. A third strategy is to actualize these names, particularly geographical names, to those in use in the Hellenistic context of the translation (מִצְרַיִם = Αἴγυπτος).⁵⁴ In this particular case, the translator does the same as the Exodus translator, who translated מִסָּה וּמַרִּיבָה etymologically using Πειρασμός καὶ Λοιδόρησις in Exod 17:7. Perhaps this has to do with the fact that מִסָּה וּמַרִּיבָה were not the original names for these places but rather symbolic names, whose meaning is important to the narrative and must therefore be communicated to the reader.⁵⁵ This might also indicate that the Deuteronomy translator was aware of the Exodus translation.

⁵⁰ Muraoka, *Syntax* §27ce.

⁵¹ Lino Cignelli and Rosario Pierri, *Sintassi di greco biblico (LXX e NT). Quaderno II.A.*, SBFCMa 77 (Milano; Jerusalem: Edizioni Terra Santa; Franciscan Printing Press, 2010), 367. As cited by Muraoka in the preceding note.

⁵² See our comments on 25:7-8 and 32:8.

⁵³ Whereas transliteration is more common in the Pentateuch, etymological renderings are not infrequent, and particularly in places connected with Israel’s disobedience. See particularly the thorough study of the rendering of geographical locations in Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronomie*, 91–100, esp. p. 98. It must be noted, however, that some of these place names in their Hebrew form are prefixed with the definite article, which might explain why an etymological rendering was favored in some cases.

⁵⁴ Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronomie*, 98–100.

⁵⁵ Dogniez and Harl also mention that the translator is preserving the wordplay present in the Hebrew text, so that perhaps the motivation for such a rendering is also literary. See Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronomie*, 157.

שמור תשמרון את מצות יהוה אלהיכם ועדתיו וחקיו אשר צוך

φυλάσσω φυλάξῃ τὰς ἐντολὰς κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ, τὰ μαρτύρια καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα, ὅσα ἐνετείλατό σοι,

By guarding, you shall keep the commandments of the Lord God, the testimonies and the statutes that he has commanded you.

φυλάσσω φυλάξῃ. Here we find the Hebrew infinitive absolute with cognate *yiqtol* form translated into Greek as participle and finite verb. This is not surprising and a regular strategy deployed by the translator, as well as those of the other books of the Pentateuch.⁵⁶ This rendering (as with the other common equivalent, a dative or accusative noun + finite verb) is a proper strategy in the abstract since the Hebrew infinitive absolute is often labeled as a verbal noun.⁵⁷ As Lee observes, the choice of one strategy over another is often motivated by a variety of factors, including “whether a suitable noun or participle was available, whether the meaning would be clear, and whether the result might be clumsy.”⁵⁸ In this particular case, the Greek verbal repetition expresses the intensity of the Hebrew construction, though the absence

⁵⁶ It is estimated that there are approximately 200 instances of the Hebrew infinitive absolute that are translated in this way, which accounts for about half of the instances of infinitive absolutes. In the Pentateuch, such participial renderings account for about one third of the total instances of the infinitive absolute. See Henry St. John Thackeray, “Renderings of the Infinitive Absolute in the Septuagint,” *JTS* 9 (1908): 599. Lee presents an inventory and brief analysis of them all, finding 254 in total, 207 of which have an “intensifying use.” In Deuteronomy, the participle + finite verb rendering accounts for 10 out of 37 “intensifying” infinitive absolutes. This is roughly comparable to the proportion found in the other translations of the Pentateuch. See Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 299–309. See also Sollamo, “The LXX Renderings of the Infinitive Absolute Used with a Paronymous Finite Verb in the Pentateuch”; Emanuel Tov, “Renderings of Combinations of the Infinitive Absolute and Finite Verbs in the Septuagint: Their Nature and Distribution,” in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint*, ed. E. Tov, VTSup 72 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1999), 247–56.

⁵⁷ Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 232.

⁵⁸ Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 233. One such factor was that a finite verb in the passive voice was always accompanied by a noun. This was pointed out by Thackeray and was probably preferred because it would otherwise have resulted in what Lee terms an “overloaded and awkward” passive construction. Cf. Thackeray, “Renderings of the Infinitive Absolute in the Septuagint,” 598. At other times, a desire for variation might have been a factor. See the important discussion on this topic in Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 231–39.

of a suitable cognate noun for this verb might have been a factor.⁵⁹ While the Greek *φύλασσω* is by far the most commonly used equivalent for *שמר*, this is the only instance of an “intensifying” infinitive absolute for this Hebrew verb in Deuteronomy. Similar constructions can be found in the Greek language and can be understood in many cases as “tolerable Greek, albeit with some strangeness.”⁶⁰ As such, it remains a genuine Greek structure which is “used as a disguise for a Hebraistic idiom.”⁶¹ It is a concession to adequacy (an instance of positive transfer) since to understand the force of the construction, one has to infer from the Hebrew source text the intensification of the action.⁶² While the lexical redundancy replicated in the Greek text does suggest a kind of intensification, this is not how the intensity of actions is typically communicated in nontranslated Greek texts.

κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ. This Greek phrase omits the pronominal suffix found in MT. The phrase or a variation thereof is very common in Deuteronomy, occurring over 300 times. In the vast majority of cases, it is accompanied by a pronominal suffix, or, in some instances, another genitive noun phrase: *κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων σου*. This instance in 6:17 is one of the very few where the suffix is omitted according to Wevers’s critical edition.⁶³ McCarthy questions whether Wevers’s reliance on the witness of 963 (and 376) is sufficient ground to present the

⁵⁹ We do not have any evidence for the Three for this particular rendering, but the verb *φύλασσω* is consistently matched to *שמר* in the extant evidence for Aquila.

⁶⁰ Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 233, 235. But as Lee adds, in some cases, the construction is “entirely normal Greek.” This is often the case when the Hebrew construction is translated using a finite verb and participle of different though sometimes related roots.

⁶¹ Aejmelaeus, “Participium Coniunctum as a Criterion of Translation Technique,” 392. See also Sollamo, “The LXX Renderings of the Infinitive Absolute Used with a Paronymous Finite Verb in the Pentateuch,” 105. “The participial construction of the LXX under discussion show a formally correct Greek structure, but the semantic content can be correctly understood only on the basis of the underlying Hebrew expression.”

⁶² Which is what *La Bible d’Alexandrie* seems to be doing by translating as: “Tu observeras scrupuleusement....” Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronomie*, 157. The use of a cognate verb in the Greek does promote, in a different way, an understanding of intensification, strange as it may be.

⁶³ Wevers mentions 5 instances in total (4:21; 19:2, 8; 21:5; 24:9) but only accounting for the 2nd singular suffix. See Wevers, *NGTD*, 78. This could also be an instance of haplography, where the ending of *θεοῦ* would have led to the accidental omission of the similarly ending *σου*.

shorter reading as original.⁶⁴ But since the shorter reading is supported by pre-hexaplaric manuscripts in several instances, as is the case here, Wevers's judgment seems correct.⁶⁵

Wevers suggests that the omission of the possessive suffix is a way for the translator to rationalize the inconsistency in number in the Hebrew text.⁶⁶ After all, the pronoun used in MT is in the plural while the translator has just changed the initial verb to the singular. However, in the similar case of 4:21, McCarthy raises the possibility that the Greek translation might reflect an earlier version of the Hebrew text which omitted the suffix, and that the MT plus would be assimilating to a more usual form.⁶⁷ Such harmonizations are common in the textual history of the book, especially in these recurring stock phrases. For this reason, it seems more probable that the omission was in the translator's *Vorlage*. Yet the other option cannot be entirely excluded. As will become apparent later in this passage (for example, vv. 18, 21), a variety of stock phrases suffer from a process of assimilation, and it is often difficult to determine if this was done at the level of the Hebrew textual tradition, the translation, or Greek textual tradition.

Also of note is the omission of pronominal suffixes in the rendering of τὰ μαρτύρια and τὰ δικαιώματα. McCarthy observes that it is not uncommon for the Deuteronomy translator to omit the possessive pronoun in contexts where the possessor is obvious such as is the case

⁶⁴ McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*, 23.

⁶⁵ Manuscript 963 also omits the pronominal suffix in a similar construction at 4:21 and 19:2, while the pronoun of the majority text is found under the obelisk in *Syh*. This constitutes sufficient evidence to claim that the shorter reading is OG and that the longer variant is a later addition, at least in the context of 4:21 and 19:2. See the comments in Wevers, *THGD*, 122. In 19:8, 21:5 and 24:9, the shorter reading is supported by 848, another pre-hexaplaric manuscript. Wevers also mentions that MT has a plural suffix while most Greek manuscripts read τοῦ θεοῦ σου, but this is to be expected given the shift to the singular in the Greek text of the previous verse.

⁶⁶ But see another comment by John William Wevers, "YHWH and Its Appositives in LXX Deuteronomium," in *Studies in Deuteronomy: In Honour of C. J. Labuschagne on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. A. Hilhorst et al. (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1994), 278.

⁶⁷ McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*, 15. The LXX.D *Kommentar* also finds this option plausible. See Den Hertog, Labahn, and Pola, "Deuteronomion," 552.

here.⁶⁸ Wevers mentions that “the rendering of Hebrew pronouns in Deut is not fully consistent and the translator in accordance with a better Greek style sometimes omitted them.”⁶⁹ This type of omission is perhaps more closely related to that of possessive pronouns for coordinate items. Though the preceding noun in the list, τὰς ἐντολὰς is not followed by a possessive but the possessor, it is nevertheless similar to the situation described by Sollamo where the possessive pronouns of coordinated items are omitted. She notes that this type of rendering is more in line with conventional Greek usage. Such a translation strategy brings the Greek text “on a par with Greek idiom and practice and [constitutes] evidence of the translator’s good knowledge of Greek.”⁷⁰ The μαρτύρια and δικαιώματα are introduced by a conjunction in MT, which is omitted by the translator. This omission is most likely related to the omission of the possessive pronouns. The clause becomes epexegetical, implying that the testimonies and statutes are a subset of, or synonymous with, YHWH’s commandments.

On the rendering of עֲדָת and חֻקִּים by μαρτύρια and δικαιώματα, see the comments at 6:20.

We thus find in the same verse opposite tendencies: First, an unconventional verbal collocation (from the perspective of Greek idiom) which clearly favors reproduction of the source’s formal features is selected despite being a grammatically acceptable way to render the underlying Hebrew. On the other hand, the omission of possessive pronouns and conjunction in favor of Greek idiom represents a strategy favoring target conventions.⁷¹

⁶⁸ This note is found in the context of Deut 3:21, but McCarthy lists 6:17 as one of 23 examples of such omissions. See McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*, 12.

⁶⁹ Wevers, *THGD*, 56. See also the comments to this effect in Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 31–33.

⁷⁰ See the discussion in Raija Sollamo, *Repetition of the Possessive Pronouns in the Septuagint*, SCS 40 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 73.

⁷¹ To be sure, this statement should be nuanced further. The Greek rendering of the infinitive absolute already marks a concession to Greek idiom since nothing in the Greek language perfectly matches the Hebrew construction. The option chosen by the translator already existed in his repertoire of possibilities, even though it produces “tolerable” Greek.

6:18

ועשית הישר והטוב בעיני יהוה למען ייטב לך ובאת וירשת את הארץ הטבה אשר נשבע
יהוה לאבתך

καὶ ποιήσεις τὸ ἀρεστὸν καὶ τὸ καλὸν ἐναντὶ κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου, ἵνα εὖ σοι γένηται καὶ εἰσέλθῃς καὶ κληρονομήσῃς τὴν γῆν τὴν ἀγαθὴν, ἣν ὤμοσεν κύριος τοῖς πατράσιν σου,

And you shall do what is pleasing and good before the Lord your God, so that it may be well for you and that you may go in and inherit the good land that the Lord swore to your fathers,

τὸ ἀρεστὸν καὶ τὸ καλὸν ἐναντὶ κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου. The Greek ἀρεστός is not the usual match for יִשָּׁר, and neither is καλός for טוֹב, which is more often rendered by ἀγαθός.⁷² Of the 112 instances of יִשָּׁר in MT, the vast majority are rendered in the Septuagintal corpus by εὐθής/εὐθύς or a cognate noun.⁷³ Only six instances are translated using ἀρεστός, all of which are found in Deuteronomy in a similar phrase.⁷⁴ The repetition of this phrase throughout the book also raises text-critical issues. As McCarthy surmises: “all five [six including 12:8] occurrences contain the adjective יִשָּׁר, alone in 12:25; 13:19 and 21:9, but followed by והטוב in 6:18, and in reverse sequence (הטוב והישר) in 12:28.”⁷⁵ Except for 12:8 which maintains the shorter form of the expression, the others are found in OG in their longer form irrespective of what we have in MT. The only variation is the ordering of καλός and ἀρεστός, which follows MT in only four out of six instances:

⁷² Wevers counts 332 instances of טוֹב translated as ἀγαθός, with 99 other instances where it is translated by καλός. So while καλός is not the choice in the majority of cases, it is nevertheless frequent.

⁷³ Wevers, *NGTD*, 123. Wevers notes 5 instances in OG Deuteronomy, but there are actually 6 according to his critical text.

⁷⁴ Exodus 15:26 translates הישר by τὰ ἀρεστὰ.

⁷⁵ McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*, 42.

6:18	הישר והטוב בעיני יהוה	τὸ ἀρεστὸν καὶ τὸ καλὸν ἔναντι κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου
12:8	הישר בעיניו	τὸ ἀρεστὸν ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ
12:25	הישר בעיני יהוה	τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ ἀρεστὸν ἔναντι κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου
12:28	הטוב והישר בעיני יהוה אלהיך	τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ ἀρεστὸν ἔναντι κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου
13:19 (18 ^{LXX})	הישר בעיני יהוה אלהיך	τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ ἀρεστὸν ἔναντι κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου
21:9	הישר בעיני יהוה	τὸ ἀρεστὸν καὶ τὸ καλὸν ἔναντι κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου

All of these occur in another stock phrase almost identical to the one found here, that of doing what is pleasant and good in the eyes of YHWH.⁷⁶ As Wevers notes, three of these instances present the words in reverse order, so that no regular pattern emerges.⁷⁷ SamPent is identical to MT at 6:18, 12:25, and 21:9 but inverts the word order in 12:28 to make it more consistent. It also expands 13:19 in the same manner as what we find in the Greek text. T^O and T^J both seem to reflect MT while T^N consistently applies its equivalent, דשפר ותקן, even in 12:8. On the one hand, we have a scribal tradition which is reflected in MT's inconsistent rendering, and on the other, a tradition which is increasingly standardized. The Greek text is positioned further along than SamPent in this process, but is still not as consistent as T^N.⁷⁸ In terms of determining whether or not this standardization was the work of the translator, the larger phrase should be taken into consideration, including the standardization of the divine name. SamPent and S also read יהוה אלהיך in 6:17, which militates for a plus introduced at the level of the Hebrew textual tradition.⁷⁹ Additional evidence is also available in 21:9, where

⁷⁶ Wevers provides a list of the occurrences of these phrases in Wevers, "The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy," 98.

⁷⁷ Wevers, *NGTD*, 123.

⁷⁸ Wevers notes that Theodotion translates the two consistently by εὐθές and ἀγαθός. Wevers, *NGTD*, 123.

⁷⁹ See Léo Laberge, "La Septante de Dt 1-11 : Pour une étude du texte," in *Das Deuteronomium. Entstehung, Gestalt und Botschaft*, ed. N. Lohfink (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1985), 131, who seems to favor a different

the plus of אלהיך is also found in 11QT^a. It appears more likely, therefore, that these assimilated formulations were already in the translator's *Vorlage*.

The translator's rendering of ישר is peculiar, associating it in such cases with the notion of acceptability or approvedness.⁸⁰ This could be due to the fact that the Hebrew idiom הישר בעיני carries this idea of goodness and correctness not in itself, but relative to someone's estimation. It is defined as something that is agreeable to YHWH and ἀρεστός (and καλός) describe this concept as a whole.⁸¹ Moreover, as Harl and Doginez note, the collocation of ἀρεστός and καλός combines two adjectives commonly used in Greek to describe what is good.⁸² To this is added the translation of the Hebrew בעיני by ἐναντί, which as Daniel surmises, abandons the "valeur imagée" involving the eyes common employed in the moral or affective realm in favor of a "simple préposition."⁸³ The rendering, though not unique to this book in the Pentateuch, tends towards more idiomatic Greek when compared to how the same Hebrew expression is translated in later books: τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὑμῶν.⁸⁴ However, it is more idiomatic only in this respect, the phrase itself not representing a conventional Greek turn of phrase. In this context, ἀρεστός is usually followed by the dative to designate the person in whose estimation the thing is acceptable or pleasing.

textual tradition. Wevers is also of this opinion in Wevers, "Yahweh and Its Appositives in LXX Deuteronomium," 269. But see the comments in Den Hertog, Labahn, and Pola, "Deuteronomion," 525, 552. Though they discuss this text in a section dealing with the OG's *Vorlage*, they state that it is not necessary to posit a variant source text in this case.

⁸⁰ See *MM*, s.v. "ἀρεστός".

⁸¹ The translation of this idiom is a great example of the approach taken by this translator in contrast to the practice in other translated books of the Septuagint. See Staffan Olofsson, "The Non-Dependence of the Psalms Translator in Relation to the Translators of the Pentateuch," in *XIV Congress of the IOSCS, Helsinki 2010*, ed. M. K. H. Peters (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 631–33 for a discussion on this topic.

⁸² Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronomie*, 58.

⁸³ In other words, the metaphorical value of the Hebrew expression is lost. See Daniel, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire du culte dans la Septante*, 178. It could be argued, however, that this was a dead metaphor for these language users.

⁸⁴ The phrase is from Judg 19:24 but the same construction using ὀφθαλμός is common throughout the so-called historical books.

On the use of the preposition *ἐναντί* more generally, see the comment in v. 22 for the phrase *ἐνώπιον ἡμῶν*.

ἵνα εὖ σοι γένηται. This purpose clause translates the Hebrew *לְמַעַן יִטַּב לָךְ*, for which a subjunctive verb is required in Greek. Here, the translator resorts to two Greek lexemes (*εὖ γίνομαι*) to translate the one verb *יִטַּב*.⁸⁵ This is the standard formulation adopted by the translator for this familiar expression in Deuteronomy. Only the *ἵ* + infinitive (as in 8:16 and 28:63) or noun (5:33 (30^{MT}) and 6:24) may entail a slightly different approach.⁸⁶

As Lee observes, the order of the clause in such circumstances reflects Wackernagel's Law in that enclitic pronouns are normally placed in the second position of the clause. But in cases where there is competition for the second slot, as we have here with the adverb *εὖ* taking priority, the pronoun is nevertheless moved forward so that we find *εὖ σοι γένηται* instead of *εὖ γένηται σοι*.⁸⁷ Though it makes little difference here in terms of the translator's habit of rendering the source following its word order – the verb *γίνομαι* could be considered a plus and consequently appear anywhere in the clause – this positioning demonstrates his familiarity with Greek idiom. In other circumstances, however, the translator does deviate from his source's word order to move the enclitic pronoun in second position.⁸⁸

An exception to this rule is found in v. 24 of this chapter. There the subjunctive of *εἰμί* is supplied instead, perhaps because the underlying Hebrew consists of a verbless clause: *לֵטוֹב לָנִי*. This is translated as *ἵνα εὖ ἡμῖν ᾗ*, the 1st person plural pronoun being moved forward despite not being enclitic. According to Lee, the pronoun should be last in the clause, as in

⁸⁵ The intransitive, even stative value of the Hebrew verb *יִטַּב* prohibits a rendering using a single lexeme, such as that of *εὐεργετέω* in which the subject is active.

⁸⁶ There the verb *ποιέω* is supplied instead of *γίνομαι*.

⁸⁷ See the discussion in Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 123–27.

⁸⁸ Lee cites 8:18 and 24:18 as examples.

5:29 (26^{MT}) with the 3rd person singular.⁸⁹ There is also a difference between Wevers's critical text and Rahlfs's, which has ἵνα εὖ ᾗ ἡμῖν. Evidently, Lee is using Rahlfs's text here and not the Göttingen critical edition.⁹⁰ The reverse can be observed in 15:16, another example cited by Lee. There, the transposition is also observed in B, which evidently Rahlfs followed. But this text is perhaps not our best guide. In any case, Lee's argument does not require uniformity, since the translator does not always modify the source's word order, and Wackernagel's Law is not obligatory nor consistently applied. But it is rather striking that in the case of 6:24, the translator was free to place his verb anywhere in the clause – it was a plus in relation to the Hebrew – yet did not follow this convention.

6:19

להדף את כל איבך מפניך כאשר דבר יהוה

ἐκδιῶξαι πάντας τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου πρὸ προσώπου σου, καθὰ ἐλάλησεν.

To chase out all your enemies before you, as he said.

ἐκδιῶξαι. As discussed in chapter 1 (section 1.4.2), the non-articulated infinitive is the default rendering of the Hebrew ל + infinitive construct, even when a succession of such infinitives might lead to ambiguity in terms of how they relate to each other (see for example v. 24 later in this chapter). Wevers adds that there are only five occurrences of articulated infinitives in OG Deuteronomy in such circumstances.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 127.

⁹⁰ Wevers notes the transposition in witnesses B F 15'-426 44-106*-107' 56' 54'-75 74-134mg-799c 71'-318 128-630' 509 Arm Shy = Compl Ra.

⁹¹ See Wevers, "The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy," 63–64. Soisalon-Soininen's research has shown that out of 222 Hebrew ל + infinitive construct in Deuteronomy, 213 are translated unarticulated. While this is a tendency observed in all books of the Pentateuch, Deuteronomy is by far the most consistent in this respect. See Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, *Die Infinitive in der Septuaginta*, AASF 132 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1965), 50–54, 180.

πρὸ προσώπου. Sollamo remarks that the Hebrew semi-preposition מִפְּנֵי is rendered by πρὸ προσώπου 11 times in the Septuagint, nine of which are in the Pentateuch and five of those in Deuteronomy.⁹² This is not the usual rendering, the Hebrew מִפְּנֵי being more frequently matched by ἀπὸ προσώπου in the Greek Pentateuch.⁹³ The Deuteronomy translator incorporates a number of other renderings, however, depending on the situation and sometimes favoring a more idiomatic Greek formulation (two cases of ἀπό, two of διὰ + accusative). The compound πρὸ προσώπου was most likely chosen here because of the accompanying verb. As Sollamo has noted, it usually accompanies verbs of driving out in the Greek Pentateuch, though in a number of cases, ἀπὸ προσώπου is employed with the assumed equivalent meaning.⁹⁴ Moreover, πρὸ προσώπου is not attested outside of the Septuagint in sources predating the Common Era.⁹⁵ Only one similar phrase with an articulated προσώπου can be found, also demonstrating how unconventional this etymological rendering of the Hebrew must have sounded: “As to the motions of the arms, I observe the following facts. In acute fevers, pneumonia, phrenitis and headache, if they move before the face (πρὸ τοῦ προσώπου)....”⁹⁶ Nevertheless, one can easily

⁹² The references are 2:21, 4:38, 6:19, 8:20, and 9:4. See Raija Sollamo, *Renderings of Hebrew Semiprepositions in the Septuagint*, AASF 19 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1979), 87.

⁹³ The Greek expression is also found in compositional literature denoting “from the face” in a literal manner (Hippocrates Prorrhetic 1.114). A fragment of the historian Ctesias (4th century BCE) employs ἀπὸ προσώπου as we find it in the LXX, but it is preserved and retold by a Byzantine Christian author, which makes it difficult to trace the idiom back to the Greek historian. Nevertheless, it seems conventional in that it can denote a movement or location away from someone’s presence. See the discussion in Sollamo, *Renderings of Hebrew Semiprepositions in the Septuagint*, 84–85. But as Sollamo explains and Jones confirms, it is not conventional when combined with a verb of fearing such as φοβέω. In Numbers 22:3, the translator illustrates both tendencies by opting for a simple accusative once, and ἀπὸ προσώπου later in the verse. See Spencer A. Jones, “Balaam, Pagan Prophet of God: A Commentary on Greek Numbers 22.1–21,” in *The SBL Commentary on the Septuagint: An Introduction*, ed. Dirk Büchner, SCS 67 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017), 127–28.

⁹⁴ Sollamo, *Renderings of Hebrew Semiprepositions in the Septuagint*, 87–88. This is also evident in the Greek textual tradition, where a number of manuscripts (29-72-376 52^{Lat} cod 100 Arm⁹⁴) support a reading of ἀπὸ προσώπου.

⁹⁵ Philo might be considered an exception, but occurrences of this construction in his work appear in the context of his citation of the Greek Jewish scriptures. Interestingly, the Gospel of Luke and Acts take it up using it 4 times throughout.

⁹⁶ “Περὶ δὲ χειρῶν φορῆς τάδε γινώσκω· ἐν πυρετοῖσιν ὀξέσιν ἢ ἐν περιπνευμονίῃσι καὶ ἐν φρενίτισι καὶ ἐν κεφαλαλγίῃσι πρὸ τοῦ προσώπου φερόμενας....” (Hippocrates, *Progn.* 4, [4th century BCE]) Text and translation taken from Hippocrates. *Volume II. Prognostic. Regimen in Acute Diseases. The Sacred Disease. The Art.*

infer the metaphorical sense of “before the presence of,” although a preposition such as *ἀπό* or perhaps *ἐμπροσθεν* would have been more conventional. To be sure, the translator of Deuteronomy is not creating a new language use since this prepositional phrase has been employed before by the other Pentateuch translators. Nevertheless, he demonstrates in this rendering his preference for representing all elements of the source text’s semi-preposition (מן + פני). As Sollamo observes, there is inconsistency in the way the Deuteronomy translator deals with these.⁹⁷

καθὰ ἐλάλησεν. The MT of verse 19 ends with the phrase *כאשר דבר יהוה*, while the Greek text omits the divine name. Furthermore, the translation begins v. 20 with *Καὶ ἔσται* (presumably representing *והיה*) while MT begins directly with *כי*. SamPent has both the divine name and *והיה*, as can be observed in the following table:

MT	...כאשר דבר <u>יהוה</u> כי ישאלך בנך מחר לאמר...
OG <i>Vorlage</i>	...כאשר דבר <u>והיה</u> כי ישאלך בנך מחר לאמר...
SamPent	...כאשר דבר <u>יהוה והיה</u> כי ישאלך בנך מחר לאמר...

A possible explanation is that the *yod* and *vav* in the divine name were confused either in the translator’s *Vorlage*, or perhaps by the translator himself, thus reading the beginning of the next clause as a *והיה* instead of *כי*. The Samaritan Pentateuch (and the Peshitta) conflates both readings, ending v. 19 with the divine name, and beginning v. 20 with *כי והיה*.⁹⁸ Another possibility is that the Greek’s *Vorlage* assimilated to the common formula for introducing

Breaths. Law. Decorum. Physician (Ch. 1). Dentition, trans. W. H. S. Jones, LCL 148 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1923), 14–15.

⁹⁷ “Dtn again contains both Hebraistic translations and good Greek renderings. In its uneven translation technique Is[ai]ah bears a resemblance to Dtn.” See Sollamo, *Renderings of Hebrew Semiprepositions in the Septuagint*, 93.

⁹⁸ As Wevers notes, the pattern *כי והיה* is common to the book (in v. 10 for example). It may have motivated the reading in the translator’s *Vorlage* and SamPent. See Wevers, *NGTD*, 124. See also McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*, 24.

protases (וְהָיָה כִּי), also omitting the divine name via haplography. But this appears less likely. It seems more probable, overall, that the translator's *Vorlage* represents an intermediate step between the readings of MT and SamPent, the latter combining both.⁹⁹ Since these variants are at the level of the Hebrew text, they have no bearing on our analysis of the translation as such.

6:20

כִּי יִשְׁאַלְךָ בֶּןְךָ מָחָר לֵאמֹר מָה הָעֵדוּת וְהַחֲקִים וְהַמִּשְׁפָּטִים אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֹתְכֶם

Καὶ ἔσται ὅταν ἐρωτήσῃ σε ὁ υἱός σου αὐριον λέγων Τίνα ἐστὶν τὰ μαρτύρια καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα καὶ τὰ κρίματα, ὅσα ἐνετείλατο κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὑμῖν¹⁰⁰;

And it shall be, when your son asks you tomorrow, saying, “What are the testimonies and the statutes and the judgments that the Lord our God has commanded you?”

Καὶ ἔσται ὅταν. See v. 19 for the discrepancy with MT at the beginning of this verse. The וְהָיָה כִּי construction is not unusual as six other instances are found in the book of Deuteronomy, including one earlier in this chapter:¹⁰¹

6:10; 11:29	וְהָיָה כִּי יִבְיֵאֵךְ	καὶ ἔσται ὅταν εἰσαγάγῃ
15:16	וְהָיָה כִּי יֹאמַר אֲלֶיךָ	ἐὰν δὲ λέγῃ πρὸς σέ
26:1	וְהָיָה כִּי תָבֹא	καὶ ἔσται ἐὰν εἰσέλθῃς
30:1	וְהָיָה כִּי יָבֹאוּ	καὶ ἔσται ὡς ἂν ἔλθωσιν

⁹⁹ The omission of the divine name is therefore not surprising, contra Den Hertog, Labahn, and Pola, “Deuteronomion,” 552.

¹⁰⁰ Even though Wevers’s critical edition has the 1st person plural here, he affirms to have later changed his mind and considers the 2nd person as original. See Wevers, *NGTD*, 124. But see the comments in Den Hertog, Labahn, and Pola, “Deuteronomion,” 552, where the more difficult reading of the Göttingen edition (1st person) is preferred.

¹⁰¹ Deuteronomy 31:21 is not listed in the table because the וְהָיָה כִּי of MT is not represented in Greek perhaps because of a different *Vorlage*. See McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*, 91. For a detailed analysis of all occurrences of וְהָיָה כִּי and their translation, see Martin Johannessohn, “Die biblische Einführungsformel καὶ ἔσται,” *ZAW* 59 (1942): 129–84.

In some cases (6:10; 11:29), כִּי וְהָיָה is translated as καὶ ἔσται ὅταν as we find it here. In other situations, it seems to have been understood as introducing a conditional (ἐάν δὲ in 15:16) or temporal clause (καὶ ἔσται ὡς ἂν in 30:1) depending on context. A temporal clause presupposes the realization of the state of affairs, while the conditional may or may not be realized.¹⁰² Yet in this context, as in many future-referring contexts found in legal material, the distinction is not so clear. An almost identical Hebrew phrase is translated in Exod 13:14 with what appears to be a conditional nuance: “ἐάν δὲ ἐρωτήσῃ σε ὁ υἱός σου μετὰ ταῦτα λέγων Τί τοῦτο; καὶ ἐρεῖς αὐτῷ...” The two situations might be said to be comparable, and so perhaps the use of ὅταν approaches that of ἐάν in this context.¹⁰³ Be that as it may, the translation in v. 20 aptly renders the sense of the Hebrew, which can be understood as a temporal clause, thus foreseeing the moment when a son will ask.

The use of καὶ ἔσται ὅταν or καὶ ἔσται ἐάν when initiating protases (translating כִּי וְהָיָה or אִם וְהָיָה as in 25:2) is a phenomenon that was apparently introduced by the Pentateuch translators.¹⁰⁴ Muraoka notes that such a phrase, along with the presence of the apodotic καὶ that follows (here at the beginning of v. 21) must have been a source of puzzlement for the translation’s readership: “And it will be, when your son asks you...and you will say to your son.”¹⁰⁵ But as we will discuss at v. 21 and 25:2, other nuances of καί could be implied based

¹⁰² See comments to that effect in Anwar Tjen, *On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch: A Study of Translation Syntax* (London; New York: T&T Clark, 2010), 76.

¹⁰³ Tjen discusses these verses and comments that “the difference, if subtle, seems to be that the temporal clause presupposes its realization on indefinite occasions, while conditionals present a disjunctive situation also on indefinite occasions.” Tjen, *On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch*, 77.

¹⁰⁴ Though one should remain prudent with arguments from silence, I was not able to find such a construction in papyri, inscriptions, or classical literature predating the 3rd century BCE (and even later). The collocation of καὶ ἔσται ἐάν is first found in Exod 4:9, then 12:26. It is also found four times in OG Numbers.

¹⁰⁵ Muraoka, *Syntax* §90d.

on the context.¹⁰⁶ Nevertheless, this rendering clearly represents a case of linguistic transfer, reflecting the need to adhere closely to the word order and preferred lexical pairings.¹⁰⁷

λέγων Τίνα ἐστίν. The Hebrew ל preposition + infinitive introducing direct discourse is almost always translated as a participle in Deuteronomy. Verse 2:2 is the only exception where it is simply omitted. The rendering of לאמר by λέγων is slightly different from the rendering of καὶ ἔσται just discussed but equally unidiomatic, though this rendering is pervasive throughout the Greek Pentateuch.¹⁰⁸ As is often the case, the Greek copula is supplied to make sense of Hebrew verbless clauses.

τὰ μαρτύρια καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα καὶ τὰ κρίματα. The Greek lexemes found corresponding to the various Hebrew terms for laws, testimonies, statutes and judgments (עדות, חקים, משפטים) in this verse follow the pattern that is generally observed for these nouns in Deuteronomy.¹⁰⁹ Of

¹⁰⁶ The shift from subjunctive to future indicative is also another indication of the transition from protasis to apodosis.

¹⁰⁷ As Aejmelaeus suggests, “The use of the formula in Greek is no doubt Hebraistic and most unfamiliar when employed together with a subordinate clause. In Ex the formula has accordingly been omitted on most occasions when followed by a subordinate clause...the meaning of the Greek verbs in the formula is determined by the Hebraistic context: ‘to happen, to take place’. To continue with the report of what [is to happen] it would be more natural in Greek to use a clause with ὡς or ὥστε (‘that’) instead of the apodosis with or without καί.”

¹⁰⁸ See the brief discussion in Muraoka, *Syntax* §90e.

¹⁰⁹ The Hebrew עדות is found 3 times (4:45, 6:17, and 6:20), and translated by μαρτύρια.

Of 21 instances of חקים, 18 are translated by δικαιώματα, two by προστάγματα (11:32, 12:1) and one by ἐντολή (16:12). The use of προστάγματα in 11:32 and 12:1 may be explained by the fact that these verses act as a bridge between the paraenetic section that precedes and the legal material that follows. In effect, προστάγματα qualifies this legal material. In Ptolemaic Egypt, προστάγματα designates the royal decrees, the will of the king-legislator. For an extended discussion on this topic, see Joseph Mélèze-Modrzejewski, “Tora et *nomos*: comment la Tora est devenue une ‘loi civique’ pour les Juifs d’Égypte,” in *Un peuple de philosophes. Aux origines de la condition juive* (Paris: Fayard, 2011), 197; Anna Passoni Dell’Acqua, “La terminologia dei reati nei προστάγματα dei Tolemei e nella versione dei LXX,” in *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology: Athens, 25-31 May 1986, vol. 2*, ed. Vasileios G. Mandēlaras (Athens: Greek Papyrological Society, 1988), 335–50; Hélène Cadell, “Vocabulaire de la législation ptolémaïque: problème du sens de dikaioma dans le Pentateuque,” in *Kata tous O’ “Selon les Septante”: Trente études sur la Bible grecque des Septante*, ed. Gilles Dorival and Olivier Munnich (Paris: Cerf, 1995), 208–9.

Finally, there are 37 instances of משפטים, both singular and plural. 21 of them are translated by κρίσις, 13 by κρίμα (or κρίματα since all but 32:41 are in the plural), two by δικαιώματα, and one in 21:17 by the verb καθήκω, a translation that departs from the usual formal correspondence.

note is the rendering of עֲדוּת by μαρτύρια, which in OG Deuteronomy designates the commandments or law. The lexical pairing is actually quite consistent throughout the Pentateuch, where it usually qualifies the ark or tabernacle (ἡ κιβωτός τοῦ μαρτυρίου = אֲרוֹן הָעֲדוּת; ἡ σκηνή τοῦ μαρτυρίου = לְמִשְׁכַּן הָעֵדוּת).¹¹⁰ This designation apparently refers to the law, or the tablets of the law, since in Exod 25:21, the plural μαρτύρια clearly designates the tablets within the ark, and in 31:28 and 32:15, the two tables (πλάκας) of μαρτύρια. According to Dogniez, this use of the plural to designate the law in the Pentateuch, and more specifically what is written on the tablets, serves as legal testimony. This use of the term is a novelty.¹¹¹ Another strange feature is the use of the plural in Greek even though the Hebrew term is in the singular. In Exodus at least, this may highlight its reference to the tablets, thus associating the term with the Ten Commandments.¹¹² But would the Deuteronomy translator's persistence in using the plural signify that he also associates the Ten Commandments with the Mosaic Law in these passages, as Dogniez and Harl imply? A more plausible scenario is that the Deuteronomy translator is reading the unvocalized Hebrew term as a plural.¹¹³ In 6:17 especially, the form of the pronominal suffix attached to the noun suggests that the term is plural, thus explaining the Greek plural. Moreover, words of the דָּבָר family are almost always translated with words of the μαρτύριον group. All in all, a connection with Exodus and the Decalogue does not appear plausible in this case in light of the translation technique.

In contrast to the other Pentateuch translators, δικαιώματα is a preferred term in OG Deuteronomy to render חֻקִּים.¹¹⁴ This speaks again to the fact that the Deuteronomy translator

¹¹⁰ In Exod 16:34, μαρτύριον stands alone but apparently designates the ark.

¹¹¹ Cécile Dogniez, "Le vocabulaire de la loi dans la Septante," in *Die Sprache der Septuaginta*, ed. Eberhard Bons and Jan Joosten, LXX.H 3 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2016), 353.

¹¹² Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronome*, 54.

¹¹³ Blank also raises both possibilities in Blank, "The LXX Renderings of Old Testament Terms for Law," 281.

¹¹⁴ This is cited by Blank as a further argument against the notion that the Pentateuch would have been translated in one shot. Rather, it may suggest that Deuteronomy was done later. See Blank, "The LXX Renderings of Old Testament Terms for Law," 267.

had no issue proceeding differently from those who worked on the other Pentateuchal books.

As Dogniez reminds us, *δικαίωμα* refers in the Ptolemaic legislation to the evidence brought forward in a judicial setting. In the Greek Pentateuch, the use of the term would rather suggest that it designates the regulations or laws that are contained in these elements of evidence.¹¹⁵

As for the last term, *κρίσις* and *κρίμα* alternate to translate *משפט*, even in the plural. It is difficult to understand why the translator preferred *κρίμα* in 4:1 and in 4:8, but *κρίσις* in 4:5 and 4:14 when dealing with the same Hebrew term. In that particular context, it may speak to a desire for variation. We should note, however, that *κρίσις* is never employed in contexts where there are more than two of these legal Hebrew terms in sequence (including *משפט*). This is reserved exclusively for *κρίμα*, with a probable meaning of “sentence”, again, a rare usage outside of the Septuagint.¹¹⁶ On the other hand, *κρίσις* often translates *משפט* in other contexts where it does not denote a law as such (See 25:1 for example).

It thus appears that the translator has definite preferences for each term, sometimes in contrast to the other books of the Pentateuch.¹¹⁷ He is also more consistent in his matching of Hebrew and Greek terms, but this could also be attributed to the book’s contents, these terms appearing in formulaic phrases. This situation lends itself more easily to consistency. In some cases, context appears to be a factor in variation. In others, perhaps a desire for variety. In a minority of instances, there could be ideological factors at play.

¹¹⁵ Dogniez, “Le vocabulaire de la loi dans la Septante,” 352, 354. Dogniez relies here on the more detailed study in Cadell, “Vocabulaire de la législation ptolémaïque: problème du sens de *dikaionoma* dans le Pentateuque.”

¹¹⁶ Dogniez, “Le vocabulaire de la loi dans la Septante,” 352–53.

¹¹⁷ So we agree with Dogniez and Harl’s conclusion *contra* Monsengwo Pasinya who highlights the variety of terms translating each Hebrew lexeme, translating the same Hebrew word as if they were synonyms. Though the Greek terms are close in meaning, they are not synonymous. See Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronome*, 53. Cf. Laurent Monsengwo Pasinya, *La notion de nomos dans le Pentateuque grec*, AnBib 52 (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1973), 140–53.

ואמרת לבנך עבדים היינו לפרעה במצרים ויוציאנו יהוה ממצרים ביד חזקה

καὶ ἐρεῖς τῷ υἱῷ σου Οἰκέται ἦμεν τῷ Φαραῶ ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ ἐξήγαγεν ἡμᾶς κύριος ἐκεῖθεν ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ καὶ ἐν βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ.

That you shall say to your son, “We were domestics to Pharaoh in the land of Egypt, and the Lord brought us from there with a strong hand and with a high arm.

καὶ ἐρεῖς. Verse 21 initiates a long apodosis – introduced by the conjunction καὶ followed by a verb in the future tense – which continues all the way to the end of the chapter. The future indicative reflects the *yitqol* form in the source text, which is the standard rendering in apodoses (see the extended discussion at 25:2 and 25:7-8).¹¹⁸ More will be said on the use of καὶ in apodoses in the next chapter, where they are frequently employed. Suffice it to say for now that at the level of discourse, the reproduction of the Hebrew conjunction stands in stark contrast to conventional Greek usage in such circumstances. Perhaps a Greek reader would have understood καὶ here in an ascensive sense, “You will indeed say...”. While parataxis is a feature of non-literary Greek, the repetition of such features is much higher than can be found anywhere in non-translated texts. In the context of an apodosis as we have here, Horrocks admits that this feature goes beyond issues of style and is “wholly alien to Greek.”¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ There are some exceptions as 6:10-12 illustrates. There, the protasis extends a full two verses because it contains several clauses in apposition. It is then followed by an imperative at the beginning of v. 12. In all cases, the translator follows his source text closely by matching the Hebrew *yitqol* with future forms and imperative with the same.

¹¹⁹ In the context of his study of 2 Kings 18, he states that “the only probable Semitism [in the 2 Kings 18:17-21 passage] (i.e., feature of Hebrew wholly alien to Greek) is the ‘redundant’ use of καὶ...to introduce the main clause of the conditional sentence in para. 21.” He goes on to say: “The simple paratactic style... is also characteristic in some degree of all mid- to low-level writing in the Koine, and in fact constitutes a feature of unsophisticated non-literary language throughout the history of Greek.” See Geoffrey Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers*, 2nd ed. (Malden, MA; Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 107. Voitila adds: “Despite a tendency to limit the number of kai- clauses in the Septuagint, their number remains higher than in even the most colloquial of the contemporary documents, too high indeed to convey a natural impression.” See Anssi Voitila, “Septuagint Syntax and Hellenistic Greek,” in *Die Sprache der Septuaginta*, ed. Eberhard Bons and Jan Joosten, LXX.H 3 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2016), 111–12, and particularly the bibliography under note 11.

Οἰκέται ἤμεν. The Hebrew עבד can take several meanings depending on context and is here rendered by οἰκέτης. This Greek lexeme is employed exclusively when speaking of Israel's situation in Egypt (6x), but also describes the slave who commits for life to his master (15:17), and Moses as YHWH's servant in 34:5. In other contexts, the Deuteronomy translator prefers παῖς or θεράπων to designate people, or δουλεία when עבד is in a construct with Egypt to designate it as a "house of slavery."¹²⁰ The Hebrew *qatal* verb is here aptly rendered as a Greek imperfect, while the preposition ל is omitted in favor of the dative, as is often the case.

ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ. As Wevers suggests, the plus of γῇ in relation to MT probably reflects an assimilation to 5:15 (and secondarily 5:6) which is very similar and contains the longer ארץ מצרים. When describing the land of Egypt, we find both ארץ מצרים and the shorter מצרים regularly employed. As McCarthy surmises, there appears to have been "a certain amount of fluidity" concerning this formula "when it is the land of Egypt that is in question (rather than its king, army or diseases)."¹²¹ This distinction is apparent when the expression is prefixed with the preposition ב: Of these six instances of במצרים (in MT), four add the word γῇ as we find it here. In 4:34 and 6:22, the preposition ב is best understood in its adversative sense ("against Egypt"), and the Greek text does not have the plus γῇ in such cases.¹²²

¹²⁰ In 32:36, δοῦλος is employed instead. Thackeray commented on the various renderings of the phrase עבד־יהוה in Deuteronomy, suggesting that it may point to a different translator for the last portion of the book. See Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint*, 7–8.

¹²¹ McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*, 5.

¹²² The NETS translator does not agree and translates the first of three instances of the ב preposition in the spatial sense: "in Egypt, against Pharaoh." But there is nothing in the Greek or Hebrew text that would indicate that one of the prepositions is to be understood differently, but one's subjective judgment.

1:30; 6:21; 16:2; 24:18	Plus of $\gamma\tilde{\eta}$	« Spatial sense » - Refers to the location of Israel's bondage
4:34; 6:22	Word-for-word	« Adversative sense » - Refers to the target of YHWH's signs and wonders ¹²³

It appears that when **במצרים** refers to the land of Egypt in a geographical (or spatial) sense, $\gamma\tilde{\eta}$ (or rather **ארץ**) is added to bring this expression in lines with other mentions of the land of Egypt. This is best understood as taking place at the level of the translator's source text.¹²⁴ Wevers adds that this construct appears to be fixed in the book as Egypt is never translated by the genitive, but always the dative: "in Egypt-land."¹²⁵

$\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \chi\epsilon\iota\rho\iota\ \kappa\rho\alpha\tau\alpha\iota\acute{\alpha}\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \beta\rho\alpha\chi\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\iota\ \acute{\upsilon}\psi\eta\lambda\acute{\omega}$. The word **מצרים**, is found twice in MT of this verse, but OG has $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\nu$ in the second instance. There is no trace of this reading in ancient versions however, and perhaps the translator wanted to avoid repetition or misread his source text. In v. 23, $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\nu$ translates **משם**, which shares some similarities with **מצרים**.

Alternatively, this could be another indicator that there has been assimilation in this verse with 5:15, which has **משם** in this position and not **מצרים**:

6:21	<u>עבדים היינו לפרעה במצרים ויוציאנו יהוה ממצרים ביד חזקה</u>
5:15	<u>עבד היית בארץ מצרים ויצאך יהוה אלהיך משם ביד חזקה ובזרע נטויה</u>

¹²³ In the case of 4:34, it could also be said that the preposition has a spatial sense, if one understands the signs and wonders to be performed "in the presence of" Egypt, that is, Pharaoh, his household, and his people. See the comments at 6:15 and 6:22.

¹²⁴ See McCarthy for a description of the variants of this phrase in the various ancient versions, which most likely speak to variant Hebrew source texts in McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*, 5. Wevers appears to attribute this variant to the translator, while the LXX.D *Kommentar* does not specify. See Wevers, *NGTD*, 103, 124; Den Hertog, Labahn, and Pola, "Deuteronomion," 552.

¹²⁵ Wevers, "The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy," 61; Wevers, *THGD*, 137.

Despite 5:15 being in the singular, omitting לפרעה (“to Pharaoh”) but adding אלהיך (“your God”), the similarities (underlined) are striking. The assimilation may explain not only the plus of גָּחַץ / אֶרֶץ discussed above, but also the switch from Egypt (מִצְרַיִם) to “from there” (מִשָּׁם), as well as the plus of καὶ ἐν βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ (וּבְזֶרַע נְטוּיָה) at the end of the verse.¹²⁶ Taken in isolation, one could argue that ἐκείθεν is perhaps the work of the translator, reflecting a stylistic concern to avoid repetition. But taken together, it would rather speak to a variant Hebrew source text, especially since, as we have seen, quantitative differences are usually *Vorlage*-based.¹²⁷

The ἐν + dative as instrumental: “...by a strong hand,” as we find it here is very common in the Septuagint. Yet, Voitila argues that the “instrumental use of ἐν + dative...was not idiomatic in the earliest stages of the language or in Hellenistic Greek.”¹²⁸ Thus the verse begins with a non-conventional apodotic καί, followed by what is very conventional postclassical Greek (including a judiciously chosen imperfect), and ends with another non-idiomatic turn of phrase.

¹²⁶ On καὶ ἐν βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ, White Crawford would argue that given the expansive nature of editorial activity in Deuteronomy’s textual traditions, the shorter MT/SamPent reading should be preferred when reconstructing the earliest Hebrew text. See White Crawford, “Deuteronomy as a Test Case for an Eclectic Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible,” 326.

¹²⁷ The strong hand and raised arm appear together in 4:34, 5:15, 7:19, 11:2 and 26:8 with slight variation due to the presence or absence of suffix, preposition, or definite article. There are five instances in MT where only the first half (strong hand) is found (3:24; 6:21; 7:8; 9:26; 34:12), and in all but the last one, OG repeats the longer formula. Interestingly, Moses is the subject in this last instance (34:12) and so is not said to have an outstretched arm. Given the consistent addition in all cases, such an omission might indicate that scribes were hesitant to describe Moses’s power in the same degree as YHWH’s.

¹²⁸ He adds: “According to Jean Humbert, even the most vulgar papyri show no signs of it.” See Voitila, “Septuagint Syntax and Hellenistic Greek,” 116. But see Soisalon-Soininen, Ilmari. “Die Wiedergabe des ἰνструменту im griechischen Pentateuch,” in *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax*. Edited by Anneli Aejmelaeus and Raija Sollamo. AASF, Ser.B 237. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1987, 116, 122, who observes that the Deuteronomy translator resorts to this use of the ἐν + dative as instrumental more often than the other translators of the Pentateuch. Though it is also found in *koine* Greek, its use is circumscribed. It is employed in specific contexts such as with reference to clothing or being provided with something (see Soisalon-Soininen’s reference to Mayser).

ויתן יהוה אותות ומפתים גדלים ורעים במצרים בפרעה ובכל ביתו לעינינו

καὶ ἔδωκεν κύριος σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα μεγάλα καὶ πονηρὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐν Φαραῶ καὶ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ ἐνώπιον ἡμῶν.

And the Lord gave before us signs and wonders, great and evil in Egypt, against Pharaoh and against his household.

καὶ ἔδωκεν κύριος σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα...ἐν...ἐν...ἐν. The phrase is reminiscent of Exod 7:9, where Pharaoh asks Moses and Aaron to provide signs and wonders.¹²⁹ In the Greek Pentateuch, the Hebrew **אוֹת** is always rendered by *σημεῖον*. Its partner **מוֹפֵת** is also consistently translated by *τέρας*. They are always found together in Deuteronomy (10x) when describing Moses's encounter with Pharaoh. The pair *σημεῖον* and *τέρας* is also employed in Greek literature to describe statues of gods, as well as their concrete signs.¹³⁰ This meaning can also be inferred from the use of these terms in Exod 4:21, where they are placed (**וַיִּשְׁלַח** / *δίδωμι*) in Moses's and Aaron's hands. Their collocation with the verb *δίδωμι*, as in Exod 4:21 and 7:9 seems appropriate.¹³¹ For the use of the preposition *ἐν*, see comment on *ἐν σοί* at v. 15 where the same

¹²⁹ Exod 7:9 and 11:10 are special cases since MT contains only one of the terms, **מוֹפֵת**, while OG Exodus has both *σημεῖον* and *τέρας*. In light of the translation patterns, *τέρας* probably corresponds to **מוֹפֵת** in those passages.

¹³⁰ Note these excerpts from Theophrastus and Polybius: “Ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ αὐτόματα διαβλαστάνοντα ξύλα (καθάπερ τὰ ἐλάϊνα καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον), ἅπερ εἰς τέρα καὶ σημεῖα ἀνάγουσιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλογον.” (“For that matter, even the pieces of wood that sprout of their own accord, as pieces of olive wood and the like, and which are accounted as portents and signs, are not anything.”) Theophrastus, *Caus. plant.* 5.4.3, as translated in Theophrastus, *De Causis Plantarum, Volume III: Books 5-6*, ed. George K. K. Link, trans. Benedict Einarson, LCL 475 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990). See also 5.4.4. These were types of wood chosen to make statues of the gods. “Πάντα δ' ἦν τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς λόγια πᾶσι τότε διὰ στόματος, σημείων δὲ καὶ τεράτων πᾶν μὲν ἱερόν, πᾶσα δ' ἦν οἰκία πλήρης, ἐξ ὧν εὐχαὶ καὶ θυσίαι καὶ θεῶν ἱκετηρίαι καὶ δεήσεις ἐπέιχον τὴν πόλιν.” (“All the oracles that had ever been delivered to them were in men's mouths, every temple and every house was full of signs and prodigies, so that vows, sacrifices, supplicatory processions and litanies pervaded the town.”) Polybius, *Histories*, 3.112.8-9, as translated in Polybius, *The Histories, Volume II*, ed. Christian Habicht and S. Douglas Olson, trans. W. R. Paton and F. W. Walbank, LCL 137 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010).

¹³¹ Wevers argues that *ἔδωκεν* (which he translates as “he set”) followed by *ἐνώπιον ἡμῶν* at the end of the verse must be understood as a calque. It seems rather that the idiom is perfectly conventional, especially if one understands the prepositional phrase as “before us” or the like. See Wevers, *NGTD*, 124–25. Wevers does in fact translate this way at 4:34. See Wevers, *NGTD*, 87.

ambiguity is found. The three prepositional phrases are best understood as being in apposition: the expression in/before/against Egypt (without the “land” as mentioned above) stands for Pharaoh and his circle. We are thus faced with a variety of possibilities: In this context, it could also mean “in the presence of” since the signs were produced before Pharaoh and his court. The phrase ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ also occurs in Gen 9:21 and 39:8 with the spatial sense (“in the midst of”) and not adversative as it is translated here by NETS. Wevers suggests that the phrase could be translated as “And the Lord set great and evil signs affecting Egypt, Pharaoh and his house before us,” here taking the ἐν preposition as designating that to which something happens.¹³²

The כָּל of MT is not represented in the phrase ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, while SamPent, V, S, and T all support MT. A number of passages omit the Hebrew כָּל (4:15, 19, 5:26, etc.) usually because it is redundant in context. But כָּל is rendered in 3:3, a construct very similar to what we find here. In 5:29, the כָּל of MT is not represented in Greek, but its omission is also attested in several Hebrew manuscripts (SamPent, 4QDeut^k, 4QPhyl^h, and XQPhyl 2). McCarthy suggests that this “could point to secondary growth” in MT, and we are perhaps faced with the same phenomenon here.¹³³

ἐνώπιον ἡμῶν. The phrase “before our eyes” (לְעֵינֵינוּ) is translated as ἐνώπιον ἡμῶν. Both 4:34¹³⁴ and 9:17 also translate this Hebrew construction in the same way, with the apparent meaning of “face-to-face/before someone.” Deuteronomy 9:18 and multiple other instances (including 6:18 above) render the related construction בְּעֵינֵי as ἐναντί, which, if understood in more of a

¹³² Wevers, *NGTD*, 125.

¹³³ McCarthy’s comments are found in McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*, 21.

¹³⁴ This verse actually adds another lexeme (ἐνώπιόν σου βλέποντος), but the presence of the participle here is related to an issue identical to the one in vv. 19-20 above, where the Greek participle most likely renders the Hebrew verb רָאָה found at the beginning of v. 35. This could reflect an instance of dittography in the Hebrew source text.

classical sense of “in the presence of” represents a rendering favoring idiomatic Greek. As Lee has shown in his study of these prepositions in the Greek Pentateuch, each of its translators employed ἐναντί, ἐναντίον, ἐνώπιον, and ἐναντίον. Their distribution differs from one book to the next, but this is due to a variety of factors including semantic/contextual considerations, variation, and collocations.¹³⁵ For example, Lee notes that “over 80% of the occurrences of ἐναντί in the Pentateuch are found in the phrase ἐναντί κυρίου.”¹³⁶ This suggests, he argues, that euphony is another factor involved in the choice of prepositions.¹³⁷ It will be argued as much in the context of 25:2 where both ἐναντί and ἐνώπιον are employed in alternance. There is also perhaps another factor involved. There are 12 instances of the Greek ἐνώπιον, and only two of these introduce κύριος. These occur in similar contexts – 16:16 and 31:11. In these passages, the possibly anti-anthropomorphic vocalization in the *nifal* of יראה in the phrase יראה את־פני יהוה (“to appear before YHWH” instead of “seeing the face YHWH”) is rendered in Greek by οὐκ ὁφθῆσθαι ἐνώπιον κυρίου.¹³⁸ In this context, the literal sense of “in front of” or “in the presence of” is required by the context, which is naturally suited to ἐνώπιον.¹³⁹ Otherwise, ἐνώπιον is reserved for the people and ἐναντί for κύριος. That being said, the frequent overlap of meaning between these, and their interchange in the Greek manuscript tradition (see 12:8 where Wevers has ἐναντίον for B’s ἐνώπιον) renders such theories tentative at best.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁵ Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 42–43.

¹³⁶ Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 43. Lee counts 36 instances of ἐναντί κυρίου in Deuteronomy out of 44 occurrences of ἐναντί. In contrast, there are three instances of ἐναντίον κυρίου. Sollamo also noted the same tendency in Sollamo, *Renderings of Hebrew Semiprepositions in the Septuagint*, 27. For an example, see v. 18 above.

¹³⁷ “That is, the pattern of syllables and stresses is felt to be better in one combination than the other.” Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 43–44.

¹³⁸ 31:11 differs only in that the verb is in the infinitive.

¹³⁹ One might argue that ἐναντί, ἐναντίον, and especially ἐναντίον stem from the sense of “opposite of”, from which we also have “before (someone)” or even the derived “in x’s estimation” (as in v. 18).

¹⁴⁰ Wevers cautions that the prevalence of one or the other in the codices must be checked against the older witnesses (848 and 963 especially), where ἐναντί is more common. See Wevers, *THGD*, 115–17.

6:23

ואותנו הוציא משם למען הביא אתנו לתת לנו את הארץ אשר נשבע לאבתינו

καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐξήγαγεν ἐκεῖθεν, ἵνα εἰσαγάγῃ ἡμᾶς δοῦναι ἡμῖν τὴν γῆν ταύτην, ἣν ὤμοσεν δοῦναι τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν.

And he brought us from there in order to bring us in, to give to us this land that he swore to give to our fathers.

καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐξήγαγεν ἐκεῖθεν, ἵνα εἰσαγάγῃ ἡμᾶς. This chiasmic structure mirrors the Hebrew but also incorporates two derivatives of the Greek verb ἄγω. In the context of exiting Egypt, the Hebrew *hifil* of **אָצַח** is always translated with ἐξάγω.¹⁴¹ The other verb, εἰσάγω, is also the most frequent match for the *hifil* of **בִּוֵּא**, and always so in the context of entering the land. The chiasm is therefore chiefly the outcome of the translator's implementation of his most important translational norms (following the source text's word order and favoring consistency in lexical matches). This is especially true in a phrase such as this one that recurs with many variations throughout Deuteronomy. Here, a number of significant Greek manuscripts (codices A F M V, 82–ol' 56' -129 y z 55 59 Pal) have κύριος ὁ θεός ἡμῶν as subject of the verb ἐξάγω. But this variant is rejected by Wevers who considers it another example of the expansionistic tendency of the Greek popular text. He follows B instead.¹⁴² The Greek expansion could be a case of assimilation to v. 21 which has a similar wording, but also to 5:15 or 6:12, both of which have the fuller κύριος ὁ θεός σου.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ It also remains the favorite option for this verb, in 25 out of 32 instances.

¹⁴² Wevers, *NGTD*, 125.

¹⁴³ This assimilation would be at the level of the Greek text, the Hebrew of MT being shorter in 6:12 and 6:21. See also Wevers's comments on the second part of 6:23, where the same tradition also adds κύριος ὁ θεός ἡμῶν as subject of the verb ὤμοσεν.

τὴν γῆν ταύτην, ἣν ὤμοσεν δοῦναι. Both the demonstrative ταύτην and the second infinitive δοῦναι have no correspondence in MT, although one might argue that they are implied.¹⁴⁴ The Hebrew infinitive לָתֵת is present earlier in the verse, and translated accordingly, so it is surprising to find it repeated here. Nevertheless, it may also reflect an expansionist tendency since we observed that it is not the only instance of this kind of addition in this text. Also noteworthy is the fact that the verb δίδωμι often appears in the context of similar expressions in Deuteronomy. Wevers's *THGD* shows that it appears in about half of the phrases speaking of YHWH's oath concerning the land.¹⁴⁵ Two elements make this phrase unique, however: 1) the demonstrative following הָאֶרֶץ is not found elsewhere in these phrases, and 2) the infinitive δοῦναι occurs directly after the verb of taking an oath. Since this second δοῦναι is under the obelisk, thus pre-hexaplaric, there is a good probability that it is original. In fact, both of these variants are found in 963 and probably represents OG. Whether they reflect the Hebrew *Vorlage* or were added by the translator remains an open question. It could be argued that the translator added the demonstrative to distinguish this land from the Egypt-land mentioned in v. 21. But here again, the Hebrew phrase הָאֶרֶץ הַזֹּאת is found in six instances in MT and rendered as such in Greek, except for 9:4 where ἀγαθὴν is added.¹⁴⁶ Likewise, it is difficult to argue that the translator could have added the second δοῦναι since he usually tries to avoid repetition whenever possible. We thus concur with McCarthy who concludes that:

While it is clear that assimilation has occurred in certain renderings of this formulaic phrase (but it is not always clear in which direction), it would be unwise to attribute this type of assimilation to the translator of G, as does Wevers for 9:4

¹⁴⁴ Or *ad sensum*, per Wevers, *NGTD*, 125. See also Den Hertog, Labahn, and Pola, "Deuteronomion," 552.

¹⁴⁵ Wevers, *THGD*, 86.

¹⁴⁶ At least one of the differences of the "land" formulation is reflected in SamPent and a number of Qumran manuscripts. In 8:7, אֶרֶץ טוֹבָה has a plus in Greek (καὶ πολλήν) which is also found in those witnesses.

(“LXX Translator,” 60). It is very possible that G’s *Vorlage* already contained the varying forms, as illustrated by the Qumran readings for 8:7.¹⁴⁷

This is yet another example of the difficulties engendered by the formulaic language of the book in its copying and translating, especially in this section of text.¹⁴⁸

6:24

וּיצוֹנוּ יְהוָה לַעֲשׂוֹת אֶת כָּל הַחֻקִּים הָאֵלֶּה לִירְאָה אֶת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ לְטוֹב לָנוּ כָּל הַיָּמִים
לְחִיתָנוּ כִּהְיוֹם הַזֶּה

καὶ ἐνετείλατο ἡμῖν κύριος ποιεῖν πάντα τὰ δικαιώματα ταῦτα φοβεῖσθαι κύριον τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν, ἵνα εὖ
ἡμῖν ᾗ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας, ἵνα ζῶμεν ὥσπερ καὶ σήμερον.

And the Lord commanded us to perform all these statutes, to fear the Lord our God, so that it may be well for us all our days so that we may live, as it is today.

φοβεῖσθαι κύριον τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν. The main verb of command is followed in MT with three infinitives and one verbless clause, all of which are introduced by the ל preposition. At least one of these infinitives must be the action commanded (to obey the statutes, etc.) but the role of the next infinitive (φοβεῖσθαι) is not clear: Is it another action that is commanded, in apposition with ποιεῖν, or is the ל introducing a purpose clause? Wevers suggests that we understand the second infinitive in the latter sense in light of the message of the book.¹⁴⁹ Yet, the translator supplies ἵνα only for the last two clauses, clearly identifying these two as purpose or final clauses. The context (vv. 2, 13) also seems to point to the fact that the fearing of YHWH is something commanded, which might have influenced the translator’s decision here to opt for the infinitive φοβεῖσθαι, which we would read in apposition to the first one (as

¹⁴⁷ McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*, 5. The absence of Qumran manuscripts attesting to this section of text undoubtedly complicates our evaluation, but we can nevertheless fruitfully deduce the process from what is observed elsewhere.

¹⁴⁸ On this particular verse, one may compare with 1:35, 6:10, both of which contain a similar formula.

¹⁴⁹ Wevers, *NGTD*, 125.

translated by NETS). Thus, the syntax of the Hebrew phrase is clarified via the choice of equivalents, though it is noteworthy that the translator's rendering of the purpose clauses remains faithful to his *modus operandi* of word-for-word and word-order reproduction.¹⁵⁰

ἵνα ζῶμεν ὥσπερ καὶ σήμερον. The καὶ of this phrase also appears to be a plus, but it is not unusual to find it following an adjective or adverb of likeness in classical Greek.¹⁵¹ In fact, it is quite frequent for καὶ to follow ὥσπερ when part of a comparison so that καὶ σήμερον can be considered a composite rendering of the Hebrew preposition כּ and not an amplification as Wevers suggests.¹⁵² Conversely, a small omission is noted: The meaning of the demonstrative of the Hebrew source (הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה = “this day”) is encompassed in the meaning of σήμερον. It would be nonsensical to add a demonstrative in Greek.

ἵνα εὖ ἡμῖν ᾗ. See the comments above at 6:18.

6:25

יִצְדָקָה תִּהְיֶה לָנוּ כִּי נִשְׁמַר לַעֲשׂוֹת אֶת כָּל הַמִּצְוָה הַזֹּאת לִפְנֵי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ כְּאֲשֶׁר צֻוֵּנוּ

καὶ ἐλεημοσύνη ἔσται ἡμῖν, ἐὰν φυλασσώμεθα ποιεῖν πάσας τὰς ἐντολὰς ταύτας ἔναντι κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, καθὰ ἐνετείλατο ἡμῖν.

If we are watchful to perform all these commandments before the Lord our God, as he has commanded us, there will also be mercy for us.”

¹⁵⁰ But as Aejmelaeus observed in her characterization of OG Deuteronomy (section 1.4.2 above), the translator often does not resolve such ambiguities and renders sequences of infinitives as they are in his source text without defining their relationship.

¹⁵¹ Smyth §1501.a. This can be seen in Plato. *Apol.* 37a-b: εἰ ἦν ὑμῖν νόμος, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις, περὶ θανάτου μὴ μίαν ἡμέραν μόνον κρίνειν ἀλλὰ πολλὰς.... (“if you had a law, as some other people have, that capital cases should not be decided in one day, but only after several days....”) As translated in Plato, *Euthyphro. Apology. Crito. Phaedo. Phaedrus*, trans. Harold North Fowler, vol. 1. *LCL* 36 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914).

¹⁵² Wevers, *NGTD*, 126. Examples from the papyri could be multiplied: “καὶ μνημόνευε δὲ ἡμῶν ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς σοῦ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ,” Gu.14.2417 = TM 4013 [258 BCE]. Another is found in P.Cair.Zen.4.59626 = TM 1257 [263-229 BCE]: “ἀλλ’, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ λοιπά, καὶ [τα]ῦτα συναγαγόντες τὰ [δίκ]αιά σοι ποιήσωμεν.”

καὶ ἐλεημοσύνη ἔσται ἡμῖν. The Greek δίκαιοσύνη is the preferred rendering for the Hebrew צדקה in 4 of its 6 occurrences in Deuteronomy.¹⁵³ Only twice does the translator choose to render צדקה with the Greek ἐλεημοσύνη, here and in 24:13 which contains a very similar phrase:

6:25, 24:13	Translated ἐλεημοσύνη	24:13: ולך תהיה צדקה לפני יהוה אלהיך
9:4, 5, 6, 33:21	Translated δίκαιοσύνη	Context: Israel has no צדקה (ch. 9), Executing justice (33:21)

Chapter 6 (section 3) will discuss the significance of this rendering in more detail. From the above, it appears that the translator is choosing Greek equivalents based on context. The Hebrew text expresses the idea that those who observe the command (singular collective) will have/obtain צדקה, normally understood as righteousness or merit. In post-biblical Hebrew, צדקה is found designating acts of mercy, and later alms. This latter meaning is reflected in the choice of ἐλεημοσύνη, but only for these two passages. It could be said that in the context of 24:13, giving back the pledge would count as an act of mercy/alms before YHWH. It seems preferable, however, to understand the use of ἐλεημοσύνη there as conveying the notion that when one shows mercy, there will be mercy for him before YHWH.

The translator faces a situation where the semantic field of צדקה cannot be covered by a single Greek word. It has the classical meaning of righteousness/justice (perhaps even acts of righteous deliverance) as well as the more contemporary meaning of mercy. His choice of ἐλεημοσύνη in this context and not others might be an indication of his theological outlook in that it would indicate that Israel has no righteousness, but instead depends on mercy. It would

¹⁵³ Of the 157 occurrences of צדקה in the Hebrew Bible, 133 are translated as δίκαιοσύνη. In five other instances, it is translated as δίκαιος, one as τὸ δίκαιον, and another as δίκαιωμα. צדקה is translated by ἐλεημοσύνη eight times and ἔλεος in three additional instances. For a detailed breakdown, see Charles Lee Irons, *The Righteousness of God: A Lexical Examination of the Covenant-Faithfulness Interpretation*, WUNT 2. Reihe 386 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 128.

be difficult to construct this meaning from the Hebrew text of 6:25 when one considers the context and the usual meaning of צדקה. This would be a case where semantic shift and theological concerns combine into an instance of subtle exegesis, reflecting an impulse to inscribe in the translation a contemporary understanding of the source text.

ἐὰν φυλασσώμεθα ποιεῖν. Unsurprisingly, this rendering is perfectly conventional from the perspective of both syntax and vocabulary. The Greek φυλάσσω in the middle voice denotes the act of being watchful, careful, followed by an infinitive of the thing one has to be careful to do or avoid.¹⁵⁴ The Hebrew idiom can be understood in the same way, so that despite the consistent pairing of these Hebrew and Greek terms, idiomatic Greek is achieved as well.

πάσας τὰς ἐντολὰς ταύτας. The Greek plural differs from the Hebrew singular מצוה. The Hebrew term is usually employed in the plural to designate commandments, often in collocation with synonymous terms some of which we have seen in vv. 17 and 20 above. Only once is the singular Hebrew translated in the singular, in 30:11 where the context (and accompanying verbs) also renders the pluralization more difficult to achieve.¹⁵⁵ In fact, in many cases where the singular is employed, it apparently refers to the whole law.¹⁵⁶ Thus out of the 11 other instances of the singular, 8 are preceded by the noun כל, indicating its collective nature.¹⁵⁷ It seems more likely then that the pluralization of the Hebrew terms is done *ad sensum*, at least in these cases, and not a case of assimilation at the level of the *Vorlage*.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴ See *LSJ*, s.v. “φυλάσσω”, C.II.3.

¹⁵⁵ It would imply changing the number of several verbs over at least two verses.

¹⁵⁶ See for example Richard D. Nelson, *Deuteronomy: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 85, and his discussion of Lohfink’s proposal concerning the referents of these Hebrew terms.

¹⁵⁷ Only in 6:1, 7:11, and 17:20 is the כל not present.

¹⁵⁸ See McCarthy’s comments on 5:31 in McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*, 22. Cf. Wevers, *NGTD*, 126. A misreading of the Hebrew is also not impossible, but the frequency of this pluralization renders this explanation less plausible.

καθὰ ἐνετείλατο ἡμῖν. Wevers's critical text matches MT, but the majority tradition adds the phrase κύριος τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν after ἡμῖν. In fact, B and 963 only add κύριος.¹⁵⁹ In any case, Wevers considers all of these pluses secondary in nature, even if they are pre-hexaplaric.¹⁶⁰ In any case, should κύριος be considered OG, it would most likely represent a Hebrew source, as we have intimated above.

3.3. EVALUATION

Having analyzed these 13 verses of chapter 6, we can now begin synthesizing some observations and provide a description of the translator's negotiation of translational norms and the situations in which he favors adequacy (conformity to the formal features of the source text) and acceptability (conformity to conventions of the target culture). Out of this analysis flows the description of the translational norms at work, providing a way of characterizing OG Deuteronomy as a translation.

This text presents unique challenges when compared to those that will be examined in the following chapters. Its formulaic language has generated a number of textual difficulties that are not easy to resolve. These formulaic phrases, often repeated but with some variation, have engendered a great deal of scribal activity. The tendency towards assimilation can be found at the level of the Hebrew *Vorlage* or the transmission of the Greek text, and perhaps even at the level of translation. In our analysis, we have favored explanations that attributed differences between OG Deuteronomy and MT to copying activity and not translation. One reason for this is that most of the pluses found in the translation can also be found in a Hebrew

¹⁵⁹ Dogniez and Harl translate Rahlfs's edition here which follows B and 963 with a simple κύριος after ἡμῖν. See Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuterome*, 159.

¹⁶⁰ Another pre-hexaplaric expansion he identifies is in 9:22, since it is found with obelus. His judgment is partially based, no doubt, on their prevalence in these manuscript traditions as can be seen from his analysis of 3:21, 6:25, 8:1, 8:18, 9:22, 27:7, and 30:4. In 8:18, Rahlfs opted for the reading of B even when it was the only witness attesting to the plus of κύριος. See Wevers, *THGD*, 119–20.

text, though not perhaps in Deut 6:13-25. Another important factor is that this translator is very much attached to the norm of quantitative (one-for-one) representation of his source text, as will become apparent in this study. Though tentative in that they are based on the study of a subset of the book, these decisions will have an influence on the evaluation that follows since the translator's involvement in the expansions under examination has been deemed almost nonexistent.¹⁶¹

3.3.1. Adequacy and Acceptability

As noted in chapter 2, section 2.2.4, adequacy and acceptability are evaluated under three categories: linguistic, textual-linguistic, and finally literary and cultural.

Under linguistic adequacy and acceptability, we have observed that the text examined follows the conventions of Greek grammar as represented in compositional literature with very few exceptions. Despite adhering closely to the word order of the source text and consistently pairing various lexemes and syntactic features to specific Greek equivalents, the results are more often than not acceptable from the perspective of Greek idiom. We have noted how the repeated use of the future indicative to translate *yiqtol* and *weqatal* forms that have imperatival force represents conventional Greek usage. The same could be said of the use of the passive form of the verb κολλάω with the preposition πρὸς in v. 13, or the phrase ἐὰν φυλασσώμεθα ποιεῖν in v. 25. In many situations, the translator is able to enact his usual translation strategies and produce renderings that are similar to the linguistic phenomena (syntax, lexical semantics) that can be observed in contemporary papyri.

Instances of linguistic transfer would include ἀπὸ προσώπου and πρὸ προσώπου as translations for Hebrew semi-prepositions, especially when the translator has shown that he

¹⁶¹ It must be added, however, that for each variant, we have studied the occurrences of the phrase in question throughout the book.

can use a simple Greek preposition in their place. Instead, the compound Greek expression is favored, probably in order to represent each element of the Hebrew semi-prepositions. The pervasive use of the preposition ἐν to translate the Hebrew כְּ also generates some peculiar turns of phrase from the perspective of Greek idiom, especially when ἐν + dative is understood as instrumental. The stereotyping of this rendering may be said to produce unconventional syntax. Also worth mentioning is the fact that the translation of פֶּן יַחְרֶה אֵף יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בָּךְ in v. 15 implies a certain level of experimentation when compared to the way the same phrase is translated later in the book. What seems a more rigid approach in terms of lexical pairings is somewhat relaxed later, producing more idiomatic Greek without the problematic ἐν. This might indicate that the translator's general approach was not fully set from the beginning and that some aspects evolved as he went along.

Of course, some features are also found in contemporary literature, but present in our text in much greater frequency (what Toury calls positive transfer). The infinitive absolute + finite verb in v. 17 which is translated using a participle and cognate finite verb falls into this category. Though this construction is syntactically correct, it does not convey the force of the Hebrew locution in the same way. It is also semantically redundant when compared to the usages found in compositional Greek where the two elements are usually different verbal roots.

There is some degree of assimilation to the conventions of the target language as well, as the addition of καὶ in v. 24 demonstrates (thereby forming ὥσπερ καὶ). But this is not as frequent as what we find in other Pentateuch books such as Genesis. The collocation of ἀρεστός and καλός reproduces a frequent Greek combination and may explain the unusual choice of these terms for their Hebrew counterpart. The same might be said of σημείον and τέρας in v. 22, also employed together outside of the Septuagint. A more frequent example of assimilation is

the omission of prepositions in favor of oblique cases. Also omitted are the possessive pronouns of coordinate items (and the accompanying conjunction) as in v. 17. The etymological translation of proper names might be placed in this category, the translator wanting to ensure that the reference underlying the name was not lost (as a transliteration would do) but would be understandable in the target language.¹⁶² This rendering also introduces a wordplay with the preceding verbs, which, combined with the alternation of active and middle voice of the verb *ἐκπειράζω*, might reflect a desire for stylistic variation. Instances where the translator must add an element to produce a grammatically well-formed phrase (i.e., supplying a copula such as in *εὖ σοι γένηται*) demonstrate his intimate knowledge of Greek.

Turning to the analysis of textual-linguistic adequacy and acceptability, we note that it is rather at the level of collocations (syntagmatic relationships) that transfer from the source text (or interference) is more obvious, with usages that are not found in or are foreign to compositional Greek.¹⁶³ These are frequent in our text because of the prevalence of formulaic Deuteronomical phrases, which are usually translated word-for-word at the expense of coherence. This can be seen, for example, in the rendering of the phrase *פֶּן יַחְרִה אֶף יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בָּךְ* in v. 15 by *ὁργισθεὶς θυμῷ κύριος ὁ θεός σου ἐν σοὶ* which combines a pleonasm with *ἐν* to produce an unconventional idiom, undoubtedly motivated by the translator's desire to reproduce his source text with usual equivalents. We have highlighted the use of several unconventional expressions, including *πορεύσεσθε ὀπίσω* as “going after someone” denoting service to a deity.

¹⁶² It could be argued that transliterations represent a significant type of linguistic transfer, and it is avoided here.

¹⁶³ Compare here the comments by De Crom, who observed the same in his study of LXX Song of Songs, in De Crom, *LXX Song of Songs and Descriptive Translation Studies*, 23, 295.

Our evaluation of the cohesion of this text will vary depending on whether we are examining the first half (vv. 13-19) or the second (vv. 20-25). The first section is composed of a series of imperatives with short explanations. Though there is a high incidence of parataxis (see v. 13 for example), there are also several purpose or final clauses introduced with the appropriate particles: *ὅτι*, *μή*, *ἵνα*, etc. These are not deliberate choices insofar as they stand for the equivalent Hebrew particle and replicate the source text's discourse markers. However, the use of *ἵνα* particles in v. 24 to introduce implicit purpose clauses where the source simply has an infinitive or verbless clause shows that the translator is aware of the ambiguities of his source text and is able to structure it appropriately in conformity with conventions of textual-wellformedness in the target language.

The second half of the text is of a different nature, the translator strongly favoring the reproduction of the Hebrew discourse markers even if the outcome represents an ill-formed, unconventional Greek text. The Greek *καὶ ἔσται ὅταν* or *καὶ ἔσται ἐὰν* (translating *וְהָיָה כִּי*) introduces a condition in v. 20 and is followed by an apodotic *καί* in v. 21 (see the similar but reversed structure in the shorter conditional of v. 25). As we have noted, not only is *καὶ ἔσται* never employed with this function in compositional literature, but the reproduction of the Hebrew apodotic *ו* represents a departure from conventional Greek usage in such circumstances. Of note also is the high incidence of parataxis in this section where the various steps in the history of Israel's deliverance are sequenced using *καί*. While this style is certainly not literary, we could argue that in this case – a speech put in a father's mouth – it actually corresponds to a lower register, one that would be spoken in everyday conversation. In this context, the style would be appropriate to the contents of vv. 21-25, though, it must be said, this style is found throughout the book outside of such speeches.

Under the category of literary/cultural adequacy and acceptability, we can first surmise that the translation's style reflects a non-literary, mid- to low-level register of Greek with frequent turns of phrase that reflect its Hebrew source.¹⁶⁴ Given that the text contains speeches, or more specifically, admonitions, one might argue that the resulting genre is close to that of everyday colloquial speech. In a way this is surprising because most of Deuteronomy (and certainly vv. 13-19) are described as Moses's words. Given Moses's status, the absence of rhetorical flourishes and other stylistic features that are part and parcel of typical Greek speeches rather highlights the fact that the translator's concern lay elsewhere. It could even be argued that literary conventions are not a concern of his. The focus is rather on the reproduction of the source text at the level of its shorter segments.¹⁶⁵ Despite a few isolated features – the chiasmic structure of v. 23a and the wordplay of vv. 16 and 23a both mirroring the source text – we can definitely assert that the translator was not reaching for a register any higher than unsophisticated everyday Greek. The preferred translational norms guiding his work would preclude it.

Perhaps the only noteworthy exegetical development is found at the level of lexical choice. The translation of *הקדקד* by *ἐλεημοσύνη* in 6:25 is significant because of its position in the conclusion of this creedal section and the shift of meaning it implies. It represents a subtle shift towards cultural conventions in that it probably reflects an understanding of the text in the translation's cultural context.

¹⁶⁴ See the comments by Horrocks at v. 21. But note Lee's assessment: "Their responses could vary from one context to another, and from one translator to another, but in general they adopted a middle-level Koine Greek of their time, moderately educated but not literary, and not colloquial or informal." See Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 63. Perhaps, as Lee himself would allow, this particular context tends more towards the colloquial.

¹⁶⁵ As will become clear later, the translator is well aware of the broader context and sometimes adapts his renderings accordingly. Rather, it seems there is no norm governing the literary style other than that which is the outcome of the main norms identified in the following section.

3.3.2. Norms and Their Negotiation

A number of translational norms can be identified from the above and ranked in terms of importance. These will be briefly described here and illustrated in the table below. The most significant translational norms are applied systematically.

- We have already observed that conformity to the conventions of Greek grammar (or grammatical well-formedness) is observed throughout. It thus represents a primary norm for the translator. At times this implies deviating from the other norms, such as that of word-for-word representation when he adds τὸν before θεόν on account of the following genitive.
- Serial fidelity, that is, reproduction of the source text's word order, is perhaps the chief characteristic of the translator's work in this section. This serial fidelity is consistent throughout, taking into account, of course, the minor additions and omissions that we have noted. Each unit of the Hebrew source is represented in the same order in translation. One must keep in mind, however, that this is due in part our sample of text. We have noted how elsewhere in the early chapters of Deuteronomy (including ch. 5), enclitic pronouns are sometimes moved before the noun they qualify, contrary to the source's word order. The outworking of this norm sometimes produces grammatical but unconventional Greek, as we noted in v. 13 (for αὐτῷ λατρεύσεις).

Secondary norms are as follows. These are significant but not observed as regularly as the primary ones. Nevertheless, they remain consistently observable. Also of significance is how these are negotiated and related to primary and tertiary norms:

- The representation of all elements of the source text has been identified as a significant overarching norm. The word or lexeme is the unit of replacement, which entails a one-to-one type of equivalency. This norm is secondary because of the frequent exceptions, where some elements of the Hebrew text such as prepositions are not represented, or when the Hebrew כָּל (“all”) is omitted *ad sensum*. Small departures also include the translation of a single Hebrew lexeme by two Greek terms (ἐν ᾧ).
- The matching of word classes.¹⁶⁶ While this is in many ways a consequence of the above two norms, the translator adheres very closely to this practice, even in the rendering of the infinitive absolute + finite verb, which suggests that this is also a significant norm guiding his approach.
- Consistency in lexical matches: The formulaic language of this section offers a number of Greek terms that are consistently matched to their Hebrew counterpart. We have also noted that the stereotyped rendering of כִּי by ἐν is an indicator of the preference for this norm. Yet, its secondary nature is also obvious when looking at other terms, such as those for the various types of laws.

Tertiary norms are sporadic or localized in nature. These are not many in our text, and even those listed here are based on very few occurrences:

- The avoidance of Hebrew idiom in favor of Greek formulations is achieved sporadically. We’ve noted the omission of the personal pronoun for coordinated nouns and the use of oblique cases instead of prepositions. In fact, the few omissions and pluses observed in this text appear motivated by this norm (such as the rendering of ὥσπερ καὶ, for example).

¹⁶⁶ Word class was important to Alexandrian grammarians. See van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 144.

- The incorporation of contemporary interpretations of the source text is also a tertiary norm. Only a single instance was identified in our text, in v. 25, with the use of *ἐλεημοσύνη*. Nevertheless, its position in the passage and the shift in meaning it operates remain significant.
- We have noted one stylistic device which is not the natural outworking of the primary and secondary norms in v. 16 (*Οὐκ ἐκπειράσεις ... ὃν τρόπον ἐξεπειράσασθε ἐν τῷ Πειρασμῷ*), where we find assonance and *variatio*. This example is still not as unambiguous as some in the later chapters, however, and it is doubtful whether a norm to this effect can be identified in this text.

The rather straightforward and sometimes redundant nature of the source text allows for the most systematic application of norms of the three passages under study. Thus, the vast majority of this text is unremarkable in terms of its renderings. Features that represent accommodation to the conventions of the target language in one verse are sometimes counterbalanced by the opposite tendency for another expression in the same. (See vv. 17 or 21 for examples). We may summarize as follows:

<p><i>Regulative Norms</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Grammatical well-formedness 2) Following the source's word order 3) Representing all elements of the source text (secondary) 4) Matching of word classes (secondary) 5) Consistency in lexical matches (secondary) 6) Avoidance of Hebrew idiom (tertiary) 7) Clarification/Interpretation of the source text (tertiary) 	<p><i>Indices of Relative Acceptability</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Linguistic well-formedness 2) Positive and negative transfer 3) Textual linguistic interference 4) Thematically motivated shifts
<p><i>Strong Accommodation of Target Conventions to the Features of the Source Text</i></p> <p><i>Weak Assimilation of Features of Source Text to Target Conventions</i></p>	
<p><i>Constitutive Norms (what is acceptable as translation within the target culture)</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Grammatical well-formedness highly favored 2) Representation of all elements of the source text (isomorphism) highly favored 3) Consistency of stock phrases and word pairings favored. 4) Linguistic interference permitted 5) Textual-linguistic ill-formedness permitted 	

3.4. CONCLUSION

The study of 6:13-25 provides a window into the translator's preference values and the norms guiding his work when there are few difficulties or other concerns forcing him to deviate from his primary and secondary norms. We can easily observe that the translational equivalency is found at the word level, to the extent that the resources of Greek allow the mapping of various Hebrew forms.¹⁶⁷ Thus, though various factors may intervene and call for

¹⁶⁷ On this, see Muraoka, "Limitations of Greek in Representing Hebrew." This conclusion compares favorably to Wevers's general characterization of the book as a translation: "Comparison with MT immediately shows that it follows the parent text closely in word order. Nouns are rendered by nouns, verbs by verbs, prepositional phrases by prepositional phrases." See Wevers, "The Attitude of the Greek Translator of Deuteronomy towards his Parent Text," 499.

several strategies, it is possible to affirm that the translator operates under a specific set of constraints, which tends to produce a particular kind of translation.¹⁶⁸ It is not a mechanical translation, however, as the interaction between norms demonstrate. In this we can also conclude that the translator's concerns are primarily linguistic. No features that we have observed reveal a concern to accommodate the translation to textual or literary conventions. In this respect, our evaluation of this passage corresponds to that of Boyd-Taylor's analysis of 19:16-21: "The selection of target material is obviously deliberate and considered; there are various shifts towards target conventions. Yet these shifts are isolated and relatively minor. The primary task of the translator was evidently to produce an item-by-item metaphrase of the parent."¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ *Contra* Aejmelaeus who argued that the translators had no "system." Though translational norms do not constitute a system as such at the level of translation technique – they often interact in various ways – we may nevertheless posit that they provide as good a snapshot of the operative framework and concept of equivalence as any. See Anneli Aejmelaeus, "Translation Technique and the Intention of the Translator," in *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays*, CBET 50 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 63.

¹⁶⁹ Boyd-Taylor, "Toward the Analysis of Translational Norms: A Sighting Shot," 42.

CHAPTER 4: DEUTERONOMY 25:1-12

We now turn to chapter 25, the last chapter of miscellaneous legal material in the book. This text differs from chapter 6 in a number of ways. These differences are found not only at the level of genre, but also in the diversity of material it contains and how quickly it moves from one topic to the next. The first two laws in 25:1-12 deal with humane treatment of people and animals, a topic initiated in 24:5. This is followed by two laws designed to protect the family lineage.

4.1. OUTLINE

The two sets of laws of vv. 1-12 are set out as follows:

- 1-3: The first law describes how the guilty party is to be punished in the context of the settlement of disputes. It sets out parameters for the carrying out of the sentence, including the severity of the flogging, and provisions for limiting the severity of punishment.
- 4: The second law deals with the proper treatment of the threshing ox.
- 5-10: The third case deals with levirate marriage and explores various scenarios depending on whether the *levir* is willing to raise up his deceased brother's line.
- 11-12: The fourth law is concerned with the protection of the male reproductive organs. It is perhaps related to the previous in that it seeks to protect the ability to have children.¹

¹ Alternatively, it may have to do with the public shaming of the male opponent, which is severely sanctioned. On this interpretation, see Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 300–301.

4.2. COMMENTARY

25:1

כִּי־יִהְיֶה רִיב בֵּין אַנְשִׁים וְנִגְשׁוּ אֶל־הַמִּשְׁפָּט וּשְׁפָטוֹם וְהַצְדִּיקוּ אֶת־הַצְדִּיק וְהִרְשִׁיעוּ אֶת־
הַרְשָׁע

Ἐὰν δὲ γένηται ἀντιλογία ἀνὰ μέσον ἀνθρώπων καὶ προσέλθωσιν εἰς κρίσιν καὶ κρίνωσιν καὶ δικαιώσωσιν
τὸν δίκαιον καὶ καταγνώσιν τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς,

Now if a dispute occurs between people and they enter into litigation and they judge and justify the
righteous one and condemn the impious,

Ἐὰν δὲ γένηται. The protasis is introduced by ἐὰν δὲ and followed by a subjunctive. In

Deuteronomy (and the Pentateuch in general), the conditional כִּי is always rendered by ἐὰν.²

The particle δὲ is a plus in relation to MT, but its presence at the beginning of laws that are
casuistic in nature signals a new conditional sentence. It thus fulfills its purpose as discourse
marker, introducing a new topic.³ This corresponds to the syntax found in contemporary legal
documents, where casuistic discourse is also initiated with ἐὰν.⁴ The sequence of subjunctives
aptly renders the underlying Hebrew modal *yiqtol* and *weqatal* forms that make up the
protasis. The precise delimitation of the protasis and the beginning of the apodosis present
somewhat of a challenge. In the Greek text, the sequence of subjunctives extends all the way
to the beginning of v. 2, where a further condition is introduced. It is then followed by the
apodosis: καὶ καθιεῖς αὐτόν.... The Hebrew text is more ambiguous as the protasis can be
interpreted as ending in the middle of verse 1, with וּשְׁפָטוֹם initiating the apodosis: "...and

² Tjen, *On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch*, 69–70. Ἐὰν followed by a subjunctive (here γένηται) introduces the next scenario, in accordance with the way this Hebrew phrase is translated throughout the book. See Anneli Aejmelaeus, "Function and Interpretation of כִּי in Biblical Hebrew," *JBL* 105.2 (1986): 193–209.

³ As Wevers observes, all laws beginning with ἐὰν in Deuteronomy are followed by δὲ, except in 20:11 where ἐὰν μὲν is found, anticipating the ἐὰν δὲ of the following verse. See Wevers, *NGTD*, 262.

⁴ One significant difference, however, is that in Ptolemaic papyri, new topics are initiated with ἐὰν, while ἐὰν δὲ typically signals that what follows is a continuation of the preceding law. More will be said on this topic at 25:7.

they enter into litigation, then, they will judge them and justify the righteous...etc.”⁵ The use of the subjunctive throughout v. 1 in Greek does not alter the meaning of the text significantly but suggests that there is only one prescription in view in this passage, that in vv. 2-3.⁶ Conversely, the Hebrew text could be understood as prescribing both justice in trials, and fairness in punishment.⁷ In any case, the fact that the protasis is extended suggests that the translator knows what is coming in v.2 and thus works with the larger context in view. We will return to this observation when dealing with v. 3.

ἀντιλογία. In the literature contemporary with the translation, ἀντιλογία is used more generally of disputes or actions in opposition to someone, although there are some significant usages in judicial contexts. Contracts, for example, often contain the clause “ἄνευ κρίσεως καὶ πάσης ἀντιλογίας,” signaling that the signers will comply with the stipulations and not dispute them before the court.⁸ Papyrus P.Hib.II 198 contains judicial procedures about the settlement of disputes (ἀντιλογία), which are to be adjudicated by a plurality of officials.⁹ Such examples confirm that we are dealing with a term that has a well-established usage in legal discourse, as is the case in this verse, and not simply with quarrels or disagreements. In Deuteronomy, ἀντιλογία usually translates the Hebrew רִיב in contexts of legal contestation or disputes. The Greek term is also employed twice (32:51 and 33:8) to translate the place name מְרִיבָה where

⁵ The protasis could also extend to וְשִׁפְטוּם with the apodosis stating how the judges are to adjudicate: They will justify the righteous, etc. However, one could argue that if we are to divide v. 1 in a protasis/apodosis construction, it would be more appropriate to do so before וְשִׁפְטוּם since this verb introduces a change of subject.

⁶ Wevers, *NGTD*, 389.

⁷ Lundbom, however, understands the whole of verse one to consist of a long protasis, extending all the way to v. 2b. See Jack R. Lundbom, *Deuteronomy: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013), 698–99. See also Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 296–97.

⁸ *MM*, s.v. “ἀντιλογία”.

⁹ P.Hib.II 198 = TM 5183 [240BCE]. See the comments by Bagnall and Derow on this document in Roger S. Bagnall and Peter Derow, eds., *The Hellenistic Period: Historical Sources in Translation*, New ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 203–4.

the Israelites tested YHWH in the wilderness.¹⁰ It appears to be a favorite word of the translator since **רִיב** is usually translated by *κρίσις* outside of Deuteronomy.¹¹

εἰς κρίσιν. Despite these terms being usual equivalents to their Hebrew counterpart, this prepositional phrase represents perfectly conventional Greek idiom. In P. Enteux. 3, an individual pleads with the king that he would order Diophanes, the *strategos*, to write to the *epistates* so that he will examine the complaint and bring the accused to trial (*εἰς κρίσιν*).¹²

καὶ κρίνωσιν. The translation omits the 3rd person plural object of the verb **שפט**, making the transition from those being judged to those judging more abrupt: "...and they enter into litigation and they judge...."¹³ It is also possible to understand the resulting Greek as an impersonal construction, as Dogniez and Harl translate: "qu'ils se présentent au jugement, qu'on les juge...."¹⁴ In English, one would translate such a construction using the passive voice: "and they are judged." The impersonal construction would render the verbal object unnecessary. However, since the Greek plural form reproduces the underlying Hebrew plural, it is more difficult to argue that the rendering was motivated by something other than the usual reproduction of the source's features. Even without resorting to an impersonal construction, it should be noted that it is not unusual for the Greek translators to omit the pronominal object

¹⁰ Interestingly, this follows a trend to resort to etymological renderings for some place names, as was noted at 6:17.

¹¹ *ἀντιλογία* also translates **רִיב** in 2 Sam 15:4 (but note that *κρίσις* is there already matched to **משפט**, as is the case here), Ps 17:44, 30:21, and 54:10. There is a parallel to be found with Exod 18:16, more obvious in Greek than Hebrew. It is the only other instance of *ἀντιλογία* in the Pentateuch outside of Deuteronomy in judicial settings. There, Moses is judging all the people as they bring various matters (**דבר**) to him. His father-in-law then advises that other judges be appointed so that Moses is only consulted for more difficult matters (**דבר**), while these other judges handle the less difficult cases (**דבר**). Only the first instance is translated by *ἀντιλογία*, the translator reverting afterwards to the usual match of *ῥῆμα*.

¹² P. Enteux. 3 = TM 3281 [222 BCE]. See also P. Mich. I 57 = TM 1957 [248 BCE] and P. Tor. Choar. 8 = TM 3571 [127 BCE].

¹³ See Wevers, *NGTD*, 389.

¹⁴ Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronome*, 270.

when it is judged redundant or unnecessary.¹⁵ It is thus possible that this omission represents a preference for assimilation to target conventions.

τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς. We find ἀσεβής translating רשע (“guilty”). Words of the ἀσεβής family seem to be a favorite of this translator as they are introduced in unexpected places in the book. But the match found here is the most frequently observed in the Pentateuch. This rendering will be discussed in more detail in chapter 6. For now, suffice it to say that this use of the Greek term suggests an understanding of the law that is more closely related to proper behavior before YHWH. Perhaps this understanding reflects the meaning that רשע takes on in ancient Hebrew literature outside of the Pentateuch where it often describes “the wicked,” the one who lives in opposition to YHWH. In the context of Deut 25:1-3, it would normally simply refer to the guilty (note the verb of the same root that precedes it).

25:2

וְהָיָה אִם בֶּן הַכּוֹת הָרָשָׁע וְהַפִּילוּ הַשֹּׁפֵט וְהַכּוּהוּ לִפְנֵי כַּדִּי רָשָׁעְתוֹ בַּמִּסְפָּר

καὶ ἔσται ἐὰν ἄξιός ᾤ πληγῶν ὁ ἀσεβής, καὶ καθιεῖς αὐτὸν ἔναντι τῶν κριτῶν καὶ μαστιγώσουσιν αὐτὸν ἔναντίον αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν αὐτοῦ.

Then it shall be, if the impious is worthy of lashes, that you shall make him sit down before the judges, and they shall beat him in their presence according to his impiety.

καὶ ἔσται ἐὰν. A further conditional is introduced, clarifying a primary concern of this law. As Wevers notes, וְהָיָה introducing a conditional clause occurs 25 times in Deuteronomy and is consistently translated by καὶ ἔσται.¹⁶ This is followed by a variety of markers, depending on

¹⁵ This has been observed throughout, as discussed in Muraoka, *Syntax* §74. Of note is the example to this effect (from the very “slavish” translation of Ruth) in Soisalon-Soininen, “Zurück zur Hebraismenfrage,” 38.

¹⁶ Wevers, *NGTD*, 118.

the nature of the sentence.¹⁷ Here the conditional particle **ὅτι** is aptly rendered as *ἐάν*. See the discussion at 6:20 for an evaluation of *καὶ ἔσται* in Greek.

ἄξιός ἢ πληγῶν. Verse 2 describes what is to happen if the guilty party is deemed worthy of flogging. The rendering of this condition illustrates how translational norms are negotiated. In this case, the Hebrew idiom “son of x” is avoided and the conventional Greek combination of *ἄξιός* + genitive is employed instead.¹⁸ The noun clause is also supplied with a copulative verb. Thus, both the norms of one-to-one correspondence and consistent lexical matching are suspended in favor of conforming this idiom to one more conventional in the target language.¹⁹

καί. The apodotic *καί* renders the Hebrew equivalent here as in a majority of cases throughout this chapter. Its presence could be interpreted as a case of positive transfer, some claiming that the use of apodotic *καί* goes back perhaps as far as Homer.²⁰ But as was discussed at 6:21, its frequent use has no correspondence in compositional Greek, and especially in legal texts. The *καί* could sometimes be understood as “also,” but this would not fit all contexts, especially legal material as we have here. Aejmelaeus observed that over 69% of the apodotic **וְ** are rendered as *καί* in Deuteronomy, but this proportion reaches over 95% when the apodosis follows a **וְהִיה** formula as we find it here.²¹ She suggests that “the formula made it more

¹⁷ For a breakdown of the various clauses following **וְהִיה** and their translation, see Wevers, *NGTD*, 118.

¹⁸ A similar construction can be found in P.Köln.IV.186 = TM 65863 [2nd century BCE]: “θανάτου μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἄξιός ἐστιν.” On this topic, see the comments provided by Aitken in James K. Aitken, *No Stone Unturned: Greek Inscriptions and Septuagint Vocabulary*, Critical Studies in the Hebrew Bible 5 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2014), 83–84. Muraoka list this example under genitives of price. See Muraoka, *Syntax* §221, 22r. Cf. Mayser II 2.218–223, §86.3.

¹⁹ Though it must be added that the copula is supplied because it is a requirement of grammatical well-formedness, as is often the case in OG Deuteronomy.

²⁰ See the discussion in BDF §442, as well as the examples and references in Tjen, *On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch*, 217–18. But see the caveat in Muraoka, *Syntax* §90g.

²¹ Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint*, 128, 132. Deuteronomy has the highest ratio of apodotic *καί*, though it must be said that this includes all types of conditionals. She goes on to state that they are more frequently

difficult for the translator to distinguish the apodosis.”²² Otherwise, over half of the renderings of the apodotic *καί* in Deuteronomy – particularly those following a subordinate clause as we have here – would be explained by the distance between it and the beginning of the protasis.²³ In other words, the translator loses track of the flow of the conditional structure when working on a long protasis. She nevertheless concedes that the apodosis is marked by a switch to the subjunctive. The problematic nature of this argument also lies in the high number of exceptions: In v. 7 below, the apodotic *καί* is rendered following a very short protasis, while it is omitted in v. 12 after a longer one. Tjen suggests that it is simply a matter of the translator’s preference, perhaps motivated here by the fact that he took a freer approach to translating the conditionality of the clause.²⁴ However, a fresh look at the conditionals that are recognized as such and initiated by *ἐάν* (or *ἐάν δέ*) in translation suggests another pattern. Of the 46 instances where an apodosis follows a conditional subordinate clause and initiated with *ו* in Hebrew, 29 are represented by *καί* and 17 are omitted. The handling of the apodotic *ו* appears related to the contents of the apodosis and not the protasis that precedes it:²⁵

rendered when they follow a clause introduced by *וְ* or *וְאִם* as we have here. When following a *וְהָיָה* formula, the apodotic *καί* is rendered in 18 out of 19 cases, while the other cases are about evenly distributed (58.1%).

²² She adds: “Otherwise, it may be said that the formula, without possessing any informational value, disturbed the translation process and increased the number of occurrences of *καί* in the apodosis.” See Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint*, 134.

²³ “If the apodosis is separated from the protasis by additional clauses or the protasis is very long, the probability of the occurrence of *καί* increases.” Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint*, 136. She cites as examples 17:2-5, 22:13-15, and 26:1-2. A few passages are also cited as exceptions: 20:11-12, 21:1-2, and 22:25.

²⁴ Tjen argues that 30% of apodotic markers are not translated in Deuteronomy without any discernable pattern. See Tjen, *On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch*, 215–18.

²⁵ Three conditional passages were excluded from this analysis: In 12:20, the future form *καὶ ἐρεῖς* is actually part of the protasis. Wevers thinks the future is original and prospective in meaning, but many ancient textual witnesses, including codex A have a subjunctive verb here: *εἰπῆς* A M^{xt} O^l-707 d 129 n 85^{mg}-321^{mg} t y z 407^l. See Wevers, *NGTD*, 217–18. In 26:12, MT and OG do not begin the apodosis in the same place. While MT has an apodotic *ו*, this is not taken into account. Deut 30:10 contains a protasis that forms an inclusion with that of v. 1. It thus follows an extended apodosis, and it is difficult to determine which part of this long apodosis belongs to the protasis that precedes or the one that follows. Tjen also identifies 49 apodotic *ו* following conditionals in Deuteronomy. See Tjen, *On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch*, 215.

- The instances where the apodotic ἵ is rendered as καί are those where conditional structures have a complex apodosis comprised of more than one verb. These verbs usually describe a sequence of events such as we find here in v. 2 and vv. 7-8 below.²⁶
- Instances where ἵ is omitted in translation are those where the apodosis is simple, with either a single verb (as in 25:3b and 25:12) or multiple clauses (and verbs) in apposition, without sequence.²⁷

A few examples fall out of this pattern, three in both categories, but this is to be expected:²⁸

- In 5:25, 6:25, and 23:25, the apodotic ἵ is translated with καί despite the apodosis containing a single verb. But there are mitigating factors in each case: In 5:25, the protasis ἐὰν προσθώμεθα ἡμεῖς ἀκοῦσαι τὴν φωνὴν κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἔτι can be linked to the preceding phrase introduced by ὅτι: ἐξαναλώσει ἡμᾶς τὸ πῦρ τὸ μέγα τοῦτο, which would be its apodosis (with no apodotic ἵ), combined with the καὶ ἀποθανούμεθα which follows the protasis. This is the punctuation reflected in the Göttingen critical

²⁶ The following 26 passages exemplify this pattern (* indicates the conditional is introduced by καὶ ἔσται): 7:1-2, 11:13-15, 22-23*, 12:21-22, 13:12-14 (13-15^{MT}), 14:23-25 (24-46^{MT}), 15:16-17, 17:2-5, 17:8-10, 19:8-10, 11-12, 16-20, 21:10-13, 18-21, 22:13-16, 20-21, 24:1, 25:2*, 7-10, 26:1-11*, 28:1-2* (linking 2a with the protasis of v. 1), 10-14? (apodosis comes first and difficult to delimit), 15, 58-68, 30:1-3*, 16. Tjen sees 20:10 in this category, but ἐκκαλέσῃ could be understood as a subjunctive and the continuation of the protasis. In 19:16-20, the ἐξετάσωσιν of v. 18 breaks the sequence of future forms of the apodosis and does not make sense in the context. Several Greek witnesses and daughter versions (oI-72 C¹ 77c 414 528 529c 761c (413 inc) 75 s^{-344mg} 121 28 319 Lat^{cod} 100 Bo²⁶) have a future form instead. But Wevers thinks the subjunctive is original. See Wevers, *NGTD*, 316–17. Cf. Boyd-Taylor, “Toward the Analysis of Translational Norms: A Sighting Shot,” 39–40.

²⁷ These 14 passages omit the καὶ (* indicates the conditional is introduced by καὶ ἔσται): 15:12, 18:6-8, 20:11*, 21:14*, 22:8a, 22, 25, 28-29a, 23:9 (10^{MT}), 10 (11^{MT}), 26 (27^{MT}), 24:7, 25:3, 11-12. An example of an apodosis with two verbs restating the same idea (no sequence) is in 21:14: “ἐξαποστελεῖς αὐτὴν ἐλευθέραν, καὶ πράσει οὐ πραθήσεται ἀργυρίου.” 20:12-

²⁸ Not only are there translational, *Vorlage*, and contextual issues motivating some of these exceptions, but there was also the impetus in the textual transmission of the Greek text to add a καὶ in order to reflect MT. In some instances, scribes omitted the καὶ, presumably to improve style.

text despite Wevers's suggestion to modify it to follow MT's sense division.²⁹ In 6:25, the apodosis begins the verse and precedes the protasis. The Hebrew *x-yiqtol* construction also differs from the typical *weqatal* encountered in the other passages cited. It could be argued that the apodotic ו - *kal* also functions as a conjunction as it connects this verse with the preceding statement.³⁰ In 23:25, it is apparent that some differences were introduced in the textual history either of the Hebrew or Greek text since the two cases presented in verses 24 and 25 have been transposed. Arguably, these three exceptions do not undermine the patterns observed.

- In 20:12-13, 22:2, and 22:23-24, the apodotic ו is not rendered into Greek despite the apodosis being complex and composed of verbs describing a sequence of actions.³¹ Verse 15:12, which was inventoried above under omissions with simple apodosis might also fall into this category depending on how one classifies the apodosis. The *weqatal* – ו – *x* – *weqatal* syntax of the apodosis, where the second part might be understood as contrasting (“but”), it could be considered a simple apodosis. Nevertheless, this category as a whole is less problematic since the omission of the apodotic ו is expected from the perspective of Greek idiom.

²⁹ If one were to follow Wevers's suggestion, an apodosis of *καὶ ἀποθανούμεθα* would not fit our pattern. See Wevers, *NGTD*, 106–7.

³⁰ 22:8b is very similar.

³¹ In 20:12-13, Wevers notes a popular variant that contains an apodotic *καὶ* (*C'' b* 246 458* *s* 18'-120-630' 28 407' 646 ^{Lat}Aug *Ios* XXI 2), but he thinks it has been inserted from a parallel passage. See Wevers, *NGTD*, 326. Manuscript 848 also omits the *καὶ*, so that this most likely represents the OG, but it modifies what follows with *εως αν παραδω σοι* (as in B). In 22:24, Wevers parses the asyndetic *ἐξάξτε* as an imperative, which would explain the omission of the *καὶ*. But this appears to be mistaken as it is clearly a future form. See Wevers, *NGTD*, 359. Tjen argues that Wevers mistakenly based some text-critical decisions on the presumption that the omission is the default. See Tjen, *On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch*, 217. In context, Wevers discusses 18:7, 22:8, 23:9, and 10 where his critical text omits the *καὶ* present in Rahlfs's edition. While Wevers's observation about the pattern might be misguided, it is noteworthy that his decision is also based on the combined witness of several manuscripts, including that of 848 in half the cases. See Wevers, *THGD*, 79.

In conclusion, the translator does not render the apodotic ו when faced with a conditional whose apodosis contains a single verb or the absence of a verbal sequence. The reverse is also usually true: If the apodosis is complex, the tendency is to render the apodotic ו as *καί*. Only 3 (perhaps 4) exceptions out of 32 cases were found. This has important ramifications for the analysis of the conditional clauses in OG Deuteronomy, and its translation process in general. Amongst other things, and as will be confirmed in other ways in this chapter, the translator appears to be working with the whole protasis and apodosis in mind. He shows awareness of the context beyond the sentence or phrase level. Semantically speaking, it may also signal that in these contexts, he is using *καί* in a way akin to its adjuncting or temporal sense (“then” or “also”).³² We should keep in mind the textual difficulties when dealing with the transmission of these conjunctions in both the Hebrew and Greek manuscript traditions. Nevertheless, we could tentatively offer the following motivation: The temporal (or perhaps adjuncting – “also”) use of *καί* would allow the translator more freedom in rendering the apodotic ו while producing at the same time a (somewhat) idiomatic Greek phrase. But in the case of simple apodoses, this option is simply not available, and therefore the apodotic ו is omitted.³³

καθιεῖς αὐτὸν ἔναντι τῶν κριτῶν... καὶ μαστιγώσουσιν αὐτὸν ἐναντίον αὐτῶν. The application of the punishment as described in the second part of the verse presents a number of differences with MT, not only in terms of the subject, but also in the number of the verbs:

³² See *BrDAG*, s.v. “*καί*”, section 4.e. Cf. BDF §444, where the correlative use of *καί* is also discussed. But it is usually limited to two terms or phrases while the verbal sequences observed in the apodoses often exceed this number.

³³ In which case it would speak to the translator’s negotiation of his translational norms, that of rendering all elements of the Hebrew source, on the one hand, and that of avoiding overly foreign Hebrew idiom.

- 1) In MT, the judge (singular) is to make the guilty sit or lie down before him whereas in the translation, the command is addressed to “you” (singular), who is to set the guilty before the judges (plural).
- 2) In MT, the guilty is to be flogged presumably by the judge (השפט) can be understood as subject, or else an impersonal subject is to be assumed) in his (the judge’s) presence, whereas the translation continues with the plural (“They will flog... in their presence”).

The switch from an apparent plurality of judges in MT v.1 to a single one in v.2 could present a difficulty. Yet, all of the verbs in the second part of the verse, following והפילו (“[the judge] shall then make him lie down”) can be understood as implying an impersonal subject, especially since it seems tautological that the judge himself would beat the guilty in his presence (לפניו).³⁴ If that is the case, the Hebrew text would have the judge order the sentence, which is then carried out by an indeterminate subject.

In the translation, we find the first verb of judging in v. 1 (κρίνω) translated in the plural along with all verbs that follow. When reaching v. 2, the presence of MT’s singular השפט is perhaps seen as problematic and rendered as an adverbial clause instead of the subject. The subject becomes “you,” the 2nd singular addressed throughout Deuteronomy. The verbs that immediately follow the singular “You shall make him sit down” switch back to the plural so that “they” will beat him before them (not “him”). This sequence of plural verbs continues into verse 3, all the way to the end of this case. The actual carrying out of the sentence is done in the plural. This is all the more striking since these verbs are all in the singular in MT.

³⁴ See Joüon §155b-e. This is how most English translations render this phrase: “...and be beaten...he may be beaten”. See also the justification for this translation in J. G. McConville, *Deuteronomy*, AOTC 5 (Leicester; Downers Grove, IL: Apollos ; InterVarsity Press, 2002), 366.

Wevers suggests that these changes are motivated by the need to differentiate between judges and executioners and to remove the ambiguities of the Hebrew text.³⁵ While the translation does remove ambiguity concerning the number of judges, it does not in fact differentiate clearly between both roles. In Greek, the judges also appear to be carrying out the punishment, unless we somehow conceive of an abrupt switch in subject.³⁶ One significant difference, moreover, is that in translation, the people (the 2nd person addressee) are involved in the execution of the sentence, preparing the guilty for receiving it. Since the translation is known to sometimes harmonize the grammatical number, another explanation could be that having referred to judges with plural verbs in v.1, it was deemed more consistent to continue using plural verbs to the end of verse 3. Only one verb could not comply, because of the problematic singular noun **השפט**. Perhaps this is why the translator resorted to the generic addressee of the discourse: “you”, which usually stands for the community of Israel.³⁷ However, the many adjustments required to render **השפט** in a different syntactic slot suggest that more is in view.

Broadening our context, this difference in number could also be interpreted as an attempt to eliminate a perceived contradiction with other passages in Deuteronomy which speak of a plurality of judges. According to 16:18-20, judges are to be appointed locally, but

³⁵ “The reasoning underlying these changes probably involved the fact that, though the Hebrew presupposes one judge, a judgment of this sort should presuppose a consensus of legal opinion. Furthermore, the Hebrew seems to say that ‘the judge’ shall make him fall and flog him, but throughout the preceding verses the second singular has been used...the changes are both contextually and exegetically driven.” See Wevers, *NGTD*, 389–90. This is also the explanation provided by Otto and McCarthy in Eckart Otto, *Deuteronomium 12-34. Zweiter Teilband: 23,16 - 34,12*, HThKAT (Freiburg: Herder, 2017), 1821; McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*, 71.

³⁶ In v. 1, “they” come to the judges, and “they” pass judgment. In any case, the outcome is that the judges and executioners are not clearly distinguished and are both several in number.

³⁷ The translator would have had to change the number of the judge, the accompanying verb, and the pronominal suffix. Alternatively, this selective change might be due to textual differences in the translator’s *Vorlage*, as we will discuss later. Papyrus 957 (Rylands 458) reads *καθίζω* in the 3rd person singular: “καὶ καθιέ αὐτὸν ἐν[αντίον ...] οὐ”. Roberts suggests the lacuna should be reconstructed as “ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ” although “ἐναντίον τοῦ κριτοῦ” is not impossible. See the discussion at 25:3 and Roberts, *Two Biblical Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, 41–44.

on matters which prove too difficult, consult officials at the central sanctuary. In 17:8-13, it is the generic addressee (“you”), who is to travel up to the place, thus leaving the number of members of this delegation indeterminate.³⁸ The central court is clearly made up of a plurality of members: priests, Levites, and a judge.³⁹ Closer to our text, 19:15-21 also describe a ריב (ἀντιλογία) between men, who are to come before YHWH, the priests, and the judges. Thus, the switch to the plural in translation when referring to judges (and executioners) could manifest a desire to standardize the references to judges throughout the book, and especially 19:17, where they are usually found in the plural.⁴⁰ This also accords with later Jewish exegesis, where Josephus, for example, portrays the local judiciary as consisting of seven judges.⁴¹ It is also possible that the translator adapted the Hebrew text to his legal context, but there is little evidence to support this.⁴²

³⁸ Pearce reviews the various options in Sarah J. K. Pearce, *The Words of Moses: Studies in the Reception of Deuteronomy in the Second Temple Period*, TSAJ 152 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 51–52. Rofé seems to think the delegation is many, but the “you” (sg) of 17:8-13 is simply the addressee of the discourse. See Alexander Rofé, “The Organization of the Judiciary in Deuteronomy (Deuteronomy 16.18-20; 17.8-13; 19.15; 21.22-23; 24.16; 25.1-3),” in *The World of the Aramaeans, Vol. 1: Biblical Studies in Honour of Paul-Eugène Dion*, ed. P. M. Michèle Daviau, John W. Wevers, and Michael Weigl, JSOTSup 324 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 104–5.

³⁹ Levinson provides a history of scholarship on this text in Bernard M Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 124–30. Levinson also argues that those traveling to the central sanctuary are not the local judges but the litigants, as implied by 19:17, where a parallel procedure clearly has the litigants appearing before the high court. However, it is difficult not to see in 17:12 an imperative addressed to the local judges, a representative of which might go up to the central court. On this interpretation, see for example Driver, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy*, 208.

⁴⁰ In favor of this explanation is the presence of ἀσέβεια in both texts, even though they translate different Hebrew terms. This feature at least raises the possibility that the translator saw a connection between both and sought to clarify the meaning of 25:2.

⁴¹ “Let there be seven men to judge in every city, and these such as have been before most zealous in the exercise of virtue and righteousness. Let every judge have two officers, allotted him out of the tribe of Levi.” See Josephus, *Ant.* 4.214 as translated in Flavius Josephus, *The Works of Josephus: Complete and Unabridged*, trans. William Whiston (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1996). In a situation where these judges are faced with a difficult case, they are to “...send the cause undetermined to the holy city, and there let the high priest, the prophet, and the Sanhedrin, determine as it shall seem good to them.” Josephus, *Ant.* 4.218 (trans. *Ibid.*). In Josephus *J.W.* 2.570-571, he also describes his own efforts at instituting a government in Galilee, portraying himself as a Mosaic legislator by instituting 70 elders as rulers of Galilee, and seven judges in every city. For a discussion of these passages, see Pearce, *The Words of Moses*, 122–23.

⁴² See Den Hertog, Labahn, and Pola, “Deuteronomion,” 581, who suggest that this is a strong possibility but do not provide any evidence. In the papyri of this period, the judges are usually spoken of in the plural. Bagnall and Derow state, for example, that by the end of the third century, the most important local judiciary was the

Another possibility given the plus in the Greek text is that the translator's *Vorlage* here had לפני השפטים instead of השפט. The similar law in 19:15-21, and particularly the matching vocabulary in v. 17, could have exerted influence during the textual transmission of this verse, so that the expression לפני השפטים found there was also employed in 25:2.⁴³ On the other hand, this assimilation would not explain the switch from 3rd to 2nd person for the preceding verb: If we assume that the *Vorlage* contained לפני השפטים, the preceding והפילו would have to be understood in an impersonal sense. In such situations, the translator can sometimes personalize the subject using the 2nd person, as a few examples seem to demonstrate.⁴⁴ These two factors may explain how we end up with the Greek phrase καὶ καθεὶς αὐτὸν ἔναντι τῶν κριτῶν.⁴⁵ This explanation, however, would also require the לפני that follows to have been לפניהם instead, and further complicates an already difficult scenario.

chrematistai. This board of judges was composed of three judges and a clerk and was responsible for a particular administrative area. See Bagnall and Derow, *The Hellenistic Period*, 288. In one document dating to the period of the translation of the Pentateuch we find a set of royal prescriptions regulating, among other things, judicial procedures for the settlement of disputes (ἀντιλογία): "But those who bring charges against..., or those against whom the latter bring charges are to obtain justice before the appointed court...in conformity with the ordinances before the courts which concern [them] in each district. Should any dispute (ἀντιλογία) arise about – as prescribed in the diagraphma – the strategos in each [nome] will act as judge conjointly with the nomarch and... Year 5, Peritios." (P.Hib.II 198 = TM 5183 [Arsinoites – 240 BCE]. Translation by Bagnall and Derow, *The Hellenistic Period*, n. 122.) We thus find here confirmation of a local judiciary and the need, when contestations arise, for a plurality of judges to settle the case. The penalties in such cases vary greatly, and floggings are mentioned, but rarely their number. For example, P.Cair.Zen.II 59202 = TM 847 [Krokodilopolis – 254 BCE] mentions a corrupt treasurer that is to be tried by the *chrematistes* (singular?) and whipped with his hands tied behind his back. See Bagnall and Derow, *The Hellenistic Period*, n. 135. P.Lille.I 29 = TM 3231 [Arsinoites – 3rd cent. BCE] contains a prohibition to flog slaves. Bagnall and Derow surmise that this punishment was only allowed with a court order. Bagnall and Derow, *The Hellenistic Period*, n. 142. I have not found any instances of the number forty in such contexts. Whether the Greek translation is related to these is another matter. It appears unlikely, given the evidence at our disposal, that the judicial system of Ptolemaic Egypt would have been an influence on the translation of Deut 25:1-3.

⁴³ Note especially that while in MT's text of 19:17 השפטים is not preceded by לפני, the semi-preposition is present in 11QT^a 61.8-9.

⁴⁴ 16:16, 22:6, 22:25, 24:6. See Wevers, "The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy," 72. Note, however, that in 13:10(11^{MT}), the reverse takes place, apparently in an effort to clarify who is to stone the guilty party. It should not only be the person who denounced the apostate but also the people as the previous verse implies. See Wevers, *NGTD*, 233.

⁴⁵ On the use of ἔναντι, see Aitken, *No Stone Unturned*, 81–82; Raija Sollamo, "Some 'Improper' Prepositions, Such as ΕΝΩΠΙΟΝ, ΕΝΑΝΤΙΟΝ, ΕΝΑΝΤΙ, etc., in the Septuagint and Early Koine Greek," *VT* 25.4 (1975): 780–81. The alternance of ἔναντι and ἐναντίον in this verse could be explained by the presence or absence of a consonant initiating the word that follows. See our comments at 6:22 for further discussion on these.

Another factor may explain the pluralization of the verbs in 2b and 3a: The Greek 3rd person plural verb can be understood as an impersonal construction, sometimes denoting a vague, unspecified subject.⁴⁶ Although not common in OG Deuteronomy, an example of this is found a few verses later in this chapter (v. 9), where MT's *niphal* יִעָשֶׂה, an impersonal construction, is rendered into Greek as ποιήσουσιν.⁴⁷ To be sure, there are verbs and constructions such as this one (esp. using the passive voice) that are semantically impersonal. This example nevertheless shows that the translator is familiar with this use of the Greek 3rd person plural.⁴⁸ It is therefore possible that the pluralization of the verbs of striking in v. 2b are of the same nature and represent an attempt to mirror the Hebrew impersonal construction, or at least to make sense of the text in this way: "You will make him lie down and he will be beaten...it will not be added."⁴⁹ In his study of the translation of impersonal constructions (verbs with indefinite subjects) in the ancient versions, Rabin came to the conclusion that the determining factor in the rendering of such constructions was the stylistic preferences of the target language, and that the analysis of such variants should favor linguistic instead of text-critical explanations.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ BDF §130. In classical Greek the 3rd person plural can be used impersonally in some cases, but usually for verbs of saying and thinking (Smyth §931d). This becomes more prevalent in the later period, for example in New Testament literature where a few more examples are found (Matt 7.16: "μήτι συλλέγουσιν ἀπὸ ἀκανθῶν σταφυλὰς": Are grapes gathered from thorns?) For some examples within the LXX corpus, see also Muraoka, *Syntax* §87b.

⁴⁷ ככה יעשה לאיש = Οὕτως ποιήσουσιν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ In context, the woman is referring to her own actions and not those of the γερούσια, affirming what is to happen generally.

⁴⁸ So in Gen 10:9, the *niphal* יָאמַר is also rendered also with a plural ἐροῦσιν. Closer to our text is Deut 34:6, where Moses is buried. The singular יִקָּבֵר need not refer specifically to YHWH, the subject of the previous line. It can also be understood impersonally as translated into Greek by the plural ἔθαψαν.

⁴⁹ Note also the comment above to the effect that the second part of v. 1 could also be read impersonally, by interpreting the verb וישפוטם as expressing a vague (indeterminate) personal subject: "One will judge...justify...condemn."

⁵⁰ See Chaim Rabin, "The Ancient Versions and the Indefinite Subject," *Textus* 2 (1962): 76. The tendency to switch from singular to plural is rather striking in the Pentateuch, especially if one sets aside verbs of speaking. In fact, Rabin suggests that since the direction of change is predominantly from 3rd person singular in Hebrew to a plural or passive form in the versions, some of the instances where the OG has a 3rd person singular form contra MT may indicate that MT was later updated to a plural form. However, despite the usefulness of Rabin's wide-ranging but selective survey, each instance requires examination since text-critical and exegetical factors also

It is difficult to be sure what exactly motivated the pluralization of verbs and the noun “judges” in 2b and 3a, but it could reflect the desire to standardize the references to a plurality of judges on the one hand (whether in the context of this law or in the book more broadly), or simply a mirroring a Hebrew impersonal construction of the verbs of striking. The deviation from the norm of word-for-word representation would have been triggered by the difficulty in understanding the Hebrew text as it stands and illustrates that in the context of laws, the translator is more inclined to provide clarifications.

25:3

ארבעים יכנו לא יסיף פן־יסיף להכתו על־אלה מכה רבה ונקלה אחיד לעיניך

ἀριθμῶ⁽³⁾ τεσσαράκοντα μαστιγώσουσιν αὐτόν, οὐ προσθήσουσιν· ἐὰν δὲ προσθῶσιν μαστιγῶσαι αὐτόν ὑπὲρ ταύτας τὰς πληγὰς πλείους, ἀσχημονήσει ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἐναντίον σου.

They shall beat him with the number forty; they shall not add, but if they add to beat him more, beyond these lashes, your brother will be shamed before you.

ἀριθμῶ⁽³⁾ τεσσαράκοντα. In MT, the adverbial phrase **במספר** is part of verse 2, linking it to the preceding clause, “in a number according to his guilt.” The translation appears to divide these verses earlier, tying **במספר** with the following phrase in verse 3: “Forty in number/By the number forty they shall beat.” Since ancient Hebrew manuscripts such as those found at

play a role. See the remarks to this effect in Martha Lynn Wade, *Consistency of Translation Techniques in the Tabernacle Accounts of Exodus in the Old Greek*, SCS 49 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 196, n. 90. A good example of an exegetically motivated switch to the plural form is discussed in Dirk Büchner, “Leuitikon 3.1-17: The Sacrifice of Deliverance,” in *The SBL Commentary on the Septuagint: An Introduction*, ed. Dirk Büchner, SCS 67 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017), 118. In Lev 3:13, the verb is pluralized in Greek to clarify that a particular task belongs to the priests and not the suppliant.

Qumran did not provide verse divisions,⁵¹ we can suppose that these were read with the help of a reading tradition that provided divisions between verses and even shorter sense units.⁵²

The earliest Greek manuscript tradition is not unanimous. Rahlfs 957 is fragmentary, but contains spaces between several groups of words, separating ἀριθμῶ and τεσσαράκοντα. Revell has argued that these spaces occur where one would expect to find disjunctive accents, perhaps indicating awareness of the Hebrew accent system.⁵³ While this space may or may not represent a verse division, it does side with MT in separating במספר from the following verse (and the number 40). It is important to note, however, that this manuscript contains two early revisions towards proto-MT.⁵⁴ Thus, the separation of ἀριθμῶ and τεσσαράκοντα could simply represent the influence of proto-MT, of which the scribe appears to have been aware.⁵⁵ This is further confirmation that the reading preserved in MT is very old.

In contrast, Codex Alexandrinus has a space before “ἀριθμῶ τεσσαράκοντα,” just as it does between verses 1 and 2. This is the verse division adopted by Wevers in his text.⁵⁶ But

⁵¹ 4Q34Deuteronomy (g) preserves only partially the word במספר and the remaining text is missing. Whatever else is recognizable from this fragment matches MT.

⁵² Tov mentions that a few manuscripts might suggest an early system of verse division, but thinks the evidence is inconclusive. The Aramaic and Greek translations demonstrate, however, that these divisions were not unknown and for the most part closely resembled those found in the later Masoretic text. See Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004), 127–33.

⁵³ See Revell, “The Oldest Evidence for the Hebrew Accent System.”

⁵⁴ This is apparent from the 3ms ending of the verb καθιεύς and the replacing of “ἐναντι τῶν κριτῶν” by “ἐν [...] οὔ.” This last substitution is not entirely in keeping with MT, where עשׂה is the subject of the verb. However, it is singular, and 957 comes one step closer to MT here in possibly having ἐναντι αὐτοῦ instead of ἐναντι τῶν κριτῶν. See Wevers’s comments, which suggests the reading of τοῦ κριτοῦ in Wevers, “Earliest Witness to the LXX Deuteronomy,” 241–42. See also further possible reconstructions in Roberts, *Two Biblical Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, 41–44.

⁵⁵ Wevers, “Earliest Witness to the LXX Deuteronomy,” 242. Wevers suggests that these represent the type of occasional intrusion caused by a bilingual Hebrew scribe who knows the Hebrew text fluently, as seen in manuscript 848 one century later. Yet, these do not represent full scale revisions and do not support the later variants that match MT.

⁵⁶ The Vulgate follows MT’s verse division. Admittedly, we rely here on the edition of the texts which are later than the actual manuscripts. Nevertheless, the vast majority of Greek biblical manuscripts predating our era show some form of verse separation. See appendix 5 in Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, esp. p. 288. Codex B is not very helpful in this situation because of its numerous omissions in verses 1-3. Furthermore, even though this scribe tended to separate verses by a period or a colon (for

whether this way of reading the text goes back to the translator is another matter as these manuscripts are far removed from the translation's context.

OG (Alexandrinus) ⁵⁷	Rahlfs 957
καὶ καθιεῖς αὐτὸν ἔναντι τῶν κριτῶν καὶ μαστιγώσουσιν αὐτὸν ἐναντίον αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν αὐτοῦ ἀριθμῶ τεσσαράκοντα μαστιγώσουσιν αὐτόν	καὶ καθιεῖ αὐτὸν ἔν[αντίον ...] οὗ καὶ μαστιγώσιν [αὐτὸν ἐναντί ον αὐ]τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀσέβ[ειαν αὐτοῦ ἀριθμῶ]ι τεσσαράκοντα [μαστιγώσου σιν αὐτό]ν

μαστιγώσουσιν αὐτόν. The *yiqtol* יִּקְטֹל at the beginning of verse 3 could be interpreted as permissive in this context (“They *may* flog”),⁵⁸ but is translated into Greek as a future indicative. This is not surprising, as the future indicative is the most common match for *yiqtol* (58.49%) and *weqatal* (75.78%) in OG Deuteronomy.⁵⁹ The percentages reach 84% and 96% respectively in the context of the apodosis, although יִּקְטֹל is strictly speaking no longer in the main clause of the apodosis, but in a further qualification clause.⁶⁰ As Tjen discusses, the prescriptive future is often found in Ptolemaic papyri substituting for the imperative.⁶¹ It is not out of place here, especially if the *yiqtol* is understood in this way. But there are a few

example between verse 1 and 2), there is no such sign anywhere between verses 2 and 3. Rahlfs based his minor critical edition on the three major uncials (A, B, S). Only A provided him with the full text here, yet he does not follow A's verse division but follows MT's instead.

⁵⁷ Alexandrinus has a few minor differences with the OG as reconstructed by Wevers in these verses but these are not semantically significant.

⁵⁸ See GKC §107r-s.

⁵⁹ Evans, *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch* app. 3.

⁶⁰ See the presentation and discussion in Tjen, *On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch*, 181–83.

⁶¹ Tjen, *On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch*, 184–85. Cf. BDF §362 and Smyth §1917, the latter describing such uses as the jussive future, which is not to be confused with the Hebrew equivalent. Muraoka identifies several values of the future, including the prescriptive/injunctive, but also the permissive (“He may flog”) or potential future (“He might/could flog”). The latter usually occurs in interrogative contexts. See Muraoka, *Syntax* §28gc-ge. Most of the examples cited under the permissive future are debatable, especially when they are not prohibitive in nature. Here we also run into the thorny issue of transfer from the source language, since the translators predominantly employed the future tense with *yiqtol* verbs. This tendency lends different shades of meaning to the Greek future indicative in translational literature, depending on the context in which they are found. The strongest argument in support of an injunctive use of the future in this context is that all of the other instances of the future tense in these verses are injunctive.

instances in Deuteronomy where the future indicative also renders *yiqtol* or *weqatal* forms that are clearly permissive in meaning.⁶² These could be attributed to the stereotyping of the match, overriding the nuance found in the Hebrew text.⁶³

Not much should be read then into the use of the future indicative, but the combination of verse division and the rendering of the *yiqtol* as future indicative produces a prescription that is more forceful than MT: “With the number forty they shall beat him.” This is exactly how the prescription is later explained in the Mishnah (forty minus one), using the technique of enjambment, perhaps under the influence of a similar reading tradition.⁶⁴ This is also what we find in Josephus and in Paul’s account of the punishment he suffered.⁶⁵ But in light of the translator’s usual strategies and lack of early manuscript evidence, it seems best not to ascribe this interpretation to the translator.

οὐ προσθήσουσιν...ἐὰν δὲ προσθῶσιν μαστιγῶσαι αὐτόν. The first instance of προστίθῃμι is in keeping with the conventional use of the term in compositional literature, where it is commonly used to denote “adding.” It can be understood in this way when related to the number (τεσσαράκοντα) that precedes, but not with the accompanying verb (μαστιγῶσαι).⁶⁶ The

⁶² For some examples, see Tjen, *On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch*, 186–87. Tjen counts 19 such permissive *yiqtol* and *weqatal* forms rendered as future in the Pentateuch.

⁶³ Tjen speaks of the extensive usage of the future indicative to cover such a broad semantic range as being encouraged by an “easy technique.” See Tjen, *On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch*, 188. But see the potential use of the future in later texts, as described in BDF §385.1.

⁶⁴ In a different context, Evans comments on the overall tendencies of the translators: “This is not to suggest that these translators possessed a precisely formulated grammatical awareness of the Hebrew, but that they were supported by a strong reading tradition of the Torah— certainly plausible given its religious and cultural significance. Barr implies a remoteness from Hebrew linguistic structures which for the Pentateuch at least seems improbable.” See Evans, *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch*, 141.

⁶⁵ As Prijs observes, the tendency to read the prescription of forty blows into other laws was frequent in early Jewish interpretation. Deut 22:18-19 is also read as prescribing a beating in a number of other sources (but not always the 40 blows). The same is also done with 21:18, where the rebellious son has not heeded his parent’s chastisement. Here also, many ancient sources translate using the vocabulary of physical punishment. Sanh. 71b Sifre states that forty blows are meant. See Leo Prijs, *Jüdische Tradition in der Septuaginta* (Leiden: Brill, 1948), 16.

⁶⁶ It is in this sense, I suppose, that Lee categorizes this verse among the 20 out of 55 instances where the verb is employed in a context of adding something. See Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 212–13, here 213, n. 4.

second occurrence of the verb, however, is unparalleled in compositional Greek and a clear case of negative transfer owing to its near systematic rendering of the Hebrew $\text{וְ$ (in the sense of continuing the action of the infinitive that accompanies it).⁶⁷

$\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \delta\grave{\epsilon}\ \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\theta\acute{\omega}\sigma\iota\nu\ \mu\alpha\sigma\tau\iota\gamma\acute{\omega}\sigma\alpha\iota$. MT's וְ would suggest a negative purpose clause: “Do not continue lest by continuing to strike...your brother would be shamed.” Similar purpose clauses are rendered everywhere else in the book by ὥνα μὴ , or simply $\mu\eta$.⁶⁸ The Greek $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \delta\grave{\epsilon}$ could be explained by the disjunctive nature of the clause in relation to the preceding, as the postpositive $\delta\grave{\epsilon}$ marker would imply.⁶⁹ However, the Hebrew negative purpose clause does contain an element of conditionality, which best explains the relationship between its two parts: “If one continues to strike, then your brother will be shamed.” This is the way the translator chose to render the clause, omitting the apodotic וְ in the process.⁷⁰ Here, $\delta\grave{\epsilon}$ is presumably contrastive, perhaps more than the same construction in vv. 1 and 2. This rendering is noteworthy because it suggests the translator had to grasp the flow of the whole verse before translating: To render וְ with a contrastive particle requires him to be familiar not only with what precedes, but what is to come. The same was observed with respect to the extended protasis in v. 1 and the rendering of the apodotic וְ in general. The way these long conditional sentences are rendered and how they are related to each other would suggest that the text was translated with a view extending beyond the sentence level and not in small

⁶⁷ Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 213–15.

⁶⁸ Tjen identifies only two instances in the Pentateuch where וְ is rendered as conditionals, here and in Num 20:18 ($\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \delta\grave{\epsilon}\ \mu\eta$). Tjen, *On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch*, 98.

⁶⁹ As Tjen suggests here, with references to the major Hebrew grammars. See Tjen, *On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch*, 99.

⁷⁰ See also the comments to that effect in Den Hertog, Labahn, and Pola, “Deuteronomion,” 581.

segments. One could even make the case that the translator had this entire structure of this law in mind when translating, either because of his method, or because of his familiarity with it.⁷¹

25:4

לֹא־תַחֲסֹם שׁוֹר בְּדִישׁוֹ

Οὐ φιμώσεις βοῦν ἀλοῶντα.

You shall not muzzle a threshing ox.

βοῦν ἀλοῶντα. The Hebrew ל + infinitive construct is rendered using an attributive participle, which renders the meaning quite well.⁷² It represents a departure from the norm of representing each element of the source text. At the same time, it represents the most common strategy to render the temporal infinitive construction (ל + infinitive).⁷³

25:5

כִּי־יֵשְׁבוּ אַחִים יַחְדוֹ וּמֵת אֶחָד מֵהֶם וּבֶן אִין־לוֹ לֹא־תִהְיֶה אִשְׁת־הַמֵּת הַחוּצָה לְאִשׁ זָר יִבְמָה יִבָּא עָלֶיהָ וּלְקַחָהּ לוֹ לְאִשָּׁה וַיִּבְמָה

Ἐὰν δὲ κατοικῶσιν ἀδελφοὶ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό καὶ ἀποθάνῃ εἷς αὐτῶν, σπέρμα δὲ μὴ ᾗ αὐτῷ, οὐκ ἔσται ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἕξω ἀνδρὶ μὴ ἐγγίζοντι· ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς εἰσελεύσεται πρὸς αὐτήν καὶ λήμψεται αὐτήν ἑαυτῷ γυναῖκα καὶ συνοικήσει αὐτῇ.

Now if brothers reside together and one of them dies and there is no offspring to him, the wife of the deceased shall not be outside, for a man not close. Her husband's brother shall go in to her and shall take her for himself as wife and shall live with her.

⁷¹ Lee also discusses the long sentence in 8:11-16, which, according to him, disproves a dictation theory and demonstrates the care demonstrated by the translator, even at the level of the paragraph. See Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 178.

⁷² Wevers, *NGTD*, 391.

⁷³ See 32:8 for further discussion on this point.

Ἐὰν δὲ κατοικῶσιν. As in v. 1, a new case is introduced with ἐὰν δὲ, followed by the subjunctive verbs that make up the protasis. Three conditions are laid out in sequence, the first being the brother's dwelling together. The Greek κατοικέω is the most common match for שָׁכַן in Deuteronomy (30 out of 46 instances). The semantic range of both verbs overlap when designating the dwelling or settling somewhere (see 26:1) in opposition to sojourning.⁷⁴ This is the context of the prescription that follows, which applies only if the brothers lived in close proximity (for example by sharing pasture land).⁷⁵

ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό. The Hebrew וְיָחַד is translated with the phrase ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό when referring to togetherness in one situation.⁷⁶ When וְיָחַד is employed in the sense of “likewise” (12:22, 15:22), it is rendered with the adverb ὡσαύτως. In 22:11, clothes are not to be woven of different fabrics ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, perhaps here in the sense of “in the same” piece.⁷⁷ Aquila resorts to ἁμᾶ, which has the advantage of conforming to the governing norm that requires the representation of each element of the source text (and no more).

εἰς αὐτῶν. The vast majority of Greek witnesses add the preposition ἐκ to match the underlying יָחַד. But Wevers follows the shorter reading of manuscripts 848, B, and 29, arguing that the Greek preposition represents a correction towards the Hebrew text.⁷⁸ This implies a preference for the use of the Greek oblique cases (here the genitive) instead of prepositions. While this

⁷⁴ See for example *MM*, s.v. “κατοικέω”: “More technically used, the verb refers to the permanent ‘residents’ of a town or village, as distinguished from those ‘dwelling as strangers’ or ‘sojourners’ (παροικοῦντες).”

⁷⁵ See the discussion in Tigay who refers to similar expressions in Gen 13:6 and 36:7 in Jeffrey Tigay, *Deuteronomy: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation*, JPS Torah Commentary (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1996), 231. Cf. Driver, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy*, 282.

⁷⁶ See also v. 11 and 22:10. For a comparable usage in the 2nd century BCE, see P.Col.4 81 = TM 1794 [246-240 BCE]. (See also P.Enteux 6 = TM 3283 [222 BCE] with the possible meaning of “at the same place”). In P.Tebt.1 14 = TM 3650, the expression ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό seems rather to denote “in total” or “in all”, there describing the value of a piece of land as being ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό one talent of copper.

⁷⁷ Wevers, *NGTD*, 354.

⁷⁸ As is often the case, Wevers often follows 848 and B when they agree. See Wevers, *NGTD*, 392.

strategy is not implemented systematically, it is a recurring feature of the verses that follow, a frequent enough deviation from the overarching norm of one-to-one representation to qualify as a tertiary norm. In this verse alone, the preposition ל is omitted in four instances, three of which sees the dative case employed, and another the accusative. Their absence cannot be qualified as textually significant.

σπέρμα δὲ μὴ ἦ ἀντὶ. As in v. 3, the ל is understood in its adversative sense and rendered as δὲ. This is in keeping with the semantics of the case being developed, where a further condition being introduced. The subjunctive of the main verb of the protasis is extended to this clause by introducing ἦ to specify that the clause is tied to the preceding.⁷⁹ Thus, the negative particle לֹא, which has no equivalent in Greek, has to be provided both a verb and its negation, μὴ ἦ.⁸⁰

Of note is the translation of בן (“son”) by σπέρμα (“offspring”), the only instance of this equivalence in the book.⁸¹ Frankel understood this rendering as a clue to the presence of midrashic elements in the translation. According to this understanding, the levirate marriage is to take place only when there are no children of the first marriage, that is, no sons or daughters, since the Greek clause excludes all children and not only males.⁸² This interpretation is bolstered by the related rendering in v. 6, where the Hebrew בְּכוֹר (“first-born”) – designating the child issued from this new union – is translated as παῖδιον (“child”).

⁷⁹ Wevers, *NGTD*, 391.

⁸⁰ This is also in keeping with the general translation strategy for this Hebrew particle, which, when not accompanied by a participle, is consistently translated by a negation (οὐ, μὴ) and the verb εἶμι. Cf. Tjen’s comments on the Pentateuch as a whole: “Thus, our translators may employ constructions with the indicative or subjunctive of εἶμι, especially in the third person, or pure nominal clauses. In our corpus, it is significant to note, nevertheless, that the choice of verbal or non-verbal equivalents seems to be related to the presence or absence of the predicator of existence ὡ or non-existence לֹא, or of a pronoun.” See Tjen, *On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch*, 168–69.

⁸¹ There are 127 instances of the Hebrew בן in Deuteronomy. Outside of this passage, 100 of them are translated using υἱός (son), 10 by τέκνον (child), two by παῖδιον (child). 14 are part of Hebrew idioms that are not translated as such in Greek.

⁸² Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta*, 219. Evidently, some rabbinic traditions abound in the same direction, Frankel here citing b. Yebam. 22a-b.

Moreover, Frankel sees further halakic tendencies in the rendering of ויבמה with συνοικήσει αὐτῇ at the end of the verse.⁸³ The translator's rendering of these terms either prepares or attests to an interpretation of this law that was common in the rabbinic period.

Another explanation is provided by Schultz, who adds that these renderings may manifest the desire to bring this law into harmony with that of Num 27:1-11.⁸⁴ In the Numbers passage, a deceased man's daughters come before Moses because their father died without a son (ובנים לא־היו לוֹ). Verse 4 states:

Why should the name of our father be taken away from his clan because he had no son? Give to us a possession among our father's brothers. (NRSV)	למה יגרע שם־אבינו מתוך משפחתו כי אין לוֹ בן תנה־לנו אחזה בתוך אחי אבינו
Let the name of our father not be wiped out from the midst of his division because he had no son. Give to us a possession in the midst of our father's brothers. (NETS)	μὴ ἐξαλειφθῇ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἐκ μέσου τοῦ δήμου αὐτοῦ, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ υἱός ⁸⁵ . δότε ἡμῖν κατάσχεσιν ἐν μέσῳ ἀδελφῶν πατρὸς ἡμῶν.

There are some textual similarities between this passage and 25:5-6, in particular the repetitions of the clause אין לוֹ בן (also in Num 27:8). The narrative goes on to describe the daughter's request to inherit their father's name and land, which is granted. It also further prescribes that in the absence of both sons and daughters, the inheritance will go to (in order) the deceased's brothers, his uncles, or the nearest kinsman of his clan (לשאר הקרב אליו)

⁸³ Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta*, 219. See also the other sources provided by Verburg as well as his evaluation in Jelle Verburg, "Women's Property Rights in Egypt and the Law of Levirate Marriage in the LXX," *ZAW* 131.4 (2019): 595–97. He concludes: "Frankel's hypothesis of the translators' dependence on pre-rabbinic halakha is perhaps not the most parsimonious explanation for the LXX, but he did point to a rabbinic interpretation ... which – much like the LXX's – sought to unlock the potential of the semantics of *ben*."

⁸⁴ Schultz, "The Differences between the Masoretic and Septuagint Texts of Deuteronomy," 5. Schultz here relies on G. A. Smith, *The Book of Deuteronomy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1918), 237. See also Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 231. For a more extensive bibliography related to this interpretation, see Verburg, "Women's Property Rights in Egypt and the Law of Levirate Marriage in the LXX," 594–95.

⁸⁵ OG Numbers renders the phrase as οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ υἱός since it deals explicitly with the absence of a male heir.

(ממשפחתו). On the face of it, Num 27:1-11 represents a different interpretation of the conditions in which a levirate marriage is to be undertaken (there are no sons, therefore no marriage), but specifies in more detail who the nearest kinsman might be. The renderings in the Greek translation of Deut 25:5-6 would then be an attempt at bringing this prescription in closer alignment with that of Num 27, a tendency that is also found in a number of ancient interpreters, though executed in different ways.⁸⁶

Two elements found in translation suggest that the Deuteronomy text was translated with the Numbers prescription in mind, perhaps even the OG of Numbers:

- 1) When describing the relative who is a candidate for levirate marriage, OG

Deuteronomy departs from its usual practice of one-for-one correspondence, using ἀνδρὶ μὴ ἐγγίζοντι to translate אִישׁ זֶר. Normally, we would expect ἀλλότριος for זֶר, just as in 32:16.⁸⁷ But a derivative of ἐγγύς is also found in Num 27:11 to describe the most distant relative that can receive the deceased's inheritance: τῷ οἰκείῳ τῷ ἑγγιστα αὐτοῦ.

In this passage, ἑγγιστα corresponds to קָרֵב, its usual equivalent, despite the superlative nature of the Greek adjective.⁸⁸ Also of interest is the fact that the participial form of the verb ἐγγίζω is also employed in the Greek Pentateuch to describe those that are within the family circle, such as in Lev 21:3. It translates the Hebrew

⁸⁶ In Josephus *Ant.* 4.254, the paraphrase of this law remains equally vague about the children's gender, though the vocabulary employed differs in part from Deut 25:5-6: The deceased is said to be childless (ἄτεκνον), while the child (τὸν παῖδα) that is born will bear the deceased's name and be educated as his heir. In Matt 22:24 (and parallels), the Greek text, while also more general in terms of the children's gender, is also slightly different from the OG Deuteronomy 25:5-6: ἐάν τις ἀποθάνῃ μὴ ἔχων τέκνα, ἐπιγαμβρεύσει ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀναστήσει σπέρμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ. See also b. Yebam. 22a-b, where the child born of the union is described in a general sense (הולד).

⁸⁷ The Three also resort to the Greek ἀλλότριος here. Wevers suggests that perhaps ἀλλότριος ("stranger"; see P.Lond.7.2046 = TM 1608 [Arsinoites – 3rd cent. BCE]) is not specific enough. See Wevers, *NGTD*, 391.

⁸⁸ The superlative is employed in some contexts to denote the next of kin: οἱ ἑγγιστα, in Antiphon 4.4.1. See the similar use in Lev 21:2, where it translates a Hebrew text very much like Num 27:11: ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν τῷ οἰκείῳ τῷ ἑγγιστα αὐτῶν = כִּי אִם־לְשֹׂארוֹ הַקָּרֵב אֵלָיו. Just as in Deuteronomy it also describes the boundaries of the family clan.

קרוֹב when employed in this sense. In Lev 21:3, it designates the virgin sister who lives in the family dwelling (ἀδελφῇ παρθένῳ τῇ ἐγγιζούσῃ αὐτῷ τῇ μὴ ἐκδεδομένη ἀνδρί). The term does not seem to be employed in a technical sense, however. Since the similarity only exists at the level of the Greek text, it seems noteworthy that OG Deuteronomy uses the same form, though negating it.

- 2) When describing the goal of this prescription, there is a small difference between the Hebrew texts of Numbers and Deuteronomy. In Num 27:4, its purpose is so that the deceased's name is not taken away (נָרַע in the *niphal*). In Deuteronomy, the outcome is that the name is not wiped out (מָחָה in the *niphal*). Both are translated using the passive form of ἐξᾱλείφω (“to wipe out”, “destroy”). To be sure, the Hebrew terms are synonymous, so that the choice of ἐξᾱλείφω could have been arrived at independently in both books. That the idiom ἐξᾱλειψάτω τὸ ὄνομα can be found in inscriptions from this period might confirm this possibility, both translators resorting to a Greek idiom which is close enough semantically and quantitatively to their Hebrew source.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, influence at the level of the Greek text is also possible. While it is difficult to argue that OG Deuteronomy borrowed on OG Numbers based on these two renderings (in the case of ἐξᾱλείφω, it could be the other way around), it at least suggests the possibility of a mutual rapprochement at the translational level.
- 3) In this context, it is also noteworthy that another text dealing with levirate marriage, Gen 38, also shares some lexical similarities with our text. In 38:8, Judah states that the purpose of the custom is to raise a זָרַע (“posterity”) for the deceased. Here, the usual Greek match of σπέρμα is found, which is the same rendering as that employed by the Deuteronomy translator in the similar context of 25:6.

⁸⁹ See *MM*, s.v. “ἐξᾱλείφω”. See also the Attic inscription IG II² 1237 from the third century BCE.

Though few in number, the unusual renderings found in Deut 25:5-6 share some similarities with other Greek translations of the Pentateuch dealing with the same or similar topics. Though intertextual connections are often difficult to assess, it seems plausible that these parallel passages would have exerted some kind of influence on the Deuteronomy translator. This does not imply that he sought to harmonize these texts, however. After all, they deal with different scenarios. But it is possible that these parallel texts were consulted or known by the translator as he works on this particular text.

Another explanation for these renderings is that the semantic generalization may reflect the translation's milieu, where it has become customary for daughters to inherit. Such a situation has been documented in Hellenistic times, even in situations where a daughter is the sole heiress. She becomes eligible to inherit and take charge of the family οἶκος.⁹⁰

The translation strategy observed here – that of semantic generalization – is not uncommon for בן in OG Deuteronomy. Both τέκνον and παιδίον are found several times translating בן when the context suggests a more general (non male-specific) sense.⁹¹ This is in keeping with the semantic range of בן, which can, among other things, have the more general sense of “offspring.”⁹² The translator will therefore often deviate from the usual equivalent

⁹⁰ See for example the discussion in Joseph Mélèze-Modrzejewski, *Droit et justice dans le monde grec et hellénistique*, Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplements 10 (Warsaw: Faculty of Law and Administration, Warsaw University, 2011), 373–74. This change occurs early in the Hellenistic period and is attested in the wills preserved among Egyptian papyri of the 3rd century BCE. Verburg cites many other examples found in Egyptian documents and inscriptions, some going as far back as the 13th cent. BCE, demonstrating that this practice has a long history. See Verburg, “Women’s Property Rights in Egypt and the Law of Levirate Marriage in the LXX,” 600–603.

⁹¹ A comparable case is found in 28:57, where under the curse of hunger, a mother will even eat her בניה. Here, the translator resorts to the singular τέκνον in order to, as Wevers suggests, underscore that there is one baby (instead of the Hebrew plural) and that it may be male or female. See Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 75.

⁹² One can point to the use of παιδίον in 11:2 and 22.7, where בן is employed in this way. In 22:6-7, בן describes the mother bird’s young found on the ground. These are translated in alternance with τέκνον in v. 6 and παιδίον in v.7. While υἱός is the default equivalent for בן, nearly 40% of these equivalents occur in the context of specific and common Hebrew idioms (בני ישראל = υἱοὶ Ἰσραήλ). In the remaining instances, there appears to be some

when the context implies a more general sense.⁹³ In this way, the ambiguity of the source text is resolved.⁹⁴ Similarly, the בכור of v. 6, without context, may refer to either male or female offspring. In the absence of further contextual specifications, παιδίον would be a suitable match. The ambiguity of the Hebrew term is perhaps confirmed by the fact that the SamPent adds בן before בכור here. This may have been under the influence of a parallel text (21:15-17) where they are also found together. But the addition of בן in the SamPent might also serve the purpose of clarifying an ambiguity inherent to בכור, and in so doing attest to an interpretation that is the opposite of that found in the Greek translation.⁹⁵

In the end, and despite the sometimes general or ambiguous meaning of בן and בכור, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the translator is ensuring that the law is not understood to refer only to male heirs.⁹⁶ That the Genesis 38 and Numbers 27 parallels are known appears likely, although an explanation that resorts to the translation's cultural context cannot be entirely excluded based on our present knowledge. It should be borne in mind, however, that the situation of women in Ptolemaic Egypt in relation to inheritance was similar to that

flexibility, as we can observe even in the Decalogue (עון אבות על־בנים = ἀποδοιδὺς ἀμαρτίας πατέρων ἐπὶ τέκνα).

⁹³ However, despite the fact that בן can take the more general sense of “offspring”, several commentators argue that more specific Hebrew terms could have been employed to make that point, should it have been the meaning in view. This is especially true in a legal context where semantics are important, so that the more restricted sense of בן is meant here. This is the argument made in Driver, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy*, 282. See also Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 231. “Having descendants was one way in which a man’s name was kept present among the living, at least for a generation or two. A person who had no descendants had no ‘name or remnant.’ This idea may be based on the fact that sons bore their father’s name as a patronym (they were called “so-and-so son of X”): each time a son was mentioned by his full name, his father’s name would be pronounced.” See Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 482.

⁹⁴ This is another reason why it would be ill-advised to proceed by first pointing out the ancient interpreter’s desire to exploit ambiguities in their texts (See Verburg, “Women’s Property Rights in Egypt and the Law of Levirate Marriage in the LXX,” 599. He is here quoting Teeter, *Scribal Laws*, 137.) When the problem is tackled from the angle of the translation process, issues of semantic equivalence and the constraints of each language must be addressed first. However, both lines of inquiry are not incompatible.

⁹⁵ Other than designating animals fit for sacrifice, the Hebrew term is employed in 21:15-17 to designate which son is to inherit in a polygamous marriage. In this passage, בכור refers to sons in the immediate context (it is preceded by בן), and is therefore translated ὁ υἱὸς ὁ πρωτότοκος.

⁹⁶ Otto, *Deuteronomium 12-34. Zweiter Teilband: 23,16 - 34,12*, 1821.

described in Numbers, at least in the absence of a male heir. Such an explanation should therefore not be prioritized out of hand.⁹⁷ In contrast, resolving apparent difficulties by recourse to parallel passages is more frequent in Deuteronomy and in Jewish interpretation more generally.⁹⁸

οὐκ ἔσται ἡ γυνή τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἔξω ἀνδρὶ μὴ ἐγγίζοντι. The perfect participle τεθνηκότος aptly renders the corresponding Hebrew participial form of מת.⁹⁹ The word ἔξω is employed adverbially, a consistent equivalent to the underlying חוץ (or החוצה) throughout the Greek Pentateuch. For a woman to be החוצה in Hebrew idiom implies marrying outside the family clan.¹⁰⁰ However, this use of the Greek adverb to describe women is not found in Greek compositional literature. This collocation could be considered a type of linguistic borrowing (phraseological Hebraism), the outcome of consistency in lexical matches. The term ἐγγίζοντι is sometimes used in the Pentateuch to describe people within the family circle, but it is not employed technically to denote the nearest of kin. One would rather find ἔγγιστα, but in a more general sense (see the above discussion on Num 27). In OG Deuteronomy, the attributive participle qualifies God as being close (4:7), surrounding nations (13:8), or a nearby city (21:3, 6). Whatever we make of the phrase “She will not be outside, to/for a man not close,” it remains a rather opaque prescription in Greek, one that does not resort to the technical language one would expect in this kind of context.

⁹⁷ It appears that in many cases, Jewish practices in Ptolemaic times in fact contradicted biblical law, for example lending to other Jews with interest. See Joseph Mélèze-Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt: From Rameses II to Emperor Hadrian* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1995), 114–19.

⁹⁸ It is therefore not necessary to posit the influence of Midrash here, the rabbis and the translator arriving at a similar interpretation independently when faced with the same problem. Important in this respect is the fact that the later interpretations do not match the LXX rendering of this law at all points. As Wagner also points out, solving problems by resorting to parallel passages was a mode of interpretation not only practiced “among the tradents of Israel’s Scriptures, but also within the traditions of textual scholarship that flourished in [the] Alexandrian milieu.” See Wagner, *Reading the Sealed Book*, 233.

⁹⁹ This is the most common rendering for the Hebrew participial form, when employed adjectivally. But note the variation in the next verse.

¹⁰⁰ See Judg 12:9 for example.

It is not impossible that the Hebrew *Vorlage* read something similar to לאִישׁ לֹא קָרוֹב. But given the many departures in this verse from quantitative norms, as well as the pervasive use of looser equivalents throughout this section, this scenario appears unlikely.

ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς.... The Greek renderings of the Hebrew lexemes from the root יָבַם in this law are achieved via different means, in this case a periphrastic translation. The meaning of יָבַם is not obvious when considered in isolation. However, since the case begins with two brothers, one assumes that it here designates the one who survived, and later, the act of marrying the deceased's wife. The problem arises because of the absence of a proper equivalent in the target language.¹⁰¹ In contrast to the Genesis translator who coins the verb γαμβρεύω from the cognate noun (Gen 38:8) and Aquila who does something similar in this verse (ὁ ἐπιγαμβρευτής), the translator employs a non-technical designation perhaps inferred from the context.¹⁰² While the strategy is clear, the translational norms behind it suggest that clarifying the meaning of the source text was more important than adhering to quantitative reproduction. The same strategy is adopted in verse 7, where the noun יָבַם occurs three times describing in turn the brother and the deceased's wife.

καὶ λήμψεται αὐτὴν ἑαυτῷ γυναῖκα καὶ συνοικήσει αὐτῇ. Note how two Hebrew prepositions are rendered in this phrase: In the first place, לוֹ is appropriately translated using the dative ἑαυτῷ (for himself). Moreover, we find the accusative γυναῖκα translating לְאִשָּׁה. The double accusative specifies the object αὐτὴν as becoming the man's γυνή.¹⁰³ Despite the close adherence to norms of quantitative reproduction (except for prepositions, as is often the case)

¹⁰¹ It is also possible that this translator was unsure of the Hebrew term's precise meaning, but this appears somewhat unlikely given the way the Genesis translator dealt with the same problem.

¹⁰² For a discussion of the Gen 38:8 rendering, see Marguerite Harl, *La Genèse*, La Bible d'Alexandrie 1 (Paris: Cerf, 1986), 248, 265. On 25:5, see the discussion in Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronome*, 271–72.

¹⁰³ See BDF §157 who identifies it as a predicate accusative.

and consistency in lexical matches, the phrase represents good Greek idiom as the verb λαμβάνω is also employed in this context, that of taking a wife for oneself.¹⁰⁴

Frankel argued that the rendering of וַיִּבְמָה by συνοικήσει αὐτῇ is another indication of the presence of halakhic elements in the translation.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, the Greek συνοικέω corresponds to the usual term to describe marital cohabitation in the translation's cultural context.¹⁰⁶ It is noteworthy that instead of resorting to technical vocabulary (or in its absence, coining a word specific to this purpose), the translator resorts again to a common but culturally appropriate equivalent. To be sure, the technically specific nuance of the Hebrew יִבְמָה is lost, the noun, for example, referring to both the man and the woman. But the general idea of cohabitation with the goal of procreation – probably inferred from the context – is preserved. It is difficult to posit anything other than a contextual translation attempting to communicate as clearly as possible the meaning of its source despite the similarities it may share with later interpretations.

25:6

וְהָיָה הַבְּכוֹר אֲשֶׁר תֵּלֵד יָקוּם עַל־שֵׁם אַחִיו הַמֵּת וְלֹא־יִמְחָה שְׁמוֹ מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל

καὶ ἔσται τὸ παιδίον, ὃ ἂν τέκη, κατασταθήσεται ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ τετελευτηκότος, καὶ οὐκ ἐξαλειφθήσεται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐξ Ἰσραήλ.

And it shall be that the child that she might bear shall be established from the name of the deceased, and his name shall not be blotted out from Israel.

¹⁰⁴ See the similar constructions in Menander, *Perik.* 1025, Isocrates *Hel. enc.* 39.

¹⁰⁵ Zacharias FRANKEL, *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta*, p. 219.

¹⁰⁶ See Mélèze-Modrzejewski, *Droit et justice dans le monde grec et hellénistique*, 364. Note how at the end of v. 7, the same verb is interpreted as a noun.

καὶ ἔσται τὸ παιδίον. As Wevers states, ἔσται is completely unnecessary in Greek, given that κατασταθήσεται represents the main verb in this sentence.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, its presence is required because of the underlying הִיָּה. On τὸ παιδίον, see the comment on v. 5.

ὁ ἂν τέκῃ. The problems related to the translation of the Hebrew relative אֲשֶׁר in Greek are well known.¹⁰⁸ Here it is attracted to the antecedent, the neuter παιδίον, which is conventional usage.¹⁰⁹ The particle ἂν is a plus from the perspective of the source text but required to achieve grammatical well-formedness in the target language, in this case because of the presence of a subjunctive verb.¹¹⁰ The Hebrew תִּלְד is declined in the feminine, referring to the mother's giving birth, but the subject of its equivalent in Greek (τίκτω) is ambiguous. Its broader semantic range – that it can refer to either the father or mother (and sometimes both) – makes it possible that the Greek verb here implies that the deceased's brother begat the child. In this case, the translation would be introducing an ambiguity. If one were to use the principle that the source text is the arbiter of meaning in such cases, an argument could be made that the meaning intended by the translator is that of the mother bearing a child.¹¹¹

κατασταθήσεται ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ τετελευτηκότος. As Wevers states, the Greek rendering appears idiomatic when compared to the Hebrew, “the point being that the child...shall be reckoned as belonging to the dead brother.”¹¹² The verb יָקוּם is used here with the probable

¹⁰⁷ Wevers, *NGTD*, 392.

¹⁰⁸ “It may seem obvious, but it can be forgotten, that there is no such thing (in ancient Greek) as a totally literal equivalent of אֲשֶׁר. The Hebrew pronoun is undeclinable but the Greek is not. As soon as a translator uses some part of ὅς to translate אֲשֶׁר, a choice of gender, number, and case has been made.” See Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 223. Cf. Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, “The Rendering of the Hebrew Relative Clause in the Greek Pentateuch,” in *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, ed. A. Shanan (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1977), 401–6.

¹⁰⁹ See Lee's comments and examples, which correct an earlier statement by Wevers to the effect that the attraction to the antecedent represented a grammatical deviation. See Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 222–23; Wevers, *NGTD*, x.

¹¹⁰ See the discussion and parallels from the papyri in Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 137–39.

¹¹¹ This topic is discussed in more detail in chapter 2, section 2.1.

¹¹² Wevers, *NGTD*, 392.

meaning of “standing up upon the name,” that is to be established as heir and bearer of the family name:¹¹³

The Hebrew is literally “be established in the name [*yakum ‘al shem*] of the dead brother” or “be transferred to the name of the dead brother.” A similar idiom is used in Genesis 48:6. There, Jacob adopts Joseph’s two oldest sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, giving them inheritances like those of his own sons; he declares that future sons of Joseph will “be called in the name of their older brothers [*‘al shem ‘aheihem yikkare ‘u*] in their inheritance,” that is, for purposes of inheritance they will be considered sons of their brothers, Ephraim and Manasseh.¹¹⁴

In Deuteronomy, the Hebrew קום is usually translated by a number of verbs built on the ἵστημι stem: ἀνθίστημι, ἀνίστημι, διανίστημι, ἐπανίστημι, ἵστημι, along with two instances of ἐμμένω. Conversely, the Greek καθίστημι renders a variety of Hebrew verbs (שׂים, נָתַן, and one instance of פָּקַד). There are two passages, 19:16 and 28:36, where it renders קום as here, but in the active voice.¹¹⁵ The first occurs in a judicial context, where the Greek term aptly describes a witness rising up against someone. The second speaks of the king as being appointed over Israel. Given the broad semantic range of καθίστημι, the NETS translation appears rather rigid. The Greek text should rather be understood as “he will be appointed after the name of the deceased,” which is another way of saying that he will be named after his deceased father. One can suppose that the translator was not familiar with the Hebrew idiom, but again inferred the purpose of the law from the context. It would have required translating the preposition עַל by ἐκ, which is also unusual.

¹¹³ See Driver, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy*, 283. Of note is the interpretation put forward by Tigay who states that “Having descendants was one way in which a man’s name was kept present among the living, at least for a generation or two. A person who had no descendants had no ‘name or remnant’... Another means of perpetuating a man’s name was by erecting a memorial pillar. The childless Absalom erected one and named it ‘Absalom’s Pillar’ since he had no son ‘to mention [his] name’ (2 Sam. 18:18); the inscription on the pillar kept his name present on earth.” See Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 482. This, evidently, is not how the translator understood the text before us.

¹¹⁴ Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 232.

¹¹⁵ That קום would be translated into Greek using the passive voice is not surprising in that some uses of the Hebrew verb are to be understood in this way despite their *qal* morphology. See 1 Sam 24:21 and Lev 27:19.

Also of note is the omission of **יְהִי** (“his brother”), which in MT stands in apposition to **הַמֵּת** (“the deceased”). The Hebrew suffix cannot, it seems, refer to the child, but designates the deceased’s brother mentioned in v. 5. But this Hebrew idiom does not translate well into Greek, the reference to “his brother” being ambiguous: Naming the child after “his brother” the deceased makes no sense, and it may explain its omission.¹¹⁶ Another explanation would be that the translator’s *Vorlage* did not contain the Hebrew **יְהִי**. It would have been omitted in the transmission of the Hebrew text for the same reasons a translator would have omitted it (the ambiguity of the referent).¹¹⁷

The participle **τετελευτηκότος** describing the deceased introduces variation, here translating the Hebrew **הַמֵּת** by use of the root **τελευτάω**.¹¹⁸ In verse 5, the same Hebrew construction is translated using another participle, **τεθνηκότος**.¹¹⁹ As will be seen in the following verses, variation in the choice of renderings is not uncommon and signals the existence of another translational norm that is enacted under certain circumstances.

οὐκ ἐξαλειφθήσεται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. On the idiomatic nature of this phrase, see the comments at v. 5.

¹¹⁶ That being said, the Hebrew phrase is also not without difficulties for similar reasons. See Peter Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), 314.

¹¹⁷ The alternative, that the plus of MT is a later addition, appears less likely, especially since the addition would be difficult to explain: the shorter text makes sense and is less problematic. The addition does repeat the label **יְהִי** often encountered in this law but would not be harmonizing or resolving any discernable issue with the shorter text.

¹¹⁸ See the comments on this text in Gooding, “The Greek Deuteronomy,” 200.

¹¹⁹ Note, however, that Codex A contains **τετελευτηκοτος** in v. 5, probably reflecting an assimilation of v. 5 with v. 6. The opposite is found in **α’ σ’ θ’**, where the **τετελευτηκότος** of v. 6 is replaced by **τεθνηκότος**.

ואם-לא יחפץ האיש לקחת את-יבמתו ועלתה יבמתו השערה אל-הזקנים ואמרה מאין
יבמי להקים לאחיו שם בישראל לא אבה יבמי

ἐὰν δὲ μὴ βούληται ὁ ἄνθρωπος λαβεῖν τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀναβήσεται ἡ γυνὴ ἐπὶ τὴν
πύλην ἐπὶ τὴν γερουσίαν καὶ ἐρεῖ Οὐ θέλει ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ ἀνδρός μου ἀναστῆσαι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ
αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἰσραήλ· οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ ἀνδρός μου.

But if the man does not wish to take his brother's wife, then the woman shall go up to the gate to the
council of elders and say, "My husband's brother does not want to perpetuate his brother's name in
Israel; my husband's brother has been unwilling."

ἐὰν δὲ μὴ βούληται. A subsection of the law is introduced, clarifying what is to happen should
the brother-in-law refuse to marry the widow. This is done via a new protasis, which is
followed by an apodosis extending to v. 10. As we have seen in v. 2, the Hebrew **ואם** is often
used at the head of a new protasis introducing special cases or clarification clauses that are
subject to the main clause.¹²⁰ It is nevertheless translated by ἐὰν δὲ, which is perfectly
conventional. But what stands out here is the pervasive use of ἐὰν δὲ to translate both **כי** and
ואם.¹²¹ Since ἐὰν δὲ also renders the initial **כי** in v.5, the structure of this law is flattened as the
source text's discourse level markers are ignored.¹²² As in v.3, δὲ can be understood
adversatively, an apt rendering of the underlying contrastive **ל**.¹²³ This corresponds to the

¹²⁰ It is a way of providing structure to complex sequences of conditionals. See the discussion and examples
found under rule 4, which states that "when they appear, **כי** clauses indicate a higher level of organization than
that of **ואם** clauses", in John Zhu-En Wee, "Hebrew Syntax in the Organization of Laws and Its Adaptation in the
Septuagint," *Bib* 89 (2008): 529–33.

¹²¹ **כי** is translated by ἐὰν 20 out of 22 times. The other two instances are translated by εἰ, but these are found outside
of the legal section of the book: 1:35 and 32:30.

¹²² In Zhu-En Wee's words, "The failure to distinguish between **כי** and **ואם** clauses in the Greek significantly
reduces the visibility of organizational structure, especially in the books of Exodus and Deuteronomy." See Zhu-
En Wee, "Hebrew Syntax in the Organization of Laws and Its Adaptation in the Septuagint," 537. Zhu-En Wee
goes on to discuss some examples taken mostly from Leviticus and Numbers where this feature introduces, in
some cases, an organization of laws that is different from the Hebrew, and thus provides a glimpse into their
interpretation in the translator's milieu.

¹²³ One should translate with "But..." as NETS does.

syntax found in contemporary legal documents, except for one difference. In Ptolemaic legal documents, new topics are initiated with *ἐάν*, while *ἐάν δὲ* typically signals that what follows is a continuation of the preceding law.¹²⁴ This would imply that the flattening out of the organizational structure of the laws found here transgresses the text-linguistic conventions of legal texts in the target language.¹²⁵ Though we may posit that the translator considered all Deuteronomic laws as related and building on each other,¹²⁶ the use of the *ἐάν δὲ* formula might simply represent a borrowing or imitation of certain linguistic traits for translational purposes, without attempting to mirror exactly the syntax and style of Ptolemaic law in general.

The verb *βούλομαι* is translated by *βούλομαι*, the first of four verbs in vv. 7-8 designating willingness (or lack thereof): “*ἐάν δὲ μὴ βούληται...Ὁὐ θέλει...οὐκ ἠθέλησεν... Ὁὐ βούλομαι*”. Lee notes that the semantic range of both *βούλομαι* and *θέλω* were difficult to demarcate by the early post-classical period, but may have differed slightly in tone, with *βούλομαι* being the more formal, official of the two.¹²⁷ However, there is also a discernable pattern of variation present in the papyri, both terms being employed interchangeably in a conscious manner. Lee

¹²⁴ For a good example of this structure, see papyrus P.Hal.1.II = TM 5876 [Apollonopolites – 259 BCE], 186-213. See the discussion on this topic in Joel F. Korytko, “The ‘Law of the Land’ in the Land of the Lagides: A Comparative Analysis of Exodus 21.1-32” (M.A. Thesis, Trinity Western University, 2018), 27, 66.

¹²⁵ It must be noted, however, a number of Ptolemaic laws begin simply with an imperative clause, followed by several *ἐάν δὲ* sub-clauses further specifying what is to be done in various circumstances. But this is not what we find here and there are numerous examples of the *ἐάν* – *ἐάν δὲ* structure just described.

¹²⁶ The pattern of imperative + *ἐάν δὲ* is found in one large papyrus containing a set of laws for the overseeing of oil production, P.Rev. [Arsinoites – 259-258 BCE], cols. 38-56. There are, however, subsections introduced by a title which deal with particular issues that are not logically related to the preceding. We might say they are related to the main subject, oil production, but not the topic that immediately precedes it. Yet, this new section is also introduced by *ἐάν δὲ*. This might represent another way of using the Greek formula to connect laws that are apparently more distant. Though the topics are quite varied (especially in this section of Deuteronomy), they are all subsets of the same law, so to speak. This may explain why each is introduced by *ἐάν δὲ*, the translator signaling that there is a connection between them. This is, of course, highly speculative but would explain the deviation from the conventions structuring legal discourse in the translation’s milieu.

¹²⁷ Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 66–67. See also the discussion in Evans, *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch*, 229.

cites the alternation in Deut 25:7-8 as a manifestation of variation.¹²⁸ It should be noted, however, that these terms translate different Hebrew lexemes: In both of its occurrences, βούλομαι is matched to כָּפַי.¹²⁹ Moreover, the Greek θέλω is also the most frequent rendering for אָבָה.¹³⁰ Seen in this light, the variation identified by Lee is no more than the rendering of different underlying Hebrew terms. More significant is the translation of מֵאִין (“to refuse”) by a negated verb (Οὐ θέλει). Since this is the only instance of this Hebrew verb in Deuteronomy, little can be inferred in terms of translation strategies. However, a glimpse at the Greek Pentateuch reveals that 13 out of 15 instances of this verb are translated similarly, using a negation and θέλω (7x), βούλομαι (5x), ἀφίημι (1x). In Exod 7:14, it is translated with the negation μὴ. Curiously, Exod 22:16 is the only once occurrence where a positive term is employed: ἀνανεύω (“to deny”, “refuse”). In the context of 25:7-8, the translator’s rendering of מֵאִין is not surprising, though he did have to choose between θέλω and βούλομαι. The Hebrew מֵאִין and לֹא אָבָה are synonymous, so that the choice of θέλω rather than βούλομαι introduces a repetition in the widow’s statement: “Οὐ θέλει...οὐκ ᾔθελῃσεν.” Yet, a difference is introduced at the level of the Greek text via the choice of tenses. As Wevers observes, the present and aorist are employed, perhaps in order to make sense of this tautology: The brother-in-law is not willing (in the present), because he did not want to take her (aorist) at some earlier point.¹³¹ This alternation in tense manifests a desire for variation, also possibly the need for clarifying the source text on this point. The first instance of θέλω also serves as an auxiliary for the

¹²⁸ Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 68–70, here 70 n. 67.

¹²⁹ In 21:14, כָּפַי is translated by θέλω. This is the only other instance of the Hebrew verb in Deuteronomy.

¹³⁰ The Greek θέλω translates אָבָה in 6 out of 9 instances in OG Deuteronomy.

¹³¹ See Wevers, *NGTD*, 393. Cf. the comments in Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 81.

infinitive that follows, perhaps with the intended meaning of “he does not intend/mean to perpetuate....”¹³²

τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ... ἡ γυνή. As in v. 5-6, the translation of בַּבִּי avoids technical terminology, opting instead for a periphrastic rendering. The second instance of בַּמֶּתוֹ is shortened to ἡ γυνή, perhaps because of the repetitious nature of the periphrastic strategy and the fact that there is no ambiguity as to the referent.¹³³ This rendering most likely represents a third way of introducing variation (or avoiding repetition) in this short passage.

ἐπὶ τὴν πύλῃν ἐπὶ τὴν γερουσίαν. As Wevers notes, γερουσία (“council”) is the preferred term for זִקְנִים (“elders”) in OG Deuteronomy. It describes more explicitly the role of the elders.¹³⁴ Here שַׁעַר (“gates”) is not translated by metonymy (using πόλις) as is often the case in this book. When something is said to be “in the gates,” ἐν πόλις is employed almost exclusively.¹³⁵ But when one goes “to the gate” (אֶל-שַׁעַר), the common rendering is ἐπὶ τὴν πύλῃν, as we find here. In our text, however, we do not have a Hebrew preposition, so that ἐπὶ probably represents the directional ה. ¹³⁶ The outcome is that we find two prepositional phrases following each other (ἐπὶ τὴν πύλῃν ἐπὶ τὴν γερουσίαν), each governed by the same preposition in

¹³² In this case, the verbal repetition plays on two uses of the verb. If that were the case, it would contradict Voitila’s statement to the effect that this use of θέλω only becomes predominant in the later books of the Septuagint. He states that Exod 2:14 is the only instance of θέλω with this meaning in the Pentateuch. See Voitila, “Septuagint Syntax and Hellenistic Greek,” 115.

¹³³ The shorter reading is supported by the pre-hexaplaric 848 manuscript and under the asterisk in the Hexapla.

¹³⁴ It accounts for 16 out of 20 occurrences in OG Deuteronomy. See Wevers, *NGTD*, 313. On explication as a translational strategy, see Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 80. Note that the collective noun is accompanied by plural verbs.

¹³⁵ The Decalogue is one glaring exception, which may suggest that its translation was not done by the same translator, or that there was assimilation in the transmission of the Greek text. 17:5 and 23:17 present textual issues which make it doubtful whether שַׁעַר was in the translator’s *Vorlage*. One exception is 12:12 where it is translated using the preposition ἐπὶ + genitive: ἐπὶ τῶν πυλῶν ὑμῶν. Note also how in 6:9 and 11:20, the commandments are to be written ἐπὶ τῶν πυλῶν ὑμῶν, that is, “on” the gates.

¹³⁶ As we also find in 22:15.

apposition: The gates in question is the council of elders. But one could also argue that this is an accident of the translation process.

ἀναστῆσαι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ. A small deviation from the usual norm of reproducing the source's word order is observed here. The Hebrew "to establish for his brother a name," in context, has to do with the offspring who would bear the deceased's name. In light of Gen 38:8, the undetermined nature of **שם** ("a name") should be understood as designating the heir.¹³⁷ He becomes the name bearer. This nuance is lost in translation as the phrase is rearranged so that the indefinite "name" becomes simply the deceased brother's *ὄνομα*. We thus simply have the brother's name perpetuated. It is difficult to determine why the translator resorted to this strategy. The Hebrew syntax is familiar (see 27:2 for example), and the Genesis translator had no issue with a very similar construction (note, however, the different Hebrew word order): **והקם זרע לאחיו** = καὶ ἀνάστησον σπέρμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου. One possibility is that the idiom ἀναστῆσαι τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου ὄνομα was deemed improper or too ambiguous and a more idiomatic Greek phrase was chosen.¹³⁸

25:8

וְקָרְאוּ לוֹ וְזָנְיָעִירוּ וְדִבְרוּ אֵלָיו וְעָמַד וְאָמַר לֹא חִפְצָתִי לְקַחְתָּהּ

καὶ καλέσουσιν αὐτὸν ἢ γερούσια τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐροῦσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ στὰς εἶπεν Οὐ βούλομαι λαβεῖν αὐτήν,

And the council of elders of his city shall summon him and speak to him. And, while standing, he should say, "I do not wish to take her,"

¹³⁷ See the comments in Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 233.

¹³⁸ See Ruth 4:5, 10, where the Greek phrase is similar to 25:7, but also reflects the underlying Hebrew syntax. A TLG proximity search shows no examples preceding our era where ἀνίστημι and ὄνομα can be found in such a relationship. But this is also the case for ἀνίστημι and σπέρμα. It is to be noted, however, that the New Testament Gospels quote this law by using the term σπέρμα in this slot instead of ὄνομα. See Matt 22:24 and par.

καὶ ἐροῦσιν αὐτῷ. The intransitive use of εἶπον may appear confusing, especially in the absence of a description of the contents of the discussion.¹³⁹ It is not necessary, however, to posit a more specialized sense such as “interrogate.” It is perfectly suitable to say that “they will speak to him.” Alternatively, this verb with the dative can also be understood as ordering someone: “They will command him.”

καὶ σταῖς εἶπη. The previous clause suggests that the deceased’s brother, after initially refusing to take his brother’s wife, may reconsider. The paratactic *weqatal* forms **וַעֲמַד וְאָמַר** are broken up using a subordinate participle and a subjunctive: καὶ σταῖς εἶπη. This represents a departure from the norm of quantitative reproduction of the source text in favor of source language conventions (here a higher register of Greek), and the first of several instances of the *participium coniunctum* in this chapter.¹⁴⁰ Of particular interest, however, is the second verb, which is rendered as a subjunctive. Wevers suggests that the use of the subjunctive highlights potentiality: “And standing up he would say” (or “Publicly he would say”). This is in contrast to a sequential description of the man’s actions “Then having stood he says.”¹⁴¹ The implication is that the Greek translation continues its description of the sequence of actions each participant is expected to perform after the initial refusal. Thus, NETS simply translates it as “and he should say,” describing the sequence of events in linear fashion: The woman goes up, and she says, and the elders say, and the man says, and she loosens his sandal. There is no conditionality anywhere, and the Hebrew text could be read in this way.

Another possibility is mentioned in the comments of Den Hertog, Labahn, and Pola on this text. They argue that the translator switched from indicative to subjunctive to mark the

¹³⁹ See the puzzlement in Wevers, *NGTD*, 393.

¹⁴⁰ On the *participium coniunctum*, see Aejmelaeus, “Participium Coniunctum as a Criterion of Translation Technique.”

¹⁴¹ Wevers, *NGTD*, 394. Wevers’s suggestion could be categorized as the so-called Homeric subjunctive, which has the force of the future form. See BDF §363.

difference between the instructions to the elders and the possible response of the brother-in-law.¹⁴² However, this motivation appears unlikely as the change in number already achieves this purpose.¹⁴³

The presence of the subjunctive in what appears to be the continuation of the apodosis is unexpected, even if we take the position that it can sometimes be interchanged with the future. All verbs in the apodosis so far (starting in v. 7b) are in the future indicative (excluding, of course, the embedded speeches). This reflects the Hebrew which, all the way to the end of v.9 (and excluding embedded speeches), consists of a simple sequence of *wegatal* verbs delineating the sequence of events. But as Tjen has pointed out in his study of Deut 24:1-4, the alternation of the future indicative and subjunctive forms in what appears to be the apodosis can function as a way of signaling a new condition. In Hebrew, paratactic constructions can be interpreted conditionally depending on context, and usually display some kind of grammatical parallelism.¹⁴⁴ Deuteronomy 24.1-4 provides an interesting parallel to our text. Though the Hebrew text is often interpreted as consisting of a single protasis – apodosis combination, the situation is different in Greek.¹⁴⁵ The main apodosis is introduced in v. 1b with a future indicative. It is followed by a subjunctive in v. 2, thus marking a new condition:¹⁴⁶

¹⁴² “Hier markiert der Übergang vom Ind. Fut. zum Konj. Aor. aber in subtiler Weise den Unterschied zwischen der Handlungsanweisung für die Ortsältesten und der möglichen (aber unerwünschten) Reaktion des Betroffenen.” See Den Hertog, Labahn, and Pola, “Deuteronomion,” 582. They further state that in post-classical Greek, the subjunctive can sometimes be interchanged with the future indicative, as stated in BDF §363. This still raises the question as to why a subjunctive was employed here.

¹⁴³ We might also add that there are similar unresolved ambiguous subjects in verses 1-2.

¹⁴⁴ Their identification involves a fair amount of subjectivity, some cases being more obvious than others: “In the absence of clear morphosyntactic clues, the interpretation of such a structure depends to a large extent on diacritic, or, in the case of ancient languages, on the linguistic context. The same holds true for determination of the degree of hypotheticality in such constructions.” For a discussion on this topic, see Tjen, *On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch*, 19–22, 100–102, here 22. Good examples of this are Gen 42:38 and 44:22. The first is ignored in translation (all future forms) while in the second, an ἐάν + subjunctive marks the new conditional sentence in Greek.

¹⁴⁵ In the NRSV, for example, verses 1-3 are all part of a huge protasis and the apodosis begins in v. 4.

¹⁴⁶ I am drawing here on Tjen’s observations in Tjen, *On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch*, 135–37.

כִּי־יִקַּח אִישׁ אִשָּׁה וּבִעְלָהּ וְהָיָה אִם־לֹא תִמְצָא־חֵן בְּעֵינָיו	Ἐὰν δὲ τις <u>λάβῃ</u> γυναῖκα καὶ <u>συνοικήσῃ</u> αὐτῇ, καὶ ἔσται ἐὰν μὴ <u>εὕρῃ</u> χάριν ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ...	1a: Protasis #1 (with subcondition), subjunctive forms
וְכָתַב לָהּ סֵפֶר כְּרִיתֶת וְנָתַן בִּידָהּ וּשְׁלַחָהּ מִבֵּיתוֹ	καὶ <u>γράψει</u> αὐτῇ βιβλίον ἀποστασίου καὶ <u>δώσει</u> εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῆς καὶ <u>ἐξαποστελεῖ</u> αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ,	1b: Apodosis #1, future forms
¹⁴⁷ וַיֵּצֵאָה מִבֵּיתוֹ וְהָלַכָה וְהָיְתָה לְאִישׁ־אַחֵר וּשְׁנָאָה הָאִישׁ הָאֲחֵרוֹן	καὶ <u>ἀπελθοῦσα</u> <u>γέννηται</u> ἀνδρὶ ἐτέρῳ, καὶ <u>μισήσῃ</u> αὐτὴν ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἔσχατος	2-3a: Protasis #2, subjunctive forms (with <i>part. coni.</i>)
וְכָתַב לָהּ סֵפֶר כְּרִיתֶת וְנָתַן בִּידָהּ וּשְׁלַחָהּ מִבֵּיתוֹ	καὶ <u>γράψει</u> αὐτῇ βιβλίον ἀποστασίου καὶ <u>δώσει</u> εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῆς καὶ <u>ἐξαποστελεῖ</u> αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ,	3b: Apodosis #2, future forms
אוֹ כִּי יָמוּת הָאִישׁ הָאֲחֵרוֹן אֲשֶׁר־ לָקַחָהּ לֹא אִשָּׁה	ἢ ἀποθάνῃ ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἔσχατος, ὃς ἔλαβεν αὐτὴν ἑαυτῷ γυναῖκα	3c: Protasis #3, subjunctive forms
לֹא־יֻכַּל בְּעִלָּהּ הָרִאשׁוֹן אֲשֶׁר־ שְׁלַחָהּ לָשׁוּב לָקַחְתָּהּ לִהְיוֹת לּוֹ לְאִשָּׁה	οὐ δυνήσεται ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ πρότερος ὁ ἐξαποστείλας αὐτὴν ἐπαναστρέψας λαβεῖν αὐτὴν ἑαυτῷ γυναῖκα...	4: Apodosis #3 (The main apodosis, logically tied to the others), future forms

This example illustrates the ambiguity of the *yiqtol-weqatal* forms in conditional sentences (as observed in 25:1) and the various possible interpretations.¹⁴⁸ The same can be envisioned in 25:5-10, with the subjunctive in v. 8b initiating a new protasis: “If having stood up he says...then....” The structure of the case is illustrated as follows:

¹⁴⁷ Both OG and 4QDeut^a lack the phrase וַיֵּצֵאָה מִבֵּיתוֹ, probably caused by *homoioteleuton*. See McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*, 69.

¹⁴⁸ See the discussion in Tjen, *On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch*, 133–35.

כִּי־יֵשְׁבוּ אֲחִים יַחְדּוֹ וּמֵת אֶחָד מֵהֶם	Ἐὰν δὲ κατοικῶσιν ἀδελφοὶ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό καὶ ἀποθάνῃ εἷς αὐτῶν,	5a: Protasis #1, subjunctive forms
לֹא־תִהְיֶה אֶשֶׁת־הַמֵּת הַחוּצָה לְאִישׁ זָר יִבְמָה יִבָּא עָלֶיהָ	οὐκ ἔσται ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἔξω ἀνδρὶ μὴ ἐγγίζοντι· ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς εἰσελεύσεται πρὸς αὐτήν...	5b-6: Apodosis #1, future forms
וְאִם־לֹא יַחֲפֹץ הָאִישׁ לִקְחָתָא אֶת־יִבְמָתוֹ	ἐὰν δὲ μὴ βούληται ὁ ἄνθρωπος λαβεῖν τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ,	7a: Protasis #2, subjunctive forms
וְעַל־תָּהּ יִבְמָתוֹ הַשְּׂעֵרָה אֶל־ הַזִּקְנִים וְאָמְרָה מֵאֵין יִבְמִי לְהַקִּים לְאֲחִיו שֵׁם בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל ...וְקִרְאוּ־לוֹ זִקְנֵי־עִירוֹ	καὶ ἀναβήσεται ἡ γυνὴ ἐπὶ τὴν πύλιν ἐπὶ τὴν γερουσίαν καὶ ἐρεῖ Οὐ θέλει ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ ἀνδρός μου ἀναστῆσαι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἰσραήλ... καὶ καλέσουσιν αὐτὸν ἡ γερουσία τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῦ...	7b-8a: Apodosis #2, future forms
וְעַמֵּד וְאָמַר לֹא חֲפָצְתִּי לִקְחָתָהּ	καὶ στὰς εἶπεν Οὐ βούλομαι λαβεῖν αὐτήν,	8b: Protasis #3, subjunctive forms (with <i>part. coni.</i>)
וְנִגְשָׁה יִבְמָתוֹ אֵלָיו לַעֲנִי הַזִּקְנִים וְחָלְצָה נָעָלוֹ מֵעַל רִגְלוֹ	καὶ προσελθοῦσα ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔναντι τῆς γερουσίας, καὶ ὑπολύσει τὸ ὑπόδημα αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποδὸς αὐτοῦ...	9-10: Apodosis #3, future forms (with <i>part. coni.</i>)

This is the way that verses 8 and 9 are translated in *La Bible d'Alexandrie* and the *Septuaginta Deutsch*, treating the subjunctive εἶπεν as the introduction of a new condition. Consequently, an apodosis has to follow in v. 9: “Et s’il se lève et dit...alors la femme de son frère s’avancera....”¹⁴⁹ This seems to be the most plausible explanation for the presence of the subjunctive in light of the translation patterns. It seems best to understand it as introducing a third level condition: “If having stood up he says....”¹⁵⁰ The corresponding apodosis is

¹⁴⁹ See Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronome*, 272. *Septuaginta Deutsch* translates similarly: “Und sollte er sich (dann) hinstellen und sagen...dann soll die Frau...herantreten....”

¹⁵⁰ Another possibility is to understand the participle as introducing a condition. Aejmelaeus has identified a few of these in the Greek Pentateuch, and such a participle could perform the function of a virtual protasis: “Should he stand/persist saying...” Aejmelaeus cites as examples Gen 34:30, Lev 18:5, Num 21:8, and 23:19. See Aejmelaeus, “Participium Coniunctum as a Criterion of Translation Technique,” 391; Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint*, 100. Cf. William Watson Goodwin, *A Greek Grammar*, Revised and Enlarged Edition. (Boston:

introduced at the beginning of v. 9: “then the widow, having approached....” It is perhaps the ambiguity of the Hebrew syntax that motivates the translator to undertake the delimitation of the various conditions, at least in this particular case. Within the framework of his translational norms, the translator is able to signal the condition without the usual syntactic markers.¹⁵¹

It is also interesting to note that on the very next line, we find another participle rendering a Hebrew *weqatal* form, which at first glance also appears to be a *participium coniunctum*. The widow will approach the man and untie his sandal: “καὶ προσελθοῦσα ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔναντι τῆς γερουσίας, καὶ ὑπολύσει τὸ ὑπόδημα αὐτοῦ.” But the participle does not in fact break up the polysyndeton of v. 9. A καί is located between the participle and the finite verb, immediately preceding ὑπολύσει, so that the usual verbal sequence is interrupted. NETS attempts to resolve the difficulty by interpreting the καὶ as ascensive or adjunctive (“also”, “even”):¹⁵² “And his brother’s wife, having approached him in the presence of the elders, shall also loosen his sandal.” A temporal sense is also possible: “He shall then loosen.”¹⁵³ Since, as we have argued above, the translator seems intent on rendering the 1 in circumstances where καί lends itself to a more conventional use, this is certainly a possibility.¹⁵⁴ Another explanation is that the participle προσελθοῦσα could be understood as conditional, thus

Ginn & Co., 1892) §1413, who provides several examples. However, these examples would most likely require a present participle but Deut 25:8 has an aorist form. Muraoka notes, citing Mayser, that this usage is rarely attested in the papyri. See Muraoka, *Syntax* §31dg, n. 4. The subjunctive could also be interpreted as injunctive (“let him say”), but such uses are rare: “Should he persist, let him say.” See Muraoka, *Syntax* §29ba(ii).

¹⁵¹ Commenting on the preservation of parataxis in such contexts, Aejmelaeus argues that conditionals are avoided because “this kind of radical change in the course of translation requires a mastering of the wider context and anticipation of the effect clause that follows.” See Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint*, 17. In fact, the translator shows he is quite aware of the wider context and anticipates what follows. He can still manage to structure conditions within the constraints of parataxis. This shows mastery “of the wider context and anticipation” of the clause.

¹⁵² Smyth labels this use of καί as adverbial. See Smyth §2881.

¹⁵³ See BrDAG, s.v. “καί”, section 4.e.

¹⁵⁴ Muraoka notes that despite the Greek of 1 Macc. being recognized as “generally idiomatic,” we do find there circumstantial participles follow by καί + finite verb: “καὶ λαβὼν ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον καὶ ἱματισμὸν καὶ ἕτερα ξένια πλείονα καὶ ἐπορεύθη πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα...” See Muraoka, *Syntax* §32d, n. 5. Ideally, we would need other examples from compositional literature to confirm the conventionality of this usage of καί.

introducing another protasis: “if/should she approach...” The ι in ὅταν thus becomes an apodotic ι , and the $\kappa\alpha\iota$ introduces the extended apodosis (as discussed in v.2): “...then he/she will remove his sandal...”¹⁵⁵ It could also be argued that the presence of the $\kappa\alpha\iota$ represents a mistake on the translator’s part. He would have intended to build a *part. coni.* construction at the beginning of v. 9, but lost track of it in the process of translating. When reaching $\text{ὅταν} / \kappa\alpha\iota \text{ ὑπολύσει}$, he proceeded in the usual way.¹⁵⁶ This explanation is more difficult to entertain in light of the way the translator has been keeping track of extended conditional sentences and their apodosis in this chapter and throughout the book. Yet, there is some inconsistency in the rendering of $\kappa\alpha\iota$, and this possibility cannot be ignored.¹⁵⁷

Οὐ βούλομαι λαβεῖν αὐτήν. On the use of $\beta\acute{o}\upsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, see the comments on v. 7.

¹⁵⁵ On this possibility, see note 150. The conditional could be understood temporally: “when she draws near, then...” A more remote possibility would see the participle προσελθοῦσα in a coordinate clause with the previous participle in v. 8b, as part of the same protasis:

$\kappa\alpha\iota \text{ στᾶς}$

$\text{εἶπη Οὐ βούλομαι λαβεῖν αὐτήν}$

$\kappa\alpha\iota \text{ προσελθοῦσα ἡ γυνή}$

“And should the man say, having stood up, and his brother’s wife having approached him before the elders: ‘I do not wish to take her.’” Here also the ι is interpreted as an apodotic ι , while the $\kappa\alpha\iota$ introduces the extended apodosis: “...then he/she will remove his sandal...” The fact that the participles are separated by a subjunctive verb and conjunction may render this combination of conjunctive participles unlikely, such constructions usually being asyndetic and related to the same subject. A genitive absolute would have been more appropriate. See BDF §421. Matt 27:48 comes closest to what we find here, but the participles are all related to the same subject, which is not the case in Deut 25:8-9.

¹⁵⁶ Aejmelaeus argues that “the remoteness of the main verb nearly always results in the use of $\kappa\alpha\iota$. Cases in which $\kappa\alpha\iota$ disturbs the connection between the *part. coni.* and its main verb must be considered as examples of failure in the translator’s attempt to write idiomatic Greek. Similar failures occur even in texts originally written in the Koine.” See Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint*, 107. In note 4 she discusses the findings of Mayser and Frisk who argue that similar phenomena in the papyri represent failed attempts at improving the style.

¹⁵⁷ A similar issue is found in 3:27: “ $\kappa\alpha\iota \text{ ἀναβλέψας τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς... καὶ ἶδε τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς σου}$.” Aejmelaeus identifies several such examples in the Pentateuch, though only one in Deuteronomy (11:16-17) where she argues the $\kappa\alpha\iota$ rendering is incorrect. See Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint*, 104–7. Muraoka labels these “redundant, perhaps erroneous, $\kappa\alpha\iota$.” See Muraoka, *Syntax* §31dd.

25:9

ונגשה יבמתו אליו לעיני הזקנים וחלצה נעלו מעל רגלו וירקה בפניו וענתה ואמרה ככה
יעשה לאיש אשר לא־יבנה את־בית אחיו

καὶ προσελθοῦσα ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔναντι τῆς γερουσίας, καὶ ὑπολύσει τὸ ὑπόδημα αὐτοῦ τὸ
ἐν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποδὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐμπτύσεται εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀποκριθεῖσα ἐρεῖ Οὕτως ποιήσουσιν
τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, ὃς οὐκ οἰκοδομήσει τὸν οἶκον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ.

And his brother's wife, having approached him in the presence of the elders, shall also loosen his sandal, the one from his foot, and shall spit in his face and, while answering, shall say, "Thus shall they do to the man who will not build up his brother's house."

προσελθοῦσα...καὶ...ἀποκριθεῖσα. Participles are used here as in the previous verse in an apparent effort to subordinate clauses and improve style. The καὶ conjunction following προσελθοῦσα is superfluous in Greek given the subordinating function of the participle but is retained here.

See the comments on this matter in the previous verse.

The preposition לְ and pronominal suffix are omitted, perhaps because the Greek compound verb προσέρχομαι encapsulates the idea communicated by the preposition.¹⁵⁸ It is also possible that the construct לְיו was omitted in translation or in the *Vorlage* because of haplography.¹⁵⁹ The outcome is that translation is more ambiguous than MT in terms of what the woman approaches, apparently the council where the deceased's brother is already standing.

τὸ ὑπόδημα αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποδὸς αὐτοῦ. The definiteness of the Hebrew construction is specified via the pronominal suffix, and in Greek by the use of the article. The article is repeated to link the attributive ἐν: "the one sandal of his." In describing the location of the

¹⁵⁸ Although, to be sure, compound verbs are often employed even when the matching preposition is rendered.

¹⁵⁹ But as Wevers states, it is unlikely that the phrase *προς αὐτον* was omitted by copyists of the Greek text, despite its presence in a majority of manuscripts. It is more likely that it represents an addition to bring the Greek text closer to MT, while there is no apparent reason to omit it. See Wevers, *NGTD*, 394.

sandal, the Hebrew source text employs the compound preposition **מעל**.¹⁶⁰ We can posit that **ἀπὸ** renders the underlying **מעל**, since **ἀπὸ** translates **מעל** in a similar context in 29:5 (4)^{MT} and throughout the book.¹⁶¹ But how are we to understand the **τὸ ἐν**, which represents a plus in relation to MT? It would highlight that only one sandal is to be removed. The Hebrew simply relies on the singular throughout to achieve this sense.¹⁶² The translator apparently feels the need to designate further, “the one sandal of his from his foot,” producing a nonsensical phrase (how many sandals would there be on a foot?).¹⁶³ According to Frankel, **ὑπόδημα** is treated as a collective, so that it becomes necessary to specify that only one is to be removed.¹⁶⁴ This would be the manifestation of halakic tendencies.¹⁶⁵ While no examples of the singular collective sense of **ὑπόδημα** were found in contemporary papyri and inscriptions, it is known from later sources.¹⁶⁶ In OG Exod 3:5, Moses is asked to remove the sandal (singular) from his feet (plural): **τὸ ὑπόδημα ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν σου = נעליך מעל רגליך**¹⁶⁷ It is also noteworthy that the only instance of **ὑπόδημα** in OG Deuteronomy outside of 25:9-10 is in 29:4, where the singular “sandal” and “foot” of MT are both translated in the plural. McCarthy notes that since **נעל** is often understood as a collective in the Hebrew, the versions adapt to the

¹⁶⁰ It is vocalized in MT as **מַעַל** + **עַל**, and not the preposition **מֵעַל** (“above”, “upward”).

¹⁶¹ See 4:26, 6:15, 9:17, 11:17, 13:11, 25:9, 28:21, 28:63, 29:4, and 29:27. Note that a similar use of the preposition is found in Isa 20:2, where the prophet is told to remove his sandals **מֵעַל** his feet. This is also translated by **ἀπὸ**.

¹⁶² Though, to be sure, the word **נעל** can also be understood as a collective.

¹⁶³ “LXX specifies **τὸ ἐν**, i.e., the one (sandal); this has no counterpart in MT, though it is obvious from the singular of both ‘sandal’ and ‘foot’ that only one could be involved.” See the comments in Wevers, *NGTD*, 394.

¹⁶⁴ Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta*, 136. See also Den Hertog, Labahn, and Pola, “Deuteronomion,” 282. For Frankel, **τὸ ἐν** represents a later addition to the text, but the discovery of Rahlfs 848 (1st cent. BCE) confirms that the reading is quite old, and in harmony with codex B, thus deemed original per Wevers.

¹⁶⁵ See his similar comments in the context of verse 5, also in Frankel, *Ueber den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik*, 219.

¹⁶⁶ BDAG cites John 1:27 (cited in Acts 13:25), Acts 7:33 (citing Exodus 3:5), T. Zeb. 4:3 (paraphrasing Deut 25:9), where the singular is used although more than one sandal is usually meant. See BDAG, s.v. “**ὑπόδημα**, **αὐτοῦ**, **τὸ**”.

¹⁶⁷ On the possible influence of Josh 5:15, see John William Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus*, SCS 30 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 27–28.

context by employing singular or plural.¹⁶⁸ Here the reverse is the case as the translation not only renders in the singular, but add a numeral adjective to further specify the number.

While the motivations for this plus are unclear, it is also quite possible, given the translator's overall preference for word-for-word reproduction of his source text, that this plus was already in his *Vorlage*. Under this scenario, his source text would have read מעל רגלו געל האחד.¹⁶⁹

Other possible explanations ignore the present accentuation and spacing of the Greek text.¹⁷⁰ It is not impossible to imagine the article governing a substantivized prepositional phrase.¹⁷¹ What this prepositional phrase may contain is open to question, but it could be a compound preposition: τὸ ὑπόδημα αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐν ἀπὸ ποδὸς αὐτοῦ.¹⁷² The meaning of such a phrase is difficult however (“his sandal that is on, from his foot”), but may represent an attempt at breaking up the underlying Hebrew compound preposition מעל and translating it as two lexemes.¹⁷³ But given the fact that the translator consistently renders מעל with ἀπὸ elsewhere, this explanation appears less likely.

¹⁶⁸ “Since געל often has a collective meaning in Hebrew the variation between sg. and pl. in the versions can be taken as facilitating.” See McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*, 83.

¹⁶⁹ See the similar Hebrew syntax in Ex 25:11. There the OG has ἐπὶ τὸ κλίτος τὸ ἐν, omitting the possessive pronoun.

¹⁷⁰ After all, our most ancient witnesses for this passage are uncials with no spacing.

¹⁷¹ See for example 21:19: τὸ ξύλον τὸ ἐν τῷ ἄγρῳ. See also the discussion in Muraoka, *Syntax* §44a. Cf. Mayser II 2.161. §78db and 78ga; 2.47-50 §63.

¹⁷² On compound prepositions in the LXX, see Muraoka, *Syntax* §26h. Moreover, the preposition ἐνἀπὸ is not unknown in Greek and might be reconstructed here. It is, however, always found prefixed to verbs and not employed independently as is the case here.

¹⁷³ Note, however, that ἐκ is the most frequent rendering for the Hebrew preposition מן. Wevers notes with respect to Deut 1:2 that the confusion between ἐκ to ἐν sometimes occurred in the copying process because of their similarity in uncial script. See the discussion in Wevers, *THGD*, 117. In 1:2, this variant is known because of the extant witnesses. It could be argued, however, that the same process occurred here without leaving a trace, so that the OG originally had ἐκ ἀπὸ. The prepositions ἐκ ἀπὸ would then have become ἐν ἀπὸ. In his critical edition, Wevers cites 848 (Rahlfs 963) for support. But the critical edition of this manuscript by Dunand shows that there is a *lacuna* on line 16 after ὑπόδημα: τὸ ὑπόδημα αὐτ[οῦ τὸ ἐ]ν. The ν is a conjecture based on fragment 49 (25:15-17), which has a ν in the left margin. The support from 848 for this reading is very weak. In any case, that papyrus is also written in uncial script.

ποιήσουσιν. This verb is pointed as a *niphal* form in MT, thus in a passive sense in this context, in the singular. The Greek's active voice in the plural may communicate a similar indeterminate subject: "they/one will do to the man" = "it will be done to the man." See the comments on v. 2 for a further discussion on this point.

25:10

ונקרא שמו בישראל בית חלון הנעל

καὶ κληθήσεται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἰσραὴλ Οἶκος τοῦ ὑπολυθέντος τὸ ὑπόδημα.

And throughout Israel his name shall be called "the house of him whose sandal has been pulled off."

καὶ κληθήσεται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ...Οἶκος. Despite reproducing the underlying Hebrew with the usual lexical matches, word class, and word order, this phrase is obviously perfectly conventional Greek.¹⁷⁴

Οἶκος τοῦ ὑπολυθέντος τὸ ὑπόδημα. Of note again is the strict quantitative correspondence between Hebrew and Greek lexemes, as well as the reproduction of the source's word order. The Hebrew bound phrase meaning "the house of the drawn off of sandal (barefooted)" is translated in Greek by retaining a passive participle to match the Hebrew passive participle. This also allows the translator to employ a verb that usually takes a single accusative object, and make it doubly transitive in the passive voice.¹⁷⁵ The identification of the objective genitive **חלון הנעל** (removed of sandals) and its marking as an accusative of the participle in Greek (τοῦ ὑπολυθέντος τὸ ὑπόδημα) demonstrates the translator's ability to recognize the

¹⁷⁴ See *LSJ*, s.v. "χᾶλέω".

¹⁷⁵ Muraoka, *Syntax* §60g. The verb ὑπολύω normally has an accusative of the thing removed (the shoe), or the person whose shoe is being removed.

Hebrew semantics and to render it into the target language within the constraints under which he is operating.¹⁷⁶

25:11

כִּי־נִצְּצוּ אַנְשִׁים יַחַד וְאִישׁ וְאָחִיו וְקָרְבָּה אֶשֶׁת הָאֶחָד לְהַצִּיל אֶת־אִשְׁתּוֹ מִיַּד מִכָּהוּ וּשְׁלַחָה
יָדָהּ וְהִחְזִיקָהּ בַּמַּבְשִׁי

Ἐὰν δὲ μάχωνται ἄνθρωποι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, ἄνθρωπος μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ προσέλθῃ ἡ γυνὴ ἐνὸς αὐτῶν ἐξελέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς ἐκ χειρὸς τοῦ τύπτοντος αὐτόν, καὶ ἐκτείνασα τὴν χεῖρα ἐπιλάβηται τῶν διδύμων αὐτοῦ,

Now if men get into a fight together, a man with his brother, and the wife of one of them comes in to rescue her husband from the hand of the one who strikes him and, extending her hand, should seize his twins,

Ἐὰν δὲ μάχωνται...ἀποκόψεις. A new case is introduced in the same way as in vv. 1, 5, as well as the subcases of vv. 3b and 7. But as in 3b, the apodosis that follows in v. 12 omits the initial **ו** found in MT. As in 3b, the apodosis is short with no sequence of actions.

ἄνθρωπος μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ. These are the expected lexical matches except for the preposition *μετά* which renders the Hebrew conjunction **ו**. This certainly represents the favoring of a more idiomatic Greek formulation.

ἡ γυνὴ ἐνὸς αὐτῶν. The Greek *γυνή* is articulated, along with all the nouns and participles followed by a possessive pronoun in this verse, in keeping with the norm of grammatical well-formedness that we have observed throughout this chapter.¹⁷⁷ The pronoun *αὐτῶν* is a plus in relation to MT, probably added for clarification.

¹⁷⁶ Wevers, *NGTD*, 395.

¹⁷⁷ As Wevers observes, *ἐνὸς* is not articulated, however, but he explains this in light of it being modified by *αὐτῶν*. See Wevers, *NGTD*, 395.

καὶ ἐκτείνασα τὴν χεῖρα. We have here another case of *part. coni.*, this time in the protasis. The possessive pronoun is omitted, as is sometimes the case when the possessor is obvious, and especially in the context of body parts.¹⁷⁸

ἐπιλάβηται τῶν διδύμων αὐτοῦ. Of note here is the translation of מבושים, a derivative from בוש (“shame”) which is normally understood as a euphemism for the male “private parts.”¹⁷⁹ The translator opted for the plural of δίδυμος, which is attested with the meaning of “testicles.”¹⁸⁰ The Hebrew word is apparently a *hapax legomenon*, and the rendering represents another example of the translator’s strategy in such cases, here making the referent explicit.

25:12

וקצתה את־כפה לא תחוס עינך

ἀποκόψεις τὴν χεῖρα αὐτῆς· οὐ φείσεται ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου ἐπ’ αὐτῇ.

You shall cut off her hand; your eye shall not be sparing toward her.

οὐ φείσεται ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου. This rendering is identical to the same expression found in five instances in Deuteronomy (7:16, 13:9, 19:13, 21, and 25:12). The verb חוס can take the meaning of “being troubled” or “look compassionate (about),” or even “sparing.”¹⁸¹ It is in the latter sense that a correspondence with the Greek φείδομαι can be observed. Only in the

¹⁷⁸ Wevers, *NGTD*, 395. Soisalon-Soininen counted 60 instances of untranslated possessive suffixes in OG Deuteronomy. 4 of these instances follow the word יד (“hand”) and another 4 the word עין (“eye”). See Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, “Die Auslassung des Possessivpronomens im griechischen Pentateuch,” in *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax*, ed. Anneli Aejmelaeus and Raija Sollamo, AASF, Ser.B 237 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1987), 101. Note, however, that the construction τὴν χεῖρα αὐτῆς appears on the next line in v.12.

¹⁷⁹ McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*, 72.

¹⁸⁰ There is therefore no need to translate as “twins” as NETS does. See *LSJ*, s.v. “δίδυμος”, III.2.

¹⁸¹ *HALOT*, s.v. “חס”.

Septuagint is the verb found with the preposition ἐπὶ, here related to the underlying על.¹⁸² The whole expression, while grammatical, is probably a case of transfer from the source language. ἐπ' αὐτῇ. The prepositional phrase found in OG is also present in the Vulgate and Peshitta but absent from MT. McCarthy suggests that it represents an assimilation to 7:16.¹⁸³ Wevers argues that the translator was swayed by his knowledge of Hebrew, as the verb חוס is often accompanied by the preposition על.¹⁸⁴ It is unclear why a translator would make such an unidiomatic addition, the Greek φείδομαι also being employed absolutely with this meaning on occasion.¹⁸⁵ The plus likely reflects a variant in the translator's *Vorlage* which would have read לא תחוס עינך עליה.

4.3. EVALUATION

As in the previous chapter, the following sections will provide a summary and evaluation of our study of the first 12 verses of chapter 25. First, an attempt will be made to describe how and when the translator favored adequacy (conformity to the source text) and acceptability (conformity to elements of the target culture). Secondly, a description of the translational norms at work, and their negotiation, will be provided so as to characterize our text from various angles.

4.3.1. Adequacy and Acceptability

As noted in chapter 3, adequacy and acceptability are evaluated under three categories: linguistic, textual-linguistic, as well as literary and cultural.

¹⁸² As will be argued in the next section. Other prepositions are used elsewhere in the Septuagintal corpus, for example περί in Sir 16:8 and ἀπό in Wis 1:11.

¹⁸³ McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*, 72. Deut 13:9 and 19:13 also have the prepositional phrase following the verb.

¹⁸⁴ Wevers, *NGTD*, 396. Strangely, such a plus is also found in the Greek text of 19:21 (with ἐπ' αὐτῇ) even though the subject in context is not a woman (nor of feminine gender).

¹⁸⁵ See Thucydides, *Hist.* 3.59.1, for example.

Under linguistic adequacy and acceptability, it was noted that strictly speaking, none of the features observed transgress the conventions of Greek grammar from this period. We have noted in v. 3 how the repeated use of the future form sometimes overrides the nuances of the modal *yiqtol* and *weqatal*. While such a practice did not yield unhappy results in 6:13-25, it certainly influenced the way some laws were recast in Greek. At the same time, our knowledge of what is conventional Greek idiom and what constitutes Hebrew interference is in constant evolution. As is well known, many features that were labeled as Hebrew interference are also found in the papyri, but in much greater frequency in the Septuagint (i.e., positive transfer). But the extent to which this is true depends greatly on our sources, which are quite sketchy. In the case of the future indicative translating the *yiqtol/weqatal* with imperatival sense, one can still find references labeling this phenomenon as Hebrew interference.¹⁸⁶ Tjen observed, however, that in the papyri, we find a mix of future and imperative forms in identical contexts.¹⁸⁷ There are documents where the future indicative is the only form with imperative force.¹⁸⁸ This raises the question as to whether it is still appropriate in this case to speak of linguistic transfer or interference, even in terms of the frequency of occurrences. The number of these examples, as well as the very partial nature of the evidence at our disposal, presents a significant challenge to the goal of describing the level of acceptability of the translation in relation to conventions of the target language, at least for a large set of characteristics that fall into this category.¹⁸⁹ Renderings such as ἀντιλογία and συνοικέω illustrate the frequent need to draw from the available vocabulary to render Hebrew

¹⁸⁶ See, for example, Heinrich von Siebenthal, *Ancient Greek Grammar for the Study of the New Testament* (New York; Bern: Lang, 2020) §202b.

¹⁸⁷ Tjen, *On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch*, 190–93.

¹⁸⁸ See also Voütila's remarks quoted in the comments on 6:13 in chapter 3.

¹⁸⁹ That is not to say that linguistic transfer is totally absent, but that caution is necessary, and one shouldn't assume it out of hand. See Lee's cautious approach in Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 22. To this we may add the issue of style, by which the text might be idiomatic low-register Greek, but apparently mismatched to its function. We discussed this briefly in our evaluation of 6:13-25.

technical terms. It would be ill-advised argue for an effort towards adequacy or acceptability when such terms correspond to both the underlying Hebrew and the cultural context.¹⁹⁰

Finally, representative of the tendency towards linguistic acceptability are the frequent omissions of prepositions (especially ל) in favor of oblique cases. Possessive pronouns or objects are omitted (vv. 1, 11) when their referent is obvious, while the predicative participle is employed to replace the Hebrew prep. + infinitive construct + pronominal suffix (v. 4). The Greek plural is employed to render Hebrew passive constructions. A number of renderings were noted that depart from the strict adherence to the source text in favor of Greek idiom, such as ἄξιός ἢ πληγῶν (v. 2) and ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό (vv. 5, 11). We have also noted how the translator rendered terms from the root יבם (v. 5-8) without recourse to a neologism. Instead, the tendency is to explicitize, as the rendering of מבושים by δίδυμος also demonstrates. We have already noted this tendency in 6:13-25, but there are more examples in this text.

Under textual-linguistic adequacy/acceptability, we note again that linguistic transfer is noticeable at the level of collocations, with usages that are not found in compositional Greek. The desire to render every element of the source text using standard Hebrew-Greek equivalents sometimes creates ambiguous or opaque phrases such as οὐ προσθήσουσιν (v. 3) or οὐκ ἔσται ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἔξω. (v. 6). We might include in this category cases such as the φείδομαι ἐπὶ of v. 12 where the verb + preposition is unknown outside of our corpus. These elements disrupt the coherence of the text. On the other hand, we have noted the collocations εἰς κρίσιν (v. 1), ἐξαλειψάτω τὸ ἄνομα (v. 6), and λήμψεται αὐτὴν ἑαυτῷ γυναῖκα (v. 5) are perfectly conventional, though each term is the usual match to its Hebrew counterpart and the phrase reflects the underlying word order.

¹⁹⁰ Although in the case of συνοικέω, a more technical term could have been employed. See our discussion on this later in this section.

Moreover, a significant finding related to the way the translator is attentive to the flow of protases and apodoses that make up the various cases studied. In some instances (v. 1-2, 8-9), the ambiguity of the Hebrew syntax forces the translator to delimit the various clauses in ways that sometimes differ from modern readings of the Hebrew text.¹⁹¹ The contrastive sense introduced by *ἐὰν δὲ* in v. 3, departing from expected lexical matches as well as the breaking up of the long apodosis of vv. 7b-10 into multiple ones, suggests that the translator can ensure that the flow of the cases is properly understood while remaining within the parameters of his primary norms. These features represent a tendency towards acceptability. The rendering or omission of the apodotic *ἵ* also falls into this category. While the motivations for retaining it are not entirely clear, it demonstrates an awareness of the context beyond the level of the clause. Its omission also suggests a desire to improve style at the level of the discourse. At the same time, the repeated use of *ἐὰν δὲ* tends to flatten out the hierarchical structure of the cases, affecting the text's overall cohesion. Nevertheless, this is an area where one sees the translator leaning strongly towards target conventions, enhancing further the textual-linguistic organization of the text via the features he introduces (alternation of moods, use of participles, etc.).

Under the category of literary/cultural adequacy or acceptability, one may argue that the translation's style, owing to the implementation of translational norms that favor the representation of every element of the source text and the preservation of its word order, results in an ambiguous relationship to the conventions governing the literary genre of legal texts in its Ptolemaic context.¹⁹² The high frequency of the conjunction *καὶ* produces a style

¹⁹¹ Whether the different sense divisions introduced reflect a reading tradition, halakhic tendencies, or his own improvisation is an open question.

¹⁹² Except perhaps if OG Deuteronomy is seen as imitating previous Pentateuchal books. Yet, it is doubtful whether those scriptural texts were considered part of the legal genre, such as the Ptolemaic documents and inscriptions containing prescriptions and reports on court proceedings.

that is highly paratactic, despite the sporadic efforts to improve it. We might also cite the pervasive use of the apodotic καὶ as another such example. However, the use of ἐὰν δὲ to introduce legal cases, even when δὲ is not required by the source text, is generally in keeping with the structure of Ptolemaic legal texts known from the papyri. This suggests some kind of connection with this particular genre and a favoring of literary conventions despite differences at the level of wording and style (see above). How to describe this connection remains problematic given the unusual implementation of the ἐὰν δὲ formula and the high degree of linguistic transfer. We have also described sporadic effort to improve style, outside of the *part. coni.*, such as lexical variation, and in some cases, a concern for euphony (ἐναντι vs. ἐναντίον).

In some cases, 25.2b-3a being a good example, the interpretation introduced in translation could be ascribed to the conventions of the target culture. That is, it would be owing to exegetical tendencies found in the translator's context. The modification of the punishment of the guilty in v. 2 also includes other elements besides the fixed number of blows, such as a plurality of judges and the people taking on an active role. The probability that these differences with MT are due to interpretative tendencies is fairly high, not only because they correspond to later interpretations, but also because of the grouping of many types of shifts (word order, number, syntactic function, etc.) all relating to the same case. In other laws, polygenesis appears to be the most plausible explanation. We have noted this as the most likely explanation for the similarities but also differences in the interpretation of some features of the prescriptions concerning levirate marriage (vv. 5-10). These can be considered as the assimilation of the translation to conventions of the target culture, namely interpretations that the translation was required to reflect.

In this category one might also consider the possible assimilation of the text to other laws in the biblical corpus, insofar as a more consistent version of the scriptures might be

desirable in the target culture. Here again the data are sparse. We have noted one possible attempt along those lines in vv. 5-6, where בן (“son”) and בכור (“first-born”) are generalized and made to correspond to the wording found in parallel texts. The Hebrew זר (“stranger”) is rendered μὴ ἐγγίζοντι (“not close”), perhaps part of a reference to Numbers 27. In some cases, 25:2 being a possibility, recourse to a parallel or similar passage (19:17) could have been made primarily in an effort to clarify a difficult passage. More broadly, it is possible that the translator’s familiarity with scriptural texts (and others) could have influenced his understanding of particular terms, such as רשע (“guilty”, “wicked”). Here again one must admit that such occurrences are few and that many of the differences between Deuteronomy laws and those of the other Pentateuchal books remain. While these are inventoried as efforts towards ideological acceptability, they must be weighed against all of the instances where no such attempts were made.

4.3.2. Norms and Their Negotiation

Several translational norms can be deduced from the above and ranked according to their weight. These will be briefly described and illustrated in the table below. Primary norms are applied systematically, and we note the following:

- Conformity to the conventions of Greek grammar (or grammatical well-formedness): Favoring this norm will require departing from the other three on occasion, such as providing an article before a noun followed by a genitive pronoun or adding ἄν between a relative pronoun and the subjunctive that follows. But this conflict between highly valued norms should not be surprising. This norm is systematically observed and ranks at the top while the following four are occasionally transgressed.

Significant but secondary norms are not observed as regularly as the primary ones although they remain consistently observable. Also of significance is how these are negotiated and related to primary and tertiary norms:

- The word order of the source text (or serial fidelity) is scrupulously followed. Only rarely is this norm transgressed: In v. 2 (“the judges” is relocated and changed from subject to prepositional phrase) and in v. 7 (“to raise a name for his brother” instead of “to raise his brother’s name”). Presumably, these changes are made to clarify the text, in the first instance, or to avoid an undesirable Hebrew turn of phrase for the latter.
- The matching of word classes: The translator deviates from it on occasion, to avoid parataxis, for example. The fact that this is not done very often suggests that this is also a significant norm guiding his approach.
- The representation of all elements of the source text (one-to-one correspondence): This is clearly one of the most important norms. While there are occasional deviations from it, often *ad sensum* or in favor of more conventional Greek, it remains characteristic of the translator’s approach.
- Consistency in lexical matches: The secondary nature of this norm is obvious when looking at prepositions, which are not stereotypically rendered, but adapted to context (see especially ἐκ in v. 6, μετὰ in v. 11). This is also seen in the intentional lexical variation (τετελευτηκότος and τεθνηκότος for תהם in vv. 5-6). The translator also deviates from the usual matches when necessary, so that ב is not always rendered by υἱός (v. 5 and elsewhere).

Tertiary norms, which are sporadic or localized in nature, are as follows:

- The favoring of Greek formulations instead of Hebrew idiom is again observed sporadically, as in ἀναστῆσαι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, and ἄξιός ἤ πλεονάζειν. The omission of possessive pronouns when the referent is obvious is another example as well as the occasional *participium coniunctum*.
- Stylistic variation, whether achieved via word choice (lexical), verbal forms or simply eliminating repetition (as in v. 6), is also present, more so than in the previous unit examined (6:13-25).
- Clarification of the source text: As we have noted, this is done occasionally (for example בָּבִי being explicitized in vv. 5-8, δίδυμος in v. 11). Since it is sporadic in nature, it cannot be held to be a primary concern. Besides, many apparent difficulties remain when reading the Greek text.
- The incorporation of existing interpretations of the source text can also be identified in a few localized instances. This is usually done within the constraints of the primary norms, except for v. 2 where several shifts occur. Though localized, the two instances potentially identified in this chapter remain significant for the interpretation of both laws.

Tertiary norms must be carefully weighed in light of the overall picture. These can be illustrated as follows:

<p><i>Regulative Norms</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Grammatical well-formedness 2) Following the source's word order (secondary) 3) Matching of word classes (secondary) 4) Representing all elements of the source text (secondary) 5) Consistency in lexical matches (secondary) 6) Avoidance of Hebrew idiom (tertiary) 7) Stylistic variation (tertiary) 8) Clarification/Interpretation of the source text (tertiary) 	<p><i>Indices of Relative Acceptability</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Linguistic well-formedness 2) Positive and negative transfer 3) Textual well-formedness 4) Stylistic variation 5) Thematically motivated shifts
<p><i>Strong Accommodation of Target Conventions to the Features of the Source Text</i></p> <p><i>Weak Assimilation of Features of Source Text to Target Conventions</i></p>	
<p><i>Constitutive Norms (what is acceptable as translation within the target culture)</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Grammatical well-formedness highly favored 2) Representation of all elements of the source text (isomorphism) favored 3) Textual-linguistic well-formedness favored 4) Semantic well-formedness favored 5) Linguistic interference permitted 6) Intertextual connections permitted 	

4.4. CONCLUSION

Though the language of 25:1-12 is not as formulaic as that of 6:13-25, the outworking of the primary and secondary norms produces very similar results. We identified a number of cases of linguistic transfer in the creation of new collocations. These are usually the by-product of the word-for-word reproduction of the source text and the consistency in matching Hebrew and Greek lexemes. Other differences in contrast to 6:13-25 include more frequent

suspension of norms of lexical consistency and word-for-word reproduction in favor of Greek formulations of a higher register. We also noticed a higher occurrence of variation which can be attributed to similar concerns. This has been explained as a tertiary norm. Overall, we might argue that the translator more regularly favored the tertiary norms within the legal material. Some of these minor differences in the translator's preference values perhaps stem from a need to clarify the source text, either in light of other texts, reading traditions, or by standardizing certain formulas.

This becomes more obvious when we analyze the text as a whole. One striking characteristic is the adoption of textual-linguistic markers that imitate Ptolemaic legal texts or clarify the structure of the various cases. Another is the frequency of interpretative renderings which, while minor and within the constraints of the more significant norms, provided interpretations of these laws that are also found in other Jewish traditions. Yet, as Büchner reminds us, "Instances in which there are analogies between the OG's wording and later Jewish writings seem to be balanced out by the times when the Greek is so vague that any concern for legal clarity must be out of the question."¹⁹³ In the same way, while tertiary norms were clearly a factor in translating parts of chapter 25, they were not the leading, nor even secondary motivation. Given the ambiguities that remain in a number of laws (for example, how would "οὐκ ἔσται ἡ γυνή τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἔξω" be understood?), it could also be argued that the translator did not set out to bring his text in conformity to exegetical tendencies of his day (as far as they are known to us), nor attempt to adapt these laws to the translation's cultural context. For every potential example (the firstborn in 25:6), many counterexamples can be

¹⁹³ Büchner, "Leuitikon 3.1-17: The Sacrifice of Deliverance," 103.

found, sometimes even in the same legal case. These, as all of the tertiary norms, are subordinate concerns.¹⁹⁴

Nevertheless, we see that even within the constraints of the most significant translational norms, the Deuteronomy translator is well equipped to deal with the subtleties of Hebrew and Greek syntax, should he choose to do so. In this context, he also appears to be working with large segments of text, and thus aware of the literary context as he works his way around complex cases. Yet, the focus remains on reproducing as much as possible the formal and semantic features of the source text.

¹⁹⁴ See here the comments by Boyd-Taylor on Psalms, in response to Van der Kooij's claim that its Greek translation was made by scribes interested in reading and interpreting it in light of the ideological issues of their day, much like the Qumran pesharim: "Is the constitutive character of the translation consistent with the hypothesis that it was produced to serve a function analogous to the pesharim? On the basis of the present analysis, I would say, clearly not. On the contrary, as we have seen, time and again the Greek Psalter resists addressing the 'ideological issues of the time'...it would seem that the translator of the Old Greek endeavoured for the most part to avoid interpreting this source. This in itself is a crucial piece of evidence for the historical background of the text." See Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 266.

CHAPTER 5: DEUTERONOMY 32:1-9

Deuteronomy 32 is commonly designated as the Song of Moses, or *Ha'azinu* in the Jewish tradition. Since our objective is to analyze different parts of the book, this poetic section is of great interest. The song is found in verses 1-43, while the rest of the chapter (vv. 44-52) resumes the narrative that was interrupted at the end of chapter 31. Following the outline, the text will be commented verse by verse. This will be followed by a synthesis of its characteristics as a translation.

5.1. OUTLINE

The song is commonly divided into several sections, but these divisions are established thematically and not according to any textual markers. As Sanders notes, “Hardly any of the ancient witnesses has preserved a division of the poem into units larger than the verse.”¹ Since our analysis will focus on a smaller unit of text, we have opted for the first nine verses. Stopping at verse 9 is rather arbitrary since verses 7-14 are often grouped together.² It is possible, however, to note a further thematic division within this larger group where verses 7-9 describe how Israel became YHWH’s people, while verses 10-14 portray how he cared for them.³ In any case, such divisions do not have any bearing on our analysis of the translation as

¹ Sanders, *The Provenance of Deuteronomy 32*, 258. As Sanders notes, the oldest mentions of such divisions are from the tractate Soferim (XII:8) of the Babylonian Talmud, which prescribes that the song must be read by six persons in the synagogue: vv 1-6, 7-12, 13-14, 15-28, 29-35, and 36-43.

² See for example the proposals by Sanders, *The Provenance of Deuteronomy 32*, 264. This aligns with what other commentators have suggested, such as in Driver, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy*, 344; Pierre Buis, *Le Deutéronome* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1969), 419; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 298–99; Duane L Christensen, *Deuteronomy 21:10-34:12*, Word Biblical Commentary 6B (Waco, TX; Dallas; Nashville: Word, 2002), 792; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 370–71.

³ Craigie proposes that vv. 4-9 speak of the contrast between YHWH and his people, while 10-14 describes his goodness towards them. See Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy*, 377–80. Cf. Otto, *Deuteronomium 12-34. Zweiter Teilband: 23,16 - 34,12*, 2154–55, 2174–75.

a unit given the absence of overt structural markers that would be of import to the translator.

This section of the song also presents fewer textual issues than the later parts. Our text can be outlined as follows:

- 1-3: Exhortation to listen
- 4-6: Contrast between YHWH's perfection and his people's rebellion
- 7-9: Recalling Israel's election

5.2. COMMENTARY

32:1

הַאֲזִינוּ הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאִדְבַּרְהָ וּתְשַׁמַּע הָאָרֶץ אִמְרֵי־יְיָ

Πρόσεχε, οὐρανέ, καὶ λαλήσω, καὶ ἀκουέτω ἡ γῆ ῥήματα ἐκ στόματός μου.

Give heed, O sky, and I will speak, and let the earth hear words from my mouth.

Πρόσεχε. The translator renders the *hiphil* הַאֲזִין (“give ear”) by recourse to προσέχω, as he does in 1:45, the other instance of this Hebrew verb in Deuteronomy.⁴ In the vast majority of instances, the Greek προσέχω translates שִׁמַּר in the *niphal* imperative (“watch yourself”).⁵ He is the only translator of the Pentateuch to favor this rendering of הַאֲזִין. The three other instances of this verb – Gen 4:23, Exod 15:26, and Num 23:18 – each translate the same Hebrew term using ἐνωτίζομαι. Each translator knows of προσέχω and uses it with a variety of Hebrew terms, but elsewhere, הַאֲזִין seems to call for a strategy relying on etymology.⁶

⁴ In 1:45, YHWH recounts that he did not give ear to the Israelites' cries after their defeat at Kadesh-Barnea.

⁵ 11 out of 14 instances.

⁶ That is, the Greek term is selected based on the Hebrew root as well as its most frequent Greek match. It can also be identified as an analogical translation: The verb is translated by analogy to the noun's rendering. As Wevers notes, Theodotion and Aquila here resorted to an imperative form of ἐνωτίζομαι, showing that they also favor a similar strategy. The same occurs in Isa 1:2, a text very similar to Deut 32:1, which also translates הַאֲזִינוּ with ἐνωτίζου. The verb ἐνωτίζομαι is not attested before the Septuagint and is most likely formed from the

Although this rendering was popular in the translations that followed the Pentateuch and with the Three, the translator has no issue with what Wevers identifies as an idiomatic rendering. This is not surprising and in keeping with his frequent divergences from the other Pentateuchal translators on matters of lexical matches and specific Greek expressions.

οὐρανέ... ἡ γῆ. Another interesting feature is the Hebrew vocative **הַשְּׂמִים**, here preceded as is often the case by the definite article. It is translated with an anarthrous Greek vocative.⁷ The Hebrew vocative is sometimes translated using an arthrous nominative form, however, and the Septuagint translators are not consistent in this respect.⁸ For example, in Numbers 20:10, the Hebrew vocative preceded by the definite article (**הַמְּרִים** – “rebellious ones” or “rebels”) is translated as an arthrous nominative (οἱ ἀπειθεῖς).⁹ That being said, οὐρανέ is, as far as I can tell, the only instance in the Pentateuch of a Greek vocative translating a Hebrew vocative which is preceded by the article. In Deuteronomy, the vocative is usually employed for proper names – κύριε being most common – so that there is little to compare to.¹⁰ But given the fact that the use of the Greek vocative is not a given in such contexts, one might categorize this rendering as a small concession towards Greek idiom.¹¹

In contrast, the article in the **הָאָרֶץ** of the next stich is rendered into Greek. Though it is sometimes construed as a second vocative (“hear, earth”), it is here rightly understood and

preposition ἐν and the root of the nominative οὐς. See Harl, *La Genèse*, 118. The derivative ἐνώτισον (« earing ») is commonly found in contemporary papyri, so that the coining of the verb may be following a familiar path. See *MM*, s.v. “ἐνωτίζομαι”. On the process of derivation, see BDF §123.2.

⁷ See Joüon §137g; Muraoka, *Syntax* §22ya.

⁸ See the discussion in Muraoka, *Syntax* §3d.

⁹ Exod 10.11 avoids translating the Hebrew vocative by making the noun the subject of a 3rd person imperative.

¹⁰ Even within Deuteronomy, all other Greek vocatives address God (typically יהוה) and are translated by κύριε.

¹¹ Of note, however, is the closing verse of the song (v. 43), which according to the OG and 4QDeut^a begins with **הֲרִנְנוּ שְׂמִים**, there translated εὐφράνθητε, οὐρανοί. The Hebrew vocative **שְׂמִים** is not preceded by the article, but it is difficult to extrapolate anything from it for our analysis of v. 1. The Greek is rendered using a plural form, οὐρανοί, unlike v. 1 and everywhere else in OG Deuteronomy. This is one of several reasons that suggest the possibility that the first two colons of v. 43 are not from the same translator, including the translation of עַם with ἄμα, which is also unique within OG Deuteronomy.

translated as the subject of a Hebrew jussive form (ἀκουέτω ἡ γῆ – “let the earth hear”).¹²

Rendering the article is therefore expected, although there is strong pressure in the Greek textual history to remove it, as Rahlfs’s edition attests. This is probably due to the influence of a similar text, Isa 1:2, which has both heaven and earth in the vocative. But B and 848 do have the articulated noun, and Wevers takes this reading as the OG.¹³

καὶ λαλήσω. The Greek translates the Hebrew conjunction and cohortative וְאֵדַבֵּר. The form of λαλήσω is ambiguous since the future indicative and aorist subjunctive of this verb are morphologically identical. Wevers argues, based on the Hebrew source, that the subjunctive must be intended here, and that it is hortatory in nature.¹⁴ How we interpret this equivalence also depends on how it is related to the preceding imperative. In Hebrew, volitive verbs following the initial one in a volitive chain can often be understood as introducing the notion of purpose or consecution.¹⁵ This is frequent in the case of a cohortative following a jussive or imperative, as we find here.¹⁶ The Hebrew phrase might be understood as: “Pay attention, heavens, so that I may speak” or “...then I will speak.” There is one instance in OG Deuteronomy where the translator clearly understands the sequence in this way. We find in 31:28 a subordinated וְ + cohortative rendered as ἵνα λαλήσω.¹⁷ But in the majority of such situations, he does not resort to such a strategy.¹⁸ Normally, the parataxis is preserved,

¹² For the interpretation that sees this second stich as mirroring the imperative of the first, see Sanders, *The Provenance of Deuteronomy* 32, 137–38. Sanders argues that the form וְאֵדַבֵּר can only be a jussive in this context, and not a defective form of a feminine imperative וְאֵדַבֵּר.

¹³ Wevers, *THGD*, 84. Chr XVIII 102 also uses the arthrous noun.

¹⁴ Wevers, *NGTD*, 509.

¹⁵ See JM §115c; §116a, where such volitives are labeled “indirect volitives”. GKC describes this use of the cohortative as introducing an intended consequence. See GKC §108d.

¹⁶ See Joosten, *Verbal System*, 140–45. Cf. JM §116b.

¹⁷ This is an interesting parallel to our text. Note, however, that in 31:28, λαλήσω is followed by a second subjunctive, καὶ διαμαρτύρωμαι, on the next line. It is clearly part of a final clause.

¹⁸ Similar phrases where a volitive is followed by a cohortative all render the paratactic וְ as καί. See 1:13, 4:10 (despite the difference in number and person), 5:31, and 31:14. Deut 5:31 is quite similar in syntax and λαλήσω could also be interpreted there as a hortative subjunctive. Deut 9:14 transforms the paratactic construction into a

although *καί* allows for some leeway in terms of how the verbs are coordinated. Muraoka argues that such ambiguous (future or aorist subjunctive) first person singular forms should be interpreted as hortative subjunctives when they are preceded by an imperative and joined with *καί*.¹⁹ The resulting translation would read: “Pay attention, heavens, I would like to speak...” or “Pay attention, heavens, and let me speak,” as Wevers suggests.²⁰

It is, of course, possible to analyze it as a future form, but we should keep in mind that in the five other instances of such volitive chains in OG Deuteronomy, the translator resorts to several strategies, none of which involving an unambiguous future form.²¹ The hortative subjunctive would be another example of his familiarity with the nuances of both the source and target language, implemented within the parameters of the translational norms observed at the outset.

ῥήματα ἐκ στόματός μου. The absence of the article before *στόματός* is highly unusual, since it is followed by a genitive pronoun. In similar circumstances, the translator usually provides the definite article. The presence of the preposition *ἐκ* is also noteworthy as it has no direct warrant in the source text and varies from the usual way of translating this construction. Though the collocation *אמרי־פי* occurs only once in Deuteronomy, it is found in a few places in the Psalms, where it is always translated *τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ στόματός μου*.²² In the very next verse, 32:2, the feminine *אמרתִי* (followed by a pronominal suffix) is translated *τὰ ῥήματά μου*.²³

finite verb plus infinitive due to the semantics of the construction. Nevertheless, this is also another way of improving Greek style, but it is not available in the context of 32:1.

¹⁹ Muraoka, *Syntax* §29ba(i).

²⁰ Gen 23:4 and 27:21 are perhaps the clearest parallel of all of Muraoka’s examples, which otherwise usually involve the particle *δεῦρο* not found in Deut 32:1. See the NJPS translation: “Give ear, O heavens, let me speak.”

²¹ In 1:13, the cohortative is translated by a present indicative; in 4:10, it becomes a 3rd person plural imperative; in 5:31 and 31:14, we find the verb *λαλήσω*; 31:28 has been discussed above.

²² Ps 53:4, 77:1. See also Prov 8:8 for a similar idiom. There are only three instances of the nominative *אמר* in the Pentateuch: Gen 4:23, Deut 32:2, and 33:9.

²³ Elsewhere in Deuteronomy, *ῥήματα* always translates *דבר* (2x) or *דברים* (15x).

Elsewhere in the Pentateuch, these nominal forms of **אמר** are all translated by *λόγος*, which again shows that this translator does not hesitate to go his own way. Normally the prepositional phrase would be preceded by an article to disambiguate whether it attaches to the verb *ἀκούω* or the noun *ρήματα*. But the noun and prepositional phrase are both anarthrous, so that the ambiguity remains.²⁴ Soisalon-Soininen has shown, however, that besides the genitive, prepositions are occasionally employed in the Greek Pentateuch to link constituents in the Hebrew construct state.²⁵ Presumably, such prepositions clarify the relationship between both terms.

The rendering of the phrase found here – *ρήματα ἐκ στόματός μου* – is not very different semantically speaking, from the typical genitive construct, varying only in matter of nuance: The earth must hear “from my mouth words,” or perhaps, “words (which are) from my mouth?”²⁶ And this instead of the Hebrew “the words of my mouth.”

One construction is definite, the other is not. As can be expected, the preposition *ἐκ* in this context is perfectly conventional Greek: *ἀκούω* is usually accompanied by the accusative to describe what is heard, and with a prepositional phrase governed by *ἐκ* to designate who from.²⁷

²⁴ Muraoka, *Syntax* §44a.

²⁵ Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, “Verschiedene Wiedergaben der hebräischen Status Constructus-Verbindung im griechischen Pentateuch,” in *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax*, ed. Anneli Aejmelaeus and Raija Sollamo, AASF, Ser.B 237 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1987), 69–70.

²⁶ For the latter, see Muraoka, *Syntax* §44aa and 44b. This interpretation is more common to the construction where the article is found, in which case it acts as a relative clause.

²⁷ See the similar syntax in Homer, *Od.* 15.374-375: “ἐκ δ’ ἄρα δεσποίνης οὐ μείλιχον ἔστιν ἀκοῦσαι οὔτ’ ἔπος οὔτε τι ἔργον,” (“But from my mistress I may hear naught pleasant, whether word or deed.” – trans. Murray) and also Herodotus, *Hist.* 3.62.2: “Καμβύσης δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ κήρυκος...” (“When Cambyzes heard what the herald said” – trans. Godley). See Homer, *The Iliad: Volume II, Books 13-24*. Translated by A. T. Murray and William Wyatt. 2nd ed. LCL 171. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1925; Herodotus, *The Persian Wars, Volume II: Books 3-4*. Translated by A. D. Godley. Revised edition. LCL 118. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1921.

Why this rendering was employed here instead of a definite genitive construction is hard to say. One possibility is that it reflects a desire for variation. Or perhaps, this reflects the value placed by the translator on the reproduction of the terseness of the underlying Hebrew poetry. This would correspond with what we find in the following verses, where the (vocalized) text of MT indicates the presence of articles before nouns designating the first two types of precipitations. These, however, are translated as anarthrous nouns.

32:2

יערף במטר לקחי תזל כטל אמרתי כשעירם עלי־דשא וכרביבים עלי־עשב

προσδοκάσθω ὡς ὑετὸς τὸ ἀπόφθεγμα μου, καὶ καταβήτω ὡς δρόσος τὰ ῥήματά μου, ὥσει ὄμβρος ἐπ’ ἄγρωστιν καὶ ὥσει νιφετὸς ἐπὶ χόρτον.

Let my utterance be awaited like rain, and let my words come down like dew, like a rainstorm on dog’s tooth grass, and like a snowstorm on grass.

Προσδοκάσθω...καὶ καταβήτω. The only quantitative differences between the source and target text of v. 2 are the additions of articles before nouns that are followed by a personal pronoun in the genitive, denoting possession. This is another small concession to grammatical-wellformedness. The second stich begins with *καί* in the Greek text, but there is no corresponding ו in MT. Several witnesses including SamPent do have a conjunction in this position, so that it may safely be attributed to the translation’s *Vorlage*.

In her analysis of this passage, Marguerite Harl notes rightly that the verb *προσδοκάω* (“to expect”, “await”), only found in a few instances in the Septuagint, corresponds here to the Hebrew ערף which is typically employed with the more concrete meaning of “to trickle” or

“drip.”²⁸ Harl argues that the translator is introducing the theme of expectancy and, in her words, “enrichit la tonalité religieuse du texte.”²⁹ No further explanation is provided.

For his part, Den Hertog explains this rendering by appealing to the occasional confusion between labials. The פ in ערף would have been understood as a ב, as in 1:15, where שבטיכם was likely mistaken for שפטיכם.³⁰ In our case, ערף (“to trickle”, “drip”) would have been read as ערב (“to be pleasing”).³¹ But the seven instances of ערב in the Hebrew Bible are usually translated by the Greek ἡδυνω (“to make pleasant”, “delight”) or a derivative.³² Furthermore, προσδοκάω is never matched to ערב, and has little semantic overlap with its meaning. A few points deserve mention:

- 1) Our analysis should also take into account the verb נוזל (“to trickle” or “flow”) on the second line. It is only found ten times in the Hebrew Bible. In four of these instances, it is appropriately translated by the verb ῥέω (“to flow”). The translation found here is a case of semantic generalization.³³ “To come down” (καταβαίνω) is more general than “to trickle” or “flow,” but semantically related. This translation strategy is common for this particular verb.³⁴

²⁸ Marguerite Harl, “Le grand cantique de Moïse en Deutéronome 32 : quelques traits originaux de la version grecque des Septante,” in *La langue de Japhet. Quinze études sur la Septante et le grec des chrétiens* (Paris: Cerf, 1992), 185. There are only three instances of this verb in the translations that make up the Septuagint. “The Targums interpret M here...in the sense of יתקבל, “to be accepted” (“let my word be accepted as dew”), with the addition of a cj. in the case of T^{JN}. It should be recalled at this point that the readings of T^{JNF} throughout both the Song and the Blessing of Moses are frequently embedded in a considerable midrashic expansion of M, so that at times their precise textual witness is difficult to determine.” See McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*, 92.

²⁹ Harl, “Le grand cantique de Moïse en Deutéronome 32 : quelques traits originaux de la version grecque des Septante,” 185.

³⁰ For this example, see Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, 153.

³¹ Den Hertog, Labahn, and Pola, “Deuteronomion,” 593. Targum Neofiti translates: “Let my teaching be pleasant as rain...the word of my mouth be welcomed as dew.” One might argue that Neofiti’s interpretation stems from the labial confusion suggested here.

³² See Ps 103:34, Prov 3:24, 13:19, Jer 6:20, and 38:26. In Mal 3:4, it is translated by ἀρέσσω (“to please”, “satisfy”) while ἐπιμείγνυμι (“to mix” or “have sexual intercourse”) is the rendering in Ezek 16:37.

³³ See van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 67–68.

³⁴ One can compare its rendering by ἐξέρχομαι in Num 24:7 or ἐξάγω in Isa 48:21.

- 2) In light of this and other instances in this difficult text, it should come as no surprise that a similar strategy might be employed for the verb עָרַף. By resorting to προσδοκάω, the simile involving rain is made explicit as the Greek term translates the underlying concept, that of the vital importance of Mosaic teaching which must be awaited like rain in a dry place.³⁵
- 3) Another important factor should also be considered: When examining the other occurrence of this verb, Deut 33:28, we find that the translator also proceeded there in an approximate manner:

His heavens also <u>drop down</u> dew. (NASB)	אֶף-שָׁמַיִם יֵעָרְפוּ טֵל
And the sky is <u>cloudy</u> with dew for him. (NETS)	καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς αὐτῷ συννεφῆς δρόσῳ

In this line which ends verse 28, the Hebrew verb is translated by the substantive συννεφής, here in the sense of “cloudy” or “covered/darkened (with clouds).”³⁶ It is important to note that the cognate Hebrew noun עָרַף (same root plus a ל) is found a few times in Deuteronomy with the probable meaning of “thick darkness.” Assuming the translator was here influenced by the meaning of the noun, the rendering in 33:28 would represent an etymological translation. However, this explanation does not fit in 32:2 since the verb προσδοκάω communicates the idea of an expectation and not

³⁵ For a brief but helpful discussion of the transformation of metaphors in translation, see van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 85–86.

³⁶ This is the only instance of this substantive in the Septuagint. Such a change of word class is nevertheless unusual. On this topic, see van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 144. In Gen 9:14, the verb from the same root translates the Hebrew עָנָן. Given the graphical similarity between עָנָן and עָרַף, one may wonder whether the *Vorlage* contained the former, or that it may have been read this way.

darkness. Taken together, these two occurrences strongly suggest that the translator did not understand the meaning of the verb ערף in this context.

- 4) He does not appear to be the only one. Aquila's revision translates here with γνοφώω ("to darken"), a term whose cognate noun is matched elsewhere to the same Hebrew ערפל.³⁷ Targum Jonathan provides the following rendering: "Let my teaching strike rebels as rain..."³⁸ The Hebrew verb is here interpreted according to the meaning of its homonym, that of "breaking the neck" or "striking," a meaning that is found in a few legislative texts within the Pentateuch.³⁹

Assuming then that the translator was not familiar with the meaning of the Hebrew verb, it would be quite natural to translate contextually, and in the process explain the metaphor. In light of the other translational strategies employed in these few verses (semantic generalization, contextual translation), this is not surprising. Moreover, it is not clear how the use of προσδοκάω would underscore the religious nature of this text. The concept of expectation or hope is already present in the rain imagery found in its Hebrew source. One might posit, however, that the choice of προσδοκάω was nevertheless not haphazard. It could have been because of its similarity with the first word of the previous verse, thus introducing a stylistic repetition using the verbal prefix: Πρόσεχε... προσδοκάσθω.⁴⁰ These are not mutually exclusive explanations insofar as it can be shown that it is a concern of the translator in this text.⁴¹

³⁷ See Wevers, *NGTD*, 509.

³⁸ These translations from the targumim are taken from Harl, "Le grand cantique de Moïse en Deutéronome 32 : quelques traits originaux de la version grecque des Septante," 185, n. 6.

³⁹ ערף is the neck itself. See also Goldman, who suggests that ערף in Deut 32 has the meaning of 'to come or bring down'. M. D. Goldman, "Lexicographical Notes on Exegesis (2)," *ABR* 1 (1951): 141–42. It is also synonymous with the root רעף (to flow, trickle), which happens to be very similar to our verb (metathesis).

⁴⁰ I owe this observation to Marieke Dhont.

⁴¹ This is another reason why Harl's suggestion appears less plausible. It is difficult to demonstrate that heightening the religious nature of this text and introducing the concept of expectation is a concern of the translator here.

ὥς ὑετός...ὥς δρόσος...ὥσει ὄμβρος...ὥσει νιφετός. The four terms employed to describe various sorts of precipitations all ends in -ος. One could argue that this is simply the outcome of the translation process – these Greek terms being the standard equivalents for the underlying Hebrew ones. But while the first two (ὕετος, δρόσος) are common equivalents to the corresponding Hebrew, the last two, ὄμβρος and νιφετός, are found only here in the Septuagint.⁴² Other candidates, such as ψεκάς or βροχή, were perhaps available, which at least opens up the possibility that this feature is deliberate.⁴³ Both terms are found paired together in Homer,⁴⁴ leading some to argue that this is an important clue to the translator’s level of education.⁴⁵ However, one of them (ὄμβρος) is also found in the contemporary papyri, in geographical surveys and lists of tasks to perform on plots of land.⁴⁶ That they would demonstrate the translator’s familiarity with classical texts, or even point to a higher register of language is therefore not so obvious, despite the stylistic feature introduced by the use of these words, which also preserves the parallelism.⁴⁷

⁴² מטר is frequent (> 36 instances) and always translated using ὑετός. There are also approximately 30 instances of טל, always translated by δρόσος. The term ὄμβρος is found in Egyptian papyri contemporary to the translation, while νιφετός is employed by the historian Polybius. They translate שַׁעֲרִים (a *hapax*) and רַב־יָמִים (perhaps “showers”). On the *hapax* שַׁעֲרִים, Khokhar who suggests that the translator rendered the term by resorting to the context which provided him three near synonyms. See Khokhar, “May My Teaching Drop as the Rain,” 151–52. Interestingly, Khokhar points out that Aquila opts for an etymological translation, using τριχιδῶντα as a match, perhaps based on his use of τριχιδῶ to render the Hebrew root in Lev 17:7 and Isa 13:21.

⁴³ Although βροχή is often found in Egyptian papyri denoting the irrigation brought about by the Nile, the word’s usage seems to have evolved from “inundation” to “rain” early in the *koine*. The cognate verb is already found with the sense of “to rain” in the early 3rd century BCE. See Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch*, 122–24.

⁴⁴ Homer, *Il.* 10.7; *Od.* 4.566.

⁴⁵ For example, Aitken, “The Significance of Rhetoric in the Greek Pentateuch,” 513; Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 87.

⁴⁶ For ὄμβρος, see P.Cair.Zen.3.59383 = TM 1026 which is contemporary to Deuteronomy’s translation. The letter describes a list of tasks to perform on a particular piece of land. The context and register are far removed from that of classical poetry (Harl). The term is also found in documents of the following century, for example within geographical surveys. See P.Tebt. 3.826 = TM 5402. For νιφετός, see Polybius *Hist.* 36.17.2.

⁴⁷ The difficulty in positing various theories from this verse is also compounded by the fact that lists of synonyms are notoriously difficult in translation.

The variation between ὡς and ὥσει represents a better example of the introduction of a stylistic device.⁴⁸ The corresponding Hebrew preposition is the same in all four instances, making the *variatio* all the more obvious.

τὸ ἀπόφθεγμά μου. Πῶς (“teaching”, “instruction”) is only found in four instances outside of the book of Proverbs, where it is translated by a different Greek term in each of its occurrences. In the three passages other than Deut 32:2, it is either left untranslated or paraphrased. The term ἀπόφθεγμα is found in classical Greek with the meaning of “short, instructive saying” (which this song is not!) It is found in later Greek sources with the probable meaning of “oracle” or “revelatory statement.”⁴⁹ It is noteworthy that we find μάταια ἀποφθέγματα (“vain utterances”) in OG Ezek 13:19 to translate the Hebrew כִּזְב (“a lie”), there referring to prophetic oracles. This would confirm that ἀπόφθεγμα (with the meaning of “prophetic proclamation”, “oracle”) is an curious choice given its specificity, but it is nevertheless contextually appropriate since the Song is presented as a revelatory text from Moses, the chief prophet.⁵⁰

32:3

כִּי שֵׁם יְהוָה אֲקִרָא הָבוּ גִדְלָ לְאֱלֹהֵינוּ

ὅτι ὄνομα κυρίου ἐκάλεσα· δότε μεγαλωσύνην τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν.

For I have called out the name of the Lord; ascribe greatness to our God!

ἐκάλεσα. Verse 3 closes the first section of the song, commonly labeled the exordium or call to attention.⁵¹ SamPent contains two variants in this verse that are not found in the translation's

⁴⁸ As described in Aitken, “The Significance of Rhetoric in the Greek Pentateuch,” 513.

⁴⁹ See G.Mary.Ox. 3525, Cassius Dio 62, 13, 3.

⁵⁰ See BDAG, s.v. “ἀπόφθεγμα”, where one can trace through time the evolution away from “pithy saying” to “oracle” or “revelatory statement.”

⁵¹ See the introduction in Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 299. For a different division of this section of the song, which sees verses 3 and 4 grouped together as the introduction to the song's theme, see Sanders, *The Provenance of Deuteronomy* 32, 264–65.

Vorlage, as far as can be ascertained: 1) Instead of שם, we find בשם and 2) The second stich begins with a conjunction.

The *yiqtol* of the Hebrew source is here rendered as an aorist. In context, the speaker has just commanded heaven and earth to attention, stressing the importance of his words. The phrase is linked to what precedes it by כִּי, highlighting again, it would seem, the intention of the speaker in what he is about to say. Therefore, one might translate the Hebrew אָקְרָא שֵׁם as “Listen...for I will invoke the name...” or “I will proclaim the name...,” both perfectly compatible with the semantic range of $\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$.⁵² It also introduces the praise of YHWH that follows in the next verse. But the choice of the aorist indicative form is puzzling. As is well known, this chapter includes several Hebrew preterite forms that are morphologically identical to the *yiqtol*.⁵³ These are found in verses 8-18, and usually translated as aorist indicatives. As Wevers discusses, it is possible that the translator understood the verse as stating that invoking the name of the Lord in the past is the basis for the imperative that follows, that of ascribing majesty to him.⁵⁴ “I have invoked/proclaimed the name of the Lord...(therefore) ascribe majesty to our God.” Alternatively, the translator might interpret v. 3 in light of what follows, the description of the history of YHWH’s dealings with Israel (v. 4-18). Except for a comparative optative, all *yiqtol*s in this section are translated as aorist indicatives.⁵⁵ This would perhaps point to a different understanding of the sense division of the song, verse 3 already belonging to that historical account, with the praise of v.4 representing a proclamation made to Israel in the past.

⁵² Sanders argues that the latter is to be preferred. See his discussion in Sanders, *The Provenance of Deuteronomy* 32, 140–41.

⁵³ Strictly speaking, this form is often referred to as the preterite *yaqtul*. See for example, Joosten, *Verbal System*, 74–75.

⁵⁴ Wevers, *NGTD*, 510.

⁵⁵ Verses 6-7 represent an exception, with *yiqtol* and *weyiqtol* forms embedded inside questions and commands.

μεγαλωσύνην. As noted by Dogniez and Harl, *μεγαλωσύνη* is a *hapax* in the Greek Pentateuch built from the verb *μεγαλύνω* (“to magnify”) frequently found in the Septuagint. It is also found in Aristeas 192 and a few later sources.⁵⁶ The Hebrew nominative **גָּדַל** is found five times in Deuteronomy and translated by a variety of terms: *ισχύς* (3:24), *μέγας* (9:26)⁵⁷, *μεγαλειός* (11:2), etc.⁵⁸ Although we might not want to argue that the Deuteronomy translator coined this neologism, it seems appropriate to observe how he reaches for various equivalents when needed. Of course, the nature of the source, with its varied and sometimes obscure vocabulary forces him to deploy a variety of strategies.

32:4

הַצֹּר תַּמִּים פָּעֵלוּ כִּי כָל־דַּרְכָּיו מִשְׁפָּט אֵל אֱמוּנָה וְאֵין עוֹל צְדִיק וְיֵשֶׁר הוּא

θεός, ἀληθινὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ κρίσις· θεὸς πιστός, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀδικία· δίκαιος καὶ ὁσιος κύριος.

God – his works are genuine, and all his ways are justice. A faithful god, and there is no injustice, a righteous and holy Lord.

Θεός. God is not described as the rock (**הַצֹּר**) in Greek but simply as *θεός*. This is not the only instance where this match is found. There are six occurrences of the word **צֹר** describing YHWH in this chapter. In each of these, *θεός* is found, completely eliminating the metaphor.

For an extended discussion as to why this interpretation is to be attributed to the translator and

⁵⁶ Sir 39:15 and Tob 12:6.

⁵⁷ Here MT has only **גָּדַל** while the Greek text has *ἐν τῇ ἰσχύι σου τῇ μεγάλῃ*. It is not clear whether the Greek expressions should be understood as rendering the Hebrew we find in MT (and SamPent, V, S, T), or whether the longer Greek text is due to assimilation (to v. 29 as per McCarthy) or to an additional element in G's *Vorlage*. In 3:24, *ισχύς* translates **יָצַח**, so that *μέγας* is probably the plus. On the other hand, 9:29 contains **הַגְדִּיל בְּכַחַךְ**, which is translated as *ἐν τῇ ἰσχύι σου τῇ μεγάλῃ*. On the whole, the most probable scenario is that the Greek text in 9:26 reflects a *Vorlage* that contained **הַגְדִּיל בְּכַחַךְ**.

⁵⁸ It is omitted from the Greek text in 5:24, possibly because of a *homoioteleuton*. Aejmaleus suggests that the motivation is the avoidance of an anthropomorphism. See the discussion in Aejmelaeus, “Die Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums,” 174.

not his *Vorlage*, see chapter 2, section 2.3.2. This atomistic but significant modification manages to avoid what we can assume is an undesirable interpretation of the text. The rendering is also significant because it potentially sheds some light on the cultural milieu of the translation. Unfortunately, not much is known of the reasons motivating this change, in part because little is known of the cultural context of the 3rd century BCE Egyptian Diaspora. It has been argued that it is motivated by the avoidance of concrete portrayals of God, or perhaps because of some cultural association that should be circumvented.⁵⁹ Whatever the reasons, a by-product of the rendering is that another metaphor is eliminated. It is intriguing in this context to consider the ruler cults of this period. Demetrius I (Poliorcetes), who claimed the title of king, sailed into Athens in 291 BCE, to be greeted by the population with religious songs and dance. Their song stated: “How the greatest and dearest of the gods are present in our city!...for other gods are either far away, or they do not have ears, or they do not exist, or do not take any notice of us, but you we can see present here, not made of wood or stone, but real.”⁶⁰ To be sure, the idea of a visible God is problematic within Jewish circles in general. But the impetus to avoid portraying God as a stone may be related to this idea of associating him to a non-existent or remote deity. We can infer therefore the existence of another subordinate norm, that of avoiding inadequate portrayals of God, or stated otherwise, norms of the target culture governing discourse about divine beings. It exemplifies some of the unexpected and undesirable cultural associations that one may want to avoid in translation.

⁵⁹ See the comments and references to that effect in section 2.3.2 above.

⁶⁰ The translation is from Angelos Chaniotis, “The Ithyphallic Hymn for Demetrios Poliorketes and Hellenistic Religious Mentality,” in *More than Men, Less than Gods: Studies on Royal Cult and Imperial Worship*, ed. P. P. Iossif, A. S. Chankowski, and C. C. Lorber, *Studia Hellenistica* 51 (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 160. The Greek text (Douris, *FGrHist* 76 F 13 = Athen. 7.253 d-f), reads: “ὡς οἱ μέγιστοι τῶν θεῶν καὶ φίλτατοι τῇ πόλει πάρεσιν...” Ἄλλοι μὲν ἢ μακρὰν γὰρ ἀπέχουσιν θεοί, ἢ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ὦτα, ἢ οὐκ εἰσὶν, ἢ οὐ προσέχουσιν ἡμῖν οὐδὲ ἐν, σὲ δὲ παρόνθ’ ὁρῶμεν, οὐ ξύλινον οὐδὲ λίθινον, ἀλλ’ ἀληθινόν.” See the critical edition in A. Kolde, *Politique et religion chez Isyllos d’Épidaure* (Basel: Schwabe, 2003), 380–81.

The use of an anarthrous θεός might appear surprising, in contrast with the second instance of θεός in this verse which can be understood more generically as a divine being. However, its position as a “fronted constituent...which is in focus”⁶¹ (*casus padens* construction in Hebrew), as well as the context (here v. 3) clarifying the referent, might be sufficient to explain this feature.⁶²

καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ κρίσις. The translation of וְ by the conjunction καὶ is rather striking in that parataxis is generated instead of being avoided. Wevers offers two possibilities: 1) Either this rendering was chosen to make the flow of the verse simpler, or 2) perhaps the וְ should be understood “as an asseverative particle.” The meaning would then be: “Yea, all his ways are just.”⁶³ Khokhar further suggests that the use of καὶ “seems to emphasize or stress what his ways are, namely κρίσις.”⁶⁴ It appears more likely, however, that the use of ὅτι (as in v. 3a) would have clarified more explicitly the relationship between YHWH’s works and his character.⁶⁵ Another possibility is that the translator attempted to create parallel lines in Greek, similar to the following:

A	θεός, ἀληθινὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ,
B	καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ κρίσις.
A'	θεὸς πιστός,
B'	καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀδικία.
C	δίκαιος καὶ ὁσιος κύριος.

⁶¹ Muraoka, *Syntax* §83a(i).

⁶² Muraoka also explains this use by the fact that θεός is employed as a personal name. See Muraoka, *Syntax* §5aa(vi).

⁶³ Wevers is here quoting the NJPS. See Wevers, *NGTD*, 510.

⁶⁴ Khokhar, “May My Teaching Drop as the Rain,” 204.

⁶⁵ See the discussion of וְ with intermediate or direct causality implied, as seems to be the case here, in Anneli Aejmelaus, “OTI *causale* in Septuagint Greek,” in *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays*, CBET 50 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 12–18. If causality is understood in a less direct sense, it would be possible to use the connector γάρ. But it is quite rare in this position in OG Deuteronomy, the translator generally preferring ὅτι.

Nevertheless, the structure is disrupted by the great difference in length between lines. It also presumes that a number of potentially independent decisions such as the rendering of **הַצֹּר** by *θεός* were also made to fit this larger pattern. It seems rather more likely that the translator preferred a rendering that coordinated clauses, as he does later in v. 9. The rendering of **כִּי** by *καί* is rather rare in OG Deuteronomy (9:19, 14:24, 32:4, 9). In 14:24, the translator avoids the repetition of a conditional **כִּי**, but in 9:19, the rendering appears to be exegetically motivated.⁶⁶ This would mean that out of approximately 140 non-conditional **כִּי** (i.e., limited to its use as causal, logical, or object clause marker), *καί* is only employed in three instances – twice in this song – to coordinate clauses instead of subordinating them.⁶⁷ Whatever the exact motivation, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the translator passed by an excellent opportunity to reduce the paratactic style of the text.

The majority text renders **משפט** by the plural *κρίσεις*, but as Wevers argues, the more difficult singular *κρίσις*, as attested by 848 and a few others, is probably original.⁶⁸ It has been suggested that the consistency of this lexical match has caused a shift in meaning for the term *κρίσις*, from “judgment,” “condemnation,” “trial,” or even “choice,” to a moral and ethical

⁶⁶ As Wevers points out, the present tense that follows 9:19 implies that Moses’s prayer was not caused by the fact that he feared (as in MT), but that he prayed and was still afraid. See Wevers, *NGTD*, 167.

⁶⁷ Verse 9 will be discussed later in this chapter. The total figure is based on Aejmelaes’s estimation in Aejmelaes, “OTI *causale* in Septuagint Greek,” 19–20. We may add, contrary to Wevers’s claim, that it appears very unlikely that the translator saw the **כִּי** as assertive since the *καί* presumably works here as a conjunction. Nowhere does he translate **כִּי** by a Greek interjection. See also the study of Joshua-Judges by Sipilä. Out of 141 instances of the causal **כִּי**, only three instances were translated by *καί*, most likely because of contextual factors, once completely reworking the grammatical structure of the source text. It thus remains exceptional. See Seppo Sipilä, *Between Literalness and Freedom: Translation Technique in the Septuagint of Joshua and Judges Regarding the Clause Connections Introduced by ך and ך*, Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 75 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 162–63.

⁶⁸ Wevers, *THGD*, 84–85.

sense.⁶⁹ It is to be noted, however, that a few usages can be found in this period where moral qualities are in view, so that *κρίσις* is not out of place in this context.⁷⁰

καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀδικία. On the rendering of the Hebrew negative particle *לֹא*, see our comments at 25:5. A majority of witnesses have *ἐν αὐτῷ* before *ἀδικία*. This widespread variant in the manuscript tradition suggests that the terseness of this idiom was difficult for Greek speakers, who tended to smooth out the difficulty.⁷¹

δίκαιος καὶ ὅσιος κύριος. The Greek *ὅσιος* is not the usual term employed to translate *יֵשׁר*. The more common rendering of *εὐθύς* might have been avoided because it would represent an inappropriate way of describing YHWH.⁷² It is noteworthy, however, that Deuteronomy is the only place where *ὅσιος* words are found in the Greek Pentateuch. The expression *יֵשׁר לֵב* (“uprightness of heart”) found in 9:5 denotes the same in noun form, and is commonly glossed as “uprightness”, in the sense of integrity and honesty, the uprightness of inward dispositions.⁷³ There the translator renders it by recourse to *δοσιότης*. This is also unusual since the typical match for the nominative form of *יֵשׁר* is *εὐθύτης*.⁷⁴ Outside of Deuteronomy, words of the *ὅσιος* family usually render the Hebrew *חֹסֶד* or words of the *תָּם* family.⁷⁵

⁶⁹ See for example the comments in Den Hertog, Labahn, and Pola, “Deuteronomion,” 593.

⁷⁰ *MM*, s.v. “*κρίσις*”.

⁷¹ Note especially how variations of this prepositional phrase are found later in the song: “*οὐκ ἔστιν πίστις ἐν αὐτοῖς*” (v. 20) or “*οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήμη*” (v. 28).

⁷² Two variants of this explanation are found in Siegert, *Zwischen Hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament*, 227; Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus*, 511. The Hebrew *יֵשׁר* is most commonly translated in the Septuagint by words of the *εὐθύς* family. The distant second choice are words of the *ὁρθός* group.

⁷³ Helmer Ringgren, “*יֵשׁר*,” *TDOT* 6:468. See also *DCH*, s.v. “*יֵשׁר*”.

⁷⁴ The other renderings are found in translations that are not as guided by norms of consistency in lexical equivalents (Job, Chronicles). These use terms such as *ἀπλότης* and *καθαρός*.

⁷⁵ Of further interest is the fact that while *δοσιότης* is only found in four places in the translational corpus of the Septuagint, two of these instances appear to be alternate readings of the Hebrew *Vorlage*. In Prov 14:32, *δοσιότης* renders MT’s *מוֹתוֹ*, which the translator probably read as *תָּמוּ* (“his purity/innocence”). In 1 Sam 14:41, the translator seems to be reading the Hebrew text vocalized as *תְּמִים* (“symbols of truth”) instead of MT *תָּמִים* (“complete”). What these readings suggest, however, is that *δοσιότης* is usually tied to the Hebrew *תָּם*.

Identifying the precise meaning of the term in this context is difficult.⁷⁶ Two recent studies shed light on these terms in classical and early Hellenistic contexts. Mikalson argues that *δσιότης* should be understood as religious correctness, that is, a (passive) state of being in conformance with religious tradition. This is in contrast to *εὐσέβεια*, which denotes instead proper respect for the gods.⁷⁷ Peels's thorough lexical investigation of all Greek literature and inscriptions down to the early 4th century is relevant here. She concludes as follows:

A person was considered *ῥσιος* if he/she respected the gods by acknowledging them as gods, knew his/her place with respect to them and honoured them in ritual practice. But crucially, in order to be considered *ῥσιος*, a person also had to honour those relationships that the gods were especially interested in, and behave well towards parents, children, spouses, brothers, sisters, guests, hosts, suppliants, and the dead.⁷⁸

Another conclusion related to our inquiry is that *ῥσιος* words are commonly found in the same context as *δίκαιος* words, in fact, often describing the same situation. Plato has dealt with this rather extensively: The term *ῥσιος* would describe conduct that is fitting in relation to the gods while *δίκαιος* would designate proper conduct towards fellow humans.⁷⁹ But despite

⁷⁶ Muraoka's lexicon suggests "piety," "holiness," or "holy things." See *GELS*, s.v. "*ῥσιος*". BDAG is a bit more elaborate, offering "a state of proper attitude toward God as exhibited in action", but this could hardly be applied to YHWH. In a later subentry for *ῥσιος*, it suggests "pertaining to being the standard for what constitutes holiness." This usage is based on two Septuagint texts, however, including the one mentioned above, Deut 32:4. See BDAG, s.v. "*ῥσιος*".

⁷⁷ Jon D. Mikalson, *Greek Popular Religion in Greek Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 169. Should one rely on literature and inscriptions of the classical period to investigate religion of the early Hellenistic period? Mikalson seems to think so: "For this study I use the writings of philosophers of both the classical and early Hellenistic periods because it is becoming increasingly clear that for most Greeks in the early Hellenistic period practised religion remained very much what it had been in the classical period." See Mikalson, *Greek Popular Religion in Greek Philosophy*, 4.

⁷⁸ Saskia Peels, *Hosios: A Semantic Study of Greek Piety* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015), 66. Further, *ῥσιος* and cognates refer to "everything that humans do to give *χάρις* to gods, thereby pleasing them and giving them *τιμή*. To accomplish this, humans should not only honour the relationship with the gods themselves, but also those relationships between humans in which the gods take a special interest."

⁷⁹ For example, Plato, *Gorg.* 507a6–b4.

Plato's struggle to identify differences between uses of *ῥσιος* and *δίκαιος*, lexical investigations show that they are often used interchangeably. On this very subject, Peels argues that:

ῥσιος & cognates (and *εὐσέβεια* & cognates) in the fifth century answered the users' need for more dedicated, specific terms to express morality from the imagined perspective of gods when *δίκαιος* & cognates became more specialized for other usages.⁸⁰

In other words, while *ῥσιος* and cognates always invoke a religious frame, *δίκαιος* words often do not and operate in a variety of contexts. This is in keeping with other findings, here from Rudhardt, to the effect that “*ῥσιος* a pour le Grec une consonance spécifiquement religieuse, alors que *δίκαιος*, bien que la justice intéresse les dieux et complète la piété, paraît à cet égard moins nettement caractérisé.”⁸¹

However, and more importantly for our purposes, the use of both of these words together is quite common and does appear to cover the whole spectrum of ethical and religious appropriateness, whether framed in terms of honoring the gods or what is legally right.⁸² It could very well be that the choice of *ῥσιος/ῥσιότης* in Deuteronomy is related to its common occurrence with *δίκαιος/δικαιοσύνη* in Greek parlance to convey the sense of integrity and

⁸⁰ Peels, *Hosios*, 254. Peels mentions that some usages of *δικαιοσύνη* can also express the imagined perspective of the gods, so that limiting the term to a non-religious, ethical sense is too restrictive. Cf. Peels, *Hosios*, 111–12.

⁸¹ Jean Rudhardt, *Notions fondamentales de la pensée religieuse et actes constitutifs du culte dans la Grèce classique*, 2nd ed. (Paris: A et J Picard, 1992), 30, 33. Inscription UPZ.1.33 = TM 3242 [Memphis – 161 BCE] represents an example from the early Hellenistic period using *ῥσιότης* much in the same sense as that described here: *ὁ Σάραπισ καὶ ἡ Εἷσις ἐπαφροδισίαν χάριν μορφὴν πρὸς τὸν βασιλεῖα καὶ τὴν βασίλισσαν δι' ἧς ἔχεις πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ῥσιότητα*. (lines 9-10) “For all these may Sarapis and Isis give you grace, favor and appreciation by the king and queen, by reason of your sacred relationship with the divine”. See Fassa Eleni, “Shifting Conceptions of the Divine: Sarapis as Part of Ptolemaic Egypt's Social Imaginary,” in *Shifting Social Imaginaries in the Hellenistic Period: Narrations, Practices, and Images*, ed. Eftychia Stavrianopoulou (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013), 126. More recent inquiries have yielded similar results, though the topic is still much debated.

⁸² Examples of this usage are too numerous to quote, but very common in judicial contexts, where prosecutors will appeal to the *δίκαιος* and *ῥσιος* of jurors. In terms of time period, this usage can be found from Euripides to Sextus Empiricus, and in terms of register, from Plato, to the Zenon archive. We also have sources which demonstrate that such pairing of the two was not uncommon in the context of 3rd century Egypt, presumably the same period as Deuteronomy's translation into Greek. The first example comes from P.Zen.Pestm D = TM 2493 [Arsinoites – 248 BCE]. In it, Zenon speaks of a man whose father is in trouble, stating that for someone to support his father is *δίκαιος καὶ ῥσιος*: “ἡκλη[ρ]ηκότος δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ κα[ὶ] ῥντος] ἐν κατοχῇ οἶεται δεῖν μὴ ἐγκαταλείπειν καθάπερ \δίκαιον/ καὶ ῥσιόν ἐστιν....”

correctness in every respect. This is all the more significant since δίκαιος and εὐθύς rarely occur together.⁸³ Through the pairing of δίκαιος and ὅσιος the translator is able to convey both the religious and ethical dimensions that צדק and ישר might have.⁸⁴ However, the use of δίκαιος and ὅσιος to describe YHWH presents some difficulties. Peels points out that there are very few applications of ὅσιος to gods in classical Greek literature.⁸⁵ She argues that it constitutes a marked usage often designed to arrest the attention of the listener/reader in comical plays or *reductio ad absurdum* arguments.⁸⁶ We could perhaps argue that the translator chose this formula to follow the pattern initiated by his rendering in chapter 9. But given his relative flexibility in other places when it comes to lexical choice, it is difficult to settle for this explanation.

Perhaps the meaning of “holy” can be entertained in the sense of “being blameless in all duties towards gods,” but this hardly fits here.⁸⁷ But as stated earlier, such a use is very rare outside of the Septuagint and later Jewish and Christian literature.⁸⁸ The idiom should then be considered as a whole. The contrast is set up between YHWH in v. 4 and his people in v. 5. He

⁸³ Outside of the Septuagint, there are only a handful of examples where the two words are found in close proximity. In about half of these, εὐθύς qualifies δίκαιος (“a straight justice”). We find εὐθύς and δίκαιος in parallel in two places: Herodotus *Hist.* 1.96.2 (“ἰθύς τε καὶ δίκαιος ἦν”) and Demosthenes *Cor.* 322 (“τὸ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθύς ὁρῶν καὶ δικαίαν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς πολιτείας εἰλόμην”).

⁸⁴ Neither צדק or ישר are religious terms in the way that ὁσιότης is. יְהוָה יֵשׁ or יְהוָה צַדִּיק might be closer in meaning to what ὁσιότης conveys. In fact, ὅσιος most often translates words of the צַדִּיק family. Is it significant then that when speaking of יְהוָה towards God (i.e., the יְהוָה), ὅσιος is used, denoting the fulfilling of obligations towards the deity. But when the reverse is considered, YHWH’s צַדִּיק is translated as ἐλεημοσύνη, perhaps underlining the asymmetrical nature of the relationship? See Peels, *Hosios*, 55.

⁸⁵ She notes only seven instances, all of which are discussed in Peels, *Hosios*, 154–66. In these, gods are often portrayed as humans and thus sharing their traits. But this can hardly be what the translator has in mind in 32:4.

⁸⁶ This is how Peels understand Euripides’s prologue of *Alcestis*, where Zeus refers to himself as being ὅσιος. In context, he is portrayed paradoxically (and comically) as both human and divine. See Peels, *Hosios*, 158.

⁸⁷ There is, however, at least one example in contemporary literature where ὅσιος is used in a more abstract sense. Sextus Empiricus, quoting a 2nd-century BCE philosopher, describes ὁσιότης as being a kind of δικαιοσύνη directed towards the gods. The argument goes like this: If according to common notions ὁσιότης exists, then the ὁσιόν also exists. See Sextus Empiricus *Phys.* 1.123–124. It designates what seems to be the recipient or standard of ὁσιότης, then equated with the divine. Therefore, the divine does exist.

⁸⁸ In fact, it is rather striking that following the translation of the Pentateuch, we find ὅσιος applied to god(s) in Ps 145:17 (144^{LXX}), and then in a few Jewish and early Christian texts. These remain the exception however as the word is usually employed to define people, the faithful, and not God.

is faithful and blameless in every respect, while his people have sinned, are crooked and perverse. Verse 5 seeks to establish a contrast between YHWH and Israel in order to exonerate him. It could be argued that the translator resorts to *ῥσιος* while having in view both the idiom as a whole and the contrast with Israel. This contrast is stated not only here in 32:4 but also in 9:5 where Israel is said to lack these very qualities, *δικαιοσύνη* and *δσιότης*.

The pronoun **אני** is translated by designating its referent, here *κύριος*. Harl wonders whether this was done in order to create a chiastic structure with the beginning of the verse *θεός... κύριος*,⁸⁹ or perhaps as part of a larger pattern of divine names initiated with *κύριος* in the preceding verse (ABBBA). There is at least one other example of such a device in this song. In the Greek text of v. 9, each stich ends with a name for the people: Jacob, Israel. This is in contrast to MT which does not have the final “Israel.” This plus creates two balanced lines that follow the same pattern. However, this variant is also found in the Samaritan Pentateuch, which strongly suggests that the parallelism in v. 9 should rather be attributed to the translation’s *Vorlage*. The situation is slightly different in v.4 in that *κύριος* does not represent a plus. But should this explanation be favored, one should be open to the possibility that the explicit mention of the divine name at the end of v.4, and the *inclusio* that it forms with the other divine name(s), was already in the translator’s *Vorlage*.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ See Harl, “Le grand cantique de Moïse en Deutéronome 32 : quelques traits originaux de la version grecque des Septante,” 187. See also Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deutéronome*, 322–23.

⁹⁰ Assuming the *Vorlage* contained **אני**, it may explain why scribes sought to explicitly define the identity of this being (our god) by changing the pronoun for the Tetragrammaton. Alternatively, as Soisalon-Soininen suggests, the similarity between **אני** and **יהוה** is close enough to imagine the possibility of confusion in reading the Hebrew text, whether this was done by a Hebrew scribe or the translator. See Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, “Die Wiedergabe des hebräischen Personalpronomens als Subjekt im griechischen Pentateuch,” in *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax*, ed. Anneli Aejmelaeus and Raija Sollamo, AASF, Ser.B 237 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1987), 81. The name (or pronoun) is entirely omitted in V and S.

שחת לו לא בניו מומם דור עקש ופתלתל

ἡμάρτοσαν οὐκ αὐτῷ τέκνα μωμητά, γενεὰ σκολιὰ καὶ διεστραμμένη.

Blemished children, not his, have sinned, a generation, crooked and perverse.

ἡμάρτοσαν οὐκ αὐτῷ τέκνα μωμητά. The syntax and meaning of the first stich of v. 5 is disputed and has given rise to many emendations in antiquity.⁹¹ That SamPent contains a version of the line that corresponds word-for-word to our translation (שחתו לא לו בני מום) makes it very likely that the translator's *Vorlage* was identical.⁹² This will be the starting point of our analysis.

Wevers takes τέκνα μωμητά as the subject of the verb ἡμάρτοσαν. The negation οὐκ αὐτῷ would then qualify the τέκνα, but the Greek text can be read a number of ways.⁹³ Given the difficulty, it appears that the translator was content to translate the Hebrew phrase lexeme-for-lexeme, nevertheless interpreting the construct chain מום בני as adjectival in nature.

As observed by Dogniez and Harl, ἀμαρτάνω is unique as a rendering for the Hebrew שחת in the Greek Pentateuch.⁹⁴ When used intransitively to designate the corruption of

⁹¹ McCarthy lays out the various scribal emendations and interpretations in the ancient witnesses. See McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*, 93.

⁹² This is also Sanders's opinion: "The translations of the LXX and the Peshitta probably go back to a Hebrew text similar or equal to the Samaritan reading." He adds, "Obviously the Samaritan version hardly makes sense. It must be the result of elimination of some of the difficulties from the even more problematic MT." See Sanders, *The Provenance of Deuteronomy* 32, 145. Den Hertog states that the translator managed well given the difficult MT text, but it appears unlikely that such a rendering would have appeared independently of the identical SamPent text. See Den Hertog, Labahn, and Pola, "Deuteronomion," 593.

⁹³ Other possibilities are: "Have they not sinned against him?" or "they have sinned, not towards God," or "they have sinned, they are not blameworthy children." Dogniez and Harl's preference is as follows: "They have sinned; they are no longer his children; they are blameworthy." See Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronomie*, 323.

⁹⁴ Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronomie*, 323. The Greek τέκνον is not the most common match for בן. On this see our comments at 25:5.

oneself, the Hebrew verb is usually translated using ἀνομέω.⁹⁵ Conversely, the Greek ἀμαρτάνω consistently translates the Hebrew אטח except here.⁹⁶ The reasons motivating this lexical match are not clear, and this is another example of translation choices that are unique to this chapter in OG Deuteronomy.⁹⁷

On the second line, the adjective פתלתל (perhaps “tortuous”), a *hapax* in the Hebrew Bible, is translated using a participial form of διαστρέφω (“twisted”, “perverse”).⁹⁸ This is not unexpected as the *hithpael* verb of the same root, פתל, is translated by the same Greek verb in Ps 18:27, a text which also contains the parallel Hebrew עקש. *HALOT* notes that the adjective in 32:5 is often translated as if it was מפתלה, and this may be how the translator proceeded here.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, the perfect passive participle is an curious choice, though it is semantically identical to an adjective in many situations.¹⁰⁰ Its use here may signal the desire for stylistic variation.

32:6

ה־לִיהוּהַ תִּגְמְלוּ־זֹאת עִם נָבֵל וְלֹא חֶכֶם הִלּוּ־הוּא אֲבִיךָ קִנְךָ הוּא עָשָׂךְ וַיִּכְנֹךְ

ταῦτα κυρίῳ ἀνταποδίδοτε οὕτως, λαὸς μωρὸς καὶ οὐχὶ σοφός; οὐκ αὐτὸς οὗτός σου πατὴρ ἐκτήσατό σε

⁹⁵ See 4:16, 25, 9:12, 31:29. This is true of both the *piel* and *hiphil* forms of the Hebrew verb which seem to be used interchangeably. Transitive uses of the verb have the sense of “to destroy” and are in all but one instance translated by ἐξολοθρεύω.

⁹⁶ Out of 59 instances of the verb (Logos search based on Rahlfs’s text), only Lev 4:3 and 4:22 have the verb ἀμαρτάνω translating another term, there a derivative of the root אשח.

⁹⁷ The Hebrew תמם is translated by ἀληθινός only in this chapter (v. 4), but there are only two instances of this substantive in Deuteronomy. One might argue that ἀμαρτάνω was chosen to create an intertextual link to chapter 9, where Moses recounts Israel’s disobedience at Sinai. The translator would employ the same verb twice to describe Israel’s behavior. However, the alternative and more common ἀνομέω is also found in chapter 9, so that choosing ἀμαρτάνω over it does not enhance the intertextuality that might have resulted.

⁹⁸ For a discussion of its possible meaning, see Khokhar, “May My Teaching Drop as the Rain,” 153.

⁹⁹ See *HALOT*, s.v. “פתל”.

¹⁰⁰ Muraoka introduces his discussion of the perfect passive participle with the statement that it “underlines a continuing state resulting from an action in the past.” But later on, he concedes that “in indicating a resultant state a passive pf. ptc. verges on an adjective...” He adds a few examples where the choice of the participle over an adjective seems to be purely stylistically motivated. See Muraoka, *Syntax* §28ea.

καὶ ἐποίησέν σε καὶ ἔκτισέν σε;

Do you thus repay the Lord these things, O people, foolish and not wise? Did not he himself, your father, acquire you and make you and create you?

ταῦτα κυρίῳ ἀνταποδίδετε οὕτως. Two features deserve comment. First, the demonstrative ταῦτα appears to be a plus in relation to MT. Den Hertog, following Frankel, argues that the Hebrew לָנִי is here the subject of a double translation. It is rendered once as ταῦτα, and another as οὕτως.¹⁰¹ The Greek text is translated by NETS with ταῦτα as the direct object of the verb: “These things (do you thus repay)?”¹⁰² The exclamatory question is straightforward in Hebrew: “Do you render that to YHWH?”¹⁰³ Throughout OG Deuteronomy, the Hebrew demonstrative is rendered using the Greek demonstrative οὗτος.¹⁰⁴ This would suggest that the οὕτως found in this phrase is either not OG (οὗτος might have been original), or that it was added *ad sensum*. The latter is what Wevers ponders after initially suggesting that לָנִי is here understood adverbially.¹⁰⁵ He acknowledges that the presence of both ταῦτα and οὕτως as verbal modifiers raises questions concerning the way the translator would have understood לָנִי.¹⁰⁶ We might add that it introduces a superfluous redundancy in the question.¹⁰⁷ Thus the motivation for a double translation is not clear.

¹⁰¹ Den Hertog, Labahn, and Pola, “Deuteronomion,” 593; Frankel, *Ueber den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik*, 209. Other examples of double translation are discussed in the introduction to the book, but many are problematic and can be explained by issues of syntax (copulative verb required in 9:3) or *Vorlage* (both terms most likely found in the *Vorlage* of 23:18, 32:19).

¹⁰² *La Bible d’Alexandrie* proceeds similarly: “Est-ce cela qu’au Seigneur vous rendez au retour ainsi?” See Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronome*, 324.

¹⁰³ The demonstrative לָנִי is therefore not to be understood adverbially, as many English translations render it: “to render thus.” Such a reading would normally entail an additional preposition (לָנִיכִי).

¹⁰⁴ Out of 53 instances, 51 are rendered by οὗτος, one by ἐκεῖνος, and then we have our present text which is ambiguous.

¹⁰⁵ Deut 6:1 could also be cited as an example of such *ad sensum* addition of οὕτως, but closer inspection reveals that the presence of the Greek adverb reflects assimilation to 4:5, which was most likely done at the level of the *Vorlage*.

¹⁰⁶ Wevers, *NGTD*, 511.

¹⁰⁷ The pleonasm is well rendered by Dogniez and Harl: “Est-ce cela qu’au Seigneur vous rendez en retour ainsi?” See Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronome*, 324.

On the other hand, an original of οὗτος would also represent a difficult fit in terms of syntax since it would most naturally occur in the accusative instead of the nominative form. Another possibility related to the preceding is that the Greek οὗτως is to be connected to what follows: “This is a foolish people and not wise” or “Thus a foolish people and not wise.”¹⁰⁸ This would be in contrast with the second half of the verse: “Is he not, this one....”¹⁰⁹ That the Greek demonstrative or adverb was sometimes understood as related to the second stich can be supported from manuscript 848 where οὗτως is found in this position.¹¹⁰ Wevers does not discuss this possibility, the layout of his edition following the stichometry of MT.

However, assuming that οὗτως translates הֲלוֹ, we may also argue that ταῦτα renders the Hebrew הֲ, pointed as an interrogative in MT, since it stands in the slot where the Hebrew interrogative particle is found.¹¹¹ The Hebrew particle may be used for exclamation (“behold!”),¹¹² or in the context of rhetorical questions (“indeed”, “surely”, “verily”) to “express the conviction that the contents of the statement are well known to the hearer....”¹¹³ Some unusual uses of ταῦτα (n. pl.) do overlap with these, such as the elliptical expression (“yes”, “certainly”, “there”), all exclamatory in nature.¹¹⁴ Alternatively, it is sometimes

¹⁰⁸ If that were the case, then it becomes more likely for the original to be a demonstrative οὗτος. Yet, οὗτος is poorly attested in the textual tradition (F^b Lat Cant^{Sin}).

¹⁰⁹ It is not impossible that οὗτως would translate an additional particle in the translator’s *Vorlage*. In the vast majority of instances, οὗτως translates the Hebrew הֲ, and it is not impossible that this term would have stood at the end of the first line of the verse. On οὗτως as a plus in 8:5, see the explanation in Wevers, *NGTD*, 147.

¹¹⁰ See the edited text in Dunand, “Papyrus grecs bibliques (Papyrus F. inv. 266) Volumina de la Genèse et du Deutéronome (Texte et planches),” 144–45.

¹¹¹ In 15:2, οὗτως translates הֲלוֹ adverbially, a way similar to 32:6. The *maqef* separating the interrogative הֲ from the *lamed* is present in Codex Leningradensis, but the Aleppo Codex and Damascus Pentateuch only have a small space, the הֲ being vocalized with a *patach*. For a brief discussion of the manuscript evidence, see Sanders, *The Provenance of Deuteronomy* 32, 149.

¹¹² HALOT, s.v. “הֲ”. Note that the interjection הֲלוֹ is also employed in a similar way: “Lo! Behold!” Some have argued that הֲלוֹ here (without spacing or *maqef*) might be an alternate and more ancient form of the interrogative particle, as found in Arabic. See GKC §100i; Sanders, *The Provenance of Deuteronomy* 32, 149.

¹¹³ GKC §150e.

¹¹⁴ See for example Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 142, *Pax* 275, *Eq.* 111.

employed with causative force: “This is why,” “therefore,” etc.¹¹⁵ One might therefore translate as “Certainly/Indeed...it is the Lord you repay in this way?” With causative force, one might formulate it as a question connected to v. 5: “Is this why... you repay the Lord in this way?” Or as a declarative sentence: “Therefore, you repay the Lord in this way....” This, however, would be a unique rendering of the interrogative ἤ.

In the end, ταῦτα may simply be an explication without direct warrant from the source text.¹¹⁶ Given the departure from the usual practice of reproducing the source text’s word order in the second half of this verse, it becomes more difficult to argue that ταῦτα is necessarily rendering a Hebrew lexeme, and therefore challenging to come to any conclusion as to what the translator might be intending. The word order of the Hebrew text highlights astonishment at the fact that it is YHWH who is repaid in this way. Unless one opts for the exclamatory use of ταῦτα, the Greek demonstrative would rather underscore the nature of the things repaid (i.e., by becoming a perverse and crooked generation).

The translation of ἀνταποδίδωμι in the present tense also stands out. As discussed in v. 3, the majority of *yiqtol* verbal forms in this section (esp. vv. 8-18) are understood as describing past actions and translated as aorist indicatives. This would have been an option here: “You have repaid the Lord thus.” A future indicative is also within the realm of possibility: “Will you repay the Lord thus?” But the present indicative in this context most likely stresses the

¹¹⁵ Two examples will suffice: “ἀλλ’ αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ νῦν ἦκω παρὰ σέ, ἵνα ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ διαλεχθῇς αὐτῷ.” (Plato, *Prot.* 310e) “But it is on this very account [i.e. because of this] I have come to you now, to see if you will have a talk with him on my behalf.”

“οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι πάντες ὄλοντο. ταῦθ’ ὑπερῆφανέοντες Ἐπειοὶ χαλκοχίτωνες ἡμέας ὑβρίζοντες ἀτάσθαλα μηχανόωντο.” (Homer, *Il* 11.693-695) “...and all the rest had perished; wherefore the brazen-coated Epeans, proud of heart thereat, in wantonness devised mischief against us.” See Plato, *Laches, Protagoras, Meno, Euthydemus*. Translated by W. R. M. Lamb. LCL 165. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924; Homer, *The Iliad: Volume I, Books I-12*. Translated by A. T. Murray and William F. Wyatt. 2nd ed. LCL 170. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924.

¹¹⁶ As suggested in the apparatus published by White Crawford in Sidnie Ann White Crawford, Jan Joosten, and Eugene Ulrich, “Sample Editions of the Oxford Hebrew Bible: Deuteronomy 32:1-9, 1 Kings 11:1-8, and Jeremiah 27:1-10 (34G),” *VT* 58 (2008): 354.

customary or habitual nature of the Israelite response.¹¹⁷ This represents an accurate translation of the underlying *yiqtol*, which in this context can express a general truth or a situation that occurs repeatedly.¹¹⁸ In any case, its occurrence demonstrates attentiveness to the broader context.

οὐκ αὐτὸς οὗτός σου πατήρ. The second half of this verse is also said to contain a double translation, but that is inaccurate. Strictly speaking, the 3rd person pronoun and the demonstrative appearing in close proximity most likely correspond to the two Hebrew pronouns הוּא found on the third and the fourth line.¹¹⁹ As Wevers observed, the Hebrew pronoun is translated throughout the book by both αὐτός and οὗτός without any apparent difference in meaning. Furthermore, when the Hebrew pronoun is repeated in the same verse (as in 1:38 and 3:28), it is translated in alternation by αὐτός and οὗτός.¹²⁰ We might be facing a similar situation here, though the translator has rearranged the second half of the verse in the process, thereby modifying its syntax. In Hebrew, lines 3 and 4 may be analyzed as follows:

הלוֹא־הוּא אבִיךָ קִנָּךְ	Is it not he, your father, who has formed you?
הוּא עָשָׂךְ וַיִּכְנֶנְךָ	(Is it not) he, who made you and established you?

In translation, the three verbs are rendered consecutively (הוּא being moved to the head of the sentence). Because of this, a καί becomes necessary to connect the first and second verb.

The Greek rendering of this section breaks the parallelism of the Hebrew text:

¹¹⁷ See Muraoka, *Syntax* §28b(vii).

¹¹⁸ See Joosten, *Verbal System*, 61–62. The *yiqtol* within a question could also point to an action going on at the moment of speaking. But given the context of the song, repeated occurrences seem to be in view.

¹¹⁹ For some examples of an independent הוּא translated into Greek as a demonstrative pronoun, see Deut 14:8, 19.

¹²⁰ See the discussion in Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” 61.

οὐκ αὐτὸς οὗτός σου πατήρ ἐκτήσατό σε	Did not he himself, your father, acquire you
καὶ ἐποίησέν σε καὶ ἔκτισέν σε;	and make you and create you?

As Wevers intimates, what was originally two questions is now a single one so that the question no longer requires two lines.¹²¹ This reconfiguration is surprising given the translator's preference for the reproduction of the source text's word order. One might have expected the Hebrew verbs to be rendered as attributive participles, qualifying the nominative σου πατήρ. It also implied a minor plus, the conjunction καί.¹²²

Another change in word order is the possessive pronoun σου coming before the head noun πατήρ. In this context, one can read αὐτὸς οὗτός as a single expression, with σου πατήρ in apposition: "Did not this one himself (i.e., this very one), your father, acquire you." Alternatively, the combination of demonstrative + possessive + noun can also be understood in this context as "this, your father."¹²³ This clause would be in apposition to the 3rd person pronoun and translated as: "Did not he, this your father (i.e., your very father), acquire you?"¹²⁴ The placement of the possessive pronoun before the noun would serve the purpose of bringing the father's status into prominence.

Therefore, the emphasis in translation appears to rest on highlighting the identity of YHWH as a father to his people, with the pronoun and demonstrative together emphasizing its

¹²¹ Wevers, *NGTD*, 511–12.

¹²² The addition of καί is also more easily understood if the OG did not include the last clause, καὶ ἔκτισέν σε. This scenario is discussed in more detail below.

¹²³ See for example Xenophon. *Anab.* 7.3.30: "ἐγὼ δέ σοι, ὦ Σεύθῃ, δίδωμι ἑμαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἑμοὺς τούτους ἐταίρους φίλους εἶναι πιστούς." "And I, Seuthes, give you myself and these my comrades to be your faithful friends." See Xenophon. *Anabasis*. Translated by C. L. Brownson. Revised ed. LCL 90. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998. In context, the use of the demonstrative underscores the special status of the comrades, a rhetorical device that goes beyond the simple demonstrative use of identification. See also Sophocles *El.* 530, where the word is different and the context rather negative: "this father of yours."

¹²⁴ Which is basically what Wevers suggests here. See Wevers, *NGTD*, 512.

extraordinary nature in this context.¹²⁵ Perhaps the translator thought this was not as easily achieved in Greek by simply replicating the Hebrew text's parallelism. The astonishing nature of Israel's action is therefore highlighted in both halves of this verse using demonstratives.

Turning to the final *καὶ ἔκτισέν σε*, it is worth noting that the phrase is not represented in codex B but well attested in the Greek textual history. It is not clear whether 848 actually contained *καὶ ἔκτισέν σε*. The phrase *ἐκτήσατό σε* found at the end of line 3 in Wevers's edition ("*οὐκ αὐτὸς οὗτός σου πατήρ ἐκτήσατό σε*") is located at the beginning of the fourth stich in 848. Thus, the third line of 848 is simply "*οὐκ αὐτὸς οὗτό[ς σου πατήρ]*," while the fourth line contains the chain of verbs: "*ἐκτήσατό [σε καὶ ἐποίησέν σε καὶ ἔκτισέν σε]*." Though the manuscript's lines are variable in length, the longest reconstructed line in this column (verse 2a) contains 33 characters. To fit *καὶ ἔκτισέν σε* on line 4 of v. 6 would imply 35 characters, making it the longest line of this column of the manuscript. In a more recent edition of 848, Aly states that "the division of the sentence into these two cola results from the omission of *καὶ ἔκτισέν σε*."¹²⁶ Wevers attributes this omission to parablepsis (haplography), but Aly argues that the division of the sentence on two lines invalidates Wevers's judgment.¹²⁷ It should be noted, however, that Wevers considers 848 as "the product of a long textual history," containing numerous variants and several examples of parablepsis. It is therefore possible that both Wevers and Aly are correct: The scribe who copied 848 had a shorter text, but this parablepsis may have occurred earlier in the transmission process.

¹²⁵ Note here the similar phenomenon in Gen 3:15-16 and the discussion in Muraoka, *Syntax* §76ee. Muraoka suggests that the proximity between both pronouns against the Hebrew word order may suggest a desire to highlight the "confrontation and hostility between the two parties" by juxtaposing their pronouns. Here, the opposite effect might be implied, underscoring instead the close relationship between them.

¹²⁶ Aly and Koenen, *Three Rolls of the Early Septuagint : Genesis and Deuteronomy*, 118.

¹²⁷ Wevers, *THGD*, 65; Aly and Koenen, *Three Rolls of the Early Septuagint : Genesis and Deuteronomy*, 120. It is likely that *καὶ ἔκτισέν σε* was not present in manuscript 848, but whether it represents the OG is debatable. Should it be so, a case could be made that *καὶ ἔκτισέν σε* is not original since Wevers usually takes the combined shorter reading of B and 848 as OG.

But under the assumption that *καὶ ἔκτισέν σε* is original, could *ἔκτισέν* have been employed on line 4 for the purposes of creating a wordplay with *ἐκτήσατό* on the previous line, as Wevers suggests?¹²⁸ The translator would be reproducing (albeit differently) the assonance also found in the source text where lines 3 and 4 end similarly: *עָשָׂה וַיִּכְנֹנֶה... אֲבִיךָ קָנָה*. This is not impossible, the four instances of *כֹּן* being translated by a variety of terms in OG Deuteronomy. The only other instance of *κτίζω* in OG Deuteronomy translates the Hebrew verb *בָּרָא*. More broadly, the four other instances of *κτίζω* in the Pentateuch translate three Hebrew terms: *קָנָה* (“to create” or “acquire”), *יָסַד* (“to found”, “establish”), and *שָׁכַן* (“to settle”, “reside”).¹²⁹ But in v. 6, *שָׁכַן* is already present on line three and understood in the sense of “acquiring” (and translated by *κτάμαι*). On line 4, the *poel* *כֹּן* is rendered by *κτίζω*, a term whose usage (in the classical period) denotes the setting up, founding of a city, colony, altar, or festival. In this light, the rendering seems appropriate. These terms being rare, it is difficult, when looking at this sequence in isolation, to establish whether the translator resorted to this Greek verb for stylistic reasons.

A similar example is found in v. 15, where three verbs are found in sequence: *ἐλιπάνθη, ἐπαχύνθη, ἐπλατύνθη*. These share end rhyme along with the assonance and alliteration provided by the augment and the repetition of the internal *pi* and *alpha*. The last two words of the sequence also have rhyming penultimate syllables.¹³⁰ In contrast, the Hebrew line displays end rhyme and similarity of vowels: *שָׁמַנְתָּ עָבִיתָ כָּשִׂיתָ*, but this is the natural outcome of placing three verbs of the same conjugation one after the other. The rhetorical effect is generated in a

¹²⁸ Wevers, *NGTD*, 512.

¹²⁹ See Gen 14:19, 22, Exod 9:18, Lev 16:16 respectively.

¹³⁰ That this represents stylistic feature of the Greek text has not escaped notice. It was inventoried for example in Jennifer Dines’ chapter on the stylistic features of the Septuagint in Jennifer Dines, “Stylistic Features of the Septuagint,” in *Die Sprache der Septuaginta*, ed. Eberhard Bons and Jan Joosten, LXX.H 3 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2016), 375–85.

different fashion, using a rapid succession and switch to a direct address.¹³¹ Here again one might argue that this is mostly a by-product of the translator's usual methodology. The first two Hebrew verbs are not common but translated by an appropriate Greek term, in keeping with what we find elsewhere in the Septuagintal corpus.¹³² The last verb, כִּשֶׁה, is a *hapax* whose root appears nowhere else in the Hebrew Bible. It most likely has the sense of "being gorged with food."¹³³ As expected, the Greek verb in the middle-passive voice has the sense of being broadened, diffused, dilated, or to figuratively to swell up.¹³⁴ It is difficult to say whether the match is a semantically accurate, but πλατύνω certainly fits in this context.¹³⁵ It

¹³¹ This device is also present elsewhere such as in the Song of the Sea (Exod 15:9): אֶרְדֵּף אֲשִׁיג אַחֵל קִשְׁלֵל ("I will pursue, I will overtake, I will divide the spoils.") See GKC §154a who describes the hurried effect but does not mention the idea of progression: "On the other hand, the *constructio asyndetos* in a series of verbs is used as a rhetorical expedient to produce a hurried and so an impassioned description." In the examples provided, the semantic progression seems limited to instances where a sequence of three verbs is present. See also Christensen, *Deuteronomy 21:10-34:12*, 806. "The phenomenon of enallage, the use of one grammatical form for another, in vv 15–16 is striking, as the grammatical forms move from third singular to second singular to third singular and then third plural forms in v 16." Joosten also suggests that the apostrophe to the people is a way of emphasizing that the description applies to the audience directly. See Joosten, *Verbal System*, 418.

¹³² כִּשֶׁה is found in the *Qal* here and in Jer 5:28. The Jeremiah passage is part of the MT plus and therefore not found in translation. It pairs כִּשֶׁה with עָשָׂה, also a *hapax legomenon*. However, the cognate nouns suggest something along the lines of being or becoming fat. The *hiphil* form of the verb is found in Isa 6:10 and Neh 9:25. In the context of Isaiah, this fattening is said of the heart, a metaphor for becoming dull or hardened. In the Nehemiah passage, it has the sense of becoming fat, which is the apparent meaning of the term here. In both these texts, the Hebrew verb is translated by λιπαίνω, which is a quite appropriate match. In Isaiah, it is translated by παχύνω, which can also take the sense of making or being made dull. This nuance is probably better suited to the metaphorical usage of the term in this context. The next verb, עָבַה, is also quite rare, occurring only twice (here and in 1 K 12:10 ≈ 1 Ch 10:10). It is most likely related to the cognate עָבָה which is understood as "thickness." In both instances they are translated by πᾶχύς / παχύνω. This seems to be an accurate rendering as παχύνω in the passive voice usually has the meaning of growing big or fat but can at times be understood as "becoming thick." While these first two Hebrew terms are not frequent, their translation into Greek is unsurprising and consistent across the corpus.

¹³³ Lexicons approximate its meaning based on context and cognate languages. It could represent being obstinate, which may be connected to the Arabic *kašiya* (see *HALOT*, s.v. "כִּשֶׁה"). This obviously relates to the previous line, where יִשְׁרֹן is said to have kicked. But it is more commonly thought to have the meaning of being gorged with food (*DCH*), again from the immediate context, but also with potential relation to the Arabic *kš'* ("to eat" or "be gorged with food"). See the history of interpretation in Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 306. Sanders argues that the meaning of "growing fat" is probably primary while "to be stubborn" would be secondary. See Sanders, *The Provenance of Deuteronomy 32*, 179. Cf. Khokhar, "May My Teaching Drop as the Rain," 156.

¹³⁴ For example, Aristotle, [*Mir. Ausc.*] 841a.

¹³⁵ The Greek term is also employed in several similar sequences in Deuteronomy: When you enter the land, you will be blessed, you will become full, be proud and turn from God (See 6:11, 8:14, 31:20). In 11:6, the warning is preceded by the verbs ἐσθίω and ἐμπιμπλημι, just as in the first line of 32:15. It is followed by πλατύνω, here describing the heart being made broad. This might explain its use when the translator met a similar sequence, a

also happened that the word was a prime candidate to approximate the stylistic effect found in the Hebrew line.

In isolation, both of these examples might not be thought to reflect a desire to introduce stylistic features, but taken together, they form the beginning of a pattern which reflects a desire to raise the register of this text by resorting to various stylistic devices.

32:7

זכר ימות עולם בינו שנות דור-ודור שאל אביך ויגדך זקניך ויאמרו לך

μνησθητε ἡμέρας αἰῶνος, σύνετε ἔτη γενεᾶς γενεῶν· ἐπερώτησον τὸν πατέρα σου, καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ σοι, τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους σου, καὶ ἐροῦσίν σοι.

Remember days of old; consider years of a generation; ask your father, and he will inform you, your elders, and they will tell you.

μνησθητε ἡμέρας αἰῶνος. The verse begins with a plural verb in translation, in contrast to MT's singular. But since SamPent shares the same variant, we may posit that it is very likely that the plural form was also present in the translator's *Vorlage*.¹³⁶ The expression ἡμέρας αἰῶνος refers to the days of old (or everlasting days), and appropriately renders the underlying construct chain of ימות עולם. Dogniez and Harl note that עולם in this position is usually rendered by the adjective αἰώνιος in the Greek Pentateuch, and that the use of the noun αἰών here represents a Hebraistic genitive.¹³⁷ It has to be noted, however, that the Deuteronomy translator prefers this match, which he uses for ten of the twelve occurrences of the Hebrew עולם throughout

sequence that he translated using natural equivalences ("fattening", "thickening"), but also included a Hebrew *hapax* for which he had just the perfect term.

¹³⁶ Khokhar discusses the reasons why SamPent and the OG would have opted for the plural form, arguing that it is the better reading. He leaves open the question as to whether the plural in the OG is the work of the translator or his *Vorlage*. See Khokhar, "May My Teaching Drop as the Rain," 134–46. Another possibility is that the translator would have read זכר as an infinitive absolute, ambiguous in number. He would therefore have attributed the number based on context.

¹³⁷ See Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuterome*, 324.

the book.¹³⁸ Only in the poem of chapter 33 do we find a different rendering, one that has a poetic flavor (*ἀενᾶος*).¹³⁹ Whether this is truly a Hebraistic genitive is debatable from the perspective of syntax. This type of construction is common, even though these two nouns are seldom found in this relationship.¹⁴⁰

σύνετε ἔτη γενεᾶς γενεῶν. While this line clearly parallels the previous one, the precise meaning of “ἔτη γενεᾶς γενεῶν” is not easy to decipher. NETS has “years of a generation,” but this seems to depart from its usual reproduction of the form of the Greek text.¹⁴¹ Dogniez and Harl suggest “les années de la génération des générations” instead.¹⁴² The translator is obviously trying to render the Hebrew שְׁנוֹת דּוֹר־דּוֹר within the constraint of his predominant translational norms. The Hebrew expression דּוֹר־דּוֹר has a plural sense, either collective (“all generations”)¹⁴³ or distributive (“every generation”).¹⁴⁴

The only similar expressions in the Pentateuch are found in Exod 3:15 and 17:16. There the Hebrew זְכָרִי לְדֹר דָּר and מִדֹּר דָּר is translated respectively as *μνημόσυνον γενεῶν γενεαῖς* and *ἀπὸ γενεῶν εἰς γενεάς*. Muraoka speculates that in the context of Exod 3:15, the construction might be understood in the general sense of “in many of the generations.” He further notes that

¹³⁸ It has to be said, however, that except for 32:7, the Hebrew genitive construction usually rendered in Greek using a preposition: “οὐκέτις εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα” (15:17). But this variation is necessary because of the semantics of the phrase. A prepositional phrase would hardly fit in 32:7.

¹³⁹ Also of note is that 33:15 and 27 represent the minority rendering, the adjective *ἀενᾶος*. Lee notes that *ἀενᾶος* has a strong poetic pedigree and is only employed in poetic passages of the Septuagint. See Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 83–84. It is intriguing therefore that it is employed in Deut 33 and not in chapter 32, and perhaps another indication that chapter 32 was not seen as a poetic text as much as the chapter that follows.

¹⁴⁰ As Soisalon-Soininen comments, the Hebrew construct chain is sometimes rendered using a genitive noun, which unsurprisingly represents a conventional expression in Greek. See Soisalon-Soininen, “Verschiedene Wiedergaben der hebräischen Status Constructus-Verbindung im griechischen Pentateuch,” 64. See also the discussion in Muraoka, *Syntax* §42a. Other examples of these terms are found in Amos 9:11 and Mi 3:4.

¹⁴¹ One explanation might be that the NRSV, which is the point of departure for NETS translation, has “years long past” here.

¹⁴² See Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronome*, 325. The *Septuaginta Deutsch* translates “die Jahre von Generation zu Generation.” See Wolfgang Kraus and Martin Karrer, eds., *Septuaginta Deutsch. Das griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2009), 212. Codex B and a few daughter versions have “ἔτη γενεῶν γενεαῖς”, but this may represent an assimilation to Exod 3:15.

¹⁴³ GKC §123c.

¹⁴⁴ Joüon §135d.

in the context of 32:7, the critical text of γενεᾶς γενεῶν “is an odd locution.”¹⁴⁵ Moreover, the construction is not found in classical or contemporary Greek (nor is ἔτη γενεᾶς).¹⁴⁶ Thus the Hebrew text might be understood as an imperative to search the years of each past generation. Dogniez and Harl understand the compound genitive as a superlative, much as “Song of Songs”: “The years of a generation of generations.”¹⁴⁷ This interpretation may parallel uses found in classical poetry, where a cognate genitive in the plural is employed with a superlative meaning.¹⁴⁸ The ו in דּוֹר־דּוֹר is omitted in the process so that a genitive construction can be achieved. We may tentatively conclude that this rendering represents a skillful way of introducing a stylistic feature, one that implies a superlative meaning. In this context, the superlative sense would be a way of communicating the meaning of the underlying Hebrew idiom.¹⁴⁹

ἀναγγελεῖ... ἐροῦσίν. The underlying Hebrew verbs are likely jussive forms,¹⁵⁰ which would closely relate them to the preceding imperatives: “Ask your father so that he may tell you....” But as is common in Deuteronomy (see comments on 25:3 above), these are not recognized as such by the translator, who resorts to the future indicative, his most common match for the Hebrew *yiqtol*.

¹⁴⁵ See Muraoka, *Syntax* §22we, note 1.

¹⁴⁶ It is found in Sybilline Oracles (2.71) and 1 Cl 61.3, both much later than the Greek Pentateuch.

¹⁴⁷ Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronomie*, 325. One might posit that in English, it would be better rendered as “the years of generations of generations.”

¹⁴⁸ For example, ἐχθροὺς ἐχθρῶν in Euripides, *Andr.* 520, or ἄρρητ’ ἀρρήτων in Sophocles, *Oed. tyr.* 465. I owe these references to Dries De Crom, “On Articulation in LXX Canticles,” in *Florilegium Lovaniense: Studies in Septuagint and Textual Criticism in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*, ed. Hans Ausloos, Bénédicte Lemmelijn, and Marc Vervenne, BETL 224 (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 157.

¹⁴⁹ It is also easier to understand than a rendering such as ἔτη γενεᾶς καὶ γενεᾶς.

¹⁵⁰ Sanders, *The Provenance of Deuteronomy* 32, 153.

בהנחל עליון גוים בהפרידו בני אדם יצב גבלת עמים למספר בני ישראל

ὅτε διεμέριζεν ὁ ὑψιστος ἔθνη, ὡς διέσπειρεν υἱοὺς Ἀδάμ, ἔστησεν ὅρια ἔθνων κατὰ ἀριθμὸν υἱῶν θεοῦ,

When the Most High was apportioning nations, as he scattered Adam's sons, he fixed boundaries of nations according to the number of divine sons,

ὅτε διεμέριζεν...ὡς διέσπειρεν. The first half of this verse contains two parallel and synonymous lines, with the subject, **עליון**, elided on the second line. The parallelism is syntactically anchored, with a **כ** + infinitive governing each line.¹⁵¹ That the **כ** + infinitive construction is understood as introducing a subordinate temporal clause is confirmed by the selection of *ὅτε* to translate the first one. The translator resorts to a number of different strategies to render this Hebrew construction throughout the book, the most common being the participle.¹⁵² However, there are also multiple instances of the use of *ὅτε* + aorist or imperfect indicative, or *ἡνίκα/ὡς ἂν* + subjunctive.¹⁵³ A third possibility is the *ἐν τῷ* + infinitive construction, of which there are a number of instances.¹⁵⁴ In some cases, the length of the temporal clause can be a factor in the selection of a *ὅτε* + indicative or *ἐν τῷ* + infinitive construction. Nevertheless, a comparison of similar passages such as 27:3-4 and 27:12 demonstrates that several of these Greek

¹⁵¹ The infinitive of line one, as vocalized in MT, can be analyzed as an infinitive absolute. Sanders argues that it is better understood as a defective spelling of the infinitive construct. See the discussion in Sanders, *The Provenance of Deuteronomy 32*, 154. Since the Greek text also suggests it was understood as an infinitive construct, we will assume as much.

¹⁵² The genitive absolute construction will be favored if the semantics of the sentence allows it. For instances of **כ** + infinitive translated as participle, see: 4:45, 46, 5:28, 6:7 (4x), 9:9, 11:4, 19 (4x), 15:10, 15:18, 23:5^{MT} (4^{LXX}), 24:9, 25:4, 25:17, 27:12, 33:5. See also the discussion in Aejmelaeus, "Participium Coniunctum as a Criterion of Translation Technique," 388.

¹⁵³ See 4:10, 9:23, 25:19, 27:3, 4, and 29:24^{MT} (25^{LXX}). In 29:18^{MT} (19^{LXX}), the clause is understood as a conditional protasis and introduced with *ἐάν*.

¹⁵⁴ See 9:4, 16:13, 28:6 (2x), 19 (2x), 31:11, and 34:7. In 33:18, the **כ** + infinitive is translated as a *ἐν* + nominative form. Another unique occurrence is the use of *ὅταν* + subjunctive in 23:14^{MT} (13^{LXX}).

constructions can be used interchangeably with no apparent difference in meaning.¹⁵⁵ In the context of v.8, a participial or ἐν τῷ + infinitive construction would be within the realm of possibility. It could be argued that ὅτε + indicative is a better choice to render the formal features of the source text. But the frequent use of the participle, and the deviation from this construction on the next line of this verse, shows that this is not a primary concern in such circumstances. In other words, the translator is not tied to one particular option.

Also of note is the Hebrew pronominal suffix on the second infinitive, **בהפרידו**, which is not rendered. To be sure, it is not required in Greek, the verb carrying its semantic content. The translator is not consistent in this matter, sometimes omitting (see 27:12) and sometimes representing the Hebrew pronoun (see 24:9).

The translation introduces two elements of variation, the result of which might imply the subordination of the second line to the first. The term ὡς + indicative of the second line could be understood as a conjunction indicating purpose or consequence, or alternatively, a temporal sense. NETS translates it using the latter (“when” or “as”) in parallel with the first line.¹⁵⁶ But the former is also possible, subordinating the clause, thereby also explaining the presence of the imperfect on the first line. Another explanation for the imperfect is that it serves the purpose of depicting the apportioning of nations as a process.¹⁵⁷ But there is no reason to think that the apportioning (διαμερίζω) should be construed as a process while the scattering (διασπείρω) a punctual action. The reverse would make more sense. Moreover, ὡς + indicative is a unique rendering for the ἵνα + infinitive construction. It may signal that the translator

¹⁵⁵ One might also compare the very similar 6:7 and 28:6, where the former employs participles, and the latter the ἐν τῷ + aorist infinitive construction. This would suggest that the Greek formulations are semantically comparable in this period. See BDF §404. But contrary to the discussion in BDF, the use of the present infinitive does not here denote ‘while’, and the aorist, ‘after that’. The context of both 6:7 and 28:6 suggests simultaneity, as well as the parallel usage of the present participle. That being said, ὡς ἄν + subjunctive is typically used when the event is set in the future, while ὅτε + aorist indicative is employed for past events.

¹⁵⁶ This is also how it is translated in *La Bible d’Alexandrie*. See Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronome*, 325.

¹⁵⁷ As suggested in Wevers, *NGTD*, 512.

understood this line as introducing a subordinate clause: “When the Most High was apportioning nations, so that he scattered Adam’s sons....”¹⁵⁸ Taken together, the use of the imperfect on the first line and the use of *ὥς* to introduce the second line may rather reflect a norm of stylistic variation, already encountered in this chapter. The effect is not unlike that noticed in 25:7-8, where aorist and present indicative forms are alternated.

The Greek verb *διαμερίζω* (“to divide” or “apportion”) here renders the Hebrew *hiphil* of נָחַל, which is typically understood as “to give as inheritance.”¹⁵⁹ Dogniez and Harl note that this verb is always rendered with *κατακληρονομέω* in the context of the gift of the Promised Land.¹⁶⁰ Out of seven instances outside of 32:8, six are translated by *κατακληρονομέω*. Only in 19:3 is the land described as having been *διαμερίζω* by YHWH, a term usually reserved for the *piel* or *hithpael* form of the verb. In that context, Wevers suggests that the translator wanted to avoid confusion with the *κατακληρονομέω* of 19:1, where the verb describes the disinheriting of the nations that were in the land.¹⁶¹ If variation is necessary in 19:1-3 to avoid a possible misunderstanding, perhaps the variation in 32:8 is also motivated by similar concerns.

The verb *διαμερίζω* is only employed twice in the Pentateuch outside of our text, both in Genesis. In Gen 10:25, it is used in the passive (rendering the *niphal* פָּלַג) to state that in the

¹⁵⁸ Another possibility is raised by Soisalon-Soisinen, who points out that *ὥς* clauses rendering *נ* + infinitive construct are rather rare and usually render a Hebrew *נ* + infinitive construct. He argues that in such cases, it is perhaps more likely that we are dealing with a textual variant. In other words, he would argue that the translator read the *Vorlage* here as *נ* + infinitive. See Soisalon-Soisinen, *Die Infinitive in der Septuaginta*, 85. One example of this is in Deut 5:23 where the *ὥς* + aorist indicative translates a Hebrew *נ* + infinitive. But given the variety of renderings for the *נ* + infinitive construct in Deuteronomy, it is difficult to settle for a Hebrew variant in this case.

¹⁵⁹ Though some lexicons here suggest the meaning of “to apportion as an inheritance the nations.” See *HALOT*, s.v. “נָחַל”.

¹⁶⁰ Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronome*, 325. In the Pentateuch, נָחַל in the *hiphil* is only found in Deuteronomy.

¹⁶¹ Wevers, *NGTD*, 308.

days of Peleg, the earth was divided.¹⁶² A little later in 10:32, διασπείρω is used to describe the dispersion of Noah’s descendants. The same is done in the following episode, that of the Tower of Babel, where it is said in 11:8 that YHWH scattered (διασπείρω) humankind. The two verbs of 32:8a are therefore found in the same Genesis narrative, but despite the similarity in content they seem too distant from each other to have both influenced the Deuteronomy translator.¹⁶³ A closer parallel is Gen 49:7 where the same two Greek verbs are employed on parallel lines in the same sequence:

διαμεριῶ αὐτοὺς ἐν Ἰακώβ,
καὶ διασπερῶ αὐτοὺς ἐν Ἰσραήλ.

The context is different: The poem describes the lot of Simeon and Levi, who are to be dispersed in Israel on account of their anger. Nevertheless, the underlying Hebrew terms are different than those found in 32:8a and arguably more closely related to their Greek counterpart.¹⁶⁴ Despite the striking similarity, it remains difficult to explain why the translator would have gone back to Gen 49:7 for inspiration. It is certainly not because of a difficulty with the Hebrew. Perhaps he sees a parallel in terms of divine judgment being the motivation for dispersing both the nations and Simeon and Levi, but it may simply be a coincidence.

ἐθνῶν κατὰ ἀριθμὸν υἱῶν θεοῦ. That the translator’s *Vorlage* contained בני אלוהים or בני אלים is fairly certain, especially when considering the reading found in 4QDeut.¹⁶⁵ The majority of

¹⁶² The wordplay on the name of Peleg, so named because of the divided earth is lost in Greek. Instead, we find the proper name Φάλεξ and the passive διεμερίσθη.

¹⁶³ Dogniez and Harl speak of the verbs of 32:8 “evoking” the scattering described Genesis 10-11 narrative. See Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronomie*, 325. The intertextual connection is more obvious for the readers of the Greek text but cannot be easily credited to the translator.

¹⁶⁴ These are קָלַךְ in the *piel* (“to divide”, “apportion”), and פָּרַץ in the *hiphil* (“to disperse”).

¹⁶⁵ See the discussion in Sanders, *The Provenance of Deuteronomy* 32, 156–58; McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*, 93.

Greek witnesses read ἀγγέλων. But since 848 has υἱῶν, Wevers argues for the originality of this reading and there does not seem to be any reason to suggest otherwise.¹⁶⁶

As is well known, the translator generally matches the Hebrew עם to λαός when denoting Israel. Conversely, ἔθνος is employed to refer to other nations or peoples, as a study of the rendering of this term throughout the book (and v. 9) will confirm.¹⁶⁷

32:9

כי חלק יהוה עמו יעקב חבל נחלתו

καὶ ἐγενήθη μερὶς κυρίου λαὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰακώβ, σχοίνισμα κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ Ἰσραήλ.

And his people Iakob became the Lord's portion, Israel a measured part of his inheritance.

καὶ ἐγενήθη μερὶς κυρίου. This is the second instance in this chapter where the Hebrew כִּי is rendered into Greek by καί. As mentioned in our discussion of verse 4, this rendering is quite rare and introduces parataxis instead of the subordination that would be expected of a text aiming for a higher register. At stake here is the connection between v. 9 and the preceding. McCarthy suggests that since ישראל is secondary in the preceding clause, “a causal כִּי here would not make much sense. It is more likely to have been asseverative.”¹⁶⁸ Wevers also relies on the secondary nature of ישראל in the preceding clause to argue that כִּי was originally to be interpreted as asseverative. כִּי would have made little sense to the translator if אֱלֹהִים was in the *Vorlage* of v. 8. It should rather be interpreted as emphatic: “Indeed YHWH's portion is

¹⁶⁶ See Wevers, *THGD*, 85. This variant occurs again in v. 43, whose text history is related to that of verse 8.

¹⁶⁷ But see Himbaza who argues that this distinction may represent in some cases a standardization performed later in the transmission of the Greek text in Innocent Himbaza, “What Are the Consequences If 4QLXXLev^a Contains Earliest Formulation of the Septuagint,” in *Die Septuaginta - Orte und Intentionen: 5. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 24.-27. Juli 2014*, ed. Siegfried Kreuzer, Martin Meiser, and Marcus Sigismund, WUNT 361 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 302.

¹⁶⁸ McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*, 93. McCarthy also cites the Vulgate in support, with its rendering of *autem*, which would also support the text being interpreted as “indeed.” Like the NJPS translation, Nelson opts for a similar translation of this clause, beginning with “Indeed” in Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 363.

his people.”¹⁶⁹ Both assume that the fixing of the boundaries of nations according to “the sons of God” instead of the “sons of Israel” changes how we should read v. 9: We cannot read the כִּי as a causal (“because YHWH’s portion is his people”) since Israel is not the standard by which these boundaries are fixed. But this does not follow. Verse 9 simply affirms YHWH’s special relationship to Israel. Its relationship to v. 8 is that in all the apportioning, Israel remained (or became) his. It does not really matter whether the boundaries of nations are fixed according to the sons of God or Israel, or whether it signals that nations have been allotted to angelic beings as is often understood. In both scenarios, we can posit a logical relationship to v. 9, which simply affirms that this occurred since Israel is YHWH’s people.¹⁷⁰

But even if the translator understood the כִּי in its emphatic sense, it still raises the question as to why it was rendered by *καί*. As Joüon concedes, identifying such uses of כִּי can be done with varying degrees of certainty.¹⁷¹ A survey of instances of כִּי commonly listed in Hebrew grammars as asseverative or emphatic reveals the following translation options:

- ὅτι: 1 Sam 14:44, 20:9, 1 Sam 2:30, 2 Sam 12:5,¹⁷² Ps 77:12^{MT}(76:12^{LXX}), 141:8^{MT}140:8^{LXX}.
- Omission: Gen 18:20, Ps 118:10^{MT}(119:10^{LXX}).
- οὐδέ: Is 7:9.
- ὅταν: Ps 49:16 (48:16^{LXX})
- ἢ μήν: Gen 42:16 (introducing an oath)

¹⁶⁹ Wevers, *NGTD*, 513–14. Otto speaks of the originally deictic function of the particle in this context in Otto, *Deuteronomium 12-34. Zweiter Teilband: 23,16 - 34,12*, 2147.

¹⁷⁰ The vast majority of commentators read the relationship thus, translating the כִּי as a causal “for”: Driver, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy*, 354–56. See also Buis, *Le Deutéronome*, 409; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 444; Otto, *Deuteronomium 12-34. Zweiter Teilband: 23,16 - 34,12*, 2144. Craigie translates as “But.” See Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy*, 378.

¹⁷¹ Joüon §164b

¹⁷² In 1 Sam 2:30 and 2 Sam 12:5, כִּי introduces an oath formula.

Only in Isa 32:13 does one find what appears to be an emphatic כִּי translated as καί. In the end, the כִּי here may suggest some kind of logical relationship, such as coordination (“for”, “denn” in German).¹⁷³ When such a clause is understood to be the basis for another, is introduced by כִּי, and is constituted of a verbless clause (as we find here), one finds the כִּי translated by ὅτι.¹⁷⁴ In Deuteronomy 32, ten out of sixteen כִּי are translated as ὅτι while two more are translated by similar subordinating or coordinating particles such as γάρ.¹⁷⁵ If the events described are in the past, a copulative verb will be provided as in Gen 8:9. But the Deuteronomy translator does seem to have analyzed the relationship between verses 8 and 9 in this way. The use of the verb γίνομαι suggests that the partition of v. 8 is not motivated by the statement of v. 9. It is rather the other way around: When (or because) the Most High divided nations, then Israel became YHWH’s inheritance.¹⁷⁶ In this case, the καί could be understood sequentially (“then”).¹⁷⁷ In this way, the logical relationship of the clauses is maintained though reversed.¹⁷⁸ Nevertheless, the comments pertaining to the resulting style are still valid.

¹⁷³ The so-called emphatic use of כִּי has been questioned, at least outside of oath formulas and a few very specific contexts, since it is very difficult to distinguish between it and indirect causal cases. The particle may introduce motivational, explanatory, or evidential clauses. See Aejmelaeus, “Function and Interpretation of כִּי in Biblical Hebrew,” 202–5, 208. See also the comments to this effect in Bruce Waltke and Michael P. O’Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990) §9.3.4.e. See also the discussion in Sipilä, *Between Literalness and Freedom*, 140–41.

¹⁷⁴ On the Hebrew syntax, see Waltke and O’Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* §38.4.a. §38.4.a.

¹⁷⁵ See the comments to this effect in Khokhar, “May My Teaching Drop as the Rain,” 234.

¹⁷⁶ This seems a more reasonable explanation for the use of γίνομαι than Wevers’s claim that it became a “natural equivalent” in this context. See Wevers, *NGTD*, 513–14.

¹⁷⁷ Alternatively, the καί could be interpreted in an ascensive sense: “Also, Israel became.” On the ascensive sense, see Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint*, 135. Another possibility is to posit a *Vorlage* of וְיִהְיֶה, but this is not necessary in light of the similar rendering in v.4 and the fact that nominative clauses often call for a copulative verb. The translator does supply the γίνομαι verb in nominative sentences where such a sense is required (see 9:21 for example). A possible parallel is Num 24:21, but the Greek text differs significantly from MT in this clause which raises questions as to the way the translator understood the context in the first place.

¹⁷⁸ But γίνομαι need not be understood this way. Since there is no aorist form of ἔσθιν and the imperfective aspect of ἦν might have been inappropriate, the aorist ἐγενόμην fills the role of the bare stative in past time contexts. However, its use with two nouns suggests the sense of “a thing becoming something”.

There are many other ways in Greek of communicating this relationship that would avoid a paratactic style, but these were not favored here.

λαὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰακώβ... Ἰσραήλ. The parallelism of Ἰακώβ and Ἰσραήλ has already been discussed in v. 4. Since Israel is found at the end of the second line in SamPent, it is very likely that our translator's *Vorlage* already contained the reconfigured parallelism.¹⁷⁹

We may also note that *σχολίσμα κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ* is not articulated, as is often the case when a noun phrase is followed by a genitive pronoun denoting possession (see vv. 2 and 4 for similarly articulated nouns + genitives of possession). The *λαὸς αὐτοῦ* of the first line is in apposition to Ἰακώβ, thus anarthrous.¹⁸⁰ But the noun phrase of the second line should normally be articulated unless it is somehow conceived as being in apposition with *λαὸς αὐτοῦ*. Another such example is found in v. 11 (*νοσσιὰν αὐτοῦ*), which suggests that the translator did not proceed with any kind of consistency. Though articulation became more common in later post-classical Greek, it is rather striking that the song contains several instances where the article governing a substantive + genitive pronoun is omitted. These decisions are made irrespective of the Hebrew *Vorlage*.¹⁸¹ They must therefore be motivated by factors other than the source text.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹ See the discussion in *BHQ* or Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronome*, 326–27.

¹⁸⁰ The predicate nouns in 9:29 and 10:21 are also unarticulated even if followed by a genitive pronoun, which is conventional.

¹⁸¹ BDF §259 suggests that the absence of the article is a Semitism, at least in the New Testament corpus since these tend to occur in sections quoting a Greek translation of the Hebrew scriptures or a “Semitizing formulae.” It also states that these omissions tend to take place in fixed prepositional phrases, but this is not what we observe in Deut 32 where such phrases tend to include the article. See, for example: ἐπὶ τοῖς νεοσσοῖς αὐτοῦ = יְיָ לְגִלְגָלִים (v. 11); ἐκ τοῦ θυμοῦ μου = בְּאַפִּי (v. 22). But, ῥήματα ἐκ στόματός μου = פִּי יִמְרֵם (v. 1) and ἐν βδελύγμασιν αὐτῶν = בְּתוֹעֵבָה (v. 16) clearly demonstrate that the omission was possible and not motivated by the source text since in both cases either the preposition or the genitive of possession are absent.

¹⁸² See also the comments in Muraoka, *Syntax* §3a-c. He notes inconsistencies in this respect for similar expressions within the same Septuagint book, adding that “a measure of flexibility in this matter is evident.” It is not necessary, then, to posit as suggested in Smyth §1196a that these anarthrous constructions should be translated as indeterminate, in this case, “a people of his.” As De Crom notes in his study of the similar phenomenon in OG Canticles, there is an impetus to articulate such constructions. “Apparently, the need to supply articles was felt more keenly with such constructions than with genitival phrases consisting exclusively of

σχόινισμα. As Harl notes, this word is not attested before we meet it here in OG Deuteronomy.¹⁸³ As a derivative of σχοίνιον (“rope”, “measuring line”, “measure”), it is a well-suited match to the Hebrew חבל, here denoting a length of rope as measurement, or simply an allotment. In this context, it designates Israel as YHWH’s allotted inheritance among the previously apportioned nations. The Greek σχοίνισμα κληρονομίας renders this quite aptly, the verb of the first line being alliterated. This produces hyperbaton. However, it is not achieved by omitting a conjunction of the source text, but by reproducing it as is.

5.3. EVALUATION

We now turn to a descriptive summary of the relationship between the translation and its source (adequacy) and the target conventions pertaining to language and culture (acceptability). This will be followed by a discussion of the underlying translational norms and their negotiation.

5.3.1. Adequacy and Acceptability

As in chapters 3 and 4, adequacy and acceptability will be evaluated under three categories: linguistic, textual-linguistic, and literary and cultural. From the perspective of linguistic adequacy and acceptability, the remarks made in the previous chapters concerning the grammatical well-formedness of the translation apply here as well. For the most part, the Greek text is understandable despite its terseness. We have noted that καὶ λαλήσω in v. 1 is

nouns. One may wonder why anarthrous nouns with a pronominal genitive were found to be less acceptable, but no easy answer seems to be forthcoming.” In OG Canticles, about half of the substantives followed by a genitive pronoun are articulated. See De Crom, “On Articulation in LXX Canticles,” 163. There was also an impetus to add the article during the transmission process.

¹⁸³ Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronomie*, 326. The clearly related σχοινισμός (“measurement of land”), however, is found in a number of occurrences in the papyri of the period.

syntactically ambiguous and most likely stems from the desire to reproduce the source's paratactic construction. A subordinate clause introduced by ἵνα was also a possibility.

Other renderings sometimes identified as Hebraisms are most likely not. We noted that the Greek *κρίσις* used to describe someone's character in v. 4 actually began being employed in a moral or ethical sense in this period. Likewise, the adjectival genitive in the expression *ἡμέρας αἰῶνος* in v. 7, appears to be conventional despite adherence to word class.

Other linguistic features rather point to a preference for target language conventions: The rendering *Πρόσεχε οὐρανέ* of v. 1 represents a preference for Greek idiom instead of strict quantitative representation and conventional lexical pairings. Also representative of the tendency towards linguistic acceptability is the collocation of *δίκαιος* and *ῥσιος* in v. 4, which departs from expected lexical matches in favor of reproducing a common Greek expression denoting full integrity.¹⁸⁴ We noted how the participial form of *διαστρέφω* in v. 5 may signal a desire for syntactic variation. Since grammatical-wellformedness remains a foundational norm, more obvious decisions in favor of target language conventions include the frequent but inconsistent addition of articles. The rendering *ῥήματα ἐκ στόματός μου* could arguably be counted on both sides. It represents acceptable Greek, yet introduces syntactic ambiguities not present in the source text. This speaks to the level of interference from the source that is tolerated, even though this rendering might be construed to provide variation from the usual genitive, as found in the next verse.¹⁸⁵

Under textual-linguistic adequacy or acceptability, the strict adherence to the Hebrew parataxis reflects a strong preference for reproducing the source's discourse features and little interest in the hyperbaton that might be expected in Greek poetry or the subordination typical

¹⁸⁴ As we have noted, this rendering may also serve to preserve an intertextual connection to 9:4-6.

¹⁸⁵ On the matter of ambiguity, Boyd-Taylor comments along the same lines in his study of Deut 19:16-21 in Boyd-Taylor, "Toward the Analysis of Translational Norms: A Sighting Shot," 37-38.

of compositional literature more generally.¹⁸⁶ One striking feature of this translation unit is that parataxis is not only reproduced but created where it does not exist in the source text. Though most occurrences of *καί* were not introduced by the translator, some pluses such as that in v. 6 can plausibly be traced back to him. Moreover, two instances where *וְ* is rendered as *καί* were identified (vv. 4 and 9), thereby eliminating the few discourse markers already present in the source text and “flattening” its structure.¹⁸⁷ Not only is this an indication of the translator favoring the representation of his source text’s textual-linguistic features, we can only assume that this was also part of the style that he wanted to produce in the target language despite the occasional lack of cohesion. In terms of the coherence of the text, we noted how in v. 4, the phrase *καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀδικία* is a word-for-word reproduction of the source text to which the manuscript tradition often added *ἐν αὐτῷ* to perhaps make it more easily understandable as conventional Greek. Evidently, disambiguation was not a concern of the translator here. In verse 5, he also opts for a word-for-word translation of a corrupt Hebrew source text, *ἡμάρτοσαν οὐκ αὐτῷ τέχνα μωμητά*, which produces an ambiguous Greek phrase. The genitive chain of *ἔτη γενεᾶς γενεῶν* of v. 6 is also quite unusual, as far as it can be ascertained, despite being grammatical and perhaps even the manifestation of an isolated stylistic effect. The expression remains difficult to understand (“year of a generation of generations”). Though the text is not incoherent, strictly speaking, it remains nevertheless difficult to understand in places.

The ambiguity of the *yiqtol* form in this chapter, some of which are actually older preterites, also seem to introduce confusion in places and may explain the choice of the aorist

¹⁸⁶ It was noted that the hyperbaton found in v. 9 was not introduced by the translator, but rather a word-for-word reproduction of the Hebrew source.

¹⁸⁷ Khokhar identifies eight instances in the song that contain *καί* pluses, though this variant is supported by SamPent “in a couple of instances.” See Khokhar, “May My Teaching Drop as the Rain,” 234. There are also no *part. coni.* in this chapter, though, to be sure, the Hebrew source is made up of shorter lines that do not afford as many possibilities for such renderings.

indicative (ἐκάλεσα) in v.3. This rendering may be understood as organizing the discourse differently, by initiating its historical account earlier. The syntactic *variatio* introduced by the ὅτε διεμέριζεν...ὥς διέσπειρεν of v. 8 may also signal a rearranging the connection between clauses for the sake of clarity. Overall, however, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that at the level of text-linguistics, the translator only rarely favored target conventions. In other words, he seldom opted for renderings that were more in line with textual-linguistic norms of the target language for this genre, that is, a register higher than the almost colloquial style of this song.

Under the category of literary/cultural adequacy or acceptability, we found one significant effort towards cultural (or ideological) acceptability in the rendering of צור by θεός. Moreover, the rendering of the Hebrew אֱלֹהִים by λαός when denoting Israel, but ἔθνος when referring to other nations or peoples, might represent another similar tendency.

In some respects, the translator seems to be adapting to the underlying “genre” by resorting to stylistic devices, although the majority of examples are limited to vv. 2 and 6: Assonance of the initial word with that of the previous verse, the alternance of ὥς and ὥσει, similar ending words for precipitations. Likewise, the assonance of the chain ἐκθήσατό σε, καὶ ἐποίησέν σε καὶ ἔκτισέν σε of v. 6 could signal the desire to introduce a stylistic effect, much like what we find in v. 15 with ἐλιπάνθη, ἐπαχύνθη, ἐπλατύνθη. In both cases, the assonance of the source text is recreated in Greek. We have also noted how v. 6 is rearranged, and its word order modified, perhaps as a way of highlighting the unique character of the God who was spurned by his children. Though οὐκ αὐτὸς οὗτός σου πατήρ breaks the parallelism of the Hebrew lines, it produces a nice effect in Greek, drawing attention to YHWH’s role as a father.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁸ Of note also is the poetic superlative of v. 7 and the (perhaps) stylistic variation in tense found in v. 8.

To these stylistic concerns, we might add the use of distinctive vocabulary, rare or previously unattested words, which render equally rare or difficult Hebrew words: *νῖφετός*, *ἀπόφθεγμά*, *μεγᾶλωσύνη*, *σχόλισμα*. Others such as *ἀληθῖνός* for **אֱמִתִּי**; *ἀμαρτάνω* for **חָטָא** are unique matches in the book and even the Pentateuch as a whole. These may also signal a desire to raise the text's register and adapt it to cultural expectations.

However, when taking into account the remarks made concerning the textual-linguistic features of the translation, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the translator is not producing a text that meets the conventions of poetry or rhetorical discourse in the target language. For example, we do not find here the meter of iambic poetry. Some metaphors are explicitized or eliminated, and Hebrew poetic devices lost – for example the fact that the Hebrew contained regular lines with three feet – and equivalent features in the target genre not produced. Instead, as noted above, the translator seems to have sought to produce a text with a high incidence of parataxis, preserving (and perhaps highlighting) its source's terse paratactic style. The outcome is a Hebrew-styled prose that is nevertheless distinctive in relation to the rest of the book, in large part because of the more frequent occurrences of stylistic flourishes.

The evaluation by Dogniez and Harl that the translation preserves in great part the poetic nature of the source (its syntax, vocabulary, imagery) should be understood in this context.¹⁸⁹ Despite punctual efforts at elevating the level of language, its style remains very much calqued on its source.

5.3.2. Norms and Their Negotiation

Turning now to the analysis of the underlying norms, we have already observed that conformity to the conventions of Greek grammar is achieved systematically in this translation

¹⁸⁹ Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronomie*, 320.

unit, as with the other texts that we have analyzed. We may therefore conclude that this reflects a primary translational norm. The working out of this norm entails deviations from the following set of norms. These are therefore secondary:

- We have observed generally that a prominent guiding principle is the representation of each element of the Hebrew source: It is a « one-for-one » type of equivalency, the word being the unit of replacement. There are a few exceptions, however, but these are usually motivated by conformity to the primary norm, and less often, by the desire to produce a more idiomatic Greek turn of phrase.
- Another characteristic is the reproduction of the source text's word order, which is carefully replicated throughout this passage. In some cases, this is done at the expense of readability as the underlying source text is simply reproduced (v. 4b and 5a). One verse clearly stands out in this respect as several elements of the source text of v. 6 are reordered in translation, perhaps for rhetorical effect.
- Very rarely does the translator deviate from the matching of word classes. One exception is, of course, constructions in Hebrew which have no equivalent in Greek, such as the infinitive construct. Even the matching of a passive participle to a Hebrew adjective in v. 5b is a borderline case since the distinction between both forms in Hebrew and Greek is rather fuzzy.

In terms of tertiary norms, we note the following:

- In contrast to the previously examined units, we have noted how lexical consistency is not as much of a concern in this section. Though this is generally a matter of degree and not of categorical difference, it is obvious that the translator does not hesitate to forge his own way and create renderings that are unique, especially in this segment.

Though this is sometimes motivated by the difficulties of the source text or by a desire for variation (see below), several novelties at the level of lexical matches are introduced without any other apparent considerations. Lexical consistency is not a primary or perhaps not even a secondary norm, as we identified it in the previous chapters.

- We have noted a number of stylistic devices, mostly but not limited to vv. 2 and 6, including assonance and *variatio*. These are not insignificant in number and more frequent than in the other texts that we have analyzed. We can therefore posit that such stylistic devices are the outcome of another norm, one dictating that a text such as Deut 32 be translated in a higher linguistic register. It remains obvious, however, that the outworking of this norm is usually achieved in the context of the primary and secondary translational norms just mentioned, so that its significance should be understood in light of the others. Though this norm ranks higher in the translator's preference values, it remains tertiary in its application.
- Avoidance of improper discourse about God and his people is perhaps another norm at work, guiding the choice of not portraying YHWH as a rock, and distinguishing lexically between his people and other nations.

This configuration of translational norms can be summarized in the following table:

<p><i>Regulative Norms</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Grammatical well-formedness 2) Representing all elements of the source text (secondary) 3) Following the source's word order (secondary) 4) Matching of word classes (secondary) 5) Consistency in lexical matches (tertiary) 6) Stylistic flourishes (tertiary) 	<p><i>Indices of Relative Acceptability</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Linguistic well-formedness 2) Positive and negative transfer 3) Textual linguistic interference 4) Stylistic flourishes 5) Thematically motivated shifts
<p><i>Strong Accommodation of Target Conventions to the Features of the Source Text</i></p> <p><i>Weak Assimilation of Features of Source Text to Target Conventions</i></p>	
<p><i>Constitutive Norms (what is acceptable as translation within the target culture)</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Grammatical well-formedness highly favored 2) Representation of all elements of the source text (isomorphism) favored 3) Textual-linguistic ill formedness favored 4) Semantic well-formedness favored 5) Linguistic interference permitted 	

5.4. CONCLUSION

It may be helpful to situate the style of this translation unit by observing, on the one hand, that this translator negotiates translational norms differently than the Psalms translator, for example. In the case of Deuteronomy, the scale tips slightly more in the direction of target acceptability: Quantitative representation and lexical consistency are not preferred with as much regularity. On the other hand, a cursory glance at the Song of the Sea in Exodus 15 shows that the Deuteronomy translator values the representation of all elements from the source text more highly. The Exodus song avoids paratactic constructions more frequently, which betrays a more frequent favoring of target conventions at the textual level.¹⁹⁰ Here

¹⁹⁰ To be sure, this is but one aspect of our text, the characterization being done at multiple levels. Instructive in the respect is the wordplay and other stylistic features characterizing Greek poetry that are also found in Exodus

again, the introduction of stylistic elements such as variations spanning entire verses also suggests that the translator is working with large segments of text.

The most substantial finding, however, lays in the comparison with 6:13-25 and 25:1-12. There are important differences in the way the translator negotiated the various translational norms guiding his work in this section. Most significant is the relegation of consistency in lexical matches from secondary to tertiary norm, and a greater concern for stylistic features. This is followed by the almost complete disregard for two other norms that apply in the other two units examined: In contrast to 25:1-12, few clarifications of the source text are introduced, unless one considers the instances where the translator was forced to opt for a specific rendering of an ambiguous Hebrew form (i.e., the aorist copulative verb in v. 9). Moreover, fewer Hebrew idioms are avoided as the translator passes on obscure Hebrew phrases to the Greek reader. In fact, as we have noted, the paratactic style of the source is rather reinforced. This is also apparent in the inconsistent use of articles before nouns followed by a genitive pronoun. The article is always present in the other units examined. These point to a different configuration of translational norms, perhaps because of the underlying genre, and in some cases, undoubtedly because of the difficulty of the Hebrew. Nevertheless, the translation style adopted here does not preclude the presence of so-called theological interpretation in the translation. The following chapter examines a few examples in more detail.

15. For more on this, see Gera, Deborah L. "Translating Hebrew Poetry into Greek Poetry." *BIOSCS* 40 (2007): 107–20.

CHAPTER 6: LEXICAL CHOICE AND THEOLOGY IN OG DEUTERONOMY

6.1. INTRODUCTION

The characterization of a translation such as OG Deuteronomy also implies the evaluation of the presence of theological or ideological tendencies. Having performed a detailed analysis of a few sections of OG Deuteronomy as a translation and as text, we are now in a better position to examine some of the interpretations that were possibly introduced via the choice of various Greek terms. In this chapter, we will examine how the use of particular Greek vocabulary in specific contexts can be the subject of historical exegesis in light of the hermeneutical lens developed through the examination of the translational strategies and norms that produced the translation. In their commentary, Dogniez and Harl describe the translator's choice of vocabulary as stressing ("insistant") particular ideas: Israel's rebellious tendencies, the preference for terminology relating to morality and justice when describing Israel's duty, and the use of affective terms when describing YHWH's relationship with Israel.¹ In the following, we will test this hypothesis by examining three areas pertaining to wickedness-impiety, justice-mercy, and the character of Israel which appears to receive special attention from the translator. The use of this vocabulary will be examined in its cultural and historical setting, also investigating possible patterns and connections between diverse renderings in order to determine whether they are ideologically motivated.²

¹ Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronome*, 63.

² The term "ideology" is here employed rather broadly as an umbrella term to designate the perceived motivations behind the phenomena observed.

6.2. WICKEDNESS AND IMPIETY

The first area of interest focuses on words pertaining to impiety (*ἀσέβεια* and cognates), which translate words from the Hebrew root רשע (“wicked” or “guilty”). This lexical match is intriguing and raises questions concerning the suitability of words of the *ἀσέβ-* family in terms of their usual semantic range and concerning the factors that might have led to their use.

The most concentrated use of these terms is found in chapter 25, verses 1 and 2. As we have briefly discussed in chapter 4, the use of *ἀσέβ-* words is puzzling in this context and will therefore constitute the starting point of our investigation. The Hebrew text reads as follows:

If a dispute occurs between people and they enter into litigation, and they judge them, and they justify the innocent and condemn the guilty (רשע), Then it shall be if the guilty man (רשע) deserves to be beaten, the judge shall then make him lie down and be beaten in his presence with the number of stripes according to his guilt (רשעה).³

The Hebrew root רשע is employed here in the context of the settlement of disputes. Its expected meaning would be “guilt,” “guilty,” or the like. This law describes the judicial process that is to be carried out when one of the parties is found guilty, its main concern or purpose being to limit the potential abuse in the punishing of the guilty. The use of *ἀσέβεια* and cognates in these verses is somewhat surprising given the very general nature of the prescription. The wrongdoing is against a fellow Israelite and the context seems quite general with no specific offense in view.⁴ It is located near the conclusion of a section containing

³ Unless otherwise noted, all translations are provided by the author.

⁴ Ancient interpreters did attempt to link this prescription to particular offenses. Josephus argues for example that “...but for him that acts contrary to this law, let him be beaten with forty stripes, save one, by the public executioner” Josephus, *Ant.* 4.8.21 as translated in Josephus, *The Works of Josephus*. When Josephus speaks of acting contrary to “this law,” he apparently refers to the prescription which is found immediately before our text in Deut 24:19-22, the command to leave some of the harvest ungathered for the needy. Having just explained this law, he goes on to state that its transgression exposes one to the 40 blows minus one. Josephus also applies the 40 stripes minus one to the husband falsely accusing his new wife of not being a virgin (Deut 22:18-19), whereas the Hebrew text does not specify the nature of the punishment (Josephus, *Ant.* 4.8.23). As Prijs observes, the tendency to read the prescription of 40 blows into other laws was frequent in early Jewish interpretation. The reading of 22:18-19 as prescribing a beating is also attested in a number of other sources (but not always 40

mostly unrelated laws that share a concern for the fair and humane treatment of people and animals. We have both the Greek noun and the adjective present, but what is their meaning in this context? Are these terms to be understood contextually, or is their presence solely justified on the basis of their Hebrew counterpart (רשע)?⁵ Neither of these options proves satisfactory. On the one hand, reading these ἀσέβ- terms in their Greek context seems to diminish their religious import as paradoxically, they take on a meaning closer to the underlying Hebrew. On the other hand, simply treating the Greek term as a stereotypical match of the Hebrew does not do justice to how words of the ἀσέβεια family are employed through the book.⁶

But first, it is necessary to examine the meaning of both Greek and Hebrew terms. After looking at the way ἀσέβ- words are employed in the general period of the translation (third century BCE), we will examine the instances where words of the רשע family appear in the Pentateuch, with an eye on their Greek counterpart. We will then return to specific texts in Deuteronomy employing this vocabulary.

6.2.1 Impiety Words in the Hellenistic Period

The description provided by Polybius is as good a starting point as any. He states that in contrast to treachery (παρασπόνδημα) and injustice (ἀδίκημα), ἀσέβημα “means committing a wrong (ἁμαρτάνειν) in respect of what is related to gods, parents and deceased persons.”⁷ The

blows). The same is also done to 21:18, where the rebellious son has not heeded his parent’s chastisement. Here also, many ancient sources translate using the vocabulary of physical punishment. *Sanh.* 71b *Sifre* states that the 40 blows are meant. See Prijs, *Jüdische Tradition in der Septuaginta*, 16.

⁵ In other words, the vertical relationship to its source text (i.e., the corresponding Hebrew term) requires the corresponding Greek term. See Pietersma, “The Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint: Basic Principles,” 12.

⁶ These two options represent, broadly speaking, the two polarities in the debate over Septuagint hermeneutics. More nuanced positions adapted to the unique character of each book are to be found, but these extremes nevertheless represent two conflicting tendencies, as laid out in Wagner, *Reading the Sealed Book*, 2–5. The reader can refer to chapter 2, section 2.1, for a discussion on the semantics of words in translation.

⁷ Polybius 36.9, here as translated in Aurian Delli Pizzi, “Impiety in Epigraphic Evidence,” *Kernos* 24 (2011): 59, note 1. Pseudo-Aristotle *On Virtues and Vices* (1251a) states that ἀσέβεια is an “error (*plemmeleia*) concerning gods and *daimons* or concerning the departed, parent, and homeland.” Plato refers to “*asebeia* and *eusebeia* to the

category of ἀδίκημα would describe something that is contrary to law and custom. While ἀσέβημα appears to be a distinct subset of wrongdoing, it is not immediately obvious how the various parties offended (gods, parents, deceased persons) are related. According to Peels, ἀσέβ- words overlap to a large extent with ἀνόσιος concerning the types of behavior they describe. They designate a lack of proper respect for the gods and the failure to honor the relationships they are interested in.⁸ Both are clearly religious terms, in the sense that even when human relationships fall within their scope, their frame of reference is that of the imagined perspective of the gods.

The bulk of scholarly research has focused on the Athenian trials in the fifth and fourth centuries, while evidence from the later period and other regions is comparatively limited.⁹ The latter is nevertheless the type of evidence that seems most appropriate for our inquiry as it offers examples of how these words have been employed in everyday life, or at least in cultural and historical contexts closer to that of the translation of OG Deuteronomy.

gods and to parents” (*Resp.* 615c; *Symp.* 188c). Bowden further observes that other authors and especially inscriptions make a sharper distinction between what is owed to gods and parents. Thus, Xenophon states that the Persians regret “their *asebeia* towards the gods and their *adikia* towards men” (*Cyr.* 8.8.7). See Hugh Bowden, “Impiety,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Greek Religion*, ed. E. Eidinow and J. Kindt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 327–28.

⁸ Peels, *Hosios*, 104. Mikalson would make a sharp distinction between εὐσεβεία and ὁσιότης, the former referring to proper respect for the gods (attitude), while the latter, would be in contrast religious/ritual correctness (actions). One has to do with inward disposition and the other with action. He further claims that classicists have overstated the synonymy of these terms. See Mikalson, *Greek Popular Religion in Greek Philosophy*, 140–41. However, this thesis has been subject to criticism because very little distinction can be observed between the usages of these terms in a majority of texts. Peels states: “It should be noted that the differential evidence is scanty. Terms such as ὁσιος, εὐσεβής and their cognates only refer to ritual practice in a minority of their attested occurrences (around 16%). And although there are no parallels in which ὁσιος qualifies nouns that refer to an attitude/state of mind/character, there are actually only six such attested cases of εὐσεβής and antonyms in the corpus. Moreover, there is one case of ‘ὅσια φρονεῖν’ ‘thinking thoughts that are ὅσια’. These differences in distribution appear insufficient to support the hypothesised distinction. More generally, it seems impossible to make the distinction between religious attitude and actions in these texts.” Peels, *Hosios*, 83. See also the review by Anna Lännström, “review of *Greek Popular Religion in Greek Philosophy*, by Jon D. Mikalson,” *Ancient Philosophy* 32.2 (2012): 446–52.

⁹ See Bowden’s overview of the research in Bowden, “Impiety,” 325–28. As with Delli Pizzi’s article, there is great difficulty determining whether these terms denote a status or an offense as some texts imply one or the other.

Evidence from papyri and inscriptions is found in two different contexts. In the first, we find a variety of prohibitions where the consequences of ἀσέβεια are not always spelled out.¹⁰ This is the case for a group of texts recording oaths found among the surviving papyri of this period. Their imprecatory formula commonly contains ἀσέβεια or related terms.

For example, the following document contains an oath taken by an assistant to the agent of the royal banker in the Herakleopolite *nome*. This assistant swears by the gods to perform his duties well.¹¹ The oath, of which two copies are extant, is in the first person:

...ὁμνῶ βασιλῆα Πτολεμαῖον τὸν ἐκ βασιλῆως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασίλισσαν Βερενίκη[ν] καὶ θεοὺς Ἀδελφούς καὶ θεοὺς Εὐεργέτας τοὺς τούτων γονεῖς καὶ τὴν Εἷσιν καὶ τὸν Σαρᾶπιν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐγγχωρίους θεοὺς πάντας καὶ θεὰ[ς] πάσας... εὐ[ορκ]οῦντι μέμ μοι εὖ εἶ, ἐφί[ο]ρκοῦντι δὲ ἔνοχον εἶναι τῇ ἀσεβ[είαι]. (P.Fouad I Univ. App. I 3-4 = TM 7212 [246-222 BCE])
 ...I swear by King Ptolemy, the son of King Ptolemy, and by Queen Berenike and by the Brother and Sister Gods and by the Benefactor Gods their ancestors and by Isis and Sarapis and all the other gods and goddesses of the country... If I keep this oath, may it be well with me, but if I break it I am to be guilty of impiety.¹²

There are at least three other papyri from the third century BCE containing the same formula, or a variation thereof.¹³ One striking feature is that despite the document describing rather common administrative functions, here those of a bank clerk, the oath is made by calling on various divine beings, including the current king and queen. Perhaps this is to be expected in contexts where many of the clerk's activities are unsupervised. An oath to the gods can be a powerful means of ensuring his integrity. To break the oath, then, becomes an offense in relation to them, but nothing is said of what this implies.

¹⁰ This is the thrust of Delli Pizzi's article, which seeks to find out whether inscriptions state that an individual is liable to a charge of impiety, or guilty of impiety, and in relation to what. See Delli Pizzi, "Impiety in Epigraphic Evidence," 73–76.

¹¹ He is also enjoined not to seek refuge from justice in a temple.

¹² As translated by Bagnall and Derow, *The Hellenistic Period*, 146.

¹³ P.Cair.Zen.1.59011 = TM 672, PSI 5.515 = TM 2137, and P.Eleph. 23 = TM 5855. P.Cair.Zen.1.59011 = TM 672 is too fragmentary for our purposes.

In an inscription from Rhodes dated to the third century BCE (IG XII,1 677 = LSCG 136), one finds regulations concerning animals not allowed in the temple, as well as the consequences for transgressing the prescription:

ὅτι δέ κά τις παρὰ τὸν νόμον ποιήσῃ, τό τε ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ τέμενος καθαιρέτω καὶ ἐπιρῆζέτω, ἢ ἔνοχος ἔστω τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ· (IG XII,1 677 = LSCG 136 [Rhodes, third cent. BCE or prior])
Anyone acting contrary to the law, let him clean the temple and *temenos* and offer a sacrifice, or let him be liable to this impiety.

On the whole, the consequences described here appear rather mild, in that a clear way of remediation is provided. Only when this remediation is not undertaken is one liable to ἀσέβεια, and this status appears to be the consequence of leaving a sacred space in a defiled state.

In another inscription from Asia Minor dated to the same period one finds a decree on funerary regulations (IMT Kaikos 922 = LSAM 16). Towards the end, it deals with what is to happen to those who transgress these rules:

τοῖς δὲ μὴ πειθομένοις μηδὲ ταῖς ἐμμενούσαις τάναντία· καὶ μὴ ὅσιον αὐταῖς εἶναι, ὥς ἀσεβούσαις, θύειν μηθενὶ θεῶν ἐπὶ δέκα ἔτη· (IMT Kaikos 922 [326/325 BCE])
And to the men who do not abide by the rules and the women who do not respect them, the contrary (shall be wished); and it shall not be licit to these women, as they are impious, to sacrifice to any of the gods for ten years.¹⁴

This inscription implies that the non-compliance with regulations pertaining to the dead clearly affects one's relationship to the gods, resulting in a kind of ritual impurity. In this case,

¹⁴ Translation by Delli Pizzi in Delli Pizzi, "Impiety in Epigraphic Evidence," 66.

the consequence is spelled out and consists of the prohibition to sacrifice for an extended period of time.¹⁵

Secondly, this vocabulary is also employed in situations describing people found guilty of particular offenses, or one's enemies. A papyrus from the second century, UPZ.2.199, relates a case of bank fraud. The manager has illegally withdrawn a sum of money to finance the campaign of a usurper to the throne. But he comes to regret this action and now orders his second in command to cover his tracks. In the letter, he now characterizes the usurper as an enemy of the gods (ὁ θεοῖσιν ἐκτρός) and the act of giving him money as a sacrilege (τὸ γεγονός ἀσέβημα).

(ταλάντων) σν, ἀφ' ὧ[ν] καὶ ἀνείρητο ὁ “θεοῖσιν ἐκτρός” Ἀρσιῆσις εἰς λόγον (τάλαντα) ρ... προαιρούμεθα μεταδραμεῖν τὸ γεγονός ἀσέβημα... (UPZ.2.199 = TM 3601 [Thebes, 131 BCE]) 250 talents, of which Harsiesis, that enemy of the gods took 90 talents...we will endeavor to reverse the sacrilege that has happened...

While such a designation for the usurper could represent nothing more than a rhetorical ploy, one can also interpret the use of ἀσέβημα language in the context of the king's divine status. This usurper is the enemy of the current king and this could be the reason why he labels his actions not only as treason but as sacrilege.¹⁶ Alternatively, this bank administrator would presumably have sworn an oath similar to the one found in the first text mentioned above. In this context, his conduct could be construed as a violation of that oath, which makes him guilty of ἀσέβεια.

¹⁵ It is striking how the status of ἀσεβής is sometimes portrayed in a fashion that is very similar to purity taboos. See the related discussion in Bowden, “Impiety,” 329–30.

¹⁶ On this text, see the article by Raymond Bogaert. He adds: “Les expressions ὁ θεοῖσιν ἐκτρός et ἀσέβημα ne signifient pas seulement « ennemi des dieux » et « sacrilège », mais aussi « traître » et « haute trahison » puisqu'en Égypte le roi était dieu.” See Raymond Bogaert, “Un cas de faux en écriture à la banque royale thébaine en 131 avant J.-C.,” *CdE*.63 (1988): 146. That the religious frame is in view is confirmed by the fact that the author of the letter continues wishing “καὶ εὐίλατον τὸν θεὸν ἔχειν τὸν καὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ νῦν σώζοντα ἡμᾶς.”

A further example from the second century is P.Tor.Choach. 12 = UPZ.2.162, a fairly detailed court transcript. The plaintiff claims that a certain house belonging to him was ruined by the Egyptian family living there. These impious men (ἀσεβῶν ἀνθρώπων) have spoiled it because the family is engaged in the funerary service of the dead and buried corpses on the property. The petitioner claims this practice was improper because the house was near the temple of Hera and Demeter, for whom dead bodies as well as those who care for them are unlawful (ἀθέμιτά).

Οὐκ ἄρκεσθέντες δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐνοικεῖν ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ οἰκίᾳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ νεκροὺς ἀπηρεισμένοι τυγχάνουσιν ἐνταῦθα, οὐ στοχασάμενοι τῶν ἐξακολουθούντων αὐτοῖς ἐπιτίμων, ταῦτα οὔσης ἐπὶ τοῦ δρόμου τῆς Ἥρας καὶ Δήμητρος τῶν μεγίστων θεῶν, αἷς ἀθέμιτά ἐστιν νεκρὰ σώματα καὶ οἱ ταῦτα θεραπεύοντες ...διὸ ἀξιῶ ἐμβλέψαντα εἰς τὴν γεγενημένην μοι καταφθορὰν ὑπὸ ἀσεβῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' ἐὰν φαίνεται συντάξαι γράψαι Ἡρακλείδει...(P.Tor.Choach. 12 = TM 3563 [Thebes, 117 BCE])

But not satisfied with living in my house, they even deposited corpses there without paying the fines incumbent on them, and this although the house lies on the road of Hera and Demeter the very great goddesses, to whom dead bodies and those who care for such are unlawful...I ask you therefore to look upon the disaster that has happened to me at the hands of these impious men, and if it seems good to you, to order a letter written to Herakleides...¹⁷

Again, one could explain the recourse to ἀσέβεια language in light of the reference to the way gods were offended.¹⁸ The context of this occurrence is also important, as labeling someone “ἀσεβής” in a court of law was neither accidental nor inconsequential. It likely represented a most serious accusation.¹⁹ The use of ἀσέβεια language in this context seems to be done for the purpose of casting the opposing party in a bad light – apparently they did

¹⁷ As translated in Bagnall and Derow, *The Hellenistic Period*, 219–20.

¹⁸ On the other hand, one also notes that in the rhetorical context of such a trial, it would be convenient to label the opposing party with as many pejorative labels as possible. The ἀσέβεια rhetoric may not relate to anything they did.

¹⁹ In this case, the judges later determined that the plaintiff’s request only amounted to elegant speeches whereas the Egyptian family was able to provide the required documentation supporting their claim.

offend Hera and Demeter – but this had nothing to do in practice with the issue of the property’s tenancy.

On a different note but from the same period, the same vocabulary is found on the Rosetta Stone (Prose sur pierre 16 = OGIS 1.90) where the exploits of King Ptolemy V are recounted:

τὴν τε πόλιν κατὰ κράτος εἶλεν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ ἀσεβεῖς πάντας διέφθειρεν καθάπερ Ἑρμῆς καὶ Ὡρος ὁ τῆς Ἰσιος καὶ Ὀσίριος υἱὸς ἐχειρώσαντο τοὺς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόποις ἀποστάντας πρότερον. (OGIS 90,A = Memphis decree [Bolbitine, 196 BCE])

He took the town by storm and destroyed all the impious ones in it just as Hermes and Horus sons of Isis and Osiris subdued the men who rebelled in the same places formerly.²⁰

It is not uncommon for soldiers to portray their enemies as impious, and this may present an extension of this language into the political realm.²¹ Yet, the inscription makes clear that the king here presents himself as a god, acting just like the gods before him. It is also noteworthy that the people destroyed are described a little earlier as the impious (ἀσεβέσιν) who had carried out many evil deeds against the temples and the people of Egypt.²² Perhaps then, this label is not only related to treason against god and king, but also to the desecration of temples.

²⁰ Translation by Quirke in Stephen Quirke, *The Rosetta Stone* (New York: Harry N Abrams, 1989), 18–19. This represents a somewhat shorter version of what is found in the Demotic text, which reads (lines 13-14): “He went to the stronghold of Shekan...on account of the enemies who were within it who had inflicted great wrong upon Egypt, having abandoned the path of duty to Pharaoh and duty to the gods.” (line 16): Pharaoh seized the stronghold in question by force in a short time; he prevailed over the enemies who were within it and gave them over to slaughter as did Re and Horus son of Isis to those who were hostile to them in the said places formerly.” See Ibid.

²¹ C.Jud.Syr.Eg is another such example, where an officer writes to another to congratulate him and to praise their gods on account of his victory over the impious ones.

²² “τοῖς ἐπισυναχθεῖσιν εἰς αὐτὴν ἀσεβέσιν, οἳ ἦσαν εἰς τε τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κατοικοῦντας πολλὰ κακὰ συντετελεσμένοι.”

Overall, this evidence does not attest to any significant variation in usage over time. Several other documents and inscriptions could have been cited from earlier or later periods with the same or similar wording. These imply that ἀσέβεια is an offense usually related to sacred things (for example a shrine or temple) or gods. It is also a way of labeling one's enemies, often in the context of treason. To be ἀσεβής is to be guilty of this particular type of wrongdoing, or as Peels suggests, a wrong in which the gods take a particular interest.²³

6.2.2 רשע in the Pentateuch and Beyond

The meaning of words of the רשע family tends to oscillate between two poles: That of guilt in a judicial context, and the more general sense of wickedness or behavior in opposition to YHWH. The verb in the *hiphil* form is the clearest representative of the judicial meaning, and it is found in Deut 25:1 with the clear sense of declaring someone guilty.²⁴ In this context, the רשע is the guilty one, whereas the צדיק is best understood as the innocent. That this was understood by some translators is clear from a few examples, such as Prov 17:15, where both Hebrew terms are appropriately rendered by the natural Greek antonyms: ὁ δίκαιος κρίνει τὸν ἄδικον, ἄδικον δὲ τὸν δίκαιον.²⁵

At the other end of the spectrum, and perhaps not unrelated to this meaning, is the sense often expressed in wisdom and prophetic literature of “evildoer,” or “wicked and godless person.” These are the oppressors of the צדיק, sometimes portrayed as overtly opposing YHWH.²⁶ In Proverbs, the focus is predominantly on the consequences of this conduct, which

²³ On the basis of some of these texts, one could also argue that it is a condition one enters into, the severity of which was determined by the nature of the relationship between individuals and the gods or fellow humans. Bowden argues for this understanding in Bowden, “Impiety,” 330–31.

²⁴ See the discussion in Helmer Ringgren, “רשע,” *TDOT* 14:2.

²⁵ Rahlfs's text corresponds here to the Hebrew מצדיק רשע ומרשיע צדיק. However, Prov 18:5 takes a different approach, reverting to the more usual match as found in Deuteronomy, and even inserting the word ὅσιος. 1 Kings 8:32 also presents another approach as רשע words are there translated using ἀνομέω and the cognate adjective.

²⁶ They are the antithesis of those who observe the Torah; they do not have the fear of God.

is not judicial punishment, but a calamity of some sort. In contrast, the צדיק are those who are faithful to YHWH and live rightly. Thus, the pair רשע/צדיק is also present in this context, but with a different emphasis. The judicial meaning is either absent or backgrounded, while the religious aspect is foregrounded.²⁷ It is perhaps more appropriate to say that on the one side, these words are employed with reference to the court of law, whereas on the other, they are employed in reference to one's relation to YHWH and his law. In many cases, however, the precise nuance is ambiguous, perhaps due to the fact that in the Hebrew Bible YHWH is often represented as a judge. It is to be expected, then, that some conceptual blending would occur between the two contextual frames. Both are related to ethical conduct.

As we turn to examine their use in the Pentateuch, we are immediately faced with this problem. Words of the רשע family are found for the first time in the narrative relating Abraham's intercession with YHWH in Gen 18:23-33. There we find the רשע (ἀσεβής) in Sodom and Gomorra being contrasted with the צדיק (δίκαιος).²⁸ This is the first appearance of both רשע and ἀσεβής terms in the Pentateuch. In this context, the choice of ἀσεβής is perhaps motivated by a remark found a few verses prior, where it is said that these cities' sins or wrongdoings (חטאת) are very weighty, that and cries (of distress) have reached up to YHWH. Nothing is said at this point concerning the nature of their wrongdoing, but Abraham assumes

²⁷ The word "religious" is potentially problematic, as modern conceptions concerning what counts as religious can oftentimes be at odds with ancient worldviews. Similar comments concerning ἀσέβεια terminology is found in Bowden, "Impiety," 328.

²⁸ One of the great oddities of Septuagint lexicography is the near absence of εὐσέβεια in contrast with the numerous instances of ἀσέβεια and related words. Instructive in this respect is the thorough study by Madeleine Wiegier, although her material focuses mostly on the positive terms. See Madeleine Wiegier, "Εὐσέβεια et « crainte de Dieu » dans la Septante," in *Septuagint Vocabulary: Pre-History, Usage, Reception*, ed. Jan Joosten and Eberhard Bons, *Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 58 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 102 and especially note 6. For the most part, the translators (or revisers?) opted to translate the idiom "fear of God" word-for-word instead of resorting to εὐσέβεια.

that they are guilty and about to be punished by YHWH.²⁹ It is clear that there is an interplay here between the judicial and religious meaning of the term as the offense reaches YHWH and he undertakes to punish it. But רשע could also be understood simply as “the guilty.”

The next instance of this vocabulary is found in Exodus, where its four occurrences are translated using either ἄδικος or ἀσεβής. In Exod 2:13, Moses interrupts two Hebrew men who are fighting and asks the רשע why he is hitting his companion. This is rendered using a participial form of the verb ἀδικέω. In this type of context, ἀδικέω could simply designate to injure or cause harm, which is precisely what the man was doing before Moses’s intervention.³⁰ The choice of ἀδικέω therefore appears judicious in this context. Furthermore, there does not seem to be any contextual references to gods or sacred things.

Exodus 9:27 describes Pharaoh as confessing that he is in the wrong and YHWH is in the right. At least, this seems the most natural meaning here, with one party in this litigation being innocent and the other guilty. This is rendered by the δίκαιος/ἀσεβής pair, just as in Genesis 18. Another similarity with the Genesis text is the presence of sin or wrongdoing. Pharaoh begins his statement with the phrase “חטאתי,” I have sinned (presumably against YHWH). The vocabulary of offense against gods seems appropriate in this context.

In Exod 23:1, we find a legal prohibition against false testimony in support of the רשע in a court of law.³¹ To ensure the fair treatment of all parties involved, one is not to unlawfully

²⁹ Ringgren sees this and other instances in the Pentateuch as examples of the forensic meaning of these terms, but it is not so unambiguous. See Ringgren, “רשע”, 3. We may note, however, that Gen 13:13 also portrays the inhabitants of these cities as great evildoers and sinners before God.

³⁰ There are papyri and inscriptions of this period which confirm this range of meaning.

³¹ Ex 22:8 (9^{LXX}) is not discussed here since it represents a use of the *hiphil* verb for which the meaning appears unambiguous.

associate themselves with the person accused of wrongdoing. This is clearly a judicial context, and this individual is appropriately described in Greek as the *ἄδικος*.³²

A few verses later, again in a court of law, a judge is not to receive a false testimony (in Greek, a *ρήματος ἀδίκου*) and order the death of the *צדיק*, here rendered *δίκαιος*. From here on, we are faced with some textual difficulties. MT provides a rationale for this command: for YHWH will not declare innocent the *רשע*. The Greek translation either harmonizes with v. 8 or (more likely) appears to be based on a *Vorlage* that does the same: “you (2nd person sing.) will not declare innocent the *רשע* for a bribe.” Here *רשע* is rendered with *ἀσεβής* in Greek. Despite the textual difficulties, it is not clear from the context why a word of the *ἀσεβής* group was chosen. The context is generic and very similar to that Deut 25:1-2. This could represent an early characterization of guilt in terms of an offense against God. On the other hand, the Exodus translator is known to value lexical variation, and this rendering could represent his wish not to repeat *ἄδικος*.³³

In Numbers, the two occurrences of these terms are translated rather differently: Num 16:26 describes Korah, Dathan and Abiram as people from whom Israel is to separate themselves since they are about to be swept away. The expression *האנשים הרשעים האלה* is translated by “*τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν σκληρῶν τούτων*.” Numbers 35:31 is part of the legislation concerning the cities of refuge. It states that a murderer cannot be ransomed because he is “the murderer who is guilty to die (*רצח אשר-הוא רשע למות*).” This Hebrew idiom is rendered into Greek as “*τοῦ φονεύσαντος τοῦ ἐνόχου ὄντος ἀναιρεθῆναι* (the murderer who is liable/subject to

³² Wevers suggests that the translator is here creating a wordplay. One is not to associate with the *τοῦ ἀδίκου* so as to become an *ἄδικος* witness. By associating with an unjust person by false witness, one becomes an unjust witness. See Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus*, 358.

³³ Larry Perkins, “To the Reader of Exodus,” in *New English Translation of the Septuagint* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 43–44.

be killed).” This represents a skillful rendering of a syntactically complex Hebrew phrase, with רשע being represented in this syntactic position with ἔνοχος.

These seven examples show that the translators of the Pentateuch (excluding Deuteronomy) dealt with רשע terms in a variety of ways. Outside of Exod 23:7, the use of ἀσέβεια language is not incongruous and follows what we might expect based on the contemporary usage of these words. The match found in Exod 23:7 might represent a precursor for what we find in Deuteronomy. Yet the varied ways in which these Hebrew words have been translated show that the translator of Deuteronomy had many options at his disposal and was not constrained to a particular term.³⁴

6.2.3 Ἀσέβεια Vocabulary in Deuteronomy

Turning to Deuteronomy, we find that all instances of the root רשע are translated by words of the ἀσέβεια family. Moreover, the translator also resorts to the same vocabulary in a variety of situations where רשע is not found, including several in which its meaning as “offense pertaining to the gods” seems appropriate.

The first occurrence is found in 9:4-5, where Moses states the reasons why Israel is to possess the land. Israel should not boast or think it is inheriting the land because of its own virtue. Its lack of “righteousness” and “uprightness” is strongly emphasized, while the Canaanite’s “wickedness” or “guilt” is cited as reason:

³⁴ The only other instances of these terms in the Pentateuch are Lev 18:17 and 20:12, where an illicit sexual union between close parents is described as זמה or עשו תבל. In Greek, this is translated as ἀσεβέω and ἀσεβημά. It is rather intriguing that in both cases, the union is with a stepdaughter. Even though a different Hebrew expression is used to describe this crime, they are both translated using ἀσέβεια cognates, perhaps indicating that this was seen as a particular type of wrongdoing. In context, however, the translator is dealing with several nearly identical formulations and could simply be reaching for a variety of Greek terms.

אל-תאמר בלבבך לאמר בצדקתי הביאני יהוה לרשת את-הארץ הזאת וברשעת
הגוים האלה...לא בצדקתך ובישר לבבך אתה בא לרשת את-ארצם כי ברשעת

הגוים האלה (MT)

μη εἴπῃς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου... λέγων Διὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην μου εἰσήγαγέν με κύριος κληρονομήσαι
τὴν γῆν τὴν ἀγαθὴν ταύτην· ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν τῶν ἐθνῶν τούτων...οὐχὶ διὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην
σου οὐδὲ διὰ τὴν ὁσιότητα τῆς καρδίας σου σὺ εἰσπορεύῃ κληρονομήσαι τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ διὰ
τὴν ἀσέβειαν τῶν ἐθνῶν τούτων (Wevers)

...do not say in your heart, saying: "It is because of my righteousness that the Lord has
brought me in to inherit this good land, but because of the impiety of these nations...it is not
because of your righteousness or the holiness of your heart that you are going in to inherit
their land, but because of the impiety of these nations..." (NETS)

There are perhaps echoes of Gen 18 and its similar evaluation of the Canaanites in this text. But in contrast, the point here is to drive home the fact that Israel is not צדיק. Again, this seems to relate to both the court and YHWH, who is assumed to sit in the position of judge. Presumably, the reference to ἀσέβεια can be understood as presenting these nations' offenses as being against YHWH or sacrilegious in some way. In their comment on this text, Dogniez and Harl suggest that this rendering is an exegetical move aimed at framing the conduct of Israel and the nations not so much in the legal or ethical realm, as the more general Hebrew terms may imply, but as decidedly religious in nature. The Hebrew רשעה, it is argued, not only denotes a crime against YHWH, but wickedness, the breaking of civil law, while the Greek ἀσέβεια is restricted in meaning to religious wrongdoing.³⁵ The use of ὁσιότητα to translate ישר is also unique to Deuteronomy (here and 32:4), and perhaps also indicates a similar focus in evaluating both Israel and the nations according to their conduct vis-à-vis YHWH or his law. The combination of two terms that are related to gods and the things they

³⁵ Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronomie*, 175.

are interested in would suggest that the translator is not rendering terms mechanically but purposefully choosing ἀσέβεια to describe the nature of the Canaanite's wrongdoing.³⁶

6.2.3.1. *The Rebellious People and the Golden Calf*

The next instance of ἀσέβεια vocabulary in Deuteronomy is later in the same chapter (9:27), where we find עשׂר matched again with ἀσέβεια.

זכר לעבדיך לאברהם ליצחק וליעקב אל-תפן אל-קשי העם הזה ואל-רשעו ואל-

חטאתו (MT)

μνήσθητι Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ τῶν θεραπόντων σου, οἷς ὥμοσας κατὰ σεαυτοῦ· μὴ ἐπιβλέψῃς ἐπὶ τὴν σκληρότητα τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἀσεβήματα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα αὐτῶν (Wevers)

Remember Abraam and Isaak and Iakob your attendants to whom you swore by yourself; do not look upon the stubbornness of this people and upon the impieties and upon their sins. (NETS)

This passage recalls Moses's prayer in favor of Israel following the episode of the golden calf. Their עשׂר refers perhaps to their guilt or their wickedness. There is nothing exceptional here about the use of ἀσεβήματα given the cultic context of the offense. The plural would favor the sense of multiple acts, sacrilegious ones.

6.2.3.2. *The Presumptuous Judge and Prophet*

In 17:13, a person (most likely a local judge or delegation) takes a difficult case to the central court to have it render a verdict. The ruling of the high court must then be precisely

³⁶ In which case, this would rightly qualify as theologically motivated exegesis, where the translation adds theological elements to the source text. See Emanuel Tov, "Theologically Motivated Exegesis Embedded in the Septuagint," in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint*, ed. Emanuel Tov, VTSup 72 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1999), 259.

and completely adhered to. Whoever does not heed the ruling of this court is to be put to death. Such a consequence is intended to set an example so that the people will not be tempted to become presumptuous (יִידוֹן). This verb is here translated by ἀσεβέω:

(MT) וְכָל הָעָם יִשְׁמְעוּ וִירְאוּ וְלֹא יִידוּן עוֹד

καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἀκούσας φοβηθήσεται καὶ οὐκ ἀσεβήσῃ ἔτι (Wevers)

And all the people, when they have heard, will be afraid and will not act impiously again

(NETS)

We can assume that the translator is familiar with this Hebrew root since in the preceding verse, the cognate noun יִידוֹן is translated with ὑπερηφανία (“arrogance”), which seems more closely aligned. The Hebrew verb is also employed in 1:43 to describe the disposition of the people as they decided to go up the mountain and fight despite YHWH’s warning not to do so. There, the translator employs the Greek παραβιάζομαι (“to act in defiance”). Both Greek terms would have been appropriate here, but the translator proceeded differently. As Pearce remarks in her study of this text, recourse to impiety in the concluding sentence perhaps serves to underline the fact that disobedience to the high court is disobedience to God himself.³⁷ Such a conclusion is not explicitly stated in the Hebrew text, but one could argue that it is implied.³⁸ Josephus argues along the same lines in *Against Apion* (2.194), where speaking of the high priest, he describes his responsibilities: “to see that the

³⁷ Pearce, *The Words of Moses*, 272–73.

³⁸ Pearce also points to other features of the translation of this section (vv. 8–13) all of which attempt to equate the court’s verdict with YHWH’s word. 1) The location of the court is that of the name formula but expanded in Greek to add “for his name to be called on there,” implying that the court is where YHWH is worshiped. 2) Instead of the priest serving YHWH there (MT), we find the priest standing to officiate in the name of YHWH (OG). 3) The language of disobedience employed in Greek is elsewhere in Deuteronomy linked to disobedience to YHWH. 4) The word to be communicated by the priest is the one laid down (past tense in Greek) perhaps a reference to the Torah. See Pearce, *The Words of Moses*, 271–74. It seems more likely, however, that item #1 was present in the *Vorlage* and therefore not the translator’s interpretation. Likewise, the mention of the priest as serving in YHWH’s name may be an assimilation to a similar phrase found in 18:5, 7. For a discussion of this possibility (and others), see McCarthy’s comments on these verses in McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*, 54.

laws be observed, to determine controversies, and to punish those that are convicted of injustice;...He that does not submit to him shall be subject to the same punishment, as if he had been guilty of impiety [*ἀσεβῶν*] towards God himself.”³⁹ It is impossible to establish whether Josephus’s statement issues from an interpretative tradition identical to that which motivated this translation, whether he is coming to this conclusion based on his study of the Greek text, or some other source. But the implications of the use of *ἀσέβεια* language are clear and Josephus spells them out for us. This language is much stronger than that of arrogance.

The same Hebrew term is found again in 18:20 and 22 to describe the prophet who dares to speak in YHWH’s name when he has not been mandated, or speaks in the name of other gods.⁴⁰ Such a prophet speaks with arrogance (both verb and noun are employed here), and this is also rendered using *ἀσεβέω* and *ἀσέβεια*.

אך הנביא אשר יזיד לדבר דבר בשמי את אשר לא צויתיו לדבר...בזדון דברו הנביא
לא תגור ממנו (MT)

πλὴν ὁ προφήτης, ὃς ἂν *ἀσεβήσῃ* λαλῆσαι ῥῆμα ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου, ὃ οὐ προσέταξα
λαλῆσαι...*ἐν ἀσεβείᾳ* ἐλάλησεν ὁ προφήτης ἐκεῖνος, οὐκ ἀφέξεσθε ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ. (Wevers)
But the prophet who acts impiously by speaking a word in my name that I have not ordered to
speak...that prophet has spoken it in impiety; you shall not spare him (NETS)

Such an association with impiety is not surprising given the nature of the offense. While the previous case dealt with the arrogance that ignores a word from YHWH, here it is dealing with someone who announces a word that YHWH has not mandated. Again, the choice of

³⁹ Flavius Josephus *Ag. Apion* 2.194, as translated in Josephus, *The Works of Josephus*. “Οὗτος μετὰ τῶν συνιερέων θύσει τῷ θεῷ, φυλάξει τοὺς νόμους, δικάσει περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων, κολάσει τοὺς ἐλεγχθέντας. ὁ τούτῳ μὴ πειθόμενος ὑφέξει δίκην ὡς εἰς θεὸν αὐτὸν ἀσεβῶν.”

⁴⁰ The Hebrew text’s connecting ו could be read as discriminating between two types of prophets. The Greek use of καὶ here would more naturally link both of them together, perhaps implying that the word that is not from God is a word in the name of other gods.

ἀσέβεια goes beyond the arrogance or presumptuousness found in the Hebrew text but is not far-fetched since presumably, this arrogance is understood to be in relation to YHWH.⁴¹

6.2.3.3. *The Person Leading Others Astray*

In 19:16, the Hebrew סרה is employed to describe the accusation made by one who bears false witness against another in the context of a legal inquiry.

(MT) כי יקום עד חמס באיש לענות בו סרה

ἐὰν δὲ καταστῇ μάρτυς ἄδικος κατὰ ἀνθρώπου καταλέγων αὐτοῦ ἀσέβειαν... (Wevers)

But if an unjust witness comes forward against a person, alleging impiety against him...(NETS)

The Hebrew idiom “ענה סרה” is normally understood as testifying falsely against someone, especially in such contexts. Yet, סרה (or an homonym) can also have the meaning of turning aside or apostasy in other contexts. In 13:6 (5^{LXX}), we have another situation involving a prophet attempting to lead Israel away from YHWH. There, the translator matched סרה with the Greek verb πλανᾶω, suggesting he understands סרה not so much as a false claim, but as going astray. The same appears to be the case in 19:16, where the translator seems to have read the last part of the phrase as describing the content of the accusation (apostasy) instead of the way of the accuser (accusing falsely).⁴² Both must stand before YHWH, the priest, and the judges and await their ruling. The use of ἀσέβεια again is not out of

⁴¹ Wevers suggests that words for arrogance or insolence were not strong enough for the translator to characterize such actions. Wevers, *NGTD*, 305.

⁴² For the latter, see *HALOT*, s. v. “סרה”. Cf. McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 308. Tiguiay also argues that the Hebrew phrase should be understood as “accusing falsely” in J. Tiguiay, “The Significance of the End of Deuteronomy” in *Texts, Temples, and Traditions: A Tribute to Menahem Haran* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbraun's, 1996), 137-143 (note 20).

place if the situation is understood as one where the accused is suspected of turning away from proper worship.

6.2.4. The Semantic Field of Wrongdoing

Before returning to the text discussed at the beginning of this paper, another important factor should be addressed. Words of the ἀσέβεια family span many Hebrew terms, so that we may speak of semantic leveling, or as Olofsson describes it, a favorite word. A favorite word is a Greek term that has many Hebrew equivalents, sometimes with no apparent reason. In some circumstances, it may also suggest that the translator did not know the exact meaning of the underlying Hebrew words.⁴³ In our texts, however, it seems the translator is perfectly familiar with the underlying Hebrew terms as they are translated elsewhere in the book using more appropriate matches.

In his investigation of the vocabulary of wrongdoing in Psalms and Ben Sira, Voityla remarked that there are no clearly set one-to-one equivalencies between particular Hebrew and Greek words describing the wicked. There were general tendencies (such as ἀμαρτωλός for רשע in about 80% of cases), but also a tendency to generalize a variety of terms for wrongdoing by the use of a limited Greek vocabulary.⁴⁴

We have already seen that in Deuteronomy, ἀσέβεια words translate not only רשע but a few others as well. Moreover,

- ἀδικέω and cognates translate עשק (“to oppress”), עון (“a misdeed” or its guilt), עול (“perversity” or “injustice”), חמס (“violence”, “wrong”), שקר (“lie”, “dealing falsely”).

⁴³ See Olofsson, *As a Deer Longs for Flowing Streams*, 214.

⁴⁴ Anssi Voityla, “Evildoers and Wicked Persons in the Septuagint Version of the Book of Psalms and the Book of Ben Sira (Siracides),” *Vetus Testamentum et Hellas* 2 (2015): 54.

- ἀμαρτάνω and cognates translate חטאת (“sin”, “wrongdoing”) and related terms⁴⁵, as well as שחת (“to behave corruptly”, “ruin in the moral sense”) and עון (“a misdeed”) only once.
- ἀνομέω words translate בליעל (“wickedness”, “uselessness”), שחת (“to behave corruptly”, “to ruin in the moral sense”).⁴⁶

On the one hand, these matches confirm Voitila’s observations in that they suggest a tendency to generalize wrongdoing under certain Greek umbrella terms. On the other hand, these generalizations are done without much overlap in Deuteronomy and with an eye to the context. We can therefore conclude that they are not haphazard and represent a categorization of wrongdoing. As such, ἀσέβεια stands for one of these categories encompassing several Hebrew terms.⁴⁷

6.2.5. Evaluation

Returning to our question from the outset as to the meaning of ἀσέβεια in Deut 25:1-2, we are presented with several options.

One solution would be to argue that the translator is simply reverting to his default match for רשע and has no further motivation than his desire for consistency in lexical matches. The incongruity of ἀσέβεια would be the effect of stereotyping. He might have followed the trend initiated by the translators of Genesis and Exodus (or perhaps from another

⁴⁵ In 24:4, the verb נטף in the *hiphil* is translated into Greek using μάλινω.

⁴⁶ Excluded from this survey are texts where the *Vorlage* may be different from MT and thus difficult to evaluate such as 29:18 and 30:3. The most consistent match (נטף – ἀμαρτάνω) is also the most frequent occurrence in the Pentateuch.

⁴⁷ The translation that comes closest to the pattern observed in Deuteronomy (and the Pentateuch in general) is Proverbs. In a way this is not surprising when one considers how the book of Proverbs contrasts those who “fear YHWH” with the “wicked.” One term is definitely religious but the other is not necessarily so. Contrasting them suggests that wickedness is the absence of proper respect for God. But this could be said of some passages in Psalms as well, so Proverbs stands out in this respect as many have observed. See the comments to that effect in Johann Cook, “Hellenistic Influence in Proverbs,” *BIOSCS* 20 (2005): 40–41.

source) where these two words groups were already matched. The variety of Hebrew words translated by terms of the *ἀσέβεια* family is simply explained by the process of semantic leveling, which is not unusual in Deuteronomy.⁴⁸ In this scenario, it would be tempting to read the more general Hebrew meaning of “guilty” into the Greek word because of the surrounding context.

In other circumstances, we might be inclined to agree. Yet in light of the translation choices described above, it would seem that the translator is carefully examining the Hebrew words in context. Improper worship, disobeying the high priest, and leading others away from him (treason) are all portrayed as *ἀσέβεια*.⁴⁹ This demonstrates that the translator is well aware of the Greek word’s range of meaning and associations. The semantic leveling that occurs is also done in a contextually sensitive manner. As we have seen from our survey of the Pentateuch, there were many other Greek terms that were possible options to translate רשע.

Another explanation begins with Flashar, who argued that our initial assumption should be that the meaning the translator intended is the overlap in meaning between the two terms and no more.⁵⁰ If we think of these words’ semantic range in terms of partially overlapping circles, the non-overlapping meaning should be taken out of the equation and not read into the Greek text. But when we consider the usages of these terms overall, the overlapping meaning is that of wrongdoing that concerns gods, parents, and the dead. But this is not what this particular law is about in the source text. Consequently, we have to inquire whether the

⁴⁸ Both semantic leveling and differentiation can be found, as observed in previous chapters. These categories remain rather vague and call for a more precise determination of motivations, such as wordplay, *variatio*, etc. Nevertheless, they remain valid labels to identify specific linguistic phenomena and widely employed in the fields of in translation studies and diachronic semantics.

⁴⁹ As noted in chapter 4, another aspect that deserves mention is that there are definite echoes between 25:1-2 and 19:16-17. Both describe an *ἀντιλογία* between men who then appear before judges. The vocabulary used by the translator would associate these two laws more closely, perhaps suggesting that they were understood to be related.

⁵⁰ Flashar, “Exegetische Studien zum Septuagintapsalter,” 92.

translator might have understood the Hebrew term differently. The evidence at our disposal suggests that the judicial meaning of the term fell into disuse in late biblical Hebrew. The *hiphil* verb is no longer used in this sense, but takes on the more general meaning of “doing evil” or even “transgressing” the covenant, as in Dan 11:32.⁵¹ This is also true of the nouns (רשע and רשעה) with the possible exception of Eccl 3:16. The break is not as pronounced for the adjective רשע, but there seems to be a similar trend. While he still knows the judicial meaning of the *hiphil* verb, as demonstrated in verse 1, there would be a strong impetus to understand the noun and adjective in their more common meaning of the impious one, the one who opposes God and transgresses his law.⁵² Here we are not so much in the domain of forensic guilt but rather in a context where impiety is quite proper. Should this be the case, this would be the meaning in view for the Hebrew term and for which ἀσεβής is a proper match.

A third possibility is theological in nature. It has been shown that there is a tendency in the translation of later books to portray wicked behavior as lawbreaking, or aimed at YHWH and his law.⁵³ In the context of Deuteronomy, this would be natural since all of its laws originate from YHWH via Moses. Thus, offenses against a brother (Deuteronomy’s favorite term designating a fellow Israelite) or against the law are offenses with which God is concerned. These could be conceived as a type of sacrilege. Again, the fact that impiety is to

⁵¹ Out of 25 instances of רשע in the *hiphil* in the Hebrew Bible, only three are translated using ἀσεβέω verbs, and these are later translations: Job 9:20, 10:2, and Dan 9:5. This last text is a good example of how, the more technical meaning of the Hiphil verb seems to have been replaced with the meaning of the Qal verb in later Hebrew. See also Dan 11:32, 12:10, 2 Chr 20:35, 22:3, Ps 106:6, Neh 9:33. Job 34:12 appears to be the exception within the book of Job as it is the only one of eight instances of the *hiphil* form that does not have the meaning of “pronouncing guilty.” Both meanings were known and employed in Dead Sea Scrolls texts.

⁵² As confirmed indirectly by Voitha’s study quoted in note 44, where רשע is translated predominantly by ἁματωλός (“sinner”).

⁵³ Some have noted how the most interesting development in this respect is the use of ἄνομος words in some translations (Ezekiel, Psalms) portraying misbehavior even more sharply in terms of crime against YHWH’s law. See Tov, “Theologically Motivated Exegesis Embedded in the Septuagint,” 264; Frank Austermann, *Von der Tora zum Nomos: Untersuchungen zur Übersetzungsweise und Interpretation im Septuaginta-Psalter* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003).

be understood as including improper behavior in key human relationships should not restrict the context simply to offenses dealing directly with YHWH. Yet, the use of such language does frame these offenses as behavior with which YHWH is concerned.⁵⁴ The use of a more general term such as ἄδικος was possible, but ἀσέβεια is the term by which the translator clarifies the implications of this law. The fact that such ideas circulated in Hellenistic Judaism is well documented. This theme is, of course, taken up and expounded in Wisdom of Solomon, where the many vices of the pagans are shown to emerge from their idolatry, that is, their lack of proper respect for the true God.⁵⁵

6.2.6. Conclusion

In her study on Greek terms for sin and forgiveness in the Septuagint, Anna Passoni Dell'Acqua concluded that these lexical choices are probably the result of both linguistic and theological factors.⁵⁶ This is very similar to what was observed in this study. First, there are the linguistic factors. These would be the reframing of the semantics of רשע so that the Hebrew terms are interpreted with a more specific, deity-oriented meaning, and the tendency in translation to generalize terms of wrongdoing. These two factors may explain how one guilty in a court setting becomes more generally identified as the impious. By the same token,

⁵⁴ Another possibility is to envision the translator reworking this law in light of existing legal practices where only specifically religious offenses are implied. However, this does not seem likely given the translator's *modus operandi*. It is true that later interpreters understood this law to apply to specific offenses (i.e., Josephus linking it to the previous law) and that the 40 blows it prescribes were later administered in a synagogue context. But there is no way to determine whether this was the intent here, and the evidence suggesting that Deuteronomy was translated for the purpose of acting as law for Egyptian Jews is scant at best. For a recent discussion of the evidence, see John J. Collins, *The Invention of Judaism: Torah and Jewish Identity from Deuteronomy to Paul*, The Taubman Lectures in Jewish Studies 7 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2017), 142–50.

⁵⁵ Of particular relevance in this context is Wis 14:22–31. See also Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.184.

⁵⁶ See Anna Passoni Dell'Acqua, "Sin and Forgiveness," in *Die Sprache der Septuaginta*, ed. Eberhard Bons and Jan Joosten, LXX.H 3 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2016), 339.

this linguistic change also aligns perfectly with the growing importance of Torah observance and provides a convenient way of highlighting how various offenses relate to God.

6.3. RIGHTEOUSNESS AND MERCY

The translation of the Hebrew lexeme **דָּקָדָק** (“justice”, “righteousness”) by the Greek **ἐλεημοσύνη** (“mercy”, “deeds of mercy”) is another unusual match found in OG Deuteronomy.⁵⁷ It has received sustained attention in recent years.⁵⁸ Kim’s study discusses this particular rendering throughout the Septuagint’s translational corpus, but the motivations for its use within particular books deserve further exploration.⁵⁹ This is especially the case in Deuteronomy, where the motivation for employing **ἐλεημοσύνη** in two particular texts raises intriguing questions. It may reflect a way of conceptualizing the relationship between Torah observance and divine mercy which differs from that found in the Hebrew text.

There are six instances of the Hebrew **דָּקָדָק** in Deuteronomy. The first instance is found in chapter 6, at the conclusion of a key section of the book underscoring the importance of

⁵⁷ This section reproduces in large part a study published in the *Journal of Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, “Righteousness and Mercy in Greek Deuteronomy: On the Translation of **דָּקָדָק** by **ἐλεημοσύνη**,” *Journal of Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 52 (2019): 107–117. I am the sole author of this article and have obtained written permission from the journal editor, Siegfried Kreuzer, to include its content in this thesis.

⁵⁸ See for example Jong-Hoon Kim, “Zur Relevanz der Wiedergabe von **דָּקָדָק** mit **ἔλεος/ἐλεημοσύνη**,” in *Die Septuaginta - Orte und Intentionen: 5. Internationale Fachtagung Veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 24.-27. Juli 2014*, ed. Siegfried Kreuzer, Martin Meiser, and Marcus Sigismund, WUNT 361 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 510–19. The topic is also dealt with in the context of OG Isaiah and the subject of an entire chapter in Seulgi L. Byun, *The Influence of Post-Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic on the Translator of Septuagint Isaiah* (New York; London: Continuum, 2017), 35–65. The unconventional nature of this match has been discussed for some time, with scholars commenting on it mostly in passing or as part of a study on the Greek or Hebrew terms. For example, Olofsson spent about two pages on the translation of **דָּקָדָק** in his 1992 study on consistency, relying on the extensive study of these terms by David Hill. See Olofsson, “Consistency as a Translation Technique,” 55–56; David Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings: Studies in the Semantics of Soteriological Terms*, SNTSMS 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967). Olley also discusses this term as part of his study of Isaiah in John W. Olley, *Righteousness in the Septuagint of Isaiah: A Contextual Study*, SCS 8 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979). Shorter discussions can also be found in earlier literature, for example in Edwin Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889), 50.

⁵⁹ Wevers and Dogniez/Harl only deal briefly with this phenomenon in their comments on LXX Deuteronomy, as will be discussed below.

obeying YHWH's commands as discussed in chapter 3.⁶⁰ Verse 25 concludes this section, describing the result of obedience by stating that “צדקה will be ours if we are careful to observe this commandment before YHWH our God.”⁶¹

וצדקה תהיה לנו כי נשמר לעשות את כל המצוה הזאת לפני יהוה אלהינו כאשר

צונו (MT)

καὶ ἐλεημοσύνη ἔσται ἡμῖν, ἐὰν φυλασσώμεθα ποιεῖν πάσας τὰς ἐντολὰς ταύτας ἔναντι κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, καθὰ ἐνετείλατο ἡμῖν. (Wevers)

An almost identical formulation is found in Deut 24:13 where a specific example of law observance is said to result in צדקה:

השב תשיב לו את העבוט כבא השמש ושכב בשלמתו וברכך ולך תהיה צדקה לפני

יהוה אלהיך (MT)

ἀποδόσει ἀποδώσεις τὸ ἐνέχυρον αὐτοῦ περὶ δυσμὰς ἡλίου, καὶ κοιμηθήσεται ἐν τῷ ἱματίῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐλογήσει σε, καὶ σοι ἔσται ἐλεημοσύνη ἔναντιον κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου. (Wevers)

Commentators have traditionally understood the use of צדקה in these verses as referring either to one's right standing in relation to covenant requirements (“innocence”, “uprightness”, or “approved conduct”)⁶² or some kind of merit or credit that is acquired.⁶³ This is easily verified when comparing modern translations:

⁶⁰ Otto speaks of a *Musterkatechese*, which is also a fitting description. See Eckart Otto, *Deuteronomium 1-11. Zweiter Teilband: 4,44 - 11,32*, HThKAT (Freiburg: Herder, 2012), 821.

⁶¹ Perhaps another possible translation would be: “It will represent צדקה for us to carefully observe...”

⁶² “That is, ‘being in the right’, as in a verdict of acquittal, or ‘being in a right relationship with Yahweh’s requirements (24:13).” See Richard D. Nelson, *Deuteronomy: A Commentary* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), 87. In a slightly different perspective, Otto summarizes this behavior before YHWH as *Gemeinschaftstreue*. Otto, *Deuteronomium 1-11. Zweiter Teilband: 4,44 - 11,32*, 778, 825.

⁶³ “That is, ‘it will be to our credit,’ implying that one accumulates credit for meritorious deeds (see also 24:13). The concept is like that of acquiring ‘principal’ in the Talmudic idea that ‘a good deed yields a principal and

It will be therefore to our merit before the LORD our God to observe faithfully this whole Instruction, as He has commanded us.” (NJPS)

If we diligently observe this entire commandment before the LORD our God, as he has commanded us, we will be in the right. (NRSV)

In OG Deuteronomy, four of the six instances of **הקדקד** are translated using *δικαιοσύνη*, and the other twelve appearances of **קדק** cognates are also translated using words of the *δίκαιο*-family.⁶⁴ The aforementioned texts are the only two where the translator has chosen to render **הקדקד** with the Greek *ἐλεημοσύνη*.

One way of explaining this rendering would be to simply posit that **הקדקד** had a broad semantic range and that the translator recognized that *δικαιοσύνη*, despite its general sense of a quality or state of justice, righteousness, or upright behavior, was not sufficient to account for all of its meaning.⁶⁵ This is certainly a possibility, but before concluding as much, one must also examine whether the Hebrew term actually acquired this meaning, when this might have taken place, or whether this meaning was read into the word by the translator. Moreover, it is a well-known fact that the Septuagint translators were influenced by postbiblical Hebrew and Aramaic.⁶⁶ One should also consider whether there is an explanation as to why specific Greek

bears interest,’ as in the list of ‘deeds whose interest one uses in this world while the principal remains for the hereafter’—except that in the Bible the concept refers only to this world.” See Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 83. For the same understanding, see also Jack R. Lundbom, *Deuteronomy: A Commentary*, 325. Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1–11: A New Translation With Introduction and Commentary*, Anchor Bible 5 (New York: Doubleday, 1991), 331.

⁶⁴ Of the 157 occurrences of **הקדקד** in the Hebrew Bible, 133 are translated as *δικαιοσύνη*. More pertinent to this study is that **הקדקד** is translated by *ἐλεημοσύνη* in eight passage: Deut 6:25, 24:13, Ps 23:5, 32:5, 102:6, Isa 1:27, 28:17, and 59:16.

⁶⁵ In other words, the resources of the target language could not account for the semantic range of **הקדקד**. See the discussion to this effect in Olofsson, “Consistency as a Translation Technique,” 55–56. Others have worked in the opposite direction, attempting to use the translation to recover or confirm the full range of meaning of the Hebrew term. This is the approach taken by Kim, who sees the semantic range of **הקדקד** in BH as already including the concept of mercy. See Kim, “Zur Relevanz der Wiedergabe von **הקדקד** mit *ἔλεος/ἐλεημοσύνη*.” While the versions are sometimes useful in enriching our understanding of biblical Hebrew lexical semantics, it seems more fruitful in this particular instance to approach the problem by starting from the perspective of the translator and his technique.

⁶⁶ For example, the comments by Loiseau: “Hence, we should not be surprised that, even in their translations, the LXX translators provide evidence of semantic interferences of Aramaic origin.” Anne-Françoise Loiseau,

words were chosen in some contexts and not others. Because of this, it seems more appropriate to focus first on how these words would have been understood at the time of translation. Each of these issues will be addressed in turn.

6.3.1. Ἐλεημοσύνη in Contemporary Literature

In the Greek literature and documentary evidence roughly contemporary with the translation of OG Deuteronomy, ἔλεημοσύνη is found with the meaning of “pity” or “mercy,” a disposition which in context is often associated with benevolent actions. It can be portrayed in a negative light and listed along vices such as envy and contentiousness.⁶⁷ The Zenon archive also contains one instance of the use of ἔλεημοσύνη. In a letter, two swineherds who had been imprisoned for a fault they do not deny, appeal to Zenon for their release, fearing their herds would perish in their absence and that they would die for lack of basic necessities. The letter concludes thus:

σὺ οὖν ἐπίσκεψαι εἴ σοι δοκεῖ ἀφεῖναι. οὐ γὰρ ἔχομεν οὐθέννα κύριον ἀλλὰ σέ. πρὸς σέ οὖν καταφυγάνομεν, ἵνα ἐλεημοσύνης τύχωμεν.

You could review then if it seems good to you to set us free. For we have no other master but you. We have therefore appealed to you, that we might obtain mercy.⁶⁸

As can be expected, this request stands in stark contrast with a number of similar petitions which appeal for justice.⁶⁹ Here, the petitioners, knowing they are not in the right,

L'influence de l'araméen sur les traducteurs de la LXX principalement, sur les traducteurs grecs postérieurs, ainsi que sur les scribes de la Vorlage de la LXX, SCS 65 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016), 241.

⁶⁷ For a positive reference, see Callimachus, *Hymn. Del.* 4.152. For a negative connotation, see Chrysippi, *Fragmenta. Moralia*, Fr. 422, line 6. Conceived as a weak disposition, pity would not be welcome in the administration of justice as it implies partiality from judges.

⁶⁸ P.Cair.Zen. 3.59495 = TM 1133. John Lee also mentions this text as background for our passage, adding that in Deut 24:13, the resulting meaning is not quite clear. See Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch*, 108.

⁶⁹ Note the many letters from the same period and location concluding with a phrase like “ἵνα ἐπὶ σέ, βασιλεῦ, καταφυγῶν τοῦ δικαίου τύχω”. See for example P.Col.4.83 = TM 1796, P.Polit. Iud. 6 = TM 44622, and P.Enteux. 2 = TM 3280.

appeal to mercy instead, that is, for Zenon to act mercifully on their behalf. Such a disposition appears very different at first glance from the Hebrew **צדקה**, which usually refers to a quality of uprightness, justness, or right conduct.⁷⁰ The concept of pity or mercy may overlap somewhat with one of the uses of **צדקה** which denotes righteous intervention (vindication and deliverance) in favor of the oppressed.⁷¹ This salvific sense is said of YHWH's **צדקה** and found mostly in the context of Isaiah 40-55 and Psalms.⁷² In any case, recent interpreters have not understood **צדקה** in this way in the Hebrew texts before us, which provide no hints of a perilous or oppressive situation inviting pity, mercy, or even deliverance on behalf of the party receiving **צדקה**.

6.3.2. **צדקה in Postbiblical Hebrew**

Another solution has been to posit that the Hebrew **צדקה**, already a polysemous word in biblical literature, sees its semantic range broadened in postbiblical Hebrew. Wevers notes how the word **צדקה** acquired in later Hebrew the meaning of “mercy” and even “deeds of mercy,” and that perhaps this new meaning influenced the translator.⁷³ This is supported by texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls, where **צדקה** is best understood as referring to a “deed of

⁷⁰ See *HALOT*, s.v. “צדקה”, where the term is found under the heading “justness, meaning community loyalty.” *DCH* identifies 12 distinct usages of **צדקה** and locates these two Deuteronomy passages under heading #3: “merit.” It is worth noting, however, that heading #4 is described as “divine beneficence, benevolence”, that is, the justice of YHWH as judge. It notes that the distinction between this usage and #7, “vindication, deliverance” is not always clear. See *DCH*, s.v. “צדקה”. In his *TDOT* entry, Johnson suggests that **צדקה** is concretizing the underlying notion of **צדק**, usually in actions manifesting righteousness. However, he understands **צדקה** in Deut 6:25 and 24:13 as YHWH's positive and beneficent intervention. This sense is difficult to construe based on the syntax and immediate context, esp. in 6:25. See Bo Johnson, “צדק,” *TDOT*, 12:252-253.

⁷¹ In many of these instances, **צדקה** is found in the plural, confirming that it refers to a specific type of action. Otto postulates that *ἐλεημοσύνη* does translate part of the Hebrew concept of **צדקה** Otto, *Deuteronomium 1-11. Zweiter Teilband: 4, 44 - 11, 32*, 781. It might be better said, however, that *ἐλεημοσύνη* demonstrates semantic overlap with one of the usages of **צדקה** in the Hebrew Bible. **צדקה** is a polysemous word employed in a variety of contexts.

⁷² Byun provides a helpful survey of the history of research on this term, also allowing for various nuances based on context. See Byun, *The Influence of Post-Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic on the Translator of Septuagint Isaiah*, 36–41.

⁷³ Wevers, *NGTD*, 126. This observation is also made by Kim and Byun.

mercy” or even “almsgiving.”⁷⁴ Such a meaning eventually converges with the semantic range of ἐλεημοσύνη, which can also denote not only “pity” or “mercy,” but also more concrete manifestations such as “charity” or “alms,” as the many instances found in Tobit, Sirach, and the New Testament demonstrate.⁷⁵

The Aramaic צדקה also exhibits a range of meaning which could be seen as developing along the same lines. On the tomb of a 7th century BCE priest found near Aleppo, one finds the inscription: “Because of my righteousness (*bšdqty*) in his presence, he gave me a good name and prolonged my days.”⁷⁶ Here צדקה could describe either the priest’s quality of uprightness, or more concretely his faithful conduct in service of the deity.

A construction similar to the one found in Deut 6:25 and 24:13 is found in Cowley, *Arm. Pap.* 30.27.⁷⁷ This letter implores its recipient to fund the rebuilding of the Elephantine Jewish temple, here describing the outcome for him:

וצדקה יהוה לך קדם יהו אלה שמיא מן גבר זי יקרבלה עלוה ודבחן ...

And it shall be a merit to you before Ya’u the God of heaven more than a man who offers to him sacrifice and burnt-offerings...

⁷⁴ Francesco Zanella, “Between ‘Righteousness’ and ‘Alms’: A Semantic Study of the Lexeme צדקה in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Hebrew in the Second Temple Period: The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and of Other Contemporary Sources*, ed. S. E. Fassberg, M. Bar-Asher, and R. Clemens, STDJ 108 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013), 280–85. A fuller treatment of the Hebrew terms that comes to a similar conclusion is Ahuva Ho, *Sedeq and Sedaqah in the Hebrew Bible* (New York; Bern: Lang, 1991). Several texts from the late Second Temple period demonstrating this semantic shift are discussed in Byun, *The Influence of Post-Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic on the Translator of Septuagint Isaiah*, 41–51.

⁷⁵ For example, Matt 6:2, Tob 4:7, 16. Gary Anderson also traces the development of the Hebrew terms in Gary A. Anderson, “Redeem Your Sins by the Giving of Alms: Sin, Debt, and the ‘Treasury of Merit’ in Early Jewish and Christian Tradition,” *Letter & Spirit* 3 (2007): 36–69. Cf. Byun, *The Influence of Post-Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic on the Translator of Septuagint Isaiah*, 52–55.

⁷⁶ “The Tomb Inscription of Si’gabbar, Priest of Sahar,” trans. P. Kyle McCarter (*COS* 2.59:185). See *KAI* 226.2–3.

⁷⁷ A. Cowley, ed., *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), 114. The translation is by Cowley. Papyrus 71.5 also contains a similar use of צדקה, but its fragmentary nature renders all interpretation uncertain.

While the syntax of this phrase is not identical to that found in Deuteronomy, both are fairly close in meaning.⁷⁸ The term is also found once in Dan 4:24 (27^{LXX}), where the king is encouraged to remove his sins through צדקה and his iniquities through mercy for the oppressed:

להן מלכא מלכי ישפר עליך וחטיך בצדקה פרק ועייתך במחן ענין הן תהוא ארכה
לשלותך

Therefore, O king, may my counsel be acceptable to you: atone for your sins with righteousness, and your iniquities with mercy to the oppressed, so that your prosperity may be prolonged. (NRSV)

αὐτοῦ δεήθητι περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ πάσας τὰς ἀδικίας σου ἐν ἐλεημοσύναις λύτρωσαι, ἵνα ἐπιείκεια δοθῇ σοι καὶ πολυήμερος γένησαι ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου τῆς βασιλείας σου, καὶ μὴ καταφθαῖγῃς. τούτους τοὺς λόγους ἀγάπησον. (Ziegler)

Entreat him concerning sins, and atone for all your iniquities with alms so that equity might be given to you and you might be long-lived on the throne of your kingdom and not be destroyed. Gladly receive these words. (NETS)

διὰ τοῦτο, βασιλεῦ, ἡ βουλή μου ἀρεσάτω σοι, καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου ἐν ἐλεημοσύναις λύτρωσαι καὶ τὰς ἀδικίας σου ἐν οἰκτιρμοῖς πενήτων· ἴσως ἔσται μακρόθυμος τοῖς παραπτώμασίν σου ὁ θεός. (θ')

Therefore, O king, let my counsel be acceptable to you and atone for your sins with alms and for iniquities with compassion to the needy. Perhaps God will show forbearance for your transgressions. (NETS)

The context suggests that צדקה denotes deeds of mercy, perhaps even acts of charity when considered in light of the parallel line. While the extant Greek translations are the product of different individuals and different periods, both have ἐλεημοσύνη in the plural, also confirming this understanding of the term. This would suggest that in the Second Temple period, the Aramaic צדקה also had as part of its semantic range the usage that also develops

⁷⁸ The Aramaic construction differs from the Hebrew in one significant point. It places the feminine צדקה in the accusative since it varies in gender with the verb, while the Hebrew, with its feminine verb form, places צדקה as subject. The Aramaic phrase can thus be read as: “It (your generous gift) will be צדקה for you before YHW,” hence the translation as “merit,” or “reward.” Deuteronomy 6:25 would be better translated as: “צדקה will be to you (will be yours)....”

in Qumran and Mishnaic Hebrew. By the rabbinic period, צדקה was more consistently linked to alms.⁷⁹

Therefore, there is reason to think that while the classical meaning of צדקה was still known, there was growing semantic overlap between צדקה and ἐλεημοσύνη in the period when the Greek translation of the Pentateuch was produced.⁸⁰ However, this solution does not answer the question as to why OG Deuteronomy's translator chose ἐλεημοσύνη here and δικαιοσύνη elsewhere in the same book. In theory, δικαιοσύνη would have been a suitable choice in Deut 6:25 and 24:13 and remains the default option to translate צדקה.⁸¹

6.3.3. Translation Patterns in OG Deuteronomy

Part of the difficulty has to do with whether צדקה is to be understood as that which characterizes one's obedience, or something received from YHWH. In the context of 24:13, could צדקה refer to the act of giving back the pledge, an action which is considered as a merciful deed before YHWH? Such a reading does not easily fit the grammatical construction of the Hebrew phrase, where צדקה is clearly the subject, the thing being obtained or validated

⁷⁹ The targumim consistently translate צדקה by זכותא or זכו, perhaps suggesting that by that time, the Aramaic צדקה no longer carried the same sense as its Hebrew counterpart, at least in the variety of meanings found in the Hebrew Bible. Byun concludes that "it is apparent that the trajectory in the meaning of צדקה moves from the general sense of 'rightness' or 'normative behavior' to qualities constituting right behavior and, ultimately, to concrete examples of righteous behavior such as 'almsgiving' and 'charity'." See Byun, *The Influence of Post-Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic on the Translator of Septuagint Isaiah*, 51.

⁸⁰ There is only one other instance of ἐλεημοσύνη in the Pentateuch. In Gen 47:29, it translates the Hebrew חסד, which is paired with אמת (חסד ואמת = ἐλεημοσύνη καὶ ἀλήθεια). For a study of the relationship between חסד and ἔλεος in the LXX, see Jan Joosten, "Hesed 'bienveillance' et éleos 'pitié'. Réflexions sur une équivalence lexicale dans la Septante," in « *Car c'est l'amour qui me plaît, non le sacrifice...* ». *Recherches sur Osée 6:6 et son interprétation juive et chrétienne*, ed. Eberhard Bons, SJSJ 88 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004), 25–42. Joosten suggests that many of the apparent mismatches between Hebrew words and their Greek translation can be credited to the fact that the meaning of Hebrew words changed between the time of their original context and that of the translation.

⁸¹ This incidentally suggests that δικαιοσύνη retains its Greek meaning and does not assimilate to the meaning of צדקה.

in his sight.⁸² It seems preferable to understand the use of ἐλεημοσύνη in 24:13 as stating in effect that when one shows mercy, there will be mercy for him before YHWH.⁸³ This is the rendering adopted by NETS, and it reflects an understanding that is different from both interpretations mentioned in our introduction. Here Torah observance does not result in credit or merit, nor even in right standing or proper conduct within the covenant relationship. Rather, the outcome is that of placing Israel in a position to receive divine compassion or benevolence.⁸⁴

Dogniez and Harl also point out that חַסְדִּים has in the Hebrew Bible the occasional sense of divine justice which brings about acts of benevolence (“des actes de bonté”). Since this is not naturally rendered by δικαιοσύνη, which is never employed to describe the justice of the gods, the translator had to resort to another word instead. In the context of Deut 6:25, he would have understood obedience as “justifying” Israel before YHWH which would then make it the object of divine mercy. Hence, they translate ἐλεημοσύνη into French as *compassion*.⁸⁵ Even though they are probably right in assuming that the translator has “compassion” in mind, this does not answer the question as to why the translator thought benevolence was in view here. Moreover, the claim that δικαιοσύνη does not describe the justice of gods seems overstated. We find in Deut 33:21 a description of YHWH as executing

⁸² While in the Hebrew text חַסְדִּים is the feminine subject of the verb, ἐλεημοσύνη could be either subject or predicate of the verb εἰμί. Therefore, the Greek translation is ambiguous and allows for both understandings. This should be considered an accidental “feature” of the translation since it is a limitation of the Greek language. *La Bible d’Alexandrie* chose the latter option by translating: “Ce sera pour toi un acte de justice devant le Seigneur ton Dieu.” See Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronome*, 268. The translation of ἐλεημοσύνη by “acte de justice” is somewhat surprising given the philosophy adopted by the Bible d’Alexandrie project, which seeks to read the Septuagint as a Greek text. Here it translates the meaning of the underlying Hebrew term. However, in their note on 6:25, Dogniez and Harl suggest a longer meaning, “acte de justice méritant la miséricorde de Dieu.” See Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronome*, 158–59.

⁸³ Otto also suggests that the connection made between the two texts in Greek implies that Israel is to show mercy as it is shown mercy. See Otto, *Deuteronomium 1-11. Zweiter Teilband: 4,44 - 11,32*, 781.

⁸⁴ Kim also sees in this understanding a significant shift in emphasis from the meaning of the Hebrew text. See Kim, “Zur Relevanz der Wiedergabe von חַסְדִּים mit ἔλεος/ἐλεημοσύνη,” 515.

⁸⁵ Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronome*, 158–59.

δικαιοσύνη, and numerous other examples throughout the Septuagintal corpus where various translators did not hesitate to employ δικαιοσύνη to render divine צדקה.⁸⁶ Dogniez and Harl further cite Gen 15:6 and Ps 106:31 for support. These texts speak of צדקה being credited to individuals, in a way similar to what is discussed here. But this line of argumentation is problematic for several reasons: 1) In both cases צדקה is translated by δικαιοσύνη, which is the opposite of what we find in our texts and favors an understanding of the term as relating to one's standing or conduct vis-à-vis covenant obligations. 2) These are also the work of different translators who may have had various reasons to use this vocabulary. 3) Going back to Deut 6:25, the proposed meaning of “acte de justice méritant la miséricorde de Dieu” is a great deal of semantic baggage to place on a single word.⁸⁷ This solution does not provide a satisfactory answer to the question as to why the translator of Deuteronomy thought that “obtaining mercy” was a better rendering in this context than the other possibilities before him.

Three other instances of צדקה are found in Deut 9:4-6, a text mentioned in section 6.2.3 above. It states in no ambiguous terms that Israel will not inherit the land because of any צדקה of its own, but because of YHWH's covenant promises. Israel's צדקה would be insufficient to deserve such an inheritance. In all occurrences of the term in this passage, צדקה is translated by δικαιοσύνη. In the context of chapter 9, Israel was transgressing the law as soon as it was given, leading Moses to break the tablets and to plead for the sparing of the people's lives. Israel has no צדקה – at least not sufficiently to form the basis for its inheritance of the land.

⁸⁶ This claim is also stated in Kim, “Zur Relevanz der Wiedergabe von צדקה mit ἔλεος/ἐλεημοσύνη,” 514. However there are numerous examples outside of Deuteronomy where YHWH's צדקה is translated as δικαιοσύνη, suggesting that this was not problematic for the Septuagint translators. Among the most striking examples are Ps 5:9, 30:2, 35:7, 11, Isa 46:13, 51:6 and Mic 6:5.

⁸⁷ This would appear to conflate several meanings of צדקה. One could also question the extent to which mercy and merit are compatible.

The sixth and final occurrence of צדקה is found in 33:21. The first part of this verse presents some textual difficulties, but the last two lines can be discerned clearly enough.⁸⁸ MT has צדקה in a genitive construction with YHWH, describing YHWH's צדקה being executed by (in context probably) Gad, the subject. The Greek translation reworks this phrase while preserving the word order. The Hebrew צדקה is translated as δικαιοσύνη, but YHWH becomes the subject:

צדקת יהוה עשה ומשפטיו עם ישראל (MT)
He executed the justice of the LORD, and his ordinances for Israel. (NRSV)
δικαιοσύνην κύριος ἐποίησεν καὶ κρίσιν αὐτοῦ μετὰ Ἰσραηλ. (Wevers)
The Lord executed righteousness and his judgment with Israel. (NETS)

Wevers suggests that the idea of Gad practicing righteousness was theologically questionable to the translator, who without shifting word order, places κύριος in the nominative, attributing righteous conduct to YHWH instead.⁸⁹ Moreover, צדקה is here understood as righteous or upright conduct and not acts of benevolence as the translation confirms. This is to be expected since when found in collocation with משפט, צדקה usually denotes righteous rule.

Perhaps a picture emerges when one considers all the occurrences of צדקה in Deuteronomy. Since 9:4-6 clearly states that Israel has no צדקה/δικαιοσύνη of its own, the possibility of attributing just conduct or right standing (δικαιοσύνη) to Israel elsewhere might present a problem. The use of ἐλεημοσύνη in 6:25 and 24:13 reflects a reading of these texts

⁸⁸ Wevers states: "I can make little consistent sense out of MT's עם ויתא ראשי עם." See Wevers, *NGTD*, 551.

⁸⁹ See Wevers, "The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy," 88; Wevers, *NGTD*, 551–52. It is also possible that the Hebrew text was misread, understanding צדקה instead of צדקת. Unfortunately, our only manuscript from Qumran which includes this text (4Q35Deut^b) only preserves the first and last line of this verse. MasDeut (a Hebrew fragment from Masada) is another witness from this period but it is identical to MT.

which removes the tension between the statement of chapter 9 and those of chapters 6 and 24. It states that Torah observance simply places Israel in a position to receive mercy, that is, YHWH's compassion or compassionate action. The overall portrait is one that avoids attributing *δικαιοσύνη* to Israel, emphasizing YHWH's *ἐλεημοσύνη* instead.⁹⁰ Therefore, obedience leads only to mercy. It is worth noting that the programmatic statement of Deut 30:1-10 follows a similar sequence: If once in exile Israel returns to YHWH and wholeheartedly obeys his voice according to all that has been commanded, YHWH will 1) return the captives – OG reads “*ιάσεται κύριος τὰς ἀμαρτίας σου*”, 2) show them mercy, and 3) gather them from all the nations where they were dispersed. The language of obedience is reminiscent of the earlier sections of chapter 6, and this is perhaps the chronological grid through which Deut 6:25 is understood in the context of the translation. It represents another way to account for the choice of *ἐλεημοσύνη* in 6:25: Obedience will lead to mercy and restoration despite past failures.⁹¹ If Deuteronomy is read through the grid of 30:1-3, then sin remains in Israel's past despite its present (albeit imperfect) obedience. Therefore, instead of understanding *הַדָּקָה* in this context as Israel's righteous conduct or merit obtained, the translator understands it rather as YHWH's compassion or benevolent action towards his people.⁹²

⁹⁰ This is also how Aejmelaeus interprets this rendering in Deut 6:25, along with a few others in Deuteronomy, which appear to stress YHWH's mercy. See Aejmelaeus, “Die Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums,” 171–72.

⁹¹ The importance of Deut 30:1-10 in Second Temple Jewish contexts has been documented elsewhere. Of particular interest are the recent studies by Lincicum, here discussing the similar sequence in Tob 13:5-6, and Matusova discussing Philo and other interpretations of this passage. See David Lincicum, *Paul and the Early Jewish Encounter with Deuteronomy* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2013), 92–93; Ekaterina Matusova, “Deuteronomy Reworked, or Composition of the Narrative in the Letter of Aristeas,” in *XV Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Munich, 2013*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus, Michaël N. van der Meer, and Martin Meiser, SCS 64 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016), 516–20.

⁹² Olley observes a similar pattern in the translation of *הַדָּקָה* in Isaiah. See Olley, *Righteousness in the Septuagint of Isaiah*, 112–16. On Isaiah, Joosten also comments: “Dans tous les cas où le traducteur accentue ou ajoute cette notion [de pitié], il s’agit de la pitié de Dieu. Ainsi le traducteur d’Ésaïe témoigne de ce que la pitié de Dieu n’était pas, dans la communauté juive d’Alexandrie, une idée étrange imposée bon gré mal gré par les écritures

6.3.4. Conclusion

Such a translational shift in meaning is made possible because of the evolution of the word's semantic range in this period. Since the translator had several options available for the meaning of צדקה, he could resort to the meaning of “act of mercy” against the usual sense of the Hebrew text. The same solution was also applied in 24:13 based on similar syntax and vocabulary. Given the norms guiding the translator's work, it appears unlikely that one of the principal objectives for the translation was to harmonize its message.⁹³ What seems more likely is that the Hebrew text was read in a particular way in the context of the translation, and that it therefore reflects this understanding. This interpretation would more plausibly explain the sporadic but punctual adjustments that would stress YHWH's mercy or tenderness towards Israel.⁹⁴

6.4. WHY THE BELOVED?

A related but more puzzling rendering is found in chapter 32, where the Hebrew text refers to Israel as “Jeshurun” (יִשְׁרוּן), which is translated into Greek as ὁ ἡγαπημένος (“the beloved”). Could this be another indication of the translator's emphasizing YHWH's benevolence towards his people? The difficulty in this case is that יִשְׁרוּן is a noun whose precise meaning and origin remain much a mystery. It occurs only four times in the Hebrew Bible, three of which are found within the poetic sections of Deuteronomy 32-33.⁹⁵ In context,

hébraïques – selon l'exégèse contemporaine – mais au contraire une notion centrale, et chérie, de leur théologie.” Joosten, “Hesed ‘bienveillance’ et éleos ‘pitié’. Réflexions sur une équivalence lexicale dans la Septante,” 42.

⁹³ It also appears unlikely that the translator, reaching 6:25, suddenly realized that he would have to harmonize this rendering with other צדקה occurrences in the book. After all, chapter 6, where we find this unexpected rendering, is the first in the book.

⁹⁴ For some examples, see Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronomie*, 39–40; Aejmelaeus, “Die Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums,” 170–72.

⁹⁵ Outside of the Hebrew Bible corpus, the term is also found once in Sir 37:25.

it usually stands in parallel with Israel or Jacob, and therefore probably consists of a kind of epithet. It is usually understood as deriving from the root ישר (“to be straight”, “upright”).⁹⁶ Its origin could also be that of a diminutive of the name Israel, perhaps even as a hypocoristicon (term of endearment).⁹⁷ But this last point is often supported by appealing to the Greek rendering of the term, which for our purposes becomes a circular argument. The small number of occurrences, all found in poetry, suggests that its use was limited. There are, however, a number of Amorite and Akkadian personal names built on the root ישר, which gives plausibility to this theory. The use of a name associated with uprightness in Deut 32:15 suggests irony. The one named in such a way is in fact not living up to his name, although in context, he has benefited from the best of circumstances.⁹⁸

The Three also understand ישרון as a derivative of ישר, calling on the usual Greek rendering for this root: Aquila resorts to εὐθύτατος (probably “the straightest”) while Symmachus and Theodotion employ ὁ εὐθής (“the upright”, or “just one”).

6.4.1. The Translation of Proper Names

The OG Deuteronomy translator proceeds differently. He does not hesitate to use etymological renderings (במסה = ἐν τῷ Πειρασμῷ in 6:16) when encountering proper names whose meaning is transparent. In fact, this is the most common strategy employed to translate proper names throughout the book.⁹⁹ In other cases, the name can be transliterated or

⁹⁶ Some have argued that it could also derive from שׂור (“to see”). See the brief discussion in Sanders, *The Provenance of Deuteronomy* 32, 179–80.

⁹⁷ Otto thinks it is derived from ישר and functions as a diminutive. See Otto, *Deuteronomium 12-34. Zweiter Teilband: 23,16 - 34,12*, 2179–80. Cf. M. Mulder, “ישרון,” *TDOT* 6:472–77. See also Driver, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy*, 361; Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy*, 382.

⁹⁸ Buis and Leclerc thus remark that the use of this term is quite appropriate here, as a reminder of the ideal to which Israel is called but failed to maintain. See Pierre Buis and Jacques Leclercq, *Le Déuteronome* (Paris: Gabalda, 1963), 198.

⁹⁹ See the many examples of this strategy in Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronome*, 97–98.

actualized, particularly geographical names, to those in use in the Hellenistic context of the translation.¹⁰⁰ But “ὁ ἡγαπημένος” is neither an etymological rendering nor a transliteration, and it remains to be seen whether it represents an effort at actualization. In any case, this suggests that we should investigate the presence of other factors.¹⁰¹

The expression ὁ ἡγαπημένος is found three times in chapter 33, where twice it translates the same **ישרון**. In verse 5, it speaks of Moses a ruler in **ישרון** (perhaps best understood as a ruler among the people of Israel). Verse 26 states that there is no God like the God of **ישרון**.¹⁰² The term **ישרון** is found only once outside of Deuteronomy, in Isa 44:2, where it is also translated in the same way.¹⁰³ More telling is the third instance of ἡγαπημένος in Deuteronomy, in 33:12, where it translates the Hebrew **ידיד** ("beloved"):

לבנימן אמר ידיד יהוה ישכן לבטח עליו חפץ עליו כל־היום ובין כתיפיו שכן (MT)
 Καὶ τῷ Βενιαμὲν εἶπεν Ὁγαπημένος ὑπὸ κυρίου κατασκαηνώσει πεποιθώς, καὶ ὁ θεὸς σκιάξει ἐπ’ αὐτῷ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ὤμων αὐτοῦ κατέπαυσεν. (Wevers)
 And to Benjamin he said: Beloved by the Lord he shall encamp in confidence and God overshadows him all the days and he rested between his shoulders. (NETS)

This is a more common rendering in the Septuagint corpus as a whole. Of the nine instances of **ידיד** (or its diminutive **יידדות**), all are translated either by the participle, or the related substantive ἀγαπητός.¹⁰⁴ The more common rendering of **ידיד** by ἡγαπημένος confirms

¹⁰⁰ Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronomie*, 98–100. See the more extended discussion in chapter 3, on 6 :16.

¹⁰¹ Even Frankel admits that it is difficult to determine which etymology the translator has in mind. See Frankel, *Ueber den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik*, 211.

¹⁰² See Mulder, “ישרון.” Mulder agrees with the interpretation offered here, but it is not impossible that **ישרון** could refer to a place or a divine name.

¹⁰³ In Ps 28:6 (29:6^{MT}), the Greek rendering appears to be a misreading of the Hebrew source text, which in MT is **וּשְׂרִין**. This would imply that ὁ ἡγαπημένος was selected because the *Vorlage* was interpreted to be (or was) **ישרון** and/or that the translator did not know **וּשְׂרִין** as a geographical place name.

¹⁰⁴ See Deut 33:12, Ps 60:7^{MT}, 84:2^{MT}, 108:7^{MT}, 127:2^{MT}, Isa 5:1(2 instances), Jer 11:15, and 12:7. Some translators use the participle and the substantive interchangeably. In the song of the vineyard of Isa 5, the vineyard represents the beloved, here rendered once by the participle and the other by the substantive ἀγαπητός:

indirectly the way in which the translator understood the Greek term: that of someone cherished or especially favored.

Deuteronomy 33:12 also represents the closest parallel to the most frequent occurrence of this participle in the contemporary documentary and inscriptional evidence. The Rosetta Stone (OGIS 90a/Pierre sur pierre 16) contains a very similar formula. On it, King Ptolemy V Euphron is repeatedly said to be ἡγαπημένος ὑπὸ τοῦ Φθᾶ. This is the only context where ἡγαπημένος is found in inscriptional evidence – though there were many copies of this inscription. A similar description of his father Ptolemy IV Philopator (ἡγαπημένος ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰσιδος) accounts for the only surviving occurrence of the participial form of ἀγαπάω in the documentary evidence from the Hellenistic period.¹⁰⁵ These are dated between the late 3rd and the early 2nd century BCE.

In Deut 33:12, Benjamin is described as one who is “ἡγαπημένος ὑπὸ κυρίου.” The preposition ὑπὸ has no correspondence in Hebrew but is required to specify the agency of YHWH, instead of a genitive of possession, for example.¹⁰⁶ It is also noteworthy that the inscription has this phrase among a number of titles for the King. To be “ἡγαπημένος ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰσιδος” is but one title among many others such as “υἱὸς τοῦ Ἡλίου” or “εἰκὼν ζωσα τοῦ Διός.” The use of this formula as a title brings us back to 32:15, where ὁ ἡγαπημένος functions in a similar way. The agent of this affection is not stated explicitly in v. 15, but the context clearly identifies him as YHWH. Six occurrences of ἡγαπημένος are also found in classical literature,

“Αἰσω δὴ τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ ἄσμα τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ τῷ ἀμπελώνι μου.” (Isa 5:2) Outside of the biblical text, the use of ἀγαπητός is far more common. It is also noteworthy that ἀγαπητός often translates the Hebrew אָהָבָה, particularly in Gen 22, where Isaac is thus portrayed not as Abraham’s only, but beloved son.

¹⁰⁵ See P.Muench.3.1.45 = TM 5248. See the brief discussion of this term in inscriptional evidence in Aitken, *No Stone Unturned*, 69.

¹⁰⁶ Such a feature is also found in two other places in Deuteronomy, where the sense of the construct chain requires it (See 21:23 and possibly 4:21). Thus the similarity in syntax should not be overstated.

but many of these texts, such as Aesop's fables or Pseudo-Hippocrates are difficult to date.¹⁰⁷

In any case, they describe one who is esteemed of men for his skill in healing, or loved until old age.¹⁰⁸ In Demosthenes, one is ἡγαπημένος, favored of the gods for having many natural qualities or esteemed of men for his skill in chariot riding.¹⁰⁹ While these more general uses need to be kept in mind, the Ptolemaic inscriptions remind us that to be the ἡγαπημένος of gods is no insignificant title. Read in this light, the term stresses the great privilege and status of Israel, whereas the Hebrew would be a more intimate term, perhaps employed with irony.

6.4.2. The Rendering in the Context of OG Deuteronomy

Harl suggests that the use of ἡγαπημένος modifies the way the privilege of Jacob/Israel is construed. It is not his uprightness but divine affection that makes him his chosen people.¹¹⁰ This finds echo elsewhere in Deuteronomy. Deuteronomy 7:8-13 states that YHWH loves Israel and its ancestors.¹¹¹ But in the context of Deut 32:15, one possible explanation for the use of this term is the need to make sense of the text. The use of ἡγαπημένος does fit the broader context of Deuteronomy, but also the more immediate context. In the preceding verses (9-14), the song describes how YHWH made Israel his possession, found him in the desert and cared for him like the apple of his eye, like an eagle for its young. He then fed him with the best produce of the land. Harl notes how this lavish care for Israel is underscored by the

¹⁰⁷ A seventh instance, P.Oxy.5.842 is too fragmentary to be useful and difficult to date precisely although it recounts events of the 4th century BCE. In what could be the oldest text, one of Aesop's fables, a mother addresses her child as τέκνον ἡγαπημένον: "Τέκνον," λέγουσα, "τέκνον ἡγαπημένον, τὸν λύκον φονεύσομεν, εἰ μόνον ἔλθῃ." The dating of these stories is complicated by the fact that later authors most likely wrote later while attributing their additions to Aesop.

¹⁰⁸ Pseudo-Hippocrates, *Power of Stones*, 1.4., 30.3.

¹⁰⁹ Demosthenes, [*Erot.*] 9.2, 26.2.

¹¹⁰ "La traduction par 'bien-aimé', du verbe *agapao*, 'aimer', 'chérir', modifie le privilège de Jacob-Israël : ce n'est pas 'sa droiture' mais l'amour de Dieu qui en fait un peuple de choix." Harl, "Le grand cantique de Moïse en Deutéronome 32 : quelques traits originaux de la version grecque des Septante," 134–35. See also the similar comments in Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deutéronome*, 329.

¹¹¹ See also 10:15. In 4:37 and 23:5, it is said that this love motivated the deliverance from Egypt.

translator, underscoring the emotive aspect of this tenderness via his lexical choice.¹¹² Instead of finding his people in the desert, YHWH sustained it (*αὐταρχέω*, v.10). Instead of the eagle stirring up its nest, it covers it (*σκεπάζω*, v. 11). Instead of hovering over the young, it yearns for them (*ἐπιποθέω*, v.11). Harl provides several more examples in these verses that would require more investigation. It is quite possible that some of the underlying Hebrew terms were unknown to the translator or misread, but taken together, the Greek renderings display the tendency to underscore YHWH's care and affection for his people.

It seems fitting then that when verse 15 is reached and an unknown epithet is found for Israel, the translator would opt for the contextually appropriate “beloved,” *ἡγαπημένος*.¹¹³ In the context of contemporary royal propaganda, this name not only underscores the tenderness of care but the elevated status of Israel.¹¹⁴ In fact, it would be difficult to use stronger language to underscore Israel's special status. We could speculate that it represents a type of actualization, where the translator relied not on etymology or transliteration, but on the larger context and cultural imagery to translate a name for which he apparently thought a *שׂר* equivalent (*εὐθής, ὁσιος*) was not suitable.¹¹⁵

6.4.3. Conclusion

Though these conclusions are tentative, examining *ὁ ἡγαπημένος* in the context of the other renderings described in the present chapter raises such possibilities. Perhaps the

¹¹² For a more extensive description of the examples discussed in this paragraph, see Harl, “Le grand cantique de Moïse en Deutéronome 32 : quelques traits originaux de la version grecque des Septante,” 136–40.

¹¹³ Peters also suggests that this rendering shows that the translator is not averse to interpreting metaphors. See Peters, “Revisiting the Rock: Tsur as a Translation of Elohim in Deuteronomy and Beyond,” 43–44.

¹¹⁴ While the translator must certainly have been aware of the king's special titles, it is difficult to assert that he chose *ἡγαπημένος* as a kind of polemical stance to assert that Israel is the beloved. It appears more likely that the royal title was but one use of the term in the cultural encyclopedia, which must surely have been commonly employed to describe motherly care or affection for someone in particular.

¹¹⁵ In order to make a more solid case for actualization, such an argument would require that we establish that *שׂר* is a kind of elevated title, almost kingly in nature, and we do not have such evidence at our disposal.

translator wanted to avoid describing Israel as upright here also, for reasons similar to those that lead him to never describe Israel as having *δικαιοσύνη*. This rendering also reminds us that the presence of specific vocabulary is often motivated by a plurality of factors, including the strong possibility that the precise meaning of the Hebrew term was unknown, as well as the desire that it would be contextually and perhaps even culturally relevant.¹¹⁶

6.5. CONCLUSION

These three case studies highlight the care and resourcefulness with which the activity of translation was undertaken, qualities that are not as obvious when we focus on the more typical aspects of the translation. We have seen that what may appear to be a stereotypical match between *עשר* words and those of the *ἀσέβ-* family reveals instead a more intricate process at work in the selection of lexical equivalents. While stereotyped renderings may require less reflection, they do (at least in OG Deuteronomy) undergo a process of evaluation for suitability. This is also demonstrated by the alternance between *δικαιοσύνη* and *ἐλεημοσύνη* in translating *צדקה*. In both cases, such inquiries also contribute to the furthering of our knowledge of the semantics of Greek and Hebrew terms in this period. We can also, on occasion, catch a glimpse of the ideology of the translator and his milieu. In the case of *ἡγαπημένος*, the connection to the translation's cultural milieu is more striking, though the limited and partial nature of the historical evidence at our disposal suggests prudence in our conclusions.

Nevertheless, the hermeneutical grid provided by the descriptive analysis of translational norms and related strategies can lead to a fruitful examination of specific aspects of the translation that are significant for historical exegesis. Given the constitutive character of

¹¹⁶ Aitken affirms on this basis that “the Septuagint participates in the politico-theological language of the Hellenistic monarchs.” See Aitken, *No Stone Unturned*, 69.

the translation, it is not surprising that the sampling of interpretative renderings studied here are all confined to lexical choice. This is in keeping with the highly valued translational norms and the type of equivalence observed, which is predominantly at the level of individual words. In some cases, the influence of postbiblical Hebrew or Aramaic was also a factor. More such cases likely exist, and further studies will enable us to gain a better picture of how OG Deuteronomy can shed light on the theological conceptions or ideology of its production milieu.¹¹⁷ The above studies hopefully exemplify how this can be done in a principled manner. It is striking, however, that these glimpses into the theological or ideological tendencies of the translator and his milieu are sporadic and rarely systematic. In this sense, we can also affirm that the translator did not set out to adapt his scriptural text to contemporary exegesis and that we should exercise due caution before ascribing theological tendencies to his renderings.

¹¹⁷ Joosten speaks of the unconscious reflexes of the translators, which provide a glimpse into their theology. See Jan Joosten, "Une théologie de la Septante ? Réflexions méthodologiques sur l'interprétation de la version grecque," *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie* 132 (2000): 41. Perkins also argues that even a literal translation provides the translator with opportunities to "put his stamp upon the material and ensure that his understanding of the Hebrew text, or the understanding of his Jewish community, finds expression." See Perkins, "Deuteronomy," 79. See also Cameron Boyd-Taylor, "The Semantics of Biblical Language Redux," in *"Translation Is Required": The Septuagint in Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Robert J. V. Hiebert, SCS 56 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 51.

CONCLUSION

Our main question at the outset was that of identifying a framework that is appropriate for the characterization of OG Deuteronomy, so that information concerning the translator, his milieu, the translation process and the prospective function of the translation can be extracted in a principled manner. We then argued that a modified version of Toury's Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) approach was particularly well suited for the task. It was then tested on three sections of OG Deuteronomy. Equipped with a descriptive profile of these translations and a clearer picture of the translational norms under which the translator operated, we then set out to examine specific renderings that may point to ideological concerns in the translation's milieu. The major findings of this study will be discussed here, followed by the highlighting of some implications and avenues for future research.

A few preliminary remarks are in order: The results of this inquiry are provisional in that only three sections of text were examined. It must be noted, however, that the features they contained were described in light of the translator's work throughout the book, so that the description provided covers in fact a larger cross-section of the translation than these three sections. Nevertheless, it is expected that continued study of the translation will further refine some of the observations offered here. Another way in which these findings are provisional is related to the nature of the surrounding evidence. Other Deuteronomy manuscripts may come to light, helping us better understand the nature of the translator's *Vorlage* and improve our critical edition of the Greek translation itself. Moreover, since one aspect of our task was to describe OG Deuteronomy in light of Greek literature of the same period, this picture is also

bound to come into clearer focus as more studies on the language of the papyri and other sources of this period become available.

1. THE CHARACTER OF OG DEUTERONOMY

Without repeating what has been said in the previous chapters where the character of each unit under study was analyzed in detail, we may nevertheless attempt a brief summary. Doing justice to any Septuagint book as a translation and as a text is extremely difficult, and many disagreements concerning the characterization of these works have to do with focusing on one aspect at the expense of another. One predominant feature of OG Deuteronomy's character as a translation is its grammatical-wellformedness. Very little interference from the source text was observed at the level of grammar and syntax. This was apparent in all three texts examined, thus a significant constitutive norm for this translation. It also relates to the comments made by Dogniez and Harl to the effect that the Greek text remains understandable for a Greek reader despite its careful reproduction of the source text's individual lexemes and word order.

Also significant are the observations at higher levels of discourse concerning collocations (syntagmatic relationships) and text linguistics. The text's uneven nature, especially in terms of stylistic homogeneity, remains striking. Some differences were observed in each section: The legal text manifested a concern for clarity of structure and terminology, while the poetic section saw a greater number of stylistic devices introduced. Nevertheless, these were implemented sporadically and inconsistently. This is apparent in 32:5-6 where in the first verse, a difficult Hebrew text is translated in the most mechanical manner possible,

passing on the interpretative problem to the reader. In verse 6, however, words are rearranged to produce a rhetorical effect contrary to the translator's usual practice.

That being said, it has become apparent that the largest unit of discourse in the translator's scope of work is the legal case, that is, the sequence of conditionals that make up a single case (for example 25:5-10). Otherwise, discourse markers are not translated as pragmatic units but simply as lexical items.¹ The resulting style is consistent in many respects with non-literary Greek of the period, though in several sections its pervasive parataxis borders on the colloquial.² Several of its features would have appeared odd to a reader of this period (and later periods, as has been abundantly documented).³ This was apparent not only in specific renderings, but also at the level of discourse, where target language discourse markers are rarely introduced without warrant from the source text. In the end, though OG Deuteronomy is uneven in terms of cohesion, it is largely coherent as a text. Here also, this corresponds in some respects with Dogniez and Harl's comment to the effect that interference (the reproduction of the source text's word order and syntactic features) yields a strange text that must have sounded harsh ("rude") to its readers.⁴

Another challenge presents itself at this juncture. From the perspective of acceptability, the translation is described in light of the conventions of compositional Greek. However, the

¹ See, however, the discussion concerning the apodotic ἵ which is sometimes omitted.

² Instructive here is Blomqvist, who, broadly speaking, places part of the Septuagint in the mid-level strata of Hellenistic prose based on its use of Greek particles. The more colloquial aspects here observed may perhaps be associated with the lowest strata, which he describes as that of "everyday conversations of unlearned people, only occasionally preserved by written documents." See Jerker Blomqvist, *Greek Particles in Hellenistic Prose* (Lund: Gleerup, 1969), 20. Cf. Voüila, "Septuagint Syntax and Hellenistic Greek," 118.

³ See the research by Léonas, though it applies to the Septuagint corpus more broadly, in Alexis Léonas, *Recherches sur le langage de la Septante*, OBO 211 (Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg, 2005); Alexis Léonas, *L'aube des traducteurs. De l'hébreu au grec : traducteurs et lecteurs de la Bible des Septante (IIIe s. av. J.-C. - IVe s. ap. J.-C.)*, Initiations bibliques 8 (Paris: Cerf, 2007).

⁴ See their comments in chapter 1, section 1.4.1.

evidence at our disposal is heterogeneous in nature. Such conventions vary, notably according to the region (regionalisms), social situation (sociolect), and register.⁵ Moreover, while a particular language use can be deemed unconventional at a particular point in time, this should not imply that it did not become so later. Conventions are inevitably broken as languages and literary genres evolve over time. In some ways, OG Deuteronomy and the other translations of this corpus influenced the development of the Greek language, at least within some circles. Our concern here has been to identify novel uses, when possible against the linguistic evidence available to us from the same period. Some of these uses persisted, but many did not survive outside of Septuagint translations. This is certainly an area where more work is needed.

We now come to the matter of literary and cultural features, and that of the translation's prospective function. Just as there is a danger of overemphasizing the few cases of incoherent Greek, it is also possible to put too much emphasis on its overall conventionality, especially at this level of analysis. Even though the translation is generally well formed, grammatically speaking, we have observed that the resulting text is unlike contemporary examples of speeches, law, and poetry. It certainly does not hide the fact that it is a translation. It could be argued that these characteristics are the outcome of the translator's limited abilities in Greek. However, it has been observed throughout that he is able to render specific expressions according to the grammatical, and even text-linguistic conventions of the target language. The

⁵ See, for example, the criticism leveled by Adams against a characterization of language that ignores such particulars: "The role of language and dialect [as evidence] was insufficiently addressed. The authors sidestepped the issue by suggesting that 'Greek language was the same all over the place' (60), so there is no difference between the Greek used in Egypt and in Judea. Such a position is contested, and additional support would have been helpful. This, however, does not address the issue of second-language acquisition and the potential influence of the native language on rendering a translation into a target language." See *Sean A. Adams, "review of Law, Prophets, and Wisdom, by Johann Cook and Arie van Der Kooij," RBL (2013).*

resulting text is therefore not the product of a deficient knowledge of Greek or target literary conventions. One could argue that some characteristics stem from a lack of experience in translation work. We have noted how in one case at least (6:15), there seems to have been some experimentation in the way a particular phrase is rendered throughout the book, going from a translation calqued on the source to a more conventional Greek expression. But these inconsistencies are also part and parcel of translation work. Overall, the translator was well equipped to deal with the subtleties of Hebrew and Greek syntax, as many renderings demonstrate. He even introduces elements of higher register Greek. The thesis that the Septuagint translators chose this linguistic register unwittingly, or that it reflects their lack of learning does not appear applicable here.⁶ The translation's style is better explained as a conscious choice. Under the assumption that the translator achieved in the main what he set out to do, we may surmise that this style was therefore acceptable (i.e., expected) from the perspective of its production milieu.⁷

This begs the question as to the function this text was originally meant to have (i.e., its prospective function). Based on the above considerations, it seems appropriate to conclude that it was intended as a genuine discourse even though it does not correspond to conventional legal or poetic discourse in the target culture.⁸ While these characteristics may correspond to conventional translation practices in Ptolemaic Egypt, a more precise comparison of the

⁶ *Contra* Joosten, "Rhetorical Ornamentation in the Septuagint: The Case of Grammatical Variation," in *Et sapienter et eloquenter: Studies on Rhetorical and Stylistic Features of the Septuagint*, ed. Eberhard Bons and Thomas J. Kraus, FRLANT 241 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 13–15.

⁷ See the discussion in chapter 2, section 2.2. See also Dhont, "Towards a Comprehensive Explanation for the Stylistic Diversity of the Septuagint Corpus," 398.

⁸ De Crom, *LXX Song of Songs and Descriptive Translation Studies*, 298. De Crom goes on: "Interference is at the heart of its specific literariness rather than a linguistic defect. It is what the translator intended rather than what he was unable to avoid; it was what its readership expected rather than something they would have disapproved of." See De Crom, *LXX Song of Songs and Descriptive Translation Studies*, 300.

findings laid out in this study with contemporary translations is needed in order to refine this hypothesis.⁹ A more literary style was also possible but such literary features were evidently not important concerns or expectations in the translator's sociocultural context.¹⁰ The non-literary character of the translation's style may instead speak to the prestige enjoyed by the source text (and language), to which the translation is made to appear secondary.¹¹ In other words, it would be peripheral in the literary system of the prospective target culture, that of the community for which this translation was produced.

For whom and why remains somewhat of a mystery. We have argued against its purpose being that of a legal code in its production context. Its non-literary character raises questions pertaining to its suitability for a royal library. Other uses may be envisaged. The clarification of the structure and terminology of legal cases, though localized, may point to a context where readers who do not have access to the Hebrew text might want to familiarize themselves with the Torah by recourse to a text that nevertheless retains its Hebraistic flavor.¹²

⁹ Aitken's study is instructive in this respect but the translational features he identifies in Egyptian translations are primarily based on two papyri – both contracts of sale – so that the range of evidence is rather limited. See for example his discussion of prepositions in Aitken, "The Septuagint and Egyptian Translation Methods," 289–90. One could argue that this type of translation is to be expected for contracts. For a broader perspective on translation in the Greco-Roman world, especially that of literary texts, see Sean A. Adams, "Translating Texts: Contrasting Roman and Jewish Depictions of Literary Translations," in *Scholastic Culture in the Hellenistic and Roman Eras: Greek, Latin, and Jewish*, ed. Sean A. Adams (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2019), 147–67, and esp. 155.

¹⁰ Under the assumption that Exodus was translated first and that its Greek version was available to the Deuteronomy translator (see the discussion in chapter 1), we could also argue that the style OG Exodus was another possibility not retained by our translator. Though the two translations are similar, their underlying translational norms were not weighed in the same way, particularly those of word-for-word reproduction and consistency in lexical choices. These differences might point to a change in the expectations concerning what the translation of an authoritative text should look like, or a different context altogether.

¹¹ "Tolerance of interference – and hence the endurance of its manifestations – tends to increase when translation is carried out from a 'major' or highly prestigious language/culture, especially if the target language/culture is 'minor,' or 'weak' in some other sense." See Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies - and Beyond*, 314.

¹² The possibility that OG Deuteronomy was produced to serve as a kind of interlinear for the Hebrew text (i.e., for side-by-side study in order to assist a reader whose Hebrew is deficient) appears improbable. Quantitative and word order differences such as those observed in 25:2 and 32:6 make this translation impractical for such a use. To this we could add the translator's propensity to vary lexical matches in order to avoid repetition. At the same time, OG Deuteronomy is not a commentary proper in that the translator was quite restrained in his explanations, sometimes passing basic interpretative problems on to the reader (see 32:5).

2. FUTURE AVENUES OF RESEARCH

One of the findings discussed in this study is the translator's attentiveness to the text-linguistic features of the translation, especially in the legal section. These observations do not easily fit with the theory which states that the translators operated by working on short segments (two to seven words) at a time without anticipating what follows.¹³ We noted that in the legal section especially, the translator demonstrates awareness of large segments of text. This influences his choice of discourse markers (adversative vs. conjunctive), the alternation of indicative and subjunctive moods, and even the rendering or omission of the apodotic **1**. We found that the translator still manages to introduce conditionality in complex cases while working within the constraints of one-for-one reproduction and serial fidelity, thus preserving in great part the parataxis of the source text. Commenting on the way the translator handled this material, Aejmelaeus argued that overt Greek conditionals were avoided because "this kind of radical change in the course of translation requires a mastering of the wider context and anticipation of the effect clause that follows."¹⁴ But in light of our observations, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the translator is quite familiar with what follows as he works his way around these complex cases. Though this theory should not be entirely discounted, explanations concerning the conditionals studied here should be sought elsewhere.¹⁵ It is perhaps the ambiguity of the Hebrew syntax that motivates and even forces

¹³ This theory has been argued by several members of the so-called Finnish school, a systematic treatment of which can be found in Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, "Beobachtungen zur Arbeitsweise der Septuaginta-Übersetzer," in *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax*, ed. Anneli Aejmelaeus and Raija Sollamo, AASF, Ser.B 237 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1987), 28–39. The theory has been restated and refined more recently in Theo A. W. van der Louw, "The Dynamics of Segmentation in the Greek Pentateuch," in *The Legacy of Soisalon-Soininen: Towards a Syntax of Septuagint Greek*, ed. Tuukka Kauhanen and Hanna Vanonen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2020), 65–80.

¹⁴ Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint*, 17.

¹⁵ It should be possible to distinguish here between the mental process of cognition that focuses on small segments, and the translation process which implies the necessity to read ahead to find out how this segment fits in the context. These are not mutually exclusive.

the translator to undertake the delimitation of the various conditions, at least in these particular cases. As we have argued above, features of this section also point to other factors, among which is an impetus to clarify some aspects of these laws.

Chapter 32 stood out as well for its contrasting tendencies. Striking in this respect is the absence of norms regulating homogeneity of register.¹⁶ On the one hand, the translator employs otherwise unattested and grand words. A number of stylistic flourishes are also deliberately introduced. On the other hand, we saw that a terse paratactic style is favored, to a greater extent than in the other sections under study. The shorter lines of poetry are undoubtedly more conducive to this style, but we also observed that the translator actually introduces parataxis in a few instances. These observations, and the different configuration of translational norms they entail, raise the issue of how to best explain this phenomenon. Perhaps the most likely explanation is that the translator negotiated translational norms differently in this chapter in light of the underlying genre. An argument in favor of this explanation is the uncommon renderings it shares with the rest of the book (προσέχω for **הִצִּיחַ**; ὄστος for **יֶשֶׁר**), which would suggest the same translator is responsible for the whole. It is also not impossible that the translation of this section (or at least parts of it) is the product of a different translator. Two scenarios could be entertained: The first is that a translation of this liturgical text pre-existed OG Deuteronomy and was incorporated by the translator into his work. This scenario is not incompatible with the previous one if one were to assume that the pre-existing translation was revised.¹⁷ Another possibility would be that the reconstructed text at our disposal is in fact not OG but one that has been partially revised. There is very little data

¹⁶ For a similar finding on OG Song of Songs, see De Crom, *LXX Song of Songs and Descriptive Translation Studies*, 291.

¹⁷ This scenario was alluded to in chapter 1, p. 17.

to sustain this view in terms of the extent manuscript evidence, however.¹⁸ More research is needed on this chapter and the rest of the book in order to shed additional light on the matter.

Finally, it should also be noted that DTS can not only highlight innovative uses of language via its analysis of interference, but also accommodate theories of language change as exemplified in the recent developments within cognitive linguistics. As Ross has argued, the vertical relationship between the translation and its source text often triggers innovative uses of language (negative transfer) or propagates marginal ones (positive transfer).¹⁹ In the end, the tension described by Ross between the two maxims of “Communicating like the others [i.e., Greeks] communicate” and of “Translating in a way that closely reflects the Hebrew text” are, generally speaking, the two descriptive categories of DTS that have been adopted in this study: Its acceptability in relation to conventional Greek usage and its adequacy vis-à-vis the source text and its formal features.²⁰ Undoubtedly, translations of the Septuagint can be studied from many angles (including their reception history), but this study has attempted to demonstrate that there is a framework from translation studies available that can be deployed fruitfully for a variety of purposes when studying these translations in the context of their production.

¹⁸ Contrary to Leviticus, where a Qumran fragment would attest to an earlier, unrevised version of the Greek text. See Himbaza, “What Are the Consequences If 4QLXXLev^a Contains Earliest Formulation of the Septuagint.” In the context of Deuteronomy, however, the presence of extensive pre-Hexaplaric fragments renders this possibility less likely.

¹⁹ Ross provides a nicely theorized explanation of the mechanism of positive transfer in William Ross, “The Septuagint as Catalyst for Language Change in the Koine: A Usage-Based Approach,” in *Die Septuaginta – Geschichte, Wirkung, Relevanz: 6. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 21.-24. Juli 2016*, ed. M. Meiser et al., WUNT 405 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 385–87.

²⁰ See Ross, “The Septuagint as Catalyst for Language Change in the Koine: A Usage-Based Approach,” 393–94.

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