



Jer 44(51):25 ועָשָׂה תַעֲשִׂינָה ... הַקִּים תְּקִימוּנָה ... עָשָׂה נַעֲשֶׂה - ποιούσαι  
ποιήσομεν ... ἐμμείνασαι ἐνεμείνατε ... καὶ ποιούσαι ἐποιήσατε

2. Of the various equivalents of the Hebrew construction,<sup>4</sup> the rendering that probably comes closest to the implication of the Hebrew is that which takes the Hebrew as a strengthened expression of the finite verb, reflecting that idea by an adverb. Thus the traditional understanding of, e.g., Gen 15:13 יָדַע תֵּדַע is 'you shall surely know,' and of Gen 40:15 גָּנַב גָּנַבְתִּי 'I was indeed stolen.' The adverb used in Greek may or may not be derived from the same root as the verb.<sup>5</sup>

Gen 32:13	הִשָּׁב אִיטִיב עִמָּךְ	-	καλῶς εὖ σε ποιήσω
Exod 15:1	נָאָה נָאָה	-	ἐνδόξως γὰρ δεδόξασται
Num 22:17	כָּבַד אֶכְבֹּדְךָ	-	ἐντίμως γὰρ τιμήσω σε
1 Sam 20:7	הָרָה יַחֲרָה	-	σκληρῶς ἀποκριθῆ

This type of rendering is rare (see n. 5). The two main renderings used in the LXX are listed below as (3) and (4), occurring with differing frequencies in the various books.

3. A frequently used type of translation renders the infinitive absolute construction with a finite verb together with a Greek noun, either in the dative or, less frequently, in the accusative case, in singular or (rarely) in plural. In this way the close relationship between the verbal forms *qatol* and *qatalty* is transferred to a close relationship between a Greek finite verb and a noun, usually cognate. Constructions such as these existed already in classical Greek (e.g. φυγῆ φεύγω, γάμω/γάμον γαμέω).

Gen 40:15	גָּנַב גָּנַבְתִּי	-	κλοπῆ ἐκλάπην
Gen 43:3	הָעֵד הָעֵד	-	διαμαρτυρία διαμαρτύρηται
Exod 22:15	מָהָר יִמָּהֲרָנָה	-	φευγῆ φερνεί αὐτήν
Exod 23:22	שָׁמוּעַ תִּשְׁמָע	-	ἀκοῆ ἀκούσητε (frequently)

Or in plural, for contextual reasons:

Lev 19:20	וְהִפְתָּה לֹא נִפְדָּתָהּ	-	καὶ ... λύτροις οὐ λελύτρωνται
Lev 24:16	רְגוּם יִרְגְּמוּ	-	λίθοις λιθοβολείτω (also Exod 19:13; 21:28)
Num 23:25	לֹא תִקְבְּנוּ	-	κατάραις καταράση ... αὐτόν

Likewise, with the accusative:<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> For the use and meaning of the infinitive absolute constructions in biblical Hebrew, see Gesenius–Kautzsch, *Grammar*, 342–345; A.B. Davidson, *Hebrew Syntax* (3d ed.; Edinburgh 1912) 116–120; see further earlier studies mentioned by Gesenius–Kautzsch.

<sup>5</sup> The full evidence, referred to in the chart, involves the following verses: Gen 32:13; 37:33; 46:4; Exod 15:1, 21; Num 22:17; 1 Sam 20:7; Jer 25:30; Am 9:8; Prov 23:1, 24; 27:23.

<sup>6</sup> The full evidence, referred to in the chart, involves the following verses: Gen 19:9; 50:15; Exod 21:22; 22:25; Lev 5:19; 7:24; Num 23:11; 27:7; Deut 14:22; 15:10, 14; Josh 24:10;

Exod 22:25	הָבֵל תַּחֲבֹל	-	ἐνεχύρασμα ἐνεχυράσης
Num 23:11	בִּרְכַת בְּרַךְ	-	εὐλόγηκας εὐλογίαν
Num 27:7	נָתַתָּה	-	δόμα δώσεις

Or with a preposition (only once):

Lev 7:24(14)	וְאָכַל לֹא תֹאכְלוּהוּ	-	καὶ εἰς βρωσιν οὐ βρωθήσεται (cf. the Greek context)
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Most renderings of this type use cognate nouns, as illustrated by the above examples. Sometimes this relation is expressed by a noun derived from a supplementary root, such as βρω- and φαγ-:

Gen 2:16	אָכַל תֹּאכְלֶה	-	βρώσει φάγη
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Gen 3:4	מוֹת תָּמוּתוּ	-	θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε
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In other cases cognate nouns differ slightly from the finite verb, representing compounds or related words.<sup>7</sup>

Exod 19:13	סְקוּל יִסְקַל	-	ἐν ... λίθοις λιθοβοληθήσεται
Exod 21:20	נִקְמָ יִנְקַם	-	δίκη ἐκδικηθήτω
Num 11:15	הֲרַגְנִי נֹא הָרַג	-	ἀπόκτεινόν με ἀναιρέσει
Num 35:26	יִצָּא יִצָּא	-	ἐξόδῳ ἐξέλθη
1 Sam 12:25	הָרַע תִּרְעוּ	-	κακία κακοποιήσητε

4. The other main type of rendering represents the close relationship between *qatol* and *qatalty* by a combination of the Greek participle and finite verb, probably as close as the translators could come within the possibilities of the Greek verbal system. In some cases a different vocalization of the Hebrew may be surmised, e.g.

Gen 15:13	γινώσκων γνώση	possibly reflects	תִּדַע תִּדַע instead of תִּדַע תִּדַע
Lev 10:16	ζητῶν ἐξεζήτησεν	possibly reflects	דַּרַשׁ דַּרַשׁ instead of דַּרַשׁ דַּרַשׁ

However, in most cases no different vocalization should be assumed, since the consonantal pattern would be different. E.g.,

Gen 18:10	שׁוּב אֲשׁוּב	-	ἐπαναστρέφω ἤξω
Gen 22:17	בְּרַךְ אֲבִרְכֶךָ	-	εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω σε
Num 30:7	הָיוּ תְהִיָּה	-	γενομένη γένηται

Therefore, the only explanation of these renderings is that the translators considered them an adequate representation of the Hebrew construction.

Judg 20:43A; Isa 22:17; Jer 31:18; 48:2; 50:34; 51:56; Nah 3:13. Twice a different noun is used in the accusative: Gen 37:33; Jer 25:30.

<sup>7</sup> The full evidence, alluded to in the chart, refers to these verses: Exod 17:14; 18:18; 19:13 (2 x); 21:28; 22:18,22; Num 11:15; 35:26.

This type of rendering was used for both active and passive verbal forms. Examples of the latter are:

2 Sam 17:10	הָמָס יָמָס	-	τηκομένη τακήσεται
Jer 10:5	נָשְׂרָא יִנְשְׂרָא	-	αἰρόμενα ἀρθήσονται
Nah 3:13	פְּתוּחַ נִפְתְּחוּ	-	ἀνοιγόμεναι ἀνοιχθήσονται

In these constructions usually the cognate participle of the same root is used, as in the above examples. Sometimes the participle represents a supplementary root, such as λεγ- and εἶπ-:

Gen 18:18	הָיוּ יְהִי	-	γινόμενος ἔσται
Judg 15:2 B	אָמַר אִמְרָתִי	-	λέγων εἶπα
Joel 2:26	וְאָכַלְתֶּם אֶכּוֹל	-	καὶ φάγεσθε ἐσθίοντες

Sometimes<sup>8</sup> a participle of a synonymous verb is used.<sup>9</sup>

Gen 18:10	שׁוּב אָשׁוּב	-	ἐπαναστρέφω ἤξω
Exod 21:5	אָמַר יֹאמַר	-	ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπη
Exod 22:22	צָעַק יִצְעַק	-	κεκράξαντες καταβοήσωσι
Exod 23:4	הִשְׁבֵּת הַשִּׁבְתֵנוּ	-	ἀποστρέψας ἀποδώσεις
Lev 13:7	פֶּשַׁע תִּפְשַׁע	-	μεταβαλοῦσα μεταπέση
Ps 109(108):10	וְנוּעַ יִנוּעוּ	-	σαλευόμενοι μεταναστήτωσαν

At times a compositum is used.

Lev 10:16	דָּרַשׁ דָּרַשׁ	-	ζητῶν ἐξεζήτησεν
Num 12:14	רָקַב רָקַב	-	πτύωv ἐνέπτυσεν

A variant of this type of rendering uses forms of εἶμι or γίγνομαι with adjectives.

Exod 22:12	טָרַף יִטְרַף	-	θηριάλωτον γένηται
Num 22:38	הִכָּל אוֹכַל	-	δυνατὸς ἔσομαι
Isa 40:30	כָּשׁוּל יִכְשָׁלוּ	-	ἀνίσχυες ἔσονται

<sup>8</sup> Thackeray's remark (p. 599) '... where this is used in the Pentateuch an attempt is often made to render it more classical by varying the verb' is imprecise (see the numbers in the chart). This applies also to Thackeray's statement (ibid.) that this habit has been abandoned in the books of the Kingdoms, although the numbers are not large (1 Sam 2:16; 20:3; 2 Kgs 14:10).

<sup>9</sup> In addition to the mentioned instances, see also Lev 14:48; Judg 16:11B; 1 Sam 2:16; 20:3; 2 Kgs 14:10; Jer 37:9; Hab 2:3; Ps 118:13.

In these cases it seems as if the two Greek words together represent only one of the two Hebrew words, but the very use of two different Greek words reflects the translator's wish to represent the *two* words of the Hebrew.

Almost exclusively the participle of the present tense (active, passive, or medium) is used (see the above examples), and for exceptions see the aforementioned Exod 22:2; 23:4 as well as some other instances in which the translator stressed the past aspect expressed by the participle:

1 Sam 14:28           הַשִּׁבְעֵי הַשְּׂבִיעַ   -   ὀρκίσας ὄρκισεν

1 Sam 14:43           טַעַם טַעַמְתִּי           -   γευσάμενος ἐγευσάμην

5. Yet a different way of expressing the infinitive absolute is the use of adjectives. This occurs very rarely in the LXX.<sup>10</sup>

Num 13:30           יְכוּל נֹכַח           -   δυνατοὶ δυνησόμεθα

Amos 7:11           נָלָה יִנְלָה           -   αἰχμάλωτος ἀχθήσεται

6. Combinations of *qatol qatalty* are often rendered by a Greek finite verb only, as if the translator gave up an attempt to find a suitable equivalent for the two words of the Hebrew. In some of these cases the translator may have known a shorter *Vorlage*, but in most cases different translation techniques must be presumed. The relatively large number of such renderings in Isaiah (see below) probably points in this direction.<sup>11</sup>

Gen 27:30           וַיְהִי אֶךְ יָצָא יָצָא   -   καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἐξῆλθεν

Gen 30:16           כִּי שָׁכַר שְׂכַרְתִּיךָ   -   μεμίσθωμαι γάρ σε

Gen 43:7           הִרְדּוּעַ נָדַע           -   μὴ ἤδειμεν

Isa 24:20           נוֹעַ תְּנוּעַ           -   ἔκλινε

Isa 56:3           הַבְּהֵל יִבְרִילָנִי   -   ἀφοριεῖ με ἄρα

7. Translations which do not express the special meaning of the Hebrew construction are rare:<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> The full evidence, referred to in the chart, involves the following verses: Gen 44:28; Num 13:30; Amos 7:11,17; Job 14:18 (sub ast.).

<sup>11</sup> The full evidence, referred to in the chart, involves the following verses: Gen 8:7; 20:7; 24:5; 27:30; 30:16; 31:30; 43:7,20; Exod 2:19; 5:23; 12:9; 21:19,36; 22:2,4,5,11,13; 23:5; Lev 10:18; 13:22; 20:13; 27:19; Num 21:2; 22:37; 24:11; Josh 6:13; 9:24; 23:12,13; Judg 11:25A,35A; 14:12A; 1 Sam 2:30 (= 4QSam<sup>a</sup>); 20:28; 23:22; 27:1; 2 Sam 3:24; 2 Kgs 5:11; Isa 10:16; 22:7; 24:20; 35:2; 36:15; 50:2,2; 55:2; 56:3; 59:11; Jer 11:7,12; 22:4; 42:15; 49:12; Ezek 1:3; 25:12; 31:11; Am 3:5; Zech 8:21; Ps 50:21; Prov 23:5; Lam 3:20; Est 4:14.

<sup>12</sup> The full evidence, referred to in the chart, involves the following verses: Gen 26:11; Exod 22:3, 12; 34:7; Num 22:38; Josh 7:7; 17:13; 2 Kgs 3:23; Isa 40:30; Jer 44:25 (3 x); Ezek 33:16; Hos 10:15; Job 13:5,10, 17; 21:2; Dan 11:10.

Gen 26:11 מוֹת יוֹמָהּ - θανάτω (θανάτου) ἔνοχος ἔσται. The almost universal LXX equivalent, θανάτω with a verb of killing or dying, also employed in Gen 2:17; 3:4, was not used here.

Job 13:10 הוֹכַח יוֹכִיחַ אֲחֵכֶם - οὐθὲν ἤπτον ἐλέγξει ὑμᾶς

On the basis of the aforementioned techniques we can sometimes reconstruct from the LXX infinitive absolute constructions not found in MT.<sup>13</sup>

Gen 19:17 הַמְלֵט עַל נַפְשֶׁךָ - σῶζων σῶζε τὴν σεαυτοῦ ψυχὴν  
= מְלֵט הַמְלֵט עַל נַפְשֶׁךָ?

Num 30:6 הֵינִי - ἀνανεύων ἀνανεύση  
= הֵינִי יֵנִיא (thus SP)

Jer 3:1 הַיָּשׁוּב - μὴ ἀνακάμπτουςα ἀνακάμψαι  
= הַיָּשׁוּב יָשׁוּב?

Jer 31(38):33 נִתְּתִי אֶת תּוֹרָתִי - διδοὺς δώσω νόμους μου  
= נִתְּתִי אֶת תּוֹרָתִי

2

The distribution of the various types of renderings in the books of the LXX is indicated in the chart with the following abbreviations:

1. Finite verb with participle
  - p finite verb with *participle*
  - pd idem, with *different verb*
  - pc idem, with *compositum*
2. aj finite verb with *adjective*
3. - finite verb only
4. v *varia*
5. Finite verb with noun
  - nd cognate *noun* in *dative*
  - ndd idem, *different noun*
  - na cognate *noun* in *accusative*
  - nad idem, *different noun*
6. ad finite verb with *adverb*

Notes to the chart:

1. Hebrew infinitive absolutes reconstructed from the LXX are indicated in the chart as '(+1).'

2. The statistics apply only to instances recognized by the translators as infinitives absolutes, disregarding textual problems:

<sup>13</sup> The full evidence, referred to in the chart, involves the following verses: Gen 19:17; 47:22; Exod 11:9; 22:19; 23:22; Lev 24:21; Num 30:6; 35:21; Deut 13:16; 15:10; 1 Sam 2:25 2 x (= 4QSam<sup>a</sup>); 2 Sam 20:18; 2 Kgs 11:15; Isa 19:22; Jer 3:1; 7:4; 22:24; 31:33; 32:28; 34:2.

Exod 21:19	רק שבתו ית' וְרָפָא ירפא	-	πλήν τῆς ἀργίας αὐτοῦ ἀποτεῖσει καὶ τὰ ἰατρεία
Josh 7:7	העברת העביר	-	διεβίβασεν ὁ παῖς σου (עבד)
Job 13:17	שמעו שמוע שמעו?)	-	ἀκούσατε ἀκούσατε (שמעו?)

3. Infinite absolute constructions lacking in the LXX (e.g., Josh 6:13) are not included in the chart.

Book	p <sup>14</sup>	pd	pc	aj	—	v	nd	na	nad	ndd	ad
Genesis	11(+1)	1	1	1	8	1	12(+1)	2	1		2
Exodus	2	3			11	3	17(+2)	2		8	2
Leviticus	5	2	1		4		23(+1)	2			
Numbers	4		2	1	3		11(+1)	2		1	1
Deut	9(+1)						21(+2)	2(+1)			
Joshua	1				3	1		1			
Judges-A	9				3		10				
Judges-B	13	1				2	6				
1 Samuel	26(+2)	2			4		4			1	1
2 Samuel	13(+1)				1		6				
1 Kings	11						4				
2 Kings	2(+1)	1			1	1	6(+1)				
Isaiah	2				10		9(+1)	1			
Jeremiah	25(+3)	1			5		12(+1)	4	1		(+1)
Ezekiel	2				3	1	18				
Min Pr	12	1	1	2	2	1	2	1	1		1
Psalms	5	2			1		1				
Job				1		4	1				
Proverbs					1						3
Lam	4				1						
Ruth							1				
Esther	1				1						
Canticles							1				
Neh							1				
1 Chron	4										
2 Chron	2										
Book	p	pd	pc	aj	—	v	nd	na	nad	ndd	ad
Daniel						1			1		
Sirach	1				1		2	1			

<sup>14</sup> This group includes supplementary forms, such as λέγω and εἶπον.

### Conclusions:

1. The two main types of renderings use either cognate participles (*p*, *pc*) or nouns in the dative or accusative (*nd*, *ndd*, *na*, *nad*). Some books display a relatively large number of renderings reflecting only finite forms of the verb (-).

2. Some books reflect a distinct preference for a certain construction. The following books prefer the noun constructions: Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Judges A, Ezekiel. The participle construction is preferred in Judges B, 1-2 Samuel, 1 Kings, Jeremiah, and the Minor Prophets. In other books the statistics are not conclusive. The one book in which the rendering by the finite verb only occurs frequently is Isaiah (see below). It is hard to know whether the distinction between the two major types of renderings is that between the early and late translation units. For example, in Genesis, probably the earliest translation, they are equally distributed. Likewise, it is difficult to know whether the different types of translation reflect a different approach towards the translation technique. Since the participle construction seems to be a more literal reflection of the Hebrew than the noun construction, it may have been more at home in literal translation units. This assumption fits the difference between the A and B manuscripts of Judges (see below), and probably also that of the other books, but for several books there is too little evidence.

3. Greek passive verbal forms tend to be used together with the noun construction rather than with passive participles, probably because the translators found the use of the passive participle together with finite forms too complex. However, as the use of passive verbal forms is rather rare, it cannot be claimed that they determined the choice between one of the two major systems of representation.<sup>15</sup>

4. The statistics should be analyzed cautiously and cannot be taken at face value. Contents must be taken into consideration, especially in books containing a relatively large number of identical renderings. Thus in 2 Kings containing 6 instances of the noun construction as against 3 of the participle construction nevertheless the latter is more frequent, since all instances of the former pertain to renderings of *מִוֹת תְּמוֹת*, et sim., and *חִיָּה תְּחִיָּה*. These two Hebrew constructions constitute also the majority (12) of the 18 noun constructions in Ezekiel.

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<sup>15</sup> Thackeray's statement (*Grammar*, 598) that 'the construction with the noun is always used in the Pent. where the verb is in the passive' is indeed correct for the Pentateuch, but not for the other books (see, e.g., 1 Sam 2:27; 2 Sam 17:11; Jer 3:1; Am 5:5; Ps 118:13).



5. Translators did not distinguish between the translation of phrases of the type *qatol qatalty* and the reverse sequence *qatalty qatol*.

6. The A text of Judges, preferring the noun construction, differs from the B text, otherwise known to be more literal, preferring the participle construction, E.g.,

Judg 7:19	הקם הקימו	A	ἐγέρσει ἤγειρεν
		B	ἐγείροντες ἤγειραν
Judg 11:30	נתון"תתן	A	παραδώσει παραδῶς
		B	διδούς δῶς
Judg 17:3	הקדש הקדשתו	A	ἀγιασμῶ ἡγίασα
		B	ἀγιάζουσα ἡγίακα

7. Only Exodus and Isaiah contain a significant number of finite forms rendering the two-word phrase. These should be considered free translation options. The only other conglomeration of unusual translation options is in Job, which contains more unconventional than conventional renderings. This, too, indicates a free approach to the translation.

Content analysis:

1. Since Greek has no exact equivalent for the infinitive absolute construction, different translation options developed, of which two have become firmly established. The first translators probably established certain translation habits, while later translators learned from earlier ones. In this regard one should note the distribution in Genesis in which the two main constructions are used in an equally large number of instances, while in the next books of the Torah the noun construction prevails. Probably the translator of Genesis was still searching for the right type of rendering for the Hebrew construction.

2. Every translation unit contains exceptions to the majority rendering, although it is unclear under what conditions the majority rendering was abandoned. One possible explanation for such exceptions in the Torah would be that the participle construction was used when no appropriate cognate or other noun was found. This explanation would apply to such verbs as *בוא* and *היה*, but not for *שאל*, *נתן*, *ידע*, etc. For the Torah and the other books the main reason for the different translation habits appears to be inconsistency.

3. A different explanation pertains to translation units which prefer the participle construction and in which noun constructions are often found. Since the noun constructions are preferred in four of the books of

the Torah, it seems that the translational tradition was often instrumental, especially for a few frequently occurring expressions. This applies especially to the noun constructions rendering מוֹת תְּמוּת et sim. (46 x in the Bible; no exceptions), and חִיה תְּחִיה, et sim. (6 times in the Bible; no exceptions), as visible in 2 Kings, Ezekiel and 1 Samuel. In 1 Samuel the noun construction forms the minority rendering (five instances, four of which pertain to מוֹת תְּמוּת: 14:39,44; 22:16). Likewise, throughout the LXX there is considerable consistency concerning the rendering of שְׂמַעְתִּי שְׂמַע, etc. (ἀκούῃ ἀκούω, et sim.).

4. At the same time, one often encounters internal inconsistency within one verse, context, or translation unit, such as in:

Lev 13:7	פְּשָׁה תִפְשָׁה	-	μεταβαλοῦσα μεταπέση
Lev 13:27	פְּשָׁה תִפְשָׁה	-	διαχύσει διαχέηται
Lev 13:35	פְּשָׁה יִפְשָׁה	-	διαχύσει διαχέηται
Judg 11:25	הַטּוֹב טוֹב אַתָּה ... הַרְרוּב	-	μὴ κρείσσων εἶ σὺ ... μὴ μάχη
	רַב ... אִם נִלְחָם נִלְחָם	-	ἐμαχέσατο ... ἢ πολεμῶν ἐπολέμησεν

In the same chapters of Jeremiah combinations of the infinitive absolute with finite forms of נָתַתְּ are rendered both with a noun (32:4; 34:2 [not in MT]) and a participle (31:33 [not in MT]; 32:28 [not in MT]; 38:3).

5. Infinitive absolute constructions involving a specific Hebrew root are rendered differently in the LXX as a whole as well as within individual translation units. This fact underlines our contention that the preferences of the translators were more instrumental in determining the different renderings than anything else. Thus combinations with יָדַע are rendered with a noun in the dative (Jer 40:14), a participle (Gen 15:13; 1 Sam 20:3,9; 28:1; 1 Kgs 2:37,42; Jer 26:15; 42:19), an adverb (Prov 27:23) and with a finite verb only (Gen 43:7; Josh 23:13). Combinations with נָתַתְּ are rendered with a noun in the dative (Gen 47:22; Judg 11:30; Jer 32:4; 34:2) or the accusative (Num 27:7), a participle (Deut 15:10; Judg 8:25; 2 Sam 5:19; Jer 31:33; 32:28; 38:3) or with a finite verb only (Num 21:2). The consistently rendered occurrences of a few combinations, such as mentioned in remark 3, are the exception rather than the rule.