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Stellenbosch University
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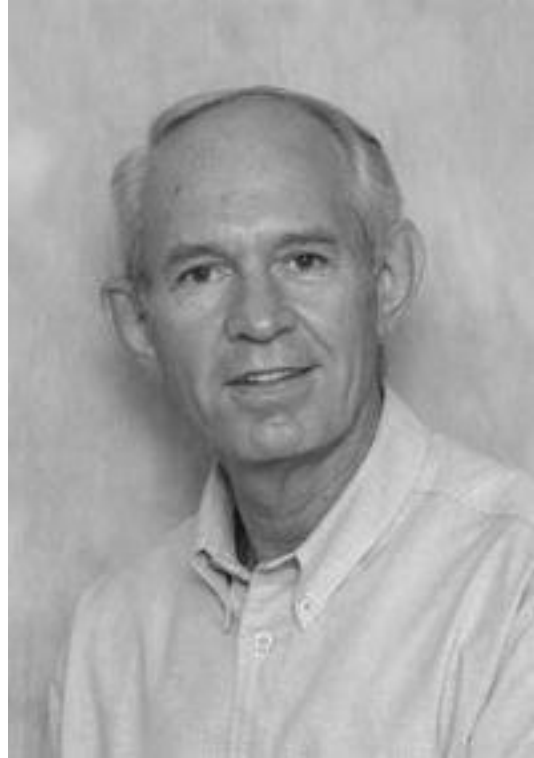
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DEDICATION TO JOHANN COOK AND PAUL A KRUGER



Prof. Johann Cook



Prof. Paul A Kruger

This volume of *JNSL* is dedicated to Johann Cook and Paul A Kruger who both retired at the end of 2013.

Johann Cook received his D.Litt. in Semitic Languages in 1982. In 1981 he was appointed as lecturer and in 1992 as Associate Professor. He supervised various Masters and Doctoral studies.

His research was primarily on the Septuagint, textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible, the Qumran corpus, and the Peshitta. He received various research grants, both locally and abroad, including a joint project of the National Research Foundation of South Africa and the Federal Republic of Germany. Johann received the Stellenbosch University Rector's Award for Excellence in Research at two occasions and is a rated researcher of the National Research Foundation of South Africa.

His publications include the monograph on LXX Proverbia (Cook 1997), most recently a co-authored monograph on the provenance of the LXX (Cook & van der Kooij 2012) and various edited volumes (most recently Cook & Stipp 2012).

Johann served on the editorial board and as guest editor of *JNSL* over several years and on the editorial board of the journals *Aram* and *Journal for Semitics*. He was the chairperson of the Southern African Society for Near Eastern Studies (SASNES) and is currently the president of the International Organization of the Old Testament (IOSOT) which conference will take place in Stellenbosch in 2016.

His contribution to academia is especially on the ancient versions of the Hebrew Bible. Johann is well-known for his humor and his willingness to spend time in helping students.

For a more complete CV and list of publications see <http://sun025.sun.ac.za/portal/page/portal/Arts/Departments/ancient-studies/docs-images/COOKCVeng2012.pdf>

Paul Albertus Kruger completed his D.Litt. in Semitic Languages in 1983. He received various research grants, including a stipendium of the *Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst* (DAAD) to do research in Tübingen. In 1977 he was appointed as lecturer and in 1997 as Associate Professor. Various Masters and Doctoral studies were supervised by him.

His research was primarily on the conceptual world of the Ancient Near East/Hebrew Bible with regard to symbolic gestures, emotions, the phenomenon of prophecy and the *mundus inversus*. Paul is a rated researcher of the National Research Foundation of South Africa.

His publications include various articles and chapters (most recently Kruger 2009; 2010; 2012) and for the popular market, a book on the prophet Hosea and a commentary on Habakuk.

Paul served on the editorial board and as guest editor of *JNSL* over several years. He also served on the executive of the Southern African Society for Near Eastern Studies (SASNES).

His contribution to the academic world is especially in understanding the conceptual world of the cultures of the Ancient Near East. Paul is well-known for his well-organized classes, but also for his fitness.

For a more complete CV and list of publications see http://sun025.sun.ac.za/portal/page/portal/Arts/Departments/ancient-studies/docs-images/Kruger_CVEngels2011_abbreviated.pdf.

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Emanuel Tov (Hebrew University, Jerusalem)

THE READING TRADITION OF THE MT GROUP COMPARED WITH THAT OF THE SEPTUAGINT

ABSTRACT

This study discusses internal differences within the scriptural reading tradition, which were initially oral with regard to the Hebrew Bible, but appeared in written form in the ancient translations made from the biblical text. We focus on the differences in meaning between MT and the reading tradition of the LXX. This study describes the various areas in which these reading differences occur, as part of active traditions and in the translators' conjectural renderings. We present a classification of the various groups of reading differences between the LXX and MT and conclude with the general impression that the number of differences between MT+ and the LXX is relatively small.

1. BACKGROUND

Until the ninth century of the Common Era all Hebrew biblical texts lacked vocalisation. Although a reading tradition existed for the Scripture text and portions were being read in public, until that time this tradition had not been presented in a written form. This study discusses internal differences within the scriptural reading tradition, which were initially oral with regard to the Hebrew Bible, but appeared in written form in the ancient translations made from the biblical text. Differences of this type are conventionally described as deviations from the MT group,¹ since that text incorporates the only Hebrew reading tradition recorded in writing.

Two main components of the reading practice may be recognised: the semantic content of the reading and its written realisations. We will not deal with the technicalities of the latter type, focusing instead on the former, that is, differences in meaning between MT and the reading traditions of the ancient translations, especially the LXX. Some of these different vocalisations are preferable to MT, while others are not. We will describe the various areas in which these reading differences occur. A specific point of interest is the extent of the agreement between MT and the LXX.

1 Our main interest is the reading tradition of the MT itself, closely followed by the Targumim, Peshitta and the Vulgate, although each of them also differs occasionally from MT. Together these witnesses are called the MT group (= MT+).

2. IDENTIFICATION OF DIFFERENT READING PRACTICES

Translators had to express a view with regard to elements not explicitly indicated in their *Vorlage*, viz., the *reading* of the letters, the division between words and sentences, and the divisions within the sentence. In the case of the reading of the letters, the translators' decision was sometimes facilitated by the use of *matres lectionis*, but more frequently translators found no help in the Hebrew text. It is, however, reasonable to assume that at the time of the translation, the public reading of the consonantal text of many Scripture segments was a common practice and may therefore be considered part of the transmission of the text to which translators could have had recourse. Otherwise they had to depend on their common sense in understanding the context. Consequently, the reconstruction of the reading (vocalisation) and the word division may, with due caution, be treated as elements of the transmission of the Hebrew text, even though they were not explicitly indicated in the early manuscripts.

This study focuses on assumed differences in vocalisation between MT and the *Vorlage* of the LXX, when their consonantal text was *identical*, with the possible exclusion of *matres lectionis*. In such cases, the process of reconstructing the vocalisation resembles that of reconstructing the consonantal text and is, in fact, a part of that process. One compares individual words in the LXX with their counterparts in MT, while isolating elements that reflect MT, both consonants and their vocalisation.²

Reconstructed vocalisations that differ from MT are referred to as "different vocalisations". This term and, indeed, the entire process presupposes that the translators vocalised or read their text in a certain way. From a historical point of view it would be more precise to say that the translators *read* their text in a given way, but the term vocalisation is used anachronistically for the sake of clarity. This term is used in a general sense, for often the translators were not aware of the precise reading of the vowels in the words they were rendering.³

2 When dealing with minute details such as vowels, one specific form of MT is used as the basis for the collation of these differences. Thus codex Leningrad B 19A is used by the *Biblia Hebraica* series and the Aleppo codex by the *Hebrew University Bible*.

3 See Tov (1997:106-110).

Ultimately, it is not known exactly how the translators identified the reading of the letters in their *Vorlage*, whether through the use of oral or written sources. Indeed, a combination of these sources should probably be taken into consideration. Barr (1990. 1967) and Tov (1997:106-110) thought in a general sense about oral tradition, while Schorch (2006) countered that such reading traditions did not circulate until the first century BCE. Likewise, according to van der Kooij (2000; 1998:121-122), little is known about the oral reading of Scripture, and it is more likely that the translators were trained in the reading of the biblical text in school-like environments. According to Schorch (2006:54), the translators were guided by “parabiblical traditions current among Second Temple Judaism”. I agree with Schorch’s conclusion that “the Greek translation of the Pentateuch is not based on a fixed oral reading tradition of the unvocalized Hebrew text” (Schorch 2006:54), but I find the assumption of the “parabiblical traditions” rather vague. The translators were probably guided by some form of tradition, some training, and even more so by their own intuition, as we see from their manifold mistakes. In addition to these assumptions, we should consider the prophets’ knowledge of the Torah (especially Jeremiah’s use of Deuteronomy and Ezekiel’s use of Leviticus), which undoubtedly involved the reading of those books, as well as the public reading of the Torah by Ezra (see Neh 8), and Ben Sira’s reading of the whole Bible, which must have involved the understanding of each and every word. In the light of these considerations, credence must be given to the general and abstract notion that the translators could have been aware of a “tradition” of reading Scripture.

3. *RELIABILITY OF THE RECONSTRUCTION*

All identifications of different reading practices are subjective, to the same extent that reconstructed readings are subjective. We are concerned here with reconstructed vocalisations when the letters of MT and those of the LXX’s *Vorlage* were presumably *identical*. In some cases the reconstruction may be considered more reliable,⁴ such as when identical Greek-Hebrew equivalents exist elsewhere, the reconstructed vocalisations are preferable to MT, and when external support is found.

4 For examples, see Tov (2012:114-116).

4. THE TRANSLATORS AND THE READING PRACTICE

All vocalisations reflect exegesis, but not all of them are based on exegetical *traditions*. Since Scripture was read aloud from a certain period onwards, a reading tradition must have developed pertaining to the consonantal text. At the same time, one sometimes senses the involvement of the translators themselves when their difficulties in establishing the meaning of words are apparent. It remains hard to distinguish between reading traditions and the translators' decisions, but the former may be identified when a rendering is shared by several translations and the latter when the translator is faced with objective difficulties in the text.

Conjecture must have played an important part in the translator's attempt to understand his *Vorlage*, not only with regard to the consonants (cf. Tov 1999), but also with regard to their reading. It is difficult to discern whether a certain vocalisation reflects uncertainty on the part of the translator. However, when a *rare or unique* word of MT is represented in the LXX by a more common word, it is possible that the translator had difficulty in establishing its meaning. This assumption was recognised early on in the study of vocalisation differences. Thus Schuurmans Stekhoven (1887:97) noted that when faced with different options of understanding the Hebrew, the translators always chose the easy one, even if the choice made little sense in the context. For example,

Micha 7:3	עַל־הָרַע כְּפַיִם לְהִיטִיב הַשָּׂר שׂאֵל וְהַשֹּׁפֵט בְּשִׁלּוּם Their hands are skilled to do evil; the official and the judge ask for a bribe.
LXX	ἐπὶ τὸ κακὸν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἐτοιμάζουσιν ὁ ἄρχων αἰτεῖ, καὶ ὁ κριτῆς εἰρηνικοὺς (λόγους ἐλάλησεν) = בְּשִׁלּוּם
NETS	They prepare their hands for evil; the ruler requests, and the judge (has spoken) peaceful (words)

The translator did not recognise *shillum* (bribe), appearing only here in this sense in Scripture, translating it as *shalom* instead, adapting his translation to the new understanding in conjunction with the adjacent words.

Further:

Amos 1:6	עַל־שְׁלֹשָׁה פְּשָׁעֵי עֲזָה וְעַל־אַרְבָּעָה לֹא אֲשִׁיבֵנּוּ עַל־הַגְּלוֹתָם גְּלוֹת שְׁלָמָה לְהַסְגִּיר לְאֶדוֹם For three transgressions of Gaza, and for four, I will not revoke the punishment; because they carried into exile entire communities, to hand them over to Edom.
----------	--

- LXX Ἐπὶ ταῖς τρισὶν ἀσεβείαις Γάζης καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς τέσσαρσιν οὐκ ἀποστραφήσομαι αὐτούς, ἔνεκεν τοῦ αἰχμαλωτεῦσαι αὐτοὺς αἰχμαλωσίαν τοῦ Σαλωμων τοῦ συγκλεῖσαι εἰς τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν.
= הַמְלִיץ
- NETS For three impious acts of Gaza, and for four, I will not turn away from them, because of their capturing a captivity of Salomon, to shut (them)⁵ up in Idumea.

Amos castigates Gaza for exiling entire communities, a situation comparable to the other sins mentioned in this chapter. *Galut* appears in Scripture both as “exile” and “exiled community”, and the latter meaning was probably misunderstood by the translator. Indeed, the word does not appear elsewhere with a descriptive adjective (*shelemah*), which may be one reason for the translator’s mistake, the other one being the fact that elsewhere it is followed mainly by personal names.⁶ In this light, the translator’s mistake is understandable, and we need not try to identify a historical situation that would fit the LXX.⁷

We consider conjectural renderings like the ones mentioned above incorrect. That is, they do not represent a reading tradition, but resulted from the translator’s difficulties in rendering his source text or his misunderstanding of that text. Sometimes his renderings, born out of difficulties, make little sense as in the following examples:

- 1 Sam 11:5 וְהִנֵּה שָׂאוּל בָּא אַחֲרַי הַבֶּקֶר מִן־הַשָּׂדֶה
Now Saul was coming from the field behind the oxen
- LXX καὶ ἰδοὺ Σαουλ ἤρχετο μετὰ τὸ πρωὶ ἐξ ἀγροῦ = הַבֶּקֶר
- NETS And behold, Saoul was coming from the field after the early morning

The context is clearly agricultural. Saul is in the field, and oxen are mentioned in v. 7 (“He took a yoke of oxen”). However, the Greek translator missed the point in v. 5, having Saul come “after the morning”, reading בֶּקֶר instead. This is clearly a wrong rendering that, incidentally, the translator should have caught upon reaching v. 7, but he never went back to v. 5 (nor did later revisers of the OG).

- Gen 38:14 כִּי רָאִתָּה בִּי־גִדְלֵל שְׁלֵה וְהוּא לֹא־נִתְּנָה לִּי לְאִשָּׁה

5 Parenthesis signs added (ET).

6 For example, “the exile of Jehoiachin King of Judah” (2 Kgs 25:27; Jer 52:31; cf. Ezek 1:2); *galut kush*, “the exiles of Nubia” (Isa 20:4).

7 Thus Glenny (2009:137-138).

	She saw that Shelah was grown up, yet she had not been given to him in marriage
LXX	ἶδεν γὰρ ὅτι μέγας γέγονεν Σηλωμ, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκ ἔδωκεν αὐτὴν αὐτῷ γυναῖκα = הַנְּתִיב
NETS	he saw that Selom had become full-grown, yet he did not give her to him as a wife

The text of MT has to be viewed in conjunction with the preceding verses. According to v. 11, “Then Judah said to his daughter-in-law Tamar, ‘Remain a widow in your father’s house until my son Shelah grows up’”. However, according to the present verse, she realised that she had not been given to him in marriage, and she then waited for Judah at the road. In the Greek translation the Niph‘al form of הַנְּתִיב was not recognised and the word was vocalised as הַנְּתִיב. At the same time, הוּהוּ was not read as the feminine *hi*, as in MT, but as the masculine *hu*. The resulting translation makes little sense, since Shelah could not have given himself Tamar as a wife.⁸

5. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

As in the case of consonants reconstructed from the LXX, each reconstruction of a vocalisation must be evaluated separately, since some of them are better supported than others.⁹ The assumption that the LXX reflects variant vocalisations is described in several general discussions.¹⁰ Similar interest has been shown in the vocalisation variants reconstructed in the individual books.¹¹ Different vocalisations underlying the other

8 On the other hand, Skinner (1930:453) prefers the LXX.

9 The reconstructions of Wutz (1937:36-76) serve a certain theory. Most of the examples of “deviating vocalisations” of the LXX from MT in these pages are meant to prove his theory that the Greek translation was made from a Hebrew text transliterated in Greek letters. On the other hand, the examples in another monograph by that author (Wutz 1933a:85-87) are relevant for the topic under investigation.

10 Cappellus (1650:16-34); Toepler (1830:5-6); Perles (1895:61-67); Perles (1922:56-69); Delitzsch (1920:60-80); Wutz (1933a:36-76; 1933b); Prijs (1948:52-53); Tov (1997:105-121).

11 At an early stage, Frankel (1851:166-167 [Leviticus], 173-174 [Numbers]) analysed such readings. Similar groups of examples have been provided in other monographic studies (arranged chronologically), such as Schuurmans

translations have been analysed as well. The most detailed discussions are the vocalisations underlying the Targumim as analysed by Weiss (1979:113-142) and Sperber (1992:351-357).¹² See also the discussion of the Vulgate by Kedar-Kopfstein (1969:41-46).

6. *THE READING TRADITION OF MT*

The translators based their exegesis on an unvocalised text, which they approached with the aid of the limited resources at their disposal, and in doing so they usually performed a good job. However, like the translators, the Masoretes also faced difficulties in understanding the text and had to make choices. In both cases we deal with exegetical traditions that were more alive in the area of Hebrew manuscripts than in the court of the translators. As a rule, the vocalisation of MT is closer to the original understanding of the text, but sometimes MT also reflects a misunderstanding.¹³ For example,

2 Kgs 23:11	מבא בית־יהוה	
		from coming to the house of the Lord
LXX		ἐν τῇ εἰσόδῳ οἴκου κυρίου = T S V
NETS		in the entrance of the Lord's house = מבא

The vocalisation of MT reflects a mistake (thus also Delitzsch 1920:69); the reading of LXX T S V, also tacitly accepted in RSV and NJPS (at the entrance to/of the house of the Lord) is preferable.

7. *CLASSIFICATION?*

The vocalisations underlying the LXX reflect exegesis to the same extent as the vocalisation tradition embedded in MT. There is no absolute proof that one tradition reflects the original intention of the biblical authors more than the other, though usually the evidence points to MT+ as reflecting that original intention better. However, there are many

Stekhoven (1887:97, 123); Jansma (1949:44-45); Allen (1974a:216-234); Glenny (2009:125-140). The latter two stand out in their thoroughness.

12 Sperber reconstructs some 150 variant vocalisations in T, subdivided into several categories: confusion of substantives (different nouns, like *banayik/bonayik*); confusion of verbs; substantive instead of verb; construct/absolute state; number: sg/pl; adjective/substantive/ verb; interrogative *he*; *mapiq*; Qal/Hiph'il; active/passive; tenses; number of verbs; consecutive *waw*; adjustment to context.

13 Several such examples were indicated by Allen (1974a:67-175).

exceptions; some of them are exemplified here, while others were collected by Delitzsch.¹⁴

When analysing the reading differences between MT and the LXX, one wonders in which way these differences need to be classified, if at all. Referring to complete Scripture, Delitzsch (1920:60-80) made a formal distinction between nominal and verbal forms, the latter subdivided into different verbal categories, while Allen chose to identify the vocalisation differences in Chronicles into various grammatical categories.¹⁵ Sperber chose a similar route for the Targum (see n. 12 above).

I do not know to what degree these or any other subdivisions into grammatical categories are relevant to our understanding of the vocalisations. All vocalisations reflect the exegesis of the translator, who most likely did not work with grammatical categories and subdivisions in mind. The main groups seem to be (1) the translator's exegesis and traditions known to him, and (2) misunderstandings and misconceptions. This classification comes close to the understanding in Glenny, who divided the evidence in Amos into three groups.¹⁶

14 Possibly the impressive collection of examples by Delitzsch (1920:60-80) that included many "Fehler der Vokalisierung bzw. Punktierung" in MT influenced generations of scholars, who subsequently identified too many supposed "vocalisation errors" in MT. The main purpose of Delitzsch's examples is to show that MT is often erroneous, and he suggests replacement with emendations and variant readings found in one of the versions.

15 In the analysis by Allen (1974b:67-80) the data are subdivided into the following categories: names in MT taken as common nouns; common nouns taken as names; different forms of common noun, including participial; nouns taken as verbs; verbs taken as nouns or adjectives; singular nouns taken as plural in MT; plural nouns for singular; absolute and construct confused; confusion over prepositions; confusion over pronouns; verbs: different roots; verbs: change of conjugations or voice; change of mood; change of person and/or number; confusion of strong and weak *waw*; diacritical point. There is no explicit mention of exhaustiveness in Allen's analysis, but the analysis is probably meant to be so.

16 Glenny (2009:125-140). The different groups of vocalisation differences (named "homographs" by Glenny) are: (1) translator's lack of understanding; (2) immediate context; (3) wider context.

7.1 *The translator's exegesis and traditions known to him*

The main factors determining the translator's vocalisations are his understanding of the biblical words in their context, and secondarily also tradition. The importance of the tradition for choosing the vocalisations cannot be determined, and only if other translations agree with the LXX does such an assumption seem certain. Most examples given above pertain to the translator's exegesis and his exegetical traditions, while some may be ascribed to his misunderstandings. However, some of those misunderstandings are common to more than one source.

7.2 *Misunderstandings and misconceptions*

A large number of the "incorrect" vocalisations of the LXX derived from the translators' misunderstandings. It is therefore no coincidence that two scholars who analysed vocalisation differences (named "homographs" by Glenny) in Amos ascribed all of them to the translator's misunderstandings.¹⁷

The next paragraphs exemplify *mistakes* made by the Greek translator. Such mistakes have also been described above, but we now classify them in groups of opposite examples, in all cases exemplifying difficulties in the text.

7.2.1 Names represented as common nouns or other forms

A number of names were misrepresented as common nouns, sometimes in lists of names, especially in Chronicles.

Gen 14:5	וַיִּכּוּ אֶת־רִפְּאִים בְּעַשְׂתָּרֶת קַרְנַיִם וְאֶת־הַזּוּזִים בְּהָם and subdued the Rephaim in Ashteroth-karnaim, the Zuzim in Ham
LXX	καὶ κατέκοψαν τοὺς γίγαντας τοὺς ἐν Αστάρωθ Καρναιν καὶ ἔθνη ἰσχυρὰ ἅμα αὐτοῖς = בְּהָם
NETS	and cut down the giants who were in Astaroth Karnain and strong nations together with them

The place name Ham (in Ham, בְּהָם) was mistaken as the independent pronoun בְּהָם.¹⁸

17 An earlier study of Gelston (2006), likewise of Amos, analyses instances of "homonyms", "differences of vocalization", and "confusion of roots".

18 V takes a middle course; it transliterates Zuzim, but fails to recognize "Ham" (*et Zuzim cum eis*). S and T take a different middle course ("and the strong ones in Ham").

1 Chr 8:30-31	וּבְנֵי הַבְּכוֹר עֲבֵדוֹן וְצוּר וְקִישׁ וּבְעֵל וְנָדָב ³¹ וְגִדְדוֹר וְאַחִיו זֶחֶר His first-born son: Abdon; then Zur, Kish, Baal, Nadab, ³¹ Gedor, Ahio, Zecher
LXX	καὶ υἱὸς αὐτῆς ὁ πρωτότοκος Ἀβαδων, καὶ Σουρ καὶ Κις καὶ Βααλ καὶ Νηρ καὶ Ναδαβ ³¹ καὶ Γεδουρ καὶ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ Ζαχουρ καὶ Μακαλωθ = אַחִיו
NETS	And <i>her</i> firstborn son was Abadon, and Sour and Kis and Baal and Ner and Nadab ³¹ and Gedour, and his brother and Zachour and Makaloth

Against the context the name אַחִיו (Ahio) was misread as the noun אַחִיו (“his brother”). The same mistake was made in the same context in 9:37, as well as elsewhere (1 Chr 8:14; 13:7).

7.2.2 Common nouns represented as proper nouns

1 Sam 6:18	כַּפַּר הַפְּרָזִי and unwalled villages
LXX	καὶ ἕως κώμης τοῦ Φερεζαίου = הַפְּרָזִי
NETS	and as far as the village of the Pherezite

The rendering of the LXX makes little sense. The Pherezites or other Canaanite peoples are not mentioned in the context. The rare word הַפְּרָזִי (HALOT: “village”) was probably unknown to the translator.

See further the interchange of *shelemah* – *shelomoh* in Amos 1:6 (Section 4 above).

7.2.3 Nouns taken as verbs

Gen 4:7	חַטָּאת רֹבֵץ sin is lurking
LXX	ἡμαρτες; ἡσύχασον have you not sinned? Be still = חַטָּאת רֹבֵץ

The first noun is taken as a verb (חַטָּאת), and the second word is taken as a different verbal form.

Exod 26:12	וְסָרַח הָעֵדֻף בִּירֵיעַת הָאֹהֶל The part that remains of the curtains of the tent
LXX	καὶ ὑποθήσεις τὸ πλεονάζον ἐν ταῖς δέρρεσι τῆς σκηνηῆς = סָרַח
NETS	And you shall lay down the excess in the skins of the tent

The translator vocalised the noun סָרַח as a verb (סָרַח) and then changed the third person of that verb to the second one.

Lev 7:16 וְאִם־נָדָר אוֹ נִדְבָה זָבַח קָרְבָּנוּ
 But if the sacrifice you offer is a votive offering or a freewill offering = T S

LXX καὶν εὐχῆ, ἢ ἐκούσιον θυσιάζει τὸ δῶρον αὐτοῦ = זָבַח

NETS And if it is a vow or if he sacrifices his gift voluntarily

Ancient (LXX V) as well as modern versions (NRSV, JPS) insert a verb into the translation, which probably amounts to viewing זָבַח as a verb, namely זָבַח.

7.2.4 Verbs taken as nouns

1 Chr 5:2 כִּי יְהוּדָה גָּבַר בְּאֶחָיו
 though Judah became prominent among his brothers

LXX ὅτι Ἰουδᾶς δυνατὸς ἰσχύι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ = גָּבַר

NETS because Ioudas was powerful in strength also among his brothers

1 Chr 4:31 עַד־מֶלֶךְ דָּוִד
 until David became king

LXX ἕως βασιλέως Δαυὶδ

until King David = מֶלֶךְ

7.2.5 Different verbal forms

1 Sam 17:2 וַיַּעֲרְכוּ מִלְחָמָה
 and formed ranks

LXX παρατάσσονται εἰς πόλεμον

they were drawn up in battle ranks towards the war (NETS: they formed ranks for battle) = וַיַּעֲרְכוּ

See further Gen 4:7 in Section 6.2.3.

7.2.6 Singular instead of plural nouns in MT

1 Chr 10:12 וְאֵת גּוֹפֶת שְׂאוּל (אֶת־גּוֹפֶת שְׂאוּל)

LXX καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ = גּוֹפֶת

and the body (NETS: bodies) of his sons

7.2.7 Plural instead of singular nouns in MT

2 Chr 26:6 אֶת־חֹמַת גַּת וְאֵת חֹמַת יְבֵנָה וְאֵת חֹמַת אֲשֶׁר־בְּדוּד

the wall ... the wall ... the wall ... = חֹמַת ... חֹמַת

LXX τὰ τείχη Γεθ καὶ τὰ τείχη Ἰαβνη καὶ τὰ τείχη Ἀζώτου

the walls ... the walls ... the walls ...

7.2.8 Different nouns/adjectives

Gen 41:27	הַפְּרוֹת הַרְקוֹת ... וְשִׁבַּע הַשְּׂבֵלִים הַרְקוֹת
	The seven lean cows ... the seven empty ears
LXX	καὶ αἱ ἑπτὰ βόες αἱ λεπταὶ ... καὶ οἱ ἑπτὰ στάχυες οἱ λεπτοὶ = V
NETS	And the seven scrawny cows ... and the seven scrawny ears = הַרְקוֹת

The translator interpreted the adjectives הַרְקוֹת and הַפְּרוֹת in the same way.

Gen 47:31	וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל עַל-רֹאשׁ הַמִּטָּה
	Then Israel bowed himself on the head of his bed
LXX	καὶ προσεκύνησεν Ἰσραηλ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου αὐτοῦ
	Then Israel bowed himself on the head of his bed (NETS: And Israel did obeisance upon the top of his staff) = הַמִּטָּה

Rather surprisingly, the translator did not know the meaning of *mittah*. He should have chosen the same reading as MT, since the context requires Jacob's lying in his deathbed bed (v. 29). Furthermore, no "staff" has been mentioned in the context.¹⁹

7.2.9 Frequently interchanged words

Several consonantal homographs interchange frequently, for example **עד** *ad* (preposition, "to"), **עד** *ad* ("booty"), **עֵד** *od* ("still"), and **עֵד** *ed* ("witness"). These interchanges, collected by Prijs,²⁰ show that the reading tradition of this word was far from stable. Two examples follow (see further Isa 19:20; Amos 1:11; Mic 7:18; Zeph 3:8; Prov 12:19; 29:14; Job 1:18).

Gen 49:27	בַּבֹּקֶר יֹאכַל עֵד
	in the morning devouring the prey
LXX	τὸ πρωινὸν ἔδεται ἔτι = עֵד
NETS	in the early morning he shall still be devouring

19 Thus Barr (1967:3). A few verses later, in 48:2, the translator recognised the word correctly, but he did not correct 47:31.

20 Prijs (1948:47-54) considers these readings midrashic and not pointing to a different understanding of the reading tradition. See further the analysis of Schenker (2013).

Exod 22:12	... יבִּאֵהוּ עַד הַטְּרֵפָה
	he shall bring it as evidence (JPS) = T ^{ON} , S
LXX	ἄξει αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν = T-Ps ^J V
NETS	he shall take him to the prey = עד

8. SOME CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, with so many different parameters, a comparison of the *differing amount* of variation in vocalisation in the different books of the LXX is of limited value. However, taking for granted that the listing of these types of variants is subjective, we nevertheless see differences between the various translation units. Some units differ more from MT than other ones. Since many, if not most, different vocalisations resulted from lexical and contextual difficulties, more cases are found in poetical than in prose units. In Genesis I count 29 instances (5 of which are in the poem in Chapter 49), in Exodus 13, and in Leviticus 40. I do not ascribe much importance to these figures, but the fact that Gen 49 has relatively more instances in difficult contexts than the other chapters is significant. The same applies to all the poetical books.

It is my impression, but no more, that the translators themselves created more instances of different vocalisation than were the result of an exegetical tradition different from MT. The latter can be suggested only when two or more translations agree against MT, except for cases of presumed inter-translational influence.²¹ It is also my impression that more instances of unusual vocalisation are due to the translator's misunderstandings.

With some exceptions, the MT group (MT T S V, *kaige*-Th, Aquila, Symmachus) is remarkably uniform.²² This agreement shows that the reading tradition of MT must have been quite stable when the Targumim and V were translated, the latter at the end of the fourth century CE.²³

21 For analyses, see Delekat (1957; 1958); Lund (1988). See further Tov (2011) and the literature mentioned there.

22 T and V come from the same milieu as MT. If they reflect its consonantal text, they are also expected to reflect its reading tradition.

23 At an earlier date when the various Targumim were translated, the reading tradition may already have been stable, as these Targumim and S usually reflect MT. It is not impossible that the Targumim underwent some revision, as the earliest Targum, that of Job from cave 11, differs more from MT than the other ones.

My general impression is that the number of differences between MT+ and the LXX is relatively small, allowing us to posit a common reading tradition at the base of all these sources. I do not know whether we can speak about a fixed oral tradition at the base of all sources, however, since the unusual vocalisations of the LXX would counter such an assumption.

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Arie van der Kooij (Leiden University)

STUMP OR STALK: ISAIAH 6:13 IN THE LIGHT OF THE ANCIENT VERSIONS

ABSTRACT

This contribution examines two lexical problems in Isa 6:13 (שלכת and מצבת). It is argued that the common understanding of both words (“being felled” and “stump” respectively) is not supported by any of the ancient versions, nor by any evidence in Classical Hebrew. In dealing with the lexical problems involved it will turn out that, unlike modern scholarship, the ancients were on the right track. The article then explores what the proposed interpretation of both words (“shedding [leaves]” and “stalk” respectively) means for the exegesis of the verse as a whole.

1. INTRODUCTION

In preparing the Isaiah volume for the *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* (BHQ) I am faced with difficult passages, one of them being Isa 6:13. The Hebrew (MT) text of this verse is obscure, in particular as far as the meaning of two words – שלכת and מצבת – is concerned. The verse is usually translated as follows:

And though a tenth remain in it, it will be burned again, like a terebinth or an oak, whose stump remains standing when it is felled. The holy seed is its stump. (RSV)

Even though a tenth part of the people were to remain, they too would be destroyed like an oak or terebinth when it is felled, and only stump remains. Its stump is a holy seed. (REB)

En as nog 'n tiende deel daarin is, dan sal dit weer wees tot verwoesting; *maar* soos by die eikeboom en die terpentynboom – as hulle omgekap word – 'n stomp oorbly, *so* sal die heilige geslag die stomp daarvan wees. (OAV)

These quoted translations contain a rendering of the clause אשר בשלכת במ מצבת based on an interpretation of the two words which is quite common in modern translations and commentaries – שלכת in the sense of trees “being felled” (cf. “omgekap”), and מצבת understood as “stump” or “trunk” (cf. “stomp”). In the present contribution, in honour of Johann Cook and Paul Kruger, I would like to offer a discussion of the meaning of these two words. The issue at stake is that the alleged meaning of the

words is not attested elsewhere in Classical Hebrew. Moreover, as I will argue below, it strikes one that the ancient versions, though displaying an interesting variety of interpretations, do not support the exegesis of either word as found in modern commentaries and dictionaries. In what follows I will first of all provide a brief discussion of the way the ancient versions have interpreted both words in the clause under discussion. Secondly, in discussing the meaning of the two words, I will argue that the interpretations given in these versions are still relevant for solving the lexical problems involved.

2. ANCIENT VERSIONS

Before dealing with the ancient versions, it is of course appropriate to pay attention to the great Isaiah scroll (1QIsa^a), which is the only direct ancient witness of the Hebrew text of Isa 6:13.

1QIsa^a

The text of this scroll is slightly different from MT. It contains two variant readings: *משלכת* instead of *בשלכת*, and *במה* instead of *בם*. Moreover, the scroll is marked by a space between *מצבת* and *במה* indicating that, unlike in MT, the latter word was taken together with the following words. The reading *במה* has given rise to a number of sometimes fanciful ideas,¹ but scholars agree that it is best understood as a long form of *בם* (“in them”). The other variant is a participle, but it is not clear whether it was read as a participle Hiph‘il or Hoph‘al. The remaining word, *מצבת*, is in line with MT, but since we do not know how it was interpreted (by the scribe), it is hard to know how the clause in 1QIsa^a (*אשר משלכת מצבת*) was understood. Proposals that have been made are: “when (their) stalk sheds (leaves)” (Brownlee 1964); “which throws out a stump” (Sawyer 1964), and “which are cast down from their stumps” (Emerton 1982).²

LXX Isaiah

ὡς βάλανος ὅταν ἐκπέσῃ ἀπὸ τῆς θήκης αὐτῆς
 “like an acorn when it falls from its husk”

The comparison in the Old Greek is about an acorn falling from its husk. The use of *ὅταν* reflects the preposition *ב*, whereas the choice of *ἐκπίπτω*

1 The word *במה* has been understood as “high place”, and *מצבת* as standing stone, *maššeba*; see, for example, Iwry (1957).

2 For a more detailed discussion, see Emerton (1982:100-103, 111-113); Evans (1989:56-58).

as rendering for the root לש has a parallel in LXX Job 15:33 (“But may he – the impious – [...] fall off [ἐκπέσοι] like an olive blossom”). In the MT version of this verse the Hiph‘il of the root לש is employed conveying the sense of “shedding (blossom)”. The rendering $\text{ἀπὸ τῆς θήκης αὐτῆς}$ for תצב , or more likely for תצבת at the end of the verse,³ is not easy to understand. It may have been understood in the light of the Hebrew צב in Isa 22:19 (“position, office”).⁴ As I have argued elsewhere, the choice of “acorn” instead of “oak” was made to evoke the idea of losing a position or office (van der Kooij 2012:75).

Quinta (Theodotion)

$\text{ἐν τῇ ἀποβολῇ τῶν ἐστηλωμένων ἐν αὐτοῖς}$

“in the loss of the things that have been set up in them”

The rendering of Quinta, which Lütke­mann (1915:6) pointed out can be regarded in this case as the version of Theodotion, is interesting as it is the only one which takes the Hebrew תלש as a noun. The equivalent used – ἀποβολή – carries the meaning of “throwing away, loss”. The second part of Quinta/Theodotion reads: “of the things that have been set up, stand firm, among them”. It reminds one of LXX 2 Sam 18:18, where the same verb (στηλώω) is used for the root צב . Of note is also the version of LXX-Ms A of 1 Kgs 9:23 ($\text{[οἱ ἀρχόντες] οἱ ἐστηλωμένοι}$ for Hebrew הנצבים). Furthermore, unlike the other versions, the second part is marked by the plural, “the things that have been set up”, apparently reflecting an understanding of תצב in the plural.

Symmachus

$\text{ἣτις ἀποβαλοῦσα (+ τὰ φύλλα Tht.) ἴσταται μόνη}$

“which having shed (its leaves) stands alone”

This version conveys the idea of a tree that has “shed (its leaves)”; cf. the use of the same verb (ἀποβάλλω) in LXX Isa 1:30 ($\text{ὡς τερέβινθος ἀποβεβληκυῖα τὰ φύλλα}$). It has been suggested that Symmachus may here be reflecting a participle as in 1QIsa^a,⁵ but in view of the verbal form that follows (ἴσταται), the choice of a participle is rather due to the aiming at writing good Greek, which is a feature typical of Symmachus.

3 On the issue of the shorter version of LXX being due to *homoioarkton*, see van der Kooij (2012:70).

4 For a more detailed discussion of this and other features in LXX Isa 6:13, see van der Kooij (2012:70-76).

5 Cf. BHS; HUB Isaiah; Barthélemy (1986:41).

Furthermore, like in Quinta/Theodotion, the rendering ἵσταται is based on the root נצב “to stand”. The picture of Symmachus, a tree standing “alone” after having shed its leaves may well be a reference to Jerusalem being “alone” after the dramatic events of 135 CE, when the Jews were no longer allowed to live in Judea (van der Kooij 1981:245).

Targum

“(or the oak) which when their leaves drop off (דבמיתר טרפיהון) appear dried up, and even then they are green enough to set up from them the seed (לקיימא מינהון זרעא)” (Chilton 1987:15 [with slight modifications])

The Aramaic version provides a rendering which reflects, first of all, the interpretation of the root שלך in the sense of “falling” of the leaves. The phrase “when their leaves drop off” is also found in Tg Isa 1:30, where it says, “For you will be like a terebinth when its leaves fall”, although the verb employed in Hebrew in this verse (נבל) is not the same as in 6:13. This link between these two passages may also shed light on the wording “appear dried up” (cf. the reference to a garden “without water” in 1:30).

The second part of the passage in the Targum offers a positive picture based on the idea that the trees retained their moisture. One wonders how the Hebrew מצבת has been interpreted here. It seems to me that this word was taken as derived from Aramaic נצב “to put up, plant”. If so, the clause was read literally as “there is a plant in them”, but was rephrased for the sake of clarity.

Peshitta

“and like an acorn that has fallen from its cup”

This is one of the instances where the Syriac version betrays influence from LXX.

Vulgate

(sicuti quercus) quae expandit ramos suos

“(like an oak) that has expanded its branches”

Interestingly, the Vulgate offers a rendering and meaning which is quite opposite to the Targum and the other versions: no trees shedding leaves, but trees expanding their branches! The Latin text of the verse is best understood as a Christian interpretation of the metaphorical language of Isa 6:13. It refers to the idea of new branches to which Rom 11:19-20 alludes: “You will say, Branches were broken off so that I might be grafted in. That is true. They were broken off because of their unbelief, but you stand fast only through faith”. This positive picture is also given

expression in the rendering of the preceding part of Isa 6:13: *et convertetur et erit in ostensionem* (לבער interpreted via לבאר), “and it (the tenth part) will be converted and shall be manifest”. The tenth part seems to be equated here with the “holy seed” at the end of the verse, which, as Jerome explains in his commentary, refers to the “shoot” (*germen*) of the Apostles from which the Christian church sprouted. It is interesting to note, though, that the lemma in his commentary on Isaiah represents a more literal understanding of the first part of the verse: *et rursum erit in depraedationem sicut quercus quae proiecit fructos suos*, “and it (the tenth part) will again be for plunder like an oak that throws away its fruits”. This version of Isa 6:13 reflects the idea of a second disaster (cf. “again for plunder”), which, according to Jerome, did happen at the time when Judea was devastated by Hadrian, in 135 CE.

In sum, the ancient versions, which, except for 1QIsa^a (משלכת), seem to reflect the consonantal text of MT, testify to interpretations of שלכת and of מצבת different from the prevailing options among modern scholarship.

As to the meaning of שלכת, they attest to a tradition according to which it was understood in the sense of “falling, shedding, of leaves” (cf. Symmachus, the Targum), or similarly in the sense of “falling from” something (LXX, Peshitta). Quinta/Theodotion, which is the only witness containing a noun as rendering of שלכת, may fit in with this tradition, because the term used (ἀποβολή) is related to the verb used by Symmachus (ἀποβάλλω).⁶ The Vulgate is a special case.

The second word under discussion (מצבת) has been interpreted in a twofold way, either as related to the root נצב in Hebrew, hence the meaning of “something standing” (LXX [see above], Quinta/Theodotion, Symmachus), or, alternatively, as derived from its Aramaic cognate “to plant” (Targum). The Vulgate is a special case. These two options are also visible in the way the same word has been rendered at the end of the verse: for the notion of “something standing”, a pillar, see Quinta/Theodotion (τὸ στήλωμα αὐτῆς), Aquila (στήλωσις αὐτῆς), and the Vulgate (*id quod steterit in ea*); for the interpretation based on the Aramaic root “to plant”, see the Targum (“their plant”) and Peshitta (“its plant”). The equivalent used by Symmachus (ἡ ἀντίστασις αὐτῆς), however, though related to the notion of “standing”, is a striking one. In carrying the meaning of “opposition”, it presumably refers to a group of

6 Both the term and the verb could be used in the sense of “loss, shedding” of leaves; see, for example, Theophrastus, *Enquiry into Plants*, I ix, 7.

people, in this way providing a particular interpretation of the image of the text.

3. *LEXICAL PROBLEMS*

Obviously then, the Jewish and Christian scholars who produced the ancient versions in antiquity had an understanding of the two words under discussion that is different from the current one among modern scholars. This raises the question of which one to adopt, the opinion of the ancients or the modern one. Are the interpretations to be found in the ancient versions still relevant for solving the lexical problems regarding both words in Isa 6:13? I think they are.

As stated above, the idea that שלכת refers to the “felling” of trees has no parallel in Classical Hebrew. It has been suggested that this meaning “may be derived without difficulty from the meaning ‘to throw, cast’” (Emerton 1982:106), but the difficulty with this is that the root שלך (Hiph‘il) is never used for the “felling” of trees. On the contrary, the verbs conveying this meaning are instead: כרת (1 Kgs 5:20; Isa 14:8), נפל (2 Kgs 3:19, 25), or גרע (Isa 9:9; 10:33). On the other hand, the usage of שלך (Hiph‘il) in the sense of a tree shedding its leaves is supported by Job 15:33. I therefore would propose to take the word שלכת in the sense of “loss of foliage”. It was understood this way not only by Symmachus and the Targum, and presumably by Quinta/Theodotion, but it was also interpreted that way by scholars such as Jarchi and Kimchi, as well as by those scholars who produced Bible translations in the 16th and 17th centuries (cf. Luther, KJV, Statenvertaling) (Williamson 1997:120). The word שלכת may well be regarded a noun (cf. Quinta/Theodotion), but could also be regarded an unusual form of the infinitive construct Pi‘el.⁷

It has been argued, however, that the idea of loss of foliage would be “too weak as a figure of speech for the disaster” (Emerton 1982:106), and therefore would not fit “the understanding of the first part of the verse as a prediction of disaster” (Emerton 1982:105). Here we touch upon the interpretation of the verse as a whole. I will come back to this issue below.

What about מצבת? The current meaning of “rootstock” or “stump” is closely related to the idea of cutting trees. So, if in line with the above the latter is considered not to be the plausible interpretation, the former too is

7 Emerton (1982:106). A few scholars have interpreted the noun as proper name, that is, the name of a gate of Jerusalem (see 1 Chr 26:16). So, for example, Barthélemy (1986:44): “dont à Shallèkèt il ne reste qu’un tronc”.

no longer convincing either, especially since it has no parallel in Classical Hebrew. It is important to note, in this regard, that scholars have made other suggestions, the best known being the one proposed by Tur-Sinai and others – “new growth”.⁸ This view is based on the theory that *מצבת* is “derived from a root cognate with Aramaic *nesab*, ‘to plant’” (Emerton 1982:107), representing an interpretation already found in two of the ancient versions (the Targum and Peshitta [end of the verse]). Although this is attractive, in particular as far as the understanding of the last clause of Isa 6:13 is concerned (cf. the Targum and Peshitta), the problem is that there is no evidence for this root in Classical Hebrew. Moreover, it does not fit the *asher*-clause if *שלכת* is taken as a reference to the loss of foliage.

In the light of the available evidence in Classical Hebrew, it seems best to interpret *מצבת* in line with the second option as reflected by the ancient versions, that is, the one based on the Hebrew root *נצב* “to stand” – “something standing”. Together with the reference to loss of foliage, the notion of something standing easily evokes the picture of a tree having shed its leaves, a bare tree, a stalk. Hence, the clause in Isa 6:13 containing the two words discussed so far can be translated thus: “like a terebinth and like an oak in which is a stalk/bare tree when they have shed their leaves”.

4. FINAL REMARKS

The next question to be asked is what this interpretation might mean for the exegesis of Isa 6:13 as a whole. The verse is a prophecy according to which a tenth part in the land will remain, that again will be burnt, like a terebinth, etc. The simile of a terebinth having shed its leaves implies the notion of a great disaster, as is clear from Isa 1:30, which reads, “For you (that is, rebels and sinners) shall be like an oak whose leaf withers, and like a garden without water”. The loss of foliage does not refer here “to part of the annual cycle, but rather to the result of prolonged drought” (Williamson 2006:161). This text announcing doom for rebels and sinners is obviously about *complete* disaster (cf. the verses that follow). Read from this perspective, the notion of fallen leaves in Isa 6:13 would not be “unsuitable or weak” (Williamson 1997:123), as suggested by Emerton.

However, things seem to be different in Isa 6:13. The picture in 6:13 is not the same as the one in 1:30. In the former passage, the loss of foliage

8 See Tur-Sinai (1961:169); Wildberger (1972:234); HALAT, 587; Nielsen (1989:150).

is not due to an extreme and prolonged drought, but is related to a “burning” of the tenth part in the land. Of course, a burning can also imply a complete disaster, but the image of a bare tree, not a barren one, suggests another idea. Trees like the terebinth are evergreens,⁹ and although being scorched by fire, the result being the loss of its foliage, they still are strong enough to sprout leaves again. This sheds light on the final part of the verse, which may or may not be a later addition – “The holy seed is its stalk”. So the simile of Isa 6:13 seems to imply the notion of hope of new life.

Interpreted this way, one wonders to which historical situation our text may refer. As to this, the Targum offers the following explanation of the simile: “So the exiles of Israel will be gathered and they will return to their land”. The Aramaic version thus interprets the verse by applying the image of trees being dried up to the exiles of Israel. Both the notion of the dropping off of leaves and of being dried up are based on Isa 1:30 (cf. above), but there seems more to it, in particular as far as the element of being dried up is concerned. In view of the application to the exiles of Israel, one gets the impression that the Targumist also had the prophecy of Ezek 37 (about the “dry” bones // the exiles) in mind. Christian scholars like Eusebius and Jerome understood our verse (in Greek) in a different way. In their view, the prophecy of Isa 6:13 came true when the Romans devastated Judea in 135 CE, whereas the “holy seed” is regarded as referring to the apostolic church that originated in Judea.

But what about the Hebrew text of Isa 6:13? Instead of reading this verse as reflecting the total destruction of Judah and Jerusalem in the sixth century BCE, it is tempting to interpret it in line with passages such as Isa 1:7-9 and 37:31-32 – the country of Judah, being the tenth part of the land as a whole,¹⁰ will be destroyed, and the cities burnt, but after being reduced to something like a bare tree, there will be new life going forth from Jerusalem in order to repopulate and rebuild Judah.

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9 Cf. Theophrastus, *Enquiry into Plants*, I ix, 3.

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*Hermann-Josef Stipp (Ludwig-Maximilians University, Munich /
Stellenbosch University)*

INTERPRETIERENDE ÜBERSETZUNG IN DER JEREMIA-SEPTUAGINTA

ABSTRACT

The Old Greek of the book of Jeremiah (JerG) is a highly literal, isomorphic translation. Nonetheless, it contains a number of readings that can plausibly be credited to exegetical leanings of the translator. The present article discusses a list of examples, arguing that cases in point are rare and do not add up to clear-cut theological tendencies. The most obvious religious preoccupation of the translator was to provide his target public with an accurate replica of his Hebrew parent text.*

1. DAS PROBLEM

„It has become commonplace to say that all translations reflect exegesis“ (Tov 1997:45). In einem banalen Sinne ist die zitierte These unbestreitbar, denn ein Übersetzer kommt selbst bei geringsten theoretischen Ansprüchen nicht umhin, seinen Quelltext linguistisch zu dekodieren, d. h. eine elementare semantische und grammatische Analyse durchzuführen, indem er die lexikalischen und grammatischen Morpheme identifiziert, ihnen Bedeutungen zuschreibt und Annahmen über ihre grammatischen Beziehungen untereinander trifft. Diese schlechthin unvermeidlichen Prozeduren betreiben jedoch nur in einem rudimentären Rahmen Auslegung. Die Rede von Exegese und Interpretation in einem gehaltvollen Sinn ist in dem Maße berechtigt, wie eine Übersetzung ein spezifisches Verständnis ihrer Vorlage expliziert, das sich von anderen Deutungen abhebt bzw. über sie hinausgeht,¹ wie etwa bei der Alternative, ob man im Neuen Testament *ἐκκλησία* mit „Gemeinde“ oder „Kirche“ übersetzt. In diesem Vollsinn ist nachstehend von „Exegese“ und „Interpretation“ die Rede.

Weil auch die griechische Textüberlieferung des Alten Testaments derlei Phänomene enthält, hat sich die Forschung in neuerer Zeit vermehrt der Frage zugewandt, in welcher Weise die Übersetzer der Septuaginta interpretative Elemente in ihre Arbeit einfließen ließen. Diese Problemstellung bildet einen zentralen Ausschnitt der Frage nach der Theologie

1 Diese Differenzierung entspricht in etwa der Unterscheidung zwischen „linguistic exegesis“ und „contextual exegesis“ bei Tov (1997:45-46; 2012:117-122).

der LXX-Übersetzer (im Unterschied zur Theologie ihrer Übersetzung).² So resümiert eine neuere Studie zur Übersetzungstechnik der ursprünglichen antiken Wiedergabe des Jeremiabuches ins Griechische (JerG*), wie ediert von Ziegler (⁴2013), „dass der Übersetzer ein Werk mit eigenen theologischen Impulsen und Ansprüchen schaffen wollte“ (Vonach 2011: 2731). Diese Behauptung erzeugt jedoch einen unzutreffenden Eindruck. JerG* ist von Merkmalen einer hochgradig wörtlichen Wiedergabe geprägt,³ widerspricht also gerade den Charakteristika einer interpretierenden bzw. aktualisierenden Übersetzung (Tov 1987:241). Das Werk folgt der Maxime der Isomorphie, “[t]hat is to say, typically each morpheme of the source text is represented in the target text“ (Pietersma & Saunders 2007:876), und weist eine Tendenz zur konkordanten Wiedergabe durch Standardäquivalente auf, indem hebräischen Basen oder Lexemen häufig weitgehend jeweils dieselben griechischen Wörter bzw. Komposita von demselben Simplex gegenüberstehen. Infolgedessen werden fortwährend die Regeln der griechischen Stilistik verletzt: JerG* strotzt von Hebraismen, vor allem weil die Methode der isomorphen, hochgradig konkordanten Repräsentanz auch die hebräische Idiomatik erfasst, die naturgemäß mit der griechischen wenig gemein hat.⁴ Dazu gehört auch, dass JerG* – ähnlich einer Interlinearübersetzung – nahezu vollständig die Wortfolge ihrer Vorlage repliziert und sich damit über die zielsprachlichen Stimmungsregeln hinwegsetzt. Ferner werden entgegen der griechischen Vorliebe für Hypotaxen uneingeschränkt parataktische (oder als parataktisch verkannte) Strukturen des Quelltextes widergespiegelt. Zudem

2 Die Theologie der Übersetzer ist zu unterscheiden von der Theologie der Übersetzung bzw. der LXX, denn „theology of/in the Septuagint is not limited to or controlled by the intentions of the translator“ (McLay 2010:608). Beispiele aus JerG, die illustrieren, wie die Äquivalenzwahlen des Übersetzers den Textsinn gegenüber seinen eigenen (wahrscheinlichen) Intentionen verschoben, hat Walser (2008) zusammengetragen. Zum Problem, ob und wie sich eine Theologie des Übersetzers, der LXX oder bestimmter Bücher der LXX erheben lässt, vgl. an neueren Diskussionsbeiträgen beispielsweise Rösel (2006), Aejmelaeus (2007b-d), Cook (2010ab), McLay (2010), jeweils mit weiteren Literaturangaben.

3 Vgl. die Liste von Kennzeichen wörtlicher Übersetzungen bei Tov (1997:17-29). Die folgende Charakteristik der Übersetzungstechnik von JerG* wird bei Stipp (1994:7-58) näher begründet; vgl. auch Pietersma & Saunders (2007). Für eine verfehlte Gegenposition vgl. Vonach (2011:2696-2733).

4 Für die LXX generell ist dieses Verfahren beschrieben bei Joosten (2010).

werden Schäden in der Vorlage oder missverstandene Passagen nicht geglättet, sondern wörtlich reproduziert.

Nennenswerte Freiheiten gestattete sich der Übersetzer nur auf Feldern, die ihm wenig Möglichkeiten zu exegetischen Einträgen boten. So bei gewissen Klassen von Strukturwörtern: Er ging großzügig mit den Präpositionen um und fügte häufig Possessivpronomina hinzu. Weiterhin missachtete er oft die Satzverkettung durch Syndese mit \imath bzw. durch Asyndese, indem er Syndese ignorierte oder umgekehrt bei Asyndese $\kappa\alpha\iota$ ergänzte. Laxer behandelte er auch bestimmte Bereiche der Morphologie, nämlich die Numeri und Genera verbi (Aktiv-Passiv-Diathese).⁵ Dagegen galten für die Semantik der bedeutungstragenden Wortarten strenge Maßstäbe: Wo der Übersetzer keine Standardäquivalente wählte oder kannte oder wo das hebräische Vokabular seine Kompetenz überforderte, legte er sich bei der semantischen Interpretation des Materials Zurückhaltung auf; notfalls nahm er Zuflucht bei bloßen Transkriptionen. Das Verfahren brachte mitunter rätselhafte oder geradezu groteske Resultate hervor und verrät keine Neigung, dem Publikum das Verständnis schwieriger Passagen zu erleichtern (Stipp 2013).

Während ferner JerG*, bedingt durch eine kürzere hebräische Vorlage, gegenüber MT eine Fülle von Lücken aufweist, halten sich die Überhänge in sehr bescheidenem Rahmen.⁶ Selbst wenn daher einzelne Überschüsse nicht auf die Vorlage, sondern den Übersetzer zurückgehen, kann dieser kaum Erweiterungen angebracht haben. Damit unterscheidet sich der Befund grundlegend von einigen anderen Büchern der LXX und insbesondere den Targumen, deren Schöpfer ihre eigenen, vom Quelltext abweichenden Konzepte vor allem über Zutaten, mitunter auch durch Auslassungen eintrugen (Tov 1987:253-255; 1999:264-266). So blieben an effektiven Einfallstoren für exegetische Akzente bloß qualitative Varianten, also Divergenzen bei ungefähr gleicher Menge von Morphemen. Die Nutzung dieser Gestaltungsmöglichkeit verlangte jedoch Abstriche von dem Trend zur konkordanten Wiedergabe.

JerG* wurde folglich mit einer Übersetzungstechnik erstellt, die weit hin das Gegenteil einer interpretierenden Wiedergabe bildet. Der Übersetzer folgte einer Methode, die – um eine populäre Umschreibung auf-

5 Wenn der Übersetzer zudem die Zeitdeixis der Verben bisweilen anders bestimmte, als es das heutige Verständnis verlangt, ist nicht immer leicht zu entscheiden, ob interpretierende Wiedergabe, andere grammatische Annahmen oder Unkenntnis den Ausschlag gab.

6 Zu den textgeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen vgl. Stipp (2008).

zugreifen – nicht das Original zum Leser bringt, sondern umgekehrt den Leser zum Original. Wenn trotzdem unlängst die Ansicht vertreten wurde, das griechische Jeremiabuch übermittele ein „weniger harte[s] und pietätvollere[s] Gottesbild zur Stärkung der theologischen Plausibilität“ (Vonnach 2011:2732), so hält die These erwartungsgemäß der Kontrolle nicht stand: Es ist im Gegenteil die masoretische Texttradition, die im Bestreben, die souveräne Machtfülle JHWHs herauszustreichen, bisweilen eine Verhärtung der Gottesvorstellungen in Kauf genommen hat (Stipp 2012).

Doch obwohl die Übersetzungstechnik von JerG* exegisierenden Einträgen enge Grenzen zieht, ist das Werk nicht völlig frei davon. Nachstehend sollen einige Lesarten zusammengestellt werden, die sich tatsächlich glaubhaft auf auslegerische Tendenzen zurückführen lassen. Dabei gilt es erstens zu zeigen, dass der Nachweis solcher Phänomene in JerG* nur selten gelingt. Dies bestätigt, was die obigen Vorüberlegungen ergaben: Derlei Erscheinungen sind in JerG* nicht die Regel, sondern Ausnahmen, und zwar mehr noch, als es ohnehin für die meisten Bücher der LXX gilt.⁷ Zweitens sollen am Beispielmateriale exemplarisch methodische Probleme der Identifikation interpretierender Elemente in Übersetzungen veranschaulicht werden.

2. METHODE

„It is exactly in the differences between the source text and the target text that interpretation takes place“ (Cook 2010b:622). Damit bei einer Abweichung von *MT* eine interpretierende Wiedergabe diagnostiziert werden kann, müssen zwei Bedingungen erfüllt sein:

1. Es muss befriedigende Gewissheit über den Wortlaut der Vorlage des Übersetzers herrschen, um die Möglichkeit auszuschließen,

7 Vgl. Tov (1987:254): „Die Übersetzungseinheiten, in welchen solche [theologische, HJS] Exegese in einem beträchtlichen Masse zu erwarten wäre, sind Jes, Dan, Hi, Prov, Est und 1 Esr. Aber auch in diesen Einheiten sollte man keine entwickelten theologischen Systeme erwarten“. Schon deshalb erscheint es fragwürdig, wenn mitunter erklärt wird, die LXX sei der erste Kommentar zur Hebräischen Bibel gewesen; so z. B. Wevers (1996:107), Lust (2003:xxi). Von einem Kommentar sollte man der terminologischen Präzision halber ohnehin nur bei Trennung von kommentiertem und kommentierendem Text reden, die es Lesern ermöglicht, zwischen beiden zu unterscheiden und Aussagen des Kommentars am kommentierten Text zu messen.

dass er lediglich eine abweichende Lesart reproduzierte. Dies gilt auch für den Bereich der Orthographie, ein Faktor mit erheblicher Bedeutung für JerG*, da deren Vorlage – was hier nicht näher ausgeführt werden kann – weitaus defektiver geschrieben und daher mehrdeutiger war als *MT* und erst recht seine vokalisierte Ausgabe, der tiberische Text.

2. Es muss hinreichend gesichert sein, dass der Übersetzer sich der Differenz zwischen der Vorlage und ihrer zielsprachlichen Repräsentation bewusst war. Denn eine interpretierende Wiedergabe setzt eine reflexive Abweichung voraus; d. h. dem Übersetzer muss zumindest anfanghaft klar gewesen sein, dass sein Quelltext im Wortsinn etwas anderes bedeutete als die Wiedergabe, die er aufgrund zusätzlicher Kriterien vorzog. Als Motive für solche Abweichungen kommen etwa in Betracht: Der Übersetzer meinte, dass der intendierte Sinn nicht unmittelbar aus dem Wortlaut hervorging und daher der Explikation bedurfte, oder er wollte jenen Sinn treffen, der seinem Urteil nach für seine Adressaten relevant war. Ging der Übersetzer dagegen von grammatischen und/oder semantischen Prämissen aus, die sich von den unsrigen unterschieden, liegt keine Exegese, sondern eine andersartige sprachliche Analyse vor. Bevor daher eine interpretierende Wiedergabe festgestellt werden kann, haben Vergleiche im Rahmen der betroffenen übersetzungskritischen Einheiten (bei JerG*: JE12)⁸ und gegebenenfalls der gesamten LXX die einschlägigen grammatischen und semantischen Annahmen des Übersetzers zu erheben. Zu den Aufgaben dieser Kontrollen gehört, die Standardäquivalente des Übersetzer(kreises) zu identifizieren, da sie die Diagnose interpretierender Wiedergabe unterbinden, weil Standardäquivalente auch dann, wenn sie sich – nach heutigem Kenntnisstand – weit von den Konnotationen ihrer hebräischen Gegenstücke entfernen, einfach die Art der sprachlichen Kompetenz des Übersetzers oder generelle, d. h. vom Einzel-

8 Der Terminus Übersetzungskritik bezeichnet jenen Arbeitsschritt, der die Anteile von Übersetzungen identifiziert, die auf denselben Übersetzer(kreis) zurückgehen. Die ermittelten Segmente heißen übersetzungskritische Einheiten. Im Falle von JerG* sind dies zusätzlich die Bücher EzG*, das griechische Dodekapropheten und Bar 1,1–3,8, zusammengefasst unter dem Kürzel JE12; Näheres bei Stipp (1994:17–19).

text unabhängige übersetzungstechnische Vorentscheidungen widerspiegeln können.

In JerG* und den meisten anderen Büchern der LXX sind die beiden Bedingungen nur selten gleichzeitig erfüllt.⁹ Die Übersetzungstechnik von JerG* privilegiert bei Varianten – von den genannten Ausnahmen abgesehen – die Hypothese einer abweichenden Vorlage, die jedoch ausgeschlossen werden muss, will man interpretierende Wiedergabe behaupten. Wird ferner den Standardäquivalenten der Zeugniswert bestritten, schmilzt der Kreis der Kandidaten weiter dahin.

Diese methodischen Vorüberlegungen implizieren, dass die Übersetzungstechnik für jedes Buch bzw. jede übersetzungskritische Einheit separat zu analysieren ist. Ebenso differenziert hat die Frage nach der Theologie der Übersetzer vorzugehen.

Diese Grundsätze sind nun auf Beispielmateriale anzuwenden.

3. BEISPIELE

3.1 Beispiele ohne Aussagekraft für interpretative Absichten des Übersetzers

Zahlreiche Lesarten in JerG* können den irreführenden Anschein interpretierender Wiedergabe wecken. Um das Problembewusstsein für solche möglichen Quellen falscher Einschätzungen zu schärfen, werden zunächst Beispiele dieser Art vorgestellt.

3.1.1 Zusätze

17,8

וְהָיָה עֲלֵהוּ רֵעָן

Und sein Laub wird grün sein.

καὶ ἔσται ἐπ' αὐτῷ στελέχη ἀλσώδη

*Und an ihm werden buschige Zweige sein.*¹⁰

Der Kontext wendet auf einen Menschen mit Gottvertrauen das Bild eines Baumes am Wasser an. Das Beispiel bildet einen Mischfall, denn es verbindet einen Überhang mit einem Unterschuss: Einerseits geht JerG* mit στελέχη über MT hinaus. Στέλεχος *oblong, erect object, trunk of a tree* (Muraoka 2009) vertritt in JE12 sonst עֲבֹךְ *astreich* (Ez 19,11) und

9 Daraus resultieren die Warnungen vor leichtfertigen Annahmen interpretierenden Übersetzens beispielsweise bei Tov (1997:45-50; 1999), Joosten (2000), Stipp (2003), Aejmelaeus (2007b-d).

10 Kraus & Karrer (2009:1306).

פֶּאֶרֶה *Geäst* (Ez 31,12.13),¹¹ bezeichnet also die Zweige des Baumes. Andererseits lässt JerG* ein Korrelat für das *Laub* vermissen (ἀλσώδης *hainartig* repräsentiert רֶעֶנָּה; vgl. 3,6.13). Die Differenzen erklären sich leicht nach Rückübertragung des griechischen Wortlauts: Der Übersetzer las an der Stelle von עַל־הוּ die Präposition עַל mit enklitischem Personalpronomen für die 3. Ps. Sg. mask., vielleicht aufgrund einer Verschreibung. Da infolgedessen das Subjekt auf das Adjektiv רֶעֶנָּה geschrumpft war, ergab sich: *An ihm wird Grünes sein*. Der Übersetzer ergänzte daher, worum es sich bei dem *Grünen* handelte. Das Thema „Baum“ hielt den Kreis der Kandidaten klein, sodass seine Option für στελέχη den Wortsinn des *MT* nur knapp verfehlte. Die Zutat spricht also lediglich eine Selbstverständlichkeit aus und lässt sich deshalb allenfalls bei sehr großzügigen Maßstäben als Zeugnis übersetzerseitiger Exegese bewerten.¹² Vor allem transportiert der Überschuss keine Theologumena und verrät daher nichts über die religiöse Denkwelt des Schöpfers von JerG*. Die Variante mag hier als typisches Exempel für diverse übersetzerische Entscheidungen dienen, die bei enger Bindung an die Vorlage Einzelheiten von begrenzter Tragweite explizieren oder präzisieren.

3.1.2 Abweichende Vorlagen

10,13 || 51/28,16

וַיּוֹצֵא רוּחַ מֵאֲצֻרֹתָיו

Und er führte den Wind aus seinen Vorratskammern hervor.

καὶ ἐξήγαγε φῶς ἐκ θησαυρῶν αὐτοῦ

Und er führte Licht aus seinen Vorratskammern hervor.

Die von *G** vertretene Lesart ist mit Sicherheit sekundär, da nach altorientalischer Kosmologie nicht das Licht, sondern der Wind in Kammern vorrätig gehalten wurde (so auch die Parallele in Ps 135,7). Daher kann die Frage aufkommen, ob hier typisch ägyptische religiöse Konzepte mit ihrem Nachdruck auf dem Sonnenkult die Übersetzung beeinflussen haben. Allerdings ist nicht auszuschließen, dass der Wechsel von רוּחַ zu אֹר be-

11 Sonst אֵילָה* *großer Baum* (*MT* אֵילָה) Gen 49,21; תְּמָר *Dattelpalme* Ex 15,27; Num 33,9; גִּזְע *Baumstumpf* Ijob 14,8; תִּימָרָה (*Rauch-*)*Säule* Hld 3,6; vgl. Ijob 29,18.

12 Vgl. Vonach (2011:2765): „Die LXX führt die knappe Formulierung von *MT* interpretatorisch aus“.

reits in der Vorlage eingetreten war. Deshalb erlaubt die Variante keinen Rückschluss auf die Theologie des Übersetzers.¹³

22,18

לְאִי־סָפְדוּ לוֹ הוּי אָחִי וְהוּי אָחוֹת

Sie werden nicht um ihn klagen:

Ach, mein Bruder, und: Ach, Schwester!

οὐ μὴ κόψωνται αὐτόν ὧ ἀδελφέ

Sie werden ihn nicht beklagen: O Bruder!

Das Fehlen der Worte *וְהוּי אָחוֹת* im Unheilsorakel über Jojakim wurde als Beleg dafür gewertet, dass die Lesart von JerG* sekundär sein müsse, „da namentlich nicht abzusehen ist, wie man bei der Klage über einen Mann darauf verfallen sein sollte, noch *וְהוּי אָחוֹת* zuzusetzen“.¹⁴ Allerdings harmoniert der Klageruf bei textlicher Priorität nicht besser mit der vorausgesetzten Situation als bei späterem Eindringen. Doch selbst wenn die G*-Variante auf eine Kürzung zurückginge, wäre damit zu rechnen, dass der Eingriff schon zuvor stattgefunden hatte und daher die Lücke bereits in der Vorlage bestand. Im gegebenen Fall gehört das Substantiv *אָחוֹת* jedoch zum prämasoretischen Idiolekt, d. h. zu jenen Sprachmerkmalen, die in Jer mehrfach auftreten, aber nur im masoretischen Sondergut (Stipp 2015b: Nr. 5.1). Schon dies spricht entschieden für einen Nachtrag in MT. Die sekundäre Streichung der übrigen Belege in 3,7.8.10 ist ohnehin nicht zu motivieren. Wollte man das Fehlen von Gegenstücken für *אָחוֹת* in JerG* teilweise auf Einschübe in der masoretischen Texttradition und obendrein auf eine Tilgung in der alternativen Tradition zurückführen, müsste man einen ganz unwahrscheinlichen Zufall postulieren. Folglich bezeugt der Unterschuss in JerG* keine glättenden Absichten des Übersetzers.

25,25/32,11

וְאֵת כָּל־מְלָכֵי מִדְיָ

und alle Könige von Medien

καὶ πάντας βασιλεῖς Περσῶν

und alle Könige der Perser

13 Weitere Beispiele, die kein Urteil zulassen, ob eine Abweichung auf den Übersetzer oder die Vorlage zurückgeht, werden erörtert bei Stipp (2015c); dort die Fälle 9,9; 14,17; 16,15; 30,23; 51,11.

14 Cornill (1905:257); ähnlich Vonach (2011:2773). Über diverse weitere Erklärungsversuche berichtet McKane (1986:532f.).

Als JerG* entstand, lag der Zeitpunkt lange zurück, zu dem Kyrus II. die kurze Blütezeit des Mederreiches beendet hatte, indem er den Thron von Ekbatana errang (550) und von dort aus den Aufstieg des persischen Großreiches einleitete, das dann für rund zwei Jahrhunderte die Rolle der Weltmacht übernahm. Es ist deshalb verständlich, wenn später der Wunsch aufkam, unter den Empfängern des Taumelbechers nicht die Meder, sondern die Perser zu nennen. Freilich fehlt der Beweis, dass es der Übersetzer war, der den Austausch vorgenommen hat, weswegen auch diese Variante nichts über seine Intentionen sagt.

46/26,15

מָדוּעַ נִסְחָה אֲבִירָיָהּ

Warum wurden deine Starken niedergestreckt?

διὰ τί ἔφυγεν ὁ Ἄπις; ὁ μόσχος [ὁ ἐκλεκτός]¹⁵ σου

Warum ist Apis, dein [ausgewähltes] Kalb, geflohen?

In dem Passus aus den Ägyptengedichten nennt JerG* im Unterschied zu MT den Apisstier, der in Memfis verehrt wurde. Die Stadt ist im Kontext erwähnt (V. 14.19). JerG* bietet damit ein erheblich spezifischeres ägyptisches Lokalkolorit und ein religionspolemisches Detail, das MT abgeht. Die Rückübersetzung von ἔφυγεν ὁ Ἄπις ergibt נִסְחָה אֲבִירָיָהּ, also eine Aufspaltung der Graphemfolge von נִסְחָה. Für Vonach (2011:2778) „nimmt die LXX im gesamten Vers eine Aktualisierung auf real erlebbares äg[yp]tisches Umfeld hin vor“. Eine solche Erklärung müsste indes den Beweis vorausschicken, dass nicht bereits die Vorlage die andersartige Worttrennung enthielt. In Anbetracht des Kontextes hat die Lesart von JerG* sogar einen ausgezeichneten Anspruch auf Priorität, wie mittlerweile von den meisten Kommentatoren anerkannt wird.¹⁶ אֲבִירָיָהּ ist dann – auch mit Rücksicht auf die Fortsetzung לֹא עָמַד בִּי יְהוָה הַדָּפוּ – als Extensitätsplural zu deuten (GK § 124g-i), sofern keine Verschreibung aus einem originalen Singular angenommen wird.

3.1.3 Abweichende semantische Voraussetzungen des Übersetzers

Der ausgiebige Gebrauch von Standardäquivalenten hat Folgen für die Aussagekraft gerade jener griechischen Lexeme, die häufig belegt sind und dichte religiöse Füllungen tragen, dabei aber andere Konnotationen aufrufen als ihre hebräischen Korrelate. Weil sie indes fast die gesamte

15 Mit Ziegler (2013:139) „gegen die Überlieferung zu tilgen“.

16 Vgl. z. B. Barthélemy (1986:763f.), Holladay (1989:323, 328), McKane (1996:1127f.).

LXX auszeichnen, geben sie für die Bestimmung der Theologie des Übersetzers wenig her, denn er hat sie nicht eigenständig selegiert, sondern einer bereits eingefahrenen Praxis der Übertragung heiliger Schriften des Judentums entlehnt, die vermutlich im Sprachgebrauch der griechischsprachigen Gemeinden verwurzelt war. Deshalb prägen sie zwar die Theologie des griechischen Jeremiabuches, da sie zur Folge haben, dass sich die Theologie der Übersetzung gegenüber jener des Übersetzers automatisch verselbstständigt.¹⁷ Zur Theologie des Übersetzers können wir den Standardäquivalenten dagegen nur entnehmen, dass er jedenfalls keinen hinreichenden Grund erkannte – oder sich nicht befugt sah –, sie gegen andere griechische Äquivalente auszutauschen. Zu nennen sind hier namentlich:¹⁸ יהוה *JHWH* \triangleq κύριος *Herr* (weil κύριος ebenso für יהוה *Herr* eintritt,¹⁹ wird die Differenz zwischen dem Gottesnamen und dem Titel יהוה eingeebnet); יהוה צבאות *JHWH der Scharen* \triangleq κύριος παντοκράτωρ *Herr Allesherrscher*; ברית *Verpflichtung, Vertrag* \triangleq διαθήκη *Testament, Verfügung*; תורה *Weisung* \triangleq νόμος *Gesetz*; שלום *Heil* \triangleq εἰρήνη *Frieden* (jeweils *passim*); dazu bei מִזְבֵּחַ *Altar* die Unterscheidung zwischen θυσιαστήριον (legitime) *Opferstätte* (*passim* in JE12) und βωμός (für heterodoxe Kulte bestimmter) *Altar* (11,13), sonst das Standardäquivalent der LXX für בַּמָּחָה.²⁰ Aber auch Standardäquivalente für weniger konzeptionell aufgeladene Lexeme können den Textsinn ganz erheblich verschieben, so etwa wenn die Konjunktion bzw. Partikel כִּי mit ihrem breiten Bedeutungsspektrum routinemäßig mit ὅτι *weil, dass* wiedergegeben wird.

Von anderer Art sind Fälle wie שמע, dessen Bedeutung *hören* bzw. ἀκούω auch Spezialbedeutungen wie *erhören* und *gehörchen* abdeckt, die in anderen Sprachen durch separate Verben (*gehörchen*) dargestellt werden können, in indogermanischen Idiomen wie dem Deutschen und Griechischen oft aber auch durch Komposita (*erhören*, εἰσακούω, ὑπακούω) präzisiert werden, einer Form der Lexembildung, die semitische Sprachen nicht kennen. Die Wahl zwischen solchen Alternativen gehört zu den elementaren Prozeduren des Übersetzens, die lediglich ein grundlegendes Textverständnis ausformulieren, indem sie explizieren, was in der Vorlage

17 Vgl. zu dieser Unterscheidung oben Anm. 2.

18 Vgl. Tov (1987:246-252; 1999:260-264). Weitere stark religiös konnotierte Standardäquivalente, die vor allem in anderen Büchern verbreitet sind, nennt Aejmelaeus (2007c:282-287).

19 Dies gilt mit Ausnahme von Gottesanreden: δέσποτα 1,6; 4,10; 15,11.

20 So auch in Jer; vgl. 7,31.32; 32/39,35; 48/31,35; 49/30,2.

gemeint, aber aufgrund unterschiedlicher semantischer Spektren der Äquivalente oder strukturbedingter Grenzen der Quellsprache nicht präzisiert ist.²¹ Solche Entscheidungen sind unvermeidlich und würden beispielsweise implizit auch dann gefällt, wenn man auf Komposita verzichtete, da auf diese Weise viele Nuancen des Quelltextes verloren gingen, sodass sich die Wiedergabe sogar weiter von ihm entfernen würde. Weil derlei Phänomene nicht die Anforderungen an eine interpretierende Übersetzung in einem gehaltvollen Sinn erfüllen, bleiben sie hier außer Betracht.

Des Weiteren sind nun einzelne Äquivalenzen zu besprechen, die bei mangelnder Kontrolle Einblicke in exegetische Optionen des Übersetzers versprechen mögen, dies aber bei kritischer Betrachtung nicht tun.²²

בַּעַל ≙ ἡ Βααλ

JerG* versieht den Gottesnamen Βααλ konstant mit dem femininen Artikel,²³ wie es auch sonst in der LXX häufig geschieht.²⁴ Nach der zumeist akzeptierten Erklärung von Dillmann (1881) sollte der Artikel die Leser veranlassen, den Gottesnamen nach Art eines *Qere perpetuum* durch ἀισχύνη *Schande* zu ersetzen,²⁵ ebenso wie man im hebräisch- und aramäischsprachigen Judentum בַּעַל als בַּשֵּׁת las (Herrmann 1999:137). Entsprechend nennt JerMT 11,13 Baal einfach בַּשֵּׁת, und in 2 Sam ist bei Personennamen das theophore Element בַּעַל gegen בַּשֵּׁת vertauscht.²⁶ Wie immer der feminine Artikel bei Βααλ zu erklären ist,²⁷ handelt es sich jedenfalls um einen Ausdruck der Verachtung (Bogaert 2010). Doch da der

21 Solchen Gewinnen an Explizität stehen umgekehrt auch Verluste gegenüber, wenn im Zuge der Übersetzung Details verlorengehen, die in der Zielsprache nicht ohne unvertretbaren Aufwand darstellbar sind, wie z. B. bestimmte Genusmarker in hebräischen Verbalformen.

22 Vgl. über das hier gebotene Material hinaus auch die instruktiven Beispiele 8,23 und 22,13 bei Aejmelaeus (2007b:232).

23 2,8.23.28; 7,9; 11,13.17; 12,16; 19,5; 23,13.27; 32/39,29.35.

24 Das Material ist zusammengestellt bei Vonach (2003:59-62). Vgl. auch Röm 11,4, wo Paulus 3 Bas 19,18 frei zitiert und gegen seine Vorlage den maskulinen Artikel an Βααλ gegen einen femininen ausgetauscht hat.

25 So explizit in 3 Bas 18,19.25.

26 אִישׁ בַּשֵּׁת 2 Sam 2,8; מְפִיבַשֵּׁת 2 Sam 4,4; 21,8; יְרֵבְשֵׁת 2 Sam 11,21 (vgl. Ri 6,32).

27 Wenig wahrscheinlich ist die These von Vonach (2003), der feminine Artikel habe den Namen Baal in eine Chiffre für Isis verwandelt.

Übersetzer von JerG* hiermit lediglich eine verbreitete Praxis der LXX fortführt, trägt das Verfahren wenig zur Erhellung seiner auslegerischen Optionen bei.

אֲנִי *Niederung, Tal* \triangleq πολυανδρείον *Menschenmenge, Gräberfeld*

אֲנִי ist in 7,31.32 und 32/39,35 korrekt mit dem Standardäquivalent der LXX φάραγξ *Kluft, Schlucht* (Dos Santos 1973:36) wiedergegeben, während in 2,23 und 19,2.6bc πολυανδρείον steht. Dabei beziehen sich alle Stellen außer 2,23 auf das Ben-Hinnom-Tal mit der „Tofet“ genannten heterodoxen Kultinstallation. Infolgedessen trägt das Tal in JerG* 19 die Bezeichnungen τὸ πολυανδρείον υἰῶν τῶν τέκνων αὐτῶν (V. 2 aufgrund der Verschreibung הנח בן \Rightarrow בנח בן) sowie πολυανδρείον υἰοῦ Ἐννομ und πολυανδρείον τῆς σφαγῆς (V. 6), während die Parallele zu 19,6 in 7,32 φάραγξ verwendet, obwohl gerade dort das Hinnomtäl als (vom Platzmangel aufgezwungene) Begräbnisstätte apostrophiert wird. In JE12 tritt für אֲנִי sonst φάραγξ²⁸ neben vereinzelt νάπη²⁹ und χάος³⁰ ein. Darüber hinaus findet sich πολυανδρείον in Wiedergaben der Hebräischen Bibel nur in EzG* 39,11-16:³¹ JHWH kündigt in Ez 39,11 an, er werde für Gog in Israel eine Grabstätte im *Tal der Durchreisenden* (תַּל הַדַּרְכֵי עֲרִיבֵי הַיָּם) 11b für אֲנִי תַּל הַדַּרְכֵי עֲרִיבֵי הַיָּם*) einrichten. Dieser Ort heißt im Griechischen τὸ πολυανδρείον τῶν ἐπελθόντων. Anschließend wird dessen künftiger Name אֲנִי תַּל הַדַּרְכֵי עֲרִיבֵי הַיָּם zweimal als τὸ γαί τὸ πολυανδρείον τοῦ Γωγ übertragen (V. 11e/12.15), sodass πολυανδρείον nicht das vorausgehende אֲנִי, sondern תַּל הַדַּרְכֵי עֲרִיבֵי הַיָּם vertritt. Auch der Name der Stadt תַּל הַדַּרְכֵי עֲרִיבֵי הַיָּם in V. 16 wird mit Πολυανδρείον wiedergegeben. Folglich repräsentiert das Substantiv in EzG* 39 nochmals אֲנִי (V. 11b), und zwar im Zusammenhang mit einer Grabstätte, übersetzt jedoch auch dreimal תַּל הַדַּרְכֵי עֲרִיבֵי הַיָּם bzw. תַּל הַדַּרְכֵי עֲרִיבֵי הַיָּם (V. 11e.15.16), was seiner Grundbedeutung *Menschenmenge* nahekommt.

Der Befund wirft die Frage auf, ob für den Übersetzer אֲנִי angesichts von Ez 39,11 (vgl. auch Jer 7,32) die Bedeutung *Gräberfeld* angenommen hatte. Doch seine Kriterien für den Wechsel zwischen πολυανδρείον und φάραγξ bleiben einstweilen dunkel. Solange darüber keine Klarheit hergestellt ist, können wir aus der Äquivalenz אֲנִי \triangleq πολυανδρείον keine Informationen über seine interpretativen Absichten gewinnen. Es ist nicht

28 Ez 31,12; 35,8; 36,4; 39,11*; Sach 14,5.5.

29 Ez 6,3; 36,6.

30 Mi 1,6; Sach 14,4.

31 Sonst 2 Makk 9,4.14; 4 Makk 15,20.

einmal zu erkennen, ob seine Entscheidungen auf reflexen Überlegungen oder spontanen Impulsen beruhen.

גוּחַ *Gasse* \triangleq ἔξωθεν *von außen, außerhalb*

גוּחַ wird in JerG* teilweise durch ὁδός *Weg* und Komposita,³² mehrheitlich aber durch ἔξωθεν repräsentiert. גוּחַ kann unter Umständen die Bedeutungen *von außen* oder *außerhalb* annehmen, doch trifft dies nicht auf die Fälle in JerG* zu.³³ Die Wahl von ἔξωθεν führt namentlich bei den formelhaften Wendungen des Typs בְּעָרֵי יְהוּדָה וּבְחֻצוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם *in den Städten Judas und den Gassen Jerusalems* zu seltsamen Ergebnissen, weil die betreffenden Aussagen jetzt nur noch ἐν πόλεσιν Ἰουδα καὶ ἔξωθεν Ἱερουσαλημ *in den Städten Judas und außerhalb Jerusalems* gelten sollen.³⁴ Ferner habe Jeremia laut 37/44,21 seine Sonderrationen im belagerten Jerusalem merkwürdigerweise nicht מִחוּץ הַבָּקָעָה *aus der Bäcker-gasse* erhalten, sondern ἔξωθεν οὗ πέσσουσιν *von außerhalb, wo sie backen* – also etwa von außerhalb der eingekesselten Stadt?

Wie das Nebeneinander der Äquivalente zeigt, war dem Übersetzer die korrekte Bedeutung von גוּחַ bekannt; er ist ihr aber nur bis Kap. 14 gefolgt, und zwar im Wechsel mit ἔξωθεν, auf das er sich anschließend festlegte, obwohl ihm die begrenzte Akzeptabilität der Resultate kaum entgangen sein kann. Nach dem Verteilungsbild zu urteilen, gehorchten seine Äquivalenzwahlen nicht exegetischen Erwägungen, die auf den jeweiligen Kontexten gründeten, sondern vorgängigen Annahmen über die Semantik von גוּחַ. Zu Beginn anscheinend noch schwankend, entschied er sich schließlich aus unbekanntem Gründen für ἔξωθεν, ohne deshalb bereits vollzogene Wiedergaben mit ὁδός rückgängig zu machen.

יְהוָה *JHWH* \triangleq θεός *Gott*

Das Standardäquivalent für den Gottesnamen יְהוָה ist der Hoheitstitel κύριος. JerG* bietet allerdings mehrfach an einschlägigen Stellen den Appellativ θεός. Wie die Distribution zeigt,³⁵ ist die Gleichung auf die erste Hälfte von JerG* (Kap. 1-28) beschränkt, die sich noch durch weitere charakteristische Äquivalenzen von der zweiten Hälfte (Kap. 29-52)

32 ὁδός 5,1; 7,17; δίοδος 2,28 > MT; 7,34; 14,16; ἔξοδος 11,13.

33 6,11; 9,20/21; 11,6; 33/40,10; 37/44,21; 44/51,6.9.17.21; 51/28,4; vgl. Bar 2,23.

34 11,6; 33/40,10; 44/51,6.9.17.21; 51/28,4; vgl. Bar 2,23.

35 1,1.2; 2,19; 3,21.25; 4,4; 8,14; 9,19; 14,10; 50/27,15; vgl. 3,19.

abhebt.³⁶ Die beiden Hälften bilden daher innerhalb von JE12 nochmals übersetzungskritisch separate Subsegmente. Allerdings differieren sie nur durch Eigenarten der Übersetzungstechnik, während nichts auf die Verwendung getrennter Vorlagen deutet, die unterschiedlichen Texttypen angehören. Dies plädiert dafür, keinen abweichenden Quelltext in Betracht zu ziehen, sondern die Gleichung $\text{יְהוָה} \triangleq \text{θεός}$ dem Übersetzer zuzuschreiben. Anscheinend wirken hier Kontroversen um die angemessene Ersetzung des Gottesnamens nach: In einer früheren Phase machte der Appellativ *Gott* (אֱלֹהִים , θεός) noch dem Hoheitstitel *Herr* (יְדֹנָי , κύριος) Konkurrenz, bis sich letzterer durchsetzte, eine Praxis, die sich der Schöpfer von JerG* in der zweiten Hälfte ebenfalls zu eigen gemacht hat. Es fragt sich allerdings, ob die Festlegung auf κύριος einer im engeren Sinne theologischen Überlegung entsprang oder lediglich dem Wunsch nach einer konsistenten Wiedergabe Rechnung trug.

נִפְּצָה -D/H *zerschmettern* \triangleq διασκορπίζω *zerstreuen*

13,14

$\text{וְנִפְּצָתִים יֵשׁ אֶל-אַחִיו}$

Und ich werde sie zerschmettern, einen am anderen.

$\text{καὶ διασκορπιῶ αὐτοὺς ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ}$

Und ich werde sie zerstreuen, einen Mann und seinen Bruder.

Nach Vonach (2011:2730) beruht die Wiedergabe von נִפְּצָה -D durch διασκορπίζω auf einem planvollen Eingriff, denn damit „münzt der Übersetzer die Botschaft ... direkt auf seine Hörerschaft in der Diaspora um“. Dasselbe Äquivalent für נִפְּצָה -D/H ist jedoch – bei zumeist menschlichen, aber z. T. auch unbelebten Objekten – ebenfalls im sog. Hammerlied 51/28,20–23 anzutreffen, während in 48/31,12 bei dem Objekt נֶבֶל / κέρασμα für נִפְּצָה -D korrekt συγκόπτω gewählt ist. Folglich korrespondieren die beiden Äquivalente den beiden übersetzungskritisch separaten Hälften von JerG*:³⁷ In Kap. 1-28 finden wir διασκορπίζω , in Kap. 29-52 συγκόπτω . Demnach hat der Übersetzer von JerG* 1-28 möglicherweise die betreffenden Verbalformen auf נִפְּצָה II *sich zerstreuen* bezogen (vgl. HAL) bzw. diese Bedeutung zum semantischen Spektrum von נִפְּצָה gezählt (vgl. Ges¹⁸), oder er hat die Belege irrtümlich von פָּרַץ abgeleitet. Dann liegt jedoch keine interpretierende Übersetzung, sondern eine andersartige grammatische bzw. semantische Analyse vor.

36 Vgl. hierzu Tov (1976), speziell S. 52; Michael (2006); Stipp (2015d).

37 S. Anm. 36.

46/26,16; 50/27,16

מִפְּנֵי חֶרֶב הַיּוֹנָה

vor dem Schwert, dem gewalttätigen

ἀπὸ προσώπου μαχαίρας Ἑλληνικῆς

weg vom Angesicht des griechischen Schwertes

Das Partizip G von ינה ist noch in 25,38 und Zef 3,1 belegt (vgl. Ps 123,4), also nur in JE12, dessen Übersetzer die Partizipien des Grundstamms nicht als Formen von ינה erkannte, obwohl ihm das Verb geläufig war (22,3; Ez 18,7 u. ö.). Hier nahm er eine aktualisierende Vokalisierung an (הַיּוֹנָה), die allerdings ungrammatisch ist, denn während sich bei Attributverbindungen mit Partizipien der Artikel mehrfach nur beim partizipialen Attribut findet (GK § 126w), sind solche Determinationsgefälle bei adjektivischen Attributen nicht belegt. Die Lesung scheint auf die Eroberungszüge Alexanders des Großen anzuspielen, wiewohl auch G in 46/26,13 vom *König von Babylon* spricht. In 25,38/32,24 wird das Partizip im Kontext eines weltweiten Gerichts mit μέγας wiedergegeben.³⁸ In Zef 3,1 liegt eine Verwechslung mit dem Substantiv יוֹנָה *Taube* vor (περιστερὰ). Dieses Beispiel ist ein Grenzfall, weil der Übersetzer seinen Quelltext in einer Weise missverstand, die auf eine aktualisierende Wiedergabe hinauslief, ohne dass ihm interpretative Absichten bescheinigt werden können.

3.2 Interpretative Eingriffe des Übersetzers

3.2.1 Zusätze

7,4

אַל-תִּבְטְחוּ לְכֶם אֶל-דִּבְרֵי הַשָּׁקָר

Verlasst euch nicht auf die Lügenworte!

μὴ πεποιθήατε ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ἐπὶ λόγοις ψευδέσιν

ὅτι τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ὠφελήσουσιν ὑμᾶς

*Verlasst euch nicht auf euch selbst, auf Lügenworte,**denn sie werden euch überhaupt nichts nutzen!*

38 MT חֶרֶב הַיּוֹנָה, während JerG* mit μαχαίρας τῆς μεγάλης wie in 46,16 und 50,16 die Lesart חֶרֶב הַיּוֹנָה voraussetzt. In MT wurde חֶרֶב gegen maskulines חֶרֶב vertauscht. Zur Vermeidung von Genusdisgruenz haben die Tiberer jedoch nicht das Partizip als Maskulinum vokalisiert (הַיּוֹנָה), sondern die Attributverbindung in eine Konstruktusverbindung verwandelt, offenbar um den Anklang an die Parallelen in 46,16 und 50,16 zu erhalten.

Der Kausalsatz $\delta\tau\iota\ \tau\acute{o}\ \pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\kappa\ \acute{\omega}\phi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu\ \acute{\upsilon}\mu\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$ hat keine Entsprechung in *MT*. Zwar lassen sich die Worte $\delta\tau\iota\ \omicron\upsilon\kappa\ \acute{\omega}\phi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu\ \acute{\upsilon}\mu\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$ problemlos ins Hebräische übersetzen ($\text{כִּי לֹא יִזְעִי־לִוֹ לְכֹס}$),³⁹ aber dies gilt nicht für $\tau\acute{o}\ \pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\nu$ überhaupt, das bei 9 Belegen – 8 davon in JE12 – niemals ein Gegenstück im Hebräischen besitzt.⁴⁰ Es handelt sich folglich um eine verstärkende Beigabe, die der Übersetzer von JE12 besonders schätzte. Indes wäre es ein höchst unwahrscheinlicher Zufall, hätte der Übersetzer seinen Zusatz ausgerechnet binnen eines der wenigen sekundären Überhänge seiner Vorlage angebracht. Das spricht dafür, dass der Einschub insgesamt vom Übersetzer stammt. Er hat damit aber lediglich, wohl vor allem durch V. 8 angeregt, deuterojeremianisches Formelgut vermehrt⁴¹ und so ein im Buch verankertes Konzept unterstrichen, aber kein neues eingetragen.

3.2.2 Abweichende Übersetzungen

הָהִיא *ach!, wehe!* \triangleq $\delta\ \acute{\omega}\nu$ *der Seiende*

Die Interjektion הָהִיא tritt in Jer ausschließlich im Mund Jeremias im Rahmen der Gottesanrede $\text{יְהוָה (יְדֹנִי) הָהִיא}$ auf und wird in JerG* konstant mit $\delta\ \acute{\omega}\nu$ wiedergegeben (1,6; 4,10;⁴² 14,13; 32,17). Auch die übrigen Belege in JE12 – sämtlich in Ez – gehören zu gleichartigen prophetischen Gottesanreden, erhalten aber andere Äquivalente: $\mu\eta\delta\alpha\mu\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ Ez 4,14; 21,5; $\acute{\omicron}\acute{\iota}\mu\mu\omicron\iota$ 9,8; $\acute{\omicron}\acute{\iota}\mu\mu\omicron\iota\ \acute{\omicron}\acute{\iota}\mu\mu\omicron\iota$ 11,13. Diese Praxis bestätigt, dass dem Übersetzer die Interjektion vertraut war. Da der Partizipialausdruck $\delta\ \acute{\omega}\nu$ aus der Schreibung הָהִיא nicht ableitbar ist und das AT nur ein einziges Partizip von הָיָה bezeugt (Ex 9,3), herrscht kein Zweifel, dass es sich um eine Interpretation des Übersetzers handelt, die auf die Selbstvorstellung JHWHs in Ex 3,14 anspielt, wo $\text{אֲנִי הָיָה אֲשֶׁר אֲהִיָּה}$ mit $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\omega}\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota\mu\iota\ \delta\ \acute{\omega}\nu$ übertragen wird.

נְבִיא *Prophet* \triangleq $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\pi\rho\omicron\phi\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\varsigma$ *Falschprophet*

In JerG* wird נְבִיא neunmal durch $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\pi\rho\omicron\phi\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\varsigma$ wiedergegeben;⁴³ daneben findet sich ein weiterer Fall in Sach 13,2. Hier darf davon ausgegangen werden, dass dem überschießenden Element $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron$ - kein Korrelat in der Vorlage entsprach. $\Psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ und $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma$ sind die Standardäquivalente

39 Vgl. 7,8; 23,32; ferner 2,8.11; 16,19.

40 Vgl. *G* zu 1 Kön 11,10; Ez 20,9.14.15.22; 41,6; 46,20; Zef 3,6.

41 Vgl. Anm. 39 und Stipp (1998:61).

42 Dieser Beleg wurde von Ziegler (2013) aufgrund der Hs. 26 rekonstruiert.

43 6,13; 26,7.8.11.16; 27,9; 28,1; 29,1.8.

für שָׁקֵר, aber die Verbindung נְבִיאֵי שָׁקֵר* ist nicht belegt; außerdem wäre dafür nach den Routinen des Übersetzers eine Adjektivverbindung mit ψευδής zu erwarten.⁴⁴ Wenn das Jeremiabuch Falschpropheten explizit als solche benennt, greift man zu Umschreibungen wie הַנְּבִיאִים הַשָּׁקֵר (23,26) u. ä. Folglich handelt es sich hier wie bei dem Verb ψευδομαρτυρέω für ענה im Falschzeugnisverbot des Dekalogs (Ex 20,16; Dtn 5,20) um eine explizierende bzw. präzisierende Exegese, die keinen neuen Gedanken hinzufügt, sondern das semantische Spektrum des Textes verengt, indem sie ausdrücklich macht, was in der Vorlage mitverstanden, aber so genau nicht ausgesprochen wird.

םחג-N *bereuen* mit göttlichem Subjekt \triangleq (ἀνα)παύομαι *aufhören*

Weil dieser Fall an anderer Stelle ausführlich besprochen wird,⁴⁵ sind hier nur die wichtigsten Tatbestände aufgeführt. In der übersetzungskritisch separaten ersten Hälfte von JerG*⁴⁶ wird םחג-N *bereuen*, wenn von JHWH ausgesagt, wie üblich mit μετανοέω und μεταμελέομαι *bereuen* wiedergegeben (4,28; 18,8.10; 20,16). In der zweiten Hälfte wird hingegen (ἀνα)παύομαι *aufhören* gewählt (26/33,3.13.19; 42/49,10), während bei menschlicher Reue weiterhin μετανοέω verwendet wird (31/38,19). Die Gleichung םחג-N \triangleq παύομαι ist ein weiteres Mal – ebenfalls bei göttlichem Subjekt – in Jes 1,24 belegt. Offenkundig wollte der Übersetzer der zweiten Hälfte von JerG* die anthropomorphe Vorstellung vermeiden, dass Gott Reue empfinden könne.

רִיפָצַן Norden \triangleq ἀπηλιώτης *Ostwind, Osten*

רִיפָצַן wird in JerG* konstant mit dem Standardäquivalent βορρᾶς wiedergegeben. Nur wenn Jeremia in 25,26/32,12 unter allen Herrschern und Völkern der Welt auch *alle Könige des Nordens, die nahen und die fernen* aus dem Taumelbecher trinken lässt, dreht JerG* die Himmelsrichtung: πάντας βασιλεῖς ἀπὸ ἀπηλιώτου τοὺς πόρρω καὶ τοὺς ἐγγύς *alle Könige aus dem Osten, die fernen und die nahen*. Dass der *Osten* in der Vorlage stand, ist aus doppeltem Grund ausgeschlossen. Erstens besitzen die hebräischen Ausdrücke für *Osten* ein anderes Standardäquivalent: Für מְרִצְוֹן und קֶדְמָה tritt ἀνατολή ein (Dos Santos 1973:108, 180). Zweitens dient ἀπηλιώτης noch drei weitere Male als Übersetzungsterminus und weicht

44 Vgl. דְּבַרֵי הַשָּׁקֵר 7,4.8 \triangleq λόγοις ψευδέσιν; שָׁקֵר טג 8,8 \triangleq σχοῖνος ψευδής; שָׁקֵר יוֹזֵה 14,14 \triangleq ὁράσεις ψευδεῖς; שָׁקֵר תוֹמָה 23,32 \triangleq ἐνύπνια ψευδῆ.

45 Stipp (2015c), dort zu 26,3.

46 Vgl. oben Anm. 36.

dabei immer von der masoretischen Lesart ab. In Ez 21,3.9 bzw. EzG 20,47; 21,4 – also innerhalb von JE12 – steht das Wort anstelle von גָּב , weil „von Alexandria ... aus gesehen der Negeb im Osten liegt“.⁴⁷ Im Rahmen der Bauanleitung für den Vorhof des Zeltheiligtums findet sich $\alpha\pi\eta\lambda\iota\acute{\omega}\tau\eta\varsigma$ in Ex 27,11 wie hier anstelle von וַיִּפְּץ , und zwar neben weiteren abweichenden Richtungsangaben in V. 9 und 13, die jeweils gegenüber den masoretischen Daten um 90° im Uhrzeigersinn gedreht sind, weil die Anlage in EzG 27,9ff. „aus alexandrinischer Perspektive geschildert“ ist.⁴⁸ Folglich besitzt $\alpha\pi\eta\lambda\iota\acute{\omega}\tau\eta\varsigma$ kein hebräisches Äquivalent, sondern das Wort vertritt immer dann anders lautende Richtungsangaben, wenn die Übersetzer mit Rücksicht auf ihren ägyptischen Standort abweichend von ihrer Vorlage eine östliche Richtung markieren wollten. Dementsprechend ist $\alpha\pi\eta\lambda\iota\acute{\omega}\tau\eta\varsigma$ auch in Jer 25,26/32,12 dem ägyptischen Blickpunkt geschuldet, von dem aus die genannten Könige eher in östlicher Richtung beheimatet sind.⁴⁹ Die Besonderheit dieser Lesart besteht darin, dass sie mit Sicherheit auf den Übersetzer zurückgeht und einen der seltenen Fälle von ägyptischem Kolorit in JerG* darstellt.⁵⁰

וְדָרַדְרָה -D *heiligen* in kriegerischem Kontext

Das Standardäquivalent für וְדָרַדְרָה -D ist $\alpha\gamma\iota\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ *heiligen*, so auch in Jer 17,22.24.27; 51,27.28. In zwei charakteristischen Fällen wird die Terminologie der Heiligkeit jedoch vermieden:

- 6,4 $\text{וְדָרַדְרָה מִלְּפָנֶיךָ הַיְיָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ הַיְיָ$
Heiligt gegen sie den Krieg!
παρασκευάσασθε ἐπ’ αὐτήν εἰς πόλεμον
Macht euch bereit gegen sie zum Krieg!
- 22,7 $\text{וְדָרַדְרָה מִלְּפָנֶיךָ הַיְיָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ הַיְיָ$
Und ich werde gegen dich Verwüster heiligen.
καὶ ἐπάξω ἐπὶ σὲ ὀλεθρεύοντα
Und ich werde gegen dich Verwüster heraufführen.

47 Hammerstaedt-Löhr *et al.* (2011:2912).

48 Kraus & Karrer (2009:83), Textanm. zu Ex 27,9.

49 Mit Vonach (2011:2791).

50 Weitere Beispiele sind gesammelt bei Stipp (1994:51f.).

Zum Vergleich:

51,27.28 קָדְשׁוּ עֲלֵיהֶּ גּוֹיִם
ἀγιάσατε ἐπ’ αὐτῆν ἔθνη

6,4 zitiert JHWH, wie er die Krieger des Feindes aus dem Norden zum Angriff auf die Tochter Zion (V. 2) anfeuert; in 22,7 bedroht er *das Haus des Königs von Juda* (V. 6). In beiden Fällen ist in JerG* von Heiligung keine Rede. Παρασκευάζω (6,4) ist in der LXX selten, zumal als Übersetzungsterminus. Innerhalb von JE12 kommt das Verb nur in Jer vor, dort aber immerhin mit 5 Fällen, die für jeweils verschiedene Äquivalente eintreten. Neben 6,4 sind dies: 12,5 für הרהר-t *wetteifern* (sonst nur in 22,15 belegt und dort mit παροξύνω übersetzt); 46/26,9 für III הלל-Dt *toll werden, rasen* (sonst in 25,16/32,2 μαίνομαι *rasen*; 50/27,38 κατακαυχάομαι *frohlocken*; 51/28,7 σαλεύομαι *geschüttelt werden*); 50/27,42 ערך *ordnen* (auch: für den Kampf; noch 4-mal in Jer mit wechselnden Äquivalenten); 51/28,11 ברר-H (*Pfeile*) *schärfen* (in dieser Bedeutung singular; vgl. 4,11). Keines dieser hebräischen Verben ähnelt קדש im Schriftbild. Demnach zeigt παρασκευάζω keine abweichende Vorlage an, sondern diente dem Übersetzer als Verlegenheitslösung, wenn er sich über die Bedeutung seines Quelltextes unsicher war – oder ihn, wie hier, nicht wörtlich wiedergeben wollte. Ebenso wird dann auch die Gleichung קדש-D \triangleq ἐπάγω (sonst ein Standardäquivalent für בוא-H) zu erklären sein. Folglich sind die zitierten Abweichungen in 6,4 und 22,7 dem Übersetzer zuzuschreiben. Bei dem für Juda bestimmten Unheil scheute er davor zurück, den Instrumenten der Vollstreckung die Qualität der Heiligkeit zu attestieren. Wenn dagegen in 51,27.28 die Gottesstimme aufruft, Nationen zum Kampf gegen Babylon zu *heiligen*, hegte er keine Bedenken gegen eine wörtliche Wiedergabe.⁵¹

קרא *ausrufen* \triangleq ἀναγινώσκω (*vor*)lesen

Wegen der in der Antike üblichen Praxis des lauten Lesens (Apg 8,30) bezeichnet das Verb קרא *rufen* auch die Tätigkeit des Lesens. Davon ist die Bedeutung *vorlesen* abgeleitet, die in Jer gehäuft vorkommt, weil dort mehrere Rezitationen von Texten geschildert werden. Die Spezialbedeutung *vorlesen* wird zumeist durch קרא־יְיָ mit Angabe des/der Rezipienten

51 Vgl. ferner einerseits JoëlG 4,9, andererseits MiG 3,5.

markiert;⁵² die Präpositionalverbindung kann jedoch entfallen, wenn das Auditorium aus dem Kontext bekannt (36,8.23; *G**-Vorlage 36,15d) oder keine Hörerschaft vorgesehen ist (51,61.63). Das Standardäquivalent für אָרָא *rufen* ist καλέω nebst Komposita (Dos Santos 1973:185), doch für die Bedeutungen *lesen* und *vorlesen* tritt ἀναγινώσκω (*vor*)*lesen* ein, so an den zitierten Stellen aus Jer*G**. Darüber hinaus kommt ἀναγινώσκω in drei weiteren Passagen vor, wo die Vorlage von der Rezitation eines Schriftstücks nichts weiß, und zwar immer in göttlichen Redebefehlen an Jeremia:

- 3,12 הָלֵךְ וְקָרָאתָ אֶת־הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה
πορεύου καὶ ἀνάγνωθι τοὺς λόγους τούτους
- 11,6 קָרָא אֶת־כָּל־הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה
ἀνάγνωθι τοὺς λόγους τούτους
- 19,2 וְקָרָאתָ שָׁם אֶת־הַדְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר־אֶדְבַּר אֵלֶיךָ
καὶ ἀνάγνωθι ἐκεῖ πάντας τοὺς λόγους
οὓς ἂν λαλήσω πρὸς σέ

Weil die Rückübersetzung dieser Belege von ἀναγινώσκω nichts anderes ergibt als den masoretischen Wortlaut, besteht auch hier kein Zweifel, dass wir eine Maßnahme des Übersetzers vor uns haben. Anscheinend deutete er die Objekte (*alle*) *diese Worte* in 3,12 und 11,6 als autoreferenzielle Verweise auf das Jeremiabuch und verstand daher die Redeaufträge als Order zur Rezitation des Werkes. Diese Interpretation übertrug er auch auf den Redebefehl in 19,2, wobei er den Widerspruch zu dem folgenden Relativsatz hinnahm, laut dem Jeremia eine Botschaft verkünden sollte, die JHWH ihm erst offenbaren würde, sobald er wie geheißen am Scherbentor eingetroffen war. Demnach schlägt sich hier ein Prophetenbild nieder, das sich Offenbarungsempfänger wie Jeremia von vornherein als Schriftsteller vorstellt.

אָשׁ brüllen \triangleq χρηματίζω *weissagen, kundtun* 25,30/32,16

יְהוָה מִמְּרוֹם יִשְׁאָר ... יִשְׁאָר עַל־נְוֵהוּ
JHWH brüllt aus der Höhe ... laut brüllt er über seiner Weide.
κύριος ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ χρηματιεῖ ...
λόγον χρηματιεῖ ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου αὐτοῦ

52 29,29; 36,6bd.10.13.14.15c.21; *MT* 36,15d; Ex 24,7 u. ö. קָרָא בְּאָזְנוֹי ist allerdings nicht eindeutig und kann auch den bloßen Zuruf bezeichnen; vgl. 2,1 *MT*; Ri 7,3; Ez 9,1.

*Der Herr wird aus der Höhe kundtun ...
ein Wort wird er kundtun über seinem Ort.*

Die Äquivalenz $\text{גאש} \triangleq \text{χρηματίζω}$ ist singular. Zugleich bietet der Passus den ersten Beleg von χρηματίζω in JerG*. Das Verb dient dann bis JerG* 43 (MT 36) mehrfach als Äquivalent für דבר-D (sonst λαλέω), und zwar stets bezogen auf Reden JHWHs (30/37,2; 36/43,2.4) oder eines Propheten (26/33,2cd), der auch ein Falschprophet sein kann (29/36,23). Χρηματίζω bedeutet ursprünglich *handeln, beschäftigt sein*,⁵³ trägt aber in JerG* die Spezialbedeutung *feierlich verkünden, (prophetisch) reden*,⁵⁴ die im NT fortwirkt.⁵⁵ Dagegen bezeichnen גאש und sein nominales Derivat הגש primär das Gebrüll von Löwen, werden aber auch auf göttliche und menschliche Äußerungen angewandt. JE12 gibt die Lexeme bei nichtgöttlichen Subjekten wörtlich wieder⁵⁶ und tut dies ebenfalls in Hos 11,10 – dem ersten Fall im Dodekapropheton –, wo das Verb das Gebrüll JHWHs beschreibt ($\text{ἐρεύγομαι, ὠρούμαι}$). Bei den übrigen Belegen mit göttlichem Subjekt wählte der Übersetzer jedoch Ausdrücke für menschliche Laute: Joël 4,16 ἀνακράζω *aufschreien*; Am 1,2 (|| Jer 25,30) φθέγγομαι *äußern*. Darin meldet sich eine wachsende Scheu, JHWH mit tierischem Gebrüll zu verbinden, die sich auch in Jer 25,30/32,16 niedergeschlagen hat. Aus denselben Pietätsgründen hat der Übersetzer dann die Fortsetzung $\text{הַיָּדָד כְּדַרְכֵי יְעֻנָּה}$ pluralisch wiedergegeben ($\text{καὶ αἰδαδ ὡσπερ τρυγῶντες ἀποκριθήσονται}$) und so den דַּדְה -Ruf auf nicht identifizierte menschliche Stimmen übertragen.⁵⁷ Ferner hat er anscheinend, durch 25,30/32,16 veranlasst, zeitweilig an χρηματίζω als Spezialausdruck für divinatorische Rede Gefallen gefunden, bis die normierende Kraft des herkömmlichen Standardäquivalents λαλέω wieder die Oberhand gewann.

31/38,20

$\text{עַל־כֵּן הָמוּ מְעִי לוֹ}$

Deshalb gerieten meine Eingeweide in Wallung um seinetwegen.

$\text{διὰ τοῦτο ἔσπευσα ἐπ' αὐτῷ}$

Deshalb eilte ich zu ihm.

53 So auch in 3 Bas 18,27 ($\triangleq \text{שיג}$) und IjobG 40,8 (kein Äquivalent).

54 Lust, Eynikel & Hauspie (2003), Muraoka (2009).

55 Bauer (1988).

56 $\text{גאש} \text{ἐρεύγομαι}$ Am 3,4.8; ὠρούμαι Jer 2,15; Ez 22,25; Zef 3,3; $\text{הגש} \text{ὠρυμα}$ Ez 19,7; ὠρούμαι Sach 11,3.

57 Mit Fischer (2011:85) und Vonach (2011:2791).

Der Satz zitiert JHWH mit einer Rede von seinen *Eingeweiden* als Metapher für die emotionale Mitte seiner Person. In JE12 wird מֶעָה durch κοιλία *Bauch* repräsentiert.⁵⁸ Hier wich der Übersetzer von dem Standardäquivalent ab und gab die Verbindung מֶעָה הָמוּ rein verbal durch ἔσπευσα *ich eilte* wieder. Σπεύδω repräsentiert in JE12 sonst Verben, die dem Schriftbild מֶעָה הָמוּ kaum ähneln;⁵⁹ deshalb besteht kein Recht zur Annahme, die Vorlage habe eine Verschreibung erlitten. Vielmehr hat der Übersetzer in diesem Fall offenkundig ebenso wie in 25,30/32,16 eine Ausdrucksweise vermieden, die ihm zur Beschreibung Gottes unangemessen erschien.⁶⁰

4. ERGEBNIS

Die vorstehenden Beispiele können keine Vollständigkeit beanspruchen, stehen aber für die Überzeugung, dass weitere Beispiele das Gesamtbild nicht wesentlich verändern, sofern jene strengen Maßstäbe angelegt werden, die in der Wissenschaft selbstverständlich sein sollten. Diagnosen interpretierender Wiedergabe setzen voraus, dass Abweichungen zweifelsfrei auf interpretative Absichten des Übersetzers rückführbar sind; er darf also weder von einer divergenten Vorlage noch von andersartigen semantischen oder grammatikalischen Prämissen ausgegangen sein. Dieser methodische Vorbehalt richtet für Annahmen interpretierender Wiedergabe eine hohe Hürde auf. Deshalb sind glaubhafte Beispiele dünn gesät, wie es die Übersetzungstechnik von JerG* ohnehin nicht anders erwarten lässt. Von den nachweisbaren Fällen ist überdies nur eine Minderheit von theologischer Art (in einem qualifizierten Sinne), und noch weniger fügen sich ihre Aussagen zu profilierten Konzepten zusammen.

Theologische Erwägungen haben den Übersetzer nur selten veranlasst, an der wortgetreuen Wiedergabe seiner Vorlage Abstriche vorzunehmen. Dies besagt nicht, dass der Übersetzer keine Theologie hatte, sondern dass sein Werk uns nichts Näheres darüber verrät. Immerhin hinderte ihn sein Empfinden für Pietät daran, JHWH bestimmte Eigenschaften und Handlungen zuzuschreiben, die er in seinem Quelltext antraf; so die Vorstellung, dass JHWH *Eingeweide* besäße (31/38,20) oder *bereuen* (26/33,3.13.19; 42/49,10) und *brüllen* (25,30/32,16) könne. Doch dies bleiben sporadische Ausnahmen. Nach dem gegebenen Befund bezeugt

58 Jer 4,19; Ez 3,3; 7,19; Jon 2,1.2.

59 מֶעָה-H Jer 4,6; I נהר Mi 4,1 (in der G*-Vorlage verschrieben zu מֶהָר?); מֶהָר-D Nah 2,6; vgl. Ez 30,9.

60 Dies ist unbestritten; so z. B. auch Vonach (2011:2799).

JerG* vor allem ein theologisches Anliegen des Übersetzers: Der Respekt vor den heiligen Schriften seiner Glaubensgemeinschaft verlangte von ihm, seinen Adressaten ein möglichst unverfälschtes Bild des Jeremia-buches zu vermitteln, wie es sich ihm durch die Brille seiner sprachlichen Kompetenz darbot. Dies hat er sich zu tun bemüht.⁶¹

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61 Die vorstehenden Zeilen sind gedacht als Zeichen der Verbundenheit an Paul Kruger und Johann Cook für die herzliche Freundschaft, die sie mir seit Jahrzehnten großzügig gewähren. Die beiden Kollegen wissen am besten, wie viel ich ihnen verdanke – bis hin zu den wertvollen Beiträgen, mit denen sie die Forschung am Jeremia-buch gefördert haben (Cook 1994; Kruger 1996, 2008). Dazu hat Johann Cook wichtige Reflexionen zum methodischen Zugriff auf die Theologie in der LXX unterbreitet, von denen auch die vorliegende Untersuchung intensiv profitiert hat, wie die obigen Verweise auf seine Arbeiten belegen.

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*Hans Ausloos and Bénédicte Lemmelijn (UC Louvain and KU Leuven /
University of the Free State)*

FAITHFUL CREATIVITY TORN BETWEEN FREEDOM AND LITERALNESS IN THE SEPTUAGINT'S TRANSLATIONS¹

ABSTRACT

The present contribution aims to shed light on the way in which the characterisation of the translation processes of the LXX was studied, is studied and can be studied. It makes an attempt to reach beyond traditional, sometimes simplistic, labelling in terms of “literalness” and “freedom”. Therefore, the first part presents the ongoing process of nuancing the characterisation of the Septuagint translation. The second part elaborates further on this indispensable process by introducing and emphasising the idea of “translational creativity” within the approach of the development of “content- and context-related criteria”. To make things more concrete, the first part presents the example of the text of LXX Exodus, while the second part is illustrated with a succinct discussion of the characterisation of LXX Job and Proverbs.

1. INTRODUCTION

At a time when both the text-critical and the theological relevance of the Septuagint (LXX) are increasing to a considerable, if not astonishing, degree, it is all the more important to adequately assess the peculiar character of this Greek translation. One can observe in current scholarship that the LXX serves to describe and explain certain tendencies in the development of the biblical texts, with its presumed *Vorlage* being put into dialogue with the textual fragments from the Dead Sea. It is clear, moreover, that the LXX seems to be discerned as the background of specific core theological affirmations in Christianity.

If the LXX is becoming a central player in our understanding of the biblical texts, both in their form and content, then it is all the more important to assess that very distinctive Greek text with the utmost accuracy. Striving for this begins by characterising its distinctive translations painstakingly and with great precision. One can evaluate

1 Hans Ausloos is professor at the Université catholique de Louvain and *Chercheur qualifié* of the F.R.S.-FNRS (Belgium). Bénédicte Lemmelijn is professor at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (Belgium). Both are Research Associates at the Department of Old Testament at the University of the Free State (South Africa).

whether specific elements are the result of the Greek translation process or rather to another Hebrew *Vorlage* only if one can understand the way of translating the different Greek books that form the LXX. And one can evaluate the text-critical, the literary and the theological value of the LXX only if one knows the origin of specific readings.

Against this background, the present contribution aims to shed light on the way in which this characterisation of the translation processes of the LXX was studied, is studied and can be studied. It makes an attempt to reach beyond traditional, sometimes simplistic, labelling in terms of “literalness” and “freedom”. Therefore, the first part presents the ongoing process of nuancing the characterisation of the Septuagint translations. The second part elaborates further on this indispensable process by introducing and emphasising the idea of “translational creativity” within the approach of the development of “content- and context-related criteria”. To make things more concrete, the first part presents the example of the text of LXX Exodus, while the second part is illustrated with a succinct discussion of the characterisation of Job and Proverbs.

Focusing on the LXX and simultaneously on the dynamics of the theological content of the biblical text is meant as a tribute to both Prof. Johann Cook and Prof. Paul Kruger. Prof. Cook devoted a lifetime to the LXX and especially to the book of Proverbs. Prof. Kruger illustrated the cultural, existential and vivid theological character of the biblical texts to an unparalleled extent. We thank both colleagues for the trail they forged so enthusiastically, each in his own way, but equally for their collegiality and friendship.

2. *FROM THE LETTER TO THE SPIRIT: CHARACTERISING THE LXX TRANSLATIONS*

2.1 *The traditional way: either literal or free*

When observing the attempts in scholarly studies to characterise the LXX translation of a particular book, it emerges that reference is usually made to the classical distinction between “literal” and “free” translations.² A translation is characterised as literal when it remains very close to its *Vorlage*, endeavouring to render the latter in an almost mechanical, often word-for-word manner. On the other hand, a translation is characterised as

2 A long list of scholars referring directly or indirectly to the terms “literal” and “free” is presented in Lemmelijn (2009:108 n. 53).

“free” when it does not do this,³ in other words when it treats its Hebrew *Vorlage* with greater linguistic and exegetical liberty. In this approach the “literalness” of the translation is mostly used as the point of departure for the study of translation techniques because the degree of “freedom” of a translation is said to be more difficult to gauge.⁴

The distinction between “literal” and “free” translations outlined above would appear at first sight to be clear and functional in practical terms. On closer inspection, however, it becomes clear that the different translation characters of the various LXX translations is not as easy to determine as one might be led to believe. In the past the characterisation of a translation as “literal” or “free” was often nothing more than an act of intuition, and often based on little more than vague impressions.⁵ The various aspects of

3 Cf., for example, Barr (1979:281, 282): “It is the various kinds of literalism that we seek to analyse and define: for each of them ‘free’ means that which is opposite to this particular literalism ... the concept of freedom in translating will always be there as a contrast”.

4 Cf. Tov (1997:19-20): “When analyzing translation techniques from the point of view of the translators’ attitudes towards the Hebrew text, it is probably best to start from the criteria for literalness, not because literalness formed the basis of most translations, but rather because these criteria can be defined more easily than those for free renderings”; Barr (1979:281): “The idea of literality, rather than the idea of free translation, can properly form our base line of definition ... it seems good to take literalism as the aim of our study. Its methods are to be analysed and defined. Freedom in translation is not a tangible method”. On “translation technique”, see Ausloos (forthcoming).

5 See Tov & Wright (1985:151): “The systems used in the past as a basis for the description of the translation character of the LXX are not satisfactory, and, in fact, one can hardly speak about a system since the majority of the analyses are based on the scholar’s *intuitive* understanding of the translation character”; and Tov & Wright (1985:152): “Scholars have had to rely too much on mere impressions”; Tov (1997:25 n. 39): “The majority of these analyses are based on the scholar’s *intuitive* understanding of the translation character. For example, if a scholar feels that lexical consistency rather than inconsistency characterizes a certain translation unit, he can provide several examples of the former, while adding a few examples of the latter as ‘exceptions’. Hence in most of the extant analyses of the translation techniques employed in the books of the LXX, it is not the examples that count, but the scholar’s intuitive description”; Wright (1987: 311): “Traditionally the categories ‘literal’ and ‘free’ have been described in much the same way one U.S. Supreme Court Justice described obscenity, ‘I

literalness were never made more precise and, furthermore, interest in the freedom of a translation remained extremely ephemeral. Against this background contemporary scholars have endeavoured to devote greater attention to these questions and to subject them to further research.

With respect to the literalness of a translation, scholars suggest that the concept is unusable as such, and that it would be better to determine the various sorts of literalness that exist and the extent to which a translation exhibits one or the other. Reference should be made in this regard to the authoritative work of Barr.⁶ Countering the classical distinction between “literalness” and “freedom”, Barr has stressed the fact that there are many different aspects of literalness as well as many kinds of freedom.⁷ When one argues that a particular translation is literal or free, one is thus obliged to specify in which way it is either literal or free. A translation can simultaneously be literal and free from different perspectives.⁸ In this respect, Barr discerns different aspects of literalness, to which the distinctive modes of freedom are correlated as their opposites.⁹

can't define it, but I know it when I see it"; Marquis (1987:406): "one cannot work with a broad or intuitive idea of what one means"; Aejmelaeus (2007:3): "our forerunners in Septuagint studies actually possessed few tools other than the human intellect".

6 Cf. Barr (1979).

7 See Barr (1979:279-284).

8 Cf. Barr (1979:280): "For – and this is my principal argument – there are different ways of being literal and of being free, so that a translation can be literal and free at the same time but in different modes or on different levels", and (1979:323-324): "It has been shown, I think, that 'literal' and 'free' are not clear and simple terms in the world of ancient biblical translation. There are numerous ways in which a version could be both at the same time. It could be literal, by one of the ways in which one may be literal, while by another of the ways it was simultaneously free". See also Sollamo (1985:111): "It is very difficult to draw a distinction between literal and free renderings in this field. The rendering which in one respect is slavish may be free in another"; Wright (1987:313): "Consequently, when measured by different indicators a translation could be both 'free' and 'literal' at the same time"; Olofsson (1990:12): "Literal and free types of translations were not fundamentally contradictory tendencies in ancient biblical translation, because they could be used together and by the same translator, even in the same passage".

9 Barr (1979:294-323). Cf. also Barr (1979:281): "A sophisticated study of the LXX, at least in many books, rather than dealing with the contrast between free

Based on the same concern and awareness of the inadequacy of the general categories “literal” and “free”, Tov has likewise produced pioneering work in this domain. In line with Barr, Tov distinguishes different facets of literalness and freedom. He proposes five aspects, which he employs as criteria for determining the literalness of a translation:¹⁰ consistency in the choice of translation equivalent; the representation of constituents of Hebrew words by individual Greek elements (also referred to as segmentation); word sequence; quantitative representation; and the linguistic adequacy of lexical options. According to Tov, the first four criteria can be expressed in statistical terms. Freedom in a translation, in Tov’s opinion, is not only characterised on negative grounds based on the partial or complete absence of the aforementioned characteristics of literalness (cf. Barr), but equally on the basis of a positive criterion that cannot be measured in statistical terms.¹¹ Tov speaks in this regard of the study of the nature and frequency of the exegetical elements that come to the fore in the translation under analysis.¹²

Parallel to this more nuanced approach to the literalness of translations and likewise based on an awareness of the inadequacy of the general labels “literal” and “free”, attention has also been focused on a more accurate characterisation of the freedom evident in Septuagint translations. Particular reference can be made in this regard to the scholars of the so-called “Finnish School”, including, among others, Soisalon-Soininen, Aejmelaeus and Sollamo. In contrast to the approach that mainly emphasises the detailed analysis of the various aspects of a translation’s literalness and that understands these as more accessible to definition and quantification, the latter scholars insist that a careful description of the

and literal, has to concern itself much of the time with variations within a basically literal approach: different kinds of literality, diverse levels of literal connection, and various kinds of departure from the literal. For this reason the idea of literality, rather than the idea of free translation, can properly form our base line of definition. It is the various kinds of literalism that we seek to analyse and define: for each of them ‘free’ means that which is opposite to this particular literalism”.

10 See, for example, Tov (1997:17-29; 1986:19-46 esp. 33-39); Tov & Wright (1985:152). See also Wright (1987:311); Olofsson (1990:12).

11 See Tov (1997:20).

12 See Tov (1997:25-27).

freedom of a translation is likewise of very great importance.¹³ While the fact that every Septuagint translation can be characterised in general terms as more or less literal cannot be denied, the Finnish scholars argue that it is precisely the deviations from this literal manner of working in favour of a more free, idiomatic Greek usage that expose the differences between individual translators and at the same time illuminate the particular characteristics of each individual translator (Aejmelaeus 1985:361-362). This aspect of the freedom evident in a translation is likewise of primary importance for the textual criticism of the Old Testament (Aejmelaeus 1985:362). As a matter of fact, the established percentage of literalness observed in a translation offers no indications when one is obliged to decide whether an individual variant is the result of a different *Vorlage* or of translation technique. However, a precise awareness of the freedom employed by a particular translator can help us to recognise and distinguish textual differences from the *Vorlage*. Like the characterisation of literalness, however, the freedom employed by translators must also be precisely characterised. Indeed, freedom in translation also consists of a number of different facets whereby a translator can exercise his translational freedom in a variety of ways.¹⁴

Based on the evident developments in research in this domain, it thus seems crystal clear that the precise characterisation of a particular

13 Cf., for example, Aejmelaeus (1985:361-380 esp. 362): “Free renderings are like fingerprints that the translators left behind them. By these fingerprints it is possible to get to know them and to describe their working habits, their actual relationship with the original, and their talent as translators”; and Aejmelaeus (1985:378): “Exact percentages of literalness are of little help if nothing is known of the actual renderings used. Importance should be attached to the description of the freedom of the individual translators”; Aejmelaeus (1987:65): “It is naturally easier to trace the *Vorlage* of a literal translation. Even in difficult passages one may discern the line of thought of a literal translator. It is all the more important, then, to study more closely the freer translations, with regard to their relationship to the *Vorlage* and the kind of freedom applied”.

14 See Aejmelaeus (1982:180): “It must be stressed, however, that different criteria may really bring out different aspects of the translations. Since the various free renderings and idiomatic Greek expressions impose different requirements on the translators, they may have been free in different ways. It is a different thing to be free as regards word order than as regards the equivalents of individual words, and even more is required to be free in renderings involving the mastery of larger units of text”. Cf. also Aejmelaeus (1987:65).

translation is essential, both at the level of its literalness and its freedom. While a general evaluation may be necessary, it is nevertheless insufficient.¹⁵ Against this background of the traditional use of the categories of “literalness” and “freedom”, even in the attempt to focus on their respective specific characteristics, the following paragraphs will narrow down our attention to indispensable ways of introducing nuance.

2.2 *Nuancing the dichotomy: faithfulness*

A first way to reconsider the seemingly self-evident distinction between “literalness” and “freedom”, even if they are described through specific subcategories of either literalness or freedom, is to introduce the idea of “faithfulness”. As a kind of “meta-reflection”, the evaluation of a translation as “faithful” reaches beyond the dichotomy of literalness and freedom. Indeed, and together with, among others, Aejmelaeus, we are of the opinion that the analysis of translations must be fully aware of the difference between “literalness” and “faithfulness”.¹⁶ An extremely literal translation does not necessarily imply a particularly faithful translation, just as a free translation does not need to be understood as less faithful *per se*. A good free translation may in fact be very faithful with respect to its *Vorlage*,¹⁷ while a literal translation may be less faithful on account of an

15 Cf. likewise Wright (1987:311-313): “Given the complex make-up of what has been called ‘literalism’, it simply is not sufficient to use the terms ‘literal’ and ‘free’ as blanket descriptions of translations. In fact, the terms ‘literal’ and ‘free’ may be as much of a hindrance as a help when used as generalizing descriptions. ... Thus, in order to have as accurate a picture as possible of the *Vorlage* of any given translation scholars need to know more than whether a translation is ‘literal’ or ‘free’. They need to know in what ways and to what degree translators are consistent in their approach to particular aspects of their source texts”.

16 Cf. Aejmelaeus (1985:378): “A distinction should be made between literalness and faithfulness”. See also Soisalon-Soininen (1987a:88): “Sie haben den Text möglichst getreu wiedergeben wollen, nicht aber wortwörtlich”.

17 Cf. Aejmelaeus (1985:378): “Changing the structure of a clause or a phrase, and by so doing replacing an un-Greek expression by a genuine Greek one closely corresponding to the meaning of the original, is quite a different thing from being recklessly free and paying less attention to the correspondence with the original ... A good free rendering is a faithful rendering”; Soisalon-Soininen (1987b:141-153 esp. 152): “Now and again very free renderings of the whole sentence occur. For the most part they are skilful translations and correspond to the original meaning very well”.

extremely consistent selection of translation equivalents that do not always do justice to the demands of semantics.¹⁸ Thus, parallel to the fact that “literalness” *can* be faithful, “freedom” *can* equally be faithful. This freedom then can be minimal, moderate or strong and in all three cases the character of faithfulness is not *ipso facto* denied nor confirmed. It is the detailed research into the character of the translation that will offer a more solid evaluation.

By way of example, we refer to the freedom of the translation that can imply the necessary grammatical changes in order to obtain a more or less idiomatic Greek text. This translational attitude does not explicitly want to alter the content of its *Vorlage*; it does not deal carelessly with its text. Rather, it tries to render the *Vorlage* in an understandable way and therefore adopts a certain level of freedom to handle its text. An example of this kind of “freedom” can be found in the book of Exodus.

Being part of the Pentateuch, the Septuagint translation of Exodus is counted among the books which are seen as quite “literal”. However, LXX Exodus is generally characterised as (one of) the freest translation(s) of the Pentateuch.¹⁹ It is important to note in this regard, however, that the characterisation “free” should not be understood as arbitrarily “paraphrased”. The translator of the Septuagint translates with great care,²⁰

18 Cf. also Olofsson (1992:14-30); Tov (1976:535): “Since the consistent representation of Hebrew words by one Greek equivalent often was more important to the translators than contextually plausible renderings, their technique was bound to do injustice to several Greek words. For the translators also often used a stereotyped equivalent of a Hebrew word when the meaning of the Hebrew did not suit that of the Greek”; Tov (1997:22): “The majority of stereotyped renderings do not adequately cover *all* meanings of a given Hebrew word”; and Marquis (1987:408-409): “However, the moment one refers to the semantic level, to the meaning of words, it immediately becomes clear that the method of automatic and fixed translations was not successful in every case. The reason for this is that the ranges of meanings of words and their function in two different languages is far from identical, and as a result the fixed translation may not be appropriate in certain contexts”.

19 Cf. in this respect the extensive discussion of the scholarly views on the translation character of Exodus as a book and the particular analysis of Exodus 7, 14–11, 10 in Lemmelijn (2009:126-150; 2007).

20 The fact that the book of Exodus is translated with care is likewise confirmed, according to Tov, by the relative paucity of variants rooted in the interchange of

and is also faithful, even in his free renderings, to his original.²¹ However, he translates freely to the extent that he endeavours to render the Hebrew *Vorlage* in grammatically correct Greek,²² whereby a significant number of smaller and larger differences have arisen with respect to the Hebrew text.²³

Against this background, it becomes evident that bearing the above distinction between “faithfulness” and “literalness” in mind is really crucial. Indeed, it is possible to argue that the Septuagint translation of Exodus is an extremely faithful translation in relation to its *Vorlage*, while insisting at the same time that it is a particularly free translation, especially in its creation of a relatively good Greek text. In terms of content, the translation of Exodus remains close to its Hebrew *Vorlage*, but when one examines, for example, the word order, the consistent use of translation equivalents or the lack thereof, the quantitative representation or segmentation,²⁴ it quickly becomes apparent that Exodus treated the said

consonants. See the table in Tov (1992:263), together with his conclusion (1992:264).

- 21 Cf., for example, Aejmelaus (1992:389): “He [the translator of Exodus, HA/BL] could add and omit words and grammatical items, but he obviously did not do so out of indifference or carelessness. Even in the free renderings he mostly proves to be faithful to the original”; Aejmelaus (1987:63, 65 and 77): “It seems that even the free renderings follow the original very closely. Actually, even small details of the Hebrew text have been rendered faithfully”.
- 22 Cf., in the nineteenth century already, Frankel (1831:228): “Exodus wurde von einem Manne übertragen, der mehr mit der griechischen als mit der hebräischen Sprache vertraut gewesen zu sein scheint”; or Sanderson (1986:252): “for the sake of idiomatic Greek”; and (1986:253): “Often he exercised the freedom to render the Hebrew into good Greek while maintaining the thought”.
- 23 Cf., for example, Aejmelaus (1987:73): “In cases like these, there is no doubt that the translator knew the exact meaning of the Hebrew words in question, but he preferred a natural Greek expression, formally diverging from the original but all the more accurate with respect to content. The free renderings often either add or omit words as compared with the MT. Nevertheless, the type of expression used frequently makes it clear that no variant of the *Vorlage* is responsible for these changes. This is particularly obvious in the case of typically Greek phrases and words with no exact equivalent in Hebrew”.
- 24 Cf., for example, Aejmelaus (1987:76): “Obviously, Ex is not literal in the sense of word-for-word correspondence”. See also Aejmelaus (1982:180): “In questions of word order he is fairly free of the original”.

Vorlage with considerable freedom in producing a linguistically and grammatically correct Greek.²⁵

One can conclude as a consequence that the Septuagint of the book of Exodus is a “faithful” translation of its Hebrew basic text, which has exercised freedom with respect to the said *Vorlage* in order to acknowledge the linguistic characteristics of the Greek language and to provide a final result that represents grammatically correct Greek. Both its literalness and its freedom are subordinate to the concern for “faithfulness”.

The “freedom” of the translation, within a concern for the “faithfulness” of its rendering, can also reach further than the grammatical and linguistic level. It can equally imply real paraphrasing in order to make the text understandable for the Greek audience. In what follows, we will address this issue by introducing a new category in evaluating this kind of “free faithfulness”.

3. “*THE WIND OF THE SPIRIT BLOWS WHERE HE CHOOSES*”: *TRANSLATIONAL ‘CREATIVITY’*

3.1 *Beyond faithfulness: the recourse to ‘creativity’*

If Septuagint translations are to be evaluated in an adequate way, it is only the detailed and painstaking research into the character of the translation that will offer a serious assessment. In this respect, the authors of the present contribution have recently developed an approach that focuses on what has been called “content-related” criteria, or perhaps even more appropriately, “content- and context-related criteria”.²⁶ These criteria complement the traditional approach from the specific angle of research into the way that the LXX translator has dealt with very specific questions related to the content of the Hebrew/Greek text. Examples of these criteria can be found in the analysis of how the translator rendered into Greek the Hebrew jargon-defined vocabulary,²⁷ Hebrew wordplay in the literary context of aetiologies (for example, with respect to the rendering of

25 Cf. Aejmelaeus (1987:77): “The translator of Ex may thus be characterized as a competent translator, mindful of genuine Greek expressions, free in his relationship to the original, but still exact in reproducing his original relatively faithfully”.

26 For a description of the content- and context-related criteria in the characterisation of translation technique, see, for example, Ausloos & Lemmelijn (2010).

27 Cf. Lemmelijn (2008).

proper names for persons or toponyms),²⁸ Hebrew wordplay in the context of parallelism,²⁹ peculiar stylistic elements and Hebrew absolute *hapax legomena*.³⁰

Each of the criteria mentioned confronts the translator with a choice: whatever direction his rendering may take, the very act of translation requires him to give a specific answer to each of these particular problems as they arise. Thus, the “content- and context-related” approach could be compared to an artificially created laboratory situation in which a specific test is set up in order to elicit a reaction: specific textual data are isolated in order to be able to describe and interpret the “reaction” of the translator. Against the background of this research focus, we are neither interested in the study of wordplay or aetiology as a literary characteristic in itself, nor do we seek to define the problem of *hapax legomena* as such, and we do not want to become involved in discussions about the uses of parallelism as a stylistic device. The intention is rather to carefully and systematically observe particular situations in which the translator was forced to make a decision one way or the other. Studying these “reactions” of the translator could indeed offer more accurate information on his way of handling both his source and his target text, in other words his “translation technique”.

This kind of approach not only yields a more precise characterisation of the translation in terms of its literalness, freedom or faithfulness. Rather, and in addition, it reveals specific aspects of an extraordinary “creativity” on the side of the translator. In managing the above-mentioned “difficult” semantic or stylistic situations, the LXX translators sometimes produce wonderfully creative solutions to render their Hebrew text by a meaningful Greek equivalent.

28 Cf., for example, Ausloos (2008; 2012), as well as the studies of a doctoral student of ours, Valérie Kabergs (who is preparing a dissertation on the Greek rendering of Hebrew wordplay on proper names). Cf. Ausloos, Lemmelijn, & Kabergs (2012); Kabergs & Ausloos (2012); and Kabergs (2014).

29 In this respect, another doctoral research project has started with Marieke Dhont focusing on the Greek rendering of Hebrew wordplay in the specific literary context of the parallelism within the book of Job, as a content-related criterion in the characterisation of the Septuagint’s translation technique.

30 Cf. Ausloos & Lemmelijn (2012; 2008); Ausloos (2009). Cf. also a contribution of another former doctoral research fellow: Verbeke (2008), as well as her doctoral dissertation: Verbeke (2011).

In what follows, we will try to illustrate this nuancing approach of literalness and freedom in discovering both faithfulness and creativity in the context of characterising the translation techniques in Job and Proverbs.

3.2 *Translational creativity in the characterisation of Job and Proverbs*

Without reiterating all that has been extensively argued elsewhere, it is commonly known that the LXX translations of Job and Proverbs, whether or not ascribed to a single translator,³¹ are quite generally described as rather free or even paraphrastic.³² Yet, when addressing the question from as many perspectives as possible, it seems that neither translations can be unidimensionally labelled in that way. At least when focusing on the Greek rendering of Hebrew *hapax legomena*, one of the abovementioned “content- and context-related” criteria, both Job and Proverbs reveal certain “literal” characteristics too.

With regard to Job, and according to Verbeke, “the cases of omission, paraphrase and approximate rendering” would indeed confirm the “free” character of the translation. However, she emphasises equally that, when focusing on the rendering of individual *hapaxes*, “the cases of consistent rendering, association with a similar-looking word and reliance on parallelism exhibit his [the LXX translator of Job] interest in his source text. This confirms the opinion of many scholars who emphasised the fact that, although LXX Job can be classified as one of the freest LXX translations, it nonetheless exhibits a rather literal character as well” (Verbeke 2011:404).

With regard to Proverbs, a recent study of ours explored the rendering of the Hebrew *hapax legomenon* לִזְוֹת in LXX Prov 4:24 in the context of the question of the debated “single” translator of both Job and Proverbs.³³ Without repeating the detailed analysis and the broader question

31 Cf. Lemmelijn (2014).

32 In this respect, it is not our intention to provide the reader with another survey of existing research on the translation character of both Job and Proverbs. For the LXX of Job, we refer especially to the recent doctoral dissertation of Verbeke (2011), in which she offers an extensive *status quaestionis* on the translation technique of Job; see also Verbeke (2008:149-173). For an assessment of the translation character of the Septuagint of Proverbs, we refer mainly to the extensive work of Johann Cook in, for example Cook (2008; 2006).

33 Cf. Lemmelijn (2014:140-149).

addressed in that contribution, reference can be made to the main results here when the characterisation of the translation is at stake.³⁴

The text runs as follows:

הִסְרָ מִמֶּךָ	περίελε σεαυτοῦ
עֲקֹשׂוֹת פִּיה	σκολιὸν στόμα
וּלְזוֹת שְׁפָתַיִם	καὶ ἄδικα χεῖλη
הִרְחַק מִמֶּךָ	μακρὰν ἀπὸ σοῦ ἄπωσαι

In this verse, the *hapax legomenon* לְזוֹת seems to have presented the translator with a difficult task. As a *hapax legomenon* it is obviously rare, but when connected to the similar-looking verb לִזוּ, it also seems to be part of the typical language of Proverbs.³⁵ Moreover, it possesses multiple nuances of meaning. It is closely related to the synonym עֲקֹשׂוֹת, and has both a clear and subtle relation to its context. Therefore, the study of the Greek rendering of לְזוֹת in Prov 4:24 turned out to be to be an interesting “test case” for the content-related approach to translation technique. The translator has been pushed to make some (deliberate) choices. And indeed, in rendering the *hapax* לְזוֹת with the Greek term ἄδικα, the translator has proven to be “creative” on the stylistic and linguistic level as well as on the level of the text’s meaning. His translation equivalent meets, to a considerable extent, the different challenges he has faced. The content-focused approach to the characterisation of the translation technique thus revealed different aspects of the “creativity” of the Greek translation: the poetic style has been preserved, the different nuances of meaning of the words have been represented, and the relevance to the context has been clarified. Observing all this, one could label the translation of Proverbs here as “free”: the translator did not transliterate the *hapax legomenon*; he did not offer a nonsensical translation by sticking to the letter of his *Vorlage*. However, simultaneously and at least in the case of the single example pointed to above, it was equally clear that the translation in Prov 4:24, although not “literal”, remains very “faithful”. Indeed, the mirroring of the Hebrew parallelism in a Greek one that also evokes the multiple meanings of the Hebrew text is not at all haphazardly free or paraphrastic.

In this context, it becomes evident that the question of whether this kind of translation should be considered as more “literal” or “free” presents us with a false dilemma. The choice between “free” and “literal”

34 Cf. Lemmelijn (2014:148-149).

35 Cf. Lemmelijn (2014:143-144).

is not always so clear-cut. Indeed, Prov 4:24 seems to provide us with a free but faithful and yet very creative translation.

To conclude, we hope to have demonstrated that we certainly need to take some trouble to define carefully what we mean by “literal”, “free” and “faithful”. However, we hope also to have shown that a growing consciousness of the need to locate the label of “creativity” somewhere in between these categories is definitely dawning.

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Herbert Niehr (University of Tübingen / Stellenbosch University)

DER SANCTUAIRE AUX RHYTONS IN UGARIT: ÜBERLEGUNGEN ZU SEINER BEDEUTUNG UND FUNKTION IM KULT DER STADT¹

ABSTRACT

The sanctuaire aux rhytons in Ugarit is one of the city's minor sanctuaries. Recent discussions have rejected its identification as a location for a marziḥu-club, whereas some objects found in this site and its position in the city center have been underestimated. This article tries to find out the relevance of the sanctuaire aux rhytons for the religious life of Ugarit.

1. EINFÜHRUNG

Während der 38.-42. Ausgrabungskampagnen in Ugarit wurde in den Jahren 1978-1982 im Zentrum der Stadt ein Heiligtum ausgegraben, welches aufgrund der dort gefundenen 17 Rhyta und wegen des Fehlens einer passenden Bezeichnung den Namen *sanctuaire aux rhytons* erhielt (Abb. 1).

Die im Anschluss an die Publikation der Funde und Befunde des *sanctuaire aux rhytons*² einsetzende Diskussion um den kultischen Charakter dieses Heiligtums setzte sich vor allen Dingen mit zwei Positionen auseinander.

Zum einen machte die Diskussion über den Charakter des Heiligtums deutlich, dass es sich hierbei nicht um einen Tempel wie etwa um den Tempel der Götter Ba'al bzw. El auf der Akropolis von Ugarit handelt, da

1 Ich widme diese Studie meinen Kollegen Johann Cook und Paul A Kruger in Anerkennung ihres wissenschaftlichen Œuvres und als Dank für die langjährige kollegiale und freundschaftliche Verbundenheit am Department of Ancient Studies in Stellenbosch.

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2 Zu den Funden und Befunden des *sanctuaire aux rhytons* vgl. Yon (1984:48-50; 1987; 1991b; 1996); Yon, Caubet & Mallet (1982:171-173.182-191); Mallet (1987); Yon & Gachet (1989); Yon, Gachet, Lombard & Mallet (1990:4f.11-18); Caubet (1991:217). Vgl. des Weiteren dazu de Tarragon (1995:204-206); McGeough (2003:412-414); Saadé (2011:236).

mit dem *sanctuaire aux rhytons* kein freistehendes Gebäude mit einem Altar im Innenhof vor seiner Front vorliegt. Es fehlen zudem weitere Kultvorrichtungen und Geräte, die für einen Tempel unerlässlich sind. Insofern dürfte klar sein, dass es sich – auch wenn man den *sanctuaire aux rhytons* nicht als Tempel bezeichnen kann – doch um ein kleines Heiligtum handelt.³

Zum anderen wurde dieses Heiligtum als Versammlungsort für einen *marzihu*-Verein diskutiert. Dazu gelangte man nicht etwa aufgrund eines inschriftlichen Hinweises, sondern wegen der Funde von 17 Rhyta, die auf die Möglichkeit eines Gelages an diesem Ort hinweisen.⁴ Allerdings geriet diese Interpretation des *sanctuaire aux rhytons* zuletzt in die Kritik, da der kultische Charakter des *sanctuaire aux rhytons* nicht zu einem *marzihu*-Raum passt.⁵ Als Versammlungsstätte für einen *marzihu*-Verein kommen in Ugarit eher der *bâtiment au vase de pierre* in Frage⁶ oder auch Räume in Privathäusern, wie es der Rechtstext KTU 3.1 nahelegt.

Angesichts der somit offenen Interpretationssituation für den *sanctuaire aux rhytons* in Ugarit soll im Folgenden ein neuer Vorschlag zur Deutung dieses Heiligtums im kultischen Kontext der Stadt Ugarit vorgenommen werden. Hierfür sind die beiden dort gefundenen Darstellungen von Königen, die Lage des Heiligtums im Zentrum der Stadt und ein Vergleich mit anderen Heiligtümern außerhalb von Ugarit aufschlussreich.

2. DER SANCTUAIRE AUX RHYTONS

Der *sanctuaire aux rhytons* wurde Ende des 14. bzw. zu Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. auf einem innerstädtischen Ruinengelände im Zentrum der Stadt errichtet.⁷ Für die Zeit nach 1250 v. Chr. lassen sich Umbaumaßnahmen feststellen.⁸ Bestand hatte der *sanctuaire aux rhytons* bis zu dem um 1185 v. Chr. erfolgten Untergang der Stadt, wurde aber zuvor durch ein südlich gelegenes Haus partiell überbaut.⁹

3 Vgl. de Tarragon (1995); Pardee (2000:55, 77).

4 Vgl. etwa Yon, Caubet & Mallet (1982:189-191); de Tarragon (1995:206); Yon (1996:416); Saadé (2011:236).

5 Vgl. McGeough (2003:407, 412-414).

6 So McGeough (2003:414-418).

7 So Yon (1996:407); Mallet (1997; 2001:83).

8 Vgl. Yon (1996:407).

9 S.u. Abschnitt 5.

2.1 *Funde und Befunde*

Der *sanctuaire aux rhytons* (Abb. 2 und 3) lässt sich wie folgt beschreiben.¹⁰ Kommt man von der Straße im Norden, so betritt man zunächst den Vorraum (46), der zu einem Flur (45) führt. Über einige Stufen betritt man von hier aus den Hauptraum des Heiligtums (36), welcher ca. 8 m lang und 6 m breit ist. An seiner Nordwand befindet sich ein Nebenraum (47) mit den Ausmaßen von ca. 2,20 m x 1,10 m, der als Sakristei oder Vorratsraum gedeutet werden muss. An der Südwand lag ein Ausgang (55), der während der ersten Bauphase vor 1250 v. Chr. vielleicht zu einem Treppenhaus führte. Der Hauptraum weist an seiner Stirnwand an der Ostmauer eine Plattform mit vier Stufen (6) auf, die entweder als Altar oder als Depositionsvorrichtung zu verstehen ist. An der Nord- und Westmauer des Gebäudes befanden sich Bänke (37; 88), auf denen einige Objekte abgestellt werden konnten, so dass diese Bänke ebenfalls als Depositionsvorrichtungen aufzufassen sind.

In bzw. bei diesem Heiligtum wurden verschiedene Funde gemacht: Ein bronzenener Dreifuß, ein Bronzenagel, Wandapplikationen aus Terracotta, Perlen, Elfenbeinpyxiden, Flacons, Krüge, 17 konische Rhyta syrischer, zyprischer, mykenischer und minoischer Herkunft, Reste von unterschiedlichen Trinkgefäßen, Fragmente eines Kultständers mit einer Königsdarstellung sowie die Sitzstatuette eines Mannes mit Krone und Wulstsaummantel, die außerhalb des *sanctuaire aux rhytons* in einer Grube bestattet war.

2.2 *Interpretation*

Die Kalksteinstatuette eines thronenden Mannes und die Reste des Kultständers mit einer Königsdarstellung liefern erste Indizien für eine Deutung des *sanctuaire aux rhytons*.

Die Kalksteinstatuette wurde in der Nähe des *sanctuaire aux rhytons* gefunden. Ihr Fundort wird von Yon & Gachet (1989:349) als „... à proximité du sanctuaire aux rhytons ... dans une fosse qui a déjà livré de nombreux objets provenant du temple pillé ...“ beschrieben. Es handelt sich näherhin um den Graben 1237/1260, in dem vor allem Objekte aus dem *sanctuaire aux rhytons* gefunden wurden.¹¹ Diese Statuette von 25 cm Höhe (RS 88.070) (Abb. 4) ist in der Forschung zunächst als Darstellung des Hauptgottes El von Ugarit ausgegeben worden, womit

10 Siehe zum Folgenden die Literaturangaben in Anm. 2.

11 Zur Lokalisierung vgl. Yon, Gachet, Lombard & Mallet (1990:2 fig. 3).

eine Deutung geliefert wurde, die sich großen Zuspruchs erfreut.¹² Zu dieser Deutung trugen die thronende Haltung des Mannes im Wulstsaummantel und seine Krone bei.

Allerdings blieb der Widerspruch hierzu nicht aus, da das Fehlen einer Hörnerkrone als Zeichen der Göttlichkeit der dargestellten Person so nicht erklärt werden kann. Man gewinnt deshalb eher den Eindruck, dass mit dieser Kalksteinfigur die Statuette eines altsyrischen Königs vorliegt, der mit Krone und Wulstsaummantel bekleidet auf seinem Thron sitzt.¹³

Die Tiara, die thronende Position und der Wulstsaummantel bewirken eine äußerliche Angleichung des Königs an die Götter, so dass hierin seine Divinisierung zum Ausdruck kommt. Eine Entsprechung findet die Kalksteinstatuette aus Ugarit in den beiden Ahnenfiguren, die in der Königsgruft im mittelsyrischen Qatna gefunden wurden.¹⁴

Unter diesem Aspekt ist auch die zweite Darstellung eines Königs, die im *sanctuaire aux rhytons* gefunden wurde, zu betrachten. Das Bruchstück eines tönernen Kultständers (RS 78041 + 81.3659) zeigt einen stehenden König, der in der Forschung immer als Priester interpretiert wird (Abb. 5).¹⁵ Allerdings würde man bei einem König in priesterlicher Funktion auch die Darstellung der Gottheit, vor der der König als Priester agiert, erwarten. Dies ist etwa der Fall bei der Szene auf der sog. El-Stele (RS 8.295), die einen libierenden König abbildet (Abb. 6),¹⁶ sowie bei der Libationsszene auf einem Vasenbild (RS 24.440) aus dem Haus des hurritischen Priesters (Abb. 7).¹⁷ Genau eine solche Szene ist aber auf der Vase aus dem *sanctuaire aux rhytons* nicht abgebildet. Zudem steht der König zentral unter einer Flügelsonne, die sich auf der sog. El-Stele (RS 8.295) über dem König und der Gottheit im Zentrum befindet und mit ihren Flügeln beide Gestalten miteinander verbindet (Abb. 6).

Sucht man nun nach einem Vergleich für die Darstellung des Königs auf dem Vasenfragment, so muss man auf die Stele des *Ba'al au foudre*

12 Vgl. Yon & Gachet (1989); Yon (1991b:347-351 mit fig. 2a; 1997:140 no. 13); Muller (2007:503-505, 535).

13 Vgl. Cornelius & Niehr (2004:45 Abb. 69); Niehr (2006:175; 2013:617f).

14 Vgl. Pfälzner (2009).

15 Vgl. Yon (1985:181-185 mit fig. 3; 1996:414f; 1997:162f mit Abb. 41; 2008:105, 107 mit Abb. 17e).

16 Vgl. Cornelius & Niehr (2004:45 Abb. 68); Niehr (2013:612f mit Abb. 1).

17 Vgl. dazu Niehr (2013:613f mit Abb. 2).

(RS 4.427) hinweisen.¹⁸ Hier steht ein König auf einem Podest und schaut nicht in die Richtung des Gottes Ba‘al, so dass er auch nicht als Priester vor ihm amtiert, sondern in die Richtung des außerhalb der Stele befindlichen Beters (Abb. 8). Zu Recht ist diese Darstellung als die einer Statue eines verstorbenen Königs interpretiert worden.¹⁹ Für die Stele des *Ba‘al au foudre* bedeutet dies, dass Ba‘al und der König in Richtung eines Beters schauen, der sich außerhalb der Stele befindet und der sich mit seinen Anliegen an den divinisierten König und den Wettergott von Ugarit wendet.²⁰ Dies ist ebenso der Fall bei der Königsdarstellung auf dem Kultständer aus dem *sanctuaire aux rhytons*, was darauf schließen lässt, dass sich auch hier ein divinisierte König dem Beter, bzw. dem Spender von Libationen vor diesem Kultständer zuwendet.

Möglicherweise gibt es noch einen dritten Beleg für eine Königsdarstellung aus dem *sanctuaire aux rhytons*. Das in einem südlich vom *sanctuaire aux rhytons* erbauten Haus aufgefundene Stelenfragment RS 81.5004, welches wohl ursprünglich aus dem *sanctuaire aux rhytons* stammt,²¹ „pourrait faire penser à une représentation divine (ou royale?“ (Yon 1991a:314).

Bringt man aufgrund des bisher Ausgeführten die Königsdarstellungen und den den hier praktizierten Kult dominierenden Libationsaspekt zusammen, so lässt sich der *sanctuaire aux rhytons* als ein innerstädtisches Heiligtum für den Kult der verstorbenen Könige Ugarits verstehen.

3. VERGLEICHE MIT ANDEREN HEILIGTÜMERN

Zum besseren Verständnis des *sanctuaire aux rhytons* und seiner Einzelfunde ist auf unterschiedliche Heiligtümer der Spätbronze- und Eisenzeit in Nordsyrien und Palästina einzugehen. Zwei von ihnen sollten wegen ihrer besonderen Aussagekraft ausgewählt werden.

Es handelt sich dabei um ein Heiligtum aus dem spätbronzezeitlichen Palästina (Hazor) und ein Heiligtum aus dem eisenzeitlichen Syrien (Guzana/Tell Halaf).

18 So auch richtig Yon (1985:178-185; 2008:105). Allerdings sieht sie auch auf der Stele des *Ba‘al au foudre* den König als Priester dargestellt, was aufgrund der Position des Königs, der dem Gott den Rücken zuwendet, nicht zutrifft.

19 Vgl. Bonatz (2000:134f).

20 Vgl. Niehr (2013:616f).

21 Vgl. Yon (1991a:313f., 342 fig. 22d); Mallet & Matoïan (2001:123, 178 fig. 26).

3.1 *Der Ahnenschrein von Hazor*

Im Areal C der Unterstadt von Hazor fand sich der sog. Stelentempel, von dem die jüngste Phase (1A) im 13. Jh. v. Chr. wichtig ist (Abb. 9).²² Der Stelentempel wies die Ausmaße von 6 m x 4,50 m auf. Sein Zugang lag im Osten. In einer Nische der westlichen Rückwand waren zehn Stelen von 22 cm bis 25 cm Höhe so aufgestellt, dass sie einen Halbkreis bildeten. Davor lag eine Basaltplatte zur Aufnahme von Opfer und Libationen; weitere Geräte für den Kult wurden ebenfalls gefunden (Abb. 10).²³

Den Abschluss der Stelenreihe bildet auf der linken Seite des Halbkreises die 40 cm hohe Statuette eines thronenden Mannes mit einem Mondemblem auf der Brust. Dieser ist bekleidet mit einem Wulstsaummantel, er trägt in seiner Rechten einen Becher, die Linke ruht auf seinem Knie.

Der in dieser Statuette repräsentierte Mann weist keinerlei Anzeichen eines göttlichen Status auf. Galling hat in der Statuette einen nach seinem Tode divinisierten Stadtkönig erblickt,²⁴ womit er eine Interpretation vorbrachte, der die Forschung bis heute folgt.²⁵ Weitere Ahnenfiguren liegen in den sog. „schematic statues“ aus diesem Heiligtum vor.²⁶ Dies zeigt, dass Teile der Bevölkerung Ahnenfiguren in diesem Heiligtum deponierten, wo sie am königlichen Ahnenkult partizipieren konnten. Ein solches Vorgehen zeigt sich auch im sog. Kultraum vom Tell Halaf und ist gleichfalls anzunehmen für den *sanctuaire aux rhytons* in Ugarit.

Von den zehn zur Linken des Sitzenden befindlichen Stelen ist vor allem die mittlere von Interesse, da sie zwei im Orantengestus erhobene Hände und darüber eine Mondsichel zeigt. Diese repräsentiert den Mondgott, an den sich der durch seine erhobenen Hände symbolisierte Beter wendet.

22 Zum Folgenden vgl. Yadin *et al.* (1958:83-92 mit pls XXVII-XXXI; CLXXX); Yadin (1972:67-69); Beck (1989; 1990); Zwickel (1994:165-171).

23 Vgl. die Übersicht bei Zwickel (1994:169).

24 Vgl. Galling (1959:5f).

25 Vgl. etwa Beck (1989:324-327; 1990:94); Zwickel (1994:168f); Ornan (2012:12f).

26 Vgl. Beck (1990).

Ca. 20 m nördlich von diesem Heiligtum lag ein Gebäude mit mehreren um einen Hof zentrierten Räumen, in dem vielleicht Kultversammlungen abgehalten wurden.²⁷

3.2 *Der Kultraum von Guzana (Tell Halaf)*

Nahe dem südlichen Stadttor von Guzana (Tell Halaf) wurde der sog. Kultraum ausgegraben (Abb. 11).²⁸ Es handelt sich dabei um eine Cella mit einem Eingang auf der Ostseite und drei angrenzenden Räumen auf der Südseite. Der östliche Eingangsbereich bildete einen Vorraum von 4 m x 3 m, der in die 15 m tiefe Cella führte, die eine Breite von 4,5 m bis 4,8 m aufwies. Die angrenzenden Räume waren durch die Cella zugänglich. Ihre Deutung als Sakristei, Schatzkammer oder Grabstätte ist umstritten, da keiner dieser Räume weiter ausgegraben wurde. Im westlichen Teil der Cella gegenüber vom Eingang erhob sich ein 40 cm hohes Lehmziegelpodium. Hierauf befanden sich das Doppelsitzbild eines thronenden Paares sowie verschiedene Statuetten. Auf der Linken erhob sich auf einem separaten Podium die Statue eines stehenden Mannes (Abb. 12). Auf der Innenseite der Nordwand verlief eine 50 cm hohe Lehmziegelbank, auf der man Gaben und Statuetten deponieren konnte.

Das Doppelsitzbild von 80 cm Höhe, 88 cm Breite und 43 cm Tiefe ist aus einem Block gehauen. Der Mann trägt ein Wulstsaumgewand und keine Kopfbedeckung, die Frau ein Gewand und eine Bronzekette, zu der ein halbmondförmiger Anhänger gehörte, der vor der Frau auf dem Podest liegend gefunden wurde. Die Hände des Paares ruhen auf den Knien, die blockhaft als Tisch zur Aufnahme von Opfergaben gestaltet sind. In der jeweils rechten Hand ist das Halten eines Bechers zum Empfang von Libationen angedeutet.

Das Standbild des stehenden Mannes, welches sich rechts von dem sitzenden Paar erhob, rief Schwierigkeiten bei seiner Interpretation hervor. So koexistiert die Deutung eines Wettergottes mit der Deutung eines verstorbenen Königs, möglicherweise des Dynastiegründers Bahianu.²⁹ Diese letztgenannte Auffassung scheint insofern plausibel als eine Hörnerkrone als Zeichen der Göttlichkeit der Person fehlt.

Im Hinblick auf die Ahnenbildnisse aus Sam'al hat Dubiel (2014:152) zuletzt hervorgehoben:

27 So Ornan (2012:12).

28 Vgl. zum Folgenden grundlegend Müller (1950:357-360) und zuletzt Martin (2010); Niehr (2014a: 146-148; 2014b: 88-90); Dubiel (2014:144-149).

29 Vgl. zur Diskussion Niehr (2014a:147f).

Besonders bei den Sitzbildern wird die Möglichkeit betont, etwas empfangen zu können: Nicht anatomisch korrekt wiedergegebene Beine, sondern ein breiter, wie ein Opfertisch geformter Schoß macht die Funktionsfähigkeit aus, ergänzt durch die Haltung der rechten Hand, die eine Schale umfasst oder zumindest das Umfassen andeutet. Die Sinnesorgane werden betont, selbst bei den kleinformatigen Rundbildern sind zuweilen die Augen mit Einlagen versehen, so dass ein zielgerichteter Blick entsteht ... Die Nasen sind auffällig groß, und während die Münder besonders reduziert erscheinen, sind selbst bei der kleinen Sitzfigur Ohren angegeben ... , bei der „Großen Sitzenden“ sogar mit einer tiefen Bohrung die Gehörgänge herausgearbeitet. Man ist versucht, hier einen Bezug zum Erhören von Gebeten und Empfangen von wohlriechenden Brandopfern herstellen zu wollen.

Vor dem Podest des Kultraums mit seinen Figuren stand ein Altar, der noch Brandreste von Opfern erkennen ließ, und vor diesem lag eine Basaltplatte, die zur Aufnahme von Libationen diente. Die Statuen des Kultraumes blickten nach Osten, d.h. in die Richtung der aufgehenden Sonne.

Insgesamt hat man den Eindruck, dass es sich bei dem Sitzbild um die Darstellung eines divinisierten königlichen Ahnenpaares von Guzana (Tell Halaf) handelt. Mangels einer Inschrift lässt sich der Name des Paares nicht ausmachen.

Von besonderer Bedeutung für die Interpretation ist der Fund von diversen kleinen Statuetten aus Stein und Metall, die zum Teil auf dem Podest standen, zum Teil im Kultraum verstreut lagen.³⁰ Damit legt sich der Eindruck nahe, dass Familien aus Guzana (Tell Halaf) Statuetten ihrer Ahnen in den Kultraum brachten, wo sie am Kult, der den bedeutenden Ahnen des Königshauses der Stadt dargebracht wurde, partizipierten.³¹

3.3 *Königlicher Totenkult in Nachbarschaftsheiligtümern in Syrien-Palästina*

Die beide gerade besprochenen Heiligtümer von Hazor und Guzana (Tell Halaf) stellen ebenso wie der *sanctuaire aux rhytons* in Ugarit keine

30 Vgl. zu den Einzelheiten das Fundjournal des Kultraums bei Cholidis & Martin (2010:231-235).

31 Vgl. Niehr (2014b:88-90) und Dubiel (2014:144-149).

städtischen Tempel, sondern Heiligtümer für den Ahnenkult dar, wobei in allen drei Fällen der königliche Ahnenkult die entscheidende Größe ist. Mazar (1980:61-70; 1992:177-182) hat sich als erster mit diesen Heiligtümern in der südlichen Levante beschäftigt. Eine genauere Beschreibung dieser Heiligtümer, vor allem in der nördlichen Levante, gelang sodann Herrmann, nachdem sie das Ahnenkultheiligtum in der Unterstadt von Sam'al (Zincirli) mit der Stele des Kuttamuwa gefunden hatte. Sie konnte nachweisen, dass es in einigen Städten des spätbronzezeitlichen und eisenzeitlichen Syrien-Palästina Nachbarschaftsheiligtümer gab, die dem Ahnenkult gewidmet waren.³² Auch für den Ahnenkult des Kuttamuwa in Sam'al lassen sich Bezüge zum königlichen Totenkult der Stadt aufzeigen.³³

In diesem Kontext von königlichem Totenkult und Nachbarschaftsheiligtum ist die gemeinsame religiöse und politische Grundlage der Ahnenheiligtümer von Hazor, Guzana (Tell Halaf) und des *sanctuaire aux rhytons* in Ugarit zu situieren.

4. DER SANCTUAIRE AUX RHYTONS IM KULTISCHEN KONTEXT DER STADT UGARIT

Was lässt sich aufgrund der beiden Königsdarstellungen aus dem *sanctuaire aux rhytons* sowie des Vergleiches mit den Ahnen- bzw. Nachbarschaftsheiligtümern von Hazor und Guzana (Tell Halaf) nun für die Bedeutung und Funktion des *sanctuaire aux rhytons* im Kult von Ugarit ersehen?

4.1 Die Bedeutung des *sanctuaire aux rhytons*

Von großer Relevanz für das Verständnis des *sanctuaire aux rhytons* ist der dort gemachte Fund von 17 Rhyta,³⁴ die im Kult Ugarits innerhalb eines funeren Kontextes stehen, wo sie zur Darbringung von Libationen dienten.³⁵

Die grundlegende Relevanz von Libationen im königlichen Totenkult Ugarits ergibt sich aufgrund eines archäologischen Indizes in der *zone funéraire* des Königspalastes.³⁶ Der Raum 28 oberhalb der Königsgruft

32 Struble & Herrmann (2009:36-42); Herrmann (2014a:52-56; 2014b:79-82).

33 Vgl. Niehr (2014c).

34 Zu den Rhyta vgl. im Einzelnen Yon 1987.

35 Vgl. Matoian 2013:182f.

36 Zur *zone funéraire* innerhalb des Königspalastes vgl. die Beobachtungen und Angaben bei Salles (1995:183f) und Niehr (2007:220-234; 2012:147.150f).

weist auf der Zugangsschwelle vom westlich gelegenen Raum 27 zu Raum 28 mehrere Napflöcher zur Aufnahme von Libationen auf (Abb. 13). Diese Libationen galten den in Statuen präsenten verstorbenen Königen in Raum 28.³⁷

Die beiden Königsdarstellungen aus dem *sanctuaire aux rhytons* wiesen bereits auf das Thema der Divinisierung der Könige Ugarits nach ihrem Ableben hin. Hierfür ist zentral, dass die verstorbenen Könige Ugarits in die Gruppe der *rapi'ūma*, d.h. der Heiler, aufgenommen wurden. Diesen Prozess veranschaulicht das Ritual KTU 1.161 und auch das in KTU 1.108 beschriebene Ritualgeschehen setzt ihn voraus. Den verstorbenen Königen wurde somit die Kraft des Heilens und der Vermittlung von Heil zugeschrieben.³⁸

Da im Kult Ugarits die verstorbenen Könige um Segen und Heil angerufen wurden, kommen wir zum Thema des Gebetes zum König.³⁹ Von besonderer Relevanz hierfür ist das Ritual KTU 1.161, da es auf die Vermittlung von Segen und Heil nach dem Eingang des zuletzt verstorbenen Königs in die Unterwelt und seine Aufnahme in die Gruppe der *rapi'ūma* eingeht. In den letzten Zeilen dieses Rituals wird formuliert:

- (31) Heil Amura[pi],
- (32) und Heil seinem Haus!⁴⁰ Heil Šarelli!
- (33) Heil ihrem Haus!
- (34) Heil Ugarit! Heil seinen Toren!

Das gerade zitierte Ritual KTU 1.161 bringt mit seinem Wunsch von Heil für den König, die Königin und die Stadt auch einen Wunsch nach der Einheit der Stadt vor. In diesem Falle sind König, Herrscherhaus und Stadt Ugarit geeint durch den Segen, den die *rapi'ūma* vermitteln.

Dieser Wunsch nach Einheit der Bewohner Ugarits kommt auch in einem weiteren Ritual explizit zum Ausdruck. KTU 1.40 will das

37 Vgl. dazu Niehr (2012:151).

38 Vgl. Niehr (2013:613-618).

39 Zu den Kategorien des Gebets des Königs, des Gebetes für den König und des Gebetes zum König in Ugarit, vgl. Niehr (2013).

40 Der Keilschrifttext weist fälschlicherweise die Schreibung *bah* auf, welche in Entsprechung zu *bth* in Zeile 33 zu korrigieren ist; vgl. Dietrich, Loretz & Sanmartín (2014:157). Die ebenfalls von CAT vorgebrachte Verbesserungsmöglichkeit *bnh* („sein Sohn“) ist wegen des fehlenden Parallelismus eher unwahrscheinlich. Zu Übersetzung und Interpretation von KTU 1.161, vgl. Niehr (2012:149f).

Wohlergehen (*npy*) des Königs, der Stadt und der dort wohnenden Fremden befördern.⁴¹ Auf die große Relevanz dieses Rituals KTU 1.40 weist schon der Umstand hin, dass es in drei Exemplaren in der Stadt gefunden wurde: Im Königspalast, im Haus des Oberpriesters und im Haus des hurritischen Priesters.⁴²

Auf den wichtigen Aspekt der Einheit der Stadt im Zusammenhang mit dem *sanctuaire aux rhytons* deuten über die schriftlichen Zeugnisse hinaus auch zwei archäologische Indizien.

Schon immer ist gesehen worden, dass der *sanctuaire aux rhytons* im Stadtzentrum Ugarits liegt. Diese Sicht lässt sich mittlerweile noch weiter präzisieren. In seinen neueren Untersuchungen zur Urbanistik der Stadt Ugarit hat al-Maqdissi aufzeigen können, dass man den Plan der Stadt Ugarit ab dem frühen 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. als quadratisch verstehen muss. Dieses Quadrat weist ca. 600 m Seitenlänge (Abb. 14) auf.⁴³ Vergleichbar ist hiermit der Plan des nahegelegenen Ras Ibn Hani, welcher sich als Rechteck von 600 m x 400 m ausweist und in dieser Konzeption von Ugarit her beeinflusst ist.⁴⁴

Schaut man sich den Plan der Stadt Ugarit genauer an, so stellt man fest, dass im Zentrum dieses Quadrats der *sanctuaire aux rhytons* liegt. Eine gewisse Ungenauigkeit lässt sich dabei allerdings nicht vermeiden, da durch den Nahr Chbayyeb im Norden und den Nahr ed-Delbe im Süden der Stadt größere Teile der Stadtmauer erodiert wurden. Es ist kein Zufall, dass ausgerechnet in das Zentrum dieser Stadt ein Heiligtum platziert wurde.

Die Erklärung hierfür ist mit der Lage des Königspalastes von Ugarit gegeben, der erst in der Spätzeit der Stadt während der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jh. v. Chr. an die heutige Stelle im Westteil der Stadt verlegt wurde. Diesem Palast ging zeitlich der sog. Nordpalast voraus, der unmittelbar nördlich von ihm liegt, womit aber nur ein Zwischenstadium in der Lage des Königspalastes markiert ist. Seine ursprüngliche Lage muss nach al-Maqdissi aufgrund des quadratischen Stadtplans in der Mitte der Stadt angenommen werden.⁴⁵ Was nun das Grundstück angeht, auf dem der *sanctuaire aux rhytons* erbaut wurde, so handelt es sich hierbei um ein

41 Vgl. Pardee (2002:77-83).

42 Vgl. Pardee (2002:77f).

43 Vgl. al-Maqdissi (2008a:30.33 mit fig. 33; 2010:47; 2013a:75-77).

44 Vgl. al-Maqdissi (2010:47; 2013b: 427) und den Plan bei Saadé (2011:431 fig. 121).

45 Vgl. al-Maqdissi (2008a:30f; 2008b:9f).

Ruinengrundstück, dessen Ruinen auf die erste Hälfte des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr. zurückgehen,⁴⁶ d.h. um den Platz, den vorher der Königspalast innegehabt hatte. Das Grundstück umfasste auch den nördlich vom *sanctuaire aux rhytons* gelegenen freien Platz, der für eine Privatnutzung zu groß war, so dass sich die Frage stellt, ob hier noch ein alter (Palast-)Garten vorliegt.⁴⁷ Zur Beantwortung dieser Fragen bedarf es allerdings noch weiterer archäologischer Untersuchungen.

4.2 Die Funktion des *sanctuaire aux rhytons* im Kult der Stadt Ugarit

Was lässt sich nun aus diesen unterschiedlichen Informationen für die Funktion des *sanctuaire aux rhytons* ersehen?

Die Stadtbevölkerung Ugarits konnte am königlichen Totenkult und an den Bitten um Segen und Heil zu den divinisierten Königen, den *rapi'ūma*, nicht partizipieren, insofern dieser Kult in der *zone funéraire* des Königspalastes bzw. im Vorhof am Eingang des Tempel des Ba'al auf der Akropolis praktiziert wurde.⁴⁸ Beide Orte waren für ein größeres Publikum nicht vorgesehen; vor allem war der Palast von der Stadt aus nur schwer zugänglich.

Gut erreichbar war hingegen ein Heiligtum in einem Wohnviertel, welches im Zentrum der Stadt lag. Die divinisierten Könige wurden hier durch das Sitzbild eines thronenden Königs repräsentiert. An dieses richtete man seine Verehrung bzw. man wandte sich an es mit Gebeten um Segen und Heil. Somit konnten sich auch die *rapi'ūma* für die Bewohner der Stadt als segensreich erweisen, wie dies auch im Ritual KTU 1.161 intendiert ist. Noch bedeutsamer erscheint die Wahl dieses Ortes, wenn es zutrifft, dass er an der Stelle des alten Königspalastes liegt. Gleichzeitig erfolgt damit eine Beförderung der Einheit der Stadt, wie dies KTU 1.40 vorsieht. Dieses Anliegen kam auch dadurch zum Ausdruck, dass sich der *sanctuaire aux rhytons* im Zentrum der als Rechteck konzipierten Stadt Ugarit befand.

5. OFFENE FRAGEN

Es soll nicht verschwiegen werden, dass einige Fragen offen bleiben müssen, da diese erst im Zuge einer weiteren archäologischen Erforschung des Stadtzentrums von Ugarit geklärt werden können.

46 Vgl. Mallet (2001:83).

47 Vgl. auch Yon (2008:412).

48 Zum Aufstellungsort der Stele des *Ba'al au foudre*, vgl. Callot (2011:62 Abb. 38).

So wüsste man gerne mehr über die genaue Lage des ersten Königspalastes von Ugarit im Zentrum der Stadt. Hierzu fehlen noch genauere archäologische Forschungen.⁴⁹ In diesem Zusammenhang wäre auch die Frage nach dem großen offenen Bereich nördlich des *sanctuaire aux rhytons* zu stellen, der nur zeitweilig von einer Ölpresse eingenommen war.

Unklar bleibt auch die letzte Phase des *sanctuaire aux rhytons* unmittelbar vor dem Untergang der Stadt. Wie ist es zu bewerten, dass ein südlich vom *sanctuaire aux rhytons* errichtetes Haus⁵⁰ die Südwand des *sanctuaire aux rhytons* beschädigte bzw. teilweise überbaute? Liegt hierin ein Indiz für die Schwäche des Königtums und des Klerus der Stadt?⁵¹ Oder hatten die Erbauer dieses aufwändigen Hauses Beziehungen zu den Betreibern des *sanctuaire aux rhytons*, da man in diesem Haus Objekte auffand, die ursprünglich zum *sanctuaire aux rhytons* gehört hatten?⁵²

Damit verbindet sich eine weitere Frage, nämlich die nach dem Betreiber(kreis) des *sanctuaire aux rhytons*. Soll man ihn im Königshaus, in der Oberschicht der Bevölkerung oder in beiden Schichten zusammen suchen? Etwa dergestalt, dass der König das Grundstück zur Verfügung stellte, die Bevölkerung das Heiligtum erbaute und der König wiederum die Ahnen des Königshauses über eine von ihm gestiftete Statuette präsent sein ließ und somit den Kult ermöglichte? Das gemeinsame Interesse beider Parteien bestünde dann in der angestrebten Einheit von Königtum und Bevölkerung, von der sich das Königshaus Loyalität und die Bevölkerung Segen und Heil versprach.

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49 Zu den bisherigen Untersuchungen im *centre ville* unmittelbar nördlich des *sanctuaire aux rhytons*, vgl. Castel (2008:86-93).

50 Vgl. zu diesem Haus Yon, Gachet, Lombard & Mallet (1990:13-18); Yon (1997:91 fig. 48; 92f); Mallet & Matoïan (2001).

51 So Mallet (2001:104).

52 So Matoïan (2001:129f).

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VERZEICHNIS DER ABBILDUNGEN

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- Abb. 14: Plan der Stadt Ugarit nach: al-Maqdissi (2013:76 fig. 3).



Abb. 1

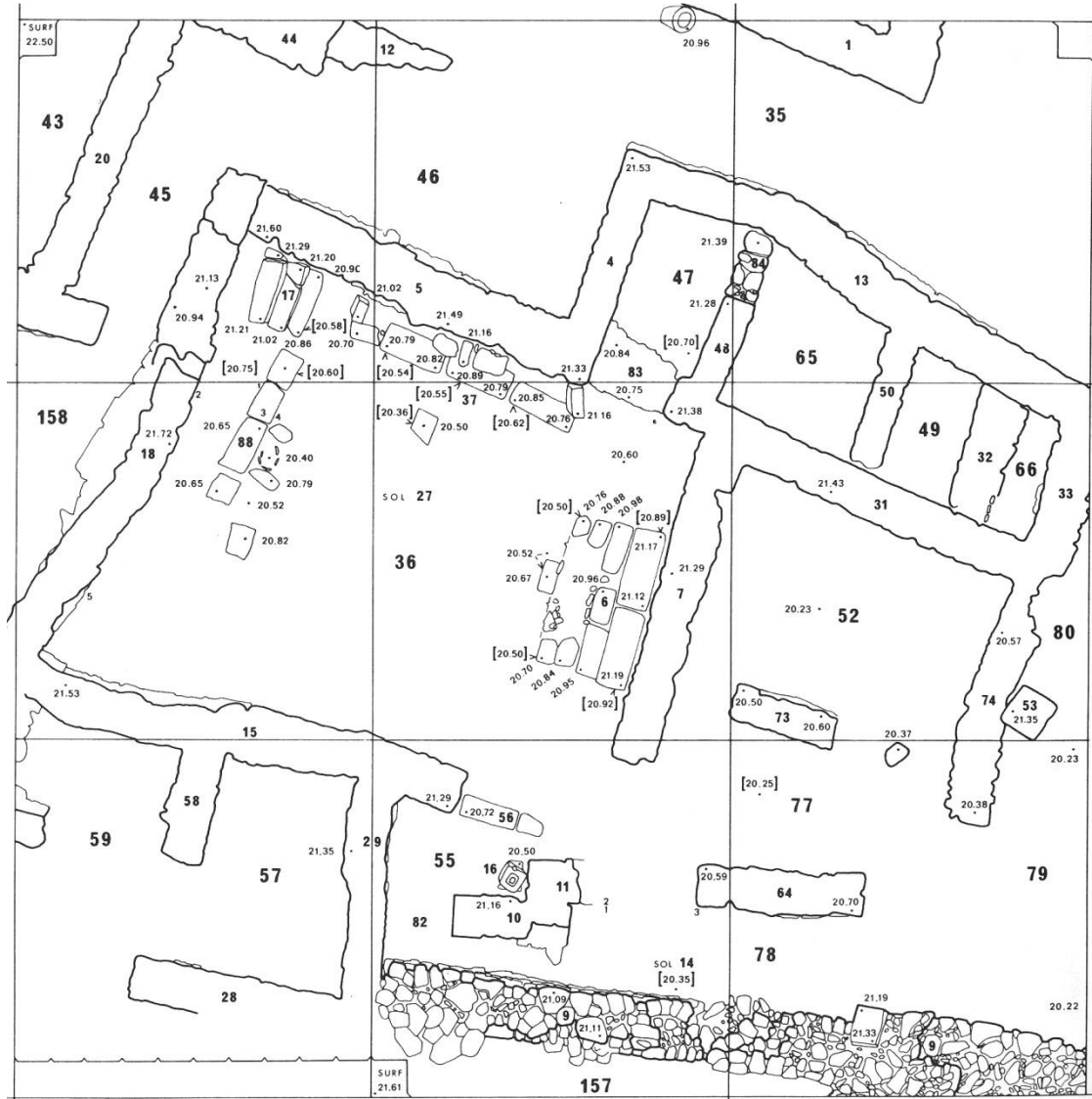


Abb. 2



Abb 3



Abb. 4

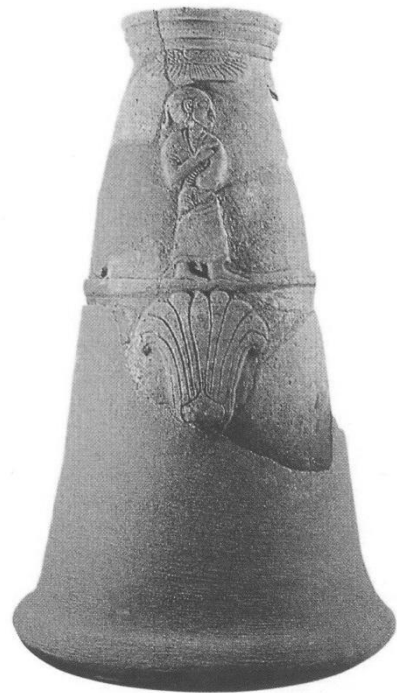


Abb. 5



Abb. 6



Abb. 8



Abb. 7

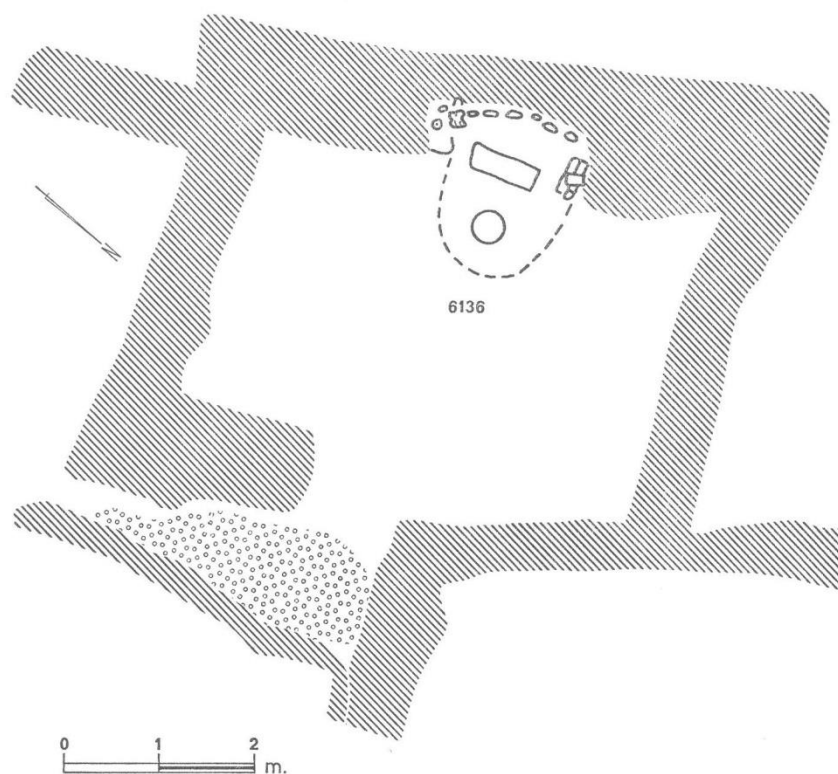


Abb. 9

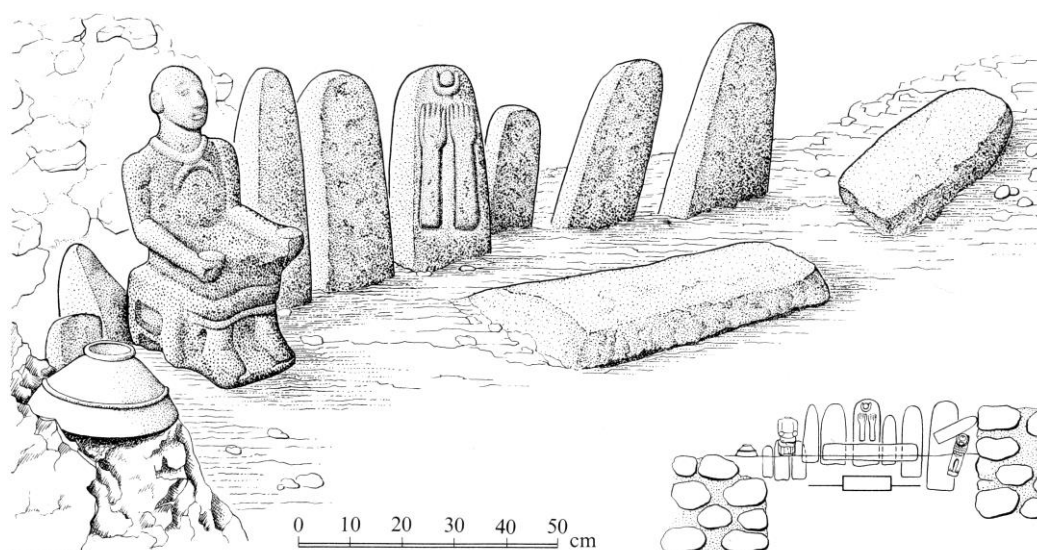


Abb. 10

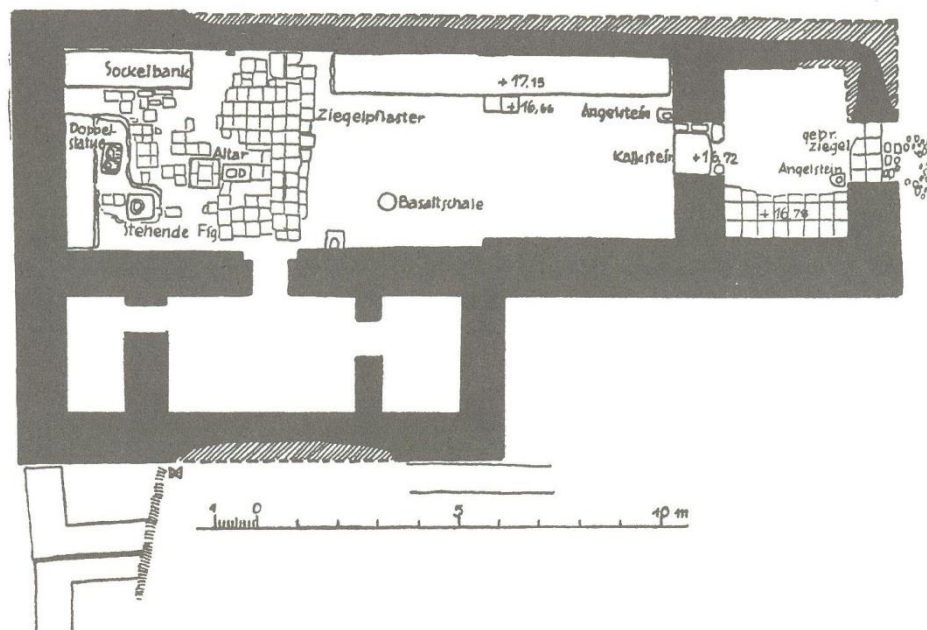


Abb. 11



Abb. 12



Abb. 13



Abb. 14

Cynthia L Miller-Naudé (University of the Free State)

MISMATCHES OF DEFINITENESS WITHIN APPOSITIONAL EXPRESSIONS USED AS VOCATIVES IN BIBLICAL HEBREW¹

ABSTRACT

*In Biblical Hebrew, a noun is described as grammatically definite if any of the following circumstances obtain: it is prefixed with the definite article, it is suffixed with a possessive pronoun, it is in construct with a definite *nomen rectum*, or it consists of a proper noun. Appositional phrases are generally described as juxtaposed noun phrases which refer to the same entity, have the same syntactic function within the larger phrase or clause, and agree in definiteness. The main grammars, acknowledge, however, that not infrequently appositional expressions do not agree in definiteness (Joüon & Muraoka 2006:513-516; Waltke & O'Connor 1990:227). This article re-examines an important sub-set of those exceptional cases, namely, appositional expressions occurring within vocative expressions. Since vocative expressions are inherently deictic, they provide a unique and insightful semantic and pragmatic context within which the patterns and limits of this lack of agreement can be explored.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Appositional phrases in Biblical Hebrew are generally described as juxtaposed phrases which refer to the same entity, have the same syntactic function within the larger phrase or clause, and agree in definiteness (Waltke & O'Connor 1990:226-227; Joüon & Muraoka 2006:513-514). Nouns in Biblical Hebrew are described as grammatically definite if any of the following circumstances obtain: it is prefixed with the definite article, it is suffixed with a possessive pronoun, it is in construct with a definite *nomen rectum*, or it consists of a proper noun. The example in (1)

1 It is a pleasure for me to dedicate this article to my friends and colleagues, Johann Cook and Paul A Kruger, whose scholarship has been an inspiration to my own. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew section of the Society of Biblical Literature annual meeting in 2010. In revising the presentation for publication, I am grateful for the comments of participants at the section as well as those of Jacobus A Naudé and Robert D Holmstedt. At various stages of the research, three post-graduate student assistants, Timothy P Mackie, Wendy L Widder, and Jared A Henson, assisted in checking the vocative data. All mistakes remain my responsibility.

illustrates an appositional construction in which all of the components are definite:

- (1) Exod 3:1 (from Waltke & O'Connor 1990:226)

ומשה היה רעה את־צאן יתרו חתנו כהן מדין

Moses was tending the sheep of *Jethro, his father-in-law, the priest of Midian.*

The object of the verb consists of a construct phrase headed by צאן; the *nomen rectum* is filled by an appositional phrase, namely, the personal name Jethro followed by two appositive phrases: the suffixed common noun חתנו “his father-in-law” and the construct phrase כהן מדין “priest of Midian”. Each phrase within the appositional expression is grammatically definite, each refers to the same individual, and each bears the same syntactic function within the larger phrase.

Likewise, appositional phrases with an indefinite head usually agree in indefiniteness in Biblical Hebrew, as in (2):

- (2) Isa 51:7

שמעו אלי ידעי צדק עם תורתִי בלבם

Listen to me, *O knowers of righteousness, a people [which] my instruction is on their heart!*

The vocative consists of two indefinite noun phrases in apposition – the indefinite construct phrase ידעי צדק followed by the indefinite noun phrase headed by עם, which is appositional to it (this noun phrase has further internal syntax in the form of a zero relative clause).

Appositional phrases sometimes exceptionally do not exhibit agreement with respect to definiteness (Joüon & Muraoka 2006:513-516). In this paper, I re-examine an important sub-set of those exceptional cases, namely, appositional expressions occurring within vocative expressions. Since vocative expressions are used to address or call a participant within a speech situation, they provide a unique and insightful syntactic and pragmatic context within which the patterns and limits of this lack of agreement can be explored.

Within vocative expressions, we find five patterns of appositional expressions exhibiting lack of agreement with respect to definiteness.²

2 I am not exploring discontinuous vocatives, as identified by Andersen & Forbes in their electronic syntactic database, for example, Ps 80:2 רעה ישראל האזינה נהג כצאן יוסף, “O shepherd of Israel, give ear, (who) leads Joseph like a flock!” (See also Steiner 2010:209-210).

In the first pattern, the head of the appositional phrase is a definite noun phrase and the appositive phrase is a participial clause which is not determined with the definite article, as in (3):

(3) Neh 1:5

ואמר אנא יהוה אלהי השמים האל הגדול והנורא שמר הברית וחסד לאהביו
ולשמרי מצותיו:

I said, “*O LORD, the God of heaven, the great and awesome God, keeping the covenant and loyalty with those who love him and with those who keep his commandments.*”

The appositional expression consists of the personal name יהוה, the definite construct noun phrase אלהי השמים, the definite noun phrase האל הגדול והנורא followed by the participial clause.³ This kind of lack of agreement within appositional expressions is identified by Joüon & Muraoka (2006:513-516) and discussed at some length. Their identification of participial clauses as appositive to the head of the appositional expression is apparently based upon examples such as (4), in which the two participial clauses at the end of the vocative expression are introduced with the definite article and thus agree in definiteness with the appositive phrases that precede it:

(4) Isa 46:3

שמעו אלי בית יעקב וכל-שאריית בית ישראל העמסים מני-בטן הנשאים מני-
רחם:

Listen to me, *O house of Jacob and all that are left of the house of Israel, who are being carried since birth, who are being supported since leaving the womb.*

In the second pattern, the head of the appositional phrase is a definite noun phrase and the appositive phrase is indefinite, as illustrated in (5):

(5) Ps 103:20

ברכו יהוה מלאכיו גברי כח עשי דברו לשמע בקול דברו:

Bless the LORD, *O his angels, mighty creatures, doers of his word by heeding the voice of his word.*

3 Although the participle in Neh 1:5 could morphologically be construed as in construct with the definite noun that follows it (thus rendering the entire phrase definite), it would be unusual, but not impossible, to have two conjoined nouns שמר הברית וחסד as the *nomen rectum*. Furthermore, since there are conjoined prepositional phrases (לאהביו ולשמרי מצותיו) that function as adjuncts to the participle, it must be construed as verbal rather than nominal.

This complicated vocative expression begins with a grammatically definite noun phrase מלאכיו “his angels” and the appositive is the indefinite construct noun phrase גברי כח “mighty creatures”.

In the third pattern, the head of the appositional phrase is a proper name and the appositive phrase is indefinite, as in (6):

(6) Dan 10:11

ויאמר אלי דנאל איש־חמדות הבן בדברים אשר אנכי דבר אליך
He said to me, “*O Daniel, a precious man*, mark what I say to you ...”

The personal name is followed by an indefinite construct phrase.⁴

In the fourth pattern, the head of the apposition is a personal name or epithet and the appositive is a participial phrase or clause, as in (7):

(7) Lam 4:21

שישו ושמחו בת־אדום ישבת בארץ עוז
Rejoice and be glad, Daughter of Edom, [who is] dwelling in the
land of Uz!

In the fifth pattern, the head of the appositional phrase is grammatically indefinite and the appositive phrase is grammatically definite, either a personal name or a definite noun phrase, as illustrated in (8):

(8) Jer 31:23

כה־אמר יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל עוד יאמרו את־הדבר הזה בארץ יהודה ובעריו
בשובי את־שבותם יברכך יהוה נוה־צדק הר הקדש:
Thus said the LORD of Hosts, the God of Israel: They shall again
say this word in the land of Judah and in its towns, when I restore
their fortunes: “The LORD bless you, *O abode of righteousness, the
holy mountain!*”

The indefinite construct noun phrase נוה־צדק is the head and the definite construct noun phrase הר הקדש is the appositive.

Before exploring these five types of appositional constructions, however, two issues will be examined briefly, one relating to vocatives in Biblical Hebrew, and one relating to the linguistic analysis of appositives.

4 Other instances of indefinite חמדות as the *nomen rectum* of a construct phrase are attested in 2 Chr 20:25 and Dan 10:3.

2. *BACKGROUND INFORMATION*

2.1 *Vocatives and definiteness in Biblical Hebrew*

It is important to reiterate what is known about vocatives and the relationship between definiteness and the vocative in Biblical Hebrew. Vocative expressions in Biblical Hebrew (O'Connor 1980; Miller 2010a; 2010b) and other languages (Panhuis 1986; McCawley 1998:751; Moro 2003) are not syntactically integrated into the sentence in which they appear. However, vocative expressions are inherently definite in a semantic and pragmatic sense in that they call to or address a participant in a speech situation.

The grammatical requirement that all portions of a vocative expression agree in definiteness relates specifically to Biblical Hebrew and is not a cross-linguistic feature of appositional phrases. Furthermore, it is important to note that the definite article in Hebrew is not a marker of the vocative nor is the definite article required on vocative expressions (Miller 2010a; 2010b). Instead, the definite article with a vocative relates to the semantic notion of the specificity and identifiability of the noun phrase: a definite vocative indicates an addressee whom both speaker and hearer can specifically identify (see also Bekins 2013). This explanation of the relationship of the vocative to definiteness assists us in understanding why some vocative expressions are definite and others indefinite, but it does not address the question of why some vocative expressions in Biblical Hebrew contain appositional constructions which exhibit a mismatch in definiteness.

2.2 *The Linguistic Analysis of Appositional Phrases*

The second introductory issue relates to the enormous difficulties encountered by linguists in providing a linguistic analysis of appositional constructions. Because one of the most pressing issues involves determining exactly what comprises an appositional construction, a variety of criteria have been proposed, which can be summarised as follows (see, for example, McCawley 1998:467; Burton-Roberts 1993:185): (1) the two expressions refer to the same entity; that is, they are co-referential; (2) the two expressions are of the same syntactic category; (3) either of the expressions can be omitted without affecting the grammatical acceptability of the sentence; (4) either of the expressions can be omitted without affecting how the remaining constituents of the sentence are syntactically interpreted; (5) the appositive element is preceded and followed by an intonational pause; and (6) the appositional

expression can be paraphrased by explicit lexical markers of apposition such as *namely* or *in other words* in English. In Biblical Hebrew, the first four criteria are relevant. The fifth criterion (an intonational pause) may have been operable in ancient Israel, but is not recoverable from the Masoretic text. The sixth criterion is also not applicable since there are no comparable lexical markers of apposition in Biblical Hebrew.⁵

Another dispute in the linguistic literature involves the precise syntactic structure of the various types of appositional structures. Without delving into the details of the debate, we may summarise the difficulties by noting the wide variety of analyses: apposition as juxtaposition of co-referential noun phrases, apposition as coordination (symmetric structures), apposition as dependency (asymmetric structures), apposition as a third kind of relationship alongside coordination and subordination, and apposition as a non-syntactic relationship which must be defined on other terms (see Acuña-Fariña 1999; 2000 for a summary of the various approaches).⁶

A final aspect of the linguistic study of apposition involves distinguishing true appositional constructions from reduced relative clauses. Many linguists will use one or more of the criteria listed above for differentiating the two constructions. As an illustration, consider the English sentences in (9a) and (9b) (from McCawley 1998:468):

(9a) A recent winner of the Illinois state lottery, Albert Swenson, has announced he plans to move to Bermuda.

(9a') A recent winner of the Illinois state lottery, *namely*, Albert Swenson, has announced he plans to move to Bermuda.

cf. *A recent winner of the Illinois state lottery, *who is* Albert Swenson, has announced he plans to move to Bermuda.

(9b) Albert Swenson, a recent winner of the Illinois state lottery, has announced he plans to move to Bermuda.

5 Jones (2011) suggests that the “epexegetical *waw*” may be a lexical marker of apposition in Biblical Hebrew. Following Zewi (1999), Jones further suggests that some instances of the third-person independent pronoun may also be a marker of apposition in some contexts.

6 Recently Jones (2011) has argued that non-restrictive apposition in Biblical Hebrew should be understood syntactically as involving “specifying coordination” based in part upon the work of de Vries (2002).

(9b') Albert Swenson, *who is* a recent winner of the Illinois state lottery, has announced he plans to move to Bermuda.

cf. *Albert Swenson, *namely*, a recent winner of the Illinois state lottery, has announced he plans to move to Bermuda.

The sentence in (9a) may be paraphrased with *namely*, an explicit lexical marker of apposition in English, as illustrated in (9a'). By contrast, the appositive phrase sentence in (9b) may not be paraphrased with *namely*, but may be understood as a reduced relative clause, that is a relative clause from which the relative marker and the copular verb have been deleted (see [9b']). The relative clause is non-restrictive in the sense that it does not provide information about its head which is necessary for identifying the exact referent of the head. In other words, the sentence in (9a) involves apposition, whereas the sentence in (9b) involves instead a reduced non-restrictive relative clause (for an example of a dissenting view, see Acuña-Fariña 2000).

We are now ready to turn our attention to vocative expressions containing appositional constructions which exhibit lack of agreement with respect to definiteness.

3. THE BIBLICAL HEBREW DATA

The first pattern of mismatch of definiteness in appositional vocative expressions involves a definite head followed by an indefinite participial clause. Example (3) above is repeated here.

(3) Neh 1:5

ואמר אנא יהוה אלהי השמים האל הגדול והנורא שמר הברית וחסד לאהביו
ולשמרי מצותיו:

I said, "O LORD, the God of heaven, the great and awesome God, keeping the covenant and loyalty with those who love him and with those who keep his commandments".

As already noted above, Joüon & Muraoka (2006:513-516) devote considerable attention to this construction, suggesting that the lack of the definite article on the participle relates to the reduced use of the definite article in poetry. They also describe the opposite sort of lack of agreement, when an indefinite noun phrase is followed by what they refer to as a participial attribute introduced with the definite article, as in (10):

(10) 1 Sam 25:10

ויען נבל את-עבדי דוד ויאמר מי דוד ומי בן-ישי היום רבו עבדים המתפרצים איש מפני אדניו:

Nabal answered the servants of David, “Who is David? And who is the son of Jesse? Today there are many *servants who are breaking away, each one from his master*”.

In a footnote to this example, they note that this use of the definite article is *similar* to that of a relative marker. Holmstedt (2013; 2002:83-89), however, has made a compelling case for viewing the definite article as one of the relative markers in Hebrew (see also Waltke & O’Connor 1990:338-340). As Holmstedt notes, this insight means that we can view participial clauses as falling outside of appositional constructions proper (Holmstedt 2002:86-87; see also Siloni 1995). Instead, in (10), the participial clause is a relative clause that is joined to the head noun, the indefinite noun עבדים, by the relative *ha-* marker. In (4) above, the participial clause is similarly a relative clause that is joined to the head noun by the relative *ha-* marker. The fact that the head in (10) is an indefinite noun phrase, whereas that in (4) is a definite noun phrase is irrelevant.

Returning now to example (3), the participial clause must also be understood as a relative clause, but here the relative marker is covert (or, a null relative marker); the syntactic structure is that of a zero relative clause. Holmstedt (2002:119-25; 2008:61-63; 2013) has argued that zero relative clauses in Biblical Hebrew and other languages are always restrictive, that is, they provide information for uniquely identifying the identity of the head. The syntactic structure of the vocative expression in (3), then, involves an appositional expression consisting of the personal name “LORD” as the head of the apposition, followed by two definite appositive phrases (“God of heaven” and “the great and awesome God”). The second appositive phrase (“the great and awesome God”) is itself the head of a zero relative clause consisting of the participial clause. The participial clause is thus not appositive to the head of the appositional expression (the personal name) and there is no lack of agreement in definiteness within the appositional expression.⁷ We can schematise the complex structure of the appositional phrases within the vocative as follows:

7 See also Ps 65:6-8 (four examples) and Neh 9:32.

- (11) [LORD][the God of heaven][the great and awesome God (who) keeps the covenant and loyalty with those who love him and with those who keep his commandments]

Further evidence for this analysis of a zero relative clause can be found in Zeph 2:1:

- (12) Zeph 2:1

התקוששו וקושו הגוי לא נכסף

Gather together! Gather! O nation [which] is not ashamed.

The appositive consists of the negative marker and a participle; because the negative in this kind of construction takes as its scope a sentence, a zero relative clause must be present (see Miller-Naudé & Naudé forthcoming).

In the second pattern of apposition, a definite head is followed by an indefinite noun phrase, as in Ps 103:20 (5) above, which is repeated here.

- (5) Ps 103:20

ברכו יהוה מלאכיו גברי כח עשי דברו לשמע בקול דברו:

Bless the LORD, *O his angels, mighty creatures, doers of his word by heeding the voice of his word.*

The indefinite construct phrase *גברי כח* describes an *attribute* of the noun phrase *מלאכיו* “his angels” (see Burton-Roberts 1993:187), but does not restrictively identify “his angels”. In other words, the appositive is not identifying some of “his angels” as “mighty creatures” as opposed to others of his angels which are not, but rather serves to provide additional information concerning the angels. Following McCawley’s analysis discussed above, we could then understand a reduced relative clause which is non-restrictive: “Bless the LORD, O his angels [who are] mighty creatures”. The syntactic relation of the following participial phrase and its complement (*עשי דברו לשמע בקול דברו*) to what precedes is ambiguous. Either the participial expression is a further appositive to the head “his angels”, providing an additional attribute of the head noun, or it relates to the immediately preceding noun phrase “mighty creatures”. In the latter case, it is possible to understand the indefinite noun phrase *גברי כח* is in turn the head of a reduced relative clause which restrictively identifies the “mighty creatures”: “mighty creatures [who are] doers of his word by heeding the voice of his word”.

This second pattern of mismatched apposition is infrequently attested. Two other examples involve the phrase *אחותי כלה* “my sister, bride” in Song of Songs 4:9 and 5:1. As argued in Miller (2010a:52-53), the

indefinite noun כלה “bride” as a vocative in Song of Songs (for example, 4:8, 11) must be understood as pragmatically specific within the discourse context. The appositive “bride” serves to provide supplementary information, but does not restrictively identify a sister who is a bride from one who is not.

The following two patterns of mismatched apposition involve a personal name as the head of the apposition. Personal names and kinship terms comprise the core lexical domain for vocatives (Daniel & Spencer 2009:632-633). Furthermore, personal names refer to a uniquely identifiable individual in the discourse context. An appositive to a personal name therefore does not restrictively identify the head. The appositive modifies the head in some way by providing supplementary information. In the context of a vocative expression, such appositive phrases pragmatically point to the same individual as the personal name.

In the third pattern of appositional mismatches, the personal name as head is followed by an appositive consisting of an indefinite noun phrase, as in example (6), which is repeated here:⁸

(6) Dan 10:11

ויאמר אלי דנאל איש־חמדות הבן בדברים אשר אנכי דבר אליך
He said to me, “*O Daniel, a precious man*, mark what I say to you
...”

This third pattern is analogous to the second pattern with a definite head followed by an appositive consisting of an indefinite noun phrase. The appositive is non-restrictive and modifies the head by providing an attribute of the head.

In the fourth pattern, the personal name is followed by an appositive consisting of an indefinite participial expression, as in example (7) repeated here:⁹

(7) Lam 4:21

שישו ושמחו בת־אדום ישבת בארץ עוז
Rejoice and be glad, Daughter of Edom, dwelling in the land of Uz!

8 For another example of the syntagmatic pattern, see also Deut 33:23, which I interpret as involving a proper noun followed by an indefinite noun phrase with most English translations (for example, NJPS, NRSV, RSV, ESV, NJB) in contrast to a verbless (nominal clause) (for example, NIV).

9 See also Jer 3:12, 11:20; Ezek 21: 30, 26:17, Ps 68:16.

Because the head is a proper name it refers to a uniquely identifiable individual; such a head cannot ordinarily be modified by a restrictive relative clause (Holmstedt 2013:355-356), the analysis which we provided above for a definite noun phrase followed by a participial clause. If these cases with a proper noun as the head of the apposition are not exceptions to the usual semantics of zero relative clauses as restrictive, there are three syntactic analyses possible. One possibility is that there are true appositional phrases in which the uniquely identifiable head of the apposition (the proper name) has as an appositive an indefinite participial expression describing an attribute of the head; in this case, the mismatch indefiniteness must be explained as relating to the vocative context. Another possibility is that we should follow McCawley in understanding reduced (non-restrictive) relative clauses in which both the relative and the copular verb is deleted: “Fair Edom [who is] dwelling in the land of Uz”. A third possibility is that we should understand that the appositional head is followed by a zero relative clause which is headless (that is, it can be described as having a zero or null head): “Fair Edom [the one who] dwells in the land of Uz”. Although these three possibilities differ syntactically, they do not differ dramatically in semantics or in pragmatics within the vocative expression.

We turn now to the fifth and last pattern of lack of agreement in appositional expressions in which the head of the apposition is an indefinite noun phrase and the appositive is definite. The definite appositive may be a common noun phrase as in (8), which is repeated here:¹⁰

(8) Jer 31:23

כה־אמר יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל עוד יאמרו את־הדבר הזה בארץ יהודה ובעריו
בשובי את־שבותם יברכך יהוה נוה־צדק הר הקדש:

Thus said the LORD of Hosts, the God of Israel: They shall again say this word in the land of Judah and in its towns, when I restore their fortunes: “The LORD bless you, *abode of righteousness, the holy mountain!*”

The pattern is also attested with the appositive portion of the construction as a personal name, as in (13):¹¹

10 See also Isa 28:14 and Ezek 21:30, 26:17.

11 See also Ps 68:16 (twice).

(13) Jer 3:12

הלך וקראת את־הדברים האלה צפונה ואמרת שובה משבה ישראל
 Go, make this proclamation toward the north, and say: Turn back,
O apostate one, Israel.

Note that the head of the apposition is the indefinite common noun מְשֻׁבָּה “apostasy”.¹² Although English translations often translate “O rebel Israel”, it could be translated “O apostate one, namely, Israel”.¹³

Note that this construction cannot be construed as a reduced non-restrictive relative clause, as is possible with patterns two, three and four, because of the semantic relationship between the head and the appositive – the appositive does not provide ancillary information concerning the head as would be the case with a non-restrictive relative clause, but rather information that further identifies the head. Nor can the construction be construed as involving a zero relative. A zero relative is routinely restrictive in its reference, serving to specify the identity of the head from other possibilities. For example, in the zero relative *the book I bought yesterday*, the relative clause identifies one book in particular from other possible or actual books within the discourse context. However, the identity of the indefinite noun phrase at the head of the vocative expression in pattern five is already pointed out in a pragmatic sense within the discourse context. That is, by addressing an entity as *apostate one* or *abode of righteousness*, the referent of the entity has been identified by virtue of the essentially deictic nature of vocatives. An appositive with restrictive reference is therefore infelicitous.

Instead, this construction, I argue, is a true appositional construction. The indefinite noun phrase at the head occurs within the vocative expression to call to a participant within the speech situation and the appositive definite noun phrase, whether a common noun or a proper

12 The epithet מְשֻׁבָּה ישראל is attested also in Jer 3:6, 8 and 11 where it takes feminine agreement with מְשֻׁבָּה as the head of the appositional phrase; in Jer 8:5 both feminine and masculine plural agreement is found. In Jer 3:12, the imperative שובה can be construed either as the long masculine imperative with paragogic *he* to agree with the epithet as a whole or as the feminine singular imperative to agree with the head of the appositional phrase.

13 More commonly, there is agreement in definiteness as in Isa 23:12: ויאמר לא־ תוסיפי עוד לעלוז המעשקה בתולת בת־צידון כתיים קומי עברי גם־שם לא־ינוח לך “And he said, ‘You shall exult no more, O plundered one, Fair Maiden Sidon. Up, cross over to Kittim – Even there you shall have no rest’”.

noun, serves to provide additional specification or identification of the addressee. The appositive phrase thus provides additional information about an already identified individual (de Vries 2006). The usual formal, grammatical agreement in definiteness between the head of the appositional phrase and its appositive phrase in Biblical Hebrew is relaxed within vocative expressions because an indefinite noun phrase can be used to call or address a participant within the speech situation. Once the participant is addressed, that individual is pragmatically definite and thus a definite appositive phrase may be juxtaposed to provide further specification of the addressee's identity or attributes. Of the five patterns of purported appositional expressions exhibiting lack of agreement in definiteness, only this pattern involves truly appositional phrases. It thus provides the only examples of the lack of agreement in definiteness between appositional phrases occurring within vocative expressions. Significantly, the Hebrew grammars do not provide any analogous examples of this type of apposition occurring outside of vocative expressions.

4. CONCLUSIONS

We have seen that the five patterns of purported appositional constructions involving lack of agreement with respect to definiteness actually involve a variety of syntactic constructions. Participial clauses are not part of appositional constructions as appositives. Instead, participial clauses introduced with the *ha-* relative marker may have either restrictive or non-restrictive reference modifying the head noun. Participial clauses which are not introduced with the *ha-* relative marker may have restrictive reference when the head noun is a definite noun phrase; syntactically they can be analysed as zero relative clauses. Participial clauses without the *ha-* relative marker have non-restrictive reference when the head noun is a personal name; the syntax of this construction is uncertain and may be interpreted as a principled exception within vocative expressions to the normal pattern of a zero relative clause having non-restrictive reference, as a reduced relative clause (with relative marker and copula deleted), as a headless zero relative (with head noun and relative deleted) that is apposition to the personal name, or as an appositive which does not agree in definiteness with its head because of the vocative context.

Examples in which a definite noun phrase or proper name is followed by an indefinite noun phrase are not appositional, but rather involve reduced non-restrictive relative clauses, in which both the relative marker

and the copula are covert. The indefinite noun phrase serves to provide an attribute of the head, but it is not appositive to it.

Finally, indefinite noun phrases when they are used as vocatives are pragmatically definite since they point to a participant in the speech situation. Such indefinite noun phrases may have a definite appositive noun phrase juxtaposed to it. This apparent exception to the requirement of Biblical Hebrew grammar that appositional phrases must agree in definiteness is a direct result of the essentially deictic nature of vocative expressions. But rather than being an exception, the mismatch in grammatical definiteness is instead superseded by the pragmatic specificity and definiteness of the vocative.

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Gert J Steyn (University of Pretoria)

MOSES AS ΘΕΡΑΠΙΩΝ IN HEB 3:5-6: PORTRAIT OF A CULTIC PROPHET-PRIEST IN EGYPT?

ABSTRACT

The unknown author of Hebrews uses the hapax legomenon θεράπων in his reference to Moses as a “servant” when he contrasts Moses with Jesus in Heb 3:1-6. He states that Moses was faithful as a servant (θεράπων) in God’s house, whereas Christ is faithful as a son over God’s house. Why did the author of Hebrews choose this particular term? Through a study of the use of θεράπων in the literature from antiquity – specifically the cultic and prophetic elements associated with the term – it might be concluded that the author of Hebrews deliberately employs this term for Moses in order to depict him as a religious or temple servant, as a priest in the service of Christ, the “Son”.

1. INTRODUCTION

The unknown author of Hebrews uses the *hapax legomenon* θεράπων in his reference to Moses as a “servant” when he contrasts Moses with Jesus in Heb 3:1-6. He states that Moses was faithful as a servant (θεράπων) in all God’s house, whereas Christ is faithful as a son over God’s house. Why did the author of Hebrews choose this particular term? How did it differ from similar terms in the same semantic domain? With other synonymous terms available for somebody who renders service – such as ὑπηρέτης, διάκονος, λάτρευμα, λειτουργός, οἰκέτης, παῖς and δοῦλος – why did the author of Hebrews particularly choose the term θεράπων in his reference to Moses?

2. ΘΕΡΑΠΙΩΝ AND RELATED TERMS IN ANCIENT GREEK LITERATURE

Ancient Greek literature differentiated semantically between different terms for a servant. Whilst a ὑπηρέτης was originally drawn from military matters and generally understood to be an attendant or assistant, the function of a διάκονος was not far removed from and understood as being a servant waiting to serve, or as a messenger – that is, a servant who represents someone in his activity *for the work* (Heimgartner 2014). They were, for instance, the attendants at a festival. Whereas a λειτουργός generally performed public duties to serve the people or state, a λάτρευμα

was assumed to be somebody who is hired. Four terms were generally used for a slave: *παῖς*, although less generally, and *οἰκέτης* particularly for a household slave or domestic servant: “He is one of the household, of the ‘family,’ in the older sense of this word; not indeed necessarily one born in the house” (Wright 2008:221).¹ *Οἰκέτης* was often used as an equivalent for *δοῦλος*. A *δοῦλος*, in turn, stood in a servile relation to a *person* and was forced by its master to serve. It was the more general term for a slave (Wright 2008:221) and was someone who was “in a permanent relation of servitude to another, his will altogether swallowed up in the will of the other” and a ‘*bond-man*’” (Gehrke 2014). A *θεράπων*, on the other hand, was a personal attendant (Wright 2008:221) who stood in a voluntary relation to a person and implied free service (Liddell 1996:363) which he rendered irrespective of being a freeman or slave, but “bound by duty, or impelled by love” (Gehrke 2014). He had rights and could “avail himself of an opportunity without servility” (Gehrke 2014). There “habitually (goes) with the word the sense of one whose services are tenderer, nobler, freer than those of the *δοῦλος*” (Gehrke 2014). Ancient Greek literature, furthermore, applied the terms *θεράπων* and *θεραπεύειν* in the following senses:

- a. *An attendant, inferior in rank*: Homer’s *Iliad* refers to “the titles of *κῆρυξ* and *θεράπων*”, and it uses the term *θεράπων* in the sense of “an attendant, ‘a companion in arms, though inferior in rank’” (Liddell 1996:363) – as is clear in the example of Patroclus, who “is a *hetairos* (companion) to Achilles, but subordinate to Achilles” (*Iliad* I.345) (Şorodoc 2010:110). According to the *Iliad*, it seems as if each hero generally had one *θεράπων*, “an immediate personal attendant or ‘squire,’ who in the case of Idomeneus is Meriones” (Leaf 1900).² In Herodotus (born 484 BCE) and Thucydides (460-395 BCE), *θεράπωντες* simply became a general term for servants and slaves (Liddell 1996:363).
- b. *Healing of body and soul*: Plato (428-348 BCE) applies the verb in the sense of doctors who render service, “and therefore *θεραπεύειν* acquires the sense ‘to care for the sick,’ ‘to treat

1 Cf., for instance, Athenæus, vi. 93; Herodotus, viii. 106; Sophocles, *Trach.* 894. See also Gehrke (2014).

2 A similar situation appears later in Josephus when Elijah has a *θεράπων* (*Ant.* 8, 344, cf. 348).

medically,’ ‘to cure’” (Plato *Euthyphro* 13d; *Leges* 4.720d). The same applies to Aristotle (*Ethica Nicomachea* 1.13). In a metaphorical sense, Plato also used it of the healing of body and soul (*Gorgias* 513d).³

- c. *Religious connotations*: Especially in his *Euthyphro*, Plato clearly sets out the different senses of *θεραπεύω*, stating that all *θεραπεύειν* “has in view something good and the advancement of the subject to which it applies”. He compares the ministry of slaves to their masters (*δοῦλοι τοὺς δεσπότας θεραπεύουσιν*) with ministering worship of the gods. Furthermore, just as there is a *ἵππους θεραπεύειν* and a *κύνας θεραπεύειν*,⁴ “so *οσιότης* and *εὐσέβεια* are a *θεραπεία τῶν θεῶν* (*Euth.* 13aff.) – which mainly consists in cultic action (Beyer 1965:128-129). Strabo (8.8.15), in turn, also later understood healing as manifestation of the divine intervention of Asclepius. Beyer (1965:128-132) pointed out that “the religious significance of the word is more common in the inscriptions and papyri” dating from the 1st to the 3rd centuries CE. But it is especially the references in Dittenberger (1915-1924)⁵ that are of special significance here, where the *οἱ θεράποντες* refer to the priests of the temple of Asclepius (Arndt & Danker 1979:359).

3. ΘΕΡΑΠΙΩΝ IN JEWISH HELLENISTIC LITERATURE

3.1 In the LXX

The term *θεράπων* is known in the LXX, where it occurs 64 times: 38 times in the Torah,⁶ four times in the Early Prophets (including 1 and 2 Chr), eleven times in the Writings, and eleven times in the Deuterocanonical books (Lust, Eynikel & Hauspie 2003). It occurs especially frequently in the book Exodus.⁷ Its usage ranges in the LXX mainly

3 See also Beyer (1965:128-129).

4 Classical literature also states that “*the charioteer* is *ἡνίοχος θεράπων*; kings were *Διὸς θεράποντες*; warriors *θεράποντες Ἄρηος*” (Liddell 1996:363).

5 *Τῶν ἱεροδούλων καὶ τὸν θεὸν θεραπευόντων* (3.996.28); *καὶ εὐείλατος γένοιτο ὁ θεὸς τοῖς θεραπεύουσιν ἀπλῆ τῆ ψυχῆ* (3.1042.11). Cf. also 219, 12; 1168, 114f.

6 Cf., for instance, LXX Gen 24:44; 45:16; 50:17; Num 12:7; Deut 29:1; 34:11.

7 Cf. LXX Exod 4:10; 5:21; 7:9; 9:8; 10:1; 12:30; 14:5; 33:11. “The predominance of *θεράπων* in Exodus can be attributed to that translator’s use of

between the following different meanings (Lust, Eynikel & Hauspie 2003; Beyer 1965:128-31):

- a. An ordinary “*servant*”, for example, Gen 24:44. The same applies to the use of the verb in cases such as Esth 1:1b; 2:19; 6:10, where somebody serves in an ordinary secular sense.
- b. As a “*member of staff*”, for example, Exod 5:21.
- c. As a “*servant*” or “*healer*”, for example, Prov 18:14. The verb is used similarly in the sense of “to heal” in Tob 2:10; 12:3; Wis 16:12 and Sir 18:19; 38:7.
- d. Particularly interesting, however, is its use in the sense of a “*religious servant*” – as in the case of LXX Exod 33:11: *καὶ ἀπελύετο εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν, ὁ δὲ θεράπων Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς Ναυη νέος οὐκ ἐξεπορεύετο ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς*. The same applies to the use of the verb in cases such as Jdt 11:17 (to serve God), Isa 54:17 (to serve the “Lord”, *κύριον*) and the Ep Jer 25:38 (to serve idols). Furthermore, the term is used particularly of Moses in this regard at places such as Exod 4:10, 14:31, Num 11:11, 12:7-8, Deut 3:24 and Josh 1:2, where reference is made to the Lord’s “servant Moses” (*Μωυσῆς ὁ θεράπων*) – the LXX translation for *מֹשֶׁה*. However, *θεράπων* is not a consistent LXX translation for *מֹשֶׁה*, but has elsewhere been translated as *δοῦλος*.⁸ The author of Revelation most probably follows this tradition when he refers to Moses with the phrase *Μωϋσῆς ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ* (Rev 15:3). Furthermore, the title *θεράπων κυρίου* is given to Moses in Wis 10:16, but to no other of the prominent characters of the old Covenant mentioned in Wis 10. In Wis 18:21 it is also used, however, for Aaron (Gehrke 2014).

the term to represent the servants/attendants of Pharaoh, a phrase that occurs frequently in the book” (Wright 2008:224).

- 8 Elsewhere, however, the LXX employs the terms *παῖς*, *δοῦλος* and *οἰκέτης*. Cf. Deut 34:5 (*Μωυσῆς οἰκέτης κυρίου*); Bar 1:20 (*τῷ Μωυσῆ παιδί αὐτοῦ*); 2:28 (*παιδός σου Μωυσῆ*); Josh 1:7 (*Μωυσῆς ὁ παῖς μου*); 1:13 (*Μωυσῆς ὁ παῖς κυρίου*); 9:24 (*Μωυσῆ τῷ παιδί αὐτοῦ*); 11:12 (*Μωυσῆς ὁ παῖς κυρίου*); 11:15 (*Μωυσῆ τῷ παιδί αὐτοῦ*); 14:7 (*Μωυσῆς ὁ παῖς τοῦ θεοῦ*); 3 Kgdms 8:56 (*Μωυσῆ δούλου αὐτοῦ*); 4 Kgdms 21:8 (*ὁ δοῦλός μου Μωυσῆς*); Neh 1:7 (*Μωυσῆ παιδί σου*), 1:8 (*Μωυσῆ παιδί σου*); 9:14 (*Μωυσῆ δούλου σου*); LXX Ps 104:26 (*Μωυσῆν τὸν δοῦλον αὐτοῦ*); Mal 4:4 (3:24 LXX) (*Μωυσῆ τοῦ δούλου μου*).

3.2 *In Philo of Alexandria*

Philo uses the verb *θεραπεύω* in the sense of medical healing (for example, *Contempl.* 2), but more especially and prominently in the sense of the healing of the soul (for example, *Leg.* 3.118; *Spec.* 2.239) (Beyer 1965:128-31). The noun *θεράπων* itself occurs 281 times in the works of Philo of Alexandria and is primarily (although not exclusively) used in a religious sense for a cultic servant, for instance, in *Her.* 7, when he explicitly refers to Moses as “the servant of God” (ἐπὶ τῷ θεράπων θεοῦ), or *Sacr.* 120, which refers to the “ministry of the Levite” (θεραπείας δὲ ὁ Λευί), or *Somn.* 1.78, which speaks of the “priest and minister of the mind” (τὸν δὲ ἱερέα καὶ θεραπευτὴν τοῦ νοῦ).⁹

Wright has pointed out that, according to Philo in *Her.* 6, where Philo is interested in speaking to God, a slave “properly speaks to his master when his words and actions are all for the master’s benefit”. Thus “when else should the slave (δοῦλός) of God open his mouth freely to Him who is the ruler and master both of himself and of the All..., when he feels more joy at being the servant (θεράπων) of God than if he had been king of the human race” (Wright 2008:240). Wright, nonetheless, came to the conclusion that it is evident from many places that *θεράπων* “is a normal word for slave in Philo’s vocabulary” (Wright 2008:240).

Turning to Philo’s depiction of Moses, he refers to him with many attributes. I have argued elsewhere that Philo intended to show that Moses was the “greatest and most perfect man that ever lived” (Steyn forthcoming). Josephus also shared these sentiments later during the 1st century CE. Lane argued similarly, stating that in the Hellenistic-Jewish tradition Moses is presented as “the supreme exemplar of perfection in the sense of immediacy and access to God” (Lane 2002:lv). Philo combines in Moses’ character the ideal king, legislator, high priest and prophet (*Mos.* 2.1-7) and portrays Moses as probably in the category of “divine man” (Falk 2010:969). He describes him, for instance, as a “theologian” (ὁ θεολόγος εἶναι) and as a “god¹⁰ and king” (θεὸς καὶ βασιλεύς) (*Mos.* 2.115).

9 Cf. *Det.* 62; *Fug.* 67; *Spec.* 1.242 for priests as *θεράπων θεοῦ*.

10 It is assumed that “(t)he biblical text that impels Philo to call Moses *θεός* here is Exod. 7:1, where God says to Moses, ‘Behold I send you as god to Pharaoh’”. Cf. Runia (1988:53).

He, furthermore, introduces Moses as a *high priest*¹¹ (*Mos.* 2.66-2.186).¹² Moses' connection with the priesthood was clear from Philo's LXX Exodus text: Moses' father and mother belonged to the tribe of Levi (Exod 2:1)¹³ and he also married the daughter of a priest (Exod 2:16, 20; 3:1; cf. *Mos.* 1.52). Moses actually enjoyed the first priesthood (τῆς πρώτης ἱερωσύνης) "in order that he might, with perfectly conducted sacrifices, and with a perfect knowledge of the proper way to serve God, entreat for a deliverance from evil and for a participation in good, both for himself and for the people whom he was governing, from the merciful God who listens favourably to prayers" (*Mos.* 2.5). By his *priesthood* he may arrange not only all human but likewise all divine things (*Mos.* 2.187). It was during his stay on the mountain that Moses was "initiated in the sacred will of God, being instructed in all the most important matters which relate to his priesthood" and receiving God's commands with regard to the building of a temple and its furniture (*Mos.* 2.71). Such a task was suitable and consistent "to be entrusted to the real high priest" (ἀληθῶς ἀρχιερεῖ, *Mos.* 2.75). Furthermore, according to Philo,

the priesthood has for its duty the service of God. Of this honour, then, Moses was thought worthy, of which there is no greater honour in the whole world, than to be instructed by the sacred oracles of God in everything that related to the sacred offices and ministrations (*Mos.* 2.67) (Yonge 1995:497).

Moses was also "of necessity invested with the gift of *prophecy* (προφητείας), in order that he might, through the providence of God, learn all those things which he was unable to comprehend by his own reason; for what the mind is unable to attain to, that prophecy masters" (*Mos.* 2.6).

11 Moses conversed face to face with YHWH in Exod 33:7-11 – a personal privilege (Num 12:6-8) which the priests did not share (Num 27:21) (De Vaux 1980:349).

12 See also *Her.* 182; *Praem.* 53, 56. Cook (2004:6) points to other authors who also identify Moses as priest: "Pompeius Trogus (STERN I § 137 = Justinus, *Hist. Philip.* 36, *Epit.* 2.16); Strabo (16.2.35 (STERN I, §115); Chaeremon apud Jos., *C. Ap.* 1.290 (STERN I, §178). He is closely associated with Egyptian priests in the Hellenistic Jewish author Artapanus, *F.* 3 = Eus, *P. E.* 9.27.4, 6".

13 Particularly 1 Chr emphasizes Moses' relation to the tribe of Levi. Cf. 1 Chr 6:3; 23:13; 26:24.

By his *prophetic* office he may predict those things which cannot be comprehended by reason (*Mos.* 2.187).

Elsewhere Philo even stated that Moses shared God's nature, came from him and returned to him (*Sacr.* 8-10) (Steyn forthcoming). He refers to Moses as "their leader and general, the chief priest, and prophet, and friend of God" (ἡγεμόνα προστησάμενοι καὶ στρατηγὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ προφήτην καὶ φίλον τοῦ θεοῦ Μωυσῆν, *Sacr.* 130) (Yonge 1995: 110) – a formulation that strongly reminds of that used for Jesus in Hebrews (cf., for instance, Heb 12:2: ἀρχηγὸν καὶ τελειωτὴν Ἰησοῦν).

4. MOSES AS AN EGYPTIAN PRIEST AT HELIOPOLIS

Scholars have argued that the reference in Acts 7:22 to Moses, who became "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians", probably refers to Heliopolis as such a centre of learning – which was one of two chief seats of learning where his education was completed. "His education would doubtless be carefully attended to, and he would enjoy all the advantages of training both as to his body and his mind" (Easton 1996). More explicit, are the remarks of Strabo (ca. 24 BCE) about Heliopolis and Moses being an Egyptian priest. Strabo most probably had little knowledge of Jewish history prior to the exodus and no knowledge of the Jewish Scriptures. He writes of Heliopolis:

Strabo, *Geogr.* 17.1.29

ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἡλίου πόλει καὶ οἴκους εἶδομεν μεγάλους ἐν οἷς διέτριβον οἱ ἱερεῖς· μάλιστα γὰρ δὴ ταύτην κατοικίαν ἱερέων γεγονέναι φασὶ τὸ παλαιὸν φιλοσόφων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἀστρονομικῶν· ἐκλέλοιπε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο νυνὶ τὸ σύστημα καὶ ἡ ἀσκησις. ἐκεῖ μὲν οὖν οὐδεὶς ἡμῶν ἐδείκνυτο τῆς τοιαύτης ἀσκήσεως προεστώς, ἀλλ' οἱ ἱεροποιοὶ μόνον καὶ ἐξηγηταὶ τοῖς ξένοις τῶν περὶ τὰ ἱερά (Meineke 1877:1124-1125).

At Heliopolis we saw large buildings in which the priests lived. For it is said that anciently this was the principal residence of the priests, who studied philosophy and astronomy. But there are no longer either such a body of persons or such pursuits. No one was pointed out to us on the spot, as presiding over these studies, but only persons who performed sacred rites, and who explained to strangers [the peculiarities of] the temples (Hamilton 1903:246).

Strabo also wrote about Moses:

Strabo, Geogr. 16.2.35

μωσῆς γάρ τις τῶν Αἰγυπτίων
 ἱερέων ἔχων τι μέρος τῆς [κάτω]
 καλουμένης χώρας, ἀπῆρεν ἐκεῖσε
 ἐνθὲνδε δυσχεράνας τὰ καθεστῶτα,
 καὶ συνεξῆραν αὐτῷ πολλοὶ
 τιμῶντες τὸ θεῖον (Meineke 1877:
 1061).

An Egyptian priest named
 Moses, who possessed a
 portion of the country called
 [Lower Egypt] ..., being
 dissatisfied with the established
 institutions there, left it and
 came to Judaea with a large
 body of people who worship-
 ped the Divinity (Hamilton
 1903:177).

Hebrews' summary of Moses shows interesting similarities with that of Strabo:

Heb 11:24-28

Πίστει Μωϋσῆς μέγας γενόμενος
 ἠρνήσατο λέγεσθαι υἱὸς θυγατρὸς
 Φαραώ, μᾶλλον ἐλόμενος
 συγκακουχεῖσθαι τῷ λαῷ τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ
 πρόσκαιρον ἔχειν ἁμαρτίας
 ἀπόλαυσιν, μείζονα πλοῦτον
 ἡγησάμενος τῶν Αἰγύπτου θησαυρῶν
 τὸν ὀνειδισμόν τοῦ Χριστοῦ·
 ἀπέβλεπεν γὰρ εἰς τὴν
 μισθαποδοσίαν. Πίστει κατέλιπεν
 Αἴγυπτον μὴ φοβηθεὶς τὸν θυμὸν τοῦ
 βασιλέως· τὸν γὰρ ἀόρατον ὡς ὄρων
 ἐκαρτέρησεν. Πίστει πεποίηκεν τὸ
 πάσχα καὶ τὴν πρόσχυσιν τοῦ
 αἵματος, ἵνα μὴ ὁ ὀλοθρεύων τὰ
 πρωτότοκα θίγη αὐτῶν.

By faith Moses, when he was grown
 up, refused to be called a son of
 Pharaoh's daughter, choosing rather
 to share ill-treatment with the
 people of God than to enjoy the
 fleeting pleasures of sin. He
 considered abuse suffered for the
 Christ to be greater wealth than the
 treasures of Egypt, for he was
 looking ahead to the reward. By
 faith he left Egypt, unafraid of the
 king's anger; for he persevered as
 though he saw him who is invisible.
 By faith he kept the Passover and
 the sprinkling of blood, so that the
 destroyer of the firstborn would not
 touch the firstborn of Israel.
 (NRSV)

It is clear, nonetheless, that the author of Hebrews presents Moses in a heroic manner, sympathetically tainted, and that he furthermore reinterprets the Moses narrative in the light of the Christ event.

Josephus too, in his work *Against Apion*, wrote of Moses:

Josephus, Ag. Ap. 1.31

Λοιπόν μοι πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν περὶ Μωυσέως. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα θαυμαστὸν μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ θεῖον νομίζουσι, βούλονται δὲ προσποιεῖν αὐτοῖς μετὰ βλασφημίας ἀπιθάνου, λέγοντες Ἡλιοπολίτην εἶναι τῶν ἐκεῖθεν ἱερέων ἓνα διὰ τὴν λέπραν συνεξεληλαμένον. δείκνυται δ' ἐν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς ὀκτώ καὶ δεκά σὺν τοῖς πεντακοσίοις πρότερον ἔτεσι γεγονῶς καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἐξαγαγῶν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πατέρας εἰς τὴν χώραν τὴν νῦν οἰκουμένην ὑφ' ἡμῶν

It now remains that I debate with Manetho about Moses. *Now the Egyptians acknowledge him to have been a wonderful and a divine person; nay, they would willingly lay claim to him themselves, though after a most abusive and incredible manner, and pretend that he was of Heliopolis, and one of the priests of that place, and was ejected out of it among the rest, on account of his leprosy; although it had been demonstrated out of their records that he lived five hundred and eighteen years earlier, and then brought our forefathers out of Egypt into the country that is now inhabited by us.*

And furthermore:

Josephus, Ag. Ap. 2.2

Ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὔτε Αἰγύπτιοι τό γένος ἦσαν ἡμῶν οἱ πατέρες οὔτε διὰ λύμην σωμάτων ἢ τοιαύτας ἄλλας συμφοράς τινὰς ἐκεῖθεν ἐξηλάθησαν, οὐ μετρίως μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πέρα τοῦ συμμέτρου προαποδεδείχθαι νομίζω. περὶ ὧν δὲ προστίθησιν ὁ Ἀπίων ἐπιμνησθήσομαι συντόμως. φησὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν τάδε: Μωσῆς, ὡς ἤκουσα παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ἦν Ἡλιοπολίτης, ὃς πατρίοις ἔθεσι κατηγγυημένος αἰθρίους προσευχὰς ἀνῆγεν εἰς οἶους εἶχεν ἥλιος περιβόλους, πρὸς ἀφηλιώτην δὲ πάσας ἀπέστρεφεν: ὧδε γὰρ καὶ Ἡλίου κεῖται πόλις. ἀντὶ δὲ ὀβελῶν ἔστησε κίονα, ὑφ' οἷς ἦν ἐκτύπωμα σκάφη, σκιά δ' ἀνδρὸς ἐπ' αὐτὴν διακειμένη,

Now although I cannot but think that I have already demonstrated, and that abundantly more than was necessary, that our fathers were not originally Egyptians, nor were they expelled, either on account of bodily diseases, or any other calamities of that sort; yet will I briefly take notice of what Apion adds upon that subject; for in his third book, which relates to the affairs of Egypt, he speaks thus: "I have heard of the ancient men of Egypt, that Moses was of Heliopolis, and that he thought himself obliged to follow the customs of his forefathers, and offered his prayers in the open air, towards the city walls; but that he reduced them all to be

ὡς ὅτι ἐν αἰθέρι τοῦτον ἀεὶ τὸν δρόμον
ἡλίῳ συμπεριπολεῖ.

directed towards sun-rising, which was agreeable to the situation of Heliopolis; that he also set up pillars instead of gnomons, under which was represented a cavity like that of a boat, and the shadow that fell from their tops fell down upon that cavity, that it might go round about the like course as the sun itself goes round in the other”.

5. HEBREWS’ MOSES AS A CULTIC PROPHET-PRIEST IN EGYPT?

According to Ben Sira (ca. 180 BCE), Moses was considered to be “a godly man who was equal in glory to the angels, a miracle worker and law-giver, chosen by God out of all humans for his faithfulness and humility. He was a holy man and prophet” (44:23-45:6; 46:1). Two centuries later, the unknown author of Hebrews presents Jesus as “worthy of more glory than Moses” (πλείονος γὰρ οὗτος δόξης παρὰ Μωϋσῆν ἡξίωται, Heb 3:3; cf. 1:3). His audience is probably reminded of the Old Testament concept of Israel as the household of God when he uses the metaphor of the “house of God”. He argues that the builder of a house deserves greater honour than the house itself. Whereas Moses, on the one hand, serves faithfully *in* (ἐν) the house as a *servant*, (ὡς θεράπων – a *hapax legomenon*), Christ, on the other hand, is *over* (ἐπὶ) the house as the *Son* of God. Moses’ honour is thus inferior to that of God, who built the house, and particularly to that of Jesus as God’s Son. I argued elsewhere that “The ‘house’ is explained in Heb 3:6 in terms of the community of believers: ‘we are his house’” (Steyn 2011:156).

Are there any implied connotations with cultic service in the sanctuary by using the term θεράπων? Is there any evidence through the author’s choice of this term of closer alignment with an Egyptian setting? Hebrews’ reference to Moses as θεράπων most probably alludes to LXX Num 12:7 and conveys the author’s familiarity with the LXX: οὐχ οὕτως ὁ θεράπων μου Μωϋσῆς, ἐν ὄλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ μου πιστός ἐστιν. The allusion and the contrast between Heb 3:2 (Μωϋσῆς ἐν ὄλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ) and 3:6 (Χριστὸς δὲ ὡς υἱὸς ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ) is clear. The latter is again alluded to in Heb 10:21, when the author referred to Christ as ἱερέα μέγαν ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ. Furthermore, when the author of Hebrews refers to Moses

as *θεράπων* on the basis of the exceptional dignity ascribed to him in Num 12:7 within the confines of the wilderness tabernacle, he clearly elevated him above other *δοῦλοι* of God, implying that Moses “occupied a more confidential position, (and) that a freer service, a higher dignity was his, than that merely of a *δοῦλος*, approaching more closely to that of an *οἰκονόμος* in God’s house” (Gehrke 2014).

6. CONCLUSION

Based on the cultic and prophetic elements associated with the term *θεράπων*, its associations with the priests of Asclepius and the servants of the Pharaoh, its use in the context of a cultic servant by Philo of Alexandria, and especially its allusion to LXX Num 12:7, it might be concluded that *the author of Hebrews deliberately employs this term for Moses in order to depict him as a religious or temple servant, as a priest in the service of Christ, the “Son”* – the latter being a title which reminds of the title of the Pharaoh as the son of the sun god, Ra. Ellingworth (2000:207) is thus correct, in my opinion, that the term is used particularly for a free man offering personal service to a superior and (in some non-biblical writings) for a temple servant, or that it implies a cultic office – and so is Asumang (2005:99) when he states that “Moses in Heb 3:1-6 may be seen as a servant who serves in God’s tabernacle”. It was probably not only Hebrews’ familiarity with the LXX Pentateuch, where Moses employs this term (*θεράπων*) with regard to himself (for example, Exod 4:10, 14:31, Num 11:11, Deut 3:24; see also Asumang 2005:99), but also the religious connections to *θεράπων* as a cultic servant that led the unknown author to prefer this particular term above *οἰκέτης*, *παῖς* and *δοῦλος*, which were also connected to Moses as a servant of God. I disagree with Ellingworth (2000:207), however, that it is Moses’ “prophetic rather than a cultic role” that is being referred to in Heb 3 and agree on this point rather with Asumang (2005:99) that “the prophetic role is nevertheless fused with cultic priestly functions” and that “consequently the cultic connotations of the description of Moses as servant in the house cannot be discounted”. According to Asumang (2005:99), the presence of the cultic imagery “supports the suggestion that the space which occupies our author’s attention in Heb 3:1-6 is the priestly courtyard and the Holy Place”. This can only make sense in the context of Hebrews if one assumes that the author associates the earthly desert tabernacle where Moses served God with the heavenly sanctuary where the Son is being served by the angels. Jesus’ appointment as Son became clear from Heb

1:5 and he remains the Son in Heb 3:6. Moses, however, is subordinate to the Son and was a mere (cultic) servant (high priest?) in the earthly sanctuary of God. But the relation between Moses and Jesus as servants in God's sanctuary is not too distant. The one is just a sketch and a shadow of the other (Heb 8:5). Similar to Moses' role as *θεράπων*, Jesus has also been appointed as God's Son in the heavenly sanctuary as a high priest (*ἀρχιερέα*, Heb 5:5-6; 8:1) and as a minister (*λειτουργός*, Heb 8:2).

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Christo H J van der Merwe (Stellenbosch University)

THE CHALLENGE OF BETTER UNDERSTANDING DISCOURSE PARTICLES: THE CASE OF לָכֵן¹

ABSTRACT

This study establishes that knowing the meaning of a discourse particle (=DP) entails much more than determining its possible translation values. Insights into the complexity of language and how linguistic meaning works provide some foundational parameters for the investigation of לָכֵן. For example, DPs may have a semantic core, which in the case of לָכֵן is “that being so”. Since lexical items are part of language as a complex and dynamic system, their meaning may shift in time, but the semantic core of a DP may also remain part of its semantic potential. On the basis of the contextual frames within which לָכֵן is used, three main categories of use are identified: (1) לָכֵן in argumentative prophetic announcements (prototypical); (2) לָכֵן in argumentative dialogues (seldom); and (3) לָכֵן in “fact reporting” statements (seldom). No “emphasising” or “adversative” sense for the DP could be distinguished.

1. INTRODUCTION

In Biblical Hebrew there are a number of “small” words which have through the ages posed a challenge for interpreters of the ancient language, for example, אָדָּ, אָף, אָם, הֵן, הִנֵּה, כִּי, לָכֵן, לְמַעַן, עַל־כֵּן, עֲתָה, וְעַתָּה and רַק. As a rule it has not been difficult to find a description and/or translation equivalent for their prototypical uses. However, those cases where the typical translation equivalents do not seem to work well tend to raise the question of whether we fully understand these expressions. Furthermore, how do those differ that seem to have the same translation value, for example, עַל־כֵּן, לָכֵן and וְעַתָּה?

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The essence of the problem is evident when one considers the way in which, for example, לָכֵן, is rendered by major translations of the Bible. The most frequent use of the about 200 occurrences of לָכֵן is to introduce a threat y (#1), and sometimes a promise y (#2) of God in the light of events or circumstances x. In the majority of the cases לָכֵן is translated as “therefore” or its equivalent.

- 1 כְּחִשּׁוֹ בִיהוָה וַיֹּאמְרוּ לֹא־הוּא¹²
לָכֵן כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת¹⁴

¹²They have denied [what] Yahweh [says]...

¹⁴Therefore thus says Yahweh the God of hosts ... (Jer 5:12, 14).

- 2 לָכֵן כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה אֶל־מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר לֹא יבֹא אֶל־הָעִיר הַזֹּאת
Therefore thus says Yahweh concerning the king of Assyria, “He shall not come into this city” (2 Kgs 19:32).

When one compares instances such as #3, where it may be argued that “therefore” does not fit the context very well, some translations still stick to “therefore” (NRSV). Many others, however, offer translation options which seem to display diverging interpretations of לָכֵן.

- 3 וְהִטַּלְתִּי אֶתְכֶם מֵעַל הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת עַל־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִדְעֹתֶם¹³
אֲתָם וְאֲבוֹתֵיכֶם וְעַבְדְּתֶם־שָׁם אֶת־אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים יוֹמָם וְלַיְלָה אֲשֶׁר
לֹא־אֲתֹן לָכֶם חֲנִינָה: ס
לָכֵן הִנֵּה־יָמִים בָּאִים נְאֻם־יְהוָה וְלֹא־יֹאמַר עוֹד חִי־יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר
הֵעֵלָה אֶת־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם:

NRSV ¹³Therefore I will hurl you out of this land into a land that neither you nor your ancestors have known, and there you shall serve other gods day and night, for I will show you no favor.

¹⁴Therefore, the days are surely coming, says the Lord, when it shall no longer be said, “As the Lord lives who brought the people of Israel up out of the land of Egypt” ... (Jer. 16:13-14).

NET ¹³So I will throw you out of this land into a land that neither you nor your ancestors have ever known. There you must worship other gods day and night, for I will show you no mercy”.

¹⁴Yet I, the Lord, say: “A new time will certainly come. People now affirm their oaths with ‘I swear as surely as the Lord lives who delivered the people of Israel out of Egypt’” ...

NIV ¹³So I will throw you out of this land into a land neither you nor your

ancestors have known, and there you will serve other gods day and night, for I will show you no favor.

¹⁴“*However*, the days are coming,” declares the Lord, “when it will no longer be said, ‘As surely as the Lord lives, who brought the Israelites up out of Egypt’” ...

NJPS ¹³Therefore I will hurl you out of this land to a land that neither you nor your fathers have known, and there you will serve other gods, day and night; for I will show you no mercy.

¹⁴*Assuredly*, a time is coming – declares the Lord – when it shall no more be said, “As the Lord lives who brought the Israelites out of the land of Egypt” ...

NBV ¹³Daarom zal ik jullie wegwerpen: ik verdrijf jullie naar een land dat jullie niet kennen en dat ook jullie voorouders niet hebben gekend. Daar zullen jullie andere goden dienen, dag en nacht, en ik zal geen medelijden met jullie hebben.

¹⁴∅ De dag zal komen – spreekt de HEER – dat er niet meer wordt gezegd: “Zo waar de HEER leeft, die het volk van Israël uit Egypte heeft bevrijd” ...

If one considers the scholarly literature on לָכֵן, it seems that exegetes and translators have been relying on BH lexica and grammars at their disposal. For example, HALOT (1999:530) distinguishes three meanings:

1. “therefore” (when it occurs before a threat of punishment, in contrast to עַל־כֵּן);
2. “In return for”; and
3. “assuredly”

Clines *et al.* (1998) distinguish two categories by means of two clusters of possible translation values, without any indication of the categorical status or grounds of their distinction:

1. “therefore, thus so, in that case, now then, granted” and
2. “surely, assuredly”²

2 Jenni (2000:282-283) provides convincing arguments why a view proposed by Maag (1953) – that כֵּן should not be related to the deictic meaning of the lexeme, but a homonym which can be translated as “correct, right”, and which gives לָכֵן the sense of “indeed” – should be rejected. This proposal by Maag,

According to BDB's treatment of לְכֵן (1906:487), it is evident that they are of the opinion that it has only one meaning. They paraphrase it as follows: "according to such conditions, that being so, therefore ... especially in proph. where it often introduces, after statement of the grounds, a divine declaration or command".³ As "special usages" they identify the following:

(a) idiom., in conversation, in reply to an objection, to state the ground upon which the answer is made; Gn 4:15 *therefore* – this being so ...

(b) inferring the cause from the effect, or developing what is logically involved in a statement, Is 26:14b ... *therefore* thou hast visited and destroyed them (not a consequence of v a 'the dead rise not,' but the development of what is implicit in it").

In contrast to HALOT and Clines *et al.*, BDB does not distinguish the label "assuredly". Only one core semantic value is postulated. The other "apparent" meanings are uses that could be attributed to the use of לְכֵן in those special contexts – without losing its core semantic value. This line of thought is also adopted by Jenni (2000:283), who argues that לְכֵן must be understood from the perspective its morphological components provide, viz. "לְ = as far as" + "כֵן = thus, as just been told", in other words, "under these circumstances".⁴ The logical relationship between the contents *x* and *y* that are related in this way is typically causal, predominantly where God makes a threatening declaration ("drohende Gottesrede"), but also where God makes a promise ("verheissende

which mirrors a hypothesis formulated by Casanovicz (1910:343), is indeed hard to defend (see also Muraoka 1985). The same could be said of the distinction made in HALOT (1999:532) which, this time with reference to the so-called emphatic lamed, assigns לְכֵן the sense of "assuredly". A more radical view by Goldbaum (1964) – that לְכֵן is not a connective but a quasi-adverb that introduces vows (to be translated "upon my word") – did not find much acceptance (see also the critique of Jenni 2000:283-284).

3 Concerning עַל-כֵּן, BDB (1906:487) asserts in line with HALOT (1999:532), "*upon ground of such conditions, therefore* (introducing, more generally than לְכֵן, the statement of a *fact*, rather than a *declaration*: never used in the phrases noted under לְכֵן)".

4 Jenni (2000:283) puts it as follows: "Die adäquate Übersetzung von 'in bezug auf so', wobei 'so' als anaphorische Pro-form für einem Satz/Sachverhalt gilt, is dann etwa 'unter diesen Umständen'".

Gottesrede”). However, the logical relationship may also concern a causal linking in a human dialogue (“kausale Anknüpfung in Rede van Menschen”), namely an adversative, restrictive, concessive, consecutive, conditional or explicative link by a narrator or speaker (Jenni 2000:284-286). Jenni (2000:283) observes that לְכֵן has a subjective nuance “mit der die fast ausschliesslich Verwendung als rhetorisch-stilistisches Mittel in der Rede zusammenhängt”.⁵

If we consider how לְכֵן has been treated by BH scholars and how it is sometimes translated (see again #3), it is understandable why Bazzanella (2006:452) observes that when translating discourse particles “where ‘a substantial amount of inferencing over and above their decoding’ (Ariel 1998:250) is required, there are two main risks – over- and under-determination”. The crux of the problem revolves around two questions:

- (1) Does לְכֵן have one core semantic value as, for example, BDB (1906) and Jenni (2000) assert, or more than one meaning, as, for example, HALOT (1999:532) and Clines *et al.* (1998) imply?
- (2) If and how could the conventionalised pragmatic dimensions of לְכֵן be described and categorised?

It is hypothesised in this study that the wealth of modern linguistic studies of discourse particles and markers⁶ provides the key to answering these two questions.⁷ Although we focus in this study on לְכֵן, the ultimate goal

5 In line with Muilenburg’s (1961; 1969) view on Hebrew particles, March (1974) investigates the rhetorical functions of לְכֵן, and its meaning. He distinguishes between לְכֵן as a (1) causal conjunction; (2) attention getter; and (3) conversation director. However, the categorical status of these rhetorical categories is not clear. For example, do they constitute a polysemous set or are they just different uses of the same semantic (that is, connecting) value of לְכֵן, that operates at different linguistic levels?

6 Nemo (2006:375) states that the study of discourse particles “since the late sixties has become the cradle of contemporary linguistic semantics, and a unique window onto both the complexity of language construction and interpretation and the understanding of what meaning is about”.

7 In Fischer (2006), 22 scholars – who could be regarded as representative of most of the major approaches to discourse particles and discourse markers – were asked to describe the results of their research in terms of four major challenges. Firstly, they had to provide their definition of what a discourse particle is. Secondly, they had to describe the range of functions a specific

is to lay a foundation that could be used in the analysis and description of the other discourse particles in Biblical Hebrew.

For these purposes, this study is organised as follows: after pointing out some of the challenges that face grammarians of BH, we commence with postulating our view of language and human communication as well our view of discourse markers that we have adopted from, for example, Fischer (2006). Secondly, we postulate: (a) a model of how discourse particles (=DPs) that occur in written texts work; and (b) how the different meanings they appear to have need to be understood. In the light of this model, a possible procedure for analysing DPs is formulated as a working hypothesis. This working hypothesis is then used to describe לָמָּן. In conclusion, the insights gained through this study are summarised.

2. *WORKING MODEL*

2.1 *Model of language and communication*

Analysing and describing DPs are primarily determined by a researcher's views of how communication, language and linguistic meaning work – in particular, which categories of linguistic meaning should be distinguished and how this should be done, and at which level(s) of description.⁸

In their analysis and description of BH, a language based on a relatively small corpus that has a complicated and long transmission history, scholars of BH have to face the reality that there are no living speakers to consult. For this reason, a feature of many studies of BH during the last fifty years has been their commitment to empirical rigour, viz. working from the limited data at hand in order to identify and label categories that could be postulated on the basis of the syntagmatic and paradigmatic

particle may have. Thirdly, contributors had to explain the relationship between the range(s) of meanings that has been identified for each discourse particle. In other words, in those cases where no homosemy is involved, the polysemous relationship between the different senses and meaning should be “motivated” in terms of how shifts in meaning in time tend to occur across languages. Fourthly, each contributor had to relate his/her study of discourse particles “to other questions of general linguistics interest, such as the semantics/pragmatic interface, the nature and level of discourse, or communicative functions” (Fischer 2006:3). More recently, see Aijmer (2013).

8 See Fischer (2006:1-20).

relationships of the members of those categories.⁹ In the process of these (mostly) structuralist-oriented approaches the validity of many traditional categories (for example, word class and sentence constituent labels) were often called into question.¹⁰ The limitation of the clause as biggest unit of linguistic description prompted adherents of so-called text-linguistic approaches to look for a system of patterns beyond the boundaries of the clause and sentence.¹¹

Venturing beyond the boundaries of the clause, however, opened up a new world of challenges where clauses (or often clause fragments) and sentences are used in conversations and written texts. According to Munné (2013:176-196), in this world the reality of language as dynamic complex entity, of which fuzziness is inevitably a part, often highlights linguists' oversimplification of categorisation.¹² This implies, for example, that it is impossible to operate always with neat categories that state necessary and sufficient conditions for its members. We will at most be able to identify the prototypes of our categories.¹³

9 See the historical overviews of the study of Biblical Hebrew in Van der Merwe (1987; 1989; 1994; 2003).

10 See, for example, Rechenmacher and Van der Merwe (2005).

11 See Van der Merwe (1997a; 1997b). See, for example, also Longacre (1989; 1995) and Talstra (1997; 2002). Even Waltke & O'Connor, who prefer to focus on the clause as grammatical unit in their grammar (1990:647), remark: "The continuity of Hebrew discourse, especially narrative, is the result of two factors. The first is the dominance of a single clausal *coordinating conjunction* over all others. ... The second factor responsible for discourse continuity is the class of *clausal adverbs*, particles that modify an entire clause, either in itself (notably the negative particles) or in relation to the surrounding discourse (the emphatic and restrictive particles)". They (1990:221) eventually categorise, for example, לְכִן as a complex preposition which functions as an adverbial and as an emphatic clausal adverb that "introduces a proposed or anticipated response after a statement of a certain condition" (for example, Isa 5:12-14; 26:14) (Waltke & O'Connor 1990:662-666).

12 Often the limitations of attempts by some scholars trying to understand linguistic phenomena, both outside of as well as within the boundaries of the clause, mainly in terms of binary oppositions also became apparent. See Andrason (2011). For an overview of how linguistic categorisation has been dealt with since Aristotle, see Aarts *et al.* (2004).

13 For an explication of the view of categorisation that is embraced in this paper, see Taylor (2003).

To further complicate matters, the abovementioned dynamic view of language implies that our working model has to take into consideration that the meaning of linguistic constructions is not static, but typically tends to develop and/or shift. These shifts cannot be predicted, but they also do not take place in a random way.¹⁴ The shifts of the meaning of linguistic constructions, whether it is a lexeme or a grammatical construction, can typically be explained only in hindsight, for example, as shifts from a concrete to an abstract meaning, as a generalisation or as a specification, as a metonymic or a metaphorical extension.¹⁵ In this process analogy¹⁶ and frequency¹⁷ of use also play an important role. A complicating factor, again highly relevant for our working model, is that some linguistic constructions may accumulate new meanings while retaining their historical older meanings.¹⁸ However, other constructions may completely lose the older meanings, or retain them only in very specific contexts.¹⁹

When it comes to a model of communication, it is important to keep in mind that we use language not simply to convey information (or a message). Particularly relevant for understanding discourse particles is that, in the words of Aijmer *et al.* (2006:105), “our utterances can be used strategically to take up different positions vis-à-vis other people, and other opinions in a heteroglossic perspective”.²⁰

14 See Diewald (2006:409-414).

15 See also Mosegaard Hansen (2006:29).

16 See Fischer (2011:31-42).

17 See Bybee (2011:69-78).

18 See also Aijmer (2006:108).

19 Lewis (2006:51) states: “Some polyfunctional discourse-marking expressions ... have two or more clearly related and mutually dependent meanings; others have clearly related but non-predictable ones (i.e. they have different conventionalised senses which must be learned)”. See also Frank-Job (2006:372).

20 For an in-depth treatment of some “constructions of intersubjectivity”, see Verhagen (2005). See also Aijmer (2006:105).

2.2 *What are discourse particles?*²¹

The category “discourse particle” in our working model is not regarded as a typical grammatical part of speech or word class.²² In other words, its members are not identified on the basis of their morphological (that is, their forms) or syntactic features (that is, how they combine with other clause constituents). Members of this category are distinguished on the basis of the function they fulfil in a text or discourse.

According to Fischer (2006:8-12), discourse particles in conversations are primarily items constituting independent utterances; they function mainly to manage conversations and their host units can be the topic structure, extra-linguistic activities or participation frameworks of a conversation. However, in written texts discourse particles are typically considered to be integrated into host utterances; they have a connecting function and their host units are aspects of utterances (Fischer 2006:10-11).

Our corpus is a written text (often based on oral traditions).²³ Although our corpus often includes conversations, our working model will work

21 Fischer (2006:4) prefers the term “discourse particle” to “discourse marker” and explains: “The term *discourse particle* suggests a focus on small uninflected words that are only loosely integrated into the sentence structure, if at all. The term particle is used in contrast to clitics, full words, and bound morphemes. Using the term *discourse particle* furthermore distinguishes discourse particles/markers from larger entities, such as phrasal idioms, that fulfil similar functions”. She elsewhere (2006:7) indicates that discourse particles are a subset of discourse markers and fulfil the same type of function. In our study we regard expressions such as לְכֹן, לְמַעַן, עַל-כֵּן and וְעַתָּה in which two lexemes have fused, as discourse particles too.

22 Weydt (2006:205-206) lists a range of labels that are associated with what we call discourse particles: “pragmatic markers, interpersonal markers, argumentative markers, presentative particles, parentheticality markers, modal particles, adverbial connectives, connectives, modal discourse particles, elusive particles, particles of truth, contrastive and set-evoking particles, sentence-structure particles, down-toners”. Mosegaard Hansen (2006:27) remarks: “I do not conceive of discourse markers as constituting a part of speech, for it seems that very few linguistic items are exclusively devoted to this function” (2006:27).

23 For evidence of instances where the BH corpus reflects its “oral” roots, see Polak (1998).

with the assumption that those conversations have been moulded as “spoken texts” and that discourse particles used in them tend to display the features of those used in written texts rather than typical conversations. In this study, we follow Fischer (2006:7) by regarding discourse particles as a subset of discourse markers. It is therefore possible to adopt the following generic definition by Onodera (2011:615):

A discourse marker signals the speaker’s view/attitude/judgement with respect to the relationship between the chunks of discourse that precede and follow it, typically in the sentence (utterance)-initial positions.

2.3 *How do discourse particles work?*

From our definition it is clear that DPs do not have referential meaning. Their semantic core is discourse deictic, that is, they have a pointing function, and in particular they connect “chunks” of discourse. However, these “chunks” may be, but are not necessarily, the information contents of explicit utterances. They may be any unit in the mental discourse that is “under construction” in the communicative event between interlocutors (Mosegaard Hansen 2006:26). These units may be gleaned from previous utterances, “from the nonlinguistic context, as well as contextually relevant encyclopedic knowledge” (Mosegaard Hansen 2006:26).

The communicative event in which DPs are used is interactive. The interaction may involve the speech turns of a speaker A and a speaker B. It may also involve the relationship between chunk A and chunk B, which a speaker points out to his/her addressee(s) to take into account when processing what is conveyed to him/her/them.

At this juncture a speaker’s subjective view, attitude or judgement comes into play. It is expressed in the light of how the conceptual world of the addressee(s) is assessed by the speaker. A hearer typically wants to confirm consonance (in the case of elaboration, evidence or justification), or resolve any dissonance (in the case of contrast, retreat or concession), between his and the addressee’s conceptual world. A degree of speaker commitment is also sometimes involved, in particular when justification is provided (Lewis 2006:46).

From the discussion above, it is evident that DPs operate at three levels, a semantic one (where their semantic core is operative to indicate a particular type of connection between units of content), a pragmatic one (where they are used for interactional purposes and signal that speech events need to be connected) and a modal level (where the subjective

point of view of the speaker comes into play).²⁴ The question that remains is how should the meaning(s) of a particular discourse particle, such as לְכֵן, be analysed and described?

2.4 *Establishing the categories of meaning of discourse particles*

In order to establish the meaning x of a specific DP at a synchronic level y in a context z , we hypothesise that the following features of the meaning of discourse particles need to be kept in mind:

1. DPs typically have a deictic semantic core.²⁵
2. A lexical item used as a DP has in its pre-history been used as a different and “more typical” word class; for example, עָתָה had been used as an adverb of time.
3. However, when a lexical item is used as a DP at a synchronic level y , the meaning of its ancestor may still be operative.
4. The scope of a lexical item that has developed into a DP is typically broader than that of its ancestor, for example, more than one clause.²⁶
5. The meaning of DPs tends to be more subjective than that of their ancestors (Mosegaard Hansen 2006:29). This means they tend to be used to express speaker’s assessments of situations and/or relationships between situations rather than the objective reality that their ancestors referred to.
6. DPs are “porous: context can ‘leak’ into their meanings, their uses, and their functions in different degrees” (Schiffren 2006:336). The different meanings of a specific DP may also be constituted by the conventionalisation of form-meaning pairs in specific contextual frames or “communicative domains” (see Fischer 2006:441).²⁷

24 See also Borderia (2006:86-93) and Travis (2006:224).

25 Scholars differ as to whether the semantic core is invariant and/or how shifts in its meaning should be explained (Fischer 2006:12-20).

26 For the scope that DPs may have, see Waltereit (2006:64-66).

27 Frank-Job (2006) states: “In a way which is similar to the processes of lexicalization and grammaticalization, pragmaticalization functions by means of routinization and frequency. This leads to some formally detectable features of DMS”.

7. Some members of a category may be more prototypical than others. In a closed corpus the high frequency and wide distribution of a category's members could be interpreted as indicative of its prototypicality.
8. DPs may operate at different levels, that is, semantic, pragmatic and a modal level.²⁸

For the purposes of this study, a particle has been selected that, according to a preliminary study, on the one hand, appears to display the features of a typical discourse marker; on the other hand, for practical purposes, it neither occurs very frequently nor does it display too many different meanings.

3. לָכֵן

3.1 *Application of working model*

If we now consider all instances of לָכֵן in the Hebrew Bible in the light of the first five parameters listed in Section 2.4 above, it turns out: (1) לָכֵן indeed has a deictic value; (2) In our corpus, only a few cases (#4-6) have been identified where it could be argued that it functions as a conjunctive adverb rather than a discourse particle. In these instances, לָכֵן is obviously a near-synonym interchangeable with the more “objective” עַל־כֵּן;²⁹ (3) In all other cases, we can accept Jenni's (2000:283) suggestion that לָכֵן does not merely connect two clauses or even sentences; (4) A speaker typically uses לָכֵן to construe a relationship between the contents of two chunks of clauses in a subjective argument (for empirical evidence, cf. the examples discussed in Section 3.4).

- 4 וַיִּתֵּן־לוֹ אַכִּישׁ בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא אֶת־צִקְלָג לָכֵן הִיְתָה צִקְלָג לְמַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה: פ

(NRSV) So that day Achish gave him Ziklag; *therefore* Ziklag has belonged to the kings of Judah to this day (1 Sam 27:6).

- 5 וּמִצְרַיִם הֶבֶל וָרִיק יַעֲזְרוּ לָכֵן קָרָאתִי לְזֹאת רַהַב הִם שֹׁבֵת:

(NRSV) For Egypt's help is worthless and empty, *therefore* I have called her, “Rahab who sits still” (Isa 30:7).

28 By “modal” is meant “epistemic modality” and not deontic modality. See also Langacker (2008).

29 For an analysis of עַל־כֵּן, see Jenni (2005:118-133). See also Section 3.4.3.

6

סגים השבֿתָּ כָּל־רְשָׁעֵי־אָרֶץ לִכְן אֶהְבֵּתִי עֲדֹתֶיךָ:

(NRSV) All the wicked of the earth you count as dross; *therefore* I love your decrees (Ps 119:119).

The first hypothesis we investigated is that of Jenni (2000:283), namely that in all instances where לִכְן is used, the same semantic core value could be postulated (see Section 3.2).

We did not find a mere taxonomy of possible logical relationships between the contents connected by לִכְן (as is done by Jenni 2000:284-286) very helpful; hence our second hypothesis. We hypothesise that distinct categories of use could be distinguished in terms of the contextual frames in which the lexeme is used. For each frame postulated, the structure and content of the utterances that are connected should be analysed, first to establish the family relationship of members of that category. Secondly, it must be determined whether the semantic core is typically maintained, and whether it may even neutralise the apparently conflicting (for example, adversative³⁰) logical relationship of the units that are connected. However, room had to be left for instances where the context “leaked” into the basic semantic core. For heuristic purposes, we commence this part of our investigation with a brief description of the semantic core (Section 3.2) and distribution of לִכְן in the Hebrew Bible (Section 3.3). In Section 3.4 the contextual frames are postulated and the most distinctive features of each described.

3.2 *Semantic core of לִכְן*

In the light of our analysis of all the occurrences of לִכְן we have to concur with Jenni (2000:283) that the lexeme must be understood from the perspective that its morphological components provide, viz. “לְ = as far as” + “כֵּן = thus, as just been told”, in other words, “under these circumstances” or “that being so”.³¹ This core backward-pointing semantic value, which is also suggested in BDB (1906), is present in all, except perhaps two, instances of its use in the Hebrew Bible.³²

30 Cf. #3 and also Jenni’s “Rubrik 944” (2000:285).

31 Since in Jer 2:33; 5:2 and Zech 11:7 serious text-critical problems are involved, these instances were not included in our analysis.

32 In footnote 2 we have already pointed out that Jenni (2000) convincingly argues that the particle does not have an epistemic modal sense that should be related to its etymology – as implied by the suggested translation values of

In #7 and #8 the content of the utterance headed by לָכֵן is already discourse active for the addressee. In other words, a translation value of “yes, surely” is prompted by the context of use.³³ However, with only two examples, of which the interpretation is not uncontested, it is difficult to draw a firm conclusion.

7 יִרְעַ כְּבִירִים לֹא־חֶקֶר וַיַּעֲמֵד אֲחֵרִים תַּחְתָּם:²⁴
 לָכֵן יִכִּיר מֵעַבְדֵיהֶם וְהִפְדָּ לִילָה וַיִּדְכָּאוּ:²⁵

(NBV)²⁴God maakt korte metten met de machtigen en stelt anderen in hun plaats.

²⁵*Jazeker*, hij doorziet hun daden en brengt hen in de nacht ten val; verpletterd liggen ze terneer (Job 34:24-25).³⁴

8 וּפְקֻדָּתַי עַל־גֹּל בְּבָבֶל וְהִצַּאתִי אֶת־בָּלְעֹז מִפִּי⁴⁴

...
 לָכֵן הִגַּה יָמִים בָּאִים וּפְקֻדָּתַי עַל־פְּסִילֵי בָבֶל וְכָל־אֲרָצָה תִּבּוֹשׁ⁴⁷

...
 לָכֵן הִגַּה־יָמִים בָּאִים נְאֻם־יְהוָה וּפְקֻדָּתַי עַל־פְּסִילֵיהָ וּבְכָל־אֲרָצָה יֵאָנֶק חֲלָל:⁵²

(NRSV)⁴⁴I will punish Bel in Babylon, and make him disgorge what he has swallowed ...

⁴⁷*Assuredly*, the days are coming when I will punish the images of Babylon; her whole land shall be put to shame ...

⁵²*Therefore* the time is surely coming, says the Lord, when I will punish her idols, and through all her land the wounded shall groan (Jer 51:44-52).³⁵

3.3 Distribution of לָכֵן

The 200 instances of לָכֵן in the Hebrew Bible are not very evenly distributed, viz. it is attested predominantly in the prophetic books (166 times). Furthermore, among the prophetic books it occurs 63 times in

“assuredly” or “surely” in Clines *et al.* (1998) and HALOT (1999:530), and which are adopted in the NJPS.

33 NET translates Isa. 61:7 likewise. See in contrast, the NBV (“daarom”), NRSV (“therefore”) and NIV (“and so”).

34 Clines (2006:779), as well as the NRSV and NIV, interpret this verse like Isa. 26:14. According BDB (1906:487) Isa. 26:14 is an example of the following category: “inferring the cause from the effect, or developing what is logically involved in a statement”.

35 For other translations of these verses, cf. NBV, NET, NIV and NJB.

Ezekiel, 55 times in Jeremiah, 27 times in Isaiah.³⁶ It appears only once in later texts, viz. 2 Chr 18:18 (parallel to 1 Kgs 22:19). In the parallel to 2 Kgs 22:20, viz. 2 Chr 34:28, לְבַן is omitted. לְבַן occurs, with one exception (1 Sam 27:6), exclusively in discourse.

If one views the distribution of לְבַן in terms of the communication frames in which it is used, most frequent are instances where threats (predominantly) and promises (sometimes) are announced, typical in prophetic contexts, after the statement of their grounds (Section 3.4.1). Significantly less frequent are instances where לְבַן is used in contexts where no announcements are made. This may happen in argumentative dialogues (Section 3.4.2.) or monologues where facts are stated (Section 3.4.3).

3.4 Contextual frames of לְבַן

3.4.1 לְבַן in argumentative prophetic announcements

Most typical are instances where the grounds of an announcement (or an announcement that is commissioned) are construed by a speaker (mostly God, a prophet or prophetic figure) as facts. The action or situation that is announced (or commissioned to be announced), is presented by the speaker as “unavoidable” consequences of those grounds. The facts are construed by means of language that abounds with strong assertions in the form of rhetorical questions (#9), infinitive constructions (#10) or constructions with הִנֵּה,³⁷ focused constituents³⁸ and/or focus particles.³⁹ Sometimes a woe-saying (#11), an interjection⁴⁰ or other means⁴¹ are used to profile the details of the grounds. A stated ground is also often explicitly marked by means of יַעַן (#12).

36 לְבַן occurs twice in Genesis, once in Exodus, three times in Numbers, but never in Leviticus or Deuteronomy. In the Former Prophets it is attested 16 times (however, not in Joshua or 2 Samuel). As far as the Writings are concerned, it occurs only in Psalms (5x), Job (6x) and 2 Chronicles (1x).

37 Ezek 12:27-28; 17:18-19; 30:21-22. See also Amos 4:2-12.

38 2 Kgs 19:31-32; Isa 37:31-33; 52:5-6; 53:10-12; Jer 5:11-17; 6:12-15; 9:2-7; 14:14-15; 50:18; 51:36; 52:5-6; Hos 2:11; 13:2-3.

39 Exod 6:2-6; Jer 23:11-12; 51:48-52.

40 Isa 1:21-24; Jer 18:12-13. Cf. also Jer 49:25-26.

41 Isa 16:7; 51:21; Jer 22:17-18; Ezek 23:19-22; Amos 7:12-17. In Zeph 2:9, the ground is what God has heard.

- 9 וַיֹּאמֶר שְׁמְעוּ-נָא בֵּית דָּוִד הַמְעַט מִכֶּם הַלְאֹת אֲנָשִׁים כִּי תִלְאוּ גַם אֶת-אֱלֹהֵי:
 לָכֵן יִתֵּן אֲדֹנָי הוּא לָכֶם אֹת הַנְּהָה הָעֵלְמָה הָרָה וְיִלְדֶת בֶּן וְקִרְאֵת שְׁמוֹ עִמָּנוּ:
 אֵל:

(NRSV) ¹³Then Isaiah said: “Hear then, O house of David! Is it too little for you to weary mortals, that you weary my God also? ¹⁴Therefore the Lord himself will give you a sign. Look, the young woman is with child and shall bear a son, and shall name him Immanuel (Isa 7:13-14).⁴²

- 10 הִבְשׁוּ כִּי תוֹעֵבָה עָשׂוּ גַם-בְּבוֹשׁ לֹא-יִבְשׁוּ וְהַפְלִים לֹא יִדְעוּ לָכֵן יִפְּלוּ בַּנְּפִלִים בְּעֵת
 פְּקֻדָּתָם יִבְשְׁלוּ אָמַר יְהוָה: ס

They acted shamefully, yes they committed abomination; what is worse, they were not at all ashamed, they did not know how to blush. Therefore they shall fall among those who fall; at the time when I punish them, they shall be overthrown, says the Lord (Jer 8:12).⁴³

- 11 הוּי חֲשָׁבִי-אֲנִי וּפְעָלֵי רָע עַל-מִשְׁכְּבֹתֵם¹

 לָכֵן כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה הַנְּנִי חֲשָׁב עַל-הַמִּשְׁפָּחָה הַזֹּאת רָעָה אֲשֶׁר לֹא-תִמְיִשׁוּ מִשָּׁם
 צוֹאֲרֵתֵיכֶם וְלֹא תִלְכוּ רוּמָה כִּי עַתָּה רָעָה הִיא:

Woe to those who plan iniquity, to those who plot evil on their beds!

...
³Therefore, the Lord says: “Look, I am planning disaster against this people, from which you cannot save yourselves. You will no longer walk proudly, for it will be a time of calamity (Mic 2:1-3).⁴⁴

- 12 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל-מֹשֶׁה וְאֶל-אַהֲרֹן יַעַן לֹא-הֵאֱמַנְתֶּם בִּי לְהַקְדִּישֵׁנִי לְעֵינֵי בְנֵי
 יִשְׂרָאֵל לָכֵן לֹא תָבִיאוּ אֶת-הַקֹּהֶל הַזֶּה אֶל-הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר-נָתַתִּי לָהֶם:

But the Lord said to Moses and Aaron, “Because you did not trust in me, to show my holiness before the eyes of the Israelites, therefore you shall not bring this assembly into the land that I have given them” (Num 20:12).⁴⁵

42 Num 16:11; 1 Sam 2:30; 2 Kgs 1.4, 6, 16; Isa 27:9; 52:6; Jer 7:20; 8:10; 18:21; 23:30; 32:28; 44:11; 49:2, 20, 26; 50:45; Ezek 12:23; 18:30; 34:18-21. See also Amos 3:3-11.

43 Jer 36:29-30; 44:26.

44 Isa 5:13-24; Jer 23:2; Amos 6:1-6; Mic 2:4-5. Cf. also Jer 48:10-12.

45 1 Kgs 14:7-10; 2 Kgs 22:20; Jer 19:4-6; 29:31-32; Ezek 13:23; 16:36-37; 22:19; 25:3-4, 6-7, 8-9, 12-13, 15-16; 26:2-3; 29:6-8, 9-10; 35:5-6, 10-11; 36:13-14. In Isa 8:7 and 29:14, כִּי יַעַן is used to present the grounds as fact. Cf.

The firmly established grounds are sometimes recapped by a different speaker (#13-14) or described in more detail by the same speaker (#15) in the utterance(s) following לָכֵן.⁴⁶

- 13 כְּחֶשׁוֹ בִּיהוָה וַיֹּאמְרוּ לֹא־הוּא וְלֹא־תִבּוֹא עָלֵינוּ רָעָה וְחִרְבַּ וְרָעַב לֹא נִרְאֶה:¹²
וְהַנְּבִיאִים יְהִיוּ לְרוּחַ וְהַדְּבָר אֵין בָּהֶם כִּי יַעֲשֶׂה לָהֶם: ס¹³
לָכֵן כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת יְעַן דְּבַרְכֶם אֶת־הַדְּבָר הַזֶּה הַגָּנִי נִתְּן דְּבַרִי¹⁴
בְּפִיךָ לֵאמֹר וְהָעַם הַזֶּה עֵצִים וְאֶכְלֹתֵם:

¹²They have spoken falsely of the Lord, and have said, “He will do nothing. No evil will come upon us, and we shall not see sword or famine”.

¹³The prophets are nothing but wind, for the word is not in them. Thus shall it be done to them!

¹⁴Therefore thus says the Lord, the God of hosts: Because they have spoken this word, I am now making my words in your mouth a fire, and this people wood, and the fire shall devour them (Jer 5:12-14).⁴⁷

- 14 וּבְנַבְאֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם רָאִיתִי שְׁעֵרוּרָה נְאוּף וְהִלְךְ בְּשִׁקָר וְחִזְקוּ יְדֵי מְרַעִים לְבַלְתִּי־¹⁴
שָׁבוּ אִישׁ מִרְעֵתוֹ הַיּוֹלֵי כֻלָּם כְּסֹדִם וַיִּשְׁבִּיָה כַעֲמֹרָה:
לָכֵן כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת עַל־הַנְּבִיאִים הַגָּנִי מֵאֲכִיל אוֹתָם לַעֲנָה וְהַשְׁקֵתִים¹⁵
מִי־רֹאשׁ כִּי מֵאֵת נְבִיאֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם יֵצְאָה חֲנֻפָה לְכָל־הָאָרֶץ: פ

¹⁴But in the prophets of Jerusalem I have seen a more shocking thing: they commit adultery and walk in lies; they strengthen the hands of evildoers, so that no one turns from wickedness; all of them have become like Sodom to me, and its inhabitants like Gomorrah.

¹⁵Therefore thus says the Lord of hosts concerning the prophets: “I am going to make them eat wormwood, and give them poisoned water to drink; for from the prophets of Jerusalem ungodliness has spread throughout the land” (Jer 23:14-15).⁴⁸

- 15 שָׁנְאוּ בְשִׁעַר מוֹכִיחַ וְדַבַּר תָּמִים יִתְעַבּוּ:¹⁰
לָכֵן יְעַן בּוֹשְׁסֵכֶם עַל־דָּל וּמִשְׁאֵת־בֵּר תִּקְחוּ מִמֶּנּוּ בְּתִי גֹזֵת בְּנִיתֵם וְלֹא־תִשְׁבוּ¹¹
בָּם כְּרִמֵּי־חֲמָד נֹטְעֵתָם וְלֹא תִשְׁתּוּ אֶת־יַיִנָּם:

also Jer 9:12-14 where על; Jer 7:30-32 and Ezek 11:16, where כִּי respectively heads the grounds of an announcement instead of יְעַן.

- 46 In a few instances the addressees are profiled with reference to the behaviour that prompted the announcement (Isa 28:14; 51:21; Jer 44:26; Ezek 34:4, 7, 9).
47 Jer 25:8; Ezek 21:29 (the utterance with יְעַן is even repeated); 31:3-11; 34:18-21.
48 Jer 11:9-13; 28:15-16. Cf. also Ezek 14:6-7; 15:6-8; 29:18-20.

¹⁰They hate the one who reproveth in the gate, and they abhor the one who speaks the truth.

¹¹Therefore because you trample on the poor and take from them levies of grain, you have built houses of hewn stone, but you shall not live in them; you have planted pleasant vineyards, but you shall not drink their wine (Amos 5:10-11).⁴⁹

Sometimes, לְכֹן is part of an already announced action (typically punishment) of which the grounds have already been specified by a sentence introduced with כִּי. לְכֹן then typically introduces one of the grave consequences of the announced punishment (#16).⁵⁰

16 וְהִגַּדְתִּי לוֹ כִּי־שֹׁפֵט אֲנִי אֶת־בְּיֹתוֹ עַד־עוֹלָם בַּעֲוֹן אֲשֶׁר־יָדַע כִּי־
מַקְלָלִים לָהֶם בְּנָיו וְלֹא כָהָה בָּם:
וְלִכֹּן נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי לְבַיִת עֲלֵי אֶם־יִתְכַפֵּר עוֹן בֵּית־עֲלֵי בְזָבַח וּבִמְנַחָה עַד־עוֹלָם:¹⁴

(ESV) ¹³And I declare to him that I am about to punish his house forever, for the iniquity that he knew, because his sons were blaspheming God, and he did not restrain them. ¹⁴Therefore I swear to the house of Eli that the iniquity of Eli's house shall not be atoned for by sacrifice or offering forever. (1 Sam 3:14).⁵¹

When the ground has been established as a shared perspective (cognitive state) about the person or people under discussion by the array of constructions referred to above, the announcement is made. In the announcements *yiqtol* forms of the verb (#9, #10, #12, #15)⁵² and

49 Num 25:12-13; Isa 30:18; 53:12; Jer 2:4-13; 8:10; 14:15; 34:12.

50 In Ezek 14:12-23 God's punishment of Jerusalem is described. In Ezek 15:2-5 the worthlessness of a burnt vine is described. With this image discourse active, the speaker announces in Ezek 15:6-8 the consequences of Jerusalem's punishment. See also Ezek 24:3-5 and 6-14.

51 Jer 49:23-26; 50:29-30, 35-39; Hos 2:3-5, 6-8; Mic 1:14. In Isa 29:17-24 a promise is involved and in Isa 65:13, יַעַן is used instead of כִּי. In Ezek 21:9, יַעַן is used to recap the previously spelled out announced punishment – before spelling out the grave details of the punishment that is introduced by לְכֹן.

52 Judg 10:13; Num 20:12; 2 Kgs 1:4, 6, 16; 19:32; Isa 1:24; 5:24; 10:16; 16:7; 27:9; 29:14, 22; 30:13, 18; 37:33; 52:5, 6(2x), 12; 61:7; 65:13; Jer 2:9; 6:15; 8:10, 12; 14:14; 15:19; 18:13-17; 23:12; 30:16; 35:19; 36:30; 42:15-16; 49:20, 26; 50:30, 39, 45; Ezek 5:10, 11; 11:7; 13:23; 18:23; 21:9, 29; 33:25; 35:5; 39:25; Hos 2:11; 13:3; Amos 4:12; 5:13; 6:7; 7:17; Zeph 2:9. In Mic 5:2 the

participles nearly always preceded by הַיָּה, (#11, #13, #14) are used.⁵³ Less frequent are instances where *qatal* (#16),⁵⁴ imperatives,⁵⁵ verbless clauses,⁵⁶ and *weqatal*⁵⁷ forms of the verb are used to refer to the contents of a threat or promise.⁵⁸

Sometimes imperatives are used to appeal to an audience to proclaim (#17) or listen (#18) to an announcement.

- 17 לָכֵן אָמַר לְבְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲנִי יְהוָה וְהוֹצֵאתִי אֶתְכֶם מִתַּחַת סְבִלַת מִצְרַיִם וְהַצֵּלְתִּי אֶתְכֶם מֵעַבְדֹתֵם וְגֵאלְתִּי אֶתְכֶם בְּזְרוּעַ נְטוּיָהּ וּבְשִׁפְטִים גְּדֹלִים:

*Say therefore to the Israelites, 'I am the Lord, and I will free you from the burdens of the Egyptians and deliver you from slavery to them. I will redeem you with an outstretched arm and with mighty acts of judgment (Exod 6:6).'*⁵⁹

- 18 לָכֵן שָׁמְעוּ הַגּוֹיִם וְדַעִי עַדָּה אֶת־אֲשֶׁר־בָּם:¹⁸
שָׁמְעֵי הָאָרֶץ הַזֶּה אֲנִי מֵבִיא רָעָה אֶל־הָעָם הַזֶּה פְּרִי מַחְשְׁבוֹתֵם כִּי עַל־דְּבָרִי
לֹא הִקְשִׁיבוּ וְתוֹרְתִי וַיִּמְאַסּוּ־בָהּ:

relationship with the grounds of the announcement in v. 1 is not unambiguously clear. See Andersen & Freedman (2008:468).

- 53 Num 25:12; 1 Kgs 14:10; 2 Kgs 21:12; 22:20; Isa 8:7; Jer 5:14; 6:18-19, 21; 7:20; 9:6, 14; 11:11, 22; 16:14, 21; 19:6; 23:7, 15; 25:8; 28:16; 29:32; 32:28, 36-37; 34:17; 35:17; 44:11, 26; 48:12; 49:2; 50:18; 51:36, 47-48, 52; Ezek 16:37; 22:19; 23:22; 25:4, 9, 16; 28:7; 29:8, 19; 37:12; Hos 2:8, 16.
- 54 1 Sam 3:14; Isa 5:13, 14, 26:14; 51:21-22; Ezek 12:23; 14:4; 15:6; 25:7; Amos 5:11 and Zech 1:16. Of these 11 instances, 7 could be regarded as prophetic futures (Isa 5:13, 14; Ezek 12:23; 14:4; 15:6; 25:7 and Zech 1:16).
- 55 Isa 10:24; Jer 18:21; Ezek 14:6-7; 21:17; 23:35 (גַּם־אֵת); Zeph 3:8.
- 56 Exod 6:6; Jer 23:30; Ezek 24:6 and 9; Amos 3:11; 5:16. In Num 16:11, what is “announced” is presented as a punishable transgression implied by what is strongly asserted in 16:9-10. For more instances with verbless clauses, see the fixed expression with הַיָּה in #20.
- 57 Jer 23:39; Ezek 13:13; 11:7; 17:19; 25:13; 35:11; 38:14-16 (with long interlude directed at the addressee). In Ezek 31:10-11, a *weyiqtol* is used.
- 58 Sometimes the “promise” to the addressees resides in action that will be taken against their enemies (2 Kgs 19:32; Isa 10:24; 28:16; 29:22; 37:33; Jer 51:36) or are made in a context where threats are announced (2 Kgs 22:20; Jer 16:14; Hos 2:16). In Exod 6:6; Num 25:12; Isa 30:18; 52:6; 53:12; 61:7; Jer 23:7; 35:19; Ezek 11:16, 17; 37:12; 39:25 and Zech 1:16 outright promises by God are announced.
- 59 Num 25:12; 1 Kgs 22:19; Ezek 11:4, 16, 17; 12:23, 28; 14:4, 6; 20:27, 30; 33:25; 36:3, 6, 22; 37:12; 38:14.

¹⁸*Therefore hear*, O nations, *and know*, O congregation, what will happen to them.

¹⁹*Hear*, O earth; I am going to bring disaster on this people, the fruit of their schemes, because they have not given heed to my words; and as for my teaching, they have rejected it (Jer 6:18-19).⁶⁰

In a few cases, לִכְן is repeated because of the intervention of an embedded direct speech by Yahweh. The second לִכְן is then used to return to the prophet's speech (#19).⁶¹

19 לִכְן כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה עַל־אֲנָשֵׁי עֲנָתוֹת הַמִּבְקָשִׁים אֶת־נַפְשָׁךְ לֵאמֹר לֹא תִנְבְּא
בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה וְלֹא תִמְוֹת בִּידְנוֹ: ס
לִכְן כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה צָבָאוֹת הַנְּנִי פִקֹּד עֲלֵיהֶם הַבְּחוּרִים יָמָתוּ בַחֶרֶב בְּנֵיהֶם
וּבְנוֹתֵיהֶם יָמָתוּ בָרָעַב:

²¹*Therefore* thus says the Lord concerning the people of Anathoth, who seek your life, and say, “You shall not prophesy in the name of the Lord, or you will die by our hand” – ²²*therefore* thus says the Lord of hosts: I am going to punish them; the young men shall die by the sword; their sons and their daughters shall die by famine (Jer 11:21-22).⁶²

Also frequent in “opening” announcements are the phrases כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה (#11)⁶³ and, predominantly in Ezekiel, לִכְן כֹּה אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה.⁶⁴ These authenticators⁶⁵ are often further specified (#13 and #14).⁶⁶

60 Jer 42:15 (with אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל); Ezek 16:35; 34:7, 9; 2 Chr 18:18.

61 I thank one of the anonymous reviewers who pointed this out.

62 See also Isa 28:9-16; Ezek 11:15-17.

63 See 2 Kgs 1:4; 19:32; Isa 29:22; 37:33; Jer 6:21; 11:11, 21; 14:15; 15:19; 18:13; 22:18; 23:38; 28:16; 29:32; 32:28; 34:17; 36:30; 51:36; Amos 7:17; Mic 2:3; Zech 1:16.

64 Isa 10:24; 28:16; 65:13; Jer 7:20; Ezek 5:7, 8; 11:7, 16, 17 (with imper.); 12:23, 28 (with imper.); 13:8, 13, 20; 14:4, 6; 15:6; 17:19; 20:27; 21:29; 22:19; 23:35; 24:6, 9; 25:13, 16; 26:3; 28:6; 29:8, 19; 30:22; 31:10; 34:20; 36:5, 7; 39:25; Amos 3:11.

65 נֶאֱמַר־יְהוָה is also used relatively often, for example, 1 Sam 2:30; Jer 2:9; 7:32; 16:14; 19:6; 23:7, 30; 48:12; 49:2; 51:52; Zeph 2:9; 3:8, but not always in the opening phrase of the announcement, for example in Jer 23:12; 29:32; 48:12; 49:26; 50:30; 51:47-48; Ezek 36:14; Zeph 2:9; 3:8; Zech 1:16.

Since what is announced typically involves drastic measures and dramatic events, these “authenticators” could be regarded as one of the means to remove any doubt among the addressees that what is announced, will or could materialise. In announcements introduced by לְכֹן, only one or two types of formulaic expressions (#20 and #21) could be detected in the corpus. However, a range of other linguistically marked constructions occur in the announcements introduced by לְכֹן. Consider, for example, how הִנֵּה is often used to draw the attention of addressees to what is about to, or what will, happen (for example, #11, #13 and #14),⁶⁷ how often some of the details of what is announced are clearly articulated (for example, by means of focus constructions⁶⁸), and how oaths are sometimes used as part of the announcements.⁶⁹ There is little doubt that the BH-speaking addressees would find it hard to ignore what is announced by means of לְכֹן. Furthermore, there is evidence that the confrontational sense of לְכֹן is sometimes exploited by a staggering of the discourse particle to make highly emotional appeals (#22).⁷⁰ Significant about #22 is that a series of announcements culminate in God’s personal

66 See 2 Kgs 21:12; Isa 10:24; Jer 5:14; 9:6, 14; 11:22; 23:2, 15; 25:8; 32:36; 35:17, 19; 44:11; 50:18; Amos 5:16. See also 1 Sam 2:30; Isa 1:24 and Zeph 2:9.

67 See footnote 53 for instances where הִנֵּה heads a participle. הִנֵּה may also head clauses with *yiqtol* (for example, Isa 65:13) and *qatal* (for example, Isa 51:21-22 and Ezek 25:7) verbs. Since a common ground has already been established that implies the “unavoidable” consequences of the addressees’ behavior, it is hard to postulate that what is announced is unexpected or a surprise to them. This is contra to what is claimed in Miller-Naudé & van der Merwe (2011).

68 See, for example, the fronted adjuncts of manner in Isa 5:25; 27:9; Jer 14:14; 18:17; Ezek 21:19; Amos 4:13 and Zech 2:9.

69 See, for example, 1 Sam 3:14; Jer 49:20; 50:45; Ezek 5:10; 34:7-8; 35:6, 10; 36:5, 7; Zeph 2:9.

70 Ezek 34:2-10 (with לְכֹן in vv. 7 and 9) and Amos 5:1-17 (with לְכֹן in vv. 11, 13 and 16) appear also to represent the build-up of announcements of judgement by means of לְכֹן. In Ezek 23:35 an announcement introduced by לְכֹן, summarises the ground plus judgement described in 11-21 and 22-34 respectively.

(indicated by means of a fronted subject) commitment in the form of an oath that he will punish the nations that insulted His people.⁷¹

20 לָכֵן כֹּה־אָמַר | אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה
הַנְּגִי אֶל־פָּרְעֹה מִלְּד־מִצְרַיִם וְשִׁבַרְתִּי אֶת־זַרְעוֹתָיו אֶת־הַחֲזָקָה וְאֶת־הַנְּשִׁבָרִת
וְהַפְּלִתִי אֶת־הַחֶרֶב מִיָּדוֹ:

Therefore thus says the Lord God: Look, I am against Pharaoh king of Egypt, and will break his arms, both the strong arm and the one that was broken; and I will make the sword fall from his hand. (Ezek 30:22).⁷²

21 לָכֵן הִנֵּה־יָמִים בָּאִים נְאֻם־יְהוִה

Therefore, look, days are coming, says the Lord ... (Jer 9:16).⁷³

22 כֹּה אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה יֵעַן אָמַר הָאוֹיֵב עֲלֵיכֶם הָאֵחַ וּבְמֹת עוֹלָם לְמוֹרָשָׁה הִיְתָה
לָנוּ:

לָכֵן הִנְבֵּא וְאָמַרְתָּ כֹּה אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה יֵעַן בִּיעַן שְׁמוֹת וְשֵׁאף אֶתְכֶם מִסָּבִיב
לְהִיּוֹתְכֶם מוֹרָשָׁה לְשֵׂאֲרֵי־הַגּוֹיִם וְהִתְעַלּוּ עַל־שִׁפְתַי לְשׁוֹן וְדַבַּת־עַם:

לָכֵן הָרִי יִשְׂרָאֵל שְׁמֵעוּ דְבַר־אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה כֹּה־אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה לְהָרִים וּלְגַבְעוֹת
לְאַפְיָקִים וּלְגֵאֲזוֹת וּלְחַרְבּוֹת הַשְּׁמָמוֹת וְלַעֲרִים הַנִּעְזְבוֹת אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ לְבָז וּלְלַעַג
לְשֵׂאֲרֵי־הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר מִסָּבִיב: ס

לָכֵן כֹּה־אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה אִם־לֹא בָאֵשׁ קִנְאַתִּי דְבַרְתִּי עַל־שֵׂאֲרֵי־הַגּוֹיִם וְעַל־
אֲדוֹם כִּלְאֵי אֲשֶׁר נִתְנוּ־אֶת־אֶרְצִי | לָהֶם לְמוֹרָשָׁה בְּשִׁמְחַת כָּל־לֵבָב בְּשֵׂאֵט נִפְשׁ
לְמַעַן מִגְרָשָׁה לְבָז:

לָכֵן הִנְבֵּא עַל־אֲדָמַת יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאָמַרְתָּ לְהָרִים וּלְגַבְעוֹת לְאַפְיָקִים וּלְגֵאֲזוֹת כֹּה־
אָמַר | אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה הַנְּגִי בְּקִנְאַתִּי וּבְחִמָּתִי דְבַרְתִּי יֵעַן כָּל־מַת גּוֹיִם וְשֵׂאֲתָם:

לָכֵן כֹּה אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה אֲנִי נִשְׂאֵתִי אֶת־יָדִי אִם־לֹא הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר לָכֶם מִסָּבִיב
הִמָּה כָּל־מַתָּם יִשְׂאוּ:

² Thus says the Lord God: Because the enemy said of you, “Aha!” and, “The ancient heights have become our possession,”

71 A build-up of announcements with לָכֵן in Ezek 5:5-7, 8 and 9-10 is concluded in 5:11-12 with a similar use of an oath. Cf. also Ezek. 20:21-26, 27-29, 30-31. In Ezek 35:3-15 oaths are used after announcements with לָכֵן vv. 6 and 11 in the course of the build-up of the announcement of a judgement.

72 The pattern involved is: הַנְּגִי + PP ... + *weqatal*. Cf. Ezek 5:7-8; 13:8; 13:20; 26:3; 29:10; 30:22; 34:9-10. Cf. also Ezek 34:20. This pattern also occurs without לָכֵן, for example, Jer 21:13 and Ezek 21:8; 35:3.

73 Jer 7:32; 16:14; 19:6; 23:7; 48:12; 49:2; 51:47-48, 52.

³ *therefore* prophesy, and say: Thus says the Lord God: Because they made you desolate indeed, and crushed you from all sides, so that you became the possession of the rest of the nations, and you became an object of gossip and slander among the people;

⁴ *therefore*, O mountains of Israel, hear the word of the Lord God: Thus says the Lord God to the mountains and the hills, the watercourses and the valleys, the desolate wastes and the deserted towns, which have become a source of plunder and an object of derision to the rest of the nations all around;

⁵ *therefore* thus says the Lord God: I am speaking in my hot jealousy against the rest of the nations, and against all Edom, who, with wholehearted joy and utter contempt, took my land as their possession, because of its pasture, to plunder it.

⁶ *Therefore* prophesy concerning the land of Israel, and say to the mountains and hills, to the watercourses and valleys, Thus says the Lord God: I am speaking in my jealous wrath, because you have suffered the insults of the nations;

⁷ *therefore* thus says the Lord God: I swear that the nations that are all around you shall themselves suffer insults (Ezek 36:2-7).

To summarise our analysis of announcements with לִיָּן:

- Announcements introduced by לִיָּן are made only after a speaker has explicitly established a firm common ground between him and his addressee (using a range of linguistically marked constructions, for example, rhetorical questions, focus constructions, causal markers, etc.).
- The announcements themselves may be prompted by directives to listen, to declare and/or authenticators.
- The announcements themselves are very often pointed out by means of הִנֵּה and refer vividly to what will or is about to happen (or not).
- By subjectively relating firmly established grounds with their vividly presented consequences, the speaker, on the one hand, commits himself to the announcement (or commissioned announcement) and, on the other hand, leaves no room for the addressees not to take the announcement seriously.
- The frequent use of לִיָּן in the announcements of threats most probably paved the way for (1) a threatening tone that “leaked into” its basic semantic core “that being so”; (2) לִיָּן adding credibility to descriptions of the grave consequences of already announced disasters (#16); and (3) its “unlogical” repetition in

emotional arguments (often culminating in an oath) – contributing eventually to its threatening tone (#8 and #22).

- The inevitability of the threats that are associated with announcements introduced by לִכְן might also have given the few instances where promises have been announced by the DP some compelling force and credibility.

If one now considers the abovementioned uses of לִכְן, it is reasonable to argue that the strong argumentative conclusive sense of the DP most probably neutralises the adversative relationship that could be postulated between the grounds and consequences of announcements such as those we find in #3.⁷⁴

3.4.2 לִכְן in argumentative dialogues

לִכְן occurs in only a few rare instances in dialogues, predominantly in non-prophetic contexts. Typically, Speaker A makes a strongly asserted statement either by means of a rhetorical question (#23), by הֲן (#24) or an infinite absolute construction (#25). Speaker B then acknowledges the validity of the assertion by means of לִכְן, “that being so, granted, all right” and presents an answer to counter (#23-24) or confirm (#25) what has been asserted.⁷⁵

- 23 וַתֹּאמֶר לָהּ הַמַּעֲטָה קָחַתְּךָ אֶת-אִישִׁי וְלָקַחְתְּ גַם אֶת-דֹּדָאִי בְנִי וַתֹּאמֶר רָחֵל לָכֵן יִשְׁכַּב עִמָּךְ הַלַּיְלָה תַּחַת דֹּדָאִי בְנִי:

(NIV) But she said to her, “Wasn’t it enough that you took away my husband? Will you take my son’s mandrakes too?” “*Very well,*” Rachel said, “he can sleep with you tonight in return for your son’s mandrakes” (Gen. 30:15).⁷⁶

- 24 וַיֹּאמֶר קִין אֶל-יְהוָה גְּדוֹל עֲוֹנֵי מִנְּשָׂא:¹³
 הֲן גְּרֵשֶׁת אֹתִי הַיּוֹם מֵעַל פְּנֵי הָאָדָמָה וּמִפְּגִיד אֶסְתֵּר וְהֵייתִי גַע וְנָדַל בְּאָרֶץ
 וְהָיָה כָל-מִצְאָי יִהְיֶה גִנִּי:¹⁴
 וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ יְהוָה לָכֵן כָּל-הַרְגָּ קִין שְׁבַע־עַתִּים יִקָּם וַיִּשֶׂם יְהוָה לְקִין אוֹת לְבַלְתִּי¹⁵

74 The same applies to Isa 30:18; Jer 30:16; Ezek 39:25 and Hos 2:16.

75 In Job 20:2 Zophar uses לִכְן to indicate that the content of his speech is a response to what Job’s attack on his friends implies about God in Job 19:20-22. See, in contra, Clines (1998:473), who does not think such a link is involved.

76 Judg 8:5; 11:7; Job 42:3. In 1 Kgs 22:19-23 a prophet argues with a king. Neither a prototypical dialogue, nor a prototypical prophetic announcement is involved. Compare also the dialogue between Jeremiah and God in Jer 15:18-19, where no typical prophetic announcement is made.

הַכּוֹת־אֹתוֹ כָּל־מִצָּאוֹ:

(NET) ¹³ Then Cain said to the Lord, “My punishment is too great to endure!
¹⁴ Look! You are driving me off the land today, and I must hide from your presence. I will be a homeless wanderer on the earth; whoever finds me will kill me.” ^{4:15} But the Lord said to him, “*All right then*, if anyone kills Cain, Cain will be avenged seven times as much” (Gen 3:13-15).

25 וַיְהִי בַיָּמִים הָהֵם וַיִּקְבְּצוּ פְּלִשְׁתִּים אֶת־מַחֲנֵיהֶם לְצָבָא לְהִלָּחֵם בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל וַיֹּאמֶר
 אָכִישׁ אֶל־דָּוִד יָדַע תִּדַּע כִּי אֶתִּי תִצָּא בַמַּחֲנֶה אֶתְּהָ וַאֲנִשִּׁיךָ: ² וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד אֶל־
 אָכִישׁ לָכֵן אֶתְּהָ תִדַּע אֶת אֲשֶׁר־יַעֲשֶׂה עִבְדְּךָ וַיֹּאמֶר אָכִישׁ אֶל־דָּוִד לָכֵן שְׂמֵר
 לְרֵאשִׁי אֲשִׁימְךָ כָּל־הַיָּמִים: פ

¹In those days the Philistines gathered their forces for war, to fight against Israel. Achish said to David, “You know, of course, that you and your men are to go out with me in the army.” ²David said to Achish, “*Very well*, then you shall know what your servant can do.” Achish said to David, “*Very well*, I will make you my bodyguard for life.” (1 Sam 28:1-2).

In Job (#26) לָכֵן is used twice by Elihu, not in a speech turn, but to link appeals to listen to him after a firm ground between him and his addressee has been established.

26 לָכֵן אָמַרְתִּי שְׂמַעְה־לִּי אַחֲוָה יְדַעִי אַף־אָנֹכִי:
 הֲנִן הוֹחַלְתִּי לְדַבְרֵיכֶם אֲזִין עַד־תִּבְּוֹנְתִיכֶם עַד־תִּחְקְרוּן מִלִּין:

¹⁰Therefore I say, “Listen to me; let me also declare my opinion.”

¹¹See, I waited for your words, I listened for your wise sayings, while you searched out what to say” (Job 32:10).⁷⁷

3.4.3 לָכֵן in “fact reporting” statements

In a few instances, typically introducing a clause headed by *qatal*, both in the 1st person (#27) and the 3rd person (#28), לָכֵן is used to explain the grounds of factual situations. This use of לָכֵן is very similar to that of על־כֵּן. This happens once in narrative literature,⁷⁸ once in Job,⁷⁹ four times in Psalms⁸⁰ and three times in the prophetic literature.⁸¹

77 Job 34:10.

78 1 Sam 27:6.

79 Job 37:24.

80 Pss 16:9; 73:6, 10; 78:21; 119:119.

81 Isa 30:7; Ezek 23:9 and Amos 5:13.

27 ומצרים הבל וריק יעזרו לכן קראתי לזאת רהב הם שבת:

(NRSV) For Egypt's help is worthless and empty, *therefore* I have called her, "Rahab who sits still" (Isa 30:7).⁸²

28 ויתן־לו אכיש ביום ההוא את־צקלג לכן היתה צקלג למלכי יהודה עד היום
הזה: פ

(NRSV) So that day Achish gave him Ziklag; *therefore* Ziklag has belonged to the kings of Judah to this day (1 Sam 27:6).⁸³

4. CONCLUSION

This study established that knowing the meaning of a DP entails much more than determining a list of its possible translation values. Insights into the complexity of language and how linguistic meaning works provided some parameters for the investigation of לִּבֵּן. For example, DPs may have a semantic core, which in the case of לִּבֵּן could be represented as "under these circumstances" or "that being so". Since DP's are part of language as a complex and dynamic system, the meaning of lexical items may shift in time, but the semantic core of a lexical unit may also remain part of its semantic potential. In the case of לִּבֵּן this is the case. It was found that its core semantic value may even neutralise the adversative relationship of the chunks of information it connects, for example in #3. Furthermore, its core semantic value tends to persist to such a degree in all its uses in the Hebrew Bible that a shift to an affirmative meaning ("assuredly, certainly") for לִּבֵּן could not be justified. In this regard, this study concurs with BDB (1906) against HALOT (1999) and Clines *et al.* (1998).

On the basis of the contextual frames within which it is used in the Hebrew Bible, three main categories of use have been identified:

1. לִּבֵּן in argumentative prophetic announcements (prototypical);
2. לִּבֵּן in argumentative dialogues (seldom);
3. לִּבֵּן in "fact reporting" statements (seldom).

By far the most prototypical use of לִּבֵּן is that of category 1. It may be argued that through frequency of use לִּבֵּן accrued the sense of an announcement of an inevitable and justified threat. This compelling force of these announcements might have contributed to the "trustworthiness" of the few promises in the corpus that are also announced by means of לִּבֵּן.

82 Ezek 23:9; Pss 16:9; 73:6, 10; 119:119.

83 Isa 16:7; Amos 5:13, Ps 78:21 and Job 37:24.

In a few instances (that is, 3) the meaning of לִּבְּנֵי seems to overlap with that of the “fact reporting” sense that is associated with עַל-בְּנֵי. How these two lexemes in turn differ from וְעַתָּה warrants a systematic analysis.

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Gideon R Kotzé (Stellenbosch University)

DAUGHTERS AND DRAGONS IN LXX LAMENTATIONS 4:3¹

ABSTRACT

The wording of the Masoretic text (MT) version of Lam 4:3, as represented by Codex Leningradensis, exhibits a number of features that are interesting from the points of view of orthography, morphology and philology. These features have elicited different interpretations from scholars. It is also noteworthy that a non-biblical composition from Qumran, 4Q179, includes a phrase that has been borrowed from Lam 4:3. The interesting nature of MT Lam 4:3 and the use of a phrase from this verse in a Dead Sea scroll raise the question how other textual witnesses represent the wording and content of the verse. This study singles out the Greek translation of Lamentations (LXX Lam) for analysis and focuses on the renderings of תנין, “jackals”, with δράκοντες, “dragons”, and בת עמי, “the daughter of my people”, with θυγατέρες λαοῦ μου, “daughters of my people”. The analysis shows that the changes to the wording of Lam 4:3 introduced by the Greek translator had a marked effect on the content of the verse. LXX Lam 4:3 is therefore a unique representative of this verse’s wording and content.

1. INTRODUCTION

In Codex Leningradensis, the Masoretic wording of Lam 4:3 reads as follows: גַּם־תַּנִּין חָלְצוּ שֵׁד הַיְנִיקוּ גּוּרֵיהֶן בַּת־עַמִּי לְאַכְזֹר בֵּי עַנִּים בַּמִּדְבָּר. This is, arguably, one of the most interesting passages in the penultimate poem of the collection of five laments that comprise the book of Lamentations. Its wording in the Masoretic text (MT) exhibits a number of noteworthy features that have proved taxing for scholars to explain or have eluded definitive interpretations. These include orthographical and morphological features, as well as philological issues.

Many scholars read the second word of the first colon, תנין, as a plural form of תן, “jackal”.² They attribute the unusual ending of the plural form

1 This study is dedicated to two respected teachers and colleagues, Professors Johann Cook and Paul A Kruger.

2 See, for example, Salters (2010:289); Labahn (2005:77 n. 34); Berges (2002:231). תן has the meaning “jackal” in Modern Hebrew. Biblical Hebrew lexica also assign this sense to תן (cf. Koehler & Baumgartner 2001:1759; Brown, Driver & Briggs 1906:1072). Yet, Frevel (2006:714-715) argues that

with nunation instead of mimation to Aramaic influence (cf. Dobbs-Allsopp 1998:30; Young, Rezetko & Ehrensverd 2008:66). Interestingly, the *qere* reading, which is recorded in the margin of Codex Leningradensis as part of its *Masorah parva*, bears witness to the form with mimation. The fact that it appears in a few other medieval Masoretic manuscripts means that this variant was not only part of a reading tradition, but also circulated in writing. The form תנין is the *lectio difficilior* by virtue of its ambiguous nature, while the variant reading תנים was probably created in an attempt to eradicate the ambiguity in the wording of the verse (Schäfer 2004:130*-131*). Some scholars, however, do not interpret תנין as an unusual plural form of תן, but as the word תנין, “snake”, “dragon”. In his discussion of monsters in the Hebrew Bible, Driver (1956:243-248) argues that תנין refers not only to snakes and dragons, but also to aquatic creatures. He mentions the hidden mammary glands of cetaceans in connection with תנין חלצו שד in Lam 4:3 (Driver 1956:246 n. 6), while Kiessling (1970:168) notes that תנין in this verse might very well have marine mammals in view, given that whales suckle their calves. Margalith (1985:228) draws on archaeological evidence to substantiate his view that תנין in its meaning “snake” is the original reading and that it should not be emended into תנים. He refers to clay cobra figurines that were discovered during excavations at Tel Beth-Shean in Levels VIII-VI (13th-12th century BCE) when the site was home to an Egyptian garrison.³ Some of these figurines have tiny, button-like nodules on the torso that have been interpreted as breasts (David 2009:558).⁴ The

“the meaning of **tan* will never be determined precisely” and that the Biblical Hebrew terms for various canids “were not sufficiently well defined to permit us today to make precise zoological distinctions among jackal, fox, hyena, and feral dog in our translations”.

3 In addition to those excavated at Beth-Shean, remains of clay cobra figurines have been found at Amarna, Abydos, Kom Rabia, Qantir, Sais, Kom Firin, Akoris, Saqqara, Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham, Ḥaruba and Kamid el-Loz (Szpakowska 2003:113)

4 This interpretation raises the possibility that the clay cobras might have adopted features of female plaque figurines that were found in the same context as the cobras at Beth-Shean (David 2009:558-559). They could therefore be examples of the interaction between Egyptian and Canaanite religion and iconography, as well as the religious syncretism that can be observed in the artefacts and temple architecture in Levels VIII-VI at Beth-Shean (Mullin 2012:135-142, 151).

breasted cobras could have been used in apotropaic spells and rituals against nightmares (Szpakowska 2003:121), or they were votive objects that represented the harvest goddess Renenutet or another Egyptian cobra goddess (David 2009:559). Although these figurines present an intriguing interpretation possibility, it has, as yet, not been demonstrated how Bronze Age breasted clay cobras could have become the conceptual background for an image in the much later text of Lam 4:3. They therefore do not settle the dispute over the meaning of תנין in the MT version of the verse.

Opinions are less divided concerning the second *qere* reading of the verse. This reading, כִּיעֵינִים, which is also found in many Masoretic manuscripts, is generally favoured above the Leningrad codex's *ketib* reading, בִּיעֵינִים. The latter is considered to be nonsensical and the result of a scribal error.⁵ כִּיעֵינִים is not only the preferred reading.⁶ It is interesting for two more reasons. First, its vocalisation provides an exception to the rule that a *yod* with an audible *šewa* that is preceded by a definite article and followed by the gutturals *he* or *'ayin* receives a *dageš forte* (cf. Joüon & Muraoka 2005:83; Gesenius 1910:110). Secondly, כִּיעֵינִים can be derived from the hypothetical singular form כִּיעַן, a *qatil* type of noun, which has the meaning “ostrich” (Koehler & Baumgartner 2001:421; Gesenius 1995:476; Brown, Driver & Briggs 1906:419). Lam 4:3 is the only passage in the Hebrew Bible where this noun appears.

The opening phrase of the verse's second bicolon, בת עמי, is one of several construct phrases in the Hebrew Bible with “daughter” as the *nomen regens* (cf. Kartveit 2013:114-115). Scholars debate the proper understanding of these phrases, but in a recent study, Kartveit (2013) shows that they can be interpreted as appositional expressions in which the *nomen regens* describes the *nomen rectum*. In many passages, the *nomen regens* is a metaphor that is applied to the *nomen rectum*. Kartveit (2013:159) suggests that “בת עמי” illustrates the metaphorical sense of בת; even though it is feminine in gender, it had a metaphorical sense that could be applied to masculine nouns as well”. בת is used metaphorically in a number of different ways, but when an emotional aspect is involved, it can serve as a term of endearment with the sense “dear”, “beloved” (Kartveit 2013:128). Lam 4:3 is an example where this metaphorical

5 Schäfer (2004:131*) notes that the consonants of the *ketib* can be explained as an erroneous division of words.

6 In the comments below on the meaning of the verse, MT Lam 4:3b refers to the wording of Masoretic manuscripts that contain the reading כִּיעֵינִים.

meaning of *בת* carries overtones of irony. The speaker observes that his “dear” people have become uncouth (*לאכזר*). This is evidenced by the starvation of their children mentioned in v. 4.

With regard to *לאכזר*, the *lamed* can be taken as a preposition that indicates “the goal of a process during which a *new role* has been given to an entity” (Van der Merwe, Naudé & Kroeze 1999:285).⁷ A number of interpreters do not read it in this way and rather understand it as an emphatic *lamed*.⁸ The *'aqtal* form of *אכזר* is also striking. There are similar formations in other Semitic languages, such as Arabic and Ugaritic.⁹ Biblical Hebrew lexica give the meaning of this adjective in Lam 4:3 as “cruel” (Koehler & Baumgartner 2001:45; Gesenius 1995:53; Brown, Driver & Briggs 1906:470), but Rabin (1967:219-224) argues cogently on the bases of the literary contexts in which this word and its related forms, *אכזרי* and *אכזריות*, appear in the Hebrew Bible, the renderings of these words in the various ancient translations, the meanings of the cognate Arabic root *qdr* (“dirty”/“unsociable person”), as well as the relative form *'af'al* in Arabic, that *אכזר* has the following spectrum of meanings: disgusting, uncouth, asocial, not behaving in accordance with accepted social patterns, zealot, fierce, enemy, alien. Concerning the sense of *לאכזר* in the second colon of the verse under discussion, Rabin (1967:222) states that “the ‘daughter of my people’ of Thr. IV₃ resembles the ostriches of the wilderness in departing from the accepted standards of society by failing to provide for her children”.

Concerning the meaning of the verse, MT Lam 4:3 forms part of a description of disaster that has befallen a community and formulated in terms of a world turned upside down (cf. Lam 4:1-10). The portrayal of conditions that invert, oppose or embody the opposite of accepted cultural (social, political, economic, judicial and religious) values and norms is a well-known *topos* in ancient Near Eastern writings (Kruger 2012:392).

7 For a discussion of this function of the preposition, see Jenni (2000:26-33). Berges (2002:244) and Jenni (2000:34) interpret the *lamed* of *לאכזר* in Lam 4:3ba as such a *lamed* of revaluation.

8 Cf. Renkema (1998:502-503); Hillers (1992:139); Kraus (1983:72); Gottlieb (1978:61); McDaniel (1968:206-207); Rudolph (1938:117). On the emphatic *lamed*, see Waltke & O'Connor (1990:211-212).

9 Cf., for example, Haelewyck (2006:96-97); and Lipiński (1997:215). Based on the comparative Semitic data, Wagner (1967:357-358) refutes the suggestion of Martin Noth that Hebrew *'aqtal* words, such as *אכזר*, *אכזב* and *איתן*, are Aramaisms.

Kruger (2012:394) demonstrates that this *topos* of a *mundus inversus* is characteristic of descriptions of disaster, especially in lament literature. In MT Lam 4:3-4, it finds expression in inverted social relationships.¹⁰ According to these verses, the people act contrary to established social norms and the order of civilised society by not providing in the needs of starving children. The wording of MT Lam 4:3b compares the people in their incivility to ostriches of the steppe. These birds are wilderness animals that dwell in the deserted, uncultivated areas at the periphery of the centres of human habitation, civilisation and experience (Keel 1978:67-68). As such, ostriches can symbolise desolation (Borowski 2002:298), but they also represent chaos, disorder and the counter-human world that pose a threat to human societies (Riede 2002:120-122). Mesopotamian and Egyptian rulers, who have the responsibility of maintaining order in the territories of their dominion, are depicted in art and literature as hunters of wild animals, including ostriches (Foster 2002:285-286; Houlihan 2002:113-114; 1986:1-5).¹¹ These depictions show the rulers in the execution of their official duty of ridding their lands of threatening and inimical forces (Janowski & Neumann-Gorsolke 1993:107-108; Keel 1993:180; 1990:27-65; 1978:71-81). The motif of “the lord of the ostriches” on Iron Age scaraboids (10th-9th century BCE) from the territories of Israel and Judah is also worth mentioning in this

10 Similar themes of parents neglecting their children are found in Mesopotamian lament literature (city and *balag* laments). Cf. Kruger (2012:397-398) and Dobbs-Allsopp (1993:41).

11 For example, on a stela in his newly built palace at Kalḫu (Nimrud), the Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II boasts that he, on divine command, hunted and killed hundreds of lions, wild bulls and ostriches, as well as thirty elephants. He also captured a number of these animals alive. The hunting scene is lodged between accounts of Ashurnasirpal’s control over his domain that deal with the founding and decoration of temples, the renovation of abandoned cities and palaces and a great banquet (cf. Grayson 2002:291-293; Wiseman 1952:28, 31). See Collon (2010:3-4; illus. 68, 72) for other Assyrian depictions of ostrich hunts. From Egypt, there is a hunting scene in the tomb (No. 53) of Amenemhet at Thebes showing him taking aim with his bow at ostriches and other animals that have been brought together in a fenced-off “reserve” (Houlihan 1986:4 fig. 3). Another example is the gold covered fan found in the tomb of Tutankhamun that pictures the young pharaoh hunting ostriches from his chariot (Houlihan 1986:2 fig. 1).

regard (cf. Keel & Uehlinger 1998:140; Keel 1978:102-108).¹² The scaraboids depict a deity (possibly YHWH) flanked by two ostriches. The deity is in the pose of the “master of the animals” with his arms raised or grasping the necks of the birds. The connection with ostriches means that the deity is linked with the steppe. His pose communicates his dominance over the ostriches and the hostility, danger and chaos that they signify. These perspectives on ostriches shed fresh light on the simile in MT Lam 4:3b. The simile suggests that there is a resemblance between the people’s claimed uncouthness and the counter-human world which the ostriches represent. The first bicolon of the verse in the MT adds an important observation involving תנין to the simile in the second bicolon.¹³ The interpretation of תנין as a plural form of תן in its meaning “jackals” would make good sense in this context. Jackals inhabit ruins and desolate areas on the border of cultured societies (cf. Keel 1980:66). Thus, like ostriches, these scavenging canids epitomise “a hostile and sinister world” (Frevel 2006:716). Lam 4:3a observes that even such animals care for and provide nourishment for their pups.¹⁴ This puts the uncouthness of “the daughter of my people” into perspective. It implies that the people compare unfavourably with animals that are supposed to symbolise the opposite of civilised behaviour. Lam 4:3b states that the people are rather like other representatives of counterculture, ostriches. These birds seem to have had a reputation for treating their eggs with a measure of carelessness.¹⁵

12 The lord of the ostrich also appears in scenes on neo-Assyrian cylinder seals (8th and 7th century BCE) where heroes clutch the necks of two ostriches. See Collon (2010: illus. 53, 56 and 84).

13 The focus particle ׀ is not only used here to satisfy the acrostic, but also to signal an important addition to the content of the second bicolon.

14 It is noteworthy that Lam 4:3 is the only passage in the Hebrew Bible where גור does not signify a lion cub (cf. Strawn 2005:321).

15 “Ostriches were considered terrible parents (cf. Job 39:14-17), because they sometimes do not incubate all the eggs they have laid, often cover their eggs with sand in the heat of the day to let the warmth of the sun incubate them, and desert the nest when attacked in order to divert the attacker” (Frevel 2006:719-720). In Israelite literature, the idea that ostriches treat their eggs carelessly might be expressed in the Job passage (cf. Keel 1978:84), but not all scholars agree that this text deals with ostriches. The poet of Lam 4 might have been familiar with this idea and perhaps it influenced his choice of ostriches for the simile in v. 3.

It is noteworthy that one of the manuscripts from Qumran, 4Q179, contains a phrase that is similar to the wording of Lam 4:3b α .¹⁶ The words *בת עמי אכזריה* in 4Q179 fragment 1 column ii line 4 resemble *בת עמי לאכזר* in the MT version of Lam 4:3.¹⁷ Unfortunately, there are lacunae in the previous line and after *אכזריה* (cf. Bernstein 2014:414; Allegro 1968:75-76). Therefore, the wording and content of the immediate context cannot be reconstructed with confidence. This means that the precise meaning of *אכזריה* cannot be established from the context. The phrase in Lam 4:3b α was, in all probability, the inspiration for *בת עמי אכזריה* in 4Q179, but it is debatable whether these words should be interpreted as a deliberate allusion to the verse in the biblical text.¹⁸ There are also no convincing grounds for classifying *בת עמי אכזריה* as a quotation of a variant text of Lam 4:3b α , as Høgenhaven (2002:118) does.¹⁹ The author of 4Q179 did depend on Lam 4:3 and other verses from this poem for phrases to use in his own composition. However, the extant fragments of the manuscript only provide a frustratingly incomplete view of how he used the phrases.

16 The surviving wordings of the manuscript's two large fragments show several correspondences with passages in Lamentations and other writings of the Hebrew Bible. Berlin (2003:2-3) argues that the style of 4Q179 is "overtly biblicalizing" and that it is composed "largely of a pastiche of biblical phrases".

17 Other instances where words from Lam 4 are used in this column can be found in line 9, [...]*המסלאים* (cf. *המסלאים בפז* in Lam 4:2), and in line 10, *אמנים עלי* (cf. *האמנים עלי תולע* in Lam 4:5). Pabst (1978:139) overestimates the impact of Lam 4 on the content of the column when he declares that lines 1-13 depend on Lam 4:1-10 and the theme of the starvation of Jerusalem's residents who once lived lavishly.

18 An allusion can be defined as an implied reference in one text to the wording of another text and its meaning. In other words, allusions are words that an author deliberately borrows from an existing writing to use in a new composition. The meanings of the words in their original contexts determine their meanings in the new literary context. Such allusions are intended to be recognisable to the audience of the new composition (cf. Sommer 1998:10-13).

19 Høgenhaven (2002:118) thinks that *לעוליהן*, the word that precedes *בת עמי אכזריה* at the beginning of the line, is a variant of *גוריהן*, the last word of Lam 4:3a β . He claims that this supposed variant corroborates the impression that 4Q179 quotes here from Lam 4:3. In his opinion, the clauses "even the jackals give the breast and suckle" of Lam 4:3a can be used to restore the missing wording at the end of 4Q179 frg. 1 col. ii line 3 (cf. also Horgan 1973:233).

The interesting character of the MT wording of Lam 4:3 and the use of a phrase from this verse in 4Q179 raise the question how other textual representatives of the verse, such as the original Greek translation (LXX Lam), render its wording and content. This question is important from both a text-critical and exegetical perspective. The original Greek translations of the Jewish scriptures, or Old Greek texts, hold great significance for those areas of research, such as the disciplines of textual criticism and biblical interpretation, where the transmission and reception of authoritative religious literary writings are studied. The significance of the Old Greek texts for these disciplines resides in the fact that their Hebrew *Vorlagen* often differ in details from other textual representatives (including the MT), on the one hand, and that they bear witness to early interpretations of the writings' passages, on the other hand. This importance of the Old Greek texts for textual criticism and biblical interpretation is not limited to instances where they preserve readings that are judged to be closer either to the putative original wording or the original meaning of a passage than its counterparts in other textual representatives. Seeing as the Greek translations were made at different stages in their respective parent texts' history of development and originated in different historical contexts, they provide crucial data pertaining to the *Textgeschichte* of the Jewish scriptures and, in some passages, might reflect the conceptual world and circumstances of their translators. They are, therefore, unique representatives of the wording and content of their parent writings when they are compared to other textual witnesses. As such, the Old Greek texts merit thorough text-critical and exegetical analyses, irrespective of their wordings' proximity to the presumed "original text" or "original meaning" of the writings they represent. For the purposes of such analyses, text-critics and exegetes should be sure to make use of the original wording of the Greek translations, as far as this can be ascertained (Cook 2004:2), be meticulous in their scrutiny of the details of the Old Greek texts' wordings in comparison with the extant Hebrew wordings of passages and endeavour to determine not only how the *Vorlagen* and translators shaped these details in the Greek wording during the processes of translation, but also how this affects the content of passages. In this endeavour, text-critics and exegetes should be attentive to text-internal and text-external clues. For example, in addition to lexical semantics, grammar and syntax, text-critics and exegetes should also consider issues relating to translation technique,

the character of the Hebrew-Aramaic parent texts, as well as the cultural and historical settings in which the translations came into being.

It is against the background of these brief comments on the Hebrew wording of Lam 4:3, its reception in 4Q179 and the importance of the Old Greek texts for textual criticism and biblical interpretation that this study will provide an analysis of LXX Lam 4:3. The goal of the analysis is to elucidate the Greek translation as a unique representative of the wording and content of the verse.

2. THE TEXT AND TRANSLATION PROFILE OF LXX LAM 4:3

The Greek text of the verse, in the critical edition prepared by Ziegler (2006:487), reads as follows: *καί γε δράκοντες ἐξέδυσαν μαστούς ἐθήλασαν σκύμνοι αὐτῶν θυγατέρες λαοῦ μου εἰς ἀνίατον ὡς στρουθίον ἐν ἐρήμῳ*. This translation has both “literal” traits and marks of the translator’s initiative. Its text follows the word order of the MT and all the clause constituents of the Hebrew consonantal text are represented in the translation.²⁰ Other “literal” features include the rendering of **גַּם** with *καί γε* (cf. Assan-Dhôte & Moatti-Fine 2008:155-156) and **לְאִכְזָר** with the prepositional phrase *εἰς ἀνίατον* (cf. Hirsch-Luipold & Maier 2011:2839).²¹ The translator, however, did not translate all the words and phrases of the verse literally. He adjusted the number of nouns (cf. *μαστούς* for **דָּשׁ** and *στρουθίον* for **יַעֲנִים**) and rendered **גּוֹרִיהֶן** not as the object of **הִינִיקוּ**, but as the subject of the verb: *ἐθήλασαν σκύμνοι αὐτῶν*. Furthermore, the two readings *δράκοντες* and *θυγατέρες λαοῦ μου* stand out, because they differ from their opposite numbers in the MT and affect the content of the Greek version of

20 In the vocalised wording of MT, the nouns in the prepositional phrases **בְּיַעֲנִים** and **בְּמִדְבָּר** are definite, but their translation equivalents in the Greek text do not have definite articles.

21 According to Albrektson (1963:176), *ἀνίατος* “is undeniably a rather strange translation of **אִכְזָר**, but it cannot very well be explained as a textual error, as the same rendering occurs also in Deut. 32:33 (for **אִכְזָר**) and in Isa. 13:9 (for **אִכְזָרִי**)”. He suggests that the passage in Deuteronomy might have been the basis for the translation of **אִכְזָר** and **אִכְזָרִי** with *ἀνίατος* in Lam 4:3 and Isa 13:9 (Albrektson 1963:177). The two cola of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX Deut 32:33 contained words (**תַּנִּינִים** and **אִכְזָר**) that resemble ones in the parent text of LXX Lam 4:3 (**תַּנִּים/תַּנִּין** and **לְאִכְזָר**). It is possible, although not certain, that this was a factor in the translation process of LXX Lam 4:3 and that the Greek translator of Lamentations was guided in his renderings by the translation equivalents of the similar Hebrew words in LXX Deut 32:33.

the verse. They contribute to the fact that the meaning of LXX Lam 4:3 is not the same as its sense in the MT (Assan-Dhôte & Moatti-Fine 2008:262). This study will, therefore, focus on these two readings in pursuit of its abovementioned goal.

2.1 *Dragons*

Δράκων is an interesting reading in the corpus of Greek translations of Hebrew scriptures (Eynikel & Hauspie 2004:126-135). Its use in LXX Lam 4:3 is no exception. In the Greek translations of Hebrew Bible writings, δράκων serves as translation equivalent for the Hebrew names of a variety of animals (כפיר, “young lion” [Job 4:10; 38:39]; עתוד, “he-goat” [Jer 50:8 [LXX 27:8]; פתן, “asp” [Job 20:16]; נחש, “snake” [Amos 9:3; Job 26:11]; תן, “jackal” [Jer 9:10 [LXX 9:11]; Mic 1:8], as well as the sea monsters לויתן (Isa 27:1; Pss 74:14 [LXX 73:14]; 104:26 [LXX 103:26]; Job 40:25) and תנין (Isa 27:1; Jer 51:34 [LXX 28:34]; Pss 74:13 [LXX 73:13]; 148:7; Job 7:12). Given that forms of תן and תנין are translated with δράκων in the LXX, it is uncertain whether the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX Lam 4:3 contained the reading תנים or תנין. Eynikel & Hauspie (2004:130 n. 19) think that the plural form of δράκοντες implies that it translated תנים, but it is also possible that the translator of Lamentations found תנין in the *Vorlage*, understood it as a singular form, and rendered it with a plural equivalent in view of the number of the following verb, חלצו, and the third-person feminine plural suffix of גוריהן (Albrektson 1963:174-175). In this case, the choice of δράκων as translation equivalent would fit the trend in translations of תנין in the Septuagint. Apart from LXX Gen 1:21, where the translator decided to render this Hebrew word with κήτος,²² and LXX Isa 51:9, where there is no Greek equivalent for the phrase מחוללת תנין, the Greek translators rendered all the occurrences of תנין in the Hebrew Bible writings with forms of δράκων.²³ Conversely,

22 A κήτος is a huge fish, marine mammal or sea monster (cf. Muraoka 2009:397; Lust, Eynikel & Hauspie 1996:255). In Greek and Roman art, κήτη are often represented as *Mischwesen* with features borrowed from different animals (Boardman 1987:74).

23 The word תנין does not denote a sea monster in all of the passages in which it is used. In Exod 7:9, 10, 12; Deut 32:33 and Ps 91:13, תנין refers to serpents (cf. Heider 1999:834-836). At Ezek 29:3 and 32:2, the Egyptian pharaoh is called a תנים in the text of Codex Leningradensis. Many other Masoretic manuscripts, however, contain the preferable reading, תנין, which might here refer to a crocodile (Zimmerli 1979:703, 707-708).

δράκων is used only in LXX Jer 9:11 and LXX Mic 1:8 to translate תנים. The various renderings of תנים in the Septuagint show that none of the translators associated this Hebrew word with jackals.²⁴ Evidently, they were not familiar with this meaning of תן and were guided in their translations by the contexts of the passages in which it appears (Eynikel & Hauspie 2004:132-133).²⁵

Seeing as the question regarding the Hebrew form underlying the Greek reading δράκοντες in LXX Lam 4:3 is moot,²⁶ it is difficult to determine

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- 24 Apart from δράκων in LXX Jer 9:11 and LXX Mic 1:8, the Greek equivalents of תנים in the LXX include ἐχῖνος, “hedgehog” (Isa 13:22), σειρήν, “siren” (Isa 34:13; 43:20; Job 30:29), ὄρνις, “bird” (Isa 35:7); στρουθός, “ostrich” (Jer 10:22; 49:33 [LXX 30:11]); κάκωσις, “affliction” (Ps 44:20 [LXX 43:20]). The Greek translator of Mal 1:3 rendered the form לַתְנוֹת with εἰς δόματα (“gifts”).
- 25 In the Vulgate, Jerome used *draco* as a regular translation equivalent for תנים, except at Isa 13:22, where he rendered it with *sirinae*. The Gallican Psalter version of Ps 43:20 has the reading *in loco afflictionis* in accordance with ἐν τόπῳ κακώσεως in the Hexapla, while the Latin translation based on the Hebrew text of the psalm has *in loco draconum* (Weber 2007:822, 823). Like the Greek translators, Jerome does not seem to have known the meaning “jackal” for תן. The translators of the Peshitta, however, consistently rendered תנים with forms of the Syriac word for “jackal”, ܕܪܐܿܕܢܐ (Sokoloff 2009:584).
- 26 Interestingly, in the margin of the Syro-Hexapla manuscript, Codex Ambrosianus (Ceriani 1874:141 verso), there is a reading, ܕܪܐܿܕܢܐ (θανιν), attributed to the version of “the Hebrew” (ὁ ἑβραῖος). This is the only reading of Lamentations associated with ὁ ἑβραῖος and it obviously agrees with תנין, the *ketib* reading of Codex Leningradensis. Immediately below this reading in the margin is a reference to the reading in the version of Symmachus: ܫܝܪܝܢܐ (σειρήνες; cf. Ziegler 2006:487; Field 1875:758). The Hexapla readings collected by Ziegler (2006:196, 203, 219, 299, 314) and Field (1875:596, 600, 609, 722, 732) show that at Jer 9:10 (LXX 9:11), the version of Symmachus has σειρήν as equivalent for תנים where the LXX has δράκων. Symmachus used σειρήν to represent תנים in other passages from Jeremiah as well: Jer 10:22 (LXX: στρουθός); 14:6 (LXX: minus); 49:33 (LXX 30:11: στρουθός); 51:37 (LXX: minus). Cf. also Isa 13:22; 35:7; 43:20. In these three passages, Symmachus rendered תנים with plural forms of σειρήν. Only at Isa 34:13, the version of Symmachus has the reading δρακόντων for תנים where the LXX has σειρήνων (Ziegler 1967:245; Field 1875:498). In view of these data, σειρήν seems to have been Symmachus’ preferred translation equivalent for תנים. The

whether the translator merely employed a standard Greek equivalent without concern for the impact it might have on the meaning of the passage, or whether the interpretation of the *Vorlage* during the translation process led the translator to the conclusion that δράκοντες would be an appropriate rendering in the context of the verse. Nevertheless, δράκοντες gives LXX Lam 4:3 a unique meaning amongst the extant textual representatives of the verse.

In Greek literature, δράκων primarily refers to a snake (Eynikel & Hauspie 2004:127), but the word also denotes a large, menacing monster in the sea or on land (van Henten 1999:265). These monsters are either giant snakes, or hybrid creatures with a snake component combined with human or other animal forms. They are sometimes pictured with more than one head and able to breathe fire (Ogden 2013:2-4). Dragons can also symbolise evil, destructive forces and chaos (Eynikel & Hauspie 2004:128; van Henten 1999:265). The passages in Jewish writings where δράκων is used show that these characteristics of dragons were known to the Jewish scribes who translated and composed writings in Greek. For example, in Sir 25:16, Wis 16:10 and *Sib.Or.* 3:794, δράκων refers to snakes, while it appears in its sense of dragon in Additions A and F of LXX Esth,²⁷ *Ps. Sol.* 2:25²⁸ and *T. Ab.* 17:14, 17; 19:5, 7.²⁹ The reading δρακόντων in the

Symmachus reading σειρήνες at Lam 4:3 might therefore suggest that the Hebrew text he used contained the form תנינ instead of תנין.

27 The δράκοντες in the Additions to Esther are connected with chaos and a context where the Jews come under threat. Addition A relates a dream that Mordecai had in which he sees chaos on earth. Amidst clamour, confusion, thunder and an earthquake, two great, roaring dragons advance, spoiling for a fight (LXX Esth A v. 5). At their roaring, all the nations prepare for a war against “a nation of righteous people” (LXX Esth A v. 6). Addition F v. 4 identifies the two dragons with Mordecai and the chief antagonist in the story, Haman.

28 *Ps. Sol.* 2:25 is another passage where an enemy leader is symbolised as a chaos monster. In this text, it is the arrogant Roman general Pompey that is described as a dragon.

29 In the long recension of *T. Ab.*, God sends the archangel Michael to Abraham with the message that he will die so that he can make his testament. When the old patriarch stubbornly refuses to depart this life, God sends Death to him. At first, Death appears to Abraham in a form of youthful beauty and glory, but Abraham soon learns the identity of his new visitor. He then asks to see Death’s full ferocity. Death obliges reluctantly and reveals his terrible

Greek text of *1 Enoch* 20:7 is curious. The chapter gives the names and functions of the seven archangels who will serve as Enoch's guides on his journey from the west edge of the world to the east edge (Nickelsburg 2001:290). Verse 7 lists Gabriel as the holy angel who is "in charge of paradise and the dragons and cherubim" (ἐπὶ τοῦ παραδείσου καὶ τῶν δρακόντων καὶ χερουβίν).³⁰ Nickelsburg (2001:296) suggests that the δράκοντες might be seraphim, identified with the fiery sword which Gen 3:24 mentions together with cherubim as guardians of the way to paradise. This is a reasonable suggestion, but it does not explain δράκόντων as a translation equivalent. Unfortunately, the *Vorlage* of this verse's Greek wording has not survived and, therefore, any explanation of the rendering δράκόντων remains hypothetical. One hypothesis which might account for the Greek rendering is that the *Vorlage* contained a reading such as שרפיא. Similar to its opposite number in Biblical Hebrew, the Aramaic root שרף can either mean "burning, venomous serpent"³¹ or "seraph" (Jastrow 2005:1633).³² The Greek translator of *1 Enoch* probably interpreted the

appearances as seven fiery heads of dragons and fourteen faces (*T. Ab.* 17:14). One of these faces is a frightening three-headed dragon (*T. Ab.* 17:17). Death later explains the seven heads of dragons as the seven ages in which he has ravaged the world and led all people to Hades (*T. Ab.* 19:5-7). While these passages use the images of fiery and multi-headed dragons, *T. Ab.* 19:15 lists δράκοντες with asps, horned serpents, cobras and vipers as those venomous snakes that cause people to die.

- 30 I quote the Greek text, as preserved in the Akhmim manuscript, from the edition prepared by Charles (1906:53).
- 31 The text of Fragment-Targums Num 21:6 (as represented by ms. Paris-Bibliothèque nationale Hébr. 110 and ms. Vatican Ebr. 440) provides an example where שרפיא occurs in its meaning "venomous, burning serpent" (Klein 1980a: 100, 198). Klein (1980b:71, 156) translates the relevant passage as follows: "And the *memra* of the Lord incited the fiery serpents against the people, and they bit the people; and large multitudes of Israel died".
- 32 Keel (1977:71-115) argues convincingly that seraphim are winged *uraei*, such as the ones pictured on seals produced in Judah during the eighth century BCE (cf. Keel & Uehlinger 1998:272-274). This clarifies the connection between the two meanings of שרף, "seraph" and "fiery serpent". In Num 21:6 and Deut 8:15, שרף refers to a poisonous cobra that "burns" its victims with its venom. Moses' famous bronze serpent is also called a שרף (Num 21:8). Isa 14:29 and 30:6 mention a flying variety of this type of snake (Keel 1977:71-74). These

purported reading as a reference to serpents and translated it with *δρακόντων* in view of the anguiform nature and fire breathing ability of dragons.³³ Another noteworthy *δράκων* features in the story of Bel and the Dragon. Scholars hold different views on the identity of this *δράκων*. Moore (1977:142) translates *δράκων μέγας* in the Theodotion text of Bel 23 as “a large snake” and maintains that “candidates for our sacred *drakōn* must be limited to the ranks of actual living creatures”.³⁴ Eynikel & Hauspie (2004:134), however, argue that the *δράκων* in the story could be understood in terms of dragon-like animals in the Babylonian cult. The snake-dragons (*mušhuššu*) associated with Marduk and other deities are good examples of such creatures (Wiggermann 1995:455-462).³⁵

The *δράκοντες* in LXX Lam 4:3 are probably not snakes, but dragons. The allusion to breastfeeding in the verse might have made the translator think of anguipede dragons with the upper body and head of a woman and the lower body of a snake, or of examples of hybrid dragons that have snakes and mammals as part of their bodies. The Peshitta text, as edited by Albrektson (1963:51), has ܠܝܘܿܐܝܿܠܝܿܘܿܬܝܿܢܝܿܢ, “jackals”, as the translation equivalent of תנינ/תנינים. Unlike its counterpart in the Hebrew text, ܠܝܘܿܐܝܿܠܝܿܘܿܬܝܿܢܝܿܢ is not the subject of the clause; rather, the verse in the Syriac translation opens with a feminine plural *qtal* verb, ܩܬܠܝܢ, and its anonymous female subjects are

are the same species of cobra as the *uraei* on the seals and, therefore, as the seraphim of Isa 6:2 and 6 (Keel & Uehlinger 1998:273).

33 Keel (1977:75) notes that “Im Henochbuch wird der Merismus Serafim und Kerubim (Hen 61, 10; 71, 7) einmal durch ‘Schlangen und Kerubim’ (20, 7) ersetzt, was anzudeuten scheint, dass die Serafim, obgleich sie bei Henoch eine Engelsklasse geworden sind, ihre Schlangengestalt bewahrt haben”. This presupposes that the Greek translator of *I Enoch* thought about seraphim as snakelike angelic beings and that he employed *δράκοντες* in 20:7 as a veiled reference to such beings.

34 The Septuagint text does not have the adjective *μέγας*, but it contains a prepositional phrase *ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ* (“in that place”) that is missing from the Theodotion text (cf. Ziegler, Munnich & Frankel 1999:402, 403). This phrase connects the story of the *δράκων* in the Septuagint with the previous Bel narrative.

35 On the Ishtar gate, the snake-dragons are portrayed as hybrid beasts with a long neck and head of a snake, a forked tongue, straight horns, a body and tail with scales, the front paws of a lion and hind paws like the talons of an eagle. Regarding the role of Marduk’s dragon and other animals in the ancient Mesopotamian religion, see Scurlock (2002:361-387).

compared to jackals that bare their breasts (ܘܗܘܢܬܘܢ ܕܘܢܬܘܢ).³⁶ The first clause of the verse in the Yemenite version of the Targum of Lamentations also has a feminine plural main verb, ܫܠܥܢ, and it is formulated in such a way that the Aramaic equivalent of ܬܢܝܢ forms part of a simile.³⁷ Whereas the Peshitta text does not explicitly name the subject of ܫܠܥܢ, the targumist supplied ܒܢܬܐ ܕܝܫܪܐܝܠ ܡܦܢܩܬܐ, “the fastidious daughters of Israel”, as a subject for ܫܠܥܢ. The Targum states that these daughters unbind the bosom for “the sons of the nations” and likens the latter to a sea monster or large snake (cf. Jastrow 2005:1682).³⁸ For the

36 With regard to the comparison, Albrektson (1963:175) proposes that ܫܠܥܢ might be an inner-Syriac error and that the original reading was ܥܠܢ (the usual rendering of ܩܡ). If this proposal is accepted, ܘܗܘܢܬܘܢ ܕܘܢܬܘܢ would no longer be the object of a comparison, but rather assume the role of the clause’s subject (Albrektson 1963:175). However, Albrektson’s proposal is conjectural. Furthermore, assuming that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Peshitta was close to the proto-MT (cf. van Rooy 2012:229), the translator made a number of translational and interpretational changes to the wording of Lam 4:3 when he rendered the verse into Syriac. In order to maintain the acrostic pattern in his translation, the translator placed a verb with *gamal* as its first root consonant in the initial position of the verse (cf. Salters 2010:289 n. 18). He adapted the number of the words ܘܗܘܢܬܘܢ, “their breasts”, ܘܚܘܒܐ, “ostrich”, and possibly the verb ܫܠܥܢ, “he suckled”. (The important ninth century manuscript, Florence, Laurentian Library, ms Or. 58, has the plural form, ܫܠܥܢܐ, which agrees with the MT and might be the original reading.) For his translation of ܠܐܚܘܒܐ, “a wound for which there is no cure”, the translator depended on the Greek reading, εἰς ἀνίατον (cf. Weitzman 1999:78). Finally, he added a verb, ܘܗܘܐ, to his translation of the verse’s second bicolon. This verb governs the phrases ܫܠܥܢܐ ܘܗܘܐ ܠܘܨܘܒܐ ܘܗܘܐ ܠܘܨܘܒܐ and ܘܗܘܐ ܠܘܨܘܒܐ ܘܗܘܐ ܠܘܨܘܒܐ: “the daughter of my people has a wound for which there is no cure, and (became) like an ostrich in the desert”. In the light of these changes, ܫܠܥܢ in the first clause of the Syriac translation can be interpreted as another example where the translator’s adapted the wording of his *Vorlage*.

37 The Aramaic text of the clause in the Yemenite recension is ܐܦ ܒܢܬܐ ܕܝܫܪܐܝܠ ܡܦܢܩܬܐ ܠܒܢܝ ܥܡܡܝܐ ܕܕܡܝܢ ܠܬܢܝܢܐ ܫܠܥܢ ܒܘܐܐ (Van der Heide 1981:31*). Alexander (2007:165) argues that the text of the Western recension is corrupt at Lam 4:3 and that the Yemenite wording is closer to the original Aramaic text of the verse.

38 Alexander (2007:203) translates ܬܢܝܢܐ with “the serpent”. Seeing as the text equates the sons of the enemy nations with ܬܢܝܢܐ, the word might denote a

Vulgate translation of Lam 4:3a, Jerome composed an interesting Latin text: *sed et lamiae nudaverunt mammam lactaverunt catulos suos*, “but even *lamias* uncovered the breast; they suckled their young”. *Lamiae* are, amongst other things, female ghosts with vampire-like qualities that snatch and devour babies (Luck 2006:214, 513; Johnston 1999:1079). The Vulgate text of Lam 4:3 make the extraordinary claim that even such child-devouring demons care for their young, while the “daughter of my people” is as cruel as a desert dwelling ostrich (*filia populi mei crudelis quasi strutio in deserto*).

This brief overview shows that the ancient translators did not understand the first colon of Lam 4:3 in the same way. According to the Old Greek text, monstrous dragons bare their breasts and their young feed on the milk. The various connotations of dragons in Greek sources help to set the Old Greek text apart from the interpretations in the other ancient translations and contribute to the difference in content between the Septuagint and Masoretic versions of Lam 4:3a.

2.2 Daughters

Θυγατέρες λαοῦ μου is the second difference between MT and LXX Lam 4:3 that merit closer scrutiny. In the opinion of a number of scholars, this Greek reading presupposes that the second bicolon of the verse in LXX Lam’s Hebrew *Vorlage* opened with the phrase בנות עמי. They support their view that θυγατέρες λαοῦ μου witness to a variant Hebrew reading with arguments based on the character of LXX Lam as a translation or the immediate context of the Greek reading. Some claim that the “literal” nature of the Greek translation, especially the fact that in the other passages in Lamentations where the phrase בת עמי occurs (2:11; 3:48; 4:6, 10) the translator consistently rendered בת with forms of the singular noun θυγάτηρ, increases the likelihood that בנות עמי underlies θυγατέρες λαοῦ μου at Lam 4:3 (cf. Albrektson 1963:175). The understanding that the context of the reading in question deals with the uncivilised behaviour of mothers and not the people in general leads others to the conclusion that θυγατέρες λαοῦ μου was based on the reading בנות עמי (cf. Kraus 1983:72; Gottlieb 1978:61; Rudolph 1938:117; Budde 1898:99). However, not all of these scholars agree that the purported *Vorlage* of θυγατέρες λαοῦ μου is a more original than the reading in the MT.

monstrous creature here. The Western text has the reading חורמנא instead of תנינא. According to Alexander (2007:165), the former “is clearly some sort of serpent or snake”.

A closer look at the wording of the Greek translation reveals that the data pertaining to the translational character of the verse and its context can be interpreted in a different way. It is clear from the renderings of $\tau\psi$ with $\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{o}\upsilon\varsigma$ and עני with $\sigma\tau\rho\upsilon\theta\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ that the Greek translator did not hesitate to change the numbers of nouns in his Hebrew *Vorlage* for his translation of Lam 4:3. If the translator's parent text contained the reading ענין and he did not interpret it as an Aramaic plural form of ען , its translation equivalent, $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, would be another example of a translational number adjustment. These and the other changes made by the translator in his rendering of the verse imply that the general "literalness" of LXX Lam as a translation cannot be invoked as a decisive factor in the explanation of $\theta\upsilon\gamma\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\varsigma \lambda\alpha\omicron\upsilon \mu\omicron\upsilon$. Although the translator rendered the *nomen regens* of the phrase ענין elsewhere in Lamentations with forms of $\theta\upsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho$, he did not translate all the clause constituents of Lam 4:3 in a mechanical manner. Bearing this in mind, it cannot simply be assumed that $\theta\upsilon\gamma\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\varsigma$, like $\theta\upsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho$ in the other verses, is a literal rendering. Furthermore, the references in the surrounding verses to precious sons of Zion ($\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota \Sigma\iota\omega\nu$), who are reckoned as worth no more than everyday earthenware (v. 2), and helpless small children ($\nu\acute{\eta}\pi\iota\alpha$), who are thirsty and hungry (v. 4), probably facilitated the choice of the plural form $\theta\upsilon\gamma\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ as translation equivalent at v. 3 (Hirsch-Luipold & Maier 2011:2839). The Greek translator's adjustment of noun numbers in his translation of Lam 4:3 and the mention of sons and small children in the immediate context of the verse therefore suggest that $\theta\upsilon\gamma\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\varsigma \lambda\alpha\omicron\upsilon \mu\omicron\upsilon$ was not based on a reading ענין in the Hebrew *Vorlage*, but is rather another instance where the translator adapted the wording of the parent text during the translation process.

LXX Lam 4:3 describes the daughters as "incurable" in view of v. 4's observation that infants suffer from thirst and hunger and beg in vain for food.³⁹ This could mean that the infants' suffering leaves the daughters with a wound that cannot be healed (cf. Assan-Dhote & Moatti-Fine 2008:263), because there is no one to put an end to the children's starvation. In other words, the malnourishment of the children causes the daughters pain, but the absence of someone who can alleviate the children's suffering means that the source of the daughters' hurt can also not be remedied. Their plight is exacerbated by the fact that even dragons, monstrous creatures that can symbolise evil, are able to care for and feed

39 LXX Lam 4:4 states that "the tongue of a suckling stuck to its throat with thirst. Infants begged for food; there is no one to break it up for them".

their young. According to the Old Greek text, these incurable daughters are comparable to an ostrich in a desert.⁴⁰

The changes to the wording of Lam 4:3 introduced by the translator, as well as his choices of translation equivalents, have a marked effect on the content of the verse. Whereas the Hebrew parent text of LXX Lam 4:3-4 (which seems to have been close to, but not identical to the MT) employs the image of a world turned upside down in order to portray the “dear” people’s uncivilised treatment of their children, the Greek translation of v. 3 deals with the daughters of the people and, like the sons of Zion in v. 2 and the infants in v. 4, casts them in the role of victims.

3. CONCLUSIONS

The analyses of the readings *δράκοντες* and *θυγατέρες λαοῦ μου* in LXX Lam 4:3 demonstrate that the Old Greek text of this verse is indeed a unique representative of its wording and content. Although these two readings do not bear witness to Hebrew words that are more original than the readings in the other textual representatives, they are significant from text-critical and exegetical points of view. They exemplify how words and phrases in the *Vorlage* were interpreted during the translation process and how these interpretations contribute to the differences in content between LXX Lam 4:3 and other textual representatives of the verse.

Concerning *δράκοντες*, the Old Greek text of Lam 4:3 probably has dragons in view and not snakes. It remains undecided whether this rendering was based on תנין or תנים. Nevertheless, the assumption that the Greek translator held similar ideas about dragons than the ones presented in Greek sources, including the Greek Jewish scriptures, leaves the possibility open of interpreting *δράκοντες* as a translation that made sense to the translator and not just as a routine rendering. The translator might

40 It is impossible to judge from the wording of the translation how well acquainted the translator of Lamentations was with ostriches and to what extent his knowledge of these birds influenced his translation of Lam 4:3b. Consequently, it is uncertain whether the translator shared the views of ancient authors regarding, for example, ostriches’ supposed ability to swallow and digest any substance; their stupidity (cf. Pliny *Nat.* 10, 1); the medical benefits of pebbles found in the stomach of ostriches, as well as their sinews and fat (cf. Aelian *Nat. an.* 14, 7); the large amount of eggs ostriches lay (cf. Aristotle *Hist. an.* 9, 15) – too many for a single ostrich to incubate at one time; and the motherly love ostriches show towards their chicks, rushing headlong to their nests when they return from feeding (cf. Aelian *Nat. an.* 14, 7).

have thought of the anguipede or hybrid varieties of dragons when he chose δράκοντες as the translation equivalent for the subject of a clause that deals with breastfeeding.

With regard to θυγατέρες λαοῦ μου, the plural Greek noun is an example of the translator's decision to adjust the number of a word in his translation. Μαστούς and στρουθίον (and possibly δράκοντες) are other examples of this translational adjustment in LXX Lam 4:3. In the case of θυγατέρες, the translator might have decided to do so under the influence of υἱοὶ Σιών and νήπια in the surrounding verses.

The two readings in LXX Lam 4:3 which this study analysed illustrate that the conceptual world of the scribes who were involved in the translation process and the literary contexts of readings are just two of the many factors that text-critics and exegetes should take into consideration in their examination, explanation and appreciation of the Old Greek texts as (unique) representatives of the Hebrew Bible writings' wordings and contents.

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ADDRESSES OF AUTHORS

Hans Ausloos, Faculté de Théologie, UC Louvain, Grand-Place 45 bte L3.01.01, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1348, BELGIUM (e-mail: hans.ausloos@uclouvain.be)

Gideon Kotzé, Department of Ancient Studies, University of Stellenbosch, Private Bag X1, Matieland, 7602, SOUTH AFRICA (e-mail: grk@sun.ac.za)

Bénédicte Lemmelijn, Faculteit Theologie en Religiewetenschappen, KU Leuven, Charles Deberiotstraat 26, Box 3101, Leuven, 3000, BELGIUM (e-mail: benedicte.lemmelijn@theo.kuleuven.be)

Cynthia Miller-Naudé, Department of Hebrew, University of the Free State, P O Box 339, Bloemfontein, 9300, SOUTH AFRICA (e-mail: MillerCL@ufs.ac.za)

Herbert Niehr, Abt. Biblische Einleitung und Zeitgeschichte, Eberhard-Karls-Universität, Liebermeisterstr. 12, Tübingen, D-72076, GERMANY (e-mail: herbert.niehr@uni-tuebingen.de)

Gert Steyn, New Testament Studies, University of Pretoria, Private Bag X20, Hatfield, Pretoria, 0028, SOUTH AFRICA (e-mail: gert.steyn@up.ac.za)

Hermann-Josef Stipp, Lehrstuhl für alttestamentliche Theologie, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Geschwister-Scholl-Platz, München, D-80539, GERMANY (e-mail: stipp@lmu.de)

Emanuel Tov, Department of Bible, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 91905, ISRAEL (e-mail: emanuel.tov@mail.huji.ac.il).

Arie van der Kooij, Leiden University Centre for the Study of Religion, Universiteit Leiden, Postbus 9515, 2300 RA Leiden, THE NETHERLANDS (email: a.vdkooij@planet.nl)

Christo van der Merwe, Department of Ancient Studies, University of Stellenbosch, Private Bag X1, Matieland, 7602, SOUTH AFRICA (e-mail: cvdm@sun.ac.za)