Lion and Lamb Apologetics

The Septuagint

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SEPTUAGINT sep-too͞ə-jint—jint. The name commonly applied to the Greek version of the OT most widely used in antiquity. It is abbreviated LXX (see II below).

I. Importance

A. Pioneering Effort.

The LXX holds a unique place among the ancient translations of the OT. Begun in the 3rd century B.C., it was a bold pioneering work. Not only was it the first attempt to reproduce the Hebrew Scriptures in another tongue, but the size and nature of the undertaking were entirely unprecedented in the Hellenistic world (cf. S. P. Brock, "The Phenomenon of the Septuagint," in *Oudtestamentische Studiën*, 17 [1972], 11–36). Sociologically it bore witness to the breakdown of international barriers and to the dissemination of the Greek language as a result of the conquests of Alexander the Great. The Jewish settlers in the cosmopolitan city of Alexandria, forced by circumstances to abandon their language, nonetheless clung tenaciously to their faith. For them the translation of their sacred law into Greek was of utmost significance in safeguarding their religion as well as in satisfying their liturgical and educational needs. Conversely, for the gentile world this translation served as an introduction to Jewish history and religion.

B. Influence on Subsequent Literature.

The LXX is also important as a source for later literatures, both Jewish and Christian. The impact of the special translation-Greek vocabulary created by the LXX can be seen in the writings of Philo and Josephus, the Pseudepigrapha, and other Jewish-Greek historical, exegetical, poetic, and apologetic works. Then came what was probably the most momentous event for the LXX: it was taken over from the Jews by the Christian Church. Thus the translation had an even wider circulation and influence than if it had remained exclusively within Jewish circles. The LXX was the Bible for most writers of the NT. Not only did they take from it most of their express citations of Scripture, but their writings—in particular the Gospels, and among them especially Luke—contain numerous reminiscences of its language. The theological terms of the NT, such as "law," "righteousness," "mercy," "truth," "propitiation," were taken over directly from the LXX

and must be understood in the light of their use in that version (cf. C. H. Dodd, *Bible and the Greeks* [1935]; D. Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings* [1967]). Further, the LXX became the Bible of the early Church Fathers and thereby helped to mold dogma, e.g., it furnished proof texts to both parties in the Arian controversy (cf. the use of *ektísen*, "created," in Prov. 8:22). Finally, the LXX was a potent tool in the missionary work of the early Church, and when translations of the OT Scriptures into other languages became necessary, in most cases they were made from the LXX and not from the Hebrew.

C. Influence on the Christian OT Canons.

The LXX has also vitally influenced the titles, order, and number of books in the Christian OT canons (Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Greek Orthodox). Several of the familiar titles of OT books—especially those of the Pentateuch—derive from the LXX rather than from the Hebrew. Likewise, the standard order of books in the Christian OT is largely a Greek rather than a Hebrew inheritance. Although it must be emphasized that the LXX MSS and the patristic and synodical lists seldom arrange the books identically (see the lists in Swete, intro, pp. 201–214), in essence the Hebrew threefold division of Law, Prophets, and Writings was replaced with the Greek fourfold division of Law, History, Poetry, and Prophets, which is apparently based on literary character and chronological sequence. Modern printed editions of the LXX follow (with slight variations) the order of books found in Codex Vaticanus. The same pattern is basically adopted in the Bibles of Western Christendom, although with certain further modifications, e.g., the Minor Prophets follow rather than precede—as in the LXX—the Major Prophets.

A more crucial question concerns the number of books in the OT canon. Most of the Greek MSS and the patristic synodical lists of the OT contain more books than the Hebrew canon, as well as additional sections to some canonical books (e.g., Additions to the Book of Esther). This extra material constitutes the bulk of the so-called Apocrypha, declared by Jerome and the Reformers to be of lesser standing than the Hebrew canon. For a full discussion of the critical issues see APOCRYPHA; CANON OF THE OT. But regardless of the canonicity of the Apocrypha, all traditions within the Christian Church must be grateful to the LXX for preserving so much of the intertestamental literature, which forms part of the background of the NT.

D. Contribution to OT Textual Criticism.

For many scholars, the significance of the LXX lies primarily in its contribution to the textual criticism of the OT (cf. H. M. Orlinsky, pp. 144, 149–155; *The Biblical Archaeologist*, 9 [1946], 21–34). When a difficult reading occurs in the Hebrew text, one means of dealing with it is to turn to the ancient translations, among which the LXX takes pride of place, for possible clues to the meaning of the Hebrew word or passage. Thus an attempt is

made to reproduce the Hebrew text that lay before the Greek translator and on that basis to compare the relative merits of the two texts. A classic example of a text thought to be preserved in its original form in the LXX (together with the Syriac and Vulgate) is Gen. 4:8. Here the MT simply reads, "Cain said to Abel"; the LXX, however, completes the dangling construction by adding Cain's words, "Let us go out to the field." Similarly, it is virtually certain that in 1 S. 14:41 the LXX preserves the authentic passage missing in the MT through scribal error.

But this process of retroversion has its own hazards and must be used with extreme caution. Three problem areas may be cited. There is first the question whether the extant Greek text accurately represents what the Greek translators wrote. In this field LXX scholarship has made significant strides; yet many unresolved inner-Greek textual problems remain. Second, there is the question of the type of translation—literal, idiomatic, paraphrastic, midrashic. Confidence in the restored Hebrew text depends upon how literally a given person translated, and this judgment can be made only on the basis of intimate acquaintance with the translator's overall style. Finally, there is the possibility that the translator may have misunderstood the passage or tried to smooth out a difficult reading; in these cases his translation has almost no value for the elucidation of the MT. When to these considerations is added the complication that the extant LXX consists of compositions differing greatly in quality, it may be appreciated that the restoration of the Hebrew text directly from the LXX is at best a risky business (cf. M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, Textus, 3 [1963], 130–158). This precaution is ignored in much of the discussion on the subject (note esp the misuse of the LXX in the critical notes of R. Kittel, ed., *Biblia Hebraica* (3rd ed. 1937)).

It used to be said that the LXX is important as a text-critical tool because it represents a Hebrew text nearly a millennium older than the earliest extant Hebrew MSS, which are medieval. Since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls (2nd century B.C.–1st century A.D.) this is no longer true, at least for portions of the OT. But far from undermining interest in the LXX, the DSS have intensified it, especially since a number of their readings support the LXX against the MT. Thus many of the discrepancies between the Hebrew and Greek texts of certain books (e.g., Samuel and Jeremiah), previously blamed on the translators, actually go back to a Hebrew text (Vorlage) different from, and sometimes superior to, the MT.

These data have given rise to new theories about the early stages and development of the Hebrew text, e.g., the theory of "local texts" originally propounded by W. F. Albright (*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 140 [1955], 27–33; repr in F. M. Cross and S. Talmon, eds., *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text*, pp. 140–46) and elaborated by F. M. Cross (*Harvard Theological Review*, 57 [1964], 281–299; repr in Cross and Talmon,

pp. 177–195). According to this theory distinct varieties of texts developed in three centers of Jewish learning during the intertestamental period—Palestine, Babylon, and Egypt; the LXX is a witness to the Egyptian text-type. An application of these theories to LXX use in OT textual criticism is found in R. Klein, *Textual Criticism of the OT: From the Septuagint to Qumran* (1974). But since the MS evidence is still incomplete, a final verdict regarding these controversial theories is not yet possible (cf. G. Howard, *Vetus Testamentum*, 21 [1971], 440–450; D. W. Gooding, *Tyndale Bulletin*, 26 [1975], 113–132).

E. Its Own Literary Significance.

Although important for NT exegesis and OT textual criticism, the LXX must not be limited to these servant roles. It ought also to be appreciated as a vital religious document in its own right. For many generations the LXX was the "authorized" version of Greek-speaking Jews and Christians who had no recourse to the Hebrew; thus it significantly influenced the religious and intellectual history of the cultures that it touched, either directly or indirectly, through its daughter versions.

A recognition of this influence carries with it a mandate for certain tasks in LXX scholarship. First, scholars must ascertain the meaning that the LXX had for its original readers by applying to it the same canons of criticism that obtain in the NT. This involves doing exegetical studies on the language and syntax of the LXX, writing commentaries on its individual books, and providing worthy translations into modern languages. Some studies along these lines have already been undertaken (e.g., R. R. Ottley, *Book of Isaiah According to the Septuagint* [2 vols., 1904–1906]; L. H. Brockington, VT, 1 [1951], 23–32; C. T. Fritsch, "The Concept of God in the Greek Translation of Isaiah," in J. M. Myers, etal, eds., *Biblical Studies in Memory of H. C. Alleman* [1960], pp. 155–169). But more studies are required for the LXX to assume its due place in the history of interpretation.

Even so, the program outlined above is not sufficient, since LXX study cannot involve merely descriptive analysis of the Greek Bible. Scholars must ask the deeper questions concerning the LXX's "self-understanding" and must determine whether the concept of inspiration can be applied to this corpus in any way. As is well known, the church fathers—apart from Jerome—considered the LXX as inspired as the Hebrew (cf. Irenaeus *Adversus omnes haereses* iii.21.3f.; Augustine Ep. 71.3–6, to Jerome). Significantly, the idea of LXX inspiration—albeit in a slightly modified form—has been revived in modern times; cf. P. Benoit (*Jesus and the Gospel*, I [Eng. tr. 1973], 1–10), whose views are supported by P. Auvray (*Revue Biblique*, 59 [1952], 321–336) and P. Grelot (*Sciences ecclésiastiques*, 16 [1964], 387–418). Along different lines, H. M. Orlinsky, in the Grinfield Lectures on the LXX at the University of Oxford for 1973–74, spoke of the LXX translators' high view of Scripture and philosophy of translation, as well as the notion of the LXX's divine origin

that lies behind the traditional account in the Letter of Aristeas (Hebrew Union College Annual, 46 [1975], 89–114). Orlinsky's point was to enhance the reputation of the LXX as a reliable witness to an early form of the Hebrew Scriptures.

By contrast, in the Grinfield Lectures of 1968–69, D. W. Gooding presented evidence that the LXX contains material reflecting a rather different attitude toward Scripture from that proposed by Orlinsky (*Relics of Ancient Exegesis* [1976]). In his study of the Miscellanies of 3 Reigns (1 Kings) 2, Gooding showed that this material contains considerable midrashic interpretation, some of it extremely fanciful. This does not mean that the translators could not clearly distinguish Scripture from midrash, but that they saw their task as interpreting Scripture, with the necessary liberties taken. The only near-contemporary models of Bible translation—the Aramaic Targums—provide some external evidence for the prevalence of this attitude. Thus the LXX must be handled with great caution as a guide to the meaning of OT revelation, even though, as pointed out above, it forms a valuable stage in the history of biblical interpretation. Perhaps the NT in its selective use of the LXX—sometimes quoting, sometimes departing from it—is an exemplary forerunner to critical use of the LXX.

II. Origins

A. Traditional Accounts

The most famous account of the translation of the Jewish law into Greek is the so-called Letter of Aristeas (Greek texts: P. Wendland, *Aristeae ad Philocratem Epistula* [1900]; H. St. J. Thackeray, appendix to Swete, intro, pp. 501–574; A. Pelletier, *Lettre d'Aristée à Philocrate* [1962]; Engtr?s: Thackeray, *Letter of Aristeas* [1917]; H. T. Andrews, "The Letter of Aristeas," in R. H. Charles, ed., *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (2 vols., 1913; repr. 1963), II, 83–122; H. G. Meecham, *Oldest Version of the Bible* [1932]; M. Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates* [1951]; R. J. H. Shutt, in J. H. Charlesworth, ed., *OT Pseudepigrapha*, II [1985], 7–34). This intriguing document purports to be a letter written by an official in the court of King Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt (285–246 B.C.) and sent to his brother Philocrates. The document describes how the royal librarian at Alexandria, allegedly Demetrius of Phalerum, convinced the king of the importance of securing for his library a copy of the Jewish law. Since, however, the law existed only in the Hebrew language, it first had to be translated. Therefore Demetrius urged the king to send a delegation to the high priest Eleazar in Jerusalem to request the dispatch of seventy-two elders, six from each tribe, who would execute the translation. Aristeas, who formed part of the embassy to Jerusalem, took the opportunity to discuss and praise at great length various aspects of the Jewish customs, land, and religion. Having agreed to the king's proposal, Eleazar selected seventy-two translators, who brought to Alexandria

a copy of the law written in letters of gold. After being honorably received and hosted by the king, the learned elders were conducted across the breakwater known as the Heptastadion to the island of Pharos; there, after collaboration and comparison of results, they completed their task, as if by a miracle, in seventy-two days. The version was submitted for approval to the Jewish community and then to the king, a curse being pronounced on any who add to, subtract from, or alter the translation.

One may compare this account with two pre-Christian allusions to the same event, in the writings of the Jewish philosopher Aristobulus (2nd century B.C.) and Philo (early 1st century A.D.). According to a passage preserved by Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* xiii.12) and Clement of Alexandria (*Miscellanies* [*Stromateis*] i.22), Aristobulus declared before one of the Egyptian monarchs that portions of the Hebrew Scriptures had existed in Greek centuries earlier, but the entire law was translated into Greek under Ptolemy Philadelphus at the instruction of Demetrius of Phalerum (the authenticity of the passage has, however, been disputed). Philo (*De vita Mosis* ii.5ff) recorded the story of Eleazar's dispatch of the translators at Philadelphus's request, adding that in his day the completion of the translation was annually celebrated on the isle of Pharos. Philo's account anticipates the later embellishments of the story by hinting at the inspiration of the translators: "They prophesied like men possessed," he wrote, "not one in one way and one in another, but all producing the same words and phrases as though some unseen prompter were at the ears of each." It is not clear whether Aristobulus and Philo show dependence on the Aristeas account or attest to independent traditions. The later Jewish historian Josephus almost certainly knew the Aristeas story, since he paraphrased large portions of it in *Antiquities*. xii.2.1–15 (11–118).

The Christian fathers, like Josephus, accepted the Aristeas story at face value. In time the narrative was amplified, so that later accounts assert that the translators worked independently in separate cells (or in pairs), all producing identical versions. Although the Aristeas account mentions only the Pentateuch, according to later versions the entire OT was translated.

Even though the ancients accepted Aristeas's letter as sober history, scholars have long known that the story cannot be taken as a contemporary account of the events described. As early as the 16th century the authenticity of the "letter" was doubted, the coup de grâce being delivered in 1684 by the Oxford scholar Humphrey Hody in his detailed analysis *Contra Historiam LXX interpretum Aristeae*. Hody showed that the story contains errors of history as well as internal contradictions and must be considerably later than the purported 3rd century B.C. Present consensus places the date of composition in the late 2nd century B.C.

Nothing about the document's author is known except that, far from being a pagan in the service of Ptolemy's court, he was an ardent Jew writing on behalf of his own people. The narrative is thus seen as a piece of propaganda that glorifies the Jewish race and religion before a gentile audience (the view of most interpreters) or as an apology for Diaspora Judaism in the face of Palestinian criticisms (so V. Tcherikover, *Harvard Theological Review*, 51 [1958], 59–85; G. Howard, *Journal of Theological Studies*, 22 [1971], 337–348).

With regard to the translation motif, a vigorous debate is still being carried on over the story's real purpose. P. Kahle (see below) assumed that the work was propaganda for a revision of the LXX, a view effectively refuted by G. Zuntz (*Journal of Semitic Studies*, 4 [1959], 109–126). A. F. J. Klijn (*New Testament Studies*, 11 [1964–65], 154–58) and S. Jellicoe (*New Testament Studies*, 12 [1965–66], 144–150) regarded it as an apology for the original LXX against an incipient revision, while D. W. Gooding saw it as a defense of the current LXX for those disturbed by the circulation of inaccurate Hebrew copies (*Vetus Testamentum*, 13 [1963], 357–379). Although it may be difficult to disentangle fact from fiction in Aristeas and equally difficult to determine his real intent, most would agree that the story at least constitutes one bit of evidence for the translation of the Pentateuch in Alexandria in the 3rd century B.C.

An abiding witness to the influence of Aristeas's wonderful story is the very name Septuagint (full Latin title: *Interpretatio secundum Septuaginta seniores [or viros]*, i.e., "The Interpretation according to the Seventy Elders" [or "Men"]). The reference to "septuaginta" (seventy) rather than "septuaginta-et-duo" (seventy-two) may simply be an accommodation to brevity, or it may point to the influence of the tradition concerning the seventy elders in Ex. 24:1, 9. Attempts to displace the name Septuagint with a more accurate title such as Alexandrian Version or Old Greek are unlikely to succeed, at least on the popular level; however, the phrase "Old Greek" (= the oldest recoverable text form of a certain book) does have a certain usefulness in scholarly discussion.

A fragment of Rylands Greek Papyrus 458 showing Dt. 25:1–3. This is one of the earliest surviving texts of the Greek Bible (2nd century B.C.) (John Rylands University Library, Manchester)
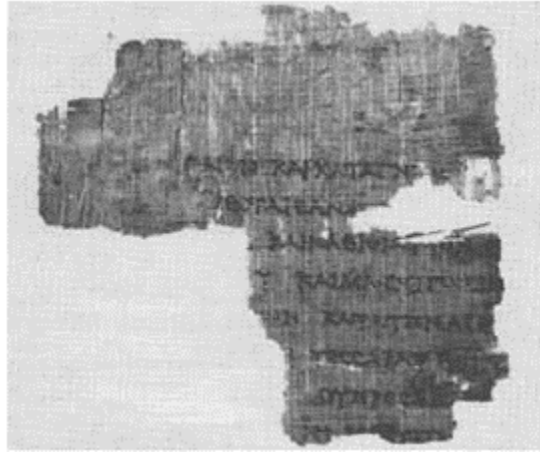
B. Modern Theories

The absence of reliable firsthand information on the origins of the LXX makes the reconstruction of its early history speculative. In J. Orr, *et al.*, eds., *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* (2nd ed.1929) (1915), IV, s.v., the eminent septuagintalist H. St.J. Thackeray propounded an explanation (later elaborated in *Septuagint and Jewish Worship. A Study in Origins* [1921]) of the LXX's growth into its extant form. Accepting a historical core in the Letter of Aristeas, Thackeray acknowledged the bulk of the Pentateuch as having been translated at Alexandria in the 3rd century B.C. by a small official company. The next century, in Thackeray's scheme, saw the translation of the Latter Prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Minor Prophets), which was originally stimulated by the synagogue practice of reading a second lesson (*haphtorah*) from the Prophets to illustrate the reading from the Law. Such lectionary extracts would soon have been superseded by a complete version of the Prophets under the sponsorship of a company of translators analogous to the pioneering body responsible for the Greek Pentateuch. Following the Latter Prophets came a partial or "expurgated" version of the Former Prophets, later supplemented by an anonymous Asian Jew whose style has affinities with that of Theodotion (see III.B.2 below). The translation of the Writings came last and under very different circumstances, probably as the outcome of individual enterprises. Consequently these books were handled much more freely, the translation often amounting to mere paraphrase. The primary exception was the book of Psalms, which was treated with more fidelity. For external evidence that most of the OT existed in Greek by the late 2nd century B.C., Thackeray pointed to the Prologue to Sirach (ca 132–100 B.C.), which mentions the prior translation of "the Law itself, the prophecies, and the rest of the books."

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Although Thackeray's view may be criticized at various points, the strength of his approach is that by taking account of internal and external factors he sought to give an overview of the formation of the LXX. Such comprehensive reconstructions have otherwise been singularly lacking in the 20th century, the debate over origins having taken quite a different turn. In 1915, the year that Thackeray's article first appeared in J. Orr, *et al.*, eds., *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* (2nd ed.1929), P. Kahle published a controversial article, "Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Pentateuchtextes" (*Opera Minora* [1956], pp. 3–37), in which he denied that the LXX derives from an official translation of any sort. He argued instead that it arose in a manner analogous to the Aramaic Targums; i.e., several competing translations for each book existed side by side until they were superseded by an official revision (Kahle's thesis was restated and greatly elaborated in *Cairo Geniza* [1947; rev ed 1959]).

Although Kahle's argument runs counter to Thackeray's theory of origins, his object of attack was not Thackeray but P. de Lagarde, the polymathic scholar from *Göttingen* who is called the founder of modern LXX studies. Implicit in de Lagarde's work is the assumption that behind the mass of scribal recensional variants in the present MSS lies an original Greek Ur-text which can be approximately recovered by use of predetermined text-critical principles. This view was bequeathed to the Septuaginta-Unternehmen—a research center established in *Göttingen* to pursue LXX studies and publish critical texts—and has also been espoused by various scholars around the world.

Kahle's challenge to the "Lagardian hypothesis" (as it has become known) made inevitable keen debate of the issue in the ensuing decades; in fact, this issue has become the watershed in modern LXX scholarship. Kahle's views have been accepted by many able scholars, his most enthusiastic follower undoubtedly being A. Sperber (see his articles in *Journal of Biblical Literature,* 54 [1935], 73–92; 59 [1940], 193–293; in the latter he moved considerably beyond Kahle). On the whole, however, the "Targum" theory originating with Kahle has failed to displace the Lagardian "Proto-LXX" theory as the dominant view in current LXX scholarship. Principal protagonists for the latter have been H. M. Orlinsky in North America (cf. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 61 [1941], 81–91), and in Europe P. Walters (formerly Katz) (cf. "Recovery of the Original LXX," in *Actes de premier Congrès de la Fédération internationale des Associations d'études classiques* [1951], pp. 165–182). These scholars are convinced that the variants in extant MSS are due to scribal and recensional causes, not to multiple translations.

The discovery in the Judean desert of a Greek leather scroll of the Minor Prophets from the 1st century B.C. or A.D. has significant implications for the question of LXX origins. Although Kahle used this MS to defend his thesis ("A Leather Scroll of the Greek Minor Prophets and the Problem of the Septuagint," in *Opera Minora*, pp. 112–127), it is more

commonly held to prove the existence of an original translation that was later revised according to the current Hebrew text (cf. D. Barthélemy, *Revue Biblique*, 60 [1953], 18–29; repr in Cross and Talmon, pp. 127–139; F. M. Cross, *Harvard Theological Review*, 57 [1964], 283f repr in Cross and Talmon, pp. 179f).

> Part of the Greek scroll of the Minor Prophets from Naḥal Ḥeber in the Judean desert (mid-1st century A.D.). It shows Hab. 1:14–2:5 and 2:13–15 (courtesy, Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums)
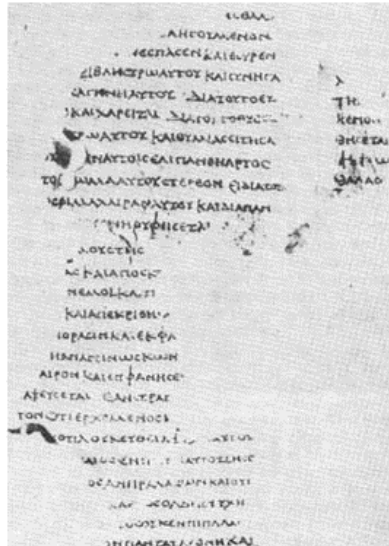
The controversy over origins is not merely a theoretical matter but has practical consequences for LXX studies and the editing of texts. In Kahle's view, "The task which the LXX presents to scholars is not the 'reconstruction' of an imaginary 'Urtex' nor the discovery of it, but a careful collection and investigation of all the remains and translations of earlier versions of the Greek Bible which differed from the Christian standard text" (Cairo Geniza [2nd ed 1959], p. 264). Sperber proposed a reconstruction of the Greek Bible of the Church Fathers, which he thought possible by retroversion of the Old Latin version into Greek ("How to Edit the LXX," in S. Lieberman, etal, eds; *Harry Austryn Wolfson Jubilee Volume*, II [1965], 752f). By contrast, the program of the *Göttingen* Septuaginta-Unternehmen is to publish a set of critical texts that as nearly as possible represents the earliest recoverable textform of the Greek Bible. In the present state of knowledge the *Göttingen* approach is assuredly the correct one and appears beyond reasonable challenge.

III. Transmission

A. MSS The LXX, no less than any other document of antiquity, has a complicated history of textual transmission, including scribal corruption and deliberate revision. The MS

witnesses to the text of the LXX are usually classified as uncials, cursives (or minuscules), and papyri. For a good summary of the most important, see Jellicoe, *Septuagint and Modern Study*, pp. 175–242; see also F. G. Kenyon, *Text of the Greek Bible*, pp. 32–53. A comprehensive list of the documents known in 1914 is A. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Altes (or Ancien) Testament, Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens*, 2. For an excellent catalog of biblical papyri see K. Aland, ed., *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri, I. Biblische Papyri* (*Patristische Texte und Studien*, 18 [1976]). The chief codices of the Greek OT are also the most important of the Greek NT: Vaticanus (B) and Sinaiticus´, both 4th century A.D., and Alexandrinus (A), 5th century. Of these three, B has been confirmed as containing the best text, with certain notable exceptions, e.g., Judges and Isaiah. In the 20th century, however, numerous papyri have been discovered; some are from the 1st and 2nd centuries B.C. and thus antedate the chief uncials and the Christian "takeover" of the LXX. (See vol I, plate 14; picture in PAPYRUS.) The later cursives (9th–16th centuries) have been reinstated to a place of importance, especially if they go back to early codices now lost.

Since there are hundreds of MSS attesting different portions of the LXX (by far the majority are of the Psalms), inevitably the quality of text and scribal accuracy vary greatly from one source to another. An unedifying catalog of the scribal errors to which all such documents are heir—haplography, dittography, homoiarcton, homoeoteleuton, etc.—may easily be compiled (see TEXT AND MSS OF THE OT). Most of these traditional errors are readily recognized and corrected; the revisional elements that have intruded into transmission history of the LXX are harder to detect, however.

B. Revisions

The sources of revised readings vary. Sometimes an individual scribe may have tried to make sense of a passage that he was copying. Sometimes a "better" reading was borrowed from another Greek version. Sometimes the text was systematically reworded according to certain predetermined principles; the resultant text is commonly known as a recension. The existence of different Greek versions and LXX recensions in the early Christian era is attested by the two leading biblical scholars of their time, Origen (3rd century) and Jerome (4th century).

Confronting the divergences between the LXX and the Hebrew text of his day as well as the conflicting readings in his LXX MSS, Origen devised a scheme whereby he thought he could "repair the disagreements in the copies of the LXX" (comm in Matt. 15.14). His ambitious project entailed the compilation of a six-column edition of the Greek OT known as the Hexapla, comprising 1) the current Hebrew text, 2) the same in Greek letters, 3) the version of Aquila, 4) the version of Symmachus, 5) his own revised LXX text, and 6) the version of Theodotion. Although Origen's undertaking later caused considerable

confusion and mixture of text-types, it is primarily thanks to him that scholars possess any knowledge of the versions of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus (this being their chronological order according to long-standing tradition), which are commonly called The Three or the Minor Greek Versions.

1. Version of Aquila

When the Christian Church adopted the LXX as its Bible and began to cite proof texts from it in controversies with the Jews (e.g., *parthénos* in Isa. 7:14), the latter were considerably embarrassed and retorted that the LXX was an inaccurate translation. Having declared the LXX faulty, they needed another Greek version that would more accurately reflect their Hebrew text. This desideratum was provided in the most literal form imaginable by the version of Aquila, a proselyte from Pontus (d ca A.D. 150). Influenced by Rabbi Akiba and his school of strict exegesis, where every particle and minute detail of the Hebrew text was sacred, Aquila attempted to reproduce the Hebrew text word for word in Greek, without regard to Greek grammar or syntax. An illustration of Aquila's style is Gen. 1:1, which might be rendered into English, "In heading founded God with the heaven and with the earth." "Heading" was selected because the Hebrew word for "beginning" was a derivative of "head," while "with" represents the untranslatable sign of the Hebrew accusative (ʾet̲), which is indistinguishable from the preposition "with." Readings from Aquila's versions are identified in the margins of certain LXX MSS by the symbol á. A useful aid to the study of this version is J. Reider and N. Turner, *Index to Aquila* (*Supplements to Vetus Testamentum*, 12; 1966).

Aquila's version, although stylistically a barbarous Greek translation and largely unintelligible apart from the Hebrew (it has been called "a colossal crib"), nevertheless enjoyed great popularity and longevity among the Jews of the Dispersion; as late as the 6th century an edict of the emperor Justinian provided for its use in the synagogues. Although the version is commonly regarded as a new translation from the Hebrew rather than as a revision of the LXX, new evidence suggests that it was not an entirely fresh and independent undertaking, but actually the end product of a process started long before Aquila. In his epoch-making book *Les Devanciers d'Aquila* (*Supplements to Vetus Testamentum*, 10; 1963), pp. 246–252, D. Barthélemy argued that the Greek leather scroll of the Minor Prophets found at Murabba'at bears witness to an antecedent revision (labeled *Kaige* by Barthélemy because it translates Heb. *gam*, "also," by Gk. *kaíge*) of the LXX toward the Hebrew text, that Aquila both knew and used.

2. Version of Theodotion

Another person who, in the 2nd century, worked on the text of the Greek OT was Theodotion, possibly an Ephesian convert to Judaism who lived in the reign of Marcus

Aurelius (A.D. 161–180). His readings are identified in marginal notations of LXX MSS by the symbol æ′. The outstanding characteristics of his version are avoidance of the Greek monstrosities of Aquila, frequent agreement with or slight improvement on the LXX, and a bias for the transliteration of Hebrew words into Greek letters. Early in the Christian era the version of Daniel that goes by Theodotion's name displaced the LXX version, which was an extremely free rendering of the canonical Daniel. Similarly, in certain MSS his version was used to fill out lacunae in the LXX of Job and Jeremiah.

It seems certain, however, that this second-century Theodotion was preceded in his work of revision by a person of the 1st century B.C. or 1st century A.D., styled "Ur-Theodotion" by modern scholarship. The reason for this postulate is the appearance of "Theodotionic" readings in writings antedating the time of the activity of the second-century Theodotion. Some of these readings are found in the NT (cf. the quotation in 1 Cor. 15:54 of Isa. 25:8, which corresponds exactly to that of Theodotion). In *Theodotionic Revision of the Book of Exodus* (1972), K. O'Connell listed new evidence for the existence of this Ur-Theodotion. In fact, O'Connell said, this early revision of Exodus is to be identified with the *Kaige* recension discovered by Barthélemy. Barthélemy thought that the readings assigned to Theodotion in the Minor Prophets derive from neither the traditional Theodotion nor an Ur-Theodotion but from some other translator altogether. In an era when many long-held positions are being challenged, scholars have even doubted that the "Theodotionic" Daniel hails from Theodotion, thinking that it more likely is also a translation by Ur-Theodotion.

3. Versions of Symmachus and Others

A third version produced in the late 2nd century or early 3rd century A.D. was that of Symmachus, possibly a Jewish-Christian of the heterodox sect known as the Ebionites. This revision, identified in the MSS by the symbol $\sigma\tilde{\iota}\tau$, apparently was a recasting of Aquila's text into idiomatic Greek with a free use of other sources, including the LXX and Theodotion (for a different assessment of Symmachus's sources see Barthélemy, *Devanciers*, pp. 261–65).

In addition to the versions named above, Origen also collated for some parts of the OT three anonymous versions which are known as the Quinta, Sexta, and Septima (i.e., the 5th, 6th, and 7th Greek translations—the LXX, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion being the first four). Origen had discovered one of these versions at Nicopolis in Greece and another in a jar near Jericho. Renderings from the Quinta are extant for 2 Kings, Job, Psalms, Canticles, and the Minor Prophets. Barthélemy thought that it might actually have contained readings in the Minor Prophets from the version of Theodotion (*Devanciers*, p. 260). The Quinta was described by F. Field as stylistically the most elegant of the Greek versions. The Sexta is attested for Psalms and Canticles. Probably nothing

from the Septima has survived, and some scholars have doubted its very existence. The most comprehensive collection of the Hexapla is still F. Field, *Origenis Hexapla … fragmenta* (1875), although it greatly needs updating.

4. Recension of Origen

Besides the non-LXX versions collated by Origen in the Hexapla, Jerome mentioned three LXX recensions circulating in the 4th century in different parts of the Christian world. In *Preface to Chronicles* he wrote: "Alexandria and Egypt in their Septuagint acclaim Hesychius as their authority, the region from Constantinople to Antioch approves the copies of Lucian the martyr, the intermediate Palestinian provinces read the MSS which were promulgated by Eusebius and Pamphilius on the basis of Origen's labors, and the whole world is divided among these three varieties of texts." The three recensions are frequently called, after Jerome's Latin phrase, the *Trifaria Varietas*.

The fifth column of the Hexapla, as already mentioned, contains Origen's revised LXX text. Since he assumed that the Hebrew text of his day was the same one used by the LXX translators, Origen sought to amend the corrupted copies of the LXX text by making them conform to the current Hebrew text. In a famous passage in his *comm in Matt.* (15.14) Origen explained his modus operandi: "When I was uncertain of the LXX reading because the various copies did not tally, I settled the issue by consulting the other versions and retaining what was in agreement with them. Some passages did not appear in the Hebrew; these I marked with an obelus as I did not dare to leave them out altogether. Other passages I marked with an asterisk to show that they were not in the Septuagint but that I had added them from the other versions in agreement with the Hebrew text." (In LXX MSS containing these signs the asterisk is usually given in the form ※, while the obelus appears most commonly as ÷; another symbol used by Origen to indicate the close of a specified reading is the metobelus, marked: or ✓). By this editorial process Origen hoped to safeguard the readings of the current LXX as well as to correct them wherever they were faulty, although it is certain that he also introduced some unmarked changes, e.g., inversions and substitution of synonyms.

Although Origen's text-critical work was well intentioned, it nonetheless allowed many readings properly belonging to other versions to become embedded in the LXX as it was transmitted. The gigantic Hexapla was itself never copied, but the revised LXX text of its fifth column was transcribed by Eusebius and Pamphilius and circulated in Palestine, where it enjoyed great popularity. In the first copies of this Origenic (or hexaplaric) text, the critical signs were probably included; after much copying, however, the signs, divorced from their context, became unintelligible and were frequently omitted. Only a few MSS today preserve the Hexaplaric recension with the signs partially preserved. The best MS of this type is the Syriac translation of the fifth-column text by Paul of Tella, ca

A.D. 616, called the Syrohexapla, represented by Codex Ambrosianus. The manner in which most of the hexaplaric MSS were copied has brought much confusion to LXX scholarship, for Origen thus became, through the fault of others, indirectly responsible for the production of MSS in which the current LXX text and later versions are hopelessly mixed. Thus the first task of LXX textual criticism is as far as possible to identify and eliminate all of these "hexaplaric" elements and to restore a pre-Origenic text.

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5. Recension of Lucian

The "Lucian the martyr" mentioned by Jerome was probably Lucian of Antioch (also called Lucian of Samosata from his birthplace), an elder and leading exponent of the Antiochian exegetical school, martyred under Maximin in A.D. 311. He has also been associated with the Syrian revision of the NT in the 4th century. The MSS probably deriving from this recension were first identified in the latter half of the 19th century by three scholars working independently—A. M. Ceriani, F. Field, and P. de Lagarde—who observed the agreement of readings in certain MSS with the Antiochian fathers Chrysostom and Theodoret. The special features of Lucian's recension are lucidity, fulness, and atticizing spelling. It often revises the LXX in favor of better Greek and includes readings from various sources, with the frequent result of "double readings." The sources of these revised readings are, however, of unequal worth. In the Prophets the text seems to be no more than an expansion of the hexaplaric text with further readings inserted from Aquila, Theodotion, and especially Symmachus. In Samuel, however, the Lucianic text appears to preserve elements of great antiquity, and by a careful analysis of its unique readings there J. Wellhausen and S. R. Driver were able to make significant emendations of the Hebrew text of that book. Barthélemy's suggestion that the Lucianic text of certain parts of Samuel-Kings actually preserves the original LXX of these portions has yet to be argued convincingly. As with other revisions, the existence of "Lucianic" readings antedating the historical Lucian has occasioned the hypothesis of an Ur-or Proto-Lucian (cf. E. Tov, *Revue Biblique*, 79 [1972], 101–113; repr in Cross and Talmon, pp. 293–305). For some books, e.g … Genesis, there appears to be no identifiable Lucianic text at all.

6. Recensions of Hesychius and Others

According to a widespread opinion the Hesychius mentioned by Jerome is the Egyptian bishop of that name who, Eusebius said (*Historia ecclesiastica* (*Church History*) viii.13), was martyred in Alexandria, presumably during the Diocletian persecution in the first decade of the 4th century. But this identification rests mostly on speculation, and much controversy surrounds the subject. Also debated is the extent to which existing MSS preserve the Hesychian recension. As early as 1705 E. Grabe theorized that the Hesychian recension is primarily extant in Codex Vaticanus, an identification subsequently favored

by various scholars. Others, however, beginning with Ceriani in 1890, have taken Codex Marchalianus (Q *Quelle*) as the Hesychian primary representative. Yet others, e.g., J. Ziegler, have doubted whether any tenable identification of this recension can be made.
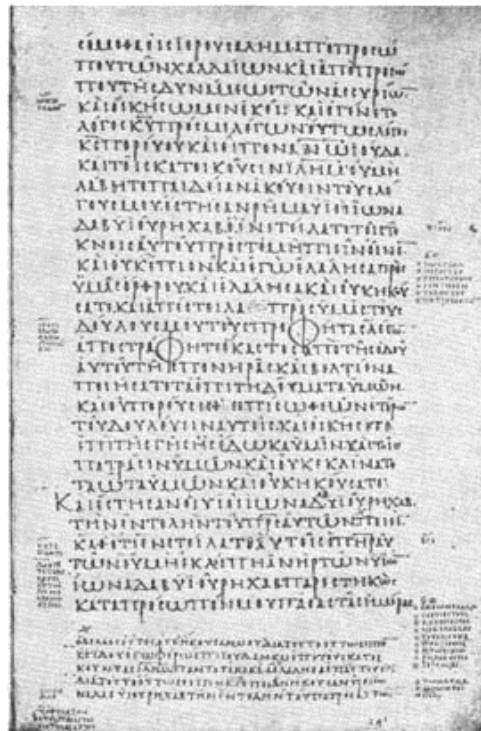
A page from Codex Marchalianus (Jer. 24:1–9 [MT 35:11–19]). Note the peculiar features: the margins have hexaplaric readings and signs; corrections in the text (lines 14, 19, 24); w. 16–18 have been omitted due to homoioteleuton (added at the bottom of the page); and words that occur frequently are abbreviated (The Vatican Library)

In addition to the recensions mentioned by Jerome, other revisions, both prehexaplaric and posthexaplaric, existed in the early centuries, as shown by LXX text-critical work. M. L. Margolis in his thorough work on the text of Joshua discovered evidence of another recension popular in Constantinople and Asia Minor; he called it C. Similarly, A. Rahlfs isolated two recensions, which he labeled R and C, in Ruth, Judges, and Kingdoms (Samuel-Kings).

All these discoveries have enriched understanding of the early transmission history of the LXX, but they have also increased awareness of that history's complexity. One result has been questioning of the legitimacy of the traditional distinction between the Minor Greek Versions (Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus) and the LXX recensions (Origen, Lucian, Hesychius), some scholars having been inclined to see all these texts as part of an ongoing revision of the basic LXX (Old Greek).

C. Daughter Versions and Citations

For several centuries the LXX served as the point of departure for the translation of the OT into other languages. Jerome's decision to base his Latin translation of the OT on the original Hebrew was fundamentally new in the history of Christian Bible translation. Because many of the translations inspired by the LXX go back to very early times, they constitute an important link in the transmission history of the LXX. Daughter versions of the LXX (i.e., translations of the OT based on the LXX) are found in the following languages: Latin, Coptic (in two dialects: Bohairic, the dialect of Lower Egypt, and Sahidic, the dialect of Thebes), Ethiopic, Gothic, Armenian, Arabic, Syriac, Georgian, and Slavonic. Of these, the most important translations, on account of their antiquity, are the Old Latin and the Bohairic. The Syriac translation of Paul of Tella (called the Syrohexapla), as mentioned above, is extremely important for the Origenic recension. Modern text-critical study of the LXX tries to take full account of the evidence of the versions and collates their readings in conjunction with those of the Greek MSS. See also VERSIONS.

Citations and allusions in early Jewish and Christian writings constitute another valuable set of witnesses to the text of the LXX. Chief among the Jewish-Greek writings are those of Philo and Josephus. Christian sources are the NT, the Greek and Latin church fathers, and church lectionaries. The patristic evidence available is indeed vast, but a true evaluation of it is often difficult, sometimes due to an uncertain text or to the tenuous distinction between citation and allusion. Nevertheless, important results have been obtained through careful analysis of these Jewish and Christian sources. They were invaluable in the isolation of the Lucianic and *Kaige* recensions, and they have a vital bearing on the problem of the Proto-LXX (a subject brilliantly explored by P. Katz, *Philo's Bible* [1950]).

D. Printed Editions

The earliest printings of the LXX (apart from portions of the Psalms) were those of the Complutensian Polyglot of Cardinal Ximenes (1514–1517), the Aldine edition of Venice (1518), and the Sixtine edition of Rome (1586), published under the auspices of Pope Sixtus V. The Sixtine, said to be based on Codex Vaticanus (B) but seemingly based on the Aldine edition corrected by B, was frequently reprinted and sometimes further revised; it became for many generations of LXX readers a *textus receptus*. In England a major publishing enterprise in 1707–1720 was the Oxford edition of the LXX begun by E. Grabe. Based on Codex Alexandrinus (A), it had the peculiar feature of using critical signs and print in different sizes to indicate divergences between the Hebrew and Greek. A greater achievement was the Oxford text by R. Holmes and J. Parsons (1798–1827). Although based on a revised Sixtine text, it was the first edition to embody a major critical

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apparatus in which nearly three hundred MSS were collated, a mammoth work still of use to LXX scholars. In 1850–1887 there appeared in Leipzig the seven editions of F. C. Tischendorf (the last two issued by E. Nestle). The basic text used was yet another revised Sixtine edition, accompanied by a small apparatus with collations from A and the newly discovered Codex Sinaiticus (´); however, the quality of the work did not equal Tischendorf's achievements on the NT text.

In the 20th century the centers of text-critical work on the LXX shifted to Cambridge and *Go¨ttingen*. The first Cambridge text was the three volume "portable" edition of H. B. Swete, *The OT in Greek* (1887–1912), intended to be an accurate representation of B together with collations of the chief uncials. Swete's text was envisaged as a forerunner to the larger Cambridge edition under the same title, whose execution was entrusted to A. E. Brooke and N. McLean (later joined by Thackeray). This edition was essentially a reprint of Swete's text but had a much fuller critical apparatus, including collations of all the uncials known at the time of publication, a careful representative selection of the minuscules, the principal daughter versions, and citations from Philo, Josephus, and the early church fathers. This eminent publishing venture lasted from 1906 to 1940, during which time about half the LXX appeared.

The Septuaginta-Unternehmen project in *Göttingen* was meanwhile proceeding along different lines. Whereas the Cambridge approach was to print one MS as the basic text, the reigning philosophy in *Göttingen* was to attempt a critically restored LXX text through a comparison of all the sources. Just as Swete's text preceded the larger Cambridge edition, so a two-volume manual edition by A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta* (1935), initially demonstrated the *Göttingen* approach. The text is an eclectic one, determined on the basis of the three major uncials, B, ℵ (Codex Sinaiticus), and A. Rahlfs was also the first to prepare a text—*Psalmi cum Odis* (1931)—in the larger *Göttingen* series. In P. de Lagarde's original plan for this series texts representing the three recensions mentioned by Jerome would first be prepared, and from a comparison of them an archetype text would be determined. To this end Lagarde himself published what he thought was the Lucianic text of the historical books (*Librorum Veteris Testamenti Canonicorum Pars Prior* [1883]). But his plan was abandoned by Rahlfs and his collaborators when they discovered that the MS evidence did not fit such a rigid pattern. It is now clear that each book or translation unit has its own peculiarities, with the number of textual families and recensions varying. In the current *Göttingen* program these groupings and recensions, together with the daughter versions and patristic citations, are clearly laid out in a full critical apparatus, a second apparatus being reserved for the hexaplaric versions. The body of the text represents the editors' decisions on the most probable reading of the Old Greek archetype. The most productive editor in this series has been J. Ziegler of Würzburg, the acknowledged dean of mid-twentieth-century LXX text-critical scholarship. An

important addition to the series is the accompanying set of monographs published as *Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens*, which gives further extensive textual information on each book. There can be little doubt that the *Göttingen* project represents the outstanding and most thorough text-critical enterprise in LXX studies at this time.

Genesis 34:11–25 in the early cursive script of the Berlin Genesis, a papyrus codex from the end of the 3rd century A.D. (Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, Ms. Graec. fol. 66)

IV. Characteristics

This section surveys some of the salient translation features of the LXX. Since the LXX is not a unity, its portions do not have the same characteristics. Therefore the survey must proceed section by section, book by book. Attention will focus on the quality of Greek in each part and on the relationship of the Greek to the Hebrew. In general the LXX vocabulary and accidence are those of Hellenistic or Koine Greek, but the syntax of most books is better described as "translation" or Hebraic Greek, the various styles being heavily influenced by the underlying Hebrew. A few books, however, show a free and paraphrastic style. Fidelity to the Hebrew is also a variable factor; the translations range from quite accurate to very erroneous and misleading.

A. Pentateuch

On the whole, the Pentateuch represents the best translation unit within the LXX. It is distinguished by a uniformly high level of the vernacular style and by faithfulness to the Hebrew, with rare lapses into literalism. It set the standard that later translators imitated, although rarely with the same success. But it does contain a number of secondary readings, frequently shared with the Samaritan Pentateuch. (For a review of the evidence affirming the secondary nature of these shared readings see B. K. Waltke, "The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Text of the OT," in J. B. Payne, ed., *New Perspectives on the OT* [1970], pp. 212–239.) Another problem area in the LXX Pentateuch is its account of the construction of the tabernacle in Ex. 35–40, where the Greek departs markedly from the Hebrew both in order and content. These divergences have been used as an argument for the later composition of the underlying Hebrew, but cf. D. W. Gooding, *Account of the Tabernacle: Translation and Textual Problems of the Greek Exodus* (1959). A tendency to avoid anthropomorphisms in certain parts of the Pentateuch has often been noted—e.g., Josh. 4:24, "power of the Lord" (MT "hand of Yahweh")—but the phenomenon has been the object of some overstatement. Cf. C. T. Fritsch, *The Anti-Anthropomorphisms of the Greek Pentateuch* (1943).

B. Historical Books

The book of Joshua links the Pentateuch with the later historical books. Although it diverges more often from the MT than the Pentateuch does, the Koine of its translation is otherwise as good as that of the Pentateuch. The most thorough study of the textual problems is M. L. Margolis, *Book of Joshua in Greek* (1931–38).

At the opposite end of the spectrum from the Pentateuch and Joshua is Judges. Two text-types, A and B, exist for this book, both marked by painful literalism, but B more so. It is generally held that A represents the earlier version and that B is a later revision toward the Hebrew. Rahlfs's edition of the LXX prints both texts. The book of Ruth is also rendered with marked literalism.

Samuel-Kings (called in the Greek the four books of Reigns or Kingdoms) presents an uneven picture. Five translation units were isolated by Thackeray in his pioneering studies of these books: 1 Reigns (α), 2 Reigns 1:1–11:1 (ββ), 2 Reigns 11:2–3 Reigns 2:11 (βγ), 3 Reigns 2:12–21:43 (γγ), and 3 Reigns 22:1–4 Reigns (γδ). This nomenclature is still in use. Thackeray attributed sections βγ and γδ to a later translator whose style was marked by pedantic literalism, but Barthélemy preferred to view the majority text of these sections as an example of the *Kaige* recension (*Devanciers*, pp. 91ff). 1 and 2 Reigns have often aided textual emendation of the difficult Hebrew text of the corresponding 1 and 2 Samuel. But 3 and 4 Reigns contain a number of peculiarities, including duplicate

accounts of certain events (e.g., 3 Reigns 12:24a–z, a second account of the dismemberment of the kingdom; 16:28a–h, a second summary of Jehoshaphat's reign; 4 Reigns 1:18a–d, another summary of Joram's reign) and a chronology of the divided kingdom sharply at variance with the MT. While some have maintained that the Greek of 1 and 2 Reigns represents a recension superior to the MT (e.g., J. D. Shenkel, *Chronology and Recensional Development in the Greek Text of Kings* [1968]), D. W. Gooding showed in a series of articles that the LXX testifies rather to a widespread reordering and reinterpretation of the Hebrew material. For example, Gooding first demonstrated (*Vetus Testamentum*, 15 [1965], 153–166) that behind the different order of events in the LXX lies a desire to put things in a strictly logical temporal sequence. The motives may be described as pedantic, sometimes perverse, and mistaken—evidently the work of a literalistically minded reviser (see also *Vetus Testamentum*, 15 [1965], 325–335, 405–420; *Vetus Testamentum*, 17 [1967], 143–189; R. P. Gordon, *Vetus Testamentum*, 25 [1975], 368–393).

Chronicles contains numerous divergences from the MT, but none has the magnitude of those in Reigns; the Greek style, however, remains mediocre. The text has been subjected to a detailed analysis by L. Allen, *Greek Chronicles*, I (*Supplements to Vetus Testamentum*, 25 [1974]), II (*Supplements to Vetus Testamentum*, 27 [1974]). The latest historical books, Ezra-Nehemiah and Esther, are problematic in many areas. Of Ezra-Nehemiah there are two versions in Greek, 1 Esdras and 2 Esdras. 1 Esdras (also called the "Greek Ezra") contains free renderings of various parts of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah. It is interrupted by a long passage (3:1–5:6) that has no equivalent in the Hebrew Bible, the Tale of the Three Guardsmen, from which comes the famous proverb, "Great is Truth, and mighty above all things." 2 Esdras (also called the "Hebrew Ezra") corresponds to the MT Ezra-Nehemiah and is a fairly reliable but literal rendition of it. The different titles by which these books are known cause extreme confusion. See ESDRAS, BOOKS OF.

The Greek version of Esther is marked by the addition of six blocks of material not found in the Hebrew. Although dispersed among the various chapters of the canonical Esther, in the Vulgate they are collected as Additions to the Book of Esther and are so titled in modern editions of the apocrypha. The style of the Greek Esther is free and paraphrastic.

C. Poetic Books

Among these books the Psalms are the best section and constitute a fairly faithful rendering of the Hebrew. Psalm numbering does not always correspond in the Greek and Hebrew texts because they combine some Psalms differently, e.g., Pss. 9–10, 113–116, 146–147. Ps. 151 was thought to be a late Greek production until the discovery of the Psalms Scroll in Qumrân Cave 11 (11QPsa). J. A. Sanders showed in *Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave*

11 (11QPsa) (*Discoveries in the Judean Desert* 4; 1965), pp. 54–64, that the Greek Psalm actually goes back to two underlying Hebrew poems.

In contrast to Psalms, the books of Job and Proverbs are paraphrastic. The presence of Homeric and classical words in Job and of fragments of iambic and hexametric verse in Proverbs indicate that the translators of both may have known and in part imitated the Greek poets. A special feature of the Greek Job is its being approximately one-sixth shorter than the MT book, which may reflect an already shorter Hebrew *Vorlage* (but cf. D. H. Gard, *Exegetical Method of the Greek Translator of the Book of Job* [1952]). In the Greek MSS and printed editions of Job the lacunae are filled by passages from the version of Theodotion. Whereas Job is shorter in the LXX than in the MT, the Greek Proverbs includes many maxims not found in the Hebrew; some of these may derive from a lost Hebrew collection, but others may be of purely Greek origin.

The other poetic books, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, and Lamentations, are extremely literal translations, hardly intelligible apart from the Hebrew. As pointed out above, the rendering of Ecclesiastes may derive from Aquila's version or was at least heavily influenced by it.

D. Prophetic Books

The Greek of Isaiah is the best in this section, equal to that of the Pentateuch, but is the least faithful to the Hebrew. Because of this free rendering, the use of the LXX of Isaiah in MT textual criticism is severely limited, but the book is proportionately more interesting from the point of view of the translator's theology and exegesis (cf. I. L. Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version of Isaiah* [1948]).

Jeremiah-Ezekiel and the Minor Prophets manifest certain similarities of style and vocabulary and may have been translated *en bloc* or nearly so. But multiple-translation theories (e.g., the theory that a certain book was mechanically divided—usually in the middle—and given to different translators) have been proposed for each book. Jer. 30:17–51:32, LXX, is a prime example; cf. the change there of the standard formula *tade légei kýrios to hoútōs eípen kýrios*. But these theories have all been challenged, in the case of Jeremiah most recently by E. Tov, *Septuagint Translation of Jeremiah and Baruch: A Discussion of an Early Revision of the LXX of Jer. 29–52 and Baruch 1:1–3:8* (1976). Jeremiah is also interesting on account of its shorter length (about one-eighth shorter than the MT) and its different arrangement of several passages, notably the Oracles Against the Nations. In the MT this section comes at the end of the book (chs. 46–51), while in the Greek it appears in the middle (25:14–31:44). The internal order of the oracles is also entirely different. The Greek almost certainly represents an already shorter Hebrew text, but which of the two traditions (the MT or the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX—both attested

in Qumrân fragments) represents the better text remains unresolved, notwithstanding the claims for the superiority of the Greek tradition made by G. Janzen in Studies in the Text of Jeremiah (1973). (For a critique of Janzen see S. K. Soderlund, *The Greek Text of Jeremiah: A Revised Hypothesis* [*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* supp, 47, 1985], pp. 193–248.)

On the two texts of Daniel, see III.B.2 above.

E. Books Outside the Hebrew Canon

The books found in the LXX MSS but not in the Hebrew canon include translated works and original compositions. The Prologue to Sirach specifically states that it was translated from the Hebrew by the author's grandson. In the 19th and 20th cents large portions of the Hebrew text have come to light, but the Greek text, a mixture of free and literal renderings, is still indispensable for determining the original Hebrew. Other translated books, it is generally agreed, are 1 Maccabees, Judith, 1 Esdras, the bulk of 2 Esdras, Epistle of Jeremiah, and the first half of Baruch. The style in these books ranges from good Koine in 1 Maccabees to strong literalism in Baruch 1:1–3:8. Original compositions in Greek include 2–4 Maccabees, Wisdom, Prayer of Manasseh, and the latter part of Baruch. These books are generally composed in literary, pseudoclassical Greek. Other books that may also be Greek compositions but about which no consensus exists are Tobit and the additions to the canonical books of Esther and Daniel.

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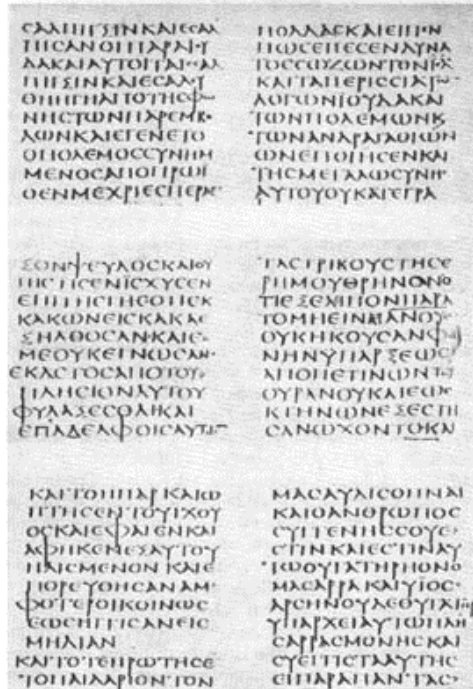
Codex Sinaiticus (4th century) of 1 Macc. 9:12f, 20–22; Jer. 9:9f.; Tob. 6:5–7, 11f.; these three sections were written by different scribes (British Library)

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