

21. The Septuagint Translation of the Torah as a Source and Resource for the Post-Pentateuchal Translators¹

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According to ancient evidence as well as modern descriptions, the translation of the Torah preceded that of the later books. As might be expected, this translation influenced those that were prepared subsequently,¹ although this assumption cannot be substantiated for all the post-Pentateuchal translations.

The Greek Torah was probably used by Jews in Alexandria in their weekly ceremonial reading from the first century BCE onwards. Philo refers to this custom in Alexandria² and 4 Macc 18:10-18, possibly written in Egypt in the first century CE, alludes to the reading of the Law together with reflections taken from the Prophets,

1. This study was originally published as “The Impact of the LXX Translation of the Pentateuch on the Translation of the Other Books” in: P. CASETTI / O. KEEL / A. SCHENKER (eds.), *Mélanges Dominique Barthélemy* (Orbis biblicus et orientalis 38) Fribourg/Göttingen, 1981, 577-592. A slightly revised version is found in my *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 72), Leiden/Boston, MA/Cologne, 1999, 183-194.
1. Thus H. St. J. THACKERAY, “The Greek Translators of the Prophetic Books” *JTS* 4 (1903), 578-585, in particular 583; M. FLASHAR, “Exegetische Studien zum Septuagintapсалтер” *ZAW* 32 (1912), 183-189; J. ZIEGLER, *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias* (Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen XII, 3), Münster i. W., 1934, 134-175; G. GERLEMAN, *Studies in the Septuagint, II, Chronicles* (Lunds universitets årsskrift I, 43, 3), Lund, 1946, 22-23; I. L. SEELIGMANN, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah*, Leiden, 1948, 45-49; L. C. ALLEN, *The Greek Chronicles*, vol. I (Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 25), Leiden, 1974, 23-26, 57-59. The following studies published after the publication of my initial paper (1981) corroborated this assumption with additional examples: G. B. CAIRD, “Ben Sira and the Dating of the Septuagint” in: E. A. LIVINGSTONE (ed.), *Studia Evangelica*, vol. VII, Berlin 1982, 95-100; C. G. DEN HERTOG, *Studien zur griechischen Übersetzung des Buches Josua*, Ph.D. dissertation, Universität Giessen, 1996, 111-125 (Den Hertog, pages 124-125, suggests that the translator of Joshua used the translation of Deuteronomy); J. JOOSTEN, “The Impact of the Greek Pentateuch on the Greek Psalms” in: M. K. H. PETERS (ed.), *XIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Ljubljana, 2007* (Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies 55), Atlanta, GA 2008, 197-205 (from Joosten’s examples we quote ἐγκλισσάω, ἐνδιαβάλλω, and λοχεύομαι, as well as Ps 116 [114]:9 quoted in his name).
2. Philo, *Prob.* 81-82: “They use these laws (those of the Torah) to learn from at all times, but especially each seventh day, since the seventh day is regarded as sacred. On that day they abstain from other work and betake themselves to the sacred places which are called synagogues ... Then one of them takes the books and reads.” See further Philo, *Hypoth.* 7:13; *Moses* 2:215. The existence of Greek Torah scrolls is also referred to in *m. Meg.* 1:8; 2:1 and *t. Meg.* 4:13. See further A. WASSERSTEIN / D. WASSERSTEIN, *The Legend of the Septuagint: From Classical Antiquity to Today*, Cambridge 2006, 11-12.

Psalms, and Proverbs. The Torah also must have been widely known in Greek. In the following discussion, evidence is presented in support of the following four points:³ (1) the vocabulary of the Greek Torah was maintained in the translation of the later books; (2) the Greek Torah served as a lexicon for the later translators who often turned to that translation when encountering difficult Hebrew words; (3) quotations from and allusions to the Torah in the later books were sometimes phrased in a manner identical to that used in the translation of the Torah; (4) the contents of the Greek Torah often influenced the wording of later translations on an exegetical level.

1. Source for Vocabulary

The translators of the Torah created a translation vocabulary of Hebrew-Greek equivalents, the foundations of which were probably laid in the generations that preceded that translation.⁴ The nature of this vocabulary has been analyzed in several studies,⁵ and it is safe to say that one of its main characteristics is the lack of variation, a lack caused by the translators' frequent use of fixed equivalents. The five books of the Greek Torah were rendered by different translators who shared a common translation vocabulary; however, they showed their individuality in certain translation options and peculiarities.⁶

When investigating agreements between the vocabulary of the Greek Torah and that of the later books, obvious agreements such as $\Pi\text{ש}\text{א}$ – $\gamma\text{υ}\text{ν}\acute{\eta}$, $\text{ש}\text{א}$ – $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$, $\text{ש}\text{מ}\text{ש}$ –

3. Criticisms of my original study (1981) have been offered by J. LUST and J. BARR. J. LUST, "The Vocabulary of LXX Ezekiel and its Dependence upon the Pentateuch" in: M. VERVENNE / J. LUST (eds.), *Deuteronomy and Deuteronomistic Literature, Festschrift C. H. W. Brekelmans* (Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium 123), Leuven, 1997, 529-546 focused on the relation between Ezekiel and the Septuagint translation of the Torah (especially Leviticus) and therefore has a narrow perspective. His criticisms are addressed below. J. BARR, "Did the Greek Pentateuch Really Serve as a Dictionary for the Translation of the Later Books?" in: M. F. J. BAASTEN / W. Th. VAN PEURSEN (eds.), *Hamlet on a Hill. Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 118) Leuven, 2003, 523-543 offered important and detailed criticisms that are likewise answered below.
4. See my study "Studies in the Vocabulary of the Septuagint" *Tarbiz* 47 (1978), 120-138, in particular 137-138 (Hebrew with English summary).
5. See S. DANIEL, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire du culte dans la Septante*, Paris, 1966; J. A. L. LEE, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch* (Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies 14), Chico, CA, 1996. A. Passoni dell'Acqua stressed the Egyptian background of the LXX vocabulary in a long series of studies on individual words appearing in different books of the LXX, e.g. "La versione dei LXX e i papyri: note lessicali" in: R. S. BAGNALL et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Congress of Papyrology, New York, 24-31 July 1980*, Chico, CA, 1981, 621-62; "Notazioni cromatiche dall'Egitto greco-romano. La versione del LXX e i papiri" *Aegyptus* 78 (1998) 77-115. See further the bibliography given by M. HARL, "La langue de la Septante," in: G. DORIVAL / M. HARL / O. MUNNICH, *La Bible grecque des Septante: Du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme ancien*, Paris, 1988, 243.
6. See H. KIM, *Multiple Authorship of the Septuagint Pentateuch*, Ph.D. dissertation, Hebrew University, 2007. A summary was published in the *Bulletin of Judaeo-Greek Studies* 40 (2007), 2-3.

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ἡλιος and צפּרדע – βάρραχος, are disregarded. The analysis concentrates on agreements that are idiosyncratic, and illustrates how the translation vocabulary of the Torah was maintained in the translations of the other units. In a study of the vocabulary of the Septuagint books, the following points are taken into consideration:

1. Although the degree of dependence of the post-Pentateuchal books on the vocabulary of the Torah cannot be expressed in absolute statistical terms, pilot investigations have shown that the vocabulary of certain books is more “Pentateuchal” than others. For example, G. Gerleman described the vocabulary of Chronicles as more “Pentateuchal” than that of the parallel translations of Samuel-Kings, especially as regards its rendering of cultic terms.⁷ J. Lust noted that the Septuagint translation of Ezekiel is less “Pentateuchal” than would otherwise have been expected.⁸

2. The post-Pentateuchal books were translated by different individuals in Palestine and Egypt,⁹ who, despite their differences,¹⁰ all adhered to some extent to the vocabulary of the Greek Torah.¹¹ One is therefore justified in investigating the influence of its vocabulary on that of the later translations.

3. The dependence of the later translators on the vocabulary of the Septuagint translation of the Torah was inconsistent¹² since it was based on each translator’s memory rather than an organized list of equivalents.¹³ In this way post-Pentateuchal translators often developed new translation vocabularies.¹⁴ Several of the equivalents listed below are not the main ones found in the Septuagint translation of the Torah,

7. GERLEMAN, *Chronicles*, 22

8. Note especially the concluding remarks of LUST, “Vocabulary,” 545-546.

9. For a detailed analysis, see my study “Reflections on the Septuagint with Special Attention Paid to the Post-Pentateuchal Translations” in: W. KRAUS / M. KARRER (eds.), *Die Septuaginta – Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse: 2. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 23.-27.7.2008* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 252), Tübingen, 2010, 3-22.

10. These differences justify our neglect of discrepancies between the individual translations. Little can be learned from disagreements in vocabulary between different translators (even in whole verses or sections that are identical in the Hebrew Bible) apart from their evident lack of cooperation with one another and their failure to consult other translation units. See notes 14, 15.

11. See Tov, “Studies in the Vocabulary” and E. Tov, “Three Dimensions of LXX Words” in: Tov, *Greek and Hebrew Bible*, 85-94.

12. The importance of the lack of consistency in the scribal transmission and translation enterprises was stressed in my study “Some Reflections on Consistency in the Activity of Scribes and Translators” in: U. DAHMEN / J. SCHNOCKS (eds.), *Juda und Jerusalem in der Seleukidenzeit. Herrschaft – Widerstand – Identität: Festschrift für Heinz-Josef Fabry* (Bonner biblische Beiträge 159), Göttingen, 2010, 325-337.

13. This point was probably not clear enough in my original publication, since BARR, “Greek Pentateuch,” 524 described at length his “doubts about the ‘dictionary’ idea.” For this reason, I presume, Barr often refers to my neglect of “negative evidence” (e.g. 536), that is, instances in which the translators did not consult the Septuagint translation of the Torah, or culled from that translation an unusual equivalent. See note 14 below.

14. Pace LUST, “Vocabulary,” 533. For a discussion of the differences between the vocabulary of the Septuagint translation of the Torah and that of the post-Pentateuchal books, see KIM, *Multiple Authorship*, 54-58.

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which sometimes used a variety of equivalents,¹⁵ but for some reason they came to the translator's mind. The post-Pentateuchal translators did not try to copy systematically all the elements in the Septuagint translation of the Torah, when such borrowing could be accomplished, because they habitually made no attempt to achieve consistency, even within translation units.¹⁶

In the examination of the dependence of the later translations on the vocabulary of the Greek Torah, the examples are subdivided into four categories: religion, legal terminology, central biblical terms, and miscellaneous.

The *non-exhaustive* lists below **concentrates** on equivalents occurring several times in the Torah. The following conventions are used: (1) when there are *two* or more occurrences in *one* book, only one reference, followed by "etc.," is given; (2) when there are *two* occurrences in different books, precise references are given for each case; (3) if there are *more* than two occurrences in different books, p. (= *passim*) is used.

Words denoted with an asterisk (*) were presumably coined by the Septuagint translators ("neologisms").¹⁷ Several of these neologisms were maintained in the later books, a situation which underlines the dependence of the latter on the former. Finally, it should be noted that the inclusion in the list of certain equivalents does not imply that the Greek word mentioned is the only equivalent used for the Hebrew one.

1.1 Religion

1.1.1 General

| ἀρχιστεῦω | נָאֵל | p | p |
|-----------|----------------|---------------------|---|
| ἀγιάζ- | נִזַּר, נִזֵּר | Lev 25:11; Num 6:12 | p |
| ἄδης | שְׂאוֹל | p | p |
| ἀναθαρσία | טְמֵאָה | p | p |
| ἀναθαρτός | טְמֵאָה | p | p |

15. This argument was used by LUST, "Vocabulary," 533-537 and BARR, "Greek Pentateuch," 526-530, criticizing my original publication (1981).
16. *Pace* LUST ("Vocabulary," 543-546), who looks for such consistency between Leviticus 26 and the Septuagint translation of Ezekiel. At an earlier stage, upon considering the differences between the Septuagint translations of the Pentateuch and Joshua, C. Egli ("Zur Kritik der Septuaginta. Sind die Hermeneuten des Pentateuch und des Buches Josua identisch?" ZWT 5 (1862), 76-96, 287-321) suggested that the two translations were produced by different (groups of) individuals.
17. These words were probably coined by the translators (or a preceding generation) in order to express Hebrew words and concepts that, in their view, could not be expressed adequately by existing Greek words. Our observations are based on the evidence listed by H. G. LIDDELL / R. SCOTT / H. S. JONES, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (ninth edition) Oxford, 1940; E. A. BARBER, *A Greek-English Lexicon, A Supplement*, Oxford, 1968; and P. G. W. GLARE, *Revised Supplement*, Oxford, 1996. The assumption of a "neologism" is subject to limitations and doubts such as those described in E. Tov, "Compound Words in the LXX Representing Two or More Hebrew Words" in: Tov, *Greek and Hebrew Bible*, 131-152, in particular 139-141.

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| | | | |
|-------------------------|------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| ἀνάθημα (-εμα) | הרה | p | p |
| ἀπαρχή | ראשית | p | p |
| תרומה | תרומה | p | p |
| ἀφαίρεμα* ¹⁸ | תרומה | p | Ez 44:30 |
| γλυπτόν | פסל | p | p |
| δεκτός* | לרצון | p | p |
| διαθήκη | ברית | p | p |
| δῶρον | מנחה | Gen 4:4 etc. | p |
| | קרבן | p | Neh 13:31 |
| | שחד | p | p |
| εἶδωλον | נלולים | Lev 26:30; Deut 29:16 | p |
| έκούσιον | נדבה | p | p |
| έξιλάσκομαι | ר"כפ | p | p |
| έξόδιον | עצרת | p | 2 Chr 7:9; Neh 8:18 |
| έπιδέκατον | מעשר | p | p |
| έπιτίθημι | סמך (ידים) | p | 2 Chr 29:23 |
| | הניף | p | 2 Kings 5:11 |
| θυσιαστήριον* | מזבח | p | p |
| κίβωτος | ארון | p | p |
| λειτουργέω | שרת | p | p |
| νόμος | תורה | p | p |
| όμολογία | נדבה | Deut 12:17 | Ez 46:12 |
| όσμη εύωδίας | ריח ניחח | p | Ez 6:13 etc. |
| πλημμεία | אשם | p | p |
| προσκυνέω | השתחוה | p | p |
| πρωτογεννήματα* | בכורים | p | 2 Kings 4:42; Neh 10:36 |
| πρωτότοκος* | בכור | p | p |
| στήλη | מצבה | p | p |
| συναγωγή | עדה | p | p |
| σωτήριον | שלם | p | p |
| χειροποίητος | אליל | Lev 26:1 | Isa 2:18, etc. |
| χωνευτός* | מסכת | p | p |

18. LUST, "Vocabulary," 534 points out that Pap. 967 of Ezekiel uses ἀφόρισμα instead of ἀφαίρεμα, suggesting that in this case, as well as in others, the equivalent of the main manuscript tradition of the Septuagint translation may have been secondary.

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Furthermore, the translators of Joshua and Isaiah adopted the distinction between the Jewish **מזבח** (θυσιαστήριον) and the pagan מזבח (βωμός) made by the translators of the Torah.¹⁹

1.1.2 Technical Cultic Terms

A natural source of information for the rendering of technical terms would be the Greek Torah. The post-Pentateuchal occurrences of these words are not necessarily found in religious contexts, e. g. κρατήρ in Song 7:3.

| | | | |
|-------------|--------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| γωνία | מקצע | Exod 26:24 | 2 Chr 26:9; Neh 3:19-25 |
| δέρις | יריעה | Exod 26:7-13; Num 4:25 | p |
| διχοτόμημα* | נחה | Exod 29:17; Lev 1:8 | Ez 24:4 |
| θυίσκη* | כף | p | p |
| θυμίαμα | קטרה | p | p |
| καταπέτασμα | פרכת | p | 2 Chr 3:14 |
| κίδαρις | מצנפת | Exod 28:4 etc.; Lev 16:4 | Ez 21:31 (26) |
| κρατήρ | אין | Exod 24:6 | Song 7:3 |
| κρεάγμα | מזלג | Exod 27:3 etc.; Num 4:14 | p |
| λαβίς | מלקחים | Exod 37:23 (38:17); Num 4:9 | Isa 6:6; 2 Chr 4:21 |
| λάγανον | רקיק | p | 1 Chr 23:29 |
| λέβηθ | סיר | Exod 16:3 | p |
| λουτήρ | כיוור | Exod 30:18 etc.; Lev 8:11 | p |
| λυχνία | מנורה | p | p |
| μέλος | נחה | Exod 29:17; Lev 1:6 etc. | Judg 19:29B; Ez 24:6 |
| μέτρον | איפה | Deut 25:14, 15 | p |
| μηρία | כסל | Lev 3:4 etc. | Job 15:27 |
| μυρεψός | רקק | Exod 30:25 etc. | |
| πέταλον | ציץ | Exod 28:36 etc.; Lev 8:9 | 1 Kings 6:32,35 |
| πλήρωσις | מלאים | Exod 35:27 | 1 Chr 29:2 |
| πυγμή | אנרף | Exod 21:18 | Isa 58:4 |
| πυρεϊον | מחתה | p | 2 Kings 25:15; 2 Chr 4:21/22 |
| ρόισκος* | רמון | Exod 28:33/29 etc. | 2 Chr 3:16 etc. |
| σάρδιον | אדם | Exod 28:17 etc. | Ez 28:13 |
| σεμίδαλις | סלה | p | P |
| σμύρνα | מר | Exod 30:23 | p |

19. For an analysis, see DANIEL, *Recherches*, 18-22.

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| | | | |
|----------|------|----------------------|---------------------|
| στίχος | טור | Exod 28:17 etc. | 1 Kings 6:36 etc. |
| σύνθεσις | סמים | p | 2 Chr 13:11 |
| τήγανον | מחבת | Lev 2:5 etc. | Ez 4:3; 1 Chr 23:29 |
| τορευτός | מקשה | Exod 25:18 (17) etc. | Jer 10:5 (9) |

1.2 Legal Terminology

The post-Pentateuchal occurrences of these words are not necessarily found in legal contexts.

| | | | |
|---------------------|-------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (τὸ) βιβλίον (τοῦ) | ספר | Deut 24:1, 3 | Isa 50:1; Jer 3:8 |
| ἀποστασίου | כרתות | | |
| αὐτόχθων | אזרח | p | Josh 8:33 (9:2); Ez 47:22 |
| γειώρας | גר | Exod 12:19 | Isa 14:1 |
| γονορρυής* | זוב | Lev 15:4 etc.; Num 5:2 | p |
| ἐγγαστρίμυθος | אוב | Lev 19:31 etc.; Deut 18:11 | p |
| ἐνεχυράζω | חבל | p | p |
| ἐπαιδός* | ידעני | Lev 19:31 etc. | 2 Chr 33:6 |
| θνησιμαῖον* | נבלה | Lev 5:2 etc.; Deut 14:8, 21 | p |
| κληδονίζομαι* | עונן | Deut 18:10 | 2 Kings 21:6; 2 Chr 33:6 |
| λέπρα + derivatives | צרעת | Lev 13-14; Deut 24:8 | p |
| λιθοβολέω* | ל"ס | p | p |
| | מ"ר | p | p |
| μαντεία, μαντεῖον | קסם | p | p |
| μῶμος | מום | p | p |
| πραΐσις | ממכר | Lev 25:14 ff.; Deut 18:8 | Neh 13:20 |
| συντίμησις | ערך | Lev 27:4,18; Num 18:16 | 2 Kings 12:5 etc. |
| φαρμακός* | מכשף | Exod 7:11 etc.; Deut 18:10 | p |
| φυγαδευτήριον* | מקלט | Num 35:6 ff. | Josh 20:2 etc.; 1 Chr 6:42, 52 |

Appendix: Clean and Unclean Animals

| | | | |
|--------|-----------|---------------------|--------------------------|
| δορκάς | צבי | Deut 12:15 etc. | p |
| ἔλαφος | איל, אילה | Deut 12:15, 22 etc. | p |
| ἴβις | ינשוף | Lev 11:17 | Isa 34:11 |
| μῦς | עכבר | Lev 11:29 | 1 Sam 6:4 ff.; Isa 66:17 |

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|----------------|------|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| νυκτερίς | עטלף | Lev 11:19; Deut 14:18 | Isa 2:20 |
| νυκτικόραξ | כוס | Lev 11:17 | Ps 102 (101):7 |
| χοιρογρύλλιος* | שפן | Deut 14:7 | Ps 104 (103):18; Prov 30:26 (24:61) |

1.3 Central Biblical Terms

Many of the words in the Torah pertain to central stories or issues to which reference is made in the post-Pentateuchal books (note especially Psalm 78 [77]). The later translators often used the same Greek equivalents as those used in the Torah:

| | | | |
|-------------|------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| διαγογγύζω* | הלין, גלון | p | Josh 9:18 |
| διέξοδος | הוצאות | Num 34:4 ff. | Josh 15:4 etc.; Ps 68 (67):21 |
| τὰ ἔρπετά | רמש | p | p |
| κατακλυσμός | מבול | Gen 6:17 etc. | Ps 29 (28):10 |
| κυνόμυια | ערב | Exod 8:17 (21) etc. | Ps 78 (77):45; 105 (104):31 |
| μαννα* | מן | p | Ps 78 (77):24 |
| ὄρτυγομήτρα | שלו | Exod 16:13; Num 11:31, 32 | Ps 105 (104):40 |
| παράδεισος | גן עדן | Gen 2:8 etc. | p |
| πλάξ | לוח | Exod 31:18 etc.; Deut 4:13 etc. | 1 Kings 8:9; 2 Chr 5:10 |
| στερέωμα | רקיע | Gen 1:6 ff. | p |
| φαῦσις* | מאור | Gen 1:15 | Ps 74 (73):16 |

1.4 Miscellaneous

1.4.1 Technical Terms

| | | | |
|----------------------------|--------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| ἀμνός, ἀμνάς ²⁰ | קשיטה | Gen 33:19 | Josh 24:32; Job 42:11 |
| ἀνεμοφθορία* | שדפון | Deut 28:22 | 2 Chr 6:28 |
| βούτυρον | חמאה | Gen 18:8; Deut 32:14 | p |
| δίδραχμον | שקל | p | Josh 7:21; Neh 5:15 etc. |
| δοκός | קורה | Gen 19:8 | 2 Kgs 6:2, 5; Song 1:17 |
| ἐγκρυφίας | עונה | p | p |
| ἐδέσματα | מטעמים | Gen 27:4 etc. | Prov 23:3 |
| ἐνώτιον | נזם | Gen 24:22 etc.; Exod 32:2 etc. | p |

20. The Hebrew denotes an “ancient weight, used as money” (*HALOT*), while the Septuagint, as well as the other versions (except for Symmachus), translates the word as “lamb.”

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|-------------|------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| ἐπασιδός | חרטום | Exod 7:11 etc. | Dan 2:2, 27 |
| ἔπαυλις | טירה | Gen 25:16; Num 31:10 | Ps 69 (68):26 |
| ἐπισιτισμός | צדה | Gen 42:25 etc.; Exod 12:39 | p |
| λάχανα | ירק | Gen 9:3 | Ps 37 (36):2 |
| μανδραγόρας | דודאים | Gen 30:14 ff. | Song 7:14 |
| μόλιβ(δ)ος | עפרת | Exod 15:10 | p |
| μονόκερως | ראם | Num 23:22; Deut 33:17 | Job 39:9; Ps 22 (21):22 etc. |
| μώλωψ | חבורה | Gen 4:23; Exod 21:25 | Isa 1:6 etc.; Ps 38 (37):6 |
| νυμφαγωγός | מורע | Gen 26:26 | Judg 14:20 |
| ὄβολός | גרה | p | Ez 45:12 |
| οἶφι* | איפה | Lev 5:11 etc.; Num 5:15 etc. | p |
| ὀλύρα | כסמת | Exod 9:32 | Ez 4:9 |
| ὄψιμος | בולקוש | Deut 11:14 | p |
| παγετός | קרח | Gen 31:40 | Jer 36 (43):30 |
| περιβόλαιον | כסות | Exod 22:26; Deut 22:12 | Isa 50:3; Job 26:6 |
| περίχωρος | ככר | Gen 13:10 etc. | 2 Chr 4:17; Neh 12:28 |
| πυρράκης | אדמוני | Gen 25:25 | 1 Sam 16:12 etc. |
| σπαρτίον | חוט | Gen 14:23 | p |
| τιθηνός | אמן | Num 11:12 | p |
| τροφός | מונקת | Gen 35:8 | p |
| τρυγών | תור | p | Jer 8:7; Song 1:10 etc. |
| ὑσσωπος | אזוב | p | 1 Kings 5:13; Ps 51 (50):9 |
| φακός | עדשה | Gen 25:34 | 2 Sam 17:28 etc.; Ez 4:9 |
| χείρ | הפן | Exod 9:8; Lev 16:12 | Ez 10:2, 7 |
| χολή | ראש רוש | Deut 29:17 etc. | p |
| χόρτασμα | מספוא | Gen 24:25 etc. | Judg 19:19 |
| χύτρα | פארור | Num 11:8 | p |
| ψαλτήριον | כנור | Gen 4:21 | Ps 49 (48):5 etc. Ez 26:13 |
| ψέλ(λ)ιον | צמיד | Gen 24:22 etc.; Num 31:50 | Ez 16:11 etc. |
| ψόγος | דבה | Gen 37:2 | Jer 20:10; Ps 31 (30):14 |

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1.4.2 Other Words

| | | | |
|---------------------------|-------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| ἀντιλίβανον ²¹ | לבנון | Deut 1:7 etc. | Josh 9:1 |
| γένεσις (-εις) | תולדות | p | p |
| γραμματεὺς | שטר | p | p |
| δῆμος | משפחה | Num 1:20 etc. | p |
| διήγημα | שנינה | Deut 28:37 | 2 Chr 7:20 |
| ἐγκισσάω | ים | Gen 31:10 | Ps 51 (50):7 (κισσάω) |
| ἐκλεκτός | בריא | Gen 41:2 ff. | p |
| ἐνδιαβάλλω | שטן | Num 22:22 | Ps 38 (37):21 etc. |
| κατάσχεσις | אחזה | p | p |
| λοχεύομαι | עול | Gen 33:13 | Ps 78 (77):1 |
| μακρόθυμος* | ארך אפים | Exod 34:6; Num 14:18 | p |
| μόχθος | תלאה | Exod 18:8; Num 20:14 | Neh 9:32 |
| ὀλκή | משקל | Gen 24:22; Num 7:13 etc. | p |
| ὀρθρίζω* | השכים | p | p |
| ὄσφύς | חלצים | Gen 35:11 | p |
| παλαιόω | בלל בלה | Deut 29:4 | p |
| παραπικραίνω* | המרה | Deut 31:27 | p |
| πολύελεος* | רב חסד | Exod 34:6; Num 14:18 | p |
| ποταμός | יאר | Gen 41:1 ff.; Exod 1:22 etc. | p |
| σημασία | תועה | Num 10:5 etc. | 1 Chr 15:28 etc.; Ezra 3:12 ff. |
| σκληροτράχηλος* | קשה ערף | Exod 33:3 etc.; Deut 9:6 ff. | Prov 29:1 |

2. Lexical Source for Difficult Words

There is no concrete evidence that the translators possessed either dictionaries or word lists. Thus, when attempting to determine the meaning of a word, they resorted to various sources of information. These ranged from exegetical traditions, context, etymology, post-biblical Hebrew, knowledge of Aramaic, to the Septuagint translation of the Torah. The latter was consulted when the translators encountered difficult Hebrew words that also occurred in the Torah.²² It is unknown how frequently this was done. Obviously, this hypothesis assumes that the learned post-Pentateuchal translator knew

21. See DEN HERTOG, *Josua*, 122-124.

22. Thus already FLASHAR, *Septuagintapssalter*; SEELIGMANN, *Isaiah*, 48.

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that the Hebrew word to translate occurred in a specific context in the Torah. The nature of this type of consultation of the Torah necessarily implies that it was executed extremely inconsistently. This procedure is exemplified by the following examples:

| | | | | |
|----|------------|-----------------|---|-----------------------------|
| 1. | Deut 32:42 | מראש פרעות אויב | - | ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἀρχόντων ἐχθρῶν |
| | Judg 5:2A | בפרע פרעות | - | ἐν τῷ ἄρξασθαι ἀρχηγούς |
| | Num 5:18 | ופרע | - | καὶ ἀποκαλύψει |
| | Judg 5:2B | בפרע פרעות | - | ἀπεκαλύφθη ἀποκάλυμμα |

The A and B texts in Judges are based on different interpretations of בפרע פרעות, both of which are reflected in the Septuagint translation of the Torah.

| | | | | |
|----|-----------------|---------------------------|---|---|
| 2. | Lev 5:4 | [...] לבטא בשפתים יבטא | - | διαστέλλουσα τοῖς χεῖλεσιν [...] δια- στείλη |
| | Num 30:7 | מבטא שפתיה | - | κατὰ τὴν διαστολὴν τῶν χειλέων αὐ- τῆς |
| | Ps 106 (105):33 | ויבטא בשפתיו | - | καὶ διέστειλεν ἐν τοῖς χεῖλεσιν αὐτοῦ |

בטא occurs elsewhere only in Prov 12:18 בושא – λέγοντες.

| | | | | |
|----|-----------------|-----------|---|---------------|
| 3. | Deut 4:27 | מותי מספר | - | ὀλίγοι ἀριθμῶ |
| | Jer 44 (51):28 | מותי מספר | - | ὀλίγοι ἀριθμῶ |
| | Gen 34:30 | מותי מספר | - | ὀλιγοστός |
| | 1 Chr 16:19 | מותי מספר | - | ὀλιγοστός |
| | Ps 105 (104):12 | מותי מספר | - | ὀλιγοστός |

The same phrase is rendered differently elsewhere.²³

| | | | | |
|----|---------------------|---------------|---|---------------------------|
| 4. | Exod 1:11 | ערי מסכנות | - | πόλεις ὄχυράς |
| | 2 Chr 8:4, 6; 17:12 | מסכנות(ה) ערי | - | (τὰς) πόλεις (τὰς) ὄχυράς |

Elsewhere ערי מסכנות is rendered by περίχωροι (2 Chr 16:4) and πόλεις (2 Chr 32:28).

| | | | | |
|----|---------------|-------------|---|----------------------|
| 5. | Gen 49:14 | בין המשפתים | - | ἀνά μέσον τῶν κλήρων |
| | Ps 68 (67):14 | בין שפתים | - | ἀνά μέσον τῶν κλήρων |

Elsewhere the word occurs only in Judg 5:16 (B: διγομίας, A: μωσφαθαιμ; A in v. 15: χειλέων).

| | | | | |
|----|--------------|-----|---|------------|
| 6. | Gen 49:6 | עקר | - | νευροκοπέω |
| | Josh 11:6, 9 | עקר | - | νευροκοπέω |

Elsewhere the Hebrew root occurs only in 2 Sam 8:4 = 1 Chr 18:4.

23. Deut 33:6 מוספר מותיו – ויהי מותו מספר – καὶ ἔστω πολλὸς ἐν ἀριθμῶ; Deut 26:5, 28:62 במתי מעט – ἐν ἀριθμῶ βραχעῖ.

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| | | | |
|--------------|---------------|---|----------------------|
| 7. Deut 27:8 | באר היטב | – | σαφῶς σφόδρα |
| Hab 2:2 | ובאר על הלחות | – | καὶ σαφῶς ἐπὶ πυξίον |

The unusual translation of Habakkuk, which is problematic in the context, is based on Deuteronomy.

8. מֵאֲכַלֶּת in Judg 19:29 is rendered by μάχαιρα in manuscript A in accordance with Gen 22:6, 10. Elsewhere the word occurs only in Prov 30:14, where it is rendered differently.

3. Quotations and Allusions

Quotations from passages from the Torah and allusions to such passages that appear in the later books of the Bible were usually *not* formulated as in the Septuagint translation of the Torah (see note 15), but sometimes that translation influenced the post-Pentateuchal books:

1. Num 35:33 לא תחניפו את הארץ [...] כי הדם הוא יחניף את הארץ
καὶ οὐ μὴ φονοκτονήσητε τὴν γῆν [...] τὸ γὰρ αἷμα τοῦτο φονοκτονεῖ τὴν γῆν
Ps 106 (105):38 ותחנף הארץ בדמים
καὶ ἐφονοκτονήθη ἡ γῆ ἐν τοῖς αἵμασιν

φονοκτονέω (LSJ: to pollute with murder or blood) does not occur elsewhere in the Septuagint. As LSJ does not list occurrences other than those in the Septuagint, the agreement between the two texts is remarkable in view of the presumed rarity of this word.

2. Exod 22:1 (2) אם במחותרת ימצא
ἐὰν δὲ ἐν τῷ διορύγματι εὕρεθῆ
Jer 2:34 לא במחותרת מוצאתים
οὐκ ἐν διορύγμασιν εὔρον αὐτούς

Elsewhere διορύγμα occurs only in Zeph 2:14 (חלון) and διορύσσω reflects חתר (four times).

3. Lev 16:13 וכסה ענן הקטרת (את הכפרת)
καὶ καλύψει ἡ ἀτμὶς τοῦ θυμιάματος
Ez 8:11 ועתר ענן הקטרת עלה
καὶ ἡ ἀτμὶς τοῦ θυμιάματος ἀνέβαινε

ἀτμὶς only very rarely occurs elsewhere in the Septuagint. ענן is rendered mainly by νεφελή.

4. Gen 32:29 (28) שרית עם אלהים
ἐνίσχυσας μετὰ θεοῦ
Hos 12:4 שרה את אלהים
ἐνίσχυσεν πρὸς θεόν
12:5 וישר אל מלאך
καὶ ἐνίσχυσεν μετὰ ἀγγέλου

The Hebrew root does not occur elsewhere in Scripture.

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5. Num 25:3 ויצמד ישראל לבעל פעור
καὶ ἐτελέσθη Ἰσραηλ τῷ Βεελφεγωρ
- Num 25:5 הוצמדו לבעל פעור
τὸν τετελεσμένον τῷ Βεελφεγωρ
- Ps 106 (105):28 ויצמדו לבעל פעור
καὶ ἐτελέσθησαν τῷ Βεελφεγωρ

Note the unique interpretation of the verb in the Septuagint ('to be consecrated to'), cf. Hos 4:14 (קדשוֹת) and Deut 23:18 (17) קדש – τελεσφόρος.

4. Influence on the Exegetical Level

The contents of the Greek Torah often influenced the wording of later translations on an exegetical level.²⁴

- In Jer 1:6; 4:10; 14:13 and 32 (39):17 אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה (אֱלֹהֵינוּ) has been represented by ὁ ὢν (δέσποτα κύριε).²⁵ אָחָה ("alas") in this verse has been derived from הָיָה in Exod 3:14 (a central verse for biblical theology) and rendered in accordance with the Septuagint translation of that verse: הָיָה אֲשֶׁר אָהִיָּה – ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ὢν.
- Prov 24:28 אַל תְּהִי עַד חֲנֹם בַּרְעֵךְ
μὴ ἴσθι ψευδῆς μάρτυς ἐπὶ σὸν πολίτην

The translation of this verse reflects the exegesis of חֲנֹם as "false," mainly on the basis of the ninth commandment in Greek:

- Exod 20:16 (13) לֹא תַעֲנֶה בַרְעֵךְ עַד שִׁקְרָא
οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου μαρτυρίαν ψευδῆ
- Deut 5:20 (18) לֹא תַעֲנֶה בַרְעֵךְ עַד שׂוֹא
οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου μαρτυρίαν ψευδῆ
3. Ps 116 (114):9 אֶתְהַלֵּךְ לִפְנֵי יְהוָה
εὐαρεστήσω ἐναντίον κυρίου

The translation of this verse is based on the same equivalent in Gen 5:22, as suggested by Joosten, "Impact," 201. This equivalent was also used by the Greek translator of Sir 44:16.

To summarize, this study has presented evidence in support of the following assumptions: (1) the vocabulary of the Greek Torah was maintained in the translation of the later books; (2) the Greek Torah served as a lexicon for the later translators in the translation of difficult Hebrew words; (3) quotations from and allusions to the Torah in the later books were sometimes phrased according to the Greek Torah; (4) the contents of the Greek Torah often influenced the wording of later translations on an exegetical level.

24. See especially SEELIGMANN, *Isaiah*, 45-46.

25. In 4:10 only manuscript 26 reads ο ὢν. For a discussion, see E. Tov, *The Septuagint Translation of Jeremiah and Baruch: A Discussion of an Early Revision of Jeremiah 29-52 and Baruch 1:1-3:8* (Harvard Semitic Monographs 8), Missoula, MT, 1976, 24.